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MEDIA ECOLOGY IN SOCIO-POLITICAL MOVEMENTS:A STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TELANGANA MOVEMENT

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ABSTRACT

We represent the media and in turn the media represents us. Humans in everyday life represent and communicate through various media; humans are the mobile carriers of knowledge and tradition that is passed on from one generation to the other with some variations. While the impact of the ecology on the lifestyle patterns of human societies has been dealt with in details by proponents of cultural ecology and cultural materialism, the fact that human beings are a mobile media having an impact on the rest of the environment through their language, attire, food, religion, and various other day-to-day practices in life is very often overlooked.

Media environments have been influencing and shaping communities and societies at large. Through the process of evolution of human beings they have gradually tended to rely more and more on media. From the times of the ancient cave paintings to the present age of digital media, the reliance on media and its impact on the lives of people have seen a rise. In the process of evolution of media over the years, we have come to divide it into two broad categories – mainstream media and alternative media. Media Ecology is today put to use to understand various fields like education, culture, lifestyle, politics and social institutions. Media Ecology is now studied for its growing significance, with the rapid change of technologies surrounding our lives. The information and communication tools constantly change the complex network of the environment and human society. In the information ecology one tool of communication triggers off another set of tools and depends on each other for their survival. The various forms of media which find a place in socio-political movements can be broadly divided into time and space biased media. It is interesting to look at how these various media enable, enhance, accelerate or extend themselves during such movements. The researcher has analyzed the use of indigenous media as an effective tool for not only information dissemination, but also as a powerful binding force. In the past few decades, new inventions, including satellite technology, has helped in bringing about a telecommunication revolution around the world and the use of computers has more than ever democratized the process of acquisition of knowledge. Though the space biased

media is fast in dissemination of knowledge and helped in evolving a new world order, it has also homogenized citizens around the world with regard to culture. According to Innis the monopoly of one media would be challenged by new or older forms of media; further, even a revival of time based media cannot be ruled out. Some of these media have come back and are put to use in socio-political movements, these media are more prominent in the changing socio-cultural landscapes in India.

It is no mere coincidence that the various agitations and movements seen in the country since the mid twentieth century, like the Assam agitation, the separatist movement in the Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir and the ethnic assertion in the hills of North East India and Bengal has fuelled the growth of regional media, especially the print media, in the early years followed by the electronic media in later half of the twentieth century. One can add the Telangana movement in the first decade of the twenty first century to the list. If such movement fed on the early growth of various modes of media, media in turn is sustaining and fuelling the structures of much of the offshoots of these movements in the present times.
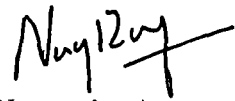
The use of alternative forms of media, and at times, the revival of the old forms of media during the socio-political movements can be understood by taking the Telangana movement as a case in point. The movement that has been alive for the last six decades and spanned three phases (1950s, 1960s, and 2001) led finally to the formation of the new state of Telangana. The indigenous or the time biased media that were dormant for a long duration because of the dominance of space biased media were revived during the movement for separate statehood. When state exercises control over the information flow, the people and movements come up with alternative forms of media to reach out to the masses and achieve the broader goal. The conscious use of the term 'indigenous media' by the researcher has to do with the fact that it is born and sustains itself in a given geo-political space and thus it is very rooted to the context of the place in which it comes into being. Secondly, it is indigenous media in the sense that the people of the region have complete command and understanding of the medium. Further, the term 'alternative media' has taken on

certain connotations that do not fit into the context of the Telangana movement. For instance, in the context of the Telangana movement, the indigenous media is neither opposed to the mainstream media in a confrontational sense, nor is it radical or anti-national. Iconography (time biased media) played an important role in the third phase of the movement. The movement was able to utilize the space biased media to reach out to large sections of people within and outside the country

The media ecology sustains itself with the information that is generated through various activities; it gets communicated with numerous technological tools while the information and the technological tools may be dormant for some-time but chances are that they may come back to life. Striking instances of the recycling of information is seen in various social, political, cultural, identity struggles. What is seen in many political, cultural and identity struggles is that historical information get repeated during the movement periods at regular intervals and once the goal is achieved by the community, group or political party, the information gradually sinks back into oblivion.

DECLARATION

This is to certify that the research material embodied and conclusions derived in the present study titled "Media Ecology in Socio-Political Movements: A Study with Special Reference to the Telangana Movement" is based on my original research. It has not been submitted in any form or part for any diploma or degree of any university. My indebtedness to other works/publication has been acknowledged in the body of the thesis at appropriate places.
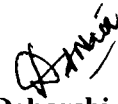
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All help received by him from various sources has been duly acknowledged. No part of this thesis has been submitted elsewhere for award of any other degree.

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Chapter I
Understanding Media Ecology

1.1 Media Ecology: An Introduction

The present chapter highlights the historical development of Media Ecology. The constant interaction of various media within the media environments and the symbiotic relationship between man, nature and technology can be understood in the border terms of Media Ecology. Scholars like Harold Innis, Neil Postman and Marshall McLuhan contributed to the idea and evolution of Media Ecology as they were able to see the broad implication of media in terms of its impact on the civilizations and the institutions we have built. Scholars of Media Ecology understood media and its relationship with the larger context as an intricate one. The impact of media is not just limited to politics, culture and economy but it is also found to have a significant bearing on the natural environments. The different viewpoints and approaches of scholars working in the broad field of Media Ecology are taken into consideration for explaining the present information environment. Socio-political movements not only make information cyclic, but also help the media ecology*[1] to sustain itself with changes. Harold Innis's categorization of media as time and space biased is the major concept used to understand the present socio-political movements with particular reference to the Telangana movement of India.

It is necessary to take cognizance of the history of media and its influence to have a broader understanding of Media Ecology. Communication has evolved over the centuries and has taken different forms, from sign language to oral and from written to visual. The invention of the first printing press by Gutenberg to the latest social networking sites like Face Book and Twitter have provided us a platform for information dissemination. Modes of exchange of information have an impact on the way we organize and respond to a situation in a given political and socio-cultural environment. Communication gives shape to the world we live in and helps in making sense of changes around us; more often than not, our subjectivities are located within the flux of change.

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[1] The capital form of 'Media Ecology' has has been used in this thesis to refer to the discipline whereas the normal font is used to refer to the media environment.

Marshall McLuhan and Neil Postman (who coined the term 'Media Ecology') are considered to be the harbingers of the Media Ecology approach. Media Ecology has been defined from the vantage point of various ideological positions and these have in turn informed its contemporary understanding. Harold Adam Innis was the first scholar to state the idea that various channels that help in communication become central to the changes that occur in a society and in a given civilization. The mentor of Marshall McLuhan, Innis contributed to the idea of Media Ecology with his writings like *Empire and Communications* (1950), *The Bias of Communication* (1951), *Changing Concepts of Time* (2004). Innis's categories of time and space biased media are still relevant to understand the contemporary socio-political realities.

Neil Postman broadened our understanding of Media Ecology. When Neil Postman defined media as'ecology' many were clueless and were left wondering about its implication; he referred to media as an environment that can influence other environments. Postman, with his writings like *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* (1969), *Teaching as a conserving activity* (1979), *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business* (1985), and *Technopoly* (1992) enlarged our understanding of media and its effects on education and other aspects; his insights into the impact of media on culture and conservatism helped us to understand how the modern technological tools are changing the perceptions of people who use it. He also explained the impact of electronic media and its influence, especially the influence of tools like telegraph, radio and television in American society. He interpreted the changing attitudes and perceptions of the public with reference to technological dependence. According to Postman

> Media Ecology is the study of information environments. It is concerned to understand how technologies and techniques of communication control the form, quantity, speed, distribution, and direction of information; and how, in turn, such information configurations or biases affect people's perceptions, values, and attitudes (Postman1979: 186).

For Marshal McLuhan societies revolve around media; he saw every human action as related to media. McLuhan believed that we are never outside media. He saw the new

technological innovations as the extensions of humans. These extensions of humans in a given environment have an impact ranging from immediately felt ones to ones that are more long-term. The constant interactions between the people and the media alter and shape the society at various levels and in various fields. The rapid expansion of technologies and it impact can be seen in the world that McLuhan foresaw and predicted in *Understanding Media* (1964). He says,

> During the mechanical ages we had extended our bodies in space. Today, after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned. Rapidly, we approach the final phase of the extensions of man-- the technological simulation of consciousness, when the creative process of knowing will be collectively and corporately extended to the whole of human society, much as we have already extended our senses and our nerves by the various media. (McLuhan 1964: 3-4)

Each new technology which is added to the ecosystem plays a vital role in shaping our society; at the same time, the new technologies outdate the old technologies or tools. McLuhan concluded that four things happen to all media and human artifacts; McLuhan's laws are Enhances, Reverses, Retrives and Obsolesces (McLuhan and Eric McLuhan 1992:129). This phenomenon was believed to be inevitable, and they applied universally. Additionally, while some results may take years to be apparent, others have a more immediate impact.

> McLuhan's message always tells us to look beyond the obvious and seek the non obvious changes or effects that are enabled, enhanced, accelerated or extended by the new thing. (Federman 2004)

The communication system that was earlier point to point has been revolutionized by the hundreds of satellites that are being launched. The satellites enlarged the scope for information to reach a wider audience and geographic area (from local to global and vice-versa); it has redefined the communication system, with information traveling almost at the speed of light, enabling information exchange within an environment

and outside it. Luciano Floridi says, "Although the production of analogue data is still increasing, the infosphere is becoming more digital by the day" (Floridi 2010:6). People are accessing much of the required information through the infosphere. We are able to send receive and store the information with the help of the modern communication tools. The satellite communication has become essential for the exchange of information 24x7. Human lives revolve and also depend on these satellites that are operated remotely. The artificial memory (like hard disks) not only stores the information that is generated but also makes it accessible 24x7 through a complex networking structures (internet). Before the use of modern communication technologies the spread of information was limited and it got circulated with the help of terrestrial mechanisms and systems on earth; today our communication has moved beyond earth and into the extra-terrestrial.

While Innis explains and understands the media in terms of time and space bias, Postman saw the power of electronic media in terms of its impact on people's perceptions, values, and attitudes. On the other hand, McLuhan understood the media as the extensions of human bodies and central nervous system. Innis, Postman and McLuhan realized the shape media was taking; they were able see the future and predict the impact of media and the new technologies on society I feel that over the years we have created a new environment that dictates the actions of humans and his day-to-day activities.

Today the term Media Ecology has been put to use to understand various fields like education, culture, lifestyle, politics and social institutions. Media Ecology is studied for its growing significance, with the rapid change of technologies surrounding our lives. Every society is undergoing change and is adopting or modifying its lifestyle in a way that is suitable to a given environment. The modern media started as a single source with the induction of the Guttenberg printing press, but later got bifurcated into various forms each having its own importance, and challenging the other for its survival. The new ecology of technology works in the same way as natural ecology where each component of an environment has an important role to play and at the same time has a link with the parent. Just so, we may have a television but to make it work it needs much more: electricity, antenna, wire, satellite etc. And at the end, to

make it sustainable we need different genres of programmes, advertisements and audiences to watch.

> [E]cology is not essentially about DDT, caterpillars, and the effects on muskrats of diverting a stream. Ecology is about the rate and scale and structure of change within an environment. It is about how balance is achieved, a balanced mind and society as well as a balanced forest. It is, therefore, as much about social institutions, bulldozers, freeways, artifacts, and ideas as it is about natural processes, trees, rivers, and the survival of herons (Postman 1979: 17-18).

The media has a huge impact on socio-political, cultural and economic issues; the information and communication tools are constantly changing the complex networks of environment and human perception that in turn makes them act according to the prevailing situations. The involvement of the masses with the new communication tools is reshaping the political and cultural institutions all over the world. The symbiotic relationship between the people and the media is inseparable, as we are increasingly depending on each other for our survival in the larger ecosystem that we have built (of man and machines).

With the coming of the new communication tools, more information is generated than ever before. The dependence on information is evident when one looks at the modern societies, The information that we generate is so huge that it runs into millions of bytes, according to IBM.com "Every day, we create 2.5 quintillion bytes of data — so much that 90% of the data in the world today has been created in the last two years alone. This data comes from everywhere: sensors used to gather climate information, posts to social media sites, digital pictures and videos, purchase transaction records, and cell phone GPS signals to name a few" (*"Building a Smarter Planet"*, 2010). The information that we are generating today can be retrieved as and when we require and can be used according to our needs. Information once generated – oral, written or visual– can never be static. It is a cycle that moves forward replicating itself some times in the same form and sometimes with modification. The mutations that are happening in the media ecologies are only making us vulnerable in terms of technological dependence.

For instance, the smart data, which the IBM is talking about, says it is helping improve every aspect of our lives; the IBM has indeed used the data in the 2010 US Open. The IBM says, "Through smarter data, we can also see how one piece of information relates to the things around it. Any data point, by itself, is just about useless. But when you see it in context, when you analyze that context in real-time–and when you can automatically capture the connections that one piece of data is making with other pieces of data– then one can have a smart system which is smart enough to make better predictions (*"Building a Smarter Planet"*, 2010).

The earth today is surrounded by layers of information, the artificial memories and the satellite technologies that we have in place play a vital role in information recycling processes and also in gratifying the rising demand for information, making it accessible irrespective of the geographic location. Humans over the centuries have added new information that is stored as either time biased or space biased media; this information can be recycled as and when required. Luciano Floridi (1999) coined the term 'infosphere' in order to describe the informational environment as similar to the biosphere. According to Floridi,

> It denotes the whole informational environment constituted by all informational entities (thus including informational agents as well), their properties, interactions, processes and mutual relations. It is an environment comparable to, but different from, cyberspace (which is only one of its sub regions, as it were), since it also includes offline and analogue spaces of information. (Floridi 2010:6)

A piece of information may be relevant or irrelevant for an individual but it has diverse consequences on humans. The relevance of information changes from context to context and from generation to generation. Postman talked about how in an age that is overloaded with information has tended to lose its value with the coming of the various communication tools like the telegraph, photograph, radio and television. While taking about typography and how it enlarged people's perception on various issues, he looks at how it promoted and provided a broad base for intellectual discourse, later altering the course of intellectual debate. He talked in details about

how the latest communication tools have changed information to entertainment and how quantity and not quality has become the priority for these new technologies.

Innis says, at any given point of time civilizations are biased towards one medium. In terms of information we live in Postman's "one neighborhood," (1985:65) and McLuhan's "global village" (McLuhan 1964:37) that has taken shape and came into existence with the launching of the satellites. Satellite communication has made the global exchange of information possible but at the same time it has also devalued information; we can see a clear distinction between pre and post satellite eras with relevance to information. The space biased media has taken over time biased media: modern societies and cultures cannot ignore the pervasive influence of this medium. Very often, individuals are not even aware of the impact of the circulating information; consciously or unconsciously, their views and opinions are shaped and altered depending on the media environment in which they find themselves.

The knowledge that is passed on from one generation to another through the mediums that are inclined to time or space biased media. In the global village, places and people are instantly connected and knowledge is shared over space (knowledge can be local and foreign). Information sometimes can be foreign and can be different from the existing, and this can be used by the individual, tribe, society, or civilization according to their needs. In the process the (foreign and local) information gets repeated and modified, and this is a continuous process that moves information forward through various mediums that are biased to time or space. As Onufrijchuck says that "form lead to changes in content, and then changes in content lead to mutations of form" (quoted in Prins and Bishop 2001-2002:115).

We propose the idea of the cyclic nature of information on the basis of the following observations:
1. If we consider nature to be cyclic then the information it contains and reveals is also cyclic. Even the so-called dead take a form and come to life in the course of time as images, sculptures, paintings et al.
2. Mutations to the information occur as time progresses; we try to add new information with the old. But these also help in keeping the information cyclic.

3. Information gets repeated in the form of experiments, formulas, equations, words, alphabets, numbers, lines, names, music notes and many such other that we keep using day in and day out.

4. Information also gets repeated during socio, political, cultural and ethnic movements. These events keep repeating and so does the information, making the information to be cyclic in the form of books, music, songs, paintings and various other forms.

5. Communism is synonymous with names like Stalin, and Mao. Every time people talk about Stalin or Mao they also recollect communism. The same can be said about M K Gandhi, who became synonymous with non-violence.

6. Through films and songs we keep information in a cyclic mode. Computers, books and our human brain helps us in retrieving the information and putting the information to use when required, thus making the information to exist in cyclic mode.

Information is getting recycled through various tools invented by the humans for communication (written, telegraph, photograph, art, radio, television, and internet). The process of recycling information depends on the situations and contexts. But are we recycling the information consciously or unconsciously? "Historical knowledge is not merely preserved, but is shaped by the archive and its means of selecting, storing, and presenting information?" (Libraries and Archives Canada, 2007). This statement reflects the process of information recycling. All academicians, anthropologists, geologists, scientists, over the centuries have quoted many proverbs, statements and formulas from the books written by some unknown writers of ancient civilizations and from some known scholars like Aristotle, Karl Marx, Innis, McLuhan, Postman and many others from different fields of scholarship. Is it not true that we are repeating the same words spoken or written by these scholars, sometimes (rarely) adding something new to the already existing? For instance, I may not have seen an event that had taken place some decades back (Apollo landing on the moon) but I know about the event and the information associated with it. It has been spoken, written, pictured and documented in some form and has now become a part of my environment. The landing on the moon may or may not happen in my lifetime but the information that was part of the event keeps repeating for the generations to come.

One could take the example of a few events that have happened in the present and that have some connection with the past; we retrieve the old information when such events occur. Information gets generated and repeated at any given point of time making it cyclic; for example, it can pass from television to radio to newspapers the same day or the next and so on. During identity-assertion movements, information related to the dress, food, language, religion of the community in question gets repeated time. A lot of emphasis is given to certain elements and characteristics that are unique to the community or region. During political movements, statements by prominent people are repeatedly quoted.

Construction and deconstruction of information has been a cyclic process in the evolution of human civilizations. The time biased media and the space biased media help not only each other in survival but also help in recycling the information. Today with the help of satellites we are able to locate the ancient civilizations beneath the earth and under the ocean floors that dates back to thousands of years. We are able to reconstruct the ancient palaces, temples, forts and many others, with modern technologies. We are able to retrieve the information based on artifacts and other materials and metals used by civilizations of yore. Apart from the physical existence of information, human memory has been playing a vital role in preserving and disseminating information. Human memory also constructs and deconstructs the information according to its needs. In the process of circulation, the information over a period undergoes several mutations; these mutations are necessary as they play a vital role in making the information cyclic. It moves forward by replicating itself sometimes in the same form and at times with modification (art, songs, stories); we are able to reconstruct the ancient temples, monuments and other important cultural aspects of the lost cities and civilizations. This reconstruction of information may sometimes be close to reality and sometimes not. These mutations are the outcome of the information that is recycled and exchanged constantly between the various environments. The construction, deconstruction and recycling of the information would have taken a longer period if the present communication tools were unavailable to humans. In societies that are biased to space, information moves at speed of light. Also this entire process is possible because the info-societies (societies) of the modern day are connected to the World Wide Web (www). The information that gets circulated in Infoweb is not limited for the intended few, but for millions around the

globe; equally, the feedback is not just from the intended users but also form those who are part of the info-societies.

Those people who are not directly connected to the World Wide Web (www) are also becoming part of the information that gets circulated in the web through various technological devices (smart phones, print, radio, television, etc.). The information may be dormant at times but it gets recycled at an "appropriate" time. The process of unearthing the information (recycling) may be natural or at times accidental; we come across information while excavating the earth for some construction process, or in the process of sourcing the natural resources. The information also gets revealed as time passes by (ice ages, soil erosions); this becomes a natural process. The information that is few decades old may not generate the same interest as it would have at that point of time. As McLuhan argued, the 'The medium is the message' (McLuhan 1964:9). The importance of information is lost if it does not pass through a selective medium.

The media ecology sustains itself with the information that is generated through various technological tools. The information and the technological tools may be dormant for some-time but chances are that they may come back to life. One of the striking features of the information getting repeated is through various social, political, cultural, identity-assertion movements that keep repeating a set of preferred information to motivate people. Human civilizations recycle information through these movements. What is seen in most of these political, cultural and identity struggles is that the information that is centuries and decades old gets repeated especially during the movement periods at regular intervals and once the goal is achieved by the community, group or a political party the information also gets slowly faded away as people do not compare or look for the similarities any more.

The famous quote "History repeats itself" was proposed by Heinrich Heine and Friedrich Nietzsche in the 19th century. Many western political thinkers and philosophers and many historians like Polybius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Saint Luke, Machiavelli and others believed that it had to do with the cosmological events. While for others like G.W. Trompf the concept of historic recurrence as "the past teaches lessons for... future action" — that "the same... sorts of events which have happened before... will recur..." (Trompf 1979: 3)

Fig.1History unfolds Potti Sriramulu fasting for a united Andhra Pradesh; and KCR for Telangana

(The outlook magazine)

In an article written by Prins and Bishop about *Edmund Carpenter Explorations in Media and Anthropology*, they say

> History is a selective process. We do not, cannot, and need not remember all who contributed to making the past. Most of what really happened will never be documented, and not all that has been recorded is important enough to be passed on. As perspectives change, new questions emerge. Occasionally, historical revisionism restores some unique characters previously neglected (Prins and Bishop 2001-2002: 110).

Retrieving the old information and comparing it with the new is a process of recycling the information. All forms of media, traditional or digital (time or space biased), perform the duty of recycling the information of the past and the present. For example, '*The New York Times*' issue of 4th march 2014 corrected a mistake with regard to misspelling the name 'Northup' in an article printed in 20, 1853; this happened after a gap of 161 years, this was when the movie *12 Years a Slave* won the Oscar award in 2014.

1.2 The Role of Time Biased Media

The present civilizations and societies make extensive use of space biased media as the tools we have invented over the last few decades are biased to space. The balance has shifted to more of space than time, but the time biased media could still have a big

role to play in the larger media ecology. The time biased media can inspire much of the change required by the societies. This media has been inspirational for socio-political, cultural and economic movements in the last few decades.

Civilizations over the centuries have shifted from oral to written, and from written to electronic means of communication. During the time of the ancient civilizations knowledge and information were once monopolized by a few. However, time biased media slowly gave way to space biased media. The immoveable structures that were built over a period of time in a civilization (time biased media) become the source of information. According to Innis, space biased media has democratized the process of knowledge and information sharing as it was light weight and easy to move. With the emergence of papyrus as a medium of communication the media became the biggest catalyst in changing the societies. Before the telegraph was invented the power of communication was limited in terms of geography, and once man learnt its advantages and the power it yields there was no looking back. From telegraph to the latest smart phones, over the years the state and the people have used and abused the communication tools to achieve the desired goals. In the past few decades, new inventions, including satellite technology, have helped in bringing about a telecommunication revolution around the world, and the use of computers and internet connectivity has further democratized the process of acquisition of knowledge. Today we come across information emanating from a variety of sources. This information at times can be informative as well misleading. In an interview published in the *Review of International Studies*, Armand Mattelart says,

> The media tropism engenders a reductive vision of the history of communication. Worse, it provokes a historical amnesia that prevents us from discerning where the truly important stakes lie in the current and rapid transformation of our contemporary mode of communication (Costas 2008: 21).

In the last few decades the technological innovations in communication have evolved very fast. Communication initially started with one-to-one and point-to-point communication with the use of telegraph and telephone. Today, humans have a choice of communicate with many people simultaneously at any given time from any part of

the world. The limitation of time and space is missing in the present world of electronic communication.

The communication tools that people are using have their own unique features that are used for certain purposes that could include the urge for self-gratification. The mediums and tools of communication have undergone several changes; manufacturers are solving the challenges arising from time to time keeping in mind the needs of people. In the process humans have undergone a change in their behavior and lifestyle. The communication tools have also enhanced the human brain to solve and absorb the information coming from all directions; today the human brain has the option of rejecting the information (but probably not of ignoring it). According to McLuhan, the nature of the medium, of any and all media, is to creep inside the participant unnoticed: "in the true Narcissus style, one is hypnotized by the amputation and extension of his own being in a new technical form ... For any medium has the power of imposing its own assumption on the unwary, prediction and control consist in avoiding this subliminal state of Narcissus trance" (McLuhan 1964: 14-17).

People's thoughts, actions and mobility are all dictated by the continuous flow of communication that occurs in our environment. People are gratified by the communication that is transmitted through various media, and these media are acting on the humans in certain ways. With the help of technology the information that was once confined to the clay tablets and papyrus today comes in the form of digital codes. More importantly it is not land based anymore; it comes from the sky and in all directions, and it travels at the speed of light. Clay and papyrus were easily available and were much cheaper; the information that was written on these mediums were not in need of any software to decode, but for the digital information that we use today either to write or to read, need hardware and software as everything has to be encoded and decoded. In an article titled 'Binding Time- Harold Innis and the Balance of New Media', Chris Chesher, like many others, warns about the impending dangers of losing valuable information:

> A number of commentators began to warn of the short-lifespan and vulnerability of the media holding much of today's cultural

information. They said that this trend risked making ours a 'digital dark age' in which most of the data stored on computers would be lost. Future historians will not be able to find the records to piece together accounts of our times, lives and experiences [...] Critics pointed out that physical storage media deteriorate quite quickly making data unreadable within only a few years (Chesher 2008: 16).

In the globalized world everything is readily available for consumption but it comes at a cost. Humans tend to go for things which may not require much physical work. We were able to decode the information that was painted, drawn or etched on caves, stones and rocks by earlier humans in various civilizations that are centuries old. But the coming generations may be missing all the information about the present, in line with what Chris Chesher and others say as today's civilizations across the world are using the modern technologies to record day-today activities. We are recording our beliefs, customs, rituals and our lifestyles in digital format. However, today everything becomes obsolete after a few years; one has to understand the impending dangers and challenges and should possibly make efforts in storing the information that can have higher shelf and sustain for longer durations so as to be passed on for the generations to come. Talking about the deterioration Chris Chesher quotes source from BBC saying,

> A recent study of the computer records of Bronze Age excavations in North East London from the mid-1990s found that the computer records had deteriorated more in one decade than the relics had in thousands (BBC News 2000).

While some media academicians and ecologists like Brand (1999), Hillis (1998), Kuny (1997) are arguing about the loss of information as pointed out by Chris Chesher, there is no doubt that we are losing some information much faster, the older information is replaced by the new information in many of the societies, but the sociopolitical, ethnic and cultural movements are giving the hope of reviving the information and also storing the information as time biased media.

1.3 Technology and Regeneration of Employment

Over the centuries civilizations have created employment for its people in different fields with the help of technology; people were given different tasks to perform, and they specialized in their works. The people in of these civilizations were very sure that they could pass on the knowledge, traditions and costumes to the next generation in different forms and for this they used to employ people who are good at etching, drawing, carving; weaving etc. People used the various available resource materials that had durability and could last for centuries (pyramids and temples in Egypt) as these civilizations were time biased. When it came to the media in older civilizations, the kings and the religious authorities encouraged the writing on the temple walls, paintings, or built the temples and monuments, or carved the rocks in a given pattern etc. that reflected the lifestyle of people and the society. Thousands of people were employed, as all the work was done manually; these massive constructions undertaken over a period by the kings solved the problem of unemployment. Even though it was physically hard and time-consuming it was worthy, as people who worked at the sites were emotionally and culturally attached with the work that they were doing. The people doing the specialized work were earning their livelihoods that later became a family tradition and a source of income.

Today we have entered a phase where knowledge production, dissemination and consumption are based solely on space biased media (digital). The space biased media is fast in dissemination of knowledge and helps in evolving a new world order that homogenized the citizens around the world with regard to culture (Jeans, T-shirts, MacDonald's, and Cola). The impact of the space biased media has been visible in the last few decades, especially with the coming of new technologies and media tools that are put to use by individuals and organizations in areas of religion, politics, and propaganda. The capitalist forces around the world are trying hard to have monopoly over knowledge and production. The rapid industrialization and large-scale productions with new technologies and smaller work forces have augmented the unemployment problem in the recent years.

By the turn of the seventeenth century with the industrial revolution, many civilizations and societies around the world had a new problem to solve – the problem of unemployment; even though the production was increasing at a large scale the employment rate was not. The invention of the printing press with mechanical wheel,

and now the digital revolution (electronics) has not only produced and replicated the same product in thousands, but has also generated unemployment. The gradual phase out of humans at the work place was seen across the countries; few were slow in phasing out and few were fast. We have reached a point where humans are replaced by machines or robots. Few factories around the world are producing the products in bulk that can be supplied to the rest of the world population for use and consumption. Innis and Drache say,

> The conditions of freedom of thought are in danger of being destroyed
> by science, technology and the mechanisation of knowledge (quoted in
> Chesher 2008: 11).

One of the famous examples of how people lost their jobs within few years in India is that of the workers who painted the banners, posters and cutouts of actors of Indian (Hindi) cinema popularly known as Bollywood. Thousands of people in cities like Bombay, Madras and other metros have become unemployed within a short span of time, with the introduction of digital printing press. Artists and families who were completely dependent on this art have lost their livelihoods. The latest flexi printing machines have stolen their livelihood and also job opportunity from these manual workers forever. Today one could see huge flexi banners and digital screens by the road side hoardings. Today thousands of products are produced in the industrial factories which are similar in shape and size; people working here have nothing new to offer, they make sure that everything is similar; the workers to a large extent have no personal bonding with the products that they work on, as these products are not different from one another. Harold Innis says,

> At any given moment of time, one media-nexus may form the major
> mode of the society while another forms the minor mode. There is
> stability and continuity only when the two are well-balanced. There
> will likely be invasion, disintegration or economic depression when
> either one gets out of balance. One mode may be seeking to adapt and
> become more efficient and the other may resist so effectively that the
> empire stagnates (Innis 1986: x).

The above prophesy of Innis is turning out to be true in the media industry. In the past few decades we have tilted the balance and are becoming biased towards the space biased media (just as Innis had predicted that at any given point of time the society would be biased to either space or time). This bias towards one kind of media is the cause for resentment among the people who are losing their livelihoods in thousands. The massive protests around the world are a step forward for setting a new social order. Today we are unable to strike a balance between time and space biased media which is resulting in the closure of many old and traditional media houses. The people employed in the media houses today are very few and this may still go down in the next few years. Media and culture reporter Christopher Zara reported (in the *International Business Times*) how the landscape of American media is undergoing a change, and how the old media is being rapidly replaced by the new media. The IBSI World (the largest independent publishing firm of US industry research) in its recent report has given the details of 10 fastest dying industries in America, out of which four were from media (Zara 2012). There is no doubt that many traditional and age old industries are on the verge of closure for various reasons, one of them being the competition from the modern technologies and the other is the competition offered by rival companies.

The photofinishing industry was the largest revenue generator with regard to film and photo finishing and entertainment industry. Today it is completely at loss with the coming of new digital technologies and devices. People are sharing their pictures/videos online; sharing the pictures/videos is the order of the day, rather than developing and archiving them in albums. The virtual memories (cloud) are increasingly used to store the information. In the media ecology context, while one media becomes obsolete, the other media has the opportunity to grow (hardware and software companies have grown in the last few decades providing new avenues). In this case the film rolls gave way to digital chips that can store the visual information as much as the film. Firms like the Eastman Kodak Company have filed for bankruptcy protection. Another biggest and largest revenue generator and employer was the print industry; today people are opting for real time news through internet, with the latest smart phones. Media industries like recordable media manufacturing, DVD Games and Video Rental shops have closed down due to internet live streaming and availability of easy downloading options of movies/songs/games. We have seen

in our life time how the Sony Walkman/tape recorder was replaced by the ipod and how the cassette industry products like the VHS and Audio Tape are replaced by the CD and DVD and now even these are being replaced by the live streaming and downloading options of songs and movies on internet, also movies on demand through the television and cable service providers. On the one hand, while we see a slight decline in the traditional print and other media industries, we are also witnessing an enormous growth of the media industry that has opted for digital mode to reach out to larger sections of the people also generating new employment opportunities for its citizens. There is no doubt that the competition within the media will be continuous as long as we introduce new and more efficient media tools, giving a tough competition for the older media forms. Innis says,

> The monopoly of knowledge centering around stone and hieroglyphics
> was exposed to competition from papyrus as a new and more efficient
> medium (Innis 1964: 35).

In the present world the monopoly over knowledge centres and revolves around new media where in the viewer has the stimulus of all the senses. Soules says, "[...] it is not necessary that the monopoly of the internet medium will be constant ... [C]hange came from the margins of society, since people on the margins invariably developed their own media. The new media allow those on the periphery to develop and consolidate power, and ultimately to challenge the authority of the centre" (Soules 2007). Though the print and radio have initially suffered with the advent of television and now with the internet as a new medium, surprisingly the print, television, and the radio have come back and are at par with other, and are becoming more prominent in the changing socio-cultural landscapes of India. One of the reasons for this could be the social, political and ethnic movements that have come up in different parts of India. Another reason could be the multiplicity of languages and dialects; the domination of popular media is challenged by non-Hindi and English media especially in India. The second reason for the reemergence of print media in countries like India and other developing nations is that these nations are still lagging behind in terms of technological advancements and the rate of internet users in these countries is minimal (especially in India it is 8.43% (*Ibid*) of the total population). Majority of

the African and Asian nations are obviously unable to bridge the gap and develop the required infrastructure.

1.4 Review of Literature

According to Postman, "Media ecology is the study of information environments. It is concerned to understand how technologies and techniques of communication control the form, quantity, speed, distribution, and direction of information; and how, in turn, such information configurations or biases affect people's perceptions, values, and attitudes (Postman 1979: 186). We generate huge amount of data (information), and this information is disseminated through communication tools like print, radio, television, internet, and mobile phones.

In an article for Media Ecology students titled 'The Media Ecology Perspective', Mary S Alexander says, "If media are environments then we must consider how we structure our lives in order to take advantage of or adapt to an environment created by media. Like natural scientists, media ecologists tend to organize media environments into eras or...epochs" (Alexander 2006: 366). Alexander identifies these epochs as those of Orality, Literacy, Typography and Electronic media and studies the intricate relationship through which these media reinforce and create behaviors across social and political institutions. Alexander's essay is an important addition to Postman's arguments that structures are embedded in media environments and researchers in cultural and media studies should uncover these implicit structures. People over the years have been studying the impact of media on their behavior, cultures, and economy but today we are also studying about different media environments, and the overall media ecosystem on various communities and cultures.

Casey Lum, in his *Perspective on Culture, Technology and Communication: The Media Ecology Tradition* (2006) draws upon Neil Postman's idea of media as complex message systems that have far reaching impact on human perception, understanding and feeling (Lum 2006: 28). Lum reviews media scholarship that led to the Media Ecology perspective and clearly states that the basic concerns of Media Ecology can be traced back to apprehensions about the impact of technology on society. Harold Innis's views are central in the articulation of this apprehension.

In his book *The Bias of Communication* (1951), Innis says that media, through the interplay of sensory organs, shapes our perceptions and understanding of the world and is instrumental in changing the habits of mind or how we see the world around us. Innis' basic argument is that media is used to communicate over time and space and the physical properties of the different agents of media are directly responsible for the efficacy of storage and transmission of information over distances. The nature of media determines whether a society is time biased or space biased. Today what we see in the Middle-East and other countries like Bangladesh is the idea of adopting alternative modes of communication, and these alternative tools of communication that are part of the larger media environments that are connected with each other intricately revolutionizing and reforming the political, social and cultural systems across the world.

Neil Postman, in his book *Technopoly* (1992), delineates three types of cultures. The first was seen at last till the 17th century and was marked by the use of simple tools. The second is identified as a technocratic culture where people have great faith in the benevolence of technology that emanate from the belief "that knowledge is power that humanity is capable of progressing, that poverty is a great evil and that the life of the average person is as meaningful as any other"(Postman 1992: 38). The final phase of culture is technopoly, which is a culture, shaped entirely by the machines in a paradigm of techniques. This is a frightening prospect for Postman if not reversed. Postman's fear emanates from what can be termed as a conservative approach to culture. He does not divorce media from culture and sees it embedded in a larger socio cultural milieu. For Postman culture is basically communication and in his most famous book *Amusing Ourselves to Death* (1985) he goes on to say that a medium of communication can transcend its immediate context and approximate newer and unexpected one. Yet, Postman can be seen as someone whose bias is in favor of the literary and the culture generated around it. Technology is becoming more and more biased to orality; what we see today in a country like India is that technology has helped in reasserting the value of orality (more than the literary); the television channels and the use of Hindi language can be good examples of orality.

Though the evolution of Media Ecology as a definite approach in the realm of cultural and media studies owes its origin to what is known as the Toronto School that

primarily consisted of the works of Harold Inns and Marshal McLuhan, a number of other important scholars have also contributed to the growth and evolution of Media Ecology. The anthropologist Edmund Carpenter established the fact that the field of Media Ecology was an interdisciplinary one and introduced the concept of cultural interface in the generation of an environment in which media functions and influences in books like *They Became What They Beheld* (1970). Tony Schwartz, an American media professional, published two very influential books by adopting the McLuhan perspective. Schwartz, with the experience of producing commercials for Lyndon Johnson's presidential campaign, writes from the vantage of his own experience, and for the first time inferred that media was most effective when it can make the audience recall images from the memories they have stored in their minds, rather than through simple transfer of information. Thus he introduced the concept of "resonance over the concept of transportation" and is best known for his books *The Responsive Chord* (1974) and *Media: The Second God* (1981).

Another important name in the evolution of a theoretical paradigm for Media Ecology is Walter Ong, a student of McLuhan. In his book *The Presence of the Word* (1976) Ong introduced the concept of primary orality and secondary orality. Where Ong identifies primary orality as the one that predates writing, secondary orality is primarily associated with electronic media. This is interesting in studying the cultural transformation that happened as human expressive behaviors moved from primary orality to literary and from print media to electronic communication. However Ong's most influential work remains *Orality and Literacy* (1982) where he places great importance on psychoanalytical understanding of the dynamics of communication. This is a complex work that studies the interface of memory, recapitulation and creativity. Ong's ideas are gaining ground and significance today; the entire world has been ruled by information that is more visual and oral, the satellite technologies have immensely helped in propagation of orality; technology has indeed blurred the difference with regard to literate and illiterate societies. Technology has not only blurred the difference but enhanced the growth of orality; the mediums like television and internet have been instrumental in contributing to the growth of orality in the past few decades. We are able to convey complex messages with the help of visuals combined with orality, and making the societies understand and react to politics, culture, economy and other fields. Innis connected the "significance of

communication to the rise and decline of cultural traits" (Innis 1951: 33). He goes on to say that a medium of communication "may be better suited to transportation, or to the dissemination of knowledge over time than over space, particularly if the medium is heavy and durable and not suited to transportation, or to the dissemination of knowledge over space than over time, particularly if the medium is light and easily transported" (Innis 1951: 33). Time and space biases with regard to media allow the media ecologists also explore various other communication processes.

Today different socio-political players are using the media to influence the people more than ever; it is generally seen that while the state uses the mainstream media to its advantage, the political and social movements use the available alternative media. In the last two decades the electronic media (that is biased to space) has brought about many revolutions; thanks to electronic media, knowledge has become more accessible to the people.

However, faster and more effective communication between people is coming at some cost as Armand Mattelart points out. He believes that "media tropism engenders a reductive vision of the history of communication. Worse, it provokes a historical amnesia that prevents us from discerning where the truly important stakes lie in the current and rapid transformation of our contemporary mode of communication (quoted in Costas 2008: 21).

Communication in today's world has evolved into a complex system. McLuhan, while talking about the emerging media tools says, "For any medium has the power of imposing its own assumption on the unwary" (McLuhan 1964:17). Thus, the bottom line is that the lives of humans around the world have come to be dictated more and more by the media and media tools.

The world we live in today has a lot of information and this information is about the past, the present, and the future. Media tools and the information that we are generating today and that has been generated in the past are revolving around the earth in some form or the other; this information either comes back to us in the form of time biased media or space biased media. The information that we are using today has been used before and will be used hereafter. How and what makes us use the

information from the past is something that we have to understand. The political, cultural, identity and economic aggressions that include the hegemony of few individuals, groups, and nations recycle the information through waging wars, through political unrests and also through social and economic movements.

Let us see how the information gets recycled with time biased media and space biased media during the political and social movements that also include the wars. If we see the invasion of the American forces in Iraq we could understand how the time biased information has been demolished during the war periods, like mosques, palaces, including the statues of Saddam Hussain. I see the Saddam statues as time biased media, and these have been destroyed or erased during the war. Even when Afghanistan was ruled by the Talibans they destroyed the Bamiyan statues of Buddha which were time biased. While on the one side we are destroying the information on the other side we are constructing the information about the events either by reporting them or at times reconstructing and erecting memorials or at times raising the statues of people and gods. We see a pattern where the information gets constructed and deconstructed in the ever ending cyclic process.

One important aspect of conflicts that arise in the society is that it makes the media environments active; it make the dormant information to see the light of day, and these conflicts make the media environments converge and cooperate; also, it enables different media environments to thrive and grow during this period of conflict. Much of the instability that arises in the society is due to inequality and hegemony; the media plays the dual role of pacifying and also instigating the society. From the French revolution to the present Middle-East, it is the media that changes the political, cultural and social landscapes for some brief period of time. McLuhan and Edmund Carpenter looked at the dialectical relationship between media technology and the social, psychological, cultural, and biological, condition of humanity (Prins and Bishop 2001-02).

The present research work explores the symbiotic relationship between media and society, media and socio-political movements and the dual role of media during the movements, the various media environments, the convergence and growth of different forms media during the political and social movements with specific reference to the

Telangana movement of India. The Telangana movement has a long history of more than six decades; the people of the region were fighting for having a separate state of their own within the Indian union. Chapters III and IV will explore the methods adopted during the movement and role of the media especially the indigenous media (oral media). For more than one decade in the state of Andhra Pradesh the media has seen a steep growth, especially the electronic media. Robin Jeffrey (1987) says that "Involvement in great social and political campaigns, or other exciting events, during the freedom struggle fuelled newspaper growth and circulation and built up the credibility and image of particular publications" (Jeffery 1987: 608). This has turned out to be true with regard to the Telangana movement. During the last decade the movement was able to provide growth opportunities for media. In fact, some of the media houses have come up specifically to promote the movements and also the political parties. Television Channels like Raj News, T News, HMTV, V6 and many others have become popular during the movement period and were able to build up their credibility among the audience and people of Telangana region. On the other hand, the movement has also revived the dormant media and cultures. As Innis says, there is always a possibility that the old forms of media may come back to life.

The indigenous media (oral media) is considered by Innis as time biased, and this was emphasized by Marshall Soules who says that "Oral communication, speech, was considered by Innis to be time biased because it requires the relative stability of community for face-to-face contact" (Soules 2007). The oral media played a major role in the Telangana movement and this media was largely incorporated into the new media as we see such convergence in today's technologies. Soules goes on to add that Innis thought that the oral tradition is more flexible than the written tradition; I consider the statement to be valid in the context of the Telangana movement and its use of the oral traditions and media for communication.

People were able to bring about a political revolution in the Middle-East With the help of World Wide Web and social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter and other applications. Wael Ghonim says "I've always said that if you want to liberate a society, just give them the internet" (Taylor 2011). Caleb Mercer, talking about the Media Ecology and the different environments says, "There are many types of

environments that exist within social media though, and they can all have their own distinct ecology. Twitter and Facebook and Myspace are all prime examples of social media today. Although employing different methods they all strive to accomplish the same goal—to connect one person with many others" (Mercer 2011). Adding to the media and the changes that it has brought Croteau says that the "Digital, networked media allow for faster, diverse, two-way communications between users who have both more control and more choice, as they become simultaneously users, producers, and agents of social change"(Croteau and Hoynes 2003: 313). People have been using technology to reach out to others and to bring about change and we could see this right from the Zapatista movement to the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt. With regard to the Telangana movement that spanned over six decades, the leaders have been using the available media to reach out to the people, but in the third phase of the movement one could see the use of all the media available including the technology, especially the internet to reach out to the people beyond its territory. The Telangana movement could be called a sub-nationalist movement (as the people wanting a separate state within the Indian union were fighting for their rights and the freedom to govern themselves). We are witnessing a rise in sub-nationalism and sub-regionalism in India; the reason for this is social and economic inequality and also the hegemony of one group over the other. "Regionalism signifies the existence of a regional community -- a community of identifiable characteristics, for which regionalism is an ideology, an agenda and a method of protest. The basic objective of sub-regionalism is ensuring a fair and equitable share of partnership in the political power structure and economic resources of the State (Melkote 2013).

With regard to the public sphere and the Telangana movement, we could see a sea change in the perception and attitude of the people during the movement. The public sphere that had almost become passive was revitalized by the Telangana movement; in fact it became more robust and dynamic. This revival of the public sphere in to active environment is very necessary for healthy democratic societies. Public sphere becomes inactive for various reasons as the political space and idea for individual thinking was never given a chance to express themselves; the media that plays a crucial role in making the people aware of the issues was shy of offering constructive criticism to the government and other agencies. Ironically, in some cases the media itself is owned by the governing political party or its agents. Douglas Kellner says the

decline in the public sphere made the people consumers: "dedicating themselves more too passive consumption and private concerns than to issues of the common good" (Kellner 2009: 5). But as said earlier the political, cultural and social movements that have large participation make people active participants instead of mere passive consumers. The exponential growth of media during the Telangana movement is a sign of the growth of the public sphere. The Telangana movement has broken and reshaped the class, caste, and religious equations and brought them to a balance. This helped in achieving the new state of Telangana that is unique in its own aspects and has its own identity. "Today the Telangana identity represents a consolidation of the identities of castes and communities, their cultural and material desires, and the demand for political power to govern themselves in their own State" (Melkote 2013).

India in the recent past has also seen the vibrant growth in the public sphere especially during the Anti-Corruption movement. After the Jai Prakash Narayan movement in the 1970s this was the first massive movement that reshaped the political system. Sub-nationalism and sub-regionalism has acted as catalytic agents in different parts of India within the larger ecology of public sphere. The public sphere has been very active in the past few years in India and this was visible during the anti-corruption movement (2012), and in the 'Nirbhya' case (2012). Active participation of people for common cause and good is healthy for a dynamic society and its citizens and in the larger context to uphold democratic values.

1.5 Objectives and Methodology
The present research problem has been postulated with the hypothesis that the Media Ecology perspective will provide an important theoretical paradigm in the understanding of the interface of media and society and its influence on political and cultural forms. Public opinion is created through the intricate dynamics of the interplay between media manifestations, popular culture and grass root perceptions.

1. To study and understand the impact of various media environments and their integration within the larger media ecosystem, its effects on state, institutions, communities and society at large.

2. To understand how political, cultural, ethnic and social movements revive the media forms that had become dormant or obsolete with the coming of new communication technologies.

3. To understand how the indigenous media can be an effective tool within a given geographic region, to not only disseminate information, but to bind people culturally and politically.

Methodology: The methodological paradigm of the present work is a three-tiered one; at the first level important theoretical works on Media Ecology are identified and perused.

The second and third level consists of documentation and analysis of primary sources. Primary sources consist of interviews with prominent people from the academia and media analysts with regard to the various media environments.

The final level involves an empirical approach in the field where the efficacy and influence of media in molding public perceptions has been studied, also validating the interviews that the researcher has collected in the process of study, including personal observations. The data consist of interviews and questionnaires with regard to the Telangana movement and various media environments in the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh.

The study was largely conducted in three districts of Telangana where the media landscape was altered with the revival of the indigenous media and the use of time and space biased media. Hyderabad and Warangal were specifically selected for the research study from the Telangana region, the region consists of ten districts of Andhra Pradesh that were demanding a separate state in the Indian union.

Selection of field: The field was selected keeping in mind the hypothesis of the present work; Hyderabad and Warangal districts of Andhra Pradesh were in the forefront of the Telangana movement as the movement was spearheaded by the students belonging to Osmania and Kakatiya University, apart from other universities and colleges in ten districts of Telangana region in Andhra Pradesh (India). The revival of the indigenous media was playing an active role in dissemination of information and molding public opinion. Though the mainstream media played its part, it was the indigenous media that gained equal importance in creating awareness

and information dissemination to the interior regions of Telangana. The perceived age-old sense of neglect, discrimination and breach of faith that was there in the collective unconscious of the people was retrieved and re-circulated with a fresh political agenda for the creation of the state of Telangana.

The indigenous and time biased media that were dormant for a long duration with the dominance of space biased media were revived and got a new life with the political movement for separate statehood in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The integration of media environments with the coming of technologies not only enhanced the media environments but led to the creation of a larger media ecosystem.

Data generation in the field: The research was carried out by using non- probability sampling (purposive sampling) as it was convenient for the selected area of research work. The data was collected from the respondents through interviews, observation and questionnaires. Observation was participatory and non- participatory. People involved with media, academics, politics, committee leaders and media professionals were interviewed and the material was taken for data generation. The questionnaire was distributed among students, employees, vendors, daily labours, women and community leaders who were active or passive participants in the movement. Questionnaires were distributed among 150 students, 80 government and non-government employees, 50 business and local vendors, 40 housewives, 30 farmers and local labourers.

Sl.No	Participants/ Number	Age	Gender	Occupation
1	150	17-28	Male & Female	Students
2	80	30-60	Male & Female	Public and private service
3	50	20-55	Male	Business & local vendors
4	40	25-50	Female	House Wife
5	30	30-70	Male	Farmer
	Total 350			

Relevance of the Research: India has seen a tremendous boom and expansion in all the modes of media, especially the electronic media in the post liberalization era (since 1991). Even the traditional print media has seen an unprecedented growth in spite of the doomsayer's prediction about its marginalization in the face of the electronic media boom. Even more interesting is the mushroom growth of non-English and non-Hindi language media, both electronic and print, that in some way resist the intrusion of big capital into the regional media, and thereby resist, hegemonistic structures of the nation state. It is no mere coincidence that the various agitations and movements seen in the country in the twentieth century, like the Assam agitation, the separatist movement in the Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir and the ethnic assertion in the Hills of North East and Bengal has fuelled the growth of regional media, (especially the print media in the early years followed by the electronic media in later half of the twentieth century). One can add that the strengthening of the Telangana movement in the first decade of the twenty first century was mainly because of the role of media. If such movements fed the early growth of various modes of media, media in turn is sustaining and fuelling the structures of much of the offshoots of these movements in the present times. Thus the interface of media and the revival of the indigenous media through political movements have enlarged the media environments, the latest example being the anti-corruption movement (2012) in which the integration of old and new forms of media played a vital role in dissemination of information that in turn created new political and social order within the existing frame work.

It is in this context that the Media Ecology approach assumes great significance. A theoretical paradigm is necessary to understand the complex structures and dynamics created in a particular media environment. Today these communication tools are used to achieve certain goals. The influence of the media environments on society is so pervasive that we are either creating a new identity for ourselves or retrieving our old identity which was lost in the globalized world. With the help of media tools in the present environment people are persuaded by the opinion leaders to unify, based on the notion of a shared 'common' culture or language or traditions that they follow. Today we are creating identities with the help of media through a complex relationship between what Harold Innis' has pointed out to be an interface of time and space media. It is felt that this research work might take us a step forward in

understanding the world as it shapes us and is being itself shaped by us, where the media is the overwhelming conduit.

1.6 Summary of Chapters

Chapter II

The second chapter helps in understanding the intricate relationship that exists between the socio-political movements and the media. Both the media and the movements have been using each other. While the movements use the media to reach out to larger masses and achieve the desired goals, the media uses the movements to grow and increase its circulation and popularity. Much of the present day movements are aided by the modern technology and the present media technologies and the latest media tools are helping the socio-political movements to achieve their goals. Media's role has become central for achieving political and social goals. We have seen this in French revolution (print) and also during the Indian independence movement. Movements have drawn much inspiration from earlier movements and at times emulated with the use of latest technologies.

One can cite the examples of the Arab spring revolution, the Umbrella revolution in Hong Kong and anti-corruption movement in India, where we have seen huge participation of the common citizens. The active role and growth of certain forms of media was witnessed during these movements. With regard to anti-corruption movement, the media has exhibited the typical characteristic mentioned by Todd Gitlin (Drama, Conflict, and Personalization). The media's role become central and at times make or break the movements; during the anti-corruption movement in India (2012) the media in the early stages highlighted the issue more than its leaders who were leading the movement; later, the media started to highlight the internal conflicts of leaders, sidelining the core issue. In the second phase of the anti-corruption movement, the media gave less attention to the core issue and concentrated more on the internal conflict; this lead to the decline of the movement, including the citizen's participation both physically on ground and in the virtual media.

In the last one decade we have seen an exponential growth and revival of certain media forms; one of the reasons for this exponential growth is the socio-political movements around the world.

Chapter III

This chapter explores the Telangana movement from the Media Ecology Point of view, with special reference to Innis's concept of time and space biased media. The chapter underlines the reasons for the rise of the Telangana movement in the first stage and the people's struggle for the last six decades for having a separate state. It explores the first armed struggle in independent India against the Nizam of Hyderabad led by peasants which came to be known as the peasants' struggle, Razakar Movement or Telangana armed struggle. The chapter also explores the influence of the communist party and the growth of the communism and communist ideology in India and especially in south India. The Telangana arms struggle later became inspirational for many such movements in independent India. The chapter highlights the participation of women in large numbers during the Telangana armed struggle against the Nizam's army.

One could see and understand how the inequalities among the people can lead to socio-political movements leading to the formation of political parties (Telangana Praja Samithi, Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi and Telangana Rashtra Samithi). The success of much of the Telangana movement in 1969 and later in 2001 was largely because it was an issue based movement unlike the motivated movements.

The chapter explores the data from the field and analyzes how the Telangana movement has used the time biased media and was successful in igniting local and regional passion among the Telangana people. The use of time biased media helped in bonding the people emotionally and culturally. From the field analysis one could understand how the indigenous media (Dhoom-Dham) became more popular than the mainstream media, and when there were 'impositions' on the mainstream media, the indigenous media has played an active role in disseminating the news and creating the much needed awareness among the Telangana people. The contribution of the time biased media is largely understood from the field analysis as it was this media that kept the Telangana movement alive for the last six decades.

Chapter IV

In continuation to chapter three, this chapter, analyzes the critical role played by the media on the basis of the interviews and field data we could collate. The Telangana movement was not confined to using just the mainstream media but used a combination of all forms of media to reach out to the larger sections of society. From the field studies one can come to the conclusion that it was the Indigenous media (Dhoom-Dham) that people believed and looked for rather than depending on the mainstream media. The indigenous media created the required awareness among the people and this media was not confined to urban centres or towns but has gone deep in to the country side, thus becoming more popular than any other media.

The popularity of the indigenous media in the Telangana region is not new; it has its roots much earlier and this was evident during the Telangana armed struggle. The communist party has used the indigenous media to educate the masses in the earlier stages by forming the cultural wings and organizations that were used for generating mass awareness among the people of the Telangana region. Groups like Praja Natya Mandali, Jana Natya Mandali, and Arunodaya Samskritika Samakhya took centre-stage in the earlier stages with regard to information dissemination.

The mainstream media gave its support in the initial stages of the Telangana movement and later exhibited the characteristics Todd Gitlin talked about (Drama, Conflict, and Personalization). During the peak of the movement the mainstream media gave less attention to the Telangana issue and events; this indifferent approach of media helped in reviving the indigenous media of Telangana. People gathered in thousands to see the performances done by the artists during the Dhoom-Dhams. When media distorted much of the information in the mainstream media (owned by Andhra elite) it was the indigenous media that helped the people in giving the required information and motivating the people to participate in the movement.

Chapter V

This chapter presents the conclusion to the work.

Chapter II
Socio-political Movements in Media Ecology Context

2.1 Understanding the Role of Media in Political and Social Movements

The chapter explores the intricate relationship between the media and socio-political movements. It looks at how people use media for popularizing movements and how in turn the media uses the movements for its growth and popularity. In the context of the larger media ecology, socio-political movements use media including seemingly obsolete forms of media. Leaders of movements propose some alternative media to counter the hegemonic control of the state and to reach out to the masses; in the process, the people participating in the movements revive the old media that is biased to space or time.

Information being the core of human civilization and its existence, our life keeps revolving around information; information makes what we are in a given environment. Democratic countries around the world are becoming info societies. Let us understand how the political systems around the world have adopted and used media. The political and media environments clash at regular intervals with one another, giving a new direction to the society. The technology and communication tools that we use play catalytic roles that enhance the entire environment through our active participation; the participation of individuals in a given environment on issues like politics, culture, gender, economy and so on shape and reshape the societies that we live in.

We have seen how the world is changing with the emergence of media tools; rapid communication at the speed of light is resulting in changes within the politics, cultures and economies of different countries. Tools that can move the information very fast have in the recent past altered the course of political institutions and their functions in many countries. The use of new media has created a new political order in the Middle East and in some other countries around the world. The new political systems that have emerged with the help of new media support are rewriting the constitutions in a few countries of Middle East, and thus in a way creating a new political and social order. It has been possible because of the pervasive influence of not just one, but a combination of multiple media environments.

Before the advent of internet and telecommunication systems, especially the mobile communication, the flow of information had numerous impediments before reaching the target audience. The information in print, radio and television was not able to reach a wide audience, but with the technological advances, information today comes from the sky in the form of satellite technology. The information creeps in from multiple directions into our houses and boardrooms. This technology has completely revolutionized the landscape of information exchange between the people, organizations and institutions. Today the information flow is uninterrupted in internet, especially the social networking sites and the mobile communication. Sites like Twitter, Orkut and Facebook are used for information exchange between people and also with groups, as the gatekeepers are apparently liberal, and make few attempts to stop the flow of information. It is believed that this information exchange within the community and outside community has made the Middle East revolution possible. As an Egyptian activist, Wael Ghonim, praising the Facebook and Mark Zuckerberg (founder of the Facebook) says,

> We would post a video on Facebook that would be shared by 60,000 people on their walls within a few hours. I've always said that if you want to liberate a society, just give them the internet (Taylor 2011).

The rigid civilizations, societies, religious and political institutions that were protected from outside information to the common masses and those who had the monopoly over the information were challenged with the introduction of new communication tools. Much of the social, political, cultural and economic changes that the people wanted and desired are brought with the help of latest technological and communication tools (internet and mobile). Talking about the wide use of mobile technology for street protests, Farman Jason, author of *Mobile Interface Theory: Embodied Space and Locative Media* (2012) says in an interview to the *Outlook*:

> It helps people connect around similar interests and causes when a face-to-face community might be dangerous. It also changes the ways we coordinate. "Just-in-time" news and information is critical to how people coordinate in public settings when minute-by-minute information is of the utmost importance. During the protests in Hong

Kong this year, mobile media were vital because protesters were coordinating using an app that allowed their phones to connect directly to each other (as a "mesh network") rather than connect to the internet. As such, protesters were able to overcome the barriers of internet bandwidth, censorship, and tracking. These technologies are intimately intertwined with how we live in the world and how they make direct impact on how we can change that world. (Farman 2014)

The freedom of expression and enormous power for the common man aided by the media tools is evident; this expression has reached its zenith and has been instrumental in changing the political regimes of few countries (Facebook revolution, Umbrella revolution). However, there are some who point out that revolution has been happening for a long time before Facebook saw the light of day. People protested and brought down governments before Facebook was invented (Malcolm Gladwell, *The New Yorker*). A few weeks later, *The Financial Times'* Gideon Rachman reminded us that "the French managed to storm the Bastille without the help of Twitter — and the Bolsheviks took the Winter Palace without pausing to post photos of each other on Facebook" (Taylor 2011).

The statement above is true but these revolutions were not instant in mobilizing the people as one we have seen in Egypt's Tahrir square, or Shahbag circle in Dhaka, or Jantar Mantar in Delhi. People paused for the photos as they would like to share their "success" with millions of people who support the cause. What we see today with regard to socio-political movements around the world is that people are mobilized in thousands at a call or on receiving instant messages on their mobile phones, something that was unheard of earlier. The rapid growth and expansion of media with the help of satellite technology, and the availability and access to the media tools with common man has brought the change. It is said that information tools like fax machines and other tools like photocopy machines played a major role in creating awareness and also spreading the information to the public in Russia; apart from this, few television channels like Cable News Network (CNN) have played a greater role during the coup attempt of August 1991:

When Yeltsin climbed on the tank to defy the coup, 'His image went to thousands of Muscovites via CNN, his words to more thousands via photocopied leaflets and the White House radio station, prompting thousands more to join the protest (Deibert 1997: 169).

When the issue moves the people and it is people-centric we see such mobilizations in thousands; one cannot mobilize people in thousands if people are not interested. In spite of the instigation/motivation received from the media, mobilization of the masses is difficult. However, with the latest technologies and media tools it has become easy to disseminate the information and garner support for a cause. To mobilize people in thousands few decades back for a common cause was a difficult task for the political and social organizations; it was planned months ahead and the proposed dates for the meeting were announced well in advance to have such mobilizations. For achieving the desired goals till a few years back state, organizations, institutions and people relied on massive communication network systems like the mainstream media that would pass on the information to the public. The present societies run on the information that is circulated 24x7, people's actions and reactions are guided by the information that one receives In *Here Comes Everybody* Clay Shirky says,

Revolution doesn't happen when society adopts new technology, it happens when society adopts new behaviors (2008: 160).

Today media is one of the most powerful tools people have, to achieve their goals. The information owned by the people is huge, and the media organizations want to own this information. We have come to a point where the media organizations are making or breaking stories based on the information provided by the common man on the street. Any incident that occurs in any part of the world is reported in some form or the other with the help of multiple communication tools available. Apparently small incidents of a remote place may end up turning into revolutions and bringing a revolutionary change in the socio-political system. One can think of the Tunisia revolution to be the best example where a small incident of self-immolating by a roadside vendor has led to bringing down the dictatorial government; this in turn has

triggered the Middle East revolution with the help of various communications and media tools.

The present societies act and react to the information that is available within seconds and this is having an impact on the world. The access to information shapes our lives; we are surrounded by information that guides and misguides us and we keep changing our perspectives on a given issue. Societies are constantly negotiating with the available information given through the media in order to make their lives better. On the one hand, the information and the media are used to reach the larger audience for a "universal" cause and on the other hand, the same media is also used to overthrow governments with false propaganda and also to provoke the people into revolution. Many social and non-governmental organizations, including the social and political movements across the world are increasingly using the new media as this media is free and easily accessible to people unlike television, radio and print. The Gano Jagaran Mancha also known as the "Mass awakening platform" that started in Bangladesh turned out to be the largest revolution till date in Bangladesh; the availability of the communication tools and technologies has made it possible for this revolution to come about. The people who were part of the protests were demanding the death sentence to the war criminals of the 1971 Bangladesh liberation. The information was shared through the social networking sites like it happened in the Spring Revolution (Arab spring) Egypt. Thousands occupied the centre in Shahbagh Square (Bangladesh); the participation of the people from all walks of life has indeed helped giving the required momentum to the ongoing movement.

One of the important media tools that became popular among the younger generation, especially for sharing information is Facebook. The information on this social networking site is shared among the global community on a minute-to-minute basis. Information flows from one end to the other in this complex yet structured network; we do not know when and what will trigger a revolution, and the speed and direction in which information is heading. There is no doubt that Facebook and other social networking sites have been helping the youth to share and exchange information and has become instrumental in not only putting forward ideas but also, to some extent, in molding public opinion. Though more and more citizens are getting connected with the new media, large populations in many countries are still dependent on the

mainstream media like the print, radio and television. Much of the information for the masses is directed through these media. Television is one of the most preferred media used by the state and the political parties in molding public opinion. The party owned media houses give the information that is in favor of the party, government and its policies. Sometimes it can degenerate to the level of blatant propaganda to achieve political goals.

> When we use television to understand politics, we see things in the way that television allows them to be seen. At the same time, television creates new forms of political reality that exist because they are seen on television (Balkin 1998).

The public sees what is shown in these television channels and form their opinion on the present political situation. To a great extent reality is constructed and maintained by the media. In this sense, control over media can have dangerous implications for a democracy. This is particularly true in the context of television. There is a certain degree of reliability and trust that television reporting generates in the audience to the extent that people come to see 'television truths' as being sacrosanct. The public sphere is very active in democratic countries with regard to political decisions and local politics based on the information circulated by the media tools like print, radio television and internet; the awareness that is generated by these tools help (though they may not necessarily decide) in decision making. Especially the television, with its expansion and inroads into the country side throughout the world, the communication tools with their oral and visual communication make the illiterate and semi-literate communities aware of their surrounding environments that include political, cultural, and economic issues. Both the literate and illiterate sections of a community choose the tools convenient for them to understand the socio-political situation in a given environment. While the internet and print are generally preferred by "literate" people around the world, a larger section of the illiterate society uses radio and television. The information given by these tools throughout the day, and sometimes repeatedly, changes our perception on issues that are of serious concern. Sometimes it also makes the humans act and react in a given environment. To be more precise, the visuals combined with the oral communication is making the world act and react more strongly than written communication.

The Marxist structuralist philosopher, Louis Althusser, had talked about the ways in which the capitalist system helps to create willing workers for its proper functioning with the help of Ideological State Apparatuses (Althusser 1971). Indeed, television has emerged as a very potent weapon for the molding of public opinion. Today we see many political parties using different media to reach out to the common man and also to publicize their agenda; depending on the issue and the situation, each form of media will have a huge impact on the way people perceive politics and the political situation in an environment. The state many a times suppresses information from the public and at times selectively leaks the information; very often the state has complete control over the information when it is routed through state owned television and radio stations, as governments never allow private players, but with the growth of the new media and the mobile communications the state's monopoly over the information has become minimal. Today with the spread of communication technologies, suppression of information is becoming hard for the governments, institutions and organizations around the world. We are able to see and hear a wide variety of information emanating from multiple directions with the integration of media sources. The images that are released into the media environment are not confined to one region but circulated throughout the world; the reactions and repercussions depend upon the content of the information released. The Arab spring in the Middle East was successful because of new media tools (time biased) and technologies that were available in the hands of common man along with the active participation of the citizens. With regard to the Telangana movement, it can be said that though the government tried to impose restrictions on mainstream media, the movement and the people opted for the alternative media (space bias) over which the government had no control. Old and traditional forms of media like Janapada kala, Oggu kadha, Burra kadha (traditional way of narrating stories/information through songs and dances) were revitalized. These forms have become prominent; they have contributed and created as much awareness as the mainstream media. Political and social movements in the larger media ecology context revive the old forms of media if required and this helps the older media forms and the new media forms to survive in the larger media ecosystem.

2.2 Socio-Political Movements: The Media and the State in Indian Context

Socio-political movements are inevitably shaped by media. Today societies depend on media to be more precise on the voluminous quantity of information that they receive; societies and cultures are shaped and reshaped by the information that an individual receives from different sources and media environments. The media at times tries to frame these socio-political, cultural or other movements from the perspective of the point of view of vested groups. There has been an increase of social, political, cultural and other movements that the people of India have witnessed in the past six decades of its independence. These movements had sustained and also had success largely because they were able to attract media attention and support – initially through word of mouth or alternative media and in other cases through pamphlets and local media. The success of any movement can be measured by the level of public participation and the wide publicity it acquires through media. The symbiotic relation that exists between the political movements and media is not new; the two have been evolving and growing stronger with mutual support. Different political movements with their distinctive ideologies have changed the notion of media in the course of history (from Johannes Gutenberg's printing press to Mark Zuckerberg's Facebook).

Various movements have tried to rely and capitalize on the available media in a given situation to reach out to larger sections of the people. It is said that the French revolution sustained itself by relying on the explosive growth of media (press), a phenomenon that is visible even today in many parts of the world. The printing press of Gutenberg was put to use by the revolutionaries during the French revolution, giving a new role, responsibility and direction to the media. This idea of using the printing press for varied goals has not stopped with one nation; indeed it was an inspiration for many such revolutions that followed in Europe in particular and the rest of the world in general.

> Mass media serve to stimulate political interest and activism among the mass public. Ordinary citizens are able to establish meaningful and effective roles for themselves in the political arena that has been primarily the domain of elites (Owen 1999).

If print became a potent tool during the French revolution, the present struggles and revolutions carried out by ordinary masses in Egypt, Middle East and Hong Kong are aided by the internet and mobile communications. In this environment of ever growing connectivity among the world citizens, political and social movements no longer die a silent death. Ordinary citizens have been able to mobilize the people who have responded to the call. People like Wael Ghonim (activist of the Egypt revolution), Joshua Wong (Umbrella revolution), Arvind Kejriwal (Anti-Corruption movement) were just like any other ordinary citizens but with the help and support from the available mass media. They were able to influence political activism among follow students and citizens in their countries.

It has been seen in the last few decades that different media have played a major role in liberating nations that were colonized and also those that were reeling under autocratic regimes. The oppression by the state has always given birth to new and ingenious forms of response and resistance by the people. When the state imposes restrictions on mainstream media the people take up the alternative media for sending the message across. Much of the information or literature gets generated during the socio-political movements and this information inspires others to act and also participate in the movements. Talking about the literature that appears or reappears during periods of oppression of a people or in the course of socio-political movements in general G Innaiah, former Peoples' War Group member, president of the Telangana Rashtra Party (Telangana Nation's Party) and prominent leader of the Telangana movement said in a personal interview,

> In suppression we tend to revolt in line with a philosophy; we have
> some principles and goals. During such periods the literature tends to
> be rough, bold and straightforward. Such literature helps in motivating
> the people to participate in the movement and will be a document for
> the future generation that will be part of history.

For instance, the information/literature (oral or written) of the oppressed not only highlights the facts of society, but also encourages people to participate and resist the domination. Literature can also enlighten the common public on various issues thereby generating mass awareness that can finally lead to mass movements.

Literature that is critical about the state and the functioning of its institutions is suppressed around the world and being branded as anti-national. However, both forms of literature (branded as 'nationalistic' or 'anti-nationalistic') have been subjected to recycling time and again throughout the history of human struggles.

With regard to media in the Indian context, India first witnessed the power of print media on January, 1780 when James Augustus Hickey published the newspaper called *Bengal Gazette*. Hickey was sent to jail for questioning and deifying the East India Company's role. Barbaric atrocities followed with the enactment of draconian laws (Press Act 1910, and Rowlatt Act 1919). Hickey's act motivated many Indians to question the hegemony of British rule. In this period of over two centuries of the existence of print media, the nation engaged with new ideas that helped in the spread of the ideals of a democratic society. Raja Ram Mohan Roy highlighted the plight of women and other issues in his magazines like *Brahmonical* (1821) and *Sambad Kaumudi* (1821). In the twentieth century, Gandhi continued to engage with people and put forward his ideas through the *Young India* (1919-1932) and *Harijan* (1933-1948). Social thinkers and freedom fighters carried forward the Indian struggle for independence and the socialist ideas and social movements played a vital role in the emergence of the nation with the medium that was available.

Political and social movements throughout the world have helped in the growth of media (including the oral forms of media) to expand and also to improve their popularity and circulation among the people. The political and sub nationalist movements in India gave rise to increase in media circulation and their popularity. According to Jeffery

> Rapid increases in daily circulations may be a predictor of political change. In Andhra Pradesh and Punjab, daily circulations shot upwards before either the emergence of N T Rama Rao and the Telugu Desam or the regularised killing with which Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale became associated. Even Assam saw a notable increase of 15,000 (43 per cent) in daily circulation between 1976 and 1979— *before* the anti-foreigner' campaign began (Jeffery 1987: 610).

These movements have given birth to many regional language newspapers (non-Hindi and non-English) which have played a vital role in social and political transformation. The non-Hindi and English print media saw a surge during the emergency period in India. The growth of media has helped in assertion of community identities and cultures; this trend is particularly visible in the regional media.

The dominance and monopoly of Hindi and English daily newspapers over the media is being challenged locally. There are many reasons for growth in popularity of the non-Hindi and non-English dallies. First, it has to do with the growth of literacy and easy -understanding of the regional language that people speak (mother-tongue) and the local socio-political events. Jeffery in an article 'Culture of Daily Newspapers in India How it's Grown, What it Means' anayses the growth of literacy for the period 1971-81 and also the growth in regional newspapers for the period 1976-81 (Jeffery 1987: 609). Secondly, the emotional attachment and a sense of pride in one's own language have also aided the process. Thirdly, there has been an accusation against national papers of biased reporting and also misinterpreting the facts, and of completely ignoring the issues that are of local importance. As literacy rates have started to increase, people have become more interested in local news; the regional language newspapers started to fulfill the needs of the people by introducing the regional and local editions. Post-1991 with the economic liberalization of the Indian market and with an increase in literacy rates aided with the modern technologies Indian media has seen a sharp increase in its readership and also its reach. And with the advent of television channels, the oral communication was a boon for the common man; this also played a major role in creating awareness equally among the literate and the illiterate communities.

The growth of the regional media has ensured a wider reach for the media in general, considering the vastness of the country and its multilingual set up. The regional media has helped to fill up the gaps in building what seems to be an elusive pan-Indian view for the media. People get to look at the different versions of the same story from different perspectives. The growth of regional media also had its disadvantages with regard to the monopoly of information; as more and more private players entered the media industry the media got divided into groups and reflected the views of very few.

Talking about the institute theory, Habermas refers to refudalization; he traces its origin to the 19th century and this refudalization, according to him, has transformed the public sphere:

> The transformation involved private interests assuming direct political functions, as powerful corporations came to control and manipulate the media and state. On the other hand, the state began to play a more fundamental role in the private realm and everyday life, thus eroding the difference between state and civil society, between the public and private sphere (Kellner 2009: 5).

What we see today is the nexus between the politician, businessmen and the media, that had crept into the editor's room long back and was clearly visible in India from the period of early-1990, when India's most trusted newspapers deviated from their goal for "revenue generation through advertisements"(Lal 2010: 27). Today we can see the nexus operating more overtly; some media houses are inclined in favor of select political parties. The changed trend is clearly visible in the news reporting and articles carried out by the media houses. The common men have no option left, but speak out openly through other forms of media, and choose alternative forms to give expression to their sense of being marginalized in the so-called "mainstream" media. The Indian media is today caught in the currents and cross-currents of "legitimate information". Who speaks for whom and how representative that media is to convey the legitimate aspirations for people have become questions of immediate relevance. The role and nexus of private media houses, politicians and the government have divided the people and the socio-political movements as and when needed. Talking about the state and the media that are on the same side of the coin if needed G Innaiah said in a personal interview,

> The state uses and takes advantage of the media that is essential for everyone, to create confusion among the general public. The state meticulously implements three characteristic features to thwart the movements and suppress them. First it tries to break the unity, second it gets into repression mode to break the unity, and third it tries to

create confusion to break the unity. This is when the alternative media becomes useful for the political movements to put things back in track.

Even the alternative media chosen by people and groups are closely monitored by the political and government agencies. The expressive behavior of communities is manifested in the form of songs, literature, art, and films. This expressive behavior as projected in the media have helped in putting forward people's ideas, ideologies and arguments on various issues concerning our day-to-day lives. The integration of various media environments and availability of communication tools have helped the common man to share and express his or her views in the last one decade. Governments across the world ban groups and individuals who speak their mind and express their opinion on issues and events that have an immediate relevance to their lived experiences. We are witnessing an increasing trend in suppressing the freedom of expression by political, religious and other groups including the corporate houses. In the wake of suppressing the movements people have taken the advantage of social media, which is increasingly becoming popular among the citizens who have found in it an alternative media to express their opinions on various issues. The anti-corruption movement is one such movement that became popular in India. Apart from the mainstream media the real contribution and success of the movement was largely because of the social networking sites. The youth of the country who are connected with each other as active users of the social networking sites made the movement popular; the growth of the social networking sites in India also made the youth to become active participants in the political arena.

2.3 The Anti-Corruption Movement in India and the Media

The anti –corruption movement was launched in 2011. The movement was one of the most influential movements that not only united the people of India but brought them together on one platform, to raise their voice against the rampant corruption in the country. Many leaders have fought against corruption but no movement till date matched the Anna movement, with its leaders like Anna Hazare, Arvind Kejriwal, Kiran Bedi, Prashant Bushan and Shanti Bushan being hailed as fighters against corruption. The relentless fight and hunger strikes by the leaders who were leading the movement helped to garner support for 'Team Anna'. The leaders of the movement have used the social networking sites to reach out to the youth; leaders were tweeting

at regular intervals on twitter, and updating the latest information on Facebook and other sites. The movement became popular and successful because of the latest media tools that help in the rapid transformation of information. The movement with mass participation and with peaceful demonstrations was successful as it made the government at the centre to act and introduce the Lokpal Bill in the parliament in 2013.

Walking a tightrope has become the order of the day for the political and social movements; there were not many alternatives until the new media (internet) entered the media landscape and tilted the balance in favor of groups and individuals. Movements depend on the media for their survival and success; on the other hand, media for its existence and popularity takes complete advantage of these movements depending on its convenience. In order to sustain an ever-growing competition from within the media organizations and outside market forces, media organizations take advantage of various political and social movements to increase their readership and viewership among the public. Todd Gitlin in his book *The Whole World is Watching* (1980) while referring to the New Left movement in the sixties in the United States mentioned how the media looks for certain media characteristic that makes them news worthy. The 'Drama, Conflict and Personalization' (Vliegenthart and Walgrave 2012: 388) that Gitlin talked about is witnessed in almost all the socio-political struggles. During the anti-corruption movement led by Anna in India, the people have witnessed the similar characteristic that Todd Gitlin was referring to during the New Left movement in United States. Let us see how the Drama, Conflict, and Personalization played out during the anti-corruption movement.

The Drama: April 5th 2011, Anna Hazara's began his fast at Jantar Mantar. The massive involvement of people and wide public support across the country gave the required boost in the initial stages of the movement. With the mass awakening and with the pressure from the opposition, the government had no option but to resolve the issue. On April 9th 2011 the government agreed for a joint committee on Lokpal Bill; on August 16th 2011 Anna was rearrested leading to massive protests across the country; the government bowing down to pressure asked Anna to appeal for bail, which Anna refused and when released he refused to leave the jail, followed by many other events that unfolded thereafter. During the unfolding of all these actions all the

television channels went live with continuous coverage of events including the political and social drama happening at multiple locations across the country. The media was covering the pan India anti-corruption movement and in the process was able to reach out to the larger audience by covering the event live and getting as much TRP (television rating points) as possible.

The Conflict: All the joint committee meetings that team Anna and the government representatives were involved in added to the conflict. This was clearly visible in the press meetings briefed by both the parties. The press meets were basically to contradict each other and confuse the people by giving different versions. Also adding to the confusion, the media was highlighting the conflict especially within team Anna. The channels, instead of reporting on the issue of Lokpal Bill were more interested in covering and highlighting the differences between the parties.

Personalization: At the end of the movement people were unhappy with the events that have unfolded on television screens, as they could see the movement and the leaders getting disintegrated into smaller groups. Instead of the team or the group, the individuals became more important. Few members of team Anna were taking the credit for running the movement and making it successful. Reportedly, some members were keen on interpreting the movement from their point of view and steering it for their own popularity, while the others were too keen on protecting or strengthening their image among the public. Talking about the interdependency and the nature of functioning of the media and movements it is found that:

> On the one hand, movements need media more than other political actors to mobilize potential supporters, gain public support for their claims and, ultimately, political change ('send my message'). On the other hand, mass media need movements since they stage newsworthy events; they 'make news' ('make my news'). But the interests of movement actors and journalists most often do not coincide. As movements are interested in getting their message out their aim is to direct the media's (and the public's) attention to an issue, journalists often do not focus on the problem or issue the movement is signaling,

but rather consider other things newsworthy (Vliegenthart and Walgrave 2012: 388).

In the second phase of the anti-corruption movement the media instead of focusing and highlighting the rampant corruption and scams, started to give more attention to investigating the internal conflicts within team Anna, also focusing on trivial issues like less public gatherings at the venues. In fact it was the media that has completely deviated and neglected the core issue of corruption. Different media including the social media that played its role in strengthening of the movement ignored the core issue in the second phase of the movement. "Intensive coverage of internal struggles and anomalies within the movement ultimately resulted in erosion of public support" (Vliegenthart and Walgrave 2012: 388). This statement holds true in the case of the Anna led Anti-corruption movement in India. The media at a given point started to give intensive coverage to the internal struggles along with a few anomalies; this resulted in the collapse of Team Anna along with the loss of public support.

2.4 Disintegration of Socio-Political Movements

Interestingly, the political and social movements are becoming less powerful as the unity among the groups and individuals is lacking; one reason is the groupism and refudalism that is creeping into the social and political movements which Habermas talked about in 19th century (Kellner 2009). Individuals are increasingly becoming aware of their identity and background, and are cautious in their approach on a given issue. People are increasingly getting grouped on the bases of caste, creed, religion, and class, and thereby, they seek the comfort of belonging to large groups. Even the individual decisions are therefore influenced by the groups. Because of these divisions, political and social movements are not able to sustain for longer periods. Very few movements are moving to logical conclusions and are able to achieve their goals in the larger interests of the people. India has not witnessed a political or social movement for more than four decades; the Jai Prakash Narayan movement was the last to unite the people on a common platform irrespective of caste, religion and class, which finally overthrew the government and brought change in social, political and economic systems.

Today we do not see many active participants for social and political causes; people are turning a blind eye and are readily accepting the events that take place in their environments. Individuals are becoming more isolated and are ignoring the common good. The few who stand for the individual rights and social welfare of the nation are being left out to defend themselves. Kellner notes how Habermas had interpreted the decline of the public sphere:

> As the public sphere declined, citizens became consumers, dedicating themselves more to passive consumption and private concerns than to issues of the common good and democratic participation (Kellner 2009: 4).

The decline in public participation is because of the inactive/hyperactive media. To a large extent the media is ignoring the issues that concern the common man; also media houses are cautious in their approach in supporting the public causes until they see some kind of benefit. The guiding arms of society (media) no longer enlighten the people about the issues that have immediate effect; also the agenda setting role of the mainstream media for the society is becoming biased, and this is becoming more evident, as many media houses at present are in the hands of the corporate giants. Talking about the media-politician nexus, P Sainath says "The phenomenon of "paid news" goes beyond the corruption of individual journalists and media companies. It has become pervasive, structured and highly organized and in the process, undermining democracy in India" (*Thakurta and Reddy* 2013). To bring any radical change in the political or the social system, we need the movements and media to go hand in hand, but the symbiotic relation has been changing over a period of time.

2.5 Citizen's Participation and News from the Common Man

Today, information comes in from multiple directions; we are now called information overloaded societies or infosocieties. Information in the form of texts, images, music and video is not limited and confined to one particular region, but for everyone around the world. The information overloaded society is an offshoot of globalization and the integration of various media environments. The constant interaction of the media environments with the socio-political and cultural environments is creating the new-world order that we all are living in.

Communication tools are playing a vital role in carrying the information from one-to-one and one-to many, as and when the events happen around the world. Professional reporters of news agencies, who are in the forefront of reporting the latest news, are today increasingly replaced by non-professionals and individuals. Majority of the news and events are reported by untrained citizens, who are playing a vital role in placing the issues and events before the global community. Roy Greenslade foresees the end of top-down journalism that tells people what they should read, see, and hear; this is to be replaced by bottom-up journalism (Greenslade 2010:166). In this new form of journalism, the audience plays an active role in news-gathering. The monopoly over information by news agencies is being seriously challenged by the new communication tools, especially with the coming of the new-media; tools with various applications that can send and receive audio/video/text to a great extent reduced the monopoly by few. I feel that this changing trend in dissemination of information has a powerful impact on society.

The new-media has given scope to the rise of citizen's journalism wherein the individuals are able to put forward their own stories, which are otherwise ignored and go unnoticed. With the new technologies available for citizens, there is no easy suppression of information. Earlier the editor of a publishing house or the channel head had the choice of suppressing a report or issue (Evans 2010:156) and not publishing it in newspapers, tabloids, and magazines or television channels. Today the reporters as well as the common citizens have the choice to publish the same information for the rest of the world to read/watch with the help of new-media (internet) and draw the attention of the general public to an issue or event. We are witnessing an increase in reporting of information by ordinary citizens, many issues and events are posted on various websites or personal blogs, including on social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter. People have the choice of posting the information that may help millions of others; numerous accounts of anomalies that exist in our systems are exposed by individuals.

Talking about communication and elaborating the importance Culkin say "The media shape both content and consumer and do so practically undetected" (Culkin 1967: 53).The various media tools that the people are using have become part of our life;

these tools are put to use for magnifying the issues relating to society. The public sphere is more visible and effective in the virtual environments than in public places. People are connected to each other by communication tools and are in continuous engagement with information; information is circulated and shared within the community, and some times, also with the global community. One post/message by an individual on Facebook, Twitter, Youtube or any other platform can bring a radical change and unite millions for a cause.

2.6 One Billion Rising

Around the world we have seen how different political movements are using the media to reach out to the public and creating awareness and strengthening movements. It has been noticed that the atrocities against women have been on the rise in the past few years. To sensitize the people around the world on women related issues and to create awareness among the women and to boost the morale of women around the world the women's organization launched a campaign programme for one billion rising in the year 2012. The response from the world community was overwhelming as there were massive rallies held in different parts of the world. Many noted personalities from India became part of this campaign.

Many Indian women's organizations gave a clarion call to the need for creating mass-awareness regarding crimes against women. Indeed it helped millions of people to come out of their homes, especially in the Indian subcontinent. People turned out in large numbers protesting against the atrocities against women in India and around the world. The website had millions of hits from all around the world, and this showed the universal acceptance and support for the cause. Thousands of women and young girls in colleges and universities joined the organization for a cause within a very short period, giving the organization a great boost. When one accesses the website it reads "One in three women on the planet will be raped or beaten in her lifetime. One billion women violated is an atrocity. One billion women dancing is a revolution" (Onebillionrising 2012).

This message was endorsed by many noted celebrities around the world who urged the women to join the One Billion Rising group. It included the famous celebrity from India Anoushka Shankar, daughter of legendary singer Ravi Shankar. These

celebrities played a vital role in creating awareness through their blogs and tweets on various social networking sites. In India people responded to the messages and reciprocated with action on the streets with peaceful protests against the brutal gang rape of a medical student in Delhi. The mass awareness generated by media (social media) on these movements have invited greater attention, even leading to active participation as the message is able to reach millions around the world with the help of new communication technologies.

2.7 Exponential Growth of the Media

Robin Jeffrey argued, "Momentous events provide the link between developments and politics-the link that seems to send circulations shooting upward." (Jeffrey 1987: 608). Though Jeffery was confining himself to the growth and circulation of the newspapers (print), his statement can be equally applied to all other media forms (print, electronic or new media). The growth and popularity of certain channels was witnessed during the Telangana movement, equally the popularity of Facebook and other social networking sites saw a steep rise during the 'Anti-Corruption' movement and the 'Onebillion' rising awareness. We have seen how the space biased media, starting with papyrus to the present internet and mobile applications have paved the way for different civilizations to evolve into a homogeneous world community.

The media is used according to the needs of those who "wield power" and those who are "struggling for power". While the former is associated with the mainstream media, the latter is associated with the alternative media. This conflict has been shaping and reshaping the societies around the world. While it is largely believed that the alternative media is distinct from the mainstream media (Tracy 2007: 272), I argue that there is no mainstream media without the alternative; as it is the alternative media that slowly evolves into mainstream media. The socio-political, cultural-identity and other movements give birth to various media that can be clubbed under these two categories. Socio-political movements, in order to reach out to the common man, device their own media; on the other hand, the alternative media is preferred when the state is the opponent; the mainstream media is preferred when the state and the institutions do not oppose the activity undertaken by the movement. While the media landscape is changing with the introduction of new communication tools and applications that are closely associated to mainstream media, the alternative media has

also seen a steady growth. As said earlier, one media tool helps the other to survive; I feel it is the alternative media that is making the mainstream media survive. In war torn countries the alternative/traditional media is used to convey the message across. Conflicts across the world provide the opportunities and scope initially for the alternative/traditional media and later, the mainstream media, to take lead. In the process these political, social, cultural, identity and ethnic conflicts also give the scope for the time biased media to comeback within the broader media ecology. Historical events and great leaders of the society are made iconic and remembered by constructing monuments, memorials or statues. These monuments memorials and statues act as time biased media and will be of reference for the future generations. This affirms my view about the cyclic nature of information. Every tool that is added to the media environment will play its role, depending on the situations arising in the course of human civilizations. Today the integration of media tools is much easier than the integration of the human race; as said earlier, these media play a conflicting role of bringing together and dividing the human race as time and information progress together.

Conclusion

The human civilizations and the media have been evolving in the course of history by supporting each other. However, it is the socio-political movements with the help of media that give new directions to the society and institutions. The socio-political movements around the world use the media according to their demand, and the media uses the movements for its growth and popularity. The movement's success or failure is inconsequential from the point of view of the media. We can also see the revival of the old forms of media or the use of alternative media during the movement periods when state imposes restrictions on the flow of information. In the media ecology context we see how the integration of media tools help the information reach a larger audience but in the process also amplifies the cause of the movement. Thus we can understand the intricate and symbiotic relationship between media and movements.

Socio-Political Movements in Andhra Pradesh: The Telangana Movement in Perspective

Introduction:

The chapter gives an overview of the important socio-political movements including the causes and rise of the Telangana movement. Before looking into the convergence of media and the Telangana movement, it is necessary to contextualize the movement's history. The chapter explores how the initial Telangana armed struggle against the Nizam was an inspiration for various other movements in Andhra Pradesh and the rest of India. The Telangana armed struggle paved the way for growth of communism and later the Naxal movement; the division among the communist party and its leaders based on their ideological differences gave rise to new groups and organizations. These groups and organizations continue to fight for various socio-political causes.

We can interpret the history of the Telangana movement from the perspective of Media Ecology to make sense of how socio-political movement brings together or balkanize smaller groups. Issue based socio-political movements grow in strength with larger people's participation. On the other hand, motivated movements tend to fail for various reasons. Political parties take advantage of these socio-political struggles and bring to bring about a socio-political change in the society. The growth of the regional political parties is also interconnected with the socio-political movements and the media ecology.

3.1 Overview and Timeline of the Telangana Movement

Andhra Pradesh is the first linguistic state to be carved out of the Indian union in the year 1956. It is interesting and also important to trace the history of the Telangana region for the purpose of this study. It is important to raise some fundamental questions regarding the Telangana movement: Why did people from the Telangana region demand a separate state for six decades? What were the defining and critical moments in the history of the Telangana movement? Who benefited from the merger of the Telangana region with Andhra? Which group suffered from a sense of

deprivation? The erstwhile state of Hyderabad was merged with the state of Andhra in 1956. Andhra was carved out of the Madras presidency in 1953. The Telangana region had been under the rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad for more than 200 years. This is important to take note of since the erstwhile state of Hyderabad was the historical basis of the state of Telangana.

Though India became independent on August 15, 1947, the princely state of Hyderabad got its independence on September 17, 1948. The people of Telangana underwent turbulent periods of resistance against the Nizam and his army from 1944-1948 (Sundarayya 1972). Women and men fought valiantly until their death to overthrow the razakars, the deshmuks and the zamindars in the Telangana region. Hundreds of men and women fought and died protecting their lands and fighting for their rights. In 1948 the Indian army took hold of the state of Hyderabad. Initially the Nizam wanted Hyderabad to be an independent country (Sundarayya 1972:56); later he expressed his desire to join Pakistan. Ultimately, however, he had to concede the Hyderabad state to the Indian union. On September 17, 1948 the Nizam surrendered his army to the Indian state and the princely state of Hyderabad was annexed into the Indian union.

The princely state of Hyderabad was untouched by the British rulers as the Nizam of Hyderabad was paying the colonial rulers in kind and cash. Though the people of Hyderabad state were not under direct British colonial rule, they witnessed the brutal autocratic rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad. The division of India into smaller states started to take shape with the carving of Andhra from Madras Presidency in 1953. The division of Madras Presidency and the carving out of the Andhra state led to a lot of heartburn as people from Andhra were not able to get Madras as their capital. This heartburn had to do with a strong sense of marginalization that was experienced by the people of Andhra vis-à-vis the Tamils. For instance, there was a feeling that the most important jobs in the government machinery went to the Tamils at the cost of the Telugus.

After six decades of the merger of Andhra with Telangana, there was almost a repetition of the same cycle of events. Gradually, the people of Telangana came to complain of the same maladies that had earlier afflicted the people in the Madras

Presidency. The merger of Telangana with Andhra was seen as an imposition. Two hundred years of the Nizam's rule had brought about a new working style, culture, and religion in the Telangana region. The social fabric of the region was more cosmopolitan and was unique to the context of southern India. Even though the merger was done taking into consideration the language spoken (Telugu) in Andhra and Telangana, the political and social contexts were very different. This difference can be seen even after six decades of its merger.

During the period 1948-1956, Hyderabad was a separate state with an appointed Chief Minister, Mr. Mullath Kadingi Vellodi, a senior civil servant. Hyderabad became a state in the Indian Union in 1950 and in 1952; the first legislative assembly elections were held and Dr. Burgula Ramakrishna Rao was elected as the Chief Minister. The people of Telangana thus enjoyed a breath of fresh air after being under the Nizam's rule for two hundred years. However, this sense of jubilation did not last very long. Pressure was building on the central government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru to bifurcate Madras Presidency and also to disintegrate Hyderabad. It is said that Nehru was opposed to the disintegration of Hyderabad. Gautam Pingle, in the article 'The Historical Context of Andhra and Telangana, 1949-56' writes,

> On 16 January 1956, Nehru wrote to chief ministers that he had spoken on the radio and the government had issued a communiqué on the reorganization of states. In the broadcast he announced that, Bombay city would be centrally administered, Vidarbha would be merged with Maharashtra and Saurashtra and Kutch merged with Gujarat and also that Hyderabad would be split. The communiqué added that the future of Punjab and the Telangana area of Hyderabad would be decided later (Pingle 2010: 59).

The splitting of Hyderabad and the merger of Telangana region with Andhra did not go well with the people of Telangana region. During the period 1948-1956 when Hyderabad was an independent state there was widespread displeasure among the people of Telangana as officers from the costal and Madras Presidency dominated them in the local governance and in other issues. Ravi Narayana Reddy says,

After Police Action, officials were brought here from the coastal districts and the districts of the then Madras Presidency, for administrative convenience (quoted in Kodanda 2007:90).

The officials who were employed there treated Hyderabad as an occupied territory. This led to the first revolt against the outsiders in Telangana in the year 1952. The movement came to be popularly known as the 'mulki' movement. People started to protest against the outsiders (the Non-mulkis) from around the time of annexation itself. Prof. Kodanda Ram thinks that

> The 1952 agitation is significant because it shaped the attitude of the people towards the issue of state reorganisation. Though the demand for a separate Telangana state had its roots in the Mulki movement it was not articulated by the political groups until the question of state reorganisation became a reality. The States Reorganisation Commission (SRC) was constituted by the government of India in 1953 (Kodanda 2007: 90).

Ignoring the demand of the Telangana people for keeping the state separate, and bowing to the pressure of Andhra leaders, the government on November 1, 1956 merged the two regions. Many intellectuals and leaders from the Telangana region opposed the merger. Even people like B. R. Ambedkar, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Fazal Ali (States Reorganisation Commission Chairman), were against the merger of Telangana with Andhra state. Professor M Sridhar, Information Officer, New Delhi in an editorial written in *The Hans India* says,

> On February 20, 1956 the elderly leaders of Congress from Andhra and Telangana signed certain safeguards for Telangana called 'Gentlemen's Agreement', which means that the terms should be complied with like gentlemen without creating necessity to enforce them (Sridhar 2014).

The people from both the regions, especially the people of Telangana, were thus unenthusiastic about the prospects of the new state. Though the language in the two regions of Telangana and Andhra was the same, the cultures were different and quite

distinctive. The religion, caste and hierarchy structures were also different. While the Rayalaseema had a population dominated by the Reddys, coastal Andhra was dominated by the Kammas (in Andhra). When it came to Telangana, the majority of the population belonged to backward communities. The domination of the Andhra politicians, ignoring the 'Gentlemen's Agreement' and not adhering to the promises subsequently gave rise to unrest among people of Telangana.

As the 'mulki' rules were not being implemented in the Telangana region people started to lose jobs and other opportunities in education, administration. This gave rise to the 1969 Jai Telangana movement. Students from the Osmania University, Kakatiya University and other colleges participated in the 1969 movement making it one of the bloodiest students' movements (more than 360 people died in the police firing). When the Supreme Court upheld the Mulki rules in favor of Telangana, the government made sure that interests of the Telangana people was protected and it came up with an Eight Point plan in 1969. Not satisfied with the promises made by the Centre, the leader of the Congress party M. Chenna Reddy floated his own party called Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS). Under his leadership the movement got intensified and the Telangana Praja Samithi won 10 out of 14 parliament seats in the general elections. Seeing the aspiration of the majority of the people, the government of India started to rectify the damages and was forced to implement the 'gentlemen's agreement'. The people from Andhra agitated against the strict implementation of the 'mulki' rules and thus commenced the Jai Andhra movement in 1972 (Benichou, 2000). The people from Andhra demanded the separate state and the agitation went on till the two parties reached an understanding. In the year 1973 the two regions agreed for a Six-Point Formula to implement and also protect the interests of the people belonging to the Telangana region (Kamala 2013: 28). And in 1975 a presidential order was issued for the implementation of a Six-Point Formula providing constitutional safeguards to the people of Telangana. But nothing went according to the agreements.

Even after being provided with constitutional safeguards the people of Telangana felt deprived in every aspect. In 1985 the employees from the Telangana region complained against the lack of implementation of the Six-Point Formula. The then Chief Minister N T Rama Rao issued a government order popularly known as 610 or

610 GO that was supposed to correct the irregularities and violations in recruitment. And in 2001 the government appointed the Girglani commission to look into the violations. However, in every sector people from the Telangana region continued to feel neglected and deprived with regard to agriculture, irrigation, water allocation, culture, and the private sector. Prof. Kodanda Ram says,

> Telangana has thus been converted into an internal colony as a result of the economic development process pursued by successive governments. Its resources have been diverted and utilised for the development of other regions. The movement for separate statehood seeks to articulate the demand for a fair share in the resources. It is an outcome of injustice meted out to the region by the successive governments in Andhra Pradesh (Kodanda 2007: 90).

Things started to change when for the first time, again after a gap of 28 years the Bhartiya Janata Party in 1997, raised the Telangana issue and also passed a resolution in Kakinada for the formation of a separate Telangana state. This was followed up in the lead up to the general elections where it popularized the slogan 'One Vote Two States'. This helped to flare up sentiments once more and brought the demand for a separate state to the forefront of the people. Seeing a ray of hope and also the possibility of reviving the movement with the help of Telangana intellectuals and other supporters Kalvakuntla Chandrashekar Rao, also known as KCR, floated the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) in 2001.

More than 1000 people died for the cause of Telangana in the last decade. The Telangana Rashtra Samithi led the third phase of the movement, and forced the other political parties to concede to the demand for a separate state. It went into an alliance first with the Indian National Congress in 2004; the then central government under the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) included the Telangana issue in the Common Minimum Programm. In 2008 the Telugu Desam Party passed a resolution for a separate Telangana state and went into an alliance with Telangana Rashtra Samithi in the 2009 elections.

After the general elections Kalvakuntla Chandrashaker Rao (KCR) undertook a fast-unto-death, shaking the political system and also making the movement very intense. The government, sensing that the movement could turn violent as the students started to agitate and take over, announced a road map and initiated the process for creation of a separate Telangana state on December 9, 2009. But the central government delayed and kept it on hold as there were large scale protests and resignations from elected representatives in Andhra and Rayalaseema region. On December 23, 2009 the government made a statement that it would like to move ahead after having consensus on the Telangana issue. The Indian National Congress party at the centre once again bowed to the pressure mounting from the Andhra and Rayalaseema leaders as they constituted the majority in the Andhra Pradesh assembly, while people from Andhra and Rayalaseema had 175 elected representatives or MLAs the Telangana region only had 119. In February 2010 the Home ministry appointed a five member committee to look into the issue of separate state headed by Justice Sri Krishna, which submitted its findings and report on December 2010, giving six options for the government to decide on the fate of Andhra Pradesh. In between (in the period of 2010-2012) there were several by-elections that were held in the Telangana region because of the resignations given by the MLAs (Member of Legislative Assembly) of Telangana Rashtra Samithi and also other political parties. It was the Telangana Rashtra Samithi that won all the by-elections and people stood by the Telangana Rashtra Samithi and the MLAs (Member of Legislative Assembly) who had resigned for the cause of Telangana. In 2010 Prof. Kodanda Ram was elected as the Joint Action Committee Chairman. Talking about the movement and the by-elections, he says,

> The movement has now gained wide support among the people of Telangana. In the recent by-elections to the Karimnagar parliamentary constituency, located in the Telangana region, people voted for Telangana Rashtra Samithi irrespective of their political affiliations only to show that they support the demand for separate Telangana (Kodanda 2007: 93).

Under his leadership political parties and various non-political and social groups worked together and added steam to the movement. Various protests were held under

his leadership and under the umbrella of Joint Action Committee (JAC) from 2010-2014. In February 17, 2011 they had a non-cooperation movement for sixteen days, and in March 10, 2011 they had Million March in Hyderabad, including the Sakala Janula Sammya (All people's strike) on 13 September 2011. All these protests and strikes had a severe impact on the state government, the political parties and also on the central government.

Sensing the mood and the political will of the Telangana people after witnessing the intensity of the movement, the national leadership of the Indian National Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party kept their promise and in July 30, 2013 the Congress Working Committee took the decision to support the Telangana state. On October 3, 2013 the union cabinet appointed a Group of Ministers (GoM) to listen to the political parties and other stakeholders of Andhra Pradesh. Based on the recommendations suggested the union cabinet approved the draft of the Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Bill 2013 on December 5, 2013, paving the way for the Telangana state. Though the Andhra Pradesh assembly rejected the bill sent by the President of India, the central government passed the Andhra Pradesh Reorganisation Bill 2013 in the Lok Sabha on February 18, 2014 and in the Rajay Sabha on February 20, 2014 making the Telangana the 29th state in the Indian Union.
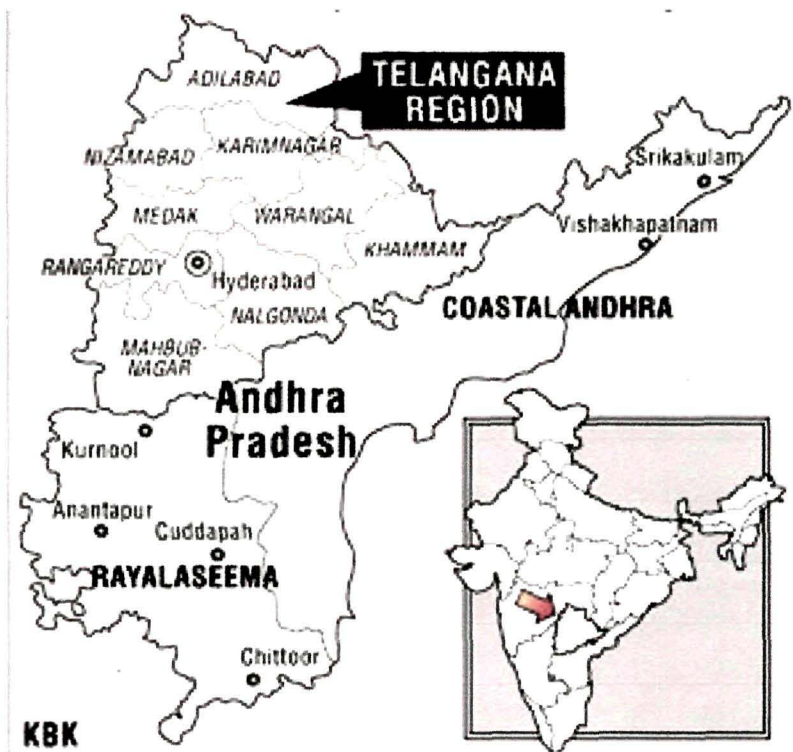
Fig.1.1 (Undivided Andhra Pradesh, Demarking Telangana)

The state of Andhra Pradesh was a unification of the erstwhile Hyderabad Princely state and the colonized British areas of the costal Andhra and Rayalaseema that were under the Madras presidency till 1953. The two regions were unified in the year 1956 under the first SRC (states reorganization commission) based on language.

Fig.1.2 (Present Telangana state)   Fig.1.3 (Present Andhra Pradesh state)

3.2 Telangana Arms Struggle and the Naxal Movement

The oppression, inequality and hegemony of one group in social, political, cultural and economic life are the root for many struggles that have taken place in erstwhile Hyderabad and Andhra Pradesh. Andhra Pradesh has a unique place in history for social and political struggles. Till 1956 the Hyderabad state also known as Telangana, or Nizam Area, had a long history of political and social struggles. The Telangana region under the Nizam rulers witnessed brutal suppression of people. The people of the region revolted against the Nizam, known as Razakar movement, or Telangana arms struggle or the peasant's struggle that has come to be considered as a historical struggle in Indian history (Sundarayya 1972). People from different parts of the Telangana region got united in defeating the Nizam's army (known as Razakars); the Communist Party of India played a vital role in the revolt and stood with the common peasants.

Besides the poor, agricultural labour, small peasants led by the Party, a broad section of middle peasantry, small, petty business people, intelligentsia supported the armed struggle and saved our underground leaders during the most difficult times. Poets, writers, journalists, government employees, Hindus, Muslims stood by the armed struggle. Women played an important role (Reddy 2010).

The people and the parties play vital role post liberation or armed struggle and according to Fanon,

As for the peasants, they improve their knowledge through practical experience and prove apt to lead the people's struggle. A wave of awareness and mutual enrichment flows between the nation on a war footing, and its leaders. Traditional institutions are reinforced, expanded and sometimes literally transformed. The tribunal for local the conflicts, *djemaas,* and the village assemblies are transformed into revolutionary tribunals and politico-military committees. (Fanon 1961: 92)

The peasant struggle, also known as Telangana arms struggle, drove the Razakars (Nizam Army) out of the villages which they had control over; following the communist ideology new laws were implemented by the peasants to govern themselves. The land was distributed among the villagers; bonded labour was abolished; minimum wages for agriculture and manual labours were fixed. According to the new laws, the villages were ruled by the Village Peasant Committees. During and after the peasant's movement (for a period 12-18 months), the people of the Telangana region achieved what Mahatma Gandhi always dreamt of: "Gram Swaraj" (power with the people at the local level, to solve the local problems). Sundarayya referred this as Gram Raj (Sundarayya 1972: 2).

People of Telangana displayed to the rest of India that Gram Swaraj could be a reality, and not merely a dream. The success of the Gram Swaraj can be mainly attributed to the communist ideology; second reason can be the equality among the castes (majority of the communities belong to backward class) and third is the

decentralization of power. The agrarian revolution in the independent India had its seeds sown with the peasant's struggle of Telangana. P. Sundarayya (1972 b) in his book *Telangana People's Struggle and its Lessons* explains that the Telangana peasants' struggle has redrawn the map of India, calling into being larger brotherhoods cutting across state-boundaries. There is no doubt in his argument that the peasants struggle is the struggle for the legitimate rights of the oppressed (1946-1951), which later inspired many other social and political movements in India, especially the communist movement in rural India (Sundarayya 1972: 3).

The Communist Party of India strengthened its presence in the peasant movement of Telangana. The Communist Party of India inspired many peasants and rural youths to join various such movements; under the Party's guidance many organizations were formed. These organizations moved into the country side and other states making the ordinary masses to revolt against the suppression. The Communist Party of India and its cadres played a vital role in propagating and influencing the people with the communist ideology. Till date the communist ideology and its ideals influence the people of the region for a common cause; it unites the people of the region especially to resist the hegemony of the ruling classes and the dominance of the Andhra people over Telangana. The division of the communist party in to two groups – one in favor and the other against the armed struggle, was in fact a blow to the Telangana region. One of these groups favored the Vishalandhra Communist Party of India (Marxist) (combining all the Telugu speaking regions into one). The other wanted a separate Telangana.

After the annexation of Hyderabad state to the Indian union in 1948, a semblance of normalcy in the political and social conditions was restored. However, very soon this normalcy got disrupted once again when the Hyderabad state was merged with Andhra on linguistic grounds in 1956. The apprehensions expressed by Syed Fazal Ali who headed the States Reorganisaton Commission (SRC) came true.

> The educationally backward people would be exploited by the people
> of Andhra and any models like the 'Scottish devolution in the United
> Kingdom' or any sort of guarantee would not serve the special needs of

Telangana; so it was recommended to retain its separate entity. (Madhusudan 2011)

The political, cultural and economic power of the Andhra people dominated the Telangana region for the last six decades (Kodanda 2007). The agreements that were signed between the two parties while merging the two regions were ignored and overwritten by the powerful political and economic classes belonging to Seemandhra region (Pingle 2010). The gap that existed between the three regions especially in terms of caste, culture, economy, education, and lifestyle widened in the last sixty years of unification. In the 60 years of movement for separate statehood, many agreements and special development councils were granted to protect the legitimate rights of the people of Telangana, by the state and the central governments through various amendments and acts in the constitution, but none of the agreements guaranteed were followed in principle by the state and centre. People of the region were left with no choice but to fight for their rights till the end for a separate state. It all started with the Singareni employees in 1968 G. Innaiah said in a personal interview,

> The Telangana agitation first started in Singareni in Kothagudam and Palwancha in 1968. It started there because people who were working in the mines, especially the sons and daughters of lower grade employees were not getting seats in the local colleges. In contrast, the wards of higher salaried employees, who incidentally belonged to other districts (from Andhra), started to get more seats. On paper the Mulki rules were still applicable in the Telangana region; however, these rules were violated and the locals started to fight for their implementation.

The politicians, employees and students agitated for implementation of the agreements guaranteed by the government for their rights and also for protecting their jobs and other benefits. The active participation of students, employees and others in the movement of 1969 became very crucial. Osmania University became the nerve centre of the movement. A total of 360 students were killed in the 1969 struggle, mainly consisting of students from the Telangana region. The failure of the movement

and U-turn by political leaders, made many students and others to join the Naxal movement. The growth of the Naxal movement in Andhra Pradesh was also because of the Telangana movement.

The Naxal movement is also known as the Naxalite movement, People's War movement, or Maoist movement. The history of the Naxal movement in India, starting from Naxalbari (1967) in West Bengal, to the present shows an increase in strength and has become a threat to the Indian state. The communist ideology attracted the youth not just in India but throughout the world in the period 1950-60. Without going into its history and operations with regard to Telangana or the Hyderabad state the communist ideology and its support was crucial in fighting against the Nizam and the Razakars. The communist movement had grown in strength but later got divided in to various groups based on their ideological differences – the Communist party of India (Marxist) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Lenin). In Andhra Pradesh it got divided into People's War Group, the Janashakti and various other groups. The groups led a movement against the Indian government for over more than five decades. As said earlier, it was an offshoot of the initial Telangana Sayudha Poratam (Telangana armed struggle or Telangana peasants struggle or Razakar movement). People in the Telangana region got attracted to the movement for various reasons. One reason was the suppression of the individual rights by the Nizam and the Razakars and the lack of basic amenities. The second reason was the merger of Telangana with Andhra. The third reason was the Patel, Zamindar, and Reddy domination of the backward communities in Telangana. Finally, it was the domination of the Andhra people in employment, education, and jobs which led to the 1969 Telangana agitation. After a letdown by the politicians, many youths in the institutions, universities and colleges joined the Naxal movement with the idea of liberating the people from bonded labour and establishing a socialist regime by giving the people their basic needs and basic rights. Fighting for the separate state of Telangana was also a part of the agenda. S. R Venkateshwar Rao a participant of the 1969 struggle and now an active member of the railway joint action committee member said in a personal interview,

> Though we had the Naxal movement initially in Srikakulam in costal
> Andhra, it was successful in all the ten districts of Telangana. But it

was a flop in Andhra. People of Telangana have accepted the Naxal movement because they have already fought the Nizam and the Razakars who had suppressed them on all fronts. The seed of revolt and the revolutionary sprit has been an integral part of the Telangana people, so this has led the people to easily identify with the peoples war movement after the 1969 movement.

Sudhakar, member of the Peoples' War Group (Cultural Front), also shares the same opinion with growth and influence of Naxal movement. He said in a personal interview,

> In 1969 it was initially the students who led the Telangana movement. The movement was then at its peak, but after 1972 many students and others were influenced by the Naxalite movement mainly in the Warangal district.

One of the groups that emerged strong after the 1969 movement was that of the students. The successive movements thereafter slowly but steadily gave rise to many groups. G. Innaiah, said in a personal interview,

> The early Naxal leaders have formed mass organizations to bridge the gap between party activities and the common people, this is the period when you had students organization, youth organization, peasant organization, cultural organization, writers organization that later became the revolutionary writer's organization was the first organization to be formed.

With the concerted efforts of various groups, the impact of the movement spread and it also helped in democratizing the society at large. Groups like Employees Union, Workers Union, Farmers Union, Backward Class Union, Schedule Caste & Schedule Tribe Union, the Writers Group, the Jana Natya Mandali and later Praja Natya Mandala, the Women's Union, Tribal Unions, and many others asserted their rights and also actively participated in the various other movements. The caste based movements were the offshoots of the Telangana movement. These groups and unions

became a part of the Telangana agitation and they played a vital role in highlighting the problems and achieving certain rights.

The youth leaders and the radical group leaders of the 1969 movement who got associated with the Naxal movement became the top leaders of the Maoist movement. Over the years they have been very supportive of various movements in central India especially in states like Odisha, Chattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, and Bihar apart from Andhra Pradesh. They have been fighting for people's rights in these states, especially for the tribes and the lower caste communities. They have supported many farmers' movements, land movements, tribal movements, caste movements, women's movements and various other movements. The group is still fighting against state atrocities and injustice for the last four decades. People in different parts of the country have thus drawn their inspiration from the earlier movements that have taken place in Telangana.

The students groups which played a vital role in the Telangana agitation especially highlighted the lack of education and employment in the region. This made the government to establish a few good colleges and institutes in the region. Later many groups involved with the agitation turned into full-fledged organizations. Today we have the Dalit movement fighting for the rights of Schedule casts, the Tribal Movement fighting for land/forest rights and development, the civil liberties movement, and the women's movement fighting for equal justice for women in family and at workplace. To a large extent these groups were all the offshoots of the Telangana movement and the Naxal movement and they completely transformed the political and social systems in Andhra Pradesh.

3.3 Women's Participation in Socio-Political Struggles

The subjugation of women is a common trait found in many societies, but revolts by women are probably not as common. Though women participated and contributed a lot in India's freedom struggle many of these narratives are missing in the history books. Very few people have written and acknowledged women's participation and contribution in the freedom struggle of India. The women in Telangana have shown remarkable strength in taking on the mighty Razakars along with the men in 1946-51. They were active participants in the movement; they fought in the frontline, carrying

arms and ammunition. The women stood their ground when their men were killed or had to take shelter elsewhere. Women fought till the end to liberate themselves form bonded labour, abuse and sexual exploitation. P. Sundarayya explains in detail how the women in Telangana revolted against Razakars, police, and feudal land lords (Sundarayya 1972). The first revolt of Chakali Ilamma in the small village of Palakurthi in Jangaon Mandal inspired many women to stand for their rights and to protect the lands, even when women were raped by the Razakars (Nizam army) and the landlord goons; the women of Telangana were not deterred even when their husbands were killed in front of them. Mallu Swarajyam who was an active member of the Telangana movement mentions the experience of thousands of women like her who participated in the Telangana struggle.

> I was part of an armed struggle, but arms did not come into our hands
> in the beginning. Initially the weapons that we used for the struggle
> were sticks, sickles, chilli powder and knives. Only the military
> division was given arms. We were in the political struggle. Women,
> however, participated both in the military division and in the political
> division at leadership levels as well as at the level of the cadre
> (Swarajyam 1998: WS-31).

Fanon mentions how the movements can sustain for longer periods from the narratives that are told and retold about he says

> In order to maintain their stamina and their revolutionary capabilities,
> the people also resort to retelling certain episodes in the life of the
> community. The outlaw, for example, who holds the countryside for
> days against the police, hot on his trail, or who succumbs after killing
> four or five police officers in singlehanded combat or who commits
> suicide rather than "give up" his accomplices, all constitute for the
> people role models, action schemas, and "heroes." (Fanon 1961:30)

The stories of brave village women such as Acchamma of Parsaipalli, Lingamma of Chilapakuntla, Lachamma of Nadigadda, Jainabbi of Rajaram passed through word of mouth and in the form of songs inspiring thousands of women to come out and fight

during the struggle. Hundreds of women have been raped and killed but the inspiration did not die. Women seized the opportunity to break the shackles and to liberate themselves. P Sundarayya says

> It is not surprising that we had women participating in large numbers
> in all agricultural labour strikes, or in seizure of grain from landlords'
> and deshmukhs' warehouses and gadis (Sundarayya 1972: 330).

Many women saw the opportunity of liberating themselves forever in a do or die battle of the Telangana armed struggle. This gave an opportunity for the women to move outside their domain that was largely confined to household kitchen and agriculture. But the majority of the women who participated in the struggle were from the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities (as Telangana has a large population of these communities). Another reason for the large participation of women was that it enabled them to liberate themselves from the abuse that they had to face regularly, especially the sexual abuse by the landlords. Mallu Swarajyam says

> One of the reasons why women came in was the fact that at that point,
> no beautiful woman, in the village was spared by the landlord. If a
> landlord saw a beautiful woman in the village or someone he was
> attracted to, she had to be immediately sent to him. So among the girls,
> who came and joined the movement as Karyakartas, were girls, who
> were likely to face this kind of harassment. There were also destitute
> women, who came into the movement as karyakartas, because they
> also would not be spared by the landlord. Young girls who had been
> married to old men and found no meaning in their lives came and
> became karyakartas in the movement because here they found some
> cause for which they could dedicate their lives. At that time, we also
> had a consciousness of women's issues (Testimonies of Struggle 1998:
> WS-30).

Vimalakka the balladeer, a revolutionary leader who heads the Arunodaya Samskritika Samakhya (ACF) who fought on various issues concerned with women said in a personal interview,

No movement is successful without women and women's participation; women today are saying that we are one-half of the sky and we are one-half of the struggle. Aarootla Kamama Devi, Chakali Ayilama Mallu Swarajam, fought against the Nizam, and today in the ongoing movement thousands of women have participated. Women's role has become vital in the first and the present phase of Telangana movement but the opportunities provided for women continue to be far less compared to men.

The large participation of women in the Telangana armed struggle paved the way for the formation of many women's organizations; the Communist Party of India also encouraged women's participation. And this encouragement has also led them to the forests along with men to wage armed rebellion against the government. Many women were active participants of the cultural groups like Jana Natya Mandali, Praja Natya Mandali, and other groups like Arunodaya Samskritika Samakhya (ACF). Some of the other women became active participants, wielding guns as members of the banned People's War Group. Women became the unknown and unseen strength in many movements that took place in India, playing a vital role in sustaining the movement and providing the required support.

Women had participated equally along with the men and due to this, it became easier for the Gram Committees, Sangham and Party to campaign against the age-old ideas prevalent in the society that women were inferior to men. Gram Raj Committees proclaimed and campaigned that, men and women had equal rights. (Sundarayya 1972:126)

The 1960-70 period is crucial in terms of women's participation as many of them joined the Naxal movement that saw an increase in numbers after the second phase of Telangana movement of 1969-72. In this phase women's role increased and the left parties were ready to accommodate the women and also assign them roles and responsibilities. The women became very vocal and also the left party leaders and groups brought the issues of gender and gender equality within the official discourse

of the party; this gave the opportunity for the women in Andhra Pradesh to fight patriarchy and violence against women. Gradually women started to lead the movement in women-centric issues; the political parties took note of the strength of women in Andhra Pradesh during the anti-arrack movement (1992). The anti-arrack movement mobilized women like never before; the literacy drive that was started by the state National Literacy Mission helped the women in relating to the issues.

The anti-arrack movement that started in a small village of Dubagunta in Nellore district by Rossamma started to spread like wild fire. Many women in Andhra Pradesh were victims of domestic violence and most often than not such women were married to alcoholic husbands. Women easily identified with the movement and opposed the auctions for liquor sale in their villages and district headquarters. The women who were part of the Self Help Groups in Andhra Pradesh took an active role in the anti-arrack movement.

The political parties took advantage of the movement and the main opposition party went one step further and said that it would impose prohibition the day it comes to power. This was a major victory for women as the government imposed the ban on liquor sale and production in Andhra Pradesh. The upper and middle class women along with women of the villages (especially women who were part of the Self Help Groups) played an active role in mobilizing the masses and few of them became presidents of political parties at the district and state level. Prof Katyayani Vidmahe, Sahitya Akademi awardee 2013, while speaking at the sixth general body meeting of Progressive Organisation of Women (POW) said

> SHGs stalled women's movements; the women's movements had always seen ups and downs. Whenever there were atrocities against women, agitations were taken up but with the introduction of Self Help Groups (SHGs), the women's movement took a backseat for some time as political parties viewed women just as a vote bank. (The Hansindia March 3 2014)

Though women in Andhra Pradesh have made some progress in the political, social and economic arenas they are still lagging behind with regard to achieving equal

rights. Prof Rama Melkote says "Religion and culture played an adverse role in the forward movement of women's struggle. The mindset of the people had to change (The Hansindia March 3 2014).Women in villages are ready to fight male dominance and violence through courts and police stations. Many women in the recent past have been bold enough to lodge protests and fight for justice; women's organizations have supported the individuals on several occasions. There have been a few cases of justice to the individual with the help of women's organizations.

Celebrating the One Billion Raising awareness campaign in Hyderabad, Vasant Kannabiran, co-founder, Asmita Resource Centre for Women remembered the women who sacrificed their lives fighting for equal justice and rights and the prominent women leaders of the Telangana movement: "Ailamma's name was engraved in the history as the woman who started Telangana Peasant Struggle" (The Hansindia February 15 2014). Women in Andhra Pradesh, especially the urban middle class educated women, who were part of the Andhra Mahasabha, fought on women issues related to wages, land rights, violence at work place, and domestic violence; it gave the women an opportunity to assert their presence through participation in various struggles. Talking about the leadership qualities and the awareness that has been created by their group and other women's organizations Vimalakka said in a personal interview,

> Women leadership has grown over the years; women are no longer a show piece nor do they want to do things for media attention; the movement has given the strength to move forward and question the system. They do not wait for orders and they are bold enough to take their own decision. Women who participated in the movement are bold enough now and they are ready to fight for their rights.

Today there are numerous women's organizations in Andhra Pradesh that are working on issues concerned with women in fields ranging from empowerment to education for women. The Progressive Women's Association is the leading women's organization in Andhra Pradesh. The Progressive Organization of Women (POW) and its leaders, including the president V. Sandhya, asserted their power by highlighting women's issues on various platforms and in seeking equal justice, thousands of

women participated in the ongoing Telangana movement. Taking the past experience into consideration, the women's organizations in Telangana are demanding Women's Reservation Bill to be passed by the Telangana assembly now that statehood is a reality; various organizations are demanding for recognition and equal justice along with men in all fields. The women's organizations are careful and are ready to record the history with the help of the academia and Telangana intelligentsia.

3.4 Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS)

The Dalit movement has a long history in India; many great leaders and social reformers have fought for their rights. Unlike other Dalit movements in India seeking justice and equal rights, the Dalit movement (MRPS) in Andhra Pradesh was fighting for sub-reservation within the SC community (15%) based on their population. Madigas (forming around 47 per cent) and the Malas (36 per cent) are two dominant communities. The Madiga population is large in Telangana when compared with the Andhra region; the lack of opportunities, backwardness in education and employment when compared to the Mala community led the Madiga community to fight for justice starting from the early 1980s.

> It was in 1995 that the Madiga Reservation Porata Samiti (MRPS) came on the scene. It declared that the scheduled caste quota of reservations was being availed of disproportionately by the mala community and demanded that the 15 per cent quota allotted to the SCs in the state be sub-divided and fixed quotas allotted to properly-identified subgroups of the 59 dalit communities. The demand the madigas raised was plain, simple and easily understood: divide up the SC reservation quota and give us our due. It was moreover felt to be unproblematic since the backward class reservation in the state has long since been subdivided into four subgroups, which subdivision has been upheld by the Supreme Court (Balagopal 2000:1076)

The Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MPRS) founded in 1994 by Manda Krishna Madiga had a great influence on the political and social system in Andhra Pradesh. The movement fought for the community and their rights on various issues with regard to their self-respect. Seeking proportional justice based on the population was

its goal. The Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) was able to get support from various political parties in the implementation of the reservation policy under the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) government in Andhra Pradesh but the Supreme Court objected to it and rejected the implementation of the sub-reservation within the SC community. Over the years the Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) has fought for the upliftment of the Madiga community in Andhra Pradesh. The political parties have used the reservation card in every election to gain votes. The Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) used every opportunity to its advantage to use the political parties in achieving certain goals. The government of Andhra Pradesh has recently implemented the sub-plan for schedule caste and schedule tribe (SC/ST) communities. The Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) was a strong supporter of the Telangana movement and it was instrumental in various strikes organized by the caste based Joint Action Committees which were in the forefront of the Telangana movement. The MRPS or the Madiga community could benefit with the division of Andhra Pradesh as it believes that it can get all the benefits in various sectors including the local and general body elections of the government. In the larger context it could also solve the sub-reservation problem as the Madigas are larger in number in the Telangana region. Recently the MRPS leader launched a new political party called the Mahajana Socialist Party. The cultural, economic and political hegemony of one region over the other has been the cause for various political and social movements in Andhra Pradesh (Kodanda 2007). The rise of the socio-political movements and rise of regional political parties is directly or indirectly linked to political, cultural and economic suppression; the leaders of the movement take advantage of these movements and float new political parties or organizations that promise equal justice and opportunities in every field. While some political parties change the course of history and the lives of people to certain extent with their success, others take advantage of the movements. It is interesting to see how the 1969 Telangana movement was a failure while the 2001 Telangana movement was successful.

3.5 Telangana Movement and the Rise of Political Parties (1969-2001)

Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS): Apart from the Telangana armed struggle the 1969 movement is considered as the defining movement in the history of Telangana. It was the socio-political and cultural upheaval in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The 1969 movement showed to the world the consequence of undermining the rights of the

minority; rights that were guaranteed by the state are ignored by the ruling class. As said, the agitation started with the employees in the Singareni coal mines demanding justice for their children in colleges in 1968; later, students and politicians joined the protests demanding the continuation of safeguards (Mulki rules) for the Telangana people, along with demanding jobs, education and budget allocation. It started in the district of Khammam and later spread to other parts of the Telangana region as many students started to participate in the agitation demanding a separate state of Telangana.

> Dr. Marri Chenna Reddy mobilized public support in favour of separate Telangana. His party won eleven Lok Sabha seats. Smt Indira Gandhi tried her level best to cool down the movement by offering minor development programmes. It is also very important to understand the development that neglected in the Telangana region during the Telugu Desam Party's regime. People of Telangana region thought that Andhra educated youth robbing the employment opportunities of local youth (Jagan 2009:21).

The protests continued under the leadership of Mari Chenna Reddy who headed the political party called Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) demanding a separate state. Around 360 students died in the police firing during the agitation. Govardhan, a Cultural Artist, said in a personal interview,

> During the period between 1969 and 1972 the people of the region were still lingering in the shadows of the Nizam Saiudha Poratam (armed struggle). It was the communist movement and the people's war party which made the Telangana resolution for separate state and also helped the Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) to win the majority of seats in the Parliament from the Telangana region. The Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) won because of the students and their sacrifice.

A railway employee S. R Venkateshwar Rao who participated in the movement of 1969 had to say this with regard to the rise of Telangana Praja Samithi and the influence of the Reddy community in the Telangana region, in a personal interview,

Channa Reddy became very popular in the Telangana region as he supported the movement. Also the Reddy community was very powerful and popular in the Telangana region as they were the "elite class" and had command over the people at the village level. There was a meeting held in Secundrabad parade ground and majority of the people who attended the party meeting belonged to the Reddy community from all over the Telangana region. As the Communist Party of India got divided into two, the Indian National Congress became very powerful. But the Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) lead by Channa Reddy was the sole representative and only alternative for the people of Telangana during the elections.

The Telangana Praja Samithi (TPS) contested the general elections in 1971; the party won an overwhelming majority of 11 parliament seats out of 14 in the Telangana region. As the central government headed by Indira Gandhi was not in favor of the Telangana state the movement slowly disintegrated when elected representatives from the Telangana region joined the ruling Congress party. Though the government of India reached an agreement to correct the injustice that was done through the 1973 Six-Point Formula, the people of the Telangana region were not satisfied, as the apprehension still continued. The following governments in the state of Andhra Pradesh did nothing to implement the 6-point formula and this gave an opportunity for other political parties to take advantage of the situation. First it was the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 1997 with a slogan of 'one vote two states'. Then the Congress in 1999 and Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) in 2001 raised the single point agenda of realizing the Telangana state.

Telangana Rashtra Samithi: The Telangana movement found its lost momentum after the launch of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) by Kalvakuntla Chandrashaker Rao who in the year 2001 launched the new party for spearheading the separate Telangana cause. He was a senior legislator belonging to the Telugu Desam party in the Andhra Pradesh assembly. He represented the Siddipet constituency in Karminagar district in Telangana region. As he was not given a cabinet berth in the government headed by Chandra Babu Naidu (Telugu Desam), Kalvakuntla Chandrashaker Rao (KCR) resigned from the party citing injustice to the politicians

belonging to the Telangana region. His single point agenda was to free Telangana from the domination of the Andhra rulers and seek justice for the people of Telangana. Very few occasionally have talked about injustice done to the region after the 1969-72 movement. Govardhan, an active member of the cultural group said in a personal interview, "Very few people dared to talk about Telangana. People in the Telangana region were afraid to protest as the region has the past history of fake encounter killings and state atrocities". None of the leaders talked about or fought for Telangana till Kalvakuntla Chandrashaker Rao (KCR) launched the party.

> Political leaders responded to the demand only after the movement gained wide support from the people. The present phase of the movement led by various civil society groups started in 1989 and intensified from 1996 onwards. The Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) was formed only in 2001, after the movement gained strength. It has given political expression to the movement. (Kodanda 2007:93)

Telangana United Front Party leader and Member of Legislative Council, K Dilip said in a personal interview,

> Kalvakuntla Chandrashaker Rao (KCR) seized the opportunity to bring back the Telangana cause to limelight. When he started to fail and saw that the movement was being hijacked by the other political parties, he floated the Joint Action Committee that constituted all the political parties.

The TRS party strategically got all the parties to accept the demand for a separate state by forming an alliance with the two principal parties of Andhra Pradesh (Telugu Desam Party and Indian National Congress) in the 2004 and 2009 Lok Sabha and assembly elections. The success of the party in the elections was largely due to the regional aspiration of the people for a separate state, and also the awareness campaigns launched by the party in the Telangana region. The alternative media became an integral part of the Telangana society and it turned out to be more effective than the mainstream media

The year 2010 turned to be the year of Telangana as the central government was forced to concede to the demand of separate state after a fast-unto-death by K Chandrashaker Rao, Member of Parliament and founder of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi after six decades of struggle. When the center delayed in delivering the separate state of Telangana, the people of the region adopted various means to achieve their goal for separate statehood. All peaceful methods from street protests to non-cooperation, hunger strikes to fast-unto- death were employed by the people of the Telangana region during the movement period. Though the Naxalite/Maoists supported the cause, they did not resort to any violence during the movement. The Telangana movement was successful because it was an issue based movement; it became the people's movement and not that is motivated by self-interest by an individual or an organization.

3.6 Acceptance and Success of Issue based Movements (Telangana Movement)

Political and social movements, irrespective of place and time, can always influence others; movements are contagious and their impact can spread far and wide. Whenever movements arise histories are rewritten, new facts are quoted by the people, and the media carries forward the message, often acting as a catalyst making people believe and act. Political and social movements with the help of media can also manipulate the facts according to their needs from time to time. As new stories and facts emerge over a period of time, the media (mainstream or alternative) conveys these messages to the audience adding new dimensions to the movements. Today the information that is available is huge and people are often perplexed as what to believe in and what not.

We are witnessing an increasing trend of political and social movements getting disintegrated very soon; the united movements are not able to sustain too long, as it is easy for the forces with vested interest to divide the groups on ethnic, regional, religious and cultural identities. Innaiah elaborating on the movement's that have come up in the past few decades said in a personal interview,

> Movements are of two types – one is issue-based and the other is motivated for personal interests. We find people using caste, religion, region, and gender in motivated movements. These movements have a

very limited life; we have seen such movements in a few states of India. In motivated movements emotions are not sustained for too long. On the other hand issue-based movements are universal and do not depend on caste, religion and region; these movements are universal and are for the betterment of whole community and society, these movements can sustain for long and can be expected to be more successful.

In majority of the movements we see the personal and motivated interests of a few. Even in the issue based movements we have seen people getting divided and losing sight of the common goal. Another reason can be the role of media; in the past two decades the media has played a significant role in disintegrating the social and political movements rather than integrating the movements for the larger cause of society.

The various methods employed by people in political, social and cultural movements may vary from place to place. While some groups tend to believe in a violent approach to achieving the desired goals, others prefer a nón-violent method. Many peaceful and non-violent movements have been successful to a large extent in achieving their goals in comparison to the violent methods adopted by few movements. (E.g. Salt Satyagraha, Indian Independence, State of Andhra, Telangana movement, Narmada Bachao Andolan, and Anti-corruption Movement in India). G Innaiah while talking about the movements said in a personal interview,

> According to me no philosophy is violent or non-violent; this concept
> is introduced by the state when they want to divide a movement and
> frame it from their point of view. Some issue-based movements,
> though initially confined to a particular region, can slowly spread to
> other areas. The freedom movement in India, the trade union
> movements, the Naxal movement, and the latest anti-corruption
> movement are issue-based movements because we don't find
> discourses of religion, caste, gender, or region dominating in such
> movements. There has been a setback for issue-based movement in

India in the last 15-20 years. We see a decline in such movements that are of common and universal concern.

We can see that issue based movements that are of general concern for the larger population has more chance to be successful; the participation of people irrespective of religion caste and creed make a movement successful. For example, while the anti-arrack movement, the Telangana movement, and the anti-corruption movement are issue based movement became successful, on the other hand the reservation movement (sub-quota) movement carried by the Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) was a failure till date because it is concerned with one community and it is very limited.

The Telangana movement, right form its origin in 1956, was peaceful and adopted a non-violent approach to achieve the goal within the framework of the Indian Constitution. In the six decades of the movement's ups and downs, many students died in police firings or self-immolation for the cause. There were no incidents reported of attacking the non-locals (people from Seemandhra). The people of the Telangana region have adopted various means to protest against the government. Having faith in the Indian government and parliamentary democracy people voted in favor of the Telangana representatives and political parties in all the elections and by-elections that were held during the days of the movement. Over the past six decades the people have been fighting the biased nature of the governments (Telugu Desam Party and Indian National Congress) that ruled the state. The political parties and leaders have used the Telangana issue and the backwardness of the region to their advantage by promising to fight for a separate state from time-to-time. During the past two upsurges of the movement the government of India managed to dose off the flames by manipulating and making amendments to the constitution as a temporary relief, starting from gentlemen's agreement to the Six-point formula, Development Council, then the 610 GO (local jobs). However, all the agreements and special protections granted for the people of Telangana were ineffective as the successive governments headed by people from the Seemandhra region have ignored these special provisions and agreements granted by the centre and the state.

Knowledge and the geography of the Telangana region along with its socio-political and cultural conditions is crucial to understand the Telangana movement, as these factors contributed to the methods employed in the long history of the Telangana movement. A few centuries of rule under the Nizam not only brought the literature, art, architecture, culture and food of the Middle East to the region, but also made the ruler of the Hyderabad state one of the richest man in the world. The coexistence of different religions and mutual respect has been the tradition of the Telangana region. When compared to rest of India, the state of Hyderabad displayed greater social tolerance than many other parts of India. Different communities and traders were encouraged to settle in the region and also practice their own faith and culture as long as they did not go against the authority. The rulers not only brought a new religion but also a new culture and language (Urdu); the top administrative and judicial positions were held by the minority rulers. The schools were mainly Urdu based as it was the language spoken by the Nizam; all administrative and judicial works were carried out in Urdu. Hindus, Muslims and other communities took part in the celebration of each other's festivals. People of the region, irrespective of their relation, call each other not by names but as someone belonging to the same family (for instance, a lower caste person will call the upper caste person as Anna (brother), Mama, Pedaiah, Chinnaiah, Kaka (uncle), rather than calling names; the same is with the women, they also call the other women as Akka, Vadhina, Aaatha, Kodala (sister, sister-in law, aunt)). This bond within the people of the region irrespective of religion, caste, culture and social status has helped in creating and sustaining a collective identity for the Telangana movement. Francesca Polletta and James M. Jasper (2001) argue that collective identity is "an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a perception of a shared status or relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and it is distinct from personal identities, although it may form part of a personal identity" (Polletta and Jasper 2001: 285).

Apart for the above categories a region can also strengthen and bolster a sense of collective identity. In the Telangana region the experiences of shared status or relation is not imagined but a reality. Dr. Bhangya Bhukya, who participated in the movement and also represents the under privileged communities, has this to say in regard to the unity of the people of the region in a personal interview,

The factor which unites the people of Telangana is the rule of the Nizam under whom peasants and laborers, irrespective of their caste and community, constituted a homogeneous class. The British rule was a landmark in Indian history as it brought modernity to India. However, Telangana was completely untouched by the British. Thus the cultural uniqueness and a sense of communal solidarity persisted in the region. One can see a cultural blending in the communities of the Telangana region. The Brahmanical and upper caste domination is less compared to many other places in India. One can find a lot of similarities between the communities and their culture in the Telangana region. This is visible when one looks at the worship pattern, the Muslims and Hindus have their places of worship built side by side, and in some temples you can see the Dargahs (tombs of peers) inside the places of worship of other communities.

Professor G. Chakrapani had to say this about the unity of the people in the Telangana movement said in a personal interview,

The movement has not only united the people of the region living in Telangana but it has united people of Telangana wherever they live around the world, irrespective of their socio-economic backgrounds. The programmes initiated by its leadership as part of the movement contributed for cultural unity among the people of different classes, castes and religions.

With regard to the Telangana movement one can see the unity and integrity among the people; the Telangana cause preceded the individual, religious, caste and class issues. Thus we can say that the Telangana movement was successful in projecting itself as an issue based movement that sought to unite the people for a common cause.

3.7 Understanding the impact of the Telangana Movement: Reporting from the Field

When one compares and contrasts the Telangana movement with other socio-political movements of India in the recent past, it is undeniable that it has been unique in terms of its inclusive nature. People from all walks of life participated in the movement. I interviewed people from diverse backgrounds in the districts of Hyderabad, Karimnagar and Warangal. The following is a graphic representation of the response that was generated from the field on the basis of questionnaires that were distributed amongst three hundred and fifty respondents. I tried to make the sample of the respondents as inclusive as possible, including students, employees, housewives, farmers, labourers, and academics. The pattern that emerged from the field was unmistakable. Not only was the verdict clearly in favor of the state of Telangana but it was obvious that the role played by the indigenous media in the growth of the movement was tremendous.

1. Have you participated in the Telangana movement?
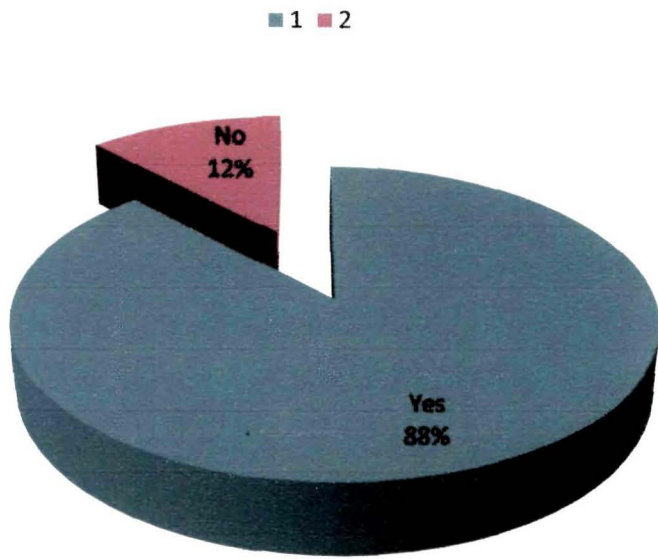
■ 1 ■ 2

No
12%

Yes
88%

Fig.1.4

2. Is Telangana state important for you?
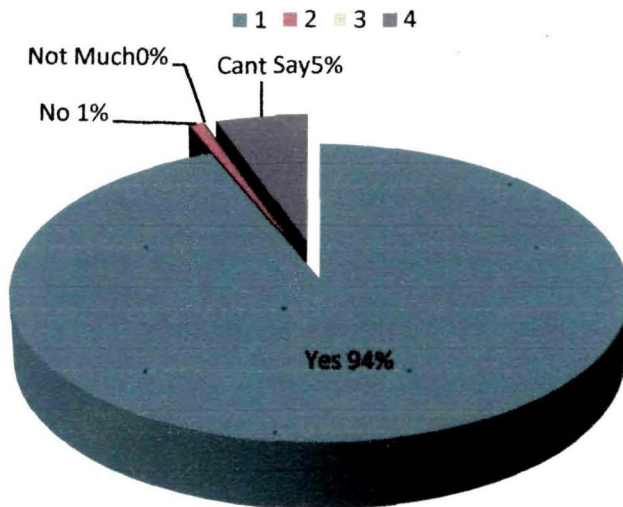
■ 1 ■ 2 ■ 3 ■ 4

Not Much 0%   Cant Say5%

No 1%

Yes 94%

Fig.1.5

3. Which media has given you the required information and made you aware of the movement?

■ 1 ■ 2 ▪ 3 ■ 4

All 6%

Word of Mouth 18%

Mainstream Media 45%

Indigenous Media 31%

Fig.1.6

4. Do you find any media bias in its approach towards the Telangana movement?

■ 1 ■ 2 ▪ 3 ■ 4

To an extent 8%

Not much 5%

No 6%

Yes 81%
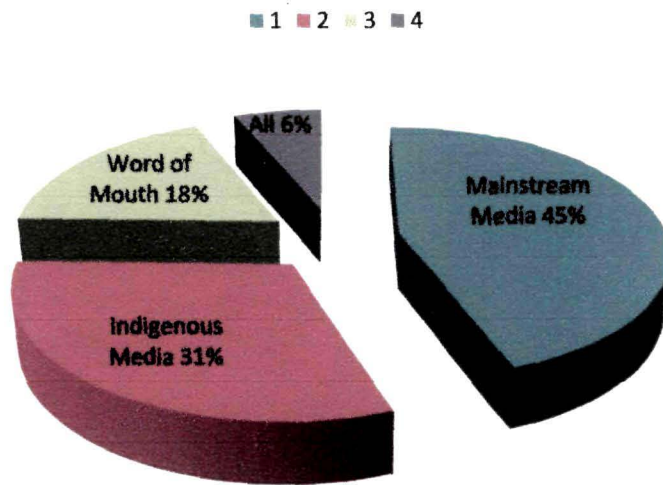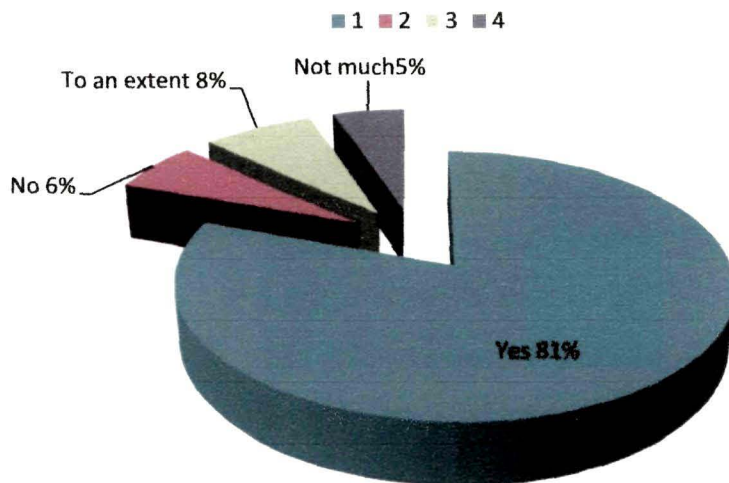
Fig.1.7

5. Do you feel that the communication technologies like print, radio, television including the internet and mobile communication helped in building up the Telangana Movement?
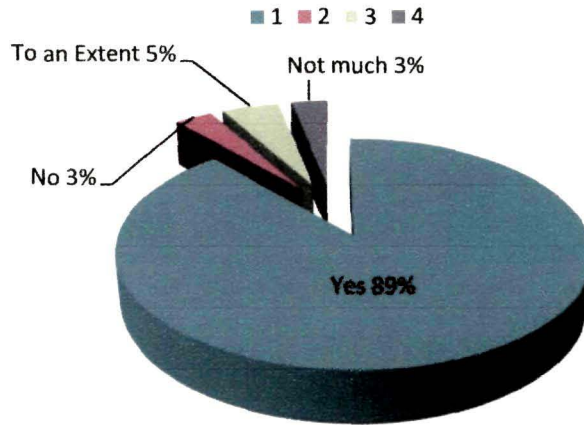
Fig.1.8

6. During the agitation of the Telangana movement did you feel deprived of information in media?
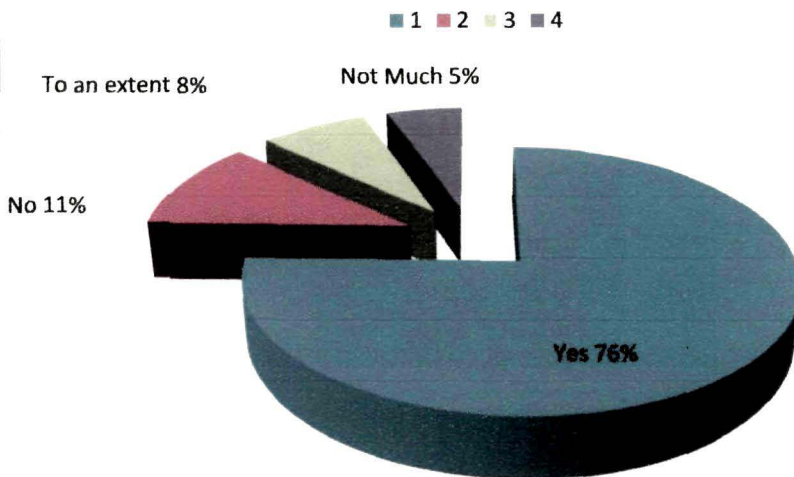
Fig.1.9

7. Are you aware of the Telangana Dhoom-Dhaam?

■ 1 ■ 2

1%

99%
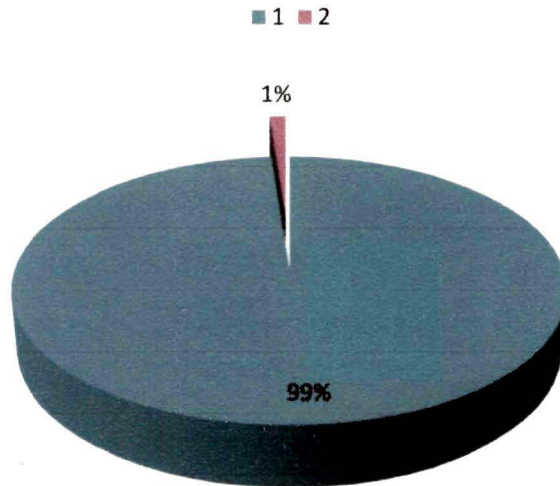
Fig.1.10

8. Do you feel that the Telangana Dhoom-Dhaam highlighted the Telangana movement?

■ 1 ■ 2 ■ 3 ■ 4

To an extent
7%

Not much 1%

No 2%

Yes 90%
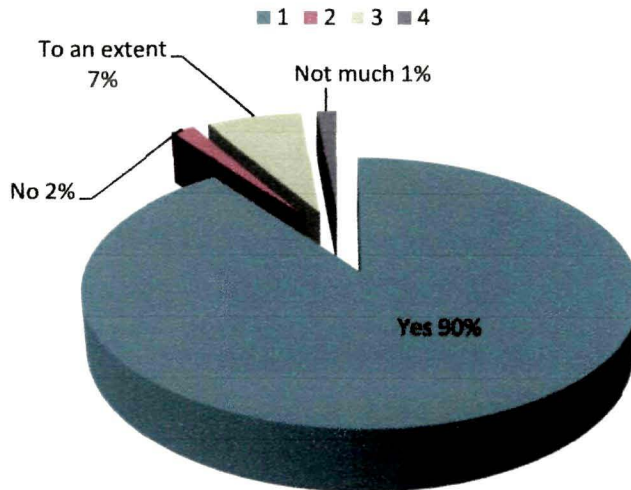
Fig1.11

9. Do you feel that songs and dance performances by cultural groups and singers had an impact on you and others in the Telangana region?

■ 1 ■ 2 ▪ 3 ■ 4

To large extent 20%

Not much 3%

No 7%

Yes 70%
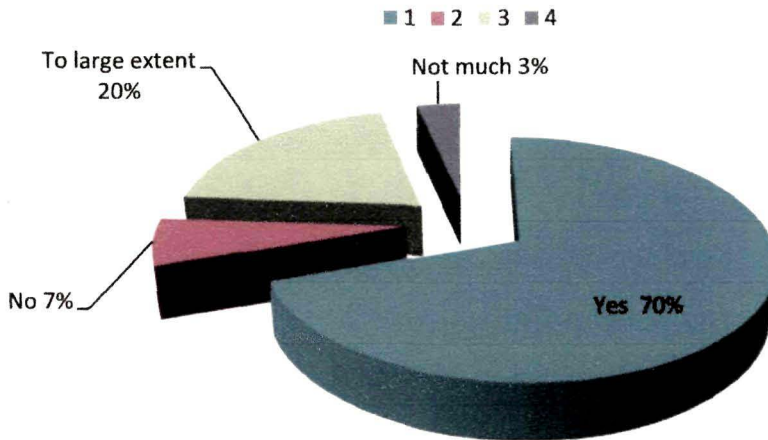
Fig.1.12

10. Do you know anyone who has a Telangana song as a ringtone for his/her mobile?

■ 1 ■ 2 ▪ 3 ■ 4

Few 12%

Many 29%

No 8%

Yes 51%
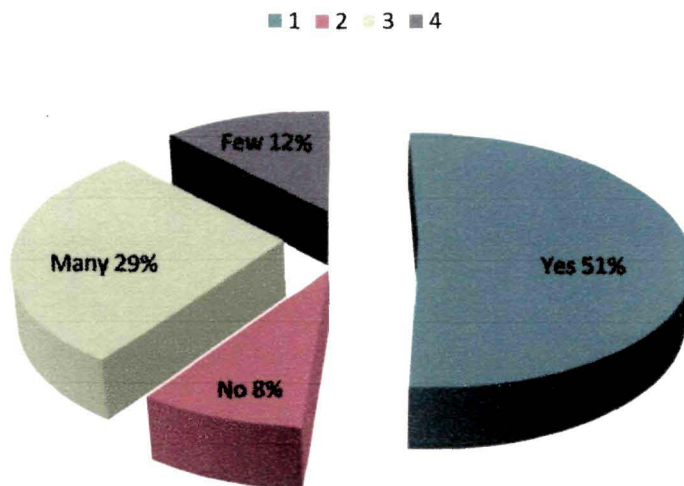
Fig.1.13

11. Do you know people like Gadhar, Vimalakka, Gorenti Venkanna, Rasamai Balakishan and other balladeers and singers?

■ 1 ■ 2 ■ 3 ■ 4

I know them
15%

I never herd 0%

No 1%

Yes 84%
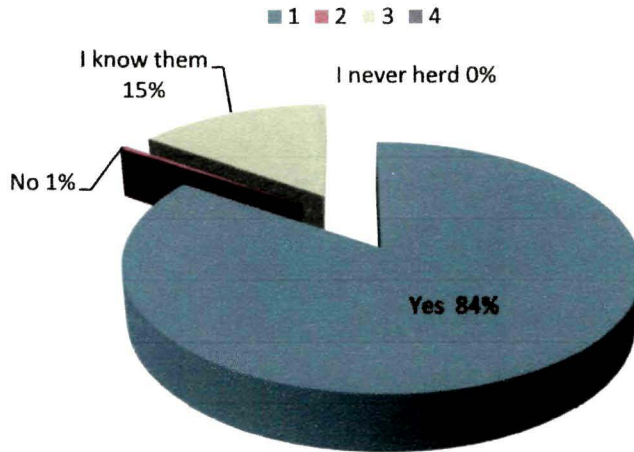
Fig.1.14

12. Do you think people like Gadhar, Vimalakka, Gorenti Venkanna, Rasamai Balakishan and other balladeers and singers have contributed to the Telangana movement?

■ 1 ■ 2 ■ 3 ■ 4

To large extent
22%

Not much
4%

No 1%

Yes 73%
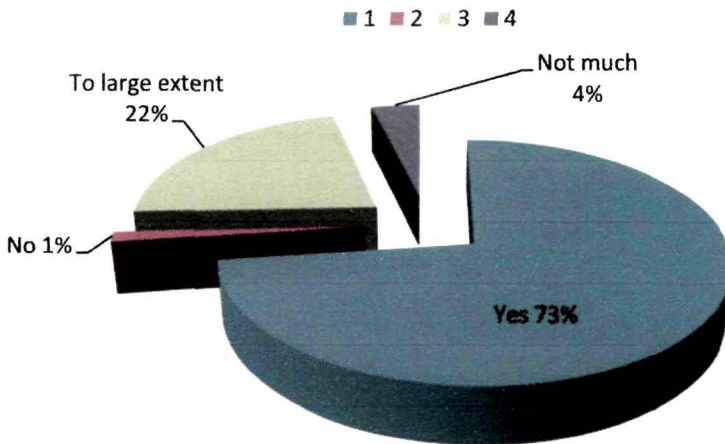
Fig.1.15

13. Do you think that the native media has played a major role in highlighting the Telangana movement?
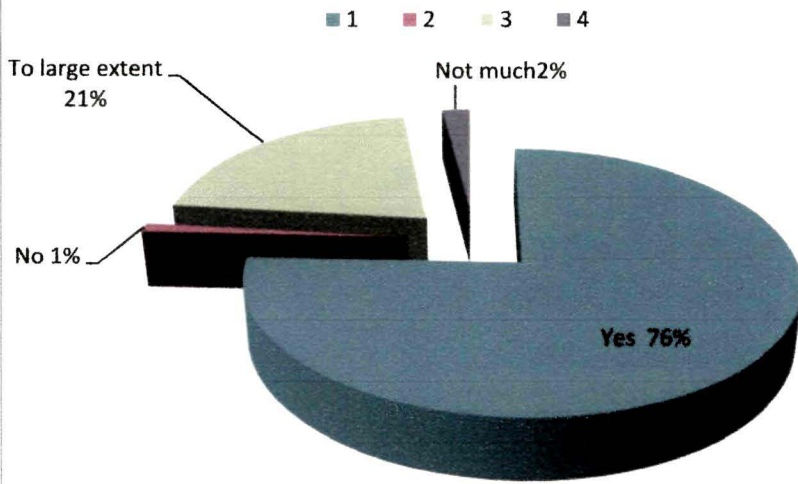
Fig.1.16

14. Do you think the Telangana culture, traditions and lifestyles have been highlighted by the singers in Dhoom-Dhaam?
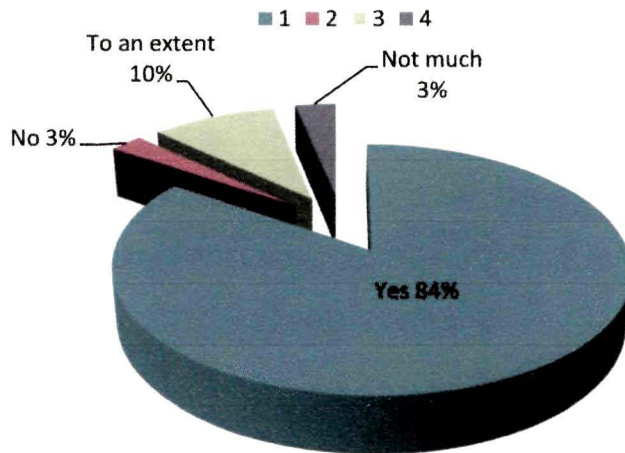
Fig.1.17

15. Do you think that the Telangana culture has been revived by the Telangana movement?
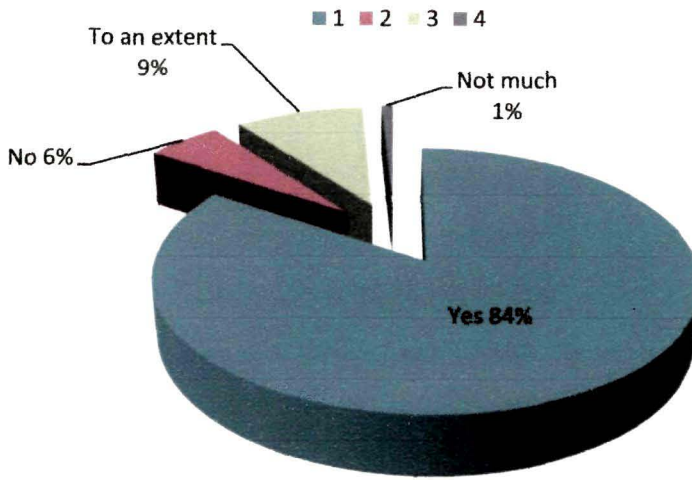
Fig.1.18

16. Do you think the Telangana movement has given new life to writers, poets, singers, performers and various others?
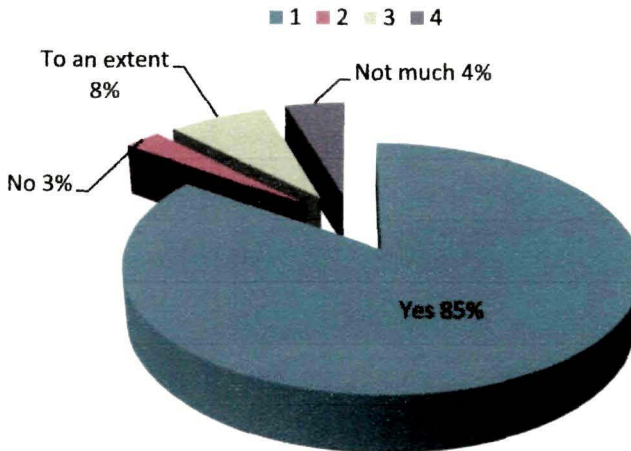
Fig.1.19

17. Do you think the songs by the various artists highlighted the sacrifices made by the people during the Telangana movement?

■ 1 ■ 2 ▨ 3 ■ 4

To an extent 10%

No 3%

Not much 3%

Yes 84%
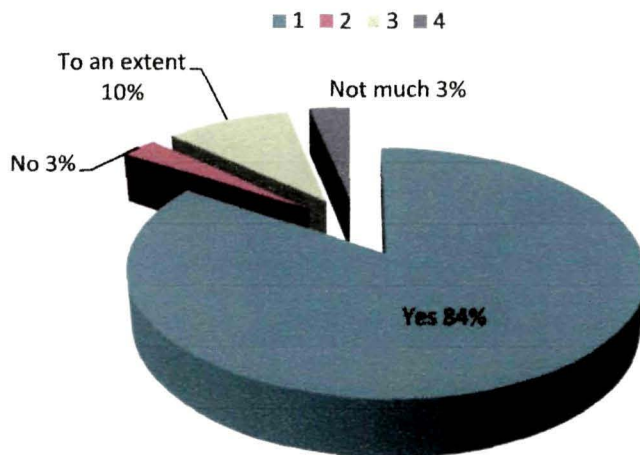
Fig.1.20

18. Are you aware of the Telangana amaraveerula stupam (martyrs)

■ 1 ■ 2 ▨ 3 ■ 4

I know the story 15%

Never herd 0%

I dont know 3%

Yes I know 82%

Fig.1.21

19. Do you get inspired by seeing the Telangana amaraveerula stupam (martyrs memorial)?

■ 1 ■ 2 ■ 3 ■ 4

to a great extent
25%

Not much 3%

no 2%

Yes 70%

Fig.1.22

20. Which political party has taken advantage of the Telangana culture more?

■ 1 ■ 2 ■ 3 ■ 4 ■ 5 ■ 6

BJP 5%

CPI 1%

0%

0%

INC 8%

TRS 86%
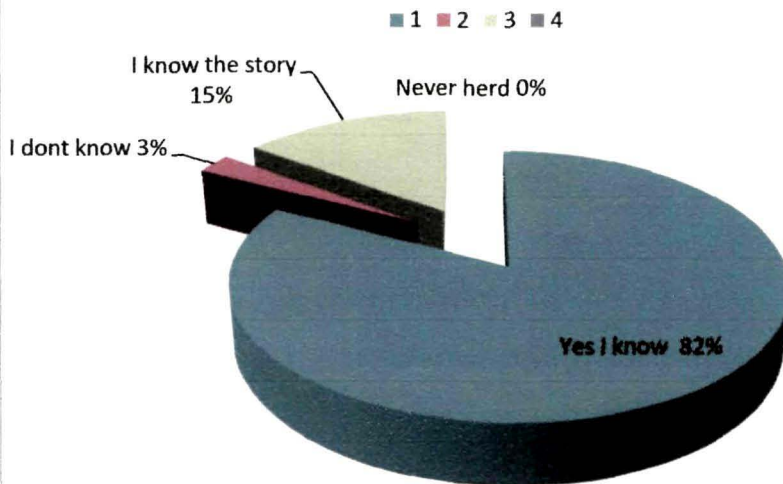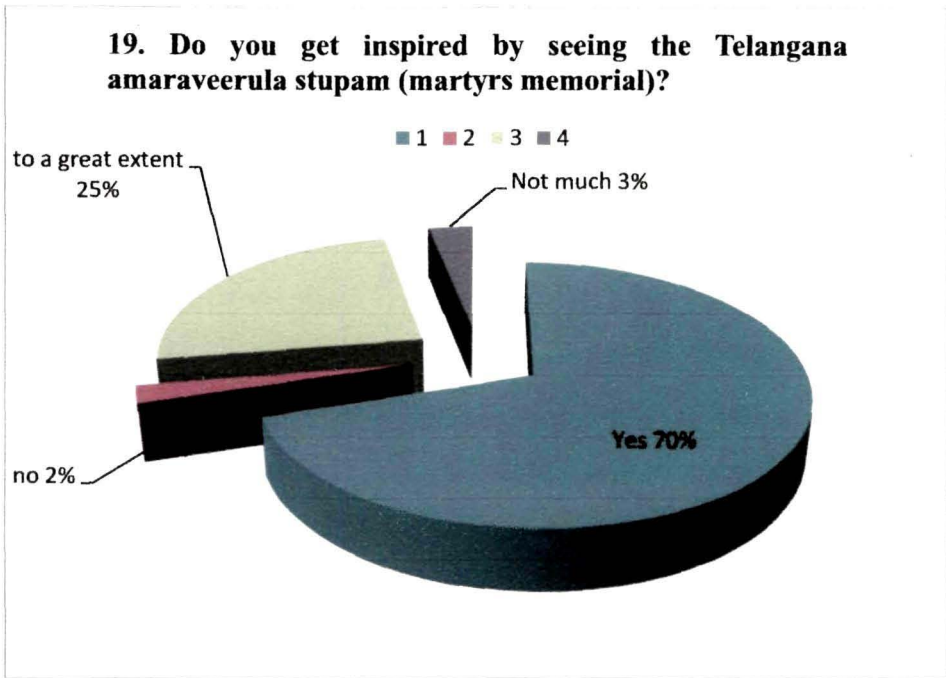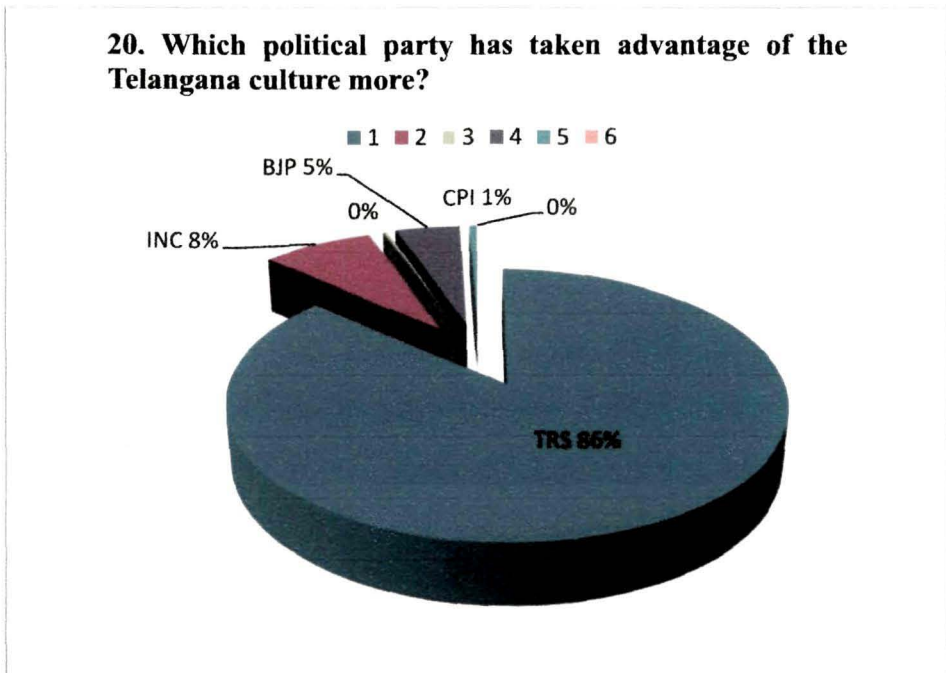
Fig1.23

3.8 An Analysis of the Feedback

A whooping majority of the people who were interviewed said that they participated in the movement 88%. (Fig.1.4). Similarly, an overwhelming majority of 94% (Fig.1.5) of people said that Telangana state is very important for them. Though 94% of the people said that they need a separate state it would be interesting to know how and what made the people aware of the issues and the injustice done to the region as claimed by the politicians and academicians. The Telangana region had a high rate of illiteracy rates during the Nizam's period and also thereafter; this partly explains people's dependence on indigenous media. It is interesting to know that it was the indigenous media (including time biased media) that was the backbone for the Telangana people and for the movement in the last six decades. It would be also interesting to note that the People's War Group with the help of indigenous media made the ordinary folk of Telangana villages to revolt against the Patels, Patwars and Zamindars and Reddy community leaders in the 1970s. When the mainstream media slowly distanced itself from the movement in the third phase, and started to frame the movement from the state's point of view, the Telangana indigenous media offered a different point of view through the Dhoom-Dham. In the process, the indigenous media regained its lost glory and became the symbol of the Telangana movement.

It was through the Dhoom-Dham that majority of the people in rural Telangana were made aware of various issues that were believed to afflict the region. Overall, 45% (Fig.1.6) of the literate and illiterate urban and town people have depended on the mainstream media for information as they are connected to the cable and satellite networks. People were found to be interested in watching the morning news analysis with politicians and other eminent media personalities and academicians. The words of political analysts like Prof. Chakrapani, Prof. Nagaeshwar Rao, writers and editors like Krishna Rao, Telakapalli Ravi were keenly followed. Apparently, even the politicians were of the view that their analyses were unbiased. People were literally glued to the television sets when watching the news analyses of these personalities in channels like TV5, TV9, NTV and others. Their columns and editorials evoked a lot of interest. Interestingly, almost 51% (Fig.1.6) of the respondents got information about the movement through the indigenous media and through word of mouth, and only 6% (Fig.1.6) of the respondents said that the information about the movement

was derived from all the sources – mainstream media, indigenous media, and word of mouth.

During the movement, the media framing of the Telangana movement by the pro-Andhra groups and media houses was questioned by the political parties belonging to Telangana region. It will be discussed in chapter IV how the media framing was carried out. The reporting and the discussions in the mainstream media were largely centered on questions such as 'How can things be improved for the people of Telangana if the state is united? What can be done for the development of the Telangana people in a united Andhra Pradesh?' The discussions therefore generally revolved around the proposed welfare schemes of the government along with the rhetoric of development of the Telangana region. There was also a lot of discussion regarding the stand to be adopted by the major political parties in case the government decided to go against the formation of the separate state. The underlying message in such discussions was the fact that the aspiration for a separate state was unfounded and the movement itself was futile.

Govindh, an artist and singer from the Telangana region, said in a personal interview,

> It is people and not the media that make movements. The people have to rise on their own and fight; media can't do it if people are not interested in the issues. In Telangana, people from all walks of life have participated in the movement. The media had to obey the public; the mainstream media or any other media has to report the issues they see and hear. If they are not doing it, then they are going to perish. Many corporate channels are against the formation of the Telangana state.

An advocate G Ravi Kumar in the district court and an active participant in the movement said in a personal interview,

> The media owned by the Andhra leaders and industrialists was full of fictional stories and allegations against the movement. They degraded the movement; if the people's turnout for a meeting or an event was

poor, they would say that the bubble of the Telangana movement would burst very soon.

When the question was put across to the respondents regarding bias in the media reporting with regard to the Telangana movement, it was interesting to find out that a majority of the people 81% (Fig.1.7) sensed a biased approach towards the movement. This perception was not unique to the common man but even members of the academia and intellectuals of the region felt the same way.

One important thing noticed during the third phase of the movement (2001-2014) is the exponential growth of the media. Quantitatively, it had almost doubled in the last ten years in Andhra Pradesh; print as well as television channels created a space for themselves among the audience. Few news channels and newspapers came up as part of the political establishment; these channels were literally used as the party mouth piece to take forward their political agenda. The third phase of the Telangana movement grew with the help of the communication technologies. The new communication technologies that the media used today and also the communication tools available with the citizens gave the required boost to the movement. 'Breaking News' was 'breaking' 24x7 in all most all the news channels; events and programmes of "lesser" importance were telecast live. The transmissions of events changed the media landscape and other environments. The communication tools like the mobile phones and its applications including the internet have played their part in carrying forward the movement. Any incident that was shown on television had its impact within a few minutes; the city centers and corners were filled with protestors and the moment there was an incident of lathicharge or firing it immediately went viral. Dr. Bhangya Bhukya, who had seen the movement up close in the Osmania University and its surroundings, said in a personal interview,

> The modern communication tools and technologies like mobiles and internet have played a major role in the movement. I think with the help of cell phones people were able to connect with each other immediately and also mobilize huge gatherings whenever required, especially in the Osmania University.

An overwhelming majority of the people 89% (Fig.1.8) said that the communication technologies have indeed helped the movement to grow stronger and also make people aware of the movement. We see a symbiotic relationship between the movement and the media, accommodating each other and also accommodating the other media environments in the larger media ecosystem.

Different media forms were active during the movement and one could also see people immersed in the media, still people of the region felt that the information flowing out from the media outlets needed to be taken with a pinch of salt. People could see through the contradictory nature of information given by the channels and the newspapers about the political situation. After the submission of the Sri Krishna Report, (as discussed in detail in chapter IV) the media of Andhra Pradesh followed the guidelines given by the committee in its 8th chapter report to a large extent. However, this chapter was not made available to the public citing reasons of confidentiality.

Once the report was out in the open it could be seen that the state had imposed restrictions and regulations on the media; for instance, there was a restriction against the live telecast of any event that had to do with the Telangana movement and also against the reporting of any incidents that was perceived to have the potential of escalating tensions. On numerous occasions there was a black out of channels; this self-moratorium by the media or the imposed moratorium by the state left people confused with regard to the veracity of information provided by the media. Professor Chakrapani, calling it a case of media distortion, says that the media distorted information during the movement. 76% (Fig.1.9) of the people from the region felt that they have been deprived of information. By and large, it can be safely concluded on the basis of my field investigation that people of the Telangana region were unhappy with the media coverage of events. People's dissatisfaction also had to do with the fact that the flow of information was very often regulated. During this period of time, people from the Telangana region became aware of the media's role and their political affiliations. People went to the extent of boycotting some channels and newspapers in the Telangana region. This helped to create a new space for the media from the region which gained popularity; they were quick to capitalize on this popularity and further consolidated their position by adding a local flavor. Some of

the channels even used the Telangana dialect. The newspapers such as Namasthe Telangana and television channels like Raj TV thus gained popularity. Gradually, the other television channels bowed out of pressure from the state. This raises doubts about the media's role and responsibility towards the society. When the mainstream media ignored the events and facts and, at times, acted according to the will of the political parties and government, the indigenous media took centre-stage in informing the people and also kept the momentum going.

At a stage when the movement was at a low because of political interference, the common citizens with the help of indigenous media kept the spirit alive. The balladeers and their cultural groups performing the Dhoom-Dham (chapter IV) became synonymous with the Telangana movement. Throughout the Telangana region for almost last five years Dhoom-Dham were day-to-day affairs. People would throng to the areas in thousands even if they had to walk miles; thousands of participants, young and old, men and women including enthusiastic children, were active participants. Television channels and newspapers at times covered the event for their own promotion and popularity. The Dhoom-Dham never disappointed the audience for they were loaded with information. It provided the kind of information that people were actually looking for, such as, information about their cultural history, social injustice, deprivation and marginalization of the locals, corruption by the political leaders. People became active participants during the performances; there were speeches given by many leaders, but people eagerly waited for the songs that targeted the political class of Andhra apart from the songs that highlighted the Telangana culture and lifestyle. When people demanded songs and dance performances that celebrated the Telangana culture and its glory, the balladeers and performers invariably obliged them. 99% (Fig.1.10) of the respondents were aware of Telangana Dhoom-Dham; the response from the people proves the popularity it gained during the movement.

The Dhoom-Dham was thus the undisputed media during the Telangana movement. The performances by singers, writers and hundreds of other artists enthralled the people. Every Dhoom-Dham in all the ten districts of Telangana was unique and all of them showcased the cultural flavor of the region. The songs were either humorous or sad; sometimes they celebrated the sacrifices of the martyrs and remembered the

legends. They were also provocative in the sense that they encouraged the masses to participate in the movement and resist those who were opposed to the Telangana cause. The narratives were about life, nature and the coexistence of the cultures in the region. The balladeers would transport the people into a different time and space and made the people recollect the past. People would dance and sing, making the event spectacular and even, emotional during the Dhoom-Dham. The people who participated in the Dhoom-Dham would carry the information back to the communities. The response was almost contagious; it quickly spread from one to the other. 90% (Fig.1.11) of the people responded by saying that the song and dance performances had an impact on them as well as others.

During my field work I observed that even school going kids sang the songs of Jai Telangana or Jai Bolo Telangana; the impact of the Dhoom-Dham was visible everywhere. These songs were played in the roadside tea stalls and even in hotels and restaurants; one could hear these while traveling in autos, taxis, and even public buses. There was no difference between the city and village during this period of the movement. Almost every street corner and all the road side shops were buzzing with the songs of Telangana contributed by various artists. The song and dance performances given by the balladeers did not stop with the performances; the people who came to watch and listen recorded the songs and speeches and made it available to thousands of others through SMS and MMS. The college and university students in most of the meetings were singing the songs of Telangana; every political party in its meetings would play the songs of Telangana. Though the mainstream media tried not to cover the performances and other movement-related activities it was impossible to ignore the events that were unfolding. The public sphere was buzzing with talk of the Telangana movement. Majority 70% (Fig. 1.12) of the people responded by saying that these performances had a great impact on them.

The impact and influence was so widespread that I observed that throughout the Telangana region there was no shortage of people who were hardcore supporters of the movement. These were people who at any given point of time would love to talk in support of the movement. The movement led to a suspension of religious, class and caste differences. There was no difference between the politician who was fighting for Telangana and the common man like the autorikshaw puller as both of them used the

same technology (mobile phone) to claim their connection to their land. Almost everyone used the Telangana songs as their mobile ringtones. This was a clear indication and proud declaration of their support for the cause of Telangana. Thus, popular culture of Telangana during the last one decade was primarily shaped by the movement. There is no doubt that the songs of the Dhoom-Dhaams would generally be included under the undignified rubric of popular music. But the immensely strong impact that popular music can have on an audience was reflected in the course of the Telangana movement. As Michael R Real says, "Popular music was not mindless, tasteless, and useless but was capable of complex, sophisticated, subtle, popular expression within its social context (Real: 1996: 31). Technology enabled people to convey the message loud and clear and it also helped in disseminating the message to the larger audience. 51% (Fig.1.13) of the respondents said that they knew people who use Telangana song as their mobile ring tone.

People like Gaddar, Vimalakka need no introduction in Telangana; they were the brand ambassadors of the Telangana movement and culture. These balladeers have been known for their singing and also for their association with the People's War Group. The names of Gaddar and Vimalakka became synonymous with the idea of revolutionary change; their songs inspired thousands of men and women to join the People's War Group and also inspired many to become balladeers and singers who became part of the Jana Natya Mandali and Praja Natya Mandali.

The Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) party was quick to take advantage of the Dhoom-Dham and capitalized on its popularity to further the cause of the Telangana movement. The TRS utilized the talent of the writers, poets and other artists in carrying forward the movement and also penetrating into the rural areas; this gave the scope for larger participation and also gave the Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) party the recognition it needed. Apart from Gaddar and Vilamaka there were many others who contributed through their songs. Singer and artist Shanker Rao says,

> In the political meetings and movements it was not the speeches that added to the enthusiasm of the audience but the songs of 4-5 minutes by the balladeers that could give a complete picture of Telangana from its merger to the present. Many songs by Vimalakka, Gorenti

Venkanna, Sudhala Ashok Teja were more popular than any film songs in the Telangana region.

These balladeers became the face of the movement; even the children knew about Gaddar, Vimalakka, Rasamai Balakishan and Venkanna. These were the people who were leading the movement from the front and inspiring many others to participate and fight. 84% (Fig.1.14) of the respondents said that they knew the balladeers; 15% of the respondents said that they personally knew these balladeers. The popularity of these singers is because of the simplistic lifestyle they lead and also could be because of them being the grass root workers in a party organization earlier.

The contribution by the common man and the artists strengthened the movement and made it sustainable. Though the Telangana Rashtra Samithi party regularly appealed to the people to make them believe that the dream of separate statehood was not very distant, the hope was largely generated by the balladeers, writers, singers and other artists. People throughout the Telangana region would accept the contribution of the singers and artists, as they became the voice of the people; they represented the people more than the political parties in the Telangana region. The balladeers and artists were in the front row and they led the movement; even small events and gatherings were attended by the artists, in the process the majority of the artists got employment and also recognition. In a way, the movement actually generated employment for thousands of artists.

The Joint Action Committees formed during the movement have immensely contributed to the movement as every committee would arrange a meeting from the local to the district levels; during these meetings the artists were called for performances as it would give the required boost. As mentioned earlier, the people would love to listen to these singers as they would render the voice from the common man's point of view. I would consider the balladeers like Gaddar, Vimalakka, Gorenti Venkanna, Rasamai Balakishan and many other writers, singers other artists who emerged during the Telangana movement as 'Zines'. In his book *Key Ideas in Media and Cultural Studies*, Mike Edwards quotes Atton who said that people who 'turn to themselves, to their own lives, their own experiences, and turn these into the subjects of their writing…at the heart of the Zine culture is… the study of self, of personal

expression, sociality, and the building of community' (quoted in Edwards 2003:109). The Telangana movement produced hundreds of Zines who not only narrated their personal stories but also the stories of their community.

Many of the writers were deeply touched by the events that were unfolding during the movement. The balladeers successfully narrativized the past of Telangana; in fact, they could in this way connect the past to the present, showing people the continuing relevance of the past. Thus, the past was brought to life through their personal experiences during the movement. This imparted a sense of authenticity to the narratives that was lacking in the seemingly biased reports of the mainstream media and politicians. These narratives were made available in Youtube and other internet sites. Thus, the unheard stories of the struggle of the people of Telangana gained wide circulation thanks to the internet. The contribution of the balladeers and artists was acknowledged by the politicians and the common masses alike. 73% (Fig.1.15) of the respondents were of the firm conviction that the balladeers had contributed a lot to the sustenance of the movement. The balladeers and other artists encouraged the people to participate in the movement. They were successful in mobilizing people belonging to different communities who contributed to the movement in their own way. The non-violent and traditional ways of protests took centre stage as each community performed songs and dance that were unique to their culture and region. Thus, songs and dances became the new language of protest.

The unique character of the Telangana movement was the participation of women and women's political awareness. Women participated in large numbers; the protests were enacted in the form of songs that they sang in the fields. These songs had to do with the everyday life of women. The Bathukamma songs generated renewed interest; during the time of the Bathukamma festival women and men dressed up in their traditional attires and came out to the streets to protest. These songs, dances and traditional attires were missing from the public space for longtime. But the movement brought back the old form of media to the forefront. Such was the impact of the traditional songs and rituals that the Dhandoora, for instance, became a very common means of protest; women carrying the Bathukamma became a symbol every time there were some protests or processions by the political groups and Joint Action

Committee rallies. Women moved in thousands and played Bathukamma at city centers and main junctions.

The tribal communities, especially the Lambadas with the traditional dresses and songs, were special attraction at the events. People from the districts like Nizamabad, Adillabad and Khammam with large tribal populations joined the movement with their traditional dances and wielding the native tools. The Yadavs in their traditional attire was also a special attraction; in the processions and protest rallies they played their drums and sang their traditional songs. People also dressed as Potharaju, Mallanna, Polayruamma, and Misamma, the local gods and goddesses. Dr. Bhangya Bhukya, who was part of the movement and saw the Telangana movement from close quarters, has written about the tribal and other backward communities in Telangana, said in a personal interview,

> The Telangana movement has enabled many downtrodden castes to express their anguish through the movement, through the movement they were able to express their culture, tradition which was rejected by the upper castes. The downtrodden castes were able to put their issues and agenda through the regional sub-nationalism by participating in the Telangana movement. The movement has given the people a huge political consciousness that I think the people would be able to utilize this in the future.

Every community of the Telangana region participated in the movement with their traditional attires, songs, dances that were unique to them and their communities were visible during the protests. This indigenous media was missing from Telangana region from the time it merged with the Andhra. While 76% (Fig.1.16) of the people responded by saying that the indigenous media played a major role in highlighting traditional culture. In the third phase the movement was more visible because of the cultures and traditions that had slowly begun to disappear from amongst the communities in the region. Michael R Real says,

> Culture is a shorthand label for everything that sets us apart as human beings. Culture is a way we mentally structure our interactions with

other people and our environment. Culture is the way we collectively express ourselves as human beings. Culture is meaning constantly being created. Like sound, culture is observed as it is emerging and disappearing from existence. (Real 1996: 2)

But the Dhoom-Dham that was held in different parts of the region offered the public their own culture and tradition; each singer-activist was well-versed in the local dialect and they were quite familiar with the local myths, legends, and traditions. These activist-singers highlighted the plight of the common men and women; they sang about the struggle of the common man and his exploitation in the capitalist system. Interestingly, these songs also raised valid concerns about the onslaught of globalization and cultural imperialism; for instance, they sang of how television invaded the rural communities and how technology had come to disgrace manual labour. They also dealt with the cultural imperialism of Bollywood and Telugu cinema and television that threatened to wipe out the local cultures and traditions.

Murali Madhu, the balladeer, poet and singer said in a personal interview,

> In my opinion the Telangana culture has been revived and had reached its peak because of the movement. Through the Dhoom-Dham we were able to revive the language and the local traditions; these traditions were missing amongst the younger generation, and some are completely unaware of such traditions. People have abused the Telangana language and culture in cinema and television; but we were able to revive the culture, the language and were able to create political and cultural awareness through the Dhoom-Dham.

People appreciated the work of the balladeers and singer in the Dhoom-Dham and also felt proud to participate in the movement. In fact, 84% (Fig.1.17) of the respondents said that the singers highlighted the Telangana culture. Interestingly, the movement also witnessed the merger of old and new cultures.

K Narsinga Rao said in a personal interview,

> I was under the feeling that the Telangana Kalalu (Art) would be extinct; it was almost on the verge of extinction because of the

mainstream popular culture. With the movement people like Gaddar, Gorenti Venkanna, Arnodhya Vimalakka, Maboomi Sandhya, Sudhala Ashok Tej, Dr Ande Sri, Deshapathi Srinivas, brought new life to the Telangana arts and the unique culture of Telangana and also the people who are associated with various arts at the grassroots level.

Dr. Bhangya Bhukya said in a personal interview,

> After the merger of Telangana with Andhra there was a cultural discrimination especially against the Telangana culture; the government has standardized the language affecting Telangana identity and dialect. The movement has also brought the dialect forward as leaders and people again started to take pride and started talking in the local dialect.

Balladeer Vimalakka adds,

> The culture was revived to a large extent by the movement, especially the language, the local culture, the age old traditions. The participation of women in large numbers in local events and festivals helped the movement and also the culture of the Telangana region.

Vimalakka and others singers and artists including the political and cultural analysts feel that the Telangana culture was revived to a great extent and this was visible during the movement. University students who would generally want to be in denims were seen in their traditional attires during the procession and political protests. The girls showed interest in joining the women with Bathukamma and also carrying them. Those people who were shunning the traditional culture and attire for the modern were seen participating in the movement with the traditional forms and also taking pride in their culture and traditions. MLC K. Dilip said in a personal interview,

> The movement has revived the Telangana culture and it was successful in reviving the entire culture of Telangana, men and women have equally participated in the movement with their traditional cultural and livelihood tools; women during the movement participated and showcased the Telangana culture; college students and elderly women

may have done so because they are asked by the student leaders and other JAC members but in the process this has revived the Telangana culture. And seeing these images on television many such processions and activities were held throughout the ten districts, and all these events have helped the Telangana culture to revive.

Majority of the people feel that the Telangana culture has been revived by the movement and some feel that the movement has given new life to the culture that was ignored and abused under Andhra "domination" and "rule". The policy of cultural assimilation that was adopted in Andhra Pradesh in the six decades of the movement is reminiscent of the American model of melting pot, which suggests that cultural assimilation is important for national unity. Quite obviously, this model does not seem to have worked in the context of the Telangana region; in spite of the fact that the regions of Seemandhra and Telangana were merged on the basis of linguistic affiliation, the cultural differences persisted and revealed deep chasms. A majority 84% (Fig.1.18) of the respondents felt that the culture of Telangana was revived during the movement. The Telangana movement is thus a classic example of the way in which hegemonic models are subverted by popular people's movements.

Though the mainstream media did have a hold over people who were inclined towards the modern culture, the movement has brought back the people and identified them with the geography and culture of the region. Thus, the Telangana movement, apart from other things, is a saga of the heroic resistance of a people against cultural imperialism. There was large literature that was made available to the common man during the movement; the availability of literature made the poets, writers, singers, artists to reach out to the public with new songs and other forms of communication.

The information that was part of Telangana's history was recirculated or recycled during the movement. The massive literature that saw the light during the movement has made many people aware of the facts that were not known earlier or at times were kept away from the public; the dissemination of information during the third phase of the movement with the help of communication technologies helped in people's mass participation. As said earlier, when the movement was losing a sense of direction with the ambiguous role of the political parties, it was the common man with the support of

balladeers and artists, poets, writers and singers with their Dhoom-Dham who stood by the movement. In fact, more information was revealed to the public during these performances than the political speeches and it is the indigenous media that led the movement. Dr. Bhangya Bhukya shared the same view in a personal interview

> When slowly the arts were dying with the rapid invasion of the capitalist and commercial media the movement has once again brought the various traditional art forms to the forefront and was able to give recognition to the writers, poets, singers and other artists.

Govardhan, the balladeer and artist said in a personal interview,

> It was first in Karimnagar that Gaddar in a Dhoom-Dham program that he introduced many other artists to the public; many of these artists were not known to the public. Artists got recognized due to the Telangana movement as all the political parties started to use the artists for their meetings especially to promote their party agenda, but still we were happy to do so because we are doing it for Telangana cause.

Murli Madhu, singer and balladeer, said in a personal interview,

> It is indubitable that the Telangana movement has given life to many poets, singers, and writers. The people who we see today were neglected and ignored by the mainstream media. Telangana art was suppressed, but things started to change when the movement picked up, and every artist got a new lease of life through the movement.

More than the common man it is the artists, writers, poets, balladeers and others from the field who accept that the movement has given a new life to the art and culture of Telangana. Thousands of new artists were born, and to accommodate each and every artist the communication technologies came in handy for the artists to reach out to the audience. Today we can see and hear thousands of songs related to Telangana culture, lifestyle, festivals, resources and day-to-day struggles including the songs of communal harmony that are unique to the region. One was not able to escape the impact of the artist in the past one decade of the movement. 85% (Fig.1.19) of the respondents felt that the movement gave new life to the artists who contributed to the

movement, while 8% felt that the movement gave life and recognition to the artists to a great extent.

The songs of thousands of writers have gone beyond the boundaries with the help of technology, and people were helping the movement in large numbers by contributing with their songs. Every district in Telangana had people who were ready to play their part. Advocate G Ravi Kumar said in a personal interview

> The movement has given one lakh orators and intellectuals to the region, and thousands of singers, writers and poets have been born during the movement.

K Narsing Rao too said in a personal interview,

> With the movement in its peak, stage artists were emerging from almost every village of Telangana region. The emerging artists started to write and sing songs related to their village and communities in the context of the movement. Artists like Rasamayi Balakishan, Madhupriya (child artist) Mittupalli Surender and many more poets, singers and other artists became popular with their art during the Telangana movement. The movement has brought in new generation of artist who are extremely talented in reviving traditional forms of arts, also contextualizing and presenting it with modern themes like politics, culture, society, economy and education to the Telangana audience.

The artists though were singing sub-nationalism songs that encouraged the public; they did what came natural to them; many writers, singers and artists praised the martyrs who gave their lives for the Telangana cause. People who became martyrs in the earlier movements were praised during the Dhoom-Dham, and other events. This has not only got the people to connect emotionally but also glorified the sacrifices of the people. The sacrifices had a huge impact on the Telangana people. Students who participated in the movement were in huge depression during the last five years especially post December 23, 2009 as the central government under pressure from the Andhra region, had to hold back the Telangana process. During this period many students, employees, and also police personal committed suicide for the cause of

Telangana; many of them undertook self-immolation. The political parties and the Telangana joint Action Committees held various meetings in Osmania University and Kakatiya university and other districts colleges to urge the students and the people in general not to commit suicide "Aatmahatyalu vaddu, barigeesi kotlaadudaam" (Stop Suicides – Lets Fight For Telangana). Political parties like Telangana Rashtra Samithi Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) Communist Party of India (CPI) New Democracy, students Joint Action Committee, Advocates Joint Action Committee, writers, intellectuals and many NGO's took out rallies and conducted seminars encouraging the students to fight but not commit suicides.

A suicide in the heart of Delhi just 100 yards away from the parliament shook the nation and emotionally charged the Telangana region. A police constable shot himself for the Telangana cause, an MBA student self-immolated, students ran opposite to the approaching trains and committed suicide, and many such incidents were reported every day. Professors like Chakrapani, Nageshwar Rao, Haragopal and many other intellectuals and politicians urged the students in meetings and through their articles to not commit suicide. The peaceful protests in Telangana region in the past decade had seen hundreds die.

The sacrifices made by the students and others have been highlighted by the balladeers, writers and singers. Every singer would dedicate a song to the martyrs and the bravery shown to the cause of Telangana, singers through their songs appealed to the public not to commit suicide. One would find hundreds of songs on Youtube and other internet sites dedicated to martyrs and also urging them not to lose faith in the fight. Technology was used to convey the message to millions of people in Telangana region, through SMS, MMS and other forms of communication to fight for Telangana in a peaceful manner. The print and television channels played a role in stopping the suicides in the name of Telangana. 84% (Fig.1.20) of the respondents said that the balladeers and other artists highlighted the sacrifices made by the students and other people during the Dhoom-Dham and other political and cultural events.

The Telangana movement to a large extent has utilized all the available media to reach out to the people; we can see a combination of media environments used during the movement. The political parties have also utilized the media according to its

needs. But it was the indigenous media (oral media) that has gained lost ground; at the same time, the movement provided scope for the time biased media to play its role in the movement. What Telangana had lost in the last 50 years, was revived by the movement in the last one decade with the movement gaining strength and also with the launch of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi party.

The party was using time biased media to make the Telangana movement popular in the last six-seven years like Telangana talli statue and Amaraveerula stupam in all the ten districts of Telangana region. This made the people to connect to the movement culturally and emotionally. We have the Telangana talli statue and Amaraveerula stupam in almost all the city centers and people are identifying with the newly erected memorials and statues. In the past one decade the Amaraveerula stupam (martyrs memorial) has become a symbol of respect for every political leader and the common citizen of the new state called Telangana. In the past one decade of the movement people have become more aware of the sacrifices made by the students in the earlier movement. 82% (Fig.1.21) of the respondents have said that they are aware of the Amaraveerula stupam (martyrs memorial).

The 'Gun Park' (1969 martyrs' memorial) has been inspiring thousands of students and men for the past 40 years, and today we see the replica of the memorial in every district, the movement has taken the memorial and the memories attached to it to every district of Telangana. People of Telangana have been grateful for the sacrifices made by students then and even now; they honor the sacrifices and praise them with highest regard. Politicians and the masses alike say that the 29th state of Telangana is dedicated to sacrifices made by the people, and for those people who kept the movement alive. The person who is and was behind the present phase of movement, and also the one who participated in the 1969 Jai Telangana movement and oversaw the construction of the 'Gun Park' (martyrs memorial) is Professor Jayashankar who was an ideologue of the Telangana movement. During my field work 70% (Fig.1.22) of the people responded that they are inspired by the memorials.

In the overall movement of Telangana it was politician Kalvakuntla Chandrashekar Rao (KCR) and his party Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) that revived the Telangana aspirations and brought back the issue to the forefront, though professor Jayashankar and other Telangana intellectuals were behind the movement and were

fighting and keeping the issue alive. Academicians like Professor G.Haragopal, Professor Balagopal, Dr. G. Ajay, Professor G. Chakrapani, Professor Nagaeshwar Rao, Professor M. Sridhar, and many others have been writing about the issues related to Telangana, and have also been advocating their voice on many platforms. Kalvakuntla Chandrashaker Rao (KCR) with the launching of his party was able to reach out to the public and was able to convince the people on the need of the Telangana state. Initially people were skeptical of the success in the early stages of the party launch in April 2001, but things started to change when people who were associated with the movement openly supported the cause. The biggest support though morally was given by the Peoples War Group, and also those who have become the ex-members of the PWG. Kalvakuntla Chandrashaker Rao (KCR) with his command over the language and also the knowledge with regard to the Telangana region was able to convince the majority. Slowly but steadily the party was unfolding the agenda and started to implement it phase wise. People like Prof. Jayashankar advised the party on key issues and also in its implementation with deep understanding and strategic thinking. The party was able to galvanize the public within limited time as people were emotionally attached with the cause of Telangana; the party slowly implemented all the strategies phase wise, and made the political parties to accept the cause. The party in order to move into the public and also to garner the support used all forms of media, starting from indigenous media to the new media, in all the party has used the space biased and time biased media at the same time in the movement. At every stage the party has used the Telangana dialect (language), the culture and the indigenous media for its complete advantage, apart from using the mainstream media. Prins and Bishop talking about Carpenter's work, quote him from his article "The New Languages," and say,

> Carpenter provided a succinct analysis of modern media based on years of participant observation in broadcasting and publishing: "Each medium, if its bias is properly exploited," he noted, "reveals and communicates a unique aspect of reality, of truth. Each offers a different perspective, a way of seeing an otherwise hidden dimension of reality. It's not a question of one reality being true, and others distortions. One allows us to see from here, another from there, a third from still another perspective (Prins and Bishop 2001-02:116).

As the party has foreseen the hurdles, they were able to plan and utilize the media according to the needs, I feel the party was apprehensive with regard to its media coverage, so they planned to utilize the indigenous media through Dhoom-Dham and other forms of protests, and in doing so they were able to get more attention than what the mainstream media could have provided. People both literate and illiterate were equally attracted to the party, as the party was able to highlight the local culture and the traditions that were part of the region. In every Dhoom-Dham one could see the songs connected to local issues and also local events, also artists who were performing with the local attire made the people connect to the issues and movement emotionally. 86% (Fig.1.23) of the respondents said that it was the Telangana Rashtra Samithi party that has revived and taken advantage of culture and traditions more than any other party.

Conclusion

The Telangana arms struggle became a starting point and inspiration for many socio-political movements not only in Andhra Pradesh but throughout India. There is no doubt in saying that the issue based movements garner larger support compared to the motivated movements and the role of media becomes crucial in these movements. People and media rally around issue based movements as it represents larger sections of people in the society. Movements like the Telangana arms struggle, the anti-arrack movement, the anti-corruption movement and the Telangana movements had representation of not just one group or community or caste, but the people of the region.

From the field analysis one could understand and conclude that the Telangana movement was a people's movement, as it reflected the aspirations of people, who wanted to liberate themselves from outside hegemony. The use of people's media or the alternative media helped the movement in not only highlighting the issues, but in the process revived the local culture and traditions that were dormant or sidelined because of popular culture. The revival of the old forms of media gave new life to various artists and writers and many other professional artists giving them recognition and livelihood. The use of time biased media played a vital role the Telangana movement.

The Revival and Integration of Media Environments in the Telangana Movement

The chapter explores the integration of various media environments and growth of the indigenous forms of media. Further the chapter explores the role played by the media (time and space biased) indigenous media, mainstream media and the new media during the movement. The chapter also explores how various protest methods were adopted by people and their impact during the Telangana movement. It highlights the role of cultural groups in the Telangana region and the revival of the old forms of media and their popularity and growth.

The Telangana region has come through a long period of struggle from the times of the Nizam to the second phase of the movement in 1969 to the present movement that was launched from 2011. The second generation of the Telangana people who were part of the earlier movement started to identify themselves with the third phase of the movement. The greatest success of the movement was in terms of the second and third generation of activists being able to inherit the sense of neglect that the first generation perceived. This, as I have already contended, was largely due to the use of time-biased media which allowed the flame of the movement to keep burning. Thus, the role of time-biased media was crucial in terms of it being able to sustain the thrust and direction of the movement for over six decades.

The Telangana movement used a combination of time and space biased media by the political parties and people. During the movement period the old forms of media and the age old traditions which were dormant or neglected under the dominance of Western popular culture that was imposed on the people of the region got revived. The movement with the help of time biased media (Martyrs Memorials and Telangana Talli statues) created an emotional bond and awareness among the masses. Simultaneously, the space biased media grew in strength (electronic and print media houses and web sites).

The Telangana Rashtra Samithi party (TRS) successfully accommodated and represented large sections of the people. It was able to make the Telangana movement

inclusive. The rich cultural symbolism of the movement including the art and artifacts of the diverse communities living in the region were all put to use to bring together groups of people. The differences between various religious and ethnic communities, which have proven to be the bane of many socio-political movements in India, were celebrated instead of being avoided or undermined. The Telangana Rashtra Samithi did not shy away from using the cultural symbols of almost all the communities during the course of the movement. Thus, they were successful in carefully subverting identity politics based on the lines of caste, religion and ethnicity to highlight the cause of Telangana statehood. The goal of statehood has never been lost sight of in spite of the fact that there is cultural heterogeneity even within the ten districts of Telangana. This heterogeneity was reflected in the inclusive nature of the indigenous media: folk forms of almost all the communities found their way to the indigenous media that highlighted the cause of Telangana.

4.1 The People's Media, Mainstream Media and the New- Media

We represent the media and in turn the media represents us. Humans in everyday life represent and communicate through various media; humans are the mobile carriers of knowledge and tradition that is passed on from one generation to the other with some variations. While the impact of the ecology on the lifestyle patterns of human societies has been dealt with in details by proponents of cultural ecology and cultural materialism, the fact that human beings are a mobile media having an impact on the rest of the environment through their language, attire, food, religion, and various other day-to-day practices in life is very often overlooked.

Media environments have been influencing and shaping communities and societies at large. Through the process of evolution of human beings they have gradually tended to rely more and more on media. From the times of the ancient cave paintings to the present age of digital media, the reliance on media and its impact on the lives of people have seen a rise. In the process of evolution of media over the years, we have come to divide it into two broad categories –mainstream media and alternative media. Edward quotes Atton (2002) as:

> Alternative media… are crucial about offering the means of democratic
> production to the people who are normally excluded from media

production. They are to do with organizing the media along lines that enable participation and reflexivity (quoted in Edward 2006:107).

However, I would prefer to use the term 'indigenous media' instead of 'alternative media'. Indigenous media can be defined as the people's media that is confined to a particular geography and is the popular oral media that narrates the local culture, religion, customs, social, political and economic system in their local language. The conscious use of the term 'indigenous media' has to do with the fact that it is born and sustains itself in a given geo-political space and thus it is very rooted to the context of the place in which it comes into being. Secondly, it is indigenous media in the sense that the people of the region have complete command and understanding of the medium.

Moreover, in spite of the fact that it is seen as oppositional to mainstream media, the fact of the matter is that alternative media relies on the former for its meaning. Oppositional existence is also a form of reliance. Further, the term 'alternative media' has taken on certain connotations that do not fit into the context of the Telangana movement. In the context of the Telangana movement, the indigenous media is neither opposed to the mainstream media in a confrontational sense, nor is it radical or anti-national. The indigenous media can have a powerful hold on a community because it draws its sustenance from the collective unconscious and thus easily connects with the communities of a given area. People of the region are deeply rooted in these media forms; thus, they prove to be powerful weapons to mobilize the communities for a common cause. The major difference between the mainstream media and the indigenous media is in terms of reach and impact. While the former has a wider reach, the latter becomes powerful and more influential in a given environment when it is perceived that people's voices are not heard or reflected in mainstream media.

Political and social movements give power to the powerless and bring about changes in a society over a period of time; the movements survive with the use of all available media and media tools to reach out to the masses by generating information and also disseminating the information that the mainstream media ignores. Hamilton J says,

Alternative media, in particular, have been seen to be fundamental in providing diverse content to democratic societies. Alternative media, which are situated outside of the mainstream, have been said to articulate a social order different from and often opposed to the dominant (Hamilton 2000: 362)

In a similar vein, Innaiah notes in a personal interview,

Even if we don't want we are becoming part of media environments; the indigenous media because of its free nature, questions the state when the mainstream media ignores issues or at times when it loses its credibility.

Social and political movements throughout the world have initially started with a group of like-minded people sharing the same ideology and principles, supporting each other in the endeavor to achieve the desired goals. Majority of the political and social movements initially rely heavily on media (native/mainstream) to reach out to the people in a given geographic area, highlighting and creating awareness among the general public on given issues. In many social and political movements in India it is the indigenous media that has played a significant role in highlighting the plight of the people and the importance of the movements. Though the literacy levels have gone up in the last two decades, the various movements in different parts of India were successful because of indigenous media. Initially the pace of the movement and the information dissemination may be slow while adopting the indigenous media; the point is that it does help to accomplish the long-term desired goals. It becomes a powerful weapon in the hands of the people as it is the people's media, and thus cannot be controlled by the state:

Alternative media have historically been defined by their ideological difference from the mainstream, their relatively limited scale of influence in society, their reliance on citizen reporting and their connections with social movements (Kenix 2011: 3).

Adding to what Kneix says about the alternative media that is largely differentiated from mainstream media by ideological differences, G. Innaiah said in a personal interview,

The indigenous media sustained and became powerful tool as it is connected with the common man and not the corporate media houses; it can be relevant only when it is connected with the people at the grassroots and their issues. The people in central India have only one media and they believe in that media, unlike the multiple media that we encounter every second; the indigenous media sends only one message and it is without any ambiguity. This explains the success of these movements. Generally speaking, the people in central India especially the tribal communities have they own identity and they want to keep their identity intact. The indigenous media allows them to do this.

Many tribal movements in central India are largely dependent on the indigenous media. The indigenous media has the power to bind the people in a given geographic area, as they share the same time and space and are physically and emotionally attached to the local culture and traditions. The Telangana movement is no exception; over the years the Telangana movement has drawn its strength from the indigenous media as the mainstream media of Andhra Pradesh is in the hands of people belonging to the Andhra region and is against the bifurcation of the state. Thus, there is a degree of skepticism about the objectivity of the mainstream media in reporting the movement. A fact that I regularly encountered in the course of conducting my interviews with leaders of the Telangana movement was the sense of being completely ignored and let down by the mainstream media of Andhra Pradesh and the national media. There is a strong sense of marginalization that was perceived by the common masses and the intelligentsia during the peak of the movement. This almost led to a polarization of the mainstream and indigenous media. The media framing of the social, political, cultural and other in the recent history has been studied extensively by various academicians throughout the world (Kneix 2011: 42-43). The media framing can tilt the balance in favor of the movement or towards the state. Innaiah, talking about the media characteristics and its role in the initial stages of any socio political movements said in a personal interview,

Media [mainstream] in the first stage acted as if it is pro-people. But later as time passed the pro-people views gradually fade away. Even the

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intelligentsia got confused at times with the media reporting; they confused the people with their reporting and very often this confusion was deliberately generated by the media houses that were at times controlled by the state and people with vested interests.

The framing of the Telangana movement by the mainstream media in Andhra Pradesh was to a large extent under the influence of few individuals and media organizations headed and owned by Andhra leaders who are also political leaders and are part of the state machinery. Talking about the media in general and with regard to the Telangana movement K. Dilip Kumar, Member of the Legislative Council of Andhra Pradesh Assembly and leader of the Telangana United Front, said in a personal interview,

> Media has contributed a lot especially in the initial stages of the movement not knowing that they were actually promoting the movement and spreading the message to the public; the media for its own promotion gave live telecast of the events happening in the Osmania University and Kakatiya University, at the same time majority of the media owners were against the idea of Telangana; they utilized the events for their promotion among the public.

There was a significant change in the framing of the Telangana movement by the media before and after 2009. The mainstream media largely ignored the activities that were carried out by the movement leaders and political parties after 2009, giving it little coverage.

> Among their other functions, the media serve, and propagandize on behalf of, the powerful societal interests that control and finance them. The representatives of these interests have important agendas and principles that they want to advance, and they are well positioned to shape and constrain media policy. This is normally not accomplished by crude intervention, but by the selection of right-thinking personnel and by the editors' and working journalists' internalization of priorities and definitions of newsworthiness that conform to the institution's policy. (Edward and Chomsky 1998: xi)

During the peak of the Telangana movement at times it did report the movement out of compulsion and when they did this, they projected the movement as a battle for a lost cause. Instead of focusing on the activities of the movement, the media tried to distract people from the movement by starting to focus on other issues; movement leaders and their personal lives were reported extensively and exclusively by the channels post 2009. The media started to reveal the characteristics mentioned by Todd Gitlin in *The Whole World is Watching* (1980). In contrast to the mainstream media, the indigenous media gave space for the arguments and reports by addressing the ground realities with facts and also exposed the dual role played by the media organizations and the political parties. Talking about the movement and the media, singer, writer and balladeer Arunodhaya Vimallaka said in a personal interview,

> In the 1969 movement there were not many television channels, newspapers or mobile phones; the courier system was the only method of communicating with the people even though they did respond to the call given by the leaders in the 1969 Telangana movement. But as we see the present media is controlled by the big corporate houses and people belonging to the Andhra region. Even though there are so many activities and political rallies happening throughout Telangana, the channels do not report the issue or the event. It is not as if we participate in the movement to be seen or to be reported in media; we are doing this for the people and we will continue doing our job. We have shown through Dhoom-Dham how we can take the message to the people and we have succeeded in creating awareness and educating the people on issues concerning Telangana.

The media construction and framing of the Telangana movement in the indigenous media has given importance to the cause rather than to the individuals and political parties. While the mainstream media concentrated on individuals, especially Telangana Rashtra Samithi leaders, the indigenous media concentrated on issues relating to the immediate realities of life of the Telangana people. G.Innaiah says people who are leading the indigenous media cannot become prey to the mainstream media or the political parties and its leaders. He said in a personal interview

People who lead the alternative media should not lose their identity; the moment you lose your identity, then the issue and the media becomes irrelevant. The alternative media should highlight the people's plight and issues in a geographic area that the people are connected with, issues and events other than their own will have no impact on these people.

Traditionally there has been a strong and vibrant culture of the indigenous media in Telangana; the memo culture of Telangana is intricately connected with the indigenous media. The indigenous media's role in the transformation of society, especially in the Telangana region is unparalleled to any other media.

The two hundred years of Nizam's rule of Telangana ensured that education of the people was completely ignored; education was largely neglected in the region when compared to the rest of south India which was under direct British colonial rule. It is a fact that even if it was under political compulsions, the colonial rule did provide an educational system for the masses and there was also a semblance of development. In many parts of India, the Christian missionaries played a vital role in propagating education along with their religion. The indigenous media was the only form of media that informed and entertained the people in the region. The local legends and everyday activities at home and in the fields were narrated in the form of songs and dances. In fact, there was/is a song and dance for almost every occasion. Information on religious texts and mythology were in the form of song and dance performed by few families and communities who made their living by performing (Harikatha and Burrakatha). The people who performed moved from one place to another; the common public showed keen interest in attending these performances even if they had to travel some distance. Chris Chesher in *Binding Time: Harold Innis and the Balance of New Media* says,

The most lightweight medium for communication is speech. This is the dominant medium in oral cultures where face to-face conversations, and the cultivated memories of citizens, are the main means of transmitting culture over space and time (Chesher 2008: 13).

Music connects people irrespective of the time and space; with regard to expressing their feelings, the people of Telangana adopted the means of song/dance through which they were able to express and also highlight the various facets of life in the society. Though film music became popular it was the traditional songs that bound the people in the Telangana region; these songs highlighted the geography, lifestyle, joys, sufferings, festivals, culture, and other occasions in the narrative form of songs accompanied by dance and complemented by local musical instruments. Even though film songs do attract attention, it is the folk songs that continue to be popular in many districts of Telangana. Folk songs celebrating various aspects of the life and culture of Telangana are popular among the masses in many religious festivals, places of worship and other local/regional Jaataras and Angadis (local markets).

> Music in oral, preliterate cultures plays a central role in expressing the collective memory and aspirations of the tribe. Music is closely associated with storytelling, and both are crucial to the instructions of youths learning the ways of the people and imitating ideals and behaviors that have worked in the past. The people are welded together in unity through music, dance, storytelling and related mythic rituals (Real 1996: 15).

K Narsinga Rao echoes a similar view in a personal interview,

> In Telangana more than lengthy speeches given by the politicians and leaders, the songs make their way into the public memory. Telangana is a goldmine of songs; every alternative person will sing a song. Songs have become an integral part of our lifestyle. We have songs for every event; people in the villages have songs for every event that they do in the fields, at work, at play, at religious places, for social events and many other such occasions. There are many good orators who can speak at length on a given issue, but people will look forward to the songs in meetings. Telangana people are more attentive to songs than speeches. Jana Natya Mandali and Praja Natya Mandali have become popular in the Telangana region because they were able to narrate the entire issue through songs within a few minutes, and this way of communication has been very effective with the public and especially in the Telangana

region. The songs become popular among the public as they reflect the daily life of the common man, his trials and tribulations. These songs pass from one person to another, paving its way, and also reinforcing the oral tradition of Telangana culture. The biggest mass media of Telangana is the song and dance ritual.

The influence of song and dance has become central to the Telangana movement with regard to information dissemination; the songs with their powerful lyrics played a great role in uniting the people and promoting the movement; in the last phase of the movement balladeers like Gaddar, Vimalakka, Rasami Balakishan Gorenti Venkanna and many other poets, writers and performers played a vital role. Almost all the meetings that were held in different parts of Telangana had performances by people belonging to various cultural groups or singers. The political parties relied heavily on the singers and cultural groups to attract the people and also to clarify their stand on various issues pertaining to the movement and separate statehood of Telangana. What Michael Real believes to be true in the case of alternative media in his book *Exploring Media Culture* (1996) may also be applicable for indigenous media. As the media has the power in 'transforming spectators into active participants of everyday dealings and events affecting their lives' (Tracy 2007: 272).

Dr. Bhangya Bhukya said in a personal interview,

> During the Telangana Dhoom-Dham performances and political rallies or meetings it is not just the song and dance performances that entertained the public but there was more to it; it involved a showcase of socio-political and economic narratives and local cultures in the native dialect; one is taken back into a different time and space and the memories associated with it. This form of indigenous media got lost and at times was dormant due to the forces of commercialization, hegemony, and globalization. But the political movement of Telangana has once again brought the indigenous media to the forefront; cultural revivalism through the indigenous media has been significantly noticed in political meetings held in various parts of the Telangana region.

I observed in the research area that there was a complete transformation in the environment during the performances. The people who were passive spectators in front of the television are almost magically transformed into active participants during Dhoom-Dham; people sing and dance along with the performers on the stage. This active participation in Dhoom-Dham has given the movement its strength.

The history of Telangana has a long association with the cultural groups that were in the forefront with regard to creating awareness and educating the general masses about the issues. Groups like Praja Natya Mandali, Jana Natya Mandali, and the Arunodaya Samskritika Samakhya have been associated with the people of Telangana for decades; in fact, these groups have been the media for the people of Telangana much before the advent of radio, newspapers, cinema, television, and the latest smart phones. The indigenous media that these cultural organizations use became the backbone for the Telangana movement.

4.2 Cultural Organizations in Telangana

The Praja Natya Mandali was instrumental in creating awareness from its emergence (1943). It was considered the cultural wing of the left parties. In Andhra Pradesh the people belonging to the cultural troops highlighted the social, political, cultural, economic problems prevailing in the society. The Praja Natya Mandali was the only media at that point of time for the people of Telangana. This was the people's media by the people, and people depended on the Praja Natya Mandali for information. The Praja Natya Mandali was able to incorporate the local media that was native to a particular region and was successful in putting forward the issues through songs and dance performances. The group is still famous for its songs especially the revolutionary songs; this group continues to operate with different names in central India.

The Jana Natya Mandali (1972): The organization was earlier known as the Art Lovers Association, the prominent figure in the group is Gaddar, and he along with his cultural troupe made the Jana Natya Mandali very popular in the countryside. He combined the native forms of media in the region such as Oggu katha, Burrakatha, Veedhi Bhagotham, Golla Suddulu, Bathukamma patalu (different forms of narrating stories/songs). During his exile he was able to perform and spread the idea and the

power of indigenous media in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, and Odisha. Even today the indigenous media is powerful in the above states and especially in the regions of the tribal belts of central India. Gaddar's songs are very popular with the masses and at any given point of time he can attract thousands of people to his performances. The movement has enabled the singer and various others artists to bring back the past glory of the indigenous media during the Telangana movement.

The Arunodaya Samskritika Samakhya: The organization is headed by Auunodaya Vimalakka, a popular balladeer who fought against the repressive social systems through her songs and dance performances. She was instrumental in creating awareness and fighting against the 'Jogini' system which was prevalent in Telangana region. The cultural troupe created awareness among the people on various socio-political and cultural issues; the troupe has made the Telangana songs and other literatures very popular through their songs and dance performances. The songs by Vimalakka are very popular and are played in almost every meeting including the Telangana Dhoom-Dhaams. Many artistes and writers who were part of the earlier Naxal movement and its cultural organizations have contributed to the movement's popularity; the younger generation who were inspired by the leaders like Gaddar and Vimalakka were in the forefront of the movement and gave performances in Dhoom-Dhams. This way they were not only using the older forms of people's media but in the process they have revived and brought back the past glory of certain cultural traditions. Narrating, information and creating awareness about the movement and highlighting certain facts through traditional media was the biggest attraction for the masses.

4.3 The Revival of Indigenous Media through *Dhoom-Dham* (Song and Dance Performance)

The Telangana Dhoom-Dham (2002) became the symbol and the cultural front for the Telangana movement. Many writers, singers and performers became associated with the group. The group members enlightened the Telangana folk through songs and dances on importance issues, carrying forward the message of the Telangana movement in to the remote areas of the region. Well-known artists, writers and singers like Gaddar, Gorenti Venkanna, Rasamai Balakishan, Desapathi Srinivas,

Vimalakka, Maa Bhumi Sandhyakka, Nernala Kishore, Murli Madhu and child artist Madhu Priya became the voices of the Telangana movement. The Dhoom-Dham in every nook and corner of the ten districts of Telangana region became the voice of the people and the movement itself. Various Joint Action Committees that were formed (from the village level to the district level) contributed immensely to the movement; the Joint Action Committees in collaboration and coordination united different groups and individual organizations and carried the movement forward.

People thronged in masses to the places where the Dhoom-Dhams were held to participate in the movement. Almost every aspect of life in Telangana was highlighted in the Dhoom-Dham from culture to cultivation, from streams to rivers, traditions to technology, economic to political struggles, backwardness of the region to future development of the Telangana region. All the above narratives were part of the Dhoom-Dham that were held in every part of the Telangana region. The state was unable to control the indigenous media. 'Popular culture is made by the people, not produced by the culture industry' (Fiske 1989). Toeing the same line, the balladeer Arunodaya Vimalakka describes the Dhoom-Dham as a performance that has become symbolic of the Telangana movement, in a personal interview,

> No one can own the Dhoom Dham; it is people's media and it will be people's media. This media is more powerful than any other corporate media. The corporate media can be curtailed even when it cannot be bought but the people's media is neither sold nor bought; we gave people's media back to people. 'Aurnodaya Samakya', the group that I belong to, has gone deep into the villages, and we are proud that we have made people aware of issues related to the region; we are happy as we get people's support in conducting Dhoom-Dham in every part of Telangana region.

A well know singer, writer and performer Murli Madhu who has written many songs on the Telangana movement and performed in the interiors of the Telangana region said in a personal interview,

Through Dhoom-Dham we motivate people, we create awareness, and we put the facts about the Telangana region through songs. The mainstream media is biased and also failed in presenting the facts about the movement as it was not able to penetrate the interiors of the Telangana region. Dhoom-Dham entered the spaces where the mainstream media could not enter and made people aware of the Telangana movement and only through Dhoom-Dham we have generated mass awareness among the general public.

As a researcher it is impossible to quantify the impact of the Dhoom-Dham on the crowd. The Dhoom-Dham performances electrify the environment through the songs; people get charged up after listening to the songs. Emotions run high especially when songs are targeted against the state and those opposed to the bifurcation of the state.

For many persons the most moving cultural experience will be through popular media rather than classical art. A powerful emotional experience can be triggered by an otherwise trivial song floating out of an alley that awakens rich associations. The important quality in the esthetic experience, whether it is an emotional, earthshaking, life-changing encounter or a quiet, simple, weightless sense of deep appreciation, is your subjective response (Real 1996: 13).

The researcher observed that people got emotional when songs dedicated to the martyrs of Telangana were sung. The participation of women and men was equal and this made the Telangana Dhoom-Dham special. Differences of caste, class, race, and religion got blurred in these environments. The oral media undoubtedly became the popular media and this was evident from the field report analysis. While much of the information was given through the performances of Dhoom-Dhams which people attended in large numbers, on the other hand political parties, Joint Action Committees and other organizations have carried out their protest that was novel and specific during the Telangana movement. It is hard to find such instances where the various communities of the region belonging to different communities, casts, and religions stand united and fight for a cause. The success of the Telangana movement

could be largely attributed to the time biased media that the people have drawn inspiration from and have used for over six decades.

4.4 The Significance and Growth of Time Biased Media Vis-a-vis Telangana Movement

The Telangana movement has survived for over six decades and to understand what enabled this mass movement to survive for so long one has to look deep and understand what Innis's division of media into two categories, namely time biased and space biased media (*The Bias of Communication,* 1951). The Telangana movement has survived because the society is time biased. In India we have a strong time biased media tradition which is why the traditions and the customs are still intact and are still followed by the people. For instance, very often the oral narratives exist not merely on paper but are etched out in the temple walls and places of importance. There is a strong and old tradition of making sculptures/idols and statues in India. Such iconography enables the continuance of ideas behind them to survive long. Every event that is significant to be remembered or supposed is expected to be remembered by the people of that place is sculpted or represented in a form that would last long enough to be in the memory of generations to come. The written form (print) or space biased media is given second preference in the majority of Indian societies.

Throughout the country we see monuments and statues that are built in memory of those who have achieved greatness or died for some heroic cause. I understand that these sculptures and monuments are time biased as they survive for long and will be part of people's memory. These sculptures and monuments act as a binding force in a country like India that consists of many religions and languages. According to Innis' time and space concept of communication

> A medium of communication has an important influence on the dissemination of knowledge over space and time and it becomes necessary to study its characteristics in order to appraise its influence in its cultural setting (Soules 2007)

Even though people in the Telangana region are not of the same racial origin and do not belong to same religion, one common element that binds the people of the region

are these sculptures and monuments. People are emotionally attached to these as they identify with the event or the place as they belong to that particular region. Most of the important events that happened in the course of the history of Indian civilization are remembered by the societies through time biased media; even today the societies are more inclined to time biased media than space biased media.

Fig.1.24 Telangana Amaraveerula Stupam

People first respond to visual imagery on an emotional, unconscious level before rational interpretation takes place. Additionally, the visual representation of objects and people tends to evoke feelings because of the direct relationship between the image and the object it represents. (Barnes 2002)

In the revolt of Jai Telangana Movement in 1969 nearly 369 people died fighting for Telangana and in their memory a memorial called 'Gun Park' was constructed. It is located near the public gardens in Hyderabad and the Andhra Pradesh State Legislative Assembly. Majority of the people who died during the movement were students and most of them died in police-firing. In order to remember the sacrifice of the departed souls, the Telangana Rashtra Samithi party replicated the Gun Park memorial by constructing memorials in the heart of the city centres all over the Telangana region during the ongoing movement; this gave the common man

participating in the movement the strength and determination required to move ahead with confidence.

The political parties and leaders and other civil society organizations including thousands of individuals fighting for the Telangana cause carried forward the movement by paying their respect and tributes to these sculptures and monuments in the city centre that reminds them of the past and its history. Kondra Narsinga Rao who is an active member of the Telangana movement and joint action committee member had to say this about the Telangana Amaraveerula Stupams and other memorials that have come up in almost all the districts headquarters of Telangana, in a personal interview,

> The statues and monuments built in memory of the sacrifices made by the people will act as an inspiration and also will be part of the people's memory; these sacrifices are not in the textbooks of school curriculum but still people will be able to relate to the ideal by looking at these statues. The statues/monuments of great people and other martyrs act as an inspiration for the people and I think the statues/monuments will continue to play an important role in society.

Kondra Narsinga Rao gives an example of the statues of Dr. B R Ambedkar who is regarded as the father of the Indian constitution; he inspired many people from the so-called lower castes.

> Political parties and their leaders made these monuments and memorials popular by undertaking fast-unto-deaths at these historical places. They have also replicated and erected these monuments in different places. Sculptures of individuals and monuments are placed in places where it attracts the eye of the passerby; many a times the place is given the name of a person or an event with which it is connected. Any common citizen of the place or people from outside the region or country cannot ignore these monuments and statues or the name given and associated to that place. In fact it generates curiosity in everyone to know the history.

4.5 Iconography

Iconography has played a vital role in India in the construction and propagation of values, costumes and traditions that were proposed by great leaders who were able to transform the society. Throughout the world iconography has inspired millions of people to either replicate or go beyond them. This time biased media can have great influence on numerous generations. We see a lot of iconography related to religion. Apart from religion we see this in construction of the architectural marvels and memorials that we have throughout the world. Over the years some places, memorials and influential people themselves became icons. Apart from the places, memorials statue of great leaders, social workers and religious leaders including some the politicians have been inspiring the younger generation to walk in the footsteps of these giants. With the advent of socio-political, cultural and ethnic movements including wars, new icons/iconography have risen, at times replacing the older. During socio-political movements, revolts and wars the iconography in a given geography is either newly constructed or resurrected or may be destroyed. We have instances where the statutes of dictators, monarchs, kings and other religious leaders have been destroyed (Iraq war, Libyan war). Such monuments would be considered as time biased media as they would stand the test of time and be part of the history; these icons and iconography reveal a lot of information that are embedded in it.

With regard to the Telangana movement, iconography played an important role in the third phase of the movement; the relevance of iconography is evident if one observes and observes the movement closely. A statue like the Telugu talli that came into existence and took shape with the merger of the two regions (Andhra and erstwhile Hyderabad state, 1956) was rejected by the people of Telangana in the third phase of the movement (2001-2014). The Telugu talli statue was a symbolic representation for the unification of the Telugu people. The third phase of the movement gave birth to the Telangana talli, which became the sole representative of the Telangana people. As the intensity of the movement picked up and as emotions ran high in the region, people in the ten districts of the region readily accepted the icon proposed by the Telangana Rashtra Samithi party.

The appropriation of the Telangana talli helped the Telangana Rashtra Samithi party and the people to unite. Neither the political parties nor other groups in the Telangana

region questioned the idea or the ideology in appropriating the Telangana talli. The significance attached by the people to the Telangana talli statue is visible when one visits the town centers and other places where numerous statues have been erected in the last few years. The Telangana Rashtra Samithi party leader K Chandrashaker Rao and its cadres gave a lot of importance to the Telangana talli statue by worshiping her in meetings and on other occasions. The movement has brought a considerable change in accepting one statue and according significance to it and at the same time rejecting the other by the people in Telangana.

Telugu talli: The statue depicts a mother goddess with a crown on her head. She is draped in a sari and a flower garland around her neck typical to the region. She holds the earthen pot with a coconut placed on top of it in her right hand. This earthen pot (Kalasam) is seen as a symbol of good luck. In her left hand she holds a few strands of paddy. The Andhra region is known for its paddy cultivation; the region is green with cultivation for a major part of the year.

Telangana talli: The Telangana talli statue is also depicted as a mother. She is also draped in sari but the design of her sari is unique to the region. Unlike the floral garland found around the neck of the Telugu talli, the Telangana talli has three layers of gold ornaments. This in a way signifies the abundance of natural resources and minerals found in the region. In her right hand she holds a few strands of corn (maize crop) that was the staple food in the region until the paddy cultivation started. In her left hand she holds the Bathukamma (arrangement of different flowers found in the region in a pyramid shape) worshiping the goddess Gauri. This festival is unique to the Telangana region especially for the women who celebrate the spring festival with flowers, worshiping the goddess Guari for nine days. It should also be noted that anything that is held in the right hand has a greater significance. If we compare the two statues we can interpret that the former has significance for religion, rituals and traditions, while the later emphasizes the daily bread that feeds the mouths of millions of people in the region.

TELUGU TALLI   **TELANGANA TALLI**

Fig.1.25 statues of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh Telugu talli statues

Soon after the formation of the new state and also during the oath taking ceremony the chief ministers of both the states (Telangana and Andhra Pradesh) garlanded their respective goddesses (Telugu talli and Telangana talli). This in a way signifies the importance of these statues both culturally and emotionally attached with the people of the regions.

Amaraveerula stupam: This iconography was able to withstand the test of time with regard to the Telangana movement. For the last four decades this monument (25 feet (7.6 m) high Amaraveerula stupam or Gun Park or Telangana Martyrs Memorial) became an inspiration for millions of people in the Telangana region. The monument was named 'Gun Park' for the reason that 369 students were shot dead in the police firing during the 1969 Telangana movement. Amaraveerula stupam or Gun Park or Telangana Martyrs Memorial became the symbol of resistance, courage, and sacrifice made by the students fighting for the Telangana cause.

As said earlier the third phase of Telangana movement was able to utilize all the available media (time and space biased) for its revival. Sensing that the people of Telangana have an emotional attachment with the monument the Telangana Rashtra Samithi party was able to motivate people by commemorating and glorifying the monument at regular intervals, it was able to take the message and the importance of the monument to the countryside. The memorial was the nerve center for political activity. People would offer floral tributes or seek the blessing of the martyrs before

starting any event like, hunger strike, marches, or general strikes etc. Within a gap of ten years the monument's importance was visible when replicas were installed in all most all the important junctions in the ten districts of Telangana. People who were unaware of the monument were able to identify themselves with the monument, its importance, relevance and significance.

Amaraveerula Keerthi Stupam: A new martyr's memorial was built in Hanamkonda (Warangal). The monument stands at a height of 32 feet tall carved of granite. This monument was built in memory of the 1200 odd martyrs especially the students who have sacrificed their lives by self-immolating and other means in the third phase of the movement (2001-2014). The monument was inaugurated and dedicated to the people on the formation day of Telangana state. While the Gun-Park built in Hyderabad was in remembrance of the 1969 martyrs the Keerthi Stupam was built in memory of 2001-2014 martyrs of Telangana. The students from Osmania and Kakatiya University played a vital role in the movement; erecting the Keerthi Stupam in Warangal has its own significance with regard to the Telangana movement, as influential people Prof. K Jayashanker (Telangana movement Ideologue), Kaloji (poet and freedom fighter and Telangana activist), and many more who have inspired people to fight were natives of Warangal.

The monuments and statues like Amaraveerula Stupam (Gun- Park) and Amaraveerula Keerthi Stupam and Telangana talli would act as time biased media for the people in Telangana. These would withstand the time and pass on the information that is embedded and also that is etched on its surface for millions of people who visit the site. The time biased media has gained significantly with the Telangana movement as one could see the monuments and statues coming up in different junction and other places in the ten districts of Telangana state. The influence of time biased media was also seen in the methods of protest adopted by the people during the movement period.

4.6 Telangana Movement: Methods of Protests

The various movements that took place after the independence have adopting new means and methods to express their resentment towards the state in a very novel way. The Telangana movement that has a history of 60 years has shown to the rest of the

world that the new ways of protest (non-violent) could make the state act and react. The state can no longer ignore the protests as these protests had an impact on the very existence of the government. Compared with the 1969 movement, that was violent (death of more than 360 students), the present movement led by political leaders and intellectuals who formed the Joint Action Committees, adopted peaceful and non-cooperation methods. The movement was not just confined to the cities and towns in the Telangana region but has gone deep into the villages.

The various groups based on their profession, caste, religion, have adopted various means to protest during the Telangana agitation. Women who form the major part of the movement have also been in the forefront of the movement. The large participation of women gave a new direction to women's empowerment in the Telangana region. It is not new for the women to participate in such struggles; the women were the major force in the Telangana armed struggle and thereafter in the Naxal movement. The trend of women's participation in the movements continued and is witnessed even in the present movement. The role of government in suppressing the peaceful movement was condemned by the people. Though the government tried all the possible means to restrict the media and its coverage it was unsuccessful in stopping the spread of Indigenous media/folklore and information technology that helped the movement. The protesters gathered in huge numbers whenever there was a call given by the political parties or the joint Action Committees. In the last few years and especially from December 2009 the protests continued in various formats till October 3, 2013, when the government finally announced the formation of Telangana. The following are the various methods and protests adopted during the last one decade of the movement.

Dhoom-Dham (song and dance): Dhoom-Dham is song and dance programmes by various cultural artists, writers, poets and balladeers who were very active during the Telangana movement. This was the only popular mass media in the Telangana region through which people of the region were made aware of issues with regard to political, social, cultural and economic injustice done to the people and the region. This popular indigenous media united the people emotionally and culturally, making the Telangana movement inclusive.

Change of Nomenclature: The nomenclature-changing drive spearheaded by T Devender Goud, a very prominent leader from the region, had a huge impact on the people of Telangana. He gave a call to his party workers and common public to change the signboards from 'Andhra Pradesh' to 'Telangana'. Many banks (Andhra Bank name changed to Telangana Bank), schools, Zilla Parshads, and other government office signboards were changed suggesting that these belong to the state of Telangana. People were eager to change their vehicle plates suggesting it belonged to Telangana; the number plate change had a huge impact and created a huge awareness among the people of Telangana giving more momentum to the movement. The name change was not just confined to government offices or other organizations. It had an impact on the common people and businessmen. Educational institutes in the Telangana region were renamed: majority of the educational institutes have rechristened their colleges and schools with names that carry 'Telangana' as suffix or prefix. The signboards had a huge impact on the common viewers and also reflected the people's aspirations. In the last few years there was an increase with regard to names that were given to institutions, hotels, colleges, etc. Moreover, local names were used as brands in order to attract the crowds and to have greater publicity.

Kula vruthula sammya (caste based bandh/ Strikes): The strength for the Telangana movement mainly derived from the Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes, Other Backward Classes and women. People belonging to various castes like Sakali/Chakalis (*dhobhis*), Nayibrahmins (barbers), Gouds (toddy tapers) Dalits (both the Mala and Madiga), Kumari (Pot makers) Schedule Tribes (lambadis, Gonds, Erukulas) and the Brahmins (priests) protested in their own unique way with the tools that they use in day-to-day life. People belonging to the Chakali (Dhobhis/washer men and women) washed the clothes on the national highways, the Gouds (toddy tapers) protested by pouring the toddy on the roads instead of selling. The Kumari (Earthen pot makers) made the pots and other terracotta objects and demolished them on the roads. The Brahmins (Priests) stopped worshiping the god and not opening the temple doors for worship.

Baathukamma and Bonalu: Women's participation was the highlight in the entire Telangana movement. The Baathukamma (celebrating the Hindu goddess Mahagauri) and Bonalu (celebrating the Hindu goddess Mahakali) are very feminine in nature;

while the later represents the power of the local deity (goddess Kali/Ellama), the former represents the power of goddess Parvathi (Gaurimatha), The women of the Telangana region protested by worshiping and invoking the goddess of power during the Telangana movement.

Vanta-Varpu: During the vanta-varpu protest temporary suspension of caste, community and religious identities could be witnessed as people across the Telangana region took to the roads to cook on the national highway and other roads across the region; people protested by cooking on the roads and also eating and serving it to the public. Women's participation was huge during these protests. The women cooked local dishes, reflecting a sense of regional identity.

Dhandoora: One section of the Schedule Caste group (Madiga) was in the forefront of the movement. The caste-based organization achieved many goals fighting against the government including the system of reservation based on population. The Madigas protested in a very unique as they played the *Dappu/Chavu Dappu* (drums) in front of the houses of the elected representatives. These drums are generally used only during funeral processions. As a mark of protest against the government and also the elected representatives, people carried a dummy body as funeral procession on the roads.

Vidyardhi Garjanas (Student Hullabaloos): The vidyardhi garjanas were held by the students from different universities, colleges and institutes; these were massive rallies that were held from time to time to maintain the pressure on the political parties. These garjanas (Hullabaloos or Roar's) became the strength of the student's movements; recognizing the strength the state started to impose restrictions on rallies and picketed the universities 24x7. Majority of the college students supported the agitations led by the Students' Joint Action Committees; most of these garjanas were peaceful demonstrations that kept the Telangana momentum going and helped to build pressure on political parties and the government to take a decision in their favor.

Sakala Janula Behri and *Praja Garjanas* (Hullabaloos or Roar's): These Garjanas (literal translation can be as peoples Roar's) were organized by all, and participated by all the communities and organizations, there was no class, caste and religious differences found in these meetings. Through these massive meetings organized from

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time-to-time by students, employees, professionals, artists, writers, workers, labour unions, caste based groups and various other organizations built up the pressure for the government to act tough on such meetings, this provoked the common man and through these garjanas the movement became much more resilient and grew in strength.

Padayatras (long marches): The university students and the Joint Action Committee members undertook different programmes from time-to-time to educate and garner support for the Telangana cause in the county side. These padayatras were not limited to the NGOs, Joint Action Committees but all the political parties like the Indian National Congress, Bharatiya Janata Party, Telugu Desam Party, Communist Party of India, and Telangana Rashtra Samithi have taken to the roads clarifying their stand on the Telangana issue to the common man in the countryside. Though these parties have done it for political mileage during the by-elections, the awareness these long marches have generated was immense; these long marches have also fixed the parties into compulsions, thereby paving the way for the creation of the Telangana state.

Pellabatta (village roads): In a phase manner many of the Joint Action Committee (JAC) members, students and other party workers specially lead by the Telangana Rashtra Samithi, have taken to villages explaining to the rural and village public the need for separate state and the injustice done to the region with regard to employment, education, water, budget and other developmental issues.

Sakala Janula Sammya: This was the greatest general strike that showed the strength and unity of the Telangana movement. It was not the political parties that were the part of the general strike but it was the led by the Joint Action Committee supported by people of the region. Few pro-Telangana political parties supported the general strike. The 42 day general strike made the state of Andhra Pradesh to come to a grinding halt (September 2011). People belonging to all walks of life participated in the strike called by the Joint Action Committee led by the leaders from government and non-government sectors. The lawyers boycotted the courts, employees in the various departments in the government sector abstained from their duties, the teachers, doctors, university faculties, railway employees, the power-sector employees, the RTC employees, municipality employees, factory workers, auto-

rickshaw drivers, film and television artists, film theater owners, cable operator employees and various others participated in the 42 day general strike. The biggest contribution was from the Singareni employees (coalmine workers) that made the centre and the state governments to act. During the general strike the schools, colleges, institutions, universities in the region were closed and the youths of the Telangana region infused new life into the movement. During the 42 day strike all the highways and rail roads were blocked which had a huge impact not only in Andhra Pradesh but also affected other parts of India. The government that generates huge revenues in the Telangana region suffered the losses.

Poru Yatra: Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was the first to clarify its stand with regard to the Telangana state. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) saw it as an opportunity to grow and establish as a political party in the region. Its party president from the Telangana region, Kishan Reddy, started the Telangana "Poru Yatra" covering many assembly constituencies, addressing rallies and also generating a popular base for the party. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was able to garner much required support and in the recent past one could see the support it was getting throughout the Telangana region. In the past three years none of the political parties spoke against the Telangana state and it was a race against the time to clarify their stand and gain popularity amongst the people of the region. The yatras and rallies helped the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to win a couple of assembly seats. Eyeing the general elections and the assembly elections the (BJP) took the yatras to reach out to the people. Many political parties have reached out to the people with different Yatras and Garjanas in the past four years.

Chalo Assembly: In May 2013, the political parties and the Telangana Joint Action Committee (TJAC) together undertook a march to the assembly when it was in session, putting the pressure on the government and the political parties for demanding the Telangana state and also to pass a resolution for separate state. Such events and marches by the political parties and the Telangana Joint Action Committee (TJAC) and other non-governmental organizations at regular intervals was a very common activity to put pressure.

Non-cooperation movement: Strategies of non-cooperation were not uncommon among Indians. Right from Gandhi during the freedom struggle to the tribals in central India, people in India have always preferred to protest by non-violent methods. The people of Telangana, especially the employees, adopted a policy of non-cooperation with the government. This movement by the employees went on for more than 16 days with the participation of more than 300,000 thousand employees; this had a huge impact on the exchequer of the government.

Impact of the One Million March: The One Million March was an eye opener for the government in Andhra Pradesh, the central government, and the political parties especially in Andhra Pradesh. The protest march organized by the Joint Action Committee was a huge success as people from across the ten districts of Telangana region gathered near the Tank Bund in the capital. Though the government tried it's best to stop the event by blocking the rail and road routes to Hyderabad, it became impossible as people moved in thousands to attend the million march and protest. The march turned violent when police tried to stop the people from moving towards the assembly; for the first time during the Telangana movement, the ire of people led to the destruction of statues of eminent personalities.

Telangana Anthem: The Telangana anthem also helped the movement as the anthem was used as a means of protest. The state of Andhra Pradesh had an anthem that was written by Sri Sankarambadi Sundaraachari. The song 'Mâ Telugu Talli ki Mallepûdaṇḍa' was written for the film *Deena Bandhu* (1942) and was adopted as the state anthem later. On the other hand, the Telangana anthem gained popularity with the spread of the Telangana movement. The Telangana Rashtra Samithi made the song 'Jaya jaya he telanganga janani jayaketanam' (victory victory to our mother Telangana) written by Ande Sri hailing from Telangana region very popular. Today the Telangana anthem is sung across the ten districts in many schools, colleges and university functions. The Telangana anthem highlights its rich cultural heritage, praises its leaders, describes the natural resources available and celebrates the lifestyle of its people living in ten districts of Telangana.

The period of 2001-2013 was crucial and much of the above protests took place during this period. After the 2009 election the political parties (especially the TRS)

the Joint Action Committees, organizations and people participated in all the above protests in huge numbers making a stronger impact that shook the government at the state and central level. Media that was covering and reporting the movement suddenly became indifferent and largely ignored the protests for various reasons, while some of the mainstream media became indifferent few media houses were objective, but this act did not deter the people. The common masses were updated with all the required information through alternative forms of media; this is when the people's media took the center stage.

4.7 Media Distortion: The Role of Print and Electronic Media

Social unrest and movements arise when people are deprived of their basic rights and when there is a widespread feeling that external forces threaten their very existence. The people of Telangana feel that they have been deprived of all the opportunities that were rightfully theirs. Media can mold the society by generating public opinion about issues; thus, it can play a great role in shaping societies and their cultures. The mainstream media in Andhra Pradesh is largely controlled by the elites from the Andhra region.

In 2009 the government of India made an announcement in parliament regarding creating a roadmap for Telangana. In continuation of the announcement in the parliament, the Indian government constituted a five member committee headed by Justice B N Srikrishna in March 2010 to look into the ongoing demand for the separate state of Telangana. The government implemented some of the recommendations made by the committee. However, one of the most crucial chapters in the report was missing when it was made public. The reason for keeping this eighth chapter of the report classified was apparently for reasons of law and order. This incident is a classic example of the intersection of the political environment with the media environment and how this nexus can change realities.

Let us examine some of the recommendations of the committee in its eighth confidential chapter that was not disclosed in the report submitted but was widely reported in media and websites. These recommendations are regarding (1) Political Management (2) Media Management (3) Full Preparedness

The following is the *Excerpts* of the eighth chapter of Srikrishna Committee report regarding media management.

(i) Andhra Pradesh has got about 13 Electronic Channels and 5 major local Newspapers which are in the forefront of molding the public opinion. Except for two Channels (Raj News & HMTV), the rest of them are supporters of a united Andhra Pradesh. ... A coordinated action on their part has the potential of shaping the perception of the common man ... This can be tackled by the owners of the media houses by systematically replacing the local journalists by those from Seemandhra wherever it is possible.

(ii) Hyderabad city which is expected to be the centre of most of the agitations is generally covered by those journalists who are votaries of a separate Telangana. Hence a lot of media hype on the Osmania University Students agitation, self- immolations etc. may be created. Therefore, media management assumes critical importance to ensure that only the reality is projected and no unnecessary hype is created ... Each of the media houses are affiliated to different political parties ... The print media is hugely dependent on the Government for advertisement revenue and if carefully handled can be an effective tool to achieve this goal (Srikrishna Committee Report 2011).

The Andhra Pradesh government used the recommendations to its advantage and tried to curtail the movement.

The role of the media is seen by Habermas as being somewhat ambivalent and predominantly skeptical. On the one hand, at least in movements of mobilisation under conditions of a perceived crisis, he argues, they may serve as a platform or even promoter of interests of the actors of the civil society. On the other hand, he suspects that the mass media are power-infiltrated by interest groups and serve as their means to manipulate the public (Schulz 1997:131)

The fourth estate of democracy in Andhra Pradesh was under constant pressure from various political parties and the Andhra elite. Few media houses were bold and

objective in reporting the truth and maintaining the balance. The committee headed by Justice B N Sri Krishna also accepts that out of the thirteen channels, eleven channels supported the cause for united Andhra Pradesh. The nexus between the politics and media houses is thus evident in the Telangana issue. The larger interest of politicians, industrialists and people of the Andhra region were evident and got reflected in the news reporting and analysis.

> Those cultures made powerful through their former monopolies of knowledge based on film, print, or television become vulnerable to the attacks of cultures, which make use of new communications technologies. In Fuzzy Logic, Matthew Friedman relates how the EZLN--the revolutionary Zapatista movement of Chiapas, Mexico--uses its website to counteract negative propaganda from the Mexican and United States governments which attempt to distort the nature of this populist revolution. (Soules 2007).

The monopoly of Andhra people over the print, television and mainstream cinema is not new. People of Telangana have been opposing this domination and this is fact accepted by the committee. Professor Ghanta Chakrapani is a media analyst on television news analysis, talk shows. He is also an active participant and supporter of the Telangana movement; while talking about the media before and after 2009 in Andhra Pradesh he had this to say in a personal interview,

> Media has played a vital role in the Telangana movement. The metaphor of the double –edged knife works very well to explain this. In the initial stage the media propagated the injustice meted out to Telangana and gave a wide coverage to the anguish of the Telangana people. Media gave wide coverage to each and every development of the Telangana movement for over 12 years. Up to December 9, 2009 when the state formation statement came, the media seemed somewhat objective, but after the announcement it changed its voice and on its own it vehemently opposed the Government of India's decision. In one-way media helped in constructing the collective opinion initially although it adopted a different stance later on.

The launching of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi party not only boosted the Telangana agitation but in fact created and revived the old and new forms of media environments to help the cause of the Telangana movement. Media forms like the traditional Oggukatha and Janapadam (different folklore traditions and cultures that were dormant for years because of the new technologies) were revived. The main political party which was spearheading the Telangana movement was in fact using the old forms through Dhoom-Dham (song and dance narratives) that became popular and the leading media in the region.

The media distortion by the Andhra political and industrial lobby with regard to Telangana movement and the Telangana region not only revived the traditional forms of media as said earlier but also appropriated the new-media. Today the web is filled with numerous sites dedicated to the Telangana cause; this also shows how new media environments are created that were non-existent before the movement. The information about Telangana that was missing for the last sixty years is now available and visible for the rest of the world to see – its history, culture, language, religion, traditions, and its heritage. Thanks to the new media, the struggle of the Telangana people is known nationally and internationally. In the last few years hundreds of websites have sprung up explaining the cause of the Telangana movement, giving details of the injustice done in the last few decades in various fields, most importantly in the areas of language, literature, education, employment:

> Innis sees a dialectical relationship between society and technology:
> they influence one another mutually. According to this view, certain
> social forms and situations encourage the development of new media;
> these media, operating within existing situations, react back on society
> to produce a new cycle of change. (Soules 2007)

The Telangana movement has rejuvenated the dormant traditions, rituals, customs, and culture, and also re-emphasized the power of the oral media (song and dance performances) of the region. The Telangana movement has given a new lease of life to the artists, especially the tradition of narrating stories (Burrakatha, Janapadha kala) with song and dance performances. Some of the prominent traditional media are

Burrakatha, Golla Suddalu, Harikatha, Pakeer Patalu (Bowl Songs), Bairagi Patalu (Bairagi Songs), Chuttakamudu, Vuyyala Patalu. Today this genre is the most popular in the television channels across the Telangana region.

> Local and traditional communication systems refer to all organized processes of production and exchange of information managed by rural communities. Their tools, like traditional theatre, masks and puppets performances, tales, proverbs, riddles and songs, should be seen as a cultural and endogenous response to different community needs for information, education, social protest and entertainment (Chiovoloni 1994).

Dr. Bhangya Bhukya said in a personal interview,

> The Telangana movement from its birth was largely dependent on indigenous media; writers, poets, and artists were the main people to keep the movement alive and also take it forward. The Telangana region has a rich culture, especially a rich oral culture in which songs and dance play an important role. People have depended on indigenous media whenever there is oppression. People have resisted such oppression during the Nizam's rule, the Razakar movement and now in the Telangana movement with the help of indigenous media.

Neil Postman argued,

> I believe a wise and particularly relevant supposition that the media of communication available to a culture are a dominant influence on the formation of the culture's intellectual and social reoccupations. Speech, of course, is the primal and indispensable medium (Postman 1985).

The above statement of Postman appears to be particularly true in case of the Telangana movement; more than the mainstream media, it is the indigenous media that has reached the masses, and also made them aware of the problems, injustice and neglect shown towards the region. The political parties fighting for the Telangana have largely banked on the indigenous media; the people involved, especially the writers, singers and performers have taken the responsibility of reaching out to the

people through various forms including the cultural performances. The various indigenous media groups of Telangana campaigned in the constituencies and highlighted the plight and sufferings of peoples under the Congress and Telugu Desam Party governments headed by the Andhra people.

The mainstream media was watching the movement closely and appeared to be reporting the issues and events objectively. But things changed when the formation of Telangana was announced in 2009; the issues related to Telangana were no more the headlines in the mainstream media. The media gave very limited coverage to the events as suggested by the Sri Krishna Report. Dr. Bhangya Bhukya reacting on the Sri Krishana report and its content, said in a personal interview,

> The media has not even covered 10% of the movement, the ground realities were completely different from what the mainstream media has framed. Though the Sri Krishna committee has put forward the idea to stop and not to highlight the Telangana news through the mainstream media, political consciousness had been already awakened in the people through the indigenous media.

A small time real-estate and businessmen Narsing said in a personal interview,

> HMTV had a played a major role in the Telangana movement, people watched the Dasha-Disha programme throughout the Telangana region. People have been made aware of the various issues through the Dasha-Disha programs while the other television channels have concentrated on the political and internal fights of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi. The state and the police have restricted the media to give live programs with regard to Telangana movement especially in the university campus, like Osmania, and Kakatiya and other universities in the Telangana region.

Another university student G. Shiva also feels the same with regard to the media houses, especially HMTV. He said in a personal interview

> The electronic media managed by the Andhra people never highlighted the issues in the Telangana region and distorted the facts. It was the

HMTV and other pro-Telangana channels that started to show the real picture with facts and figures with regard to employment, education, agriculture, energy, health, literacy and many other issues which were required to be brought to the notice of the common public in the region.

'HMTV' news channel and 'The Hansindia' daily newspaper from Hyderabad media house limited was unbiased to a large extent; the 'T News' with the slogan "Telangana Gunde Chappudu" (The Pulse of Telangana) and 'Namasthe Telangana' daily newspaper from Telangana Broadcasting Pvt. Limited; 'Raj News' TV channel from Raj Group; 'V6 news' channel from Visaka group; TNN news channel from Telangana News Network are some of the major media houses in the region that have contributed to the Telangana movement and countered the negative media framing of the Telangana movement that was done by pro-united Andhra channels owned by the politicians and industrialists from the Andhra region. The biased nature of reporting with regard to Telangana movement before and after the announcement of Telangana state and during the strike period in both the regions Telangana and Andhra region is something that one should like to take notice.

4.8 Media Portrayal of Strikes in Telangana and Seemandhra

The present state of Andhra Pradesh has gone back in time to the period just after 1956 when the people of both the regions were vertically split in all most all aspects including the merger with the Andhra state that got separated from madras presidency. The only difference between the period prior to and after 1956 is the media and its role. One may see things clearly and understand the reasons; one of the most influential is the exponential growth of media and media environments with the evolving tools of communication.

The media houses that are owned by the people belonging to Andhra region turned a blind eye to the events and protests in the Telangana region. The Sri Krishna Report had some impact on the developments happening in the centre and the state. The media was restrained from entering into places like Osmania and Kakatiya University and other places where the movement was intense. The difference and the biased approach of media can be understood and evaluated if one sees the content and the reporting of the events that was telecast during the strikes that took place in Telangana

region and the Seemandhra region. There was a lot of difference in terms of the language used and the visual images that got repeated time after time in 24x7 news channels. The *Samaikyandhra* (united Andhra Pradesh) strike was telecast live in all channels and the news reporters were giving the news from all most remote places/universities, main junctions and were projecting the strike as one of the biggest and how everyone is involved in the strike. The 42 days of strike in Telangana region was largely ignored and misinterpreted as a strike that had no relevance; the media especially the television channels projected the strike as an event that had no significance and caused inconvenience to the people of Telangana. It went to the extent of saying that unions and people are giving up the strike called by the Telangana Joint Action Committee, as they do not see any hope or solution. But in the history of Telangana it was the biggest and most successful strike that not only united the unions and organizations but also the people and employees. It was a people's movement and people from every walk of life participated in the strike which made the central government take note of the seriousness of the issue.

The Andhra Pradesh Non-Governmental Organizations called for a general strike against the decision to bifurcate the state of Andhra Pradesh in to Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. The strike called for 66 days was largely supported by the political parties. The media coverage with regard to content and language was overtly biased in favor of one section of the region and its people; the events were shown live on most of the television channels associated with various political parties and industrialists form the region. The screen was split into four parts to show the intensity of the strike in different parts of the Seemandhra region; even small gatherings were reported as large events and the content was shown 24x7. These live events to an extent helped in provoking people to come out to the streets. Unlike the general strike of Telangana, the strike called by Andhra Pradesh Non-Governmental Organizations, was largely supported by political parties, including the government headed by Kiran Kumar Reddy who belong to the Andhra region and the principle opposition the Telugu Desam Party who also belong to the Andhra region. The leaders who were leading the strike belonging to the Andhra Pradesh Non-Governmental Organizations were portrayed by the media as heroes and champions who won the battle; the media content looked and sounded more suitable for film and television language (scripted

dialogues used for entertainment). It was rare to see such use of language in the print and electronic media of Andhra Pradesh.

A member of the parliament used the pepper spray on other members of the parliament during the passing of Telangana bill on February 13, 2014. The incident was a shameful act and a blow to the parliamentary democracy. This act was portrayed by the media in Andhra Pradesh as the greatest achievement and the most daring act by the politician hailing from Seemandhra region. Soon after the incident, instead of condemning the act of the politicians the media started to telecast few ads given by the political groups, comparing them with national freedom fighters like Bhagat Singh and Alluri Seetaramaraju.

4.9 Role of Internet and Non Resident Indians (Telanganites)

Apart from the indigenous media and the mainstream media, the Telangana movement benefited tremendously from new media. The Telangana Rastra Samithi (TRS) with the launching of the party in 2001 gave people and organizations the idea to launch their own web sites in promoting the Telangana cause, as this was also the phase when citizens and youths in India started to use the internet. The internet was able to connect the larger sections of people in and around the world, also becoming an important source of information dissemination. Over the past decade hundreds of sites have contributed in providing the information and also making people aware of issues and movements happening in Telangana to the people around the world. The information was largely about the history of Telangana and the injustice that was meted out to the region and its people. The different sites update day-to-day events for people in the region in a bid to especially reach out to the Non Residents Indians (Telanganites) on issues like, politics, literature, culture, festivals, places, songs. The role of the internet has become prominent as people saw the opportunity of reaching out to the entire nation and world. The internet was the only medium to make people outside the country aware of the Telangana movement. Many pro-Telangana groups and organizations have countered the distortions in the mainstream media through the web sites until people from the Telangana region came up with their own media houses. Today the World Wide Web is full of content that highlights the region's activities in every field; people take pride in the language and literature and specially the Telangana dialect which is unique to the region. The Telangana literature that was lost in the history books and was never part of the school curriculum, has found its

way to the public through the internet. As stated earlier, today various media tools have found their way into the larger media ecosystem.

Today when one types the word Telangana in "Google search" it gives about 5,080,000 results (in 0.33 seconds) and typing Telangana movement gives about 1,310,000 results (in 0.33 seconds) as on 14/11/2013; these include various sites containing information about history, literature, culture, food, festivals, songs, and people of the region. Every event that has taken place has found its way into the World Wide Web in the last thirteen years of the Telangana movement; I can also say that the movement has enlarged the possibilities of media's growth and revived the indigenous media in the last ten years.

We can thus see a correlation between the political and ethnic movements and the growth of media; it has given the people the options of choosing from various media houses that include the native, mainstream, and new media. The younger generation is found to be more active in the New-media environment. It is observed that the youth and the common public upload everything that is in favor of the Telangana movement. Millions have participated in the Telangana movement, contributed and encouraged others in any way they could for achieving their goal of separate Telangana state. The contribution from the NRIs has helped in raising funds and also in contributing and encouraging the artists, poets, writers, singers and others to actively participate in the movement. The web is full of news related to the activities undertaken by the NRIs like conducting seminars, lectures, political interactions and cultural programmes including the Dhoom-Dham in their respective countries. This has encouraged people to participate through blogs, forums, facebook, twitter, social websites and other applications available in the net to express their solidarity for the movement.

4.10 Integration of Media Environments in the Telangana Movement

We are living in a world where people, places and objects are no more isolated but are part of the inclusive growth of information and communication networks. The latest technological innovations have made the integration of fields possible. The media tools that were once considered separate and isolated, such as telephone, radio, television, music systems, e-mail with their unique properties, can be accessed

together with the help of a single technological device like a Smart Phone or tablet and palmtop.

Many social, cultural, and political movements that have come up in the last two decades have used one or the other media tools or at times a combination of these tools to reach out to larger sections of people in and around the world for support and help. People and movements use time and space biased media according to the needs and in the process make both the media survive. The Telangana movement has used all the available resources to reach out to the people, from the indigenous media to new media, and from mainstream media to mobile communication. The reason for the success of the movement can be the mass awareness brought about by the combination of space and time biased media. An integration of all these media tools led to the success of the Telangana movement. As said earlier, activists used these media tools, occasionally integrating them so as to reach out to large sections of the people. The technology of conversion of one media to the other, providing accessibility of information to the common masses has made the movement successful.

Today India is one of the largest users of mobile phone communications. The rapid growth of telecommunications in India and the Telangana movement have coincided with each other and both have grown in their reach to include large sections of the society. While the mobile technological features and additions grew, the movement used this technology for communicating and reaching out to larger sections of the communities. In the initial days of the of the Telangana Rashtra Samithi meetings that were mainly addressed by its president K Chandrasheakar Rao, few people gathered. But over a period of time, as the information was passed from one person to the other through mobile phones and other means, apart from other exercises that the parties used to mobilize large masses for the meetings, the movement started to get the momentum it required. The common masses that came to the meetings started to capture and record the speeches of leaders and the sub-nationalist Telangana songs in their mobile phones. The songs and messages were sent as MMS (multimedia messaging service) to friends and other people in the Telangana region. Much of the information with regard to music and culture is shared through technology as John

Thomson argues these forms are "increasingly mediated by a complex, trans-national network of institutions concerns" (Thompson 1990:4)

Today at least one in a family, especially the youth of the nation, has a mobile phone connection. The Telangana movement got its momentum from the youth. Over a period of time these speeches and songs that were recorded at meetings were shared with friends and communities, and slowly the messages and songs made their way to the internet, reaching out to a larger section of people within the country and outside. The movement also made use of the time biased media more than any other movements that happened in India after the independence, the movement leaders were able to mobilize the people emotionally by erecting the memorials and statues throughout the Telangana region in the last one decade. The time biased media connected and united the people irrespective of caste, class and religion. The Telangana amaraveerula stupams (martyrs memorial) and Telangana talli stupams came up in hundreds of villages and important town and junctions. People also started to consider these memorials and stupams as symbols of Telangana movement and paid respect while starting agitations and other functions. The pamphlets, banners, posters stages and other printed material including the political functions and meetings that were held in different parts of the Telangana contained the replicas of Telangana amaraveerula stupam (martyrs memorial) and Telangana talli statues.

Chapter V

Conclusion

The media ecology survives and grows because of the convergence of different media tools with the political environment. This interaction is enabled by the integration of technologies. Today, the pervasive influence of media can be found within each of us; the space biased media has been enhancing the changes that we see in our modern society with regard to religion, politics, culture, and economy. When it comes to the origin of information, we all still depend on time biased media. The time biased media has a greater role and significance for the present and future civilizations. One of the advantages with the time biased media is that information embedded in this media can last for centuries. Most of this information plays a vital role in molding the perceptions of people in the longer periods at times with the help of this information the future generations will be able to construct the lifestyles of present societies or civilizations. But it is the space biased media that has altered the course of civilizations forever.

The space biased media has to a large extent democratized and also homogenized communities. Though the modern technologies were best used for communication, sharing of knowledge and data, over the period of time it had its impact on a wide range of issues. The technological advancements have made the information not only to move very fast but also to die fast. This instant access of information by the global citizens has the positive and negative sides on culture, religion, economy, environment, and especially on global politics. People with the help of modern communication tools are able to alter the political institutions in many countries. We have seen how over a period of time the autocratic governments have changed to democratic form of governments (Middle East). The modern and older forms of media are playing a vital role in socio-political movements.

The present research tries to highlight the key aspects and interrelationship of media and socio-political movements in the media ecology context. The symbiotic relationship between the two can be well understood when we look at various socio-political movements that have used various forms of media to achieve broader goals. The new technological innovations in media have been constantly shaping our

perception and perspective towards a given issue. There is no doubt in saying that the present socio-political movements use much of the electronic media in order to reach out to the masses and create the required momentum, but on the other hand we could see the increasing interference of state with regard to information flow. In such situations the movements depend on local, alternative or indigenous media. While understanding the entire process in the media ecology context, the alternative forms of media that are mostly biased to time are at times used by the movements to achieve their goals, in the entire process one could see the revival of old forms of media, under certain circumstances in a given environment people depend on old forms of media, thus enabling the older forms of media to come back.

In the second chapter we have seen how the socio-political movements around the world use the media according to their demands, and the media according to its needs uses the movements for its growth and popularity. The movement's success or failure is inconsequential when we analyze the growth of media right from its inception. We can also see the revival of the old forms of media or the use of alternative media during the movement periods, especially when state imposes restrictions on the flow of information. We see how the integration of media tools help the information to reach a larger audience but in the process also amplifies the cause of the movement. The use of space biased media becomes instrumental in reforming the political institutions but these changes hardly sustain for a long duration (Middle East political crisis). In contrast, the impact of time biased media appears to be longer. One can closely see and understand the intricate and symbiotic relationship between media and movements helping each other to survive.

Through the interviews and the field study one could understand that the issue based movements require the support of a heterogeneous population; the chances of issue based movements being successful is more likely compared to the motivated movements, where only one group or a community is involved. The success of the anti-corruption movement was largely because; it was not confined to one group, community or religion. To understand the media and its contribution either for success or failure the anti-corruption movement would be the best example. We have seen how during the anti-corruption movement the media was active, hyperactive and also in the later part became indifferent. The people and the media with support of

each other charged the environment that led the people to join and support the movement through various other media like Facebook, Twitter and other social networking sites. Jeffery argued that media tries to grow and also reach out to larger sections of the population during such movements.

With regard to Telangana movement we have seen how the autocratic rule and hegemony of one group over the other was the contributory factor that made people of Telangana to revolt against the Nizam and liberate themselves, such hegemonic acts have been witnessed throughout history and one such event that altered the boundaries within India, was carving out Andhra state from Madras Presidency. The excuses people of Andhra gave while fighting for a separate state from Madras Presidency are the same given by the people of Telangana who were fighting for a separate state. All the events that are taking place are having some similarities with the past events and in a sense; we recall and recycle the information in the larger context of media ecology (information recycling).

The Telangana movement can be understood from various angles especially for hegemonic rule of one group over the other (Andhra over Telangana). Through the research one could understand and come to the conclusion that the Telangana movement was born because of hegemony, discrimination and inequalities among the people, while changes are inevitable in such circumstances, these changes gave rise to the growth of communism, Naxalism, regional political parties, regional media and various other socio-political struggles in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh.

From the field analysis one could understand and conclude that the Telangana movement was a people's movement as it reflected the aspirations of people who wanted to liberate themselves. We have seen how people use different forms of media during the socio-political struggles; we have seen the Facebook revolution in Egypt that was fast in bringing the desired change but also died out very fast. On the other hand the use of time biased media became a boon for the Telangana movement for the past six decades; the movement and the use of the time biased media bonded the people and kept the spirit alive. The use of people's media or the alternative media helped the movement in not only highlighting the issues, but in the process revived the local culture and traditions that were dormant or sidelined because of popular

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culture. The revival of the old forms of media gave new life to various artists and writers and many other professional artists, giving them recognition and livelihood (regeneration of employment). Both the time and space biased media during the movement played a vital role, while the time biased media bonded the people emotionally and culturally, the time biased media helped in making the information reach out to larger sections of the people. We have also seen much of the information getting constructed and deconstructed during the socio-political movements (e.g. Telangana talli statues) movements use the information according the needs (appropriation of Nizam during the Telangana movement) in order to keep the momentum and movement alive.

The reasons for the participation in the Telangana movement might have been different for the participating communities; each group had strived to achieve various needs and goals at the level of the individual, group, community, caste, class, and gender. Each of them have contributed and played their role accordingly. Students wanted the Telangana state so that they could get admissions into prestigious institutes in the region. The youths wanted it because they were looking for employment opportunities in public and private sectors and these sectors were filled with people from the other regions (Rayalaseema and Andhra). The employees of Telangana wanted a separate state because they wanted promotions in their respective organizations that had been occupied by people belonging to other regions (apparently against the rule). The Department of Labour and Employment submitted a report to the government, which acknowledged that only 13.5% of Telangana employees were filled against the quota of 33% and in majority of the cases the promotions were either delayed or not taken up, especially for those hailing from the Telangana region. The report goes to the extent of saying that 19.5% of the people belonging to Seemandhra (Andhra and Rayalaseema) were placed in the Telangana region in complete violation of the rules. The backward communities wanted the state of Telangana as they wanted their community to be represented to get equal opportunities in various sectors and fields. The MRPS also wanted the division of the state as they saw the possibility of being in majority in the Telangana state. They thought that it would provide them political opportunities and greater chances of employment thus leading to an overall development of the community. Women wanted the separate state as they saw a ray of hope in Telangana as compared to the other two regions; the Telangana region has

always been largely liberal with regard to women (Sundarayya 1972). The women belonging to the lower and backward communities from the urban and rural areas saw an opportunity of growth in education and employment and they also demanded basic needs such as health and economic security. The other reason could be that, the women from the rural region were ensured by the political parties on various forums that they would take up land distribution for the landless, especially for those belonging to the lower classes and backward communities. The farmers wanted a separate state as they saw new hope of growth in the new state; they believed that the new government would take up the pending irrigation projects and provide them with water and electricity. Further they believed that the subsidies that would be given by the government on various schemes, especially those related with agriculture, would benefit them as they would be able to get their rightful share.

The modern communication technologies and accessibility to information by people through various forms of media made the Telangana movement successful. Information accessibility is bringing a major change in the socio-political order around the world. Media tools and environments are able to survive with the help of socio-political and ethnic movements that arise from time-to-time. The space biased media with its speed at times, can lead to total collapse in the political and social system (facebook revolution in Egypt). On the other hand the time biased media however slow in its reach, can be very effective in the long run, the martyr's memorial (Gun Park) has been inspiring the people for the last few decades (Telangana movement). The time biased media kept the Telangana movement alive for more than six decades, the biggest contributor in the movement is the indigenous media (song and dance) that not only revived the movement but unified the people of Telangana and established itself as the popular media. The space biased media with its reach generated more awareness in the Telangana region. Fifty eight years of struggle made each and every individual of Telangana participate and dream of the Telangana state that became a reality with the President of India signing the bill on March 2nd 2014, making Telangana the 29th state of Indian Union.

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Name and background of the people whom the researcher had interviewed during the fieldwork.

Dr. Bhangya Bhukya: He is currently the Head, Department of Social Exclusion studies. English and Foreign Languages University (Hyderabad). Heis an active historian from India; and is specialized in modern Indian history. His recent publications include: *Subjugated Nomads: The Lambadas under the Rule of Nizams* (Hyderabad: Orient BlackSwan, 2010). (Interview conducted in November 2013).

Professor G. Chakrapani: Indian sociologist, journalist and political analyst in Telugu media. Prof. Chakrapani is the Director, Center for Staff Training and Development (CSTD). He has published 13 books and hundreds of articles in Telugu and English. Prof. Chakrapani is associated with several democratic movements and human rights organizations. (Interview conducted in May 2013)

K Dilip: Is a member of the *Telangana* Legislative Council (MLC), and the party president of the Telangana United Front (TUF). He was one of the key figures in the TRS party before floating his own party, an active politician and strong supporter of the Telangana movement. (Interview conducted in July 2013)

P. Govardhan: Is a former member of the Peoples War Group, he represented the cultural front of the organization. He is an active supporter of the TRS party; he actively participated in the third phase of the movement as the cultural artist in various Dhoom-Dhams that were organized at various places during the Telangana agitation. (Interview conducted in Jan 2013)

G Innaiah: Is a former Peoples War Group member, president of the Telangana Rashtra Party (Telangana Nation's Party) and prominent leader of the Telangana movement. He is considered to be one of the

key figures in reviving the Telangana movement and taking it forward with the help of various other like-minded people and politicians. He is a social and political activist who fought against the atrocities committed by the state and the institutions at various levels. (Interview conducted in July 2012)

Murli Madhu: Is a Balladeer from Karimnagar District, he is a writer, composer and singer, his songs are very popular and composed and written many songs during the Telangana movement. He has actively participated in the Telangana Dhoom-Dhams and played an active role during the agitation period. (Interview conducted in July 2013)

K. Narsing Rao: Is presently a South Central Railway employee at Kazipet, Organizing Secretary of the SC/ST union and active member of the Railway Joint Action Committee which supported the Telangana movement. He was an active member of the cultural group belonging to the Peoples War Group. (Interview conducted in Jan 2013)

G Narsing: Is a small time real-estate businessman, who was a supporter of the Telangana movement and separate state, he was part of the many agitations during the last few years of the Telangana movement. (Interview conducted in Jan 2013)

G Ravi Kumar: Is a senior advocate in the district court in Warangal. He is the president and member of the advocate's joint action committee. He was involved in the agitations undertaken by the lawyers union at various places in Warangal district. During the Sakala Janula Sammya for 42 days of the Telangana movement he actively participated. (Interview conducted in January 2013)

G. Shiva: Is a student from Osmania university pursuing his Masters in History in Osmania university Hyderabad, he was part of the many agitations that took place in the capital and especially in University premises. The Osmania University and the students are considered as the never center of the Telangana movement. (Interview conducted in Jan 2013)

B. Shanker Rao: Is a politician from Madikonda, he was involved in various political agitations during the Telangana movement; he is also the local SC/ST leader. He is an active participant in the local politics, and a strong supporter of the TRS party. (Interview conducted in Jan 2013)

M. Srinivas: Is a small retailer, who was once influenced by the ideology People's War Group, He is an active supporter of the Telangana. (Interview conducted in Jan 2013)

N. Sudakar: Is a class IV employee in a college and a former Peoples War G roup member, he represented the cultural front of the organization; he actively participated in the third phase of the movement as the cultural artist and gave performances at various places and in political meetings. (Interview conducted in Jan 2013)

J. Suresh: Is a Mazdoor Union leader, he is a strong supporter of the Telangana state; he has been fighting for the basic rights and minimum wages for the workers. He along with his union members had actively participated in the Telangana movement. (Interview conducted in Jan 2013)

S. R Venkateshwar Rao: Is a South Central Railway employee at Kazipet, a participant of the 1969 struggle and now an active member of the Railway Joint Action Committee which supported the Telangana movement. (Interview conducted in Jan 2013)

Vimalakka: Is the balladeer and a revolutionary leader who heads the Arunodaya Samskritika Samakhya (ACF). A strong supporter of the Telangana movement, she inspired millions of people with her songs and performances through Dhoom-Dhams in Telangana. She is one of the prominent leaders of the Telangana movement. She and her organization have been fighting on various issues including issues concerned with women. (Interview conducted in July 2013)

Annexure II

Images/Graphs

1. Fig.1 History unfolds Potti Sriramulu fasting for a united Andhra Pradesh; and KCR for Telangana

2. Fig.1.1 Undivided Andhra Pradesh, Demarking Telangana

3. Fig.1.2 Present Telangana state

4. Fig.1.3 Present Andhra Pradesh state

5. Fig.1.4 - 1.23 Pi Diagrams of the questionnaire

6. Fig.1.24 Telangana Amaraveerula Stupam

7. Fig.1.25 Statues of Telangana Talli and Andhra Pradesh Telugu Talli

Glossary

Arrack: Distilled local liquor made in the country side.

Bandh: Strike

Bathukamma: Festival celebrated with flowers in the Telangana region by the Hindu women.

Bonalu: Hindu festival celebrated in Telangana region.

Brahmin: The highest rank cast in India (priest)

Burrakatha: oral story telling in the Andhra Pradesh

Chakali: Community/cast who wash the clothes (Washer folk caste)

Dalit: Communities belonging to the Schedule Cast/Untouchable caste

Deshmukh: Revenue collector turned landlord (Hindu)

Dharna: strike, Sit-down strike

Gentlemen's Agreement: the agreement was signed between Telangana and Andhra leaders before the merger and formation of the new state Andhra Pradesh. The agreement safeguards and protects the interests of the Telangana people.

Gherao: protest in which workers or people prevent employees until demands are met

Goud: Community/cast who make their living by toddy-tapping

Jagirdar: Holder of land grant given for services rendered to the Nizam

Jaithra Yatra: Victory march

Janapadam: folk art/songs or country side peoples songs

Kummari: people who belong to the Potter making community/caste

Lok Sabha: Lower House of Parliament (Central Government)

Lokpal Bill: A legal representative body constituted by the parliament that has its Jurisdiction over the members of parliament and central government employees in cases of corruption.

Madiga: leather worker belonging to the Schedule caste (Untouchable).

Mala: Agrarian labour belonging to the Schedule caste (Untouchable).

Mulki: literally means 'native'. The Mulki rules were part of the Andhra Pradesh State formation in 1956; these rules provided safeguards to the people of Telangana region in education and employment

Naxal: Member of the armed Peoples War Group

Nizam: The ruler of Hyderabad State

Oggukatha: It is the traditional folklore that celebrates and glorifies the stories of Hindu god Mallana and others done by the Yadava community.

Padayatras: long marches under taken by the political leaders, students and joint Action Committee members.

Patwar: village accountant, the system was introduced by the British for keeping records

Pellabatta: literal translation, village roads. Joint Action Committees and political parties have undertaken the Pellabatta for creating awareness about the importance of Telangana among the village communities.

Rajaya Sabha: Upper House of Parliament (Central Government)

Rasta rook: Road blockade (protest held on roads)

Razarak: The army of the Nizam

Reddy: A dominant peasant caste in Andhra Pradesh

Sakala Janula Behri and Praja Garjanas (Hullabaloos or Roar's): these Garjanas (literal translation can be as peoples Roar's)

Seemandhra: The name given to the two regions of Andhra Pradesh (Rayalaseema and Costal Andhra)

Six Point Formula: On 21 September 1973 a political settlement with the Government of India and the leaders of the two regions (Andhra and Telangana) was agreed, to strictly follow the rules and regulations for the overall development of the Telangana region. Even the constitution was amended (32nd amendment) giving the legal sanctity.

Stupam: Monument erected to commemoratesomeeventormarking ofasacredspot.

The People's War Group: an armed group that was formed by Kondapalli Seetharamaiah in Andhra Pradesh in 1980, The People's War Group follows the ideology of Chinese leader Mao Tse Tung's. The People's War group does not believe in parliamentary democracy, the group believes in seizingthe political power through an armed struggle.

Velama: A dominant caste mostly found in costal Andhra

Vidyardhi Garjanas: students Roar's, students from the Osmania University and Kakatiya University organized regular mass meetings under the name of Vidyardhi Garjanas

Yadava: Cattle breeder and backward peasants

Zamindar: landowners who were appointed/engaged by the British to pay land revenue the Zamindar system was abolished soon after the Independence.

610 G.O: In 1985 government issued an order to correct the violations reported in the recruitment of Telangana employees. The government also appointed the Girglani commission to look into these violations.

Questionnaire

1. Have you participated in the Telangana movement?

    ☐ Yes   ☐ No

2. Is Telangana state important for you?

    ☐ Yes   ☐ No

    ☐ Not much   ☐ Can't say

3. Which media has given you the required information and made you aware of the movement?

    ☐ Mainstream media   ☐ Native media

    ☐ Word of mouth   ☐ none

4. Do you find any media bias in its approach towards the Telangana movement?

    ☐ Yes   ☐ No

    ☐ To an extent   ☐ not much

5. Do you feel that the communication technologies like print, radio, television including the internet and mobile communication helped in building up the Telangana Movement?

    ☐ Yes   -   ☐ No

    ☐ To an extent   ☐ not much

6. During the agitation of the Telangana movement did you feel deprived of information in media?

    ☐ Yes   ☐ No

    ☐ To an extent   ☐ not much

7. Are you aware of the Telangana Dhoom-Dhaam?

    ☐ Yes   ☐ No

8. Do you feel that the Telangana Dhoom-Dhaam highlighted the Telangana movement?

    ☐ Yes   ☐ No

☐ To an extent   ☐ not much

9. Do you feel that songs and dance performances by cultural groups and singers had an impact on you and others in the Telangana region?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

☐ To an extent   ☐ not much

10. Do you know anyone who has a Telangana song as a ringtone for his/her mobile?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

☐ Many   ☐ few

11. Do you know people like Gadhar, Vimalakka, Gorenti Venkanna, Rasamai Balakrishna and other balladeers and singers?

☐ Yes I know   ☐ I don't No

☐ I know them very well ☐ I never herd of them

12. Do you think people like Gadhar, Vimalakka, Gorenti Venkanna, Rasamai Balakrishna and other balladeers and singers have contributed to the Telangana movement?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

☐ To a great extent   ☐ not much

13. Do you think that the native media has played a major role in highlighting the Telangana movement?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

☐ To an extent   ☐ not much

14. Do you think the Telangana culture, traditions and lifestyles have been highlighted by the singers in Dhoom-Dhaam

☐ Yes   ☐ No

☐ To an extent   ☐ not much

15. Do you think that the Telangana culture has been revived by the Telangana movement?

☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ To an extent ☐ not much

16. Do you think the Telangana movement has given new life to writers, poets, singers, performers and various others?

☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ To an extent ☐ not much

17. Do you think the songs by the various artists highlighted the sacrifices made by the people during the Telangana movement?

☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ To an extent ☐ not much

18. Are you aware of the Telangana amaraveerula stupam (martyrs)

☐ Yes I know ☐ I don't No

☐ I know the story behind ☐ I never herd it

19. Do you get inspired by seeing the Telangana amaraveerula stupam (martyrs memorial)?

☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ To a great extent ☐ not much

20. Which political party has taken advantage of the Telangana culture more?

☐ TRS ☐ Congress ☐ TDP ☐ BJP ☐ CPI ☐ CPI (M)