



Cover Page



POLITICS VS DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF EDITORIALS IN NEWSPAPERS OF ANDHRA PRADESH

¹Dr. G. Anita and ²K.P.B Kennedy Raju

¹Coordinator and ²Research Scholar

^{1&2}Dept of Journalism and Mass Communication, Acharya Nagarjuna University
Guntur, Andhra Pradesh, India

Abstract

Big or small the newspapers continuously publish editorials and try to set an agenda for the public as well as the government and other agencies that support the nation's development. Among various subjects, the newspapers take-up politics and development which are considered to be two important areas which can really guide the nation towards progress. Generally, the public also concentrate on those areas and especially during elections readers pay much attention to them. The researchers tried to find out how the newspapers in Andhra Pradesh selected topics for their editorials and what kind of agenda they preferred to set in during 2019 general elections. Four newspapers were selected and the editorials were studied for two and half years i.e. before one year of elections, for the first 5 months in the year 2019 and for one year during post-election times. It has been observed that politics dominated the coverage and development was also promoted by certain newspapers but the subject wise analysis showed that there was some sort of skewness in the coverage. The directional analysis also showed that the newspapers preferred to write editorials with negative shades rather than the positive angles.

Keywords: Skewness, Development, Editorials, Politics.

Introduction

In the 21st century newspapers were forced to change drastically by differentiating their product. When they cannot compete in timeliness, they made up for in depth analysis, background information, unique coverage, richness of narrative, and better visuals all of which were visible in the pages (Pew Research Center, 2006; Usher, 2010). Even the editorials have been changed drastically in their content, style and presentation. An editorial gives a digest of facts, evaluates them and arrives at a logical conclusion in a step-by-step manner (Mehta, 1979: 133). The editorial, born in the 18th century acts as a vehicle for the transmission of mainly political ideas in the press. Quickly, its model was incorporated in other media and areas of public opinion. In 1941 the editorial was used for the first time in a radio station in Boston, in relation to the Mayflower issue. After World War 2 in 1949, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) extended its use to radio and television stations (García Jiménez, 1998: 197).

Editorials are opinions expressed by the newspapers and they broadly reflect the public opinion. Indeed, citizen's feedback is important in a democracy as the rulers can know the feedback from the stakeholders. Often political parties and the government make attempts to ascertain the public opinion on various issues. Newspapers are considered as carriers of information to the government from the people and vice versa. They play an important role to give adequate coverage to the citizen's opinion. In this process, the issues raised in the letters-to-the editor help the government as well as political parties in understanding the citizens' perception of the social problems, and also the role of government in society and hence newspapers play a responsible role in the selection and publication of editorials. As content analysis is an unobtrusive method, it can analyze the manifest content in the editorials. Here the study has gone in-depth to ascertain the process of selection of issues by the four newspapers for day-to-day editorials. The study could only analyze the content of editorials. However, it is suggested that the editorial writers shall take the readers' opinion into account for writing editorials.

The editorial is intended to contribute to the opinion formation of the reader about a current news event. Of course, there is a gradual transition from news articles to background articles and editorials (Van Dijk, 1988:126). Interpretative editorials may be positive, negative and even neutral in approach or posture depending upon the circumstances. For more than two centuries, the editorial genre has survived in the major newspapers, and has become a space for the formal expression, through different platforms, of the medium's attitude and ideological line towards a particular issue. The editorial's influence on the audience has been very important from the beginning. Although this influence has not always been direct, and remains intact at a time in which the public opinion's information and pressure sources are scattered throughout the new technologies. When the editorial is well built and focuses on significant aspects that concern the public at the time of publication, it tends to be mentioned in other media. It may thus not be precise to say that newspapers are becoming like news magazines as they strive to maintain a daily news orientation. The content shows that newspaper publishers now position themselves as an analyzer/interpreter of news, just as professional role conception studies have observed (Brill, 2001; Cassidy, 2005). Hynds (1990) observes that the 'structure of newspaper editorials has significantly changed', and 'the high personal, rhetoric-laden editorial of the 19th century was generally replaced by a more institutional editorial



Cover Page



DOI: <http://ijmer.in.doi./2022/11.02.22>

emphasizing information and explanation in the middle of the 20th century. They appear to be changing again to increase the relevance, readability and effectiveness’.

Above all, the content and the style of presentation have changed immensely in print media. Over all these years the frequency as well as the agenda it wanted to set has been found to be influenced by a host of factors. This qualitative change was noticed in subjects they used to cover and the depth it would take. Mostly the categories of politics and development which are very important for any nation are noticed in newspapers. Political Editorials are opinions expressed by the newspapers and they broadly reflect the public opinion. Indeed, citizen’s feedback is important in a democracy as the rulers can know the public opinion. Often the political parties and the government make attempts to ascertain the public opinion on various issues. They play an important role to give adequate coverage to the citizen’s opinion. The theory of social responsibility states that the press is expected to play an important role by defining issues, and setting an agenda for the political parties too. Newspapers must act as a bridge between the government and the people in developing public opinion. The English and vernacular dailies can debate and discuss political issues and set an agenda for the political parties. In a democracy a socially responsible press makes citizens well informed. Moreover, the extent of media attention given to particular issues leads people to believe that they are important.

Politics and Development: The importance of editorials needs to be understood in the context of political communication. In this context Barnett and Gaber (2001:11-12) identified three functions of newspapers viz., tribunes of the people, information provision and opinion formation. First, newspapers relay the opinions of the people to the policy-making elites, governments and elected representatives. Second, they can convey accurate, intelligible and comprehensive knowledge about contemporary political issues to the electorate, allowing citizens to formulate their own informed responses if they choose to participate accordingly. And third, they contribute to the process of opinion formation i.e., to allow citizens as neutral forum to share their views and a space in which discussions can be held and collective view is allowed to evolve.

As editorials become part of political communication, they analyze an issue to present it to readers with a objective of educating them. Normally, editorials raise the awareness of readers on various aspects of society by discussing the pros and cons of these aspects. Further, editorials help form a public opinion on an issue by critically evaluating the implications of an issue on the public to make the government think of it.

It is a widely accepted assumption that the media play a central role in the promotion of development (Edeani, 1993, 126; Domatob & Hall, 1983, 9; Ocwich, 2010, 250; Xu, 2009, 2). Developmental journalism covers the entire gamut of socio-economic and cultural events, and it does not differ drastically from regular news coverage. Rather, its emphasis is more on developmental aspects keeping in view the context of development; and it critically examines reports, the relevance, enactment and impact of developmental programmes (Aggarwal, 1978b; Ogan, 1982). Its successes alerted governments to the importance of economic and social reporting and its potential usefulness; systematically applied to mobilising mass support behind government policies, intended to enlarge the areas of free debate extended to cover all communications and integrated into an official variant of new journalism (p.198).

Political Parties in India: An overview

Political journalism has evolved along with the emergence of many political parties in India. In the post-independence period, the political scenario has changed drastically from two party to multiparty system. The salient feature of this period is the emergence of a regional party system. The initial parties of Congress, as well as Communist parties seem to have lost much ground and gave way to Bharatiya Janata Party, Janata party and mostly regional parties. The north south divides as well as coalition governments have broadened scope for political journalism. Simultaneously the legislative activities both at central and state level by means of parliament and assemblies as well legislative councils made the political journalists busy all the time. In the federal structure each state has its own pattern and specific identities of political nature.

During the first general elections in 1952 to elect 500 representatives to the lower house of the Parliament, the Lok Sabha many political parties contested the elections and as many as nine political parties were prominent among them. They were the Indian National Congress, Socialist Party, Communist Party of India, Jana Sangh, while regional parties like Dravida Khazaghama, Shiromani Akali Dal, Jharkhand Party, Hindu Mahasabha, and Ram Rajya Parishad (Ramachandra Guha, 2007:138). Since then, many political parties have grown in the country. Seven national parties, 34 regional parties and 242 registered parties contested in 2009 elections in the country (Indian Express, April 30, 2013).



Cover Page



The state of Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1956 on the basis of language as soon as India became a Republic in 1950. The state was carved out of the then Madras Presidency. It had nearly 800 million people who speak Telugu as a common language and spread in three regions i.e., Rayalaseema, Telangana, and Coastal Andhra. However, the state was divided into two on June 2, 2014 as Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. In the 2014 Assembly elections, the Telugu Desam party came to power in Andhra Pradesh, while the Telangana Rashtra Samithi, a newly formed political party came to power in Telangana. With the agenda of small cabinets, Right to Information Act, restraining candidates with criminal record to contest elections and so on parties like Loksatta and of late Janasena have joined the political realm in Andhra Pradesh. This study attempted to analyze how the editorial focused on regional and national issues given by the four newspapers. It also tried to find out how the newspapers have accorded treatment to political issues and development in their editorials of the subject categories. Editorials were analyzed to find out the treatment given to them by the four newspapers on a 3-point scale: favourable, unfavourable and neutral.

Research methodology

The purpose of the present study is to ascertain the differential coverage given to political themes in editorials of select newspapers. Four newspapers were selected for this purpose: two each in English and Telugu. The method of content analysis was used to compare the editorial content of the sample newspapers.

The specific objectives of the study are to

1. find out the frequency of editorials allocated to various categories in the sample dailies during the study period i.e 2018 to 2020;
2. make a comparative analysis, in terms of frequency of various subject categories in the editorials of sample of English and Telugu newspapers during the study period;
3. find out the differences in the frequency of themes related to state, national and foreign focus in editorials of various categories during the study period; and
4. find out the direction of analysis in editorials for the political parties in the sample newspapers during the study period

Hypotheses. From the above objectives, the following hypotheses are proposed for testing:

1. The four sample newspapers differ significantly in terms of percentage of editorials devoted to political themes.
2. The four sample newspapers differ significantly in terms of percentage of editorials devoted to developmental themes.
3. There is also a significant difference in the frequency of various categories of editorials based on the geographical region
4. There is also a significant difference in the direction of coverage, i.e., favourable, unfavourable and neutral of various categories in the four sample dailies.

The study proposes to adopt a content analysis method to understand the contents of editorials of sample newspapers being published from the state of Andhra Pradesh. Content analysis is a method of communication analysis used for this study as it enables the researcher to take communications people have produced and ask questions about each communication (Kerlinger, 1973). Thus, the content of communications becomes the basis of inference.

Selection of newspapers: Four newspapers were selected for the present study keeping in view their circulation, geographical location, and the language. They are The Hindu, The New Indian Express in English and the largest circulated Telugu newspapers Sakshi and Eenadu. The present study was taken to examine the stance of four select newspapers in the country in focusing on political parties/issues apart from others like development. The editorials published in the four newspapers were taken for analysis from 2018 to 2020 for three years i.e before and after general elections held in May, 2019 for the Lok Sabha and Assemblies of various states. The study assumed importance as it attempted to ascertain the stance of the newspapers on the political parties in the state and also at the national level during this election period. The universe for this study comprises all the editions of the four selected dailies published during the above-mentioned period and the same were considered as the sample. Hence, January, 2018 to May, 2020 a total of 4464 editorials were selected as samples for study. The unit of analysis for this study consisted of editorials published in the front pages and edit pages of four selected dailies.

Subject categories: Keeping in view of the objectives of the study, 12 main subject categories were identified including one category for politics-related themes and another sub category for development. In the present study, the researcher evolved 12 subject categories including a specific theme, politics which includes particular political parties/issues. Further, the coverage of the 12 subject categories was analysed based on the geographical dimension. Thus, the editorials were divided on the basis of geographical dimensions into three regions such as state, nation and international. Political editorial is defined as any editorial that contains statements or promises made by the political parties or leaders of that political party or the activities taken up by them such as



Cover Page



DOI: http://ijmer.in.doi./2022/11.02.22

procession, strike, boycott or any other mode of protests to highlight a problem or an issue. Even functions or programmes conducted by political leaders or parties to celebrate a victory or an event associated with the political party is also considered a political editorial in the present study.

Data analysis

Data coding sheet was prepared for the collection of data from the content i.e., editorials. The collected data was tabulated based on the Geographical categories and Directional analysis and the same is interpreted in the context of the objectives. After coding all the units of analysis into the code sheet, tables and cross tables were prepared to test the relationships among variables. A total of 4464 editorials figured in four sample dailies during the study period of 2018 to May 2020. The frequency of development is much more in all the newspapers. When individual dailies are studied, in the case of Telugu newspapers development dominated over politics but in English newspapers development is far behind the others. Out of total number editorials, Eenadu contributed 15% to politics and more to development which is quite different from other newspapers. Whereas, its counterpart Sakshi contributed much more to politics than Eenadu. In the case of English dailies, The Hindu contributed much more in politics and development was very much lower where in The New Indian express (TNIE) published more percentage of editorials in development category followed by politics (Table 1).

Table 1: Percentage distribution of units of analysis for politics and other subject categories

Table with 5 columns: Unit of analysis, D A I L I E S (Eenadu, Sakshi, The Hindu, The New Indian Express) and rows for Editorials, Others, Politics, Development, Politics (%).

The phase wise analysis shows that the categories of politics and development dominated in non-election times and in the rest of the period, development dominated the majority of the sample dailies. But in The Hindu politics is given priority over the others. In Eenadu, Sakshi and in The New Indian Express during all the three phases' politics was in top position (Table 2).

Table 2: Distribution of frequency of editorials on political parties during the study period

Table with 13 columns: Unit of analysis, D A I L I E S (Eenadu, Sakshi, The Hindu, The New Indian Express) and rows for Editorials, Others, Politics, Development, Politics (%).



Cover Page



DOI: http://ijmer.in.doi./2022/11.02.22

Frequency distribution of editorials in English newspapers shows that broadly almost all the dailies gave importance to national parties followed by regional parties. Among political parties' regular coverage was given to Bharatiya Janata Party and Congress parties. Majority number figured in "others" also wherein parties like Janata dal, Bahujan Samaj Party, Samajwadi Party which were dominant in many northern states and those like All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in South India were noticed. Various groups and alliances also figured in the "Others" category. Since the main objective is to find out as to how newspapers dealt with in Eenadu the gap between Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party seems to be very wide whereas Communist party and regional parties in Andhra Pradesh are not found. Even other parties have poor representation but assembly proceedings are not at all found. In Sakshi the gap between Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party is not much whereas Telugu Desam Party got more coverage than its own party. In Eenadu compared to Sakshi "Others" and elections are given less representation. An assembly proceeding has got small representation. In The Hindu and The New Indian Express Also Congress and Bharatiya Janata Party are close in number. In both the newspapers Congress party and regional parties in Telugu state are well represented and close to each other. Compared to The New Indian Express, The Hindu gave more coverage to election and assembly proceedings whereas the "Others" are much more in English papers than Telugu newspapers (Table 3).

Table 3: Distribution of frequency of editorials on political parties during the study period

Subject category	D A I L I E S								Mean	SD	Coefficient of Variance
	Eenadu		Sakshi		The Hindu		The New Indian Express				
	fr	%	fr	%	fr	%	fr	%			
Congress	6	4.38	20	16.53	21	7.72	24	9.06	17.75	6.94	39.11
BJP	12	8.76	22	18.18	28	10.29	29	10.94	22.75	6.76	29.71
CPI-M	-	0.00	1	0.83	3	1.10	5	1.89	2.25	1.92	85.35
CPI	-	0.00	-	0.00	-	0.00	-	0.00	0	0.00	0.00
TDP	-	0.00	10	8.26	5	1.84	3	1.13	4.5	3.64	80.89
TRS	1	0.73	-	0.00	1	0.37	5	1.89	1.75	1.92	109.73
Janasena	-	0.00	-	0.00	-	0.00	-	0.00	0	0.00	0.00
YSRCP	-	0.00	3	2.48	3	1.10	6	2.26	3	2.12	70.71
Others	44	32.12	22	18.18	110	40.44	113	42.64	72.25	40.03	55.40
Elections	68	49.64	41	33.88	101	37.13	73	27.55	70.75	21.29	30.09
Assembly and parl. Proceedings	6	4.38	1	0.83	-	0.00	3	1.13	2.5	2.05	82.19
Total	137	100.00	121	100.00	272	100.00	265	100.00	197.5	70.02	

$\chi^2=13.66$, $df=30$, $P=0.99539 > 0.01$ which is not significant at 0.01 level.

Note: TDP: Telugu Desam; TRS: Telengana Rashtra Samiti; BJP: Bharatiya Janata Party; CPI (M): Communist party of India (M); CPI: Communist party of India;YSRCP:Yuvajana Shramika Rythu Congress Party; Other PP: Other political parties.

Frequency distribution of editorials of political parties by regional focus during the study period shows that irrespective of the daily maximum number of them are based on the national level followed by international and hardly very few are based on the state of Andhra Pradesh. Again, the national parties Bharatiya Janata Party and Congress topped the list in all the newspapers and in non-



Cover Page



DOI: http://ijmer.in.doi./2022/11.02.22

political categories compared to Assembly and parliamentary proceedings, and “elections” is in the top position. The regional distribution shows that Eenadu is completely dominated by national coverage. And the state and national are completely missing. In Sakshi the other two categories i.e state and international are much better than Eenadu. In fact, it is very close to the other two national newspapers. The Hindu has covered state and national editorials on the lines of Sakshi but international issues have been covered much more than the others. In The New Indian Express state editorials are more than international and among all, national coverage is much more than “Others”. In other categories also it is very well ahead. It gave very wide coverage to other regional parties of various states during the study period. The regional party Janasena didn’t figure in the list at all (Table 4).

Table 4: Frequency distribution of editorials for political parties by regional focus during the study period

Subject category	Eenadu			Sakshi			The Hindu			The New Indian Express		
	S	N	I	S	N	I	S	N	I	S	N	I
Congress	-	6	-	-	20	-	-	22	-	-	24	-
BJP	-	12	-	-	22	-	-	28	-	1	28	-
CPI-M	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	5	-
CPI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
TDP	-	-	-	9	1	-	2	4	-	-	3	-
TRS	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	4	-
Janasena	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
YSRCP	-	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	2	4	-
Others	-	49	-	2	21	1	2	89	19	1	107	5
Elections	1	67	-	2	33	5	10	63	21	11	56	7
Assembly and parl. Proceedings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-
Total	1	135		16	98	6	16	213	40	18	234	12

When observations were made based on the directional analysis, unfavourable(UF) category dominated over the other categories such as favourable(F) and neutral(N). Many of the editorials tried to criticize the functioning and implementation of policies of government and other departments. In Eenadu among the total of 135, 91 are in unfavourable category followed by neutral and favourable which are far away from unfavourable category. Neutral and favourable categories are closer in number. Whereas in Sakshi the gap between unfavourable and the other two categories is not much. But like in case of Eenadu here also neutral and favourable categories are closer in number. In The Hindu and in The New Indian Express also unfavourable categories dominated compared to the other two categories. Interestingly both the dailies gave priorities more or less on the same lines where in favourable are less in number compared to neutral category. Even in nonpolitical categories such as Assembly and Parliamentary proceedings as well as elections also the unfavourable category is in the top position followed by favourable and neutral categories. As these categories include all the miscellaneous small regional parties in all the states across the nation the number is more. The elections also include many elections from other countries as well as the issues related to the manifestoes, Election Commission of India activities, arrangements etc. In Eenadu a unfavourable category is far ahead of others in individual levels also. i.e in each category of party also. Compared to favourable, in case of individual parties like Bharatiya Janata Party, Congress etc. a unfavourable is more. Same is the case in Sakshi also. In state level parties such as Telengana Rashra Samiti and Telugu Desam Party also the a unfavourable is



Cover Page



DOI: http://ijmer.in.doi./2022/11.02.22

dominating and well ahead of others. Sakshi published more unfavourable in the case of Telugu Desam Party, such as The New Indian Express, whereas in The Hindu the regional parties are better placed than the others. In the categories of "Others" and "Elections" favorable and neutral are not that far away as in case of political parties. Especially in English papers unfavourable are more or less close to the other two categories sample papers that compared to the others the frequency is much higher (Table 5).

Table 5: Frequency distribution of editorials for political parties by directional analysis during the study period

Subject category	Eenadu			Sakshi			The Hindu			The New Indian Express		
	F	UF	N	F	UF	N	F	UF	N	F	UF	N
Congress	2	6	3	4	14	2	9	4	8	6	13	8
BJP	3	9	-	7	11	3	5	12	9	3	3	2
CPI-M	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	2	2
CPI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
TDP	-	-	-	-	11	-	1	-	4	-	2	1
TRS	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	1	-	2	2
Janasena	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
YSRCP	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	3	2
Others	13	27	9	9	12	4	28	51	32	31	45	32
Elections	3	49	16	4	8	17	14	49	33	17	33	25
Assembly and parl. Preoc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	-
Total	22	91	28	29	50	27	62	118	87	68	123	98

The overall development coverage among the sample newspapers during the study period shows that Sakshi is very minimal and The New Indian Express has been dominating with higher numbers. In both the Telugu newspapers first three positions are occupied by the same subject category. In Telugu newspapers Eenadu gave three times more coverage than Sakshi. The subject category wise analysis shows that Health is far ahead of others followed by Agriculture and Ecology, Industry/Business, Education, Transport, Energy etc. In Sakshi also health is dominating followed by Ecology, Industry and business, Transport Infrastructure, Education, Agriculture etc. Among the English newspapers compared to The Hindu, The New Indian Express (TNIE) gave much higher coverage and the gap between first and second place is very wide here. Compared with the other three, the literacy category was also noticed in The New Indian Express. In The Hindu and The New Indian Express the mood is quite different wherein in Industry/Business followed by Health is dominating. In The Hindu Transport Infrastructure is in third place followed by Ecology, Agriculture, Education etc., In the New Indian Express third place was occupied by Education followed by Ecology, Transport, Human Rights and Agriculture. During the study period Eenadu published more development related editorials compared to the others. In telugu it is far ahead of Sakshi which published only 102. In English the New Indian Express published more than The Hindu (286). The category wise analysis shows that in telugu papers i.e in Eenadu and Sakshi Health is in first place followed by Industry/Business. In Eenadu the next places were occupied by Agriculture, Ecology, Education etc. Transport Infrastructure, Energy, Human Rights, Housing & Sand. In Sakshi third place was occupied by Ecology followed by Education, Transport Infrastructure, Agriculture, Human Rights, Energy etc. Whereas in English newspapers Industry/Business is in first place followed by Health. In The



Cover Page



DOI: http://ijmer.in.doi./2022/11.02.22

Hindu third place was occupied by Transport Infrastructure followed by Ecology, Education, Energy etc. in The New Indian Express third place was occupied by Education whereas, Ecology, Transport Infrastructure, Energy is in the list (Table 6).

Table 6: Distribution of frequency of editorials on development during the study period

Subject category	Eenadu		Sakshi		The Hindu		The New Indian Express		Mean	SD	Coefficient of Variance
	fr	%	fr	%	fr	%	fr	%			
Health	93	29.06	21	20.59	76	22.29	73	1.53	65.75	26.94	40.97
Education	34	10.63	13	12.75	23	6.74	60	12.61	32.5	17.53	53.94
Human Rights	5	1.56	9	8.82	13	3.81	31	6.51	14.5	9.94	68.55
Literacy	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	1.25	2.17	173.6
Transport Infrastructure	26	8.13	14	13.73	39	11.44	49	10.29	32	13.21	41.28
Agriculture	48	15	11	10.78	26	7.62	30	6.3	28.75	13.18	45.84
Industry/Business	42	13.13	16	15.69	98	28.74	129	21.1	71.25	44.61	62.61
Housing & Sand	8	2.5	-	-	4	1.17	12	2.52	6	4.47	74.5
Population Planning	2	0.63	-	-	1	0.29	-	-	0.75	0.83	1.11
National Integration	1	0.31	1	0.98	6	1.76	4	0.84	3	2.12	70.67
Energy	13	4.06	2	1.96	19	46.34	28	5.88	15.5	9.45	60.97
Ecology	48	15	19	18.63	36	10.56	55	11.55	39.5	13.65	34.56
Total	320	100	102	100	341	100	476	100			

The region wise focus of development topics during the study period is also just like political categories which showed that all the four have given much more priority to national level issues followed by international and very few state categories are observed in editorials. Compared to the other three in Eenadu, more state level editorials are found. That too in important sectors like Health, Agriculture. Industry etc., In all the three categories Health is found to be in first place whereas in national category ecology also received much attention followed by education as well as transport. The international coverage also dealt with Health, Industry and Ecology. In Sakshi state is highly insignificant whereas the national has been completely dominating. International is also covered moderately. In national categories industry is in first place followed closely by Health, Education, Transport, Ecology etc., and Agriculture received very little attention. In English newspapers national category are completely dominating with little bit of attention to international issues. The subject wide analysis showed that Industry is dominating followed by Health, Transport, Ecology. Agriculture and Education which received the same weight age. But the Human Rights category is more encouraging in these newspapers when compared with the other three. The New Indian Express coverage showed that state coverage is highly meager compared to the others. International is much better than that in the other three newspapers. So is the national category. The subject wise analysis showed that in national category industry is dominating followed by health, education, ecology and transport Infrastructure which are close with each other. In geographical analysis it was observed that among the three categories National was more in all newspapers followed by international and state category is in last place. In The Hindu international and state categories are completely missing. Among the national category also except in Eenadu in the other three sample newspapers Industry/Business is in first place whereas in Eenadu health was in first place followed by Industry/Business, Agriculture, Ecology, Education, Transport



Cover Page



DOI: <http://ijmer.in.doi./2022/11.02.22>

Infrastructure Energy, Human Rights etc. In Sakshi Health is in second place followed by Education, Transport Infrastructure and Ecology, Agriculture etc. In English newspapers Health is in second place whereas in The Hindu Transport Infrastructure is in third place followed by Ecology and fifth place was shared by Agriculture and Education followed by Energy, Human Rights etc. In the New Indian Express third place was occupied by Education followed by Ecology, Transport Infrastructure, Agriculture, Energy, Human Rights etc (Table 7).

Table 7: Frequency distribution of editorials on development by regional focus during the study period

Subject category	Eenadu			Sakshi			The Hindu			The New Indian Express		
	S	N	I	S	N	I	S	N	I	S	N	I
Health	2	77	14	-	13	8	-	70	6	1	60	12
Education	3	29	2	1	12	-	-	21	2	-	56	4
Human Rights	-	4	1	-	7	2	1	10	2	-	30	1
Literacy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2
Transport Infrastructure	-	26	-	-	14	-	-	34	5	3	41	5
Agriculture	6	41	1	2	7	2	-	25	1	-	30	-
Industry/Business	-	35	7	1	14	1	-	82	16	2	106	21
Housing & Sand	-	7	1	-	-	-	2	2	-	1	9	2
Population Planning	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
National Integration	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	6	-	-	4	-
Energy	2	10	1	-	1	-	1	18	-	-	23	5
Ecology	-	40	8	-	13	7	-	33	3	-	51	4
Total	13	272	35	4	75	23	4	302	35	8	412	56

The directional analysis of the development category has also shown that the majority of editorials are from the Unfavourable category which is far ahead of the other two in all the newspapers. In Eenadu Unfavourable category is in good number followed by the other two which are closer with each other. The subject wise analysis shows that health is dominating at all the three levels but in the Unfavourable category Ecology is in second place which is very prominent followed by Agriculture and Industry. In the favorable category also, Industry is very much ahead of others and is in second place followed by Agriculture, Education and Ecology. In the neutral category of Eenadu Agriculture is in second place followed by Industry and Ecology and the other such as Transport and Human rights is far at the back. In Sakshi also Ecology is much more pronounced as it stood in first place in Unfavourable category followed closely by Health, Industry, Education, Transport etc., In Favourable category Human Rights is in first place followed by Transport and Agriculture. The neutral category is highly insignificant with Health in the top position. In The Hindu also the Unfavourable is in first place followed by Neutral and Favourable category. In Unfavourable category industry is in first place followed by Health whereas the others are lagging much behind such as Transport Infrastructure, Ecology, Agriculture, and Education etc. In the Neutral category Industry is in first place followed by Health, Ecology, Education and Agriculture., Transport etc., In Favourable category also Industry, Health is in first two places followed by Transport, Ecology. The rest of the subjects are highly insignificant in number. In The New Indian Express the Unfavourable is covered with double the numbers of Favourable and Neutral



Cover Page



DOI: http://ijmer.in.doi./2022/11.02.22

categories. In Unfavourable. Category first place is occupied by Industry followed by Ecology, Health, Energy, Transport, Agriculture etc. In the Favourable category also, the same status is noticed where Industry is in first place followed by Health and Education, Transport and Ecology. In the Neutral category Health is in second place followed by Education, Transport, Ecology and Human Rights (Table 8).

Table 8: Frequency distribution of editorials of development by directional analysis during the study period

Subject category	Eenadu			Sakshi			The Hindu			The New Indian Express		
	F	UF	N	F	UF	N	F	UF	N	F	UF	N
Health	25	49	19	2	14	5	14	47	15	16	33	24
Education	9	18	7	1	12	-	2	10	11	16	26	18
Human Rights	-	3	2	7	2	-	3	5	5	11	13	7
Literacy				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2
Transport Infrastructure	8	15	3	6	8	-	12	18	9	14	18	17
Agriculture	9	28	11	5	6	-	5	10	11	9	17	4
Industry/Business	12	24	6	1	14	1	19	55	24	31	64	34
Housing & Sand	1	7		-	-	-	2	2	-	4	6	2
Population Planning	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
National Integration	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	3	2	1	2	1
Energy	6	6	1	1	-	-	4	9	6	7	18	3
Ecology	7	35	6	2	17	1	6	18	12	12	35	8
Total	77	187	56	25	74	7	68	178	95	121	235	120

Conclusions

Though compared to politics, development is covered extensively during the elections also it is in the form of a skewed approach. Both the language newspapers Eenadu and Sakshi have their own preferences and seem to be following their own agenda. The only common observation among all is that they prefer to publish unfavourable editorials and give second place to neutral followed by favourable ones. Though telugu newspapers are very much regional and vernacular in nature they seem to be concentrating on national as well as international issues. Interestingly English newspapers have not been guiding the public on international issues as in the case of The Hindu. It is found simultaneously that not all sectors, especially important sectors like Education; Health and Economy were not given much priority and limited to only a few like Agriculture. Important areas like Human Rights are hardly touched which is very much essential for the progress of a nation. Though Industry/ Business are much discussed in English papers the Telugu papers could not concentrate much on them. Directional analysis also should change from more unfavourable to neutral as well as favourable stories i.e. positive journalism. Political journalism seems to be polarized in telugu newspapers and somewhat balanced in English dailies.



Cover Page



Suggestions

Based on the above observations' suggestions are made to make the content more people supporting and that help in strengthening the democracy.

- Raise in number of editorials could be practiced in development and also political to the tune of stabilizing the democracy.
- Raise of frequency in important sectors can be given a thought by editorial boards
- The editorials should be more analytical
- They need not always serious and some of them could be in lighter vein also
- They should not leave any day for editorial. Every day an editorial can be published as it is the heart beat of the public it caters to
- Telugu newspapers also can publish two editorials per day

References

- Ate, A. A. (2008). JLS: 173. Editorial writing. Retrieved from www.nou.edu.ng on July 5, 2014.
- Barnett, S and Gaber, Ivor. (2001), Westminster Tales: The 21st Century Crisis in British Political Journalism. London: Continuum.
- Berelson, B. (1952). Content analysis in communications research. Glencoe: Free Press.
- Brill, A. M. (2001). Online journalists embrace new marketing function. Newspaper Research Journal, 22(2), 28–40.
- Cánovas, Joan Francesc (2003): Los géneros argumentativos, en Díaz Noci, Javier; Ramón Salaverría (coord.): Manual de Redacción Ciberperiodística. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Cassidy, W. P. (2005). Variations on a theme: The professional role conceptions of print and online newspaper journalists. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 82(2), 264–280.
- Chadwick, B.A., Bahr, H.M., & Abrecht, S.L. (1984). Content analysis. B A Chadwick(ed) In Social Science Research Methods (pp.239-257). New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Dremers, O.P. & Nichols, S. (1987). Precision Journalism: A practical guide, New Delhi: Sage publications.
- Duyile, D (2005). Writing for the media: A manual for African journalists. Lagos: Gong communications.
- Guha, R. (2007). India after Gandhi New Delhi: Penguin.
- Holsti, O.R. (1968) 'Content Analysis', In G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (ed), The Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol.II, (pp.608-686), New Delhi: Amerind.
- Hynds, Ernest C (1990). Changes in editorials: A study of three newspapers, 1955-1985. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly. 67: 302-312.
- Indian Express, April 30, 2013
- Izadi, F and Saghaye-Biria, H(2007). A discourse analysis of Elite American Newspaper editorials: The case of Iran's nuclear program, Journal of Communication Inquiry, 31 (2):140-165
- Kerlinger, F.N. (1973). Foundations of Behavioural Research, (Second edition), New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Nayar, K. (1978). The Judgment: Inside Story of Emergency, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, Pvt. Ltd.
- Mehta, D.S. (1979). Mass Communication and Journalism in India. Bombay: Allied Publishers.
- Pew Research Center. (2006). The future of news magazines. Retrieved from <http://www.journalism.org/2006/07/31/the-future-of-news-magazines/>
- Riffe, D., Aust, C. F., & Lacy, S. R. (1993). The effectiveness of random, consecutive day and constructed week sampling in newspaper content analysis. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 70(1), 133–139.
- Stempel, G.H. (1952), Sample size for classifying subject matter in Dailies. Journalism Quarterly, 29: 333-334.
- Street, J. (2003). The Celebrity Politician, Political Style and Popular Culture. In J Corner and Dick Pels (Eds). Media and The Restyling of Politics (pp. 85-98). London: Sage Publications.
- Van Dijk, T.A. 1988a. News and Discourse. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.