

STUDYING THEMES OF POLITICS AND CULTURE ON INDIAN TELEVISION NEWS***A Frame Analysis of Hindi Television News Debates in India***

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Abstract

News as a narrative form relies on various codes of culture to communicate to the audience. Understanding news is not limited to what is communicated but how it does that in order to assess the real effect of news on society. Its relationship with society and its power can be studied by how news frames the issues that it communicates. Over the years Indian television has seen a revolution in the way it shares news, there is a move away from objective bulletins to a more discursive form of news debates that gather significantly more audience viewership. This research studies television news debates on Hindi television news channels to understand the complicated relationship between politics and culture in Indian news landscape. Through conducting a comprehensive frame analysis this research looks at news text and its use of culture as well as its engagement with politics that blurs the line between culture and politics while at the same time affecting the contemporary social reality.

Key Words: news; culture; frame analysis; broadcast news; politics

Introduction

Culture and Politics are indubitably related so much so that it is difficult to assess where one ends and the other begins. News as a form is deeply related to culture, news is a negotiated process of shared values and ideas, of shared culture; at the same time news is also directly concerned with politics, it is used to share political value and acts of the state and government. It is a space to get information about everyday political engagements and acts. It is used by politicians and governments to propel and distribute their ideas, agendas and ideology. News is not merely a media product but a vehicle for engagement in the democratic process; it is influenced from and has far reaching effects domestic politics and matters of international relations. (Thussu, 2007). At the same time the meaning of news has changed in the present times with the increasing entertainmentization of it and the loss of developmental value. (Saeed, 2013) This paper studies television news debates on Indian Hindi news channels to locate elements of culture and politics within them in order to understand how news forms use both of them to communicate. This study through a frame analysis also tries to study what are the most used frames in news media to communicate a particular view of the world, borrowing from politics and culture and at the same time affecting them. Through this analysis this research attempts to form a holistic view of culture, news and politics and the inter-relations between them.

Literature Review

Presenting and discussing news on national television relies on culture and politics both, the boundaries between them are permeable and porous, it is difficult to understand where one ends and the other begins. The way news is framed to be communicated relies heavily on

politics and culture, politics providing and formulating the main content for news, and culture a vehicle to communicate that to the masses. It is not to say that news cannot be about culture, but that the way news is deeply rooted in cultural form, and that with the advent of long form television news and formats such as television debates traditional notions and definitions of news are challenged. “News is a historic reality. It is a form of culture invented by a particular class at a particular point of history” (Carey J. W., 2009, p. 17). Today, objectivity in news has been taken over by narrative, especially since the privatization of television and the popularity of 24 hour news channels. This narrative relies heavily on culture to present politics and at the same time there is politicization of culture. This move towards the privatization of the news media in India also brought about significant change in the media habits, both of the audience and the producers of the news content, it transformed the news discourse and in effect also had far reaching effects on the public discourse within the nation and the culture. Sevanti Ninan writes that the rise of television and its penetration into the rural India created a hunger for news. “At the turn of the century, then, both television and newspaper audiences in India were evolving into cheerful amalgams of modernity and tradition” (Ninan, 2007, p. 19) In a diverse and plural polity such as India, the communicative structures of television news are particularly important in that they variously enable or disable the public elaboration of conflicting interests and identities and, as such, are imbricate in processes of democratic deliberation and display, or its curtailment. (Cottle & Rai, 2008) Television news in India is regularly structured and communicated through a collection of easily identifiable ‘communicative frames’. These have become naturalized through time and are now widely (probably universally) deployed by television journalists around the world. This research tries to study television news debates in India on Hindi language channels to understand the complicated relationship between politics and culture especially in relation to news. It tries to understand the nature of relationship between the two, how culture and politics are continuously changing each other and news itself. The research uses frame analysis to explore and understand this complicated relationship.

Understanding Culture and Politics

Politics is derived from the Greek word *polis* that translates to City-state often understood to imply the highest or most desirable form of social organization. The modern understanding can be what concerns the state. Over the years various philosophers have articulated and deliberated on politics and has led to its own discipline of study called political Science. For the purpose of this study the operational definition of politics or what can be called political shall be objects and topics that concern the concept of state, including but not limited to governance, public office, elections, political parties etc. Politics is what takes place within a polity, a system of social organization centred on the machinery of government. The realm of ‘the political’ is restricted to those state actors who are knowingly motivated by ideological beliefs, and who seek to continue and advance them by being a member of a formal organization like a political party.

Politics has been defined and understood in various ways; Bernard Crick defined politics in the following way “the activity by which differing interests within a given unit of rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare

and the survival of the whole community” (Crick, 1964, p. 21). Political Scientist Harold Lasswell articulated that politics is about “who gets what, when and how” he added distribution of resources as a significant part of politics adding a power and economic dimension to it. (Lasswell, 1936) Marx used ‘politics’ in a conventional sense to refer to the apparatus of the state. In the Communist Manifesto ([1848] 1967), he (and Engels) thus referred to political power as ‘merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another’. For Marx, politics, together with law and culture, are part of a ‘superstructure’ that is distinct from the economic ‘base’ that is the real foundation of social life. (Marx & Engels, 1848; 1998)

Culture on the other hand defined by Raymond Williams “Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language.” (Williams, 1976, p. 87) Raymond Williams is perhaps the one of the most eminent scholars to study culture, out of his three definitions of culture, culture as a particular way of life, culture as expression of a particular way of life, and cultural analysis as a method of reconstituting a particular way of life put forward the most basic perspective and procedures of the formation of culture.

“Culture ... consists of standards for deciding what is...for deciding what can be...for deciding what one feels about it...or deciding what to do about it, and... for deciding how to go about doing it” (Goodenough, 1961, p. 522) Culture is publically available symbolic form through which people exercise and express meaning. (Keesing, 1974) Culture consists of symbolic vehicle of meaning that contains rituals, beliefs, art and art forms, and ceremonies as well as informal everyday practices that include language, stories and functions of everyday life. These social processes are how an individual becomes a part of a community and is able to place themselves within a community.

News as Narrative and News Frames

News communicates through the help of and in the form of narratives. “Narratives are organizations of experience” (Manoff, 1986, pp. 288-289). A particular narrative structure not only gives form to an otherwise disorganized and perplexing reality; it also inflicts pre-formed assumptions about acceptable culture, social and political process and the role of news media. Saeed writes that news plays a significant role in meaning making and sense generation. (Saeed, 2013) Schudson believes that news has “relationship to the real world, not only in content but in also in form, in the way the world is incorporated into unquestioned and unnoticed conventions of narration” (Schudson, 1995, p. 54) “The process of signification – giving social meanings to events – both assumes and helps to construct society as a ‘consensus’. We exist as members of one society because – it is assumed – we share a common stock of knowledge with our fellow men [and women]: we have access to the same ‘maps of meanings’. Not only are we able to manipulate these ‘maps of meaning’ to understand events, but we have fundamental interests, values and concerns in common, which these maps embody or reflect.” (Hall, Critcher, & Tony Jefferson, 2017, pp. 54-55) The understanding of news from this perspective is important, it is how audiences use the enormous information they are presented by the news media, process it and place it within their social ecosystem. It is also how news is able to influence culture by communicating in

the same signs and symbols that the audiences understand, thereby strengthening and lending legitimacy to them.

News does not select and present itself, but is rather the product of judgments concerning the social relevance of given events and situations based on assumptions concerning their interest and importance and the way they are communicated. News must be assessed as a cultural product which embodies journalistic, social, and political values. It cannot be, and certainly is not, a neutral, impartial, or totally objective perception of the real world. (Schlesinger, 1978 [1987]). It is communicated through frames and it is through frames that the general population makes sense of them. Framing in news is the way in which journalists depict an issue in terms of a 'central organizing idea'. Frames can be looked upon as a perspective on an issue. News frames are "conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information" (Neuman, Just, & Criger, 1992, p. 60)

Frame analysis has its beginning in sociology along with media theory. Erving Goffman worked expansively on the subject of frames, and was one of the initial few sociologists to employ frame analysis in order to provide an explanation to the social phenomena. According to Goffman frames refer to the definitions of a situation that are structured following the rules of organization, which govern social events and a person's "subjective involvement" (Goffman, 1974, p. 10) in them. Frame analysis thus to him refers to "examination in these terms of the organization of experience." (Goffman, 1974, p. 11). Framing is selecting "some aspects of a perceived reality" to increase their importance "in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993, p. 52) The effects of framing are "changes in judgment engendered by subtle alterations in the definition of judgment or choice of problems" (Iyengar, 1991) Framing is engages with "interests, communicators, sources, and culture combine to yield coherent ways of understanding the world, which are developed using all of the available verbal and visual symbolic resources"; more importantly, "frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (Reese, Gandy, & Grant, 2001, p. 11)

Frames thus play an important part in news, especially affecting the way in which the audience interprets certain issues and events and decides to react to it. The selection of frames to communicate a news story or to power a news discussion affects the way people react to it, choosing certain frames over others over a long period can have significant effects on society and culture. News thus with the help of frames plays a constructivist role in the sense that it continuously constructs and brings our social reality to us. Frames are built on shared social ideals, and culture that is what makes them easy to communicate and understand, thus any act of framing is also related to culture. Frames use shared codes of culture to communicate and to be accepted. In order to be news and news frames to be effective they need to be culturally resonant, Cultural resonance happens when the frame overlaps with a specific ideals and values in culture. The frame containing the cultural aspects and values appear more frequently in news coverage. In addition, since culture has constant, determined and persistent characteristics, it is reflected through the resonance with the frame over the long

time frame. The stronger the resonance and similarity between culture and the media frame are, the more significant the presence and stronger the effect of the media frame is.

Methodology

For this study a frame analysis of Hindi television news debates for two leading Hindi News channels was conducted. The data was collected over a period of three months. News bulletins are the most popular format of news consumption across markets followed by Interviews and discussions. Since most studies have looked at news bulletins, the genre of the discussion and debate shows has been somewhat neglected. Also, the dialogic, and discursive nature of debate shows focus a particular issue that is significant during the day creating narrative around it and discussing it from multiple perspectives examining it from different frames thus proving a good format to study news as culture.

The sampling method chosen was Purposive sampling. The time period chosen for data collection was from 9th of December 2016 to 8th of March 2017. This time period was chosen after due consideration and study. The reasons for it were twofold, The Broadcast India Study 2017 states this time period as having the extended surge in viewership with the viewership never falling below 2200 in Impressions'000 (impressions in thousands). To select the programmes various aspects were considered, including the length of time they have been broadcasting, their viewership that included the TRP for the past year, BARC reports were considered for the same, and their popularity on online platforms, mainly YouTube where they share their content for online viewers. The two channels and news programmes chosen for the study were Halla Bol on Aaj Tak and Taal Thok Ke on Zee News.

Aaj Tak has been consistently ranked as the most watched Hindi News Channel by various viewership surveys, earlier by the TAM and now by BARC. Launched in the year 2000 as of 2017 it had completed 17 years and has a strong reach and following among the Hindi language audience. It also has a wide online reach with its YouTube channel having more than 10 million active followers. It also has a daily debate/discussion show Halla Bol appreciated and regularly followed by the audience, which fits the criteria for data collection. Zee News is India's oldest private news channel, launched in the year 1999 it is actively followed by a large section of Hindi speaking audience and has been continuously ranked among the top 3 most watched Hindi News Channels by viewership surveys. It has a wide online reach with its YouTube channel having more than 4 million followers and has a daily debate/discussion programme called Taal Thok Ke.

A systematic sampling style was practiced for the news programmes broadcast during this period and it was decided to collect three news programmes per week those aired every Monday, Wednesday and Friday was collected for the study. In a situation where the programme had not been broadcast that particular day, the show that aired a day before or after was collected so as to maintain equal representational numbers of each show.

A qualitative analysis was conducted for this study followed by a Frame Analysis. Qualitative content analysis is a five-step process ((Baxter & Babbie, 2004); (Priest, 2010); (Creswell, 2013)) and for this study we utilised four steps. The last and final step did not fall

in line with the scope and purpose if the study and hence was ignored. For the first step the data set which might be referred to as the text (Visual and Audio) the whole data set was seen and observed multiple times in order to become familiar with the data under examination. The next step was the “break down” (Baxter & Babbie, 2004, p. 366) of the text by identifying basic textual units or themes which would help take the research forward for analysis. Following that an in-depth observation and analysis was conducted where relevant quotes by panellists and anchors, images and visuals supporting the discussion and text displayed on the screen was collected and sorted along with each episode. A brief summary of the discussion/ debate and the core arguments was also added to each episode of the program. These three steps were taken for the qualitative content analysis study; the following two were done for frame analysis.

The collected data set was analysed and sorted into various broad themes. Fishman defines “A news theme is a unifying concept. It presents a specific news event or a number of such events in terms of a broader concept” (Fishman, 1981, p. 102) each episode was observed to be categorised into the various themes it might contained. A particular programme might contain one or multiple themes. A preliminary list of themes was created to begin with and newer themes were added as the analysis progressed.

Frame Analysis:

The aim of content analysis is to systematically quantify specified characteristics of messages, it observes the data set and categorises it into various aspect, turning the complex textual data into numerical values. The news programmes that had been previously analysed and categorised under various themes, and observed for how cultural codes are embedded in news text by observing visible text on screen, visuals and images used and, quotes by panellists and anchors, is again studied and observed, considering all of the categories above to understand the framing techniques used, and categorise them in frames. News frames could be thematic or episodic: they can be observed through a macro perspective in a thematic manner, or in an episodic manner, focusing on the role of the individual concerned by an issue. (Iyengar, 1991) . Since this data set covers a long period of 3 months, multiple events and issues were observed for the duration, the frames to be observed could not be entirely episodic, at the same time many events were discussed by all the news programmes chosen over multiple episodes so interpretation and observation through a generic framing style would not be able to do justice to the analysis. Considering the following issues a custom list of 11 frames was prepared and each episode of the news debate/ discussion was categorised under one or multiple frames. For this the five Generic frames were taken as it is from the works of (Iyengar, 1991) , (Neuman, Just, & Criger, 1992) (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) namely Attribution of Responsibility frame, Conflict Frame, Economic Consequence Frame, Human Interest Frame, and Morality Frame. The remaining frames like Cultural Identity Frame, Political Frames, Law and order, crime and justice frames and Constitutionality and jurisprudence frames were created referring to Boydston et al work (Boydston, Gross, Resnik, & Smith, 2013). The remaining Religion Dominance Frame and Nationalism Frame were created after close observation and multiple viewings of the data in the first, second and third phase of the qualitative analysis. Through multiple viewings of the

data and analysing the data sheet a continuous evaluation regarding frames was made, often changing frames and assigning different frames to one program by doing this an effort was made to fulfil one of the most important goal of goals of the qualitative analysis: “to use consistent categories in a systematic way, but at the same time allow them to emerge from data” (Priest, 2010, p. 170) While close observation would reveal the emergence of multiple frames many of these frames were combined into one frame for ease of research.

SI	Frames	Codes	Definitions
1	Attribution of Responsibility Frame	AF	The responsibility frame presents an event or concern in such a manner that it confers the responsibility for causing or solving to the government, an organization, a community, a group or an individual.
2	Economic Consequence Frame	EF	The economic consequences frame, presents an event, problem or issue with respect to the economic effects it will have on a country, region, community etc.
3	Human Interest Frame	HF	The human interest frame presents the programme giving it a humanitarian perspective and focusing on the trials and tribulations, hardships and challenges of a person or a group of people.
4	Morality Frame	MF	Morality frame presents the issue in a way that it gives social prescriptions on the acceptable and best way of behaviour.
5	Cultural identity Frame	CIF	Cultural identity frames, present an event, problem or issue through the perspective of social norms, trends, values and customs constituting culture.
6	Political frames	PF	Political frames emphasise on any political considerations surrounding an issue.
7	Religion dominance frame	RDF	Religion dominance frame looks at events from a perspective that felicitates a particular religion and its ideals.
8	Constitutionality and jurisprudence frames	CJF	Constitutionality and jurisprudence frames present the issue from the perspective of democratic and constitutional ideals.
9	Law and order, crime and justice frames	LOF	Law and order, crime and justice frames presents an issue in a way that focuses on stories about crime and law enforcement and interpretation of laws by individuals or organizations..
10	Nationalism frames	NF	Nationalism frames is an extension of the morality frame, but focuses exclusively on the nationalistic narrative and often deliberates on the concepts of nationalism and anti nationalism
11	Gender Equality frame	GF	Gender Equality frame observes and presents the issue or event by attributing the ideal of gender equality.

Following frame creations the next phase was to identify the frames. Identification of frames was done referring to works of (Entman, 1993) (Gamson & Modigliani, 1983) and (Tankard,

2001). Entman suggested that frames in the news can be observed and identified by “the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.” (Entman, 1993, p. 52) Tankard suggested a list of 11 framing mechanisms that include headlines, subheads, photos, quotes selection, concluding statements and paragraphs etc to identify news frames. (Tankard, 2001). Gamson and Modigliani suggest looking out for metaphors, exemplars, catch-phrases, depictions, and visual images as framing devices. (Gamson & Modigliani, 1983). A personal method for frame identification was thus synthesised considering these works.

After the creation of the frame list the data sheet prepared observing the text displayed on screen, visuals used and quotes of panellists and anchors, and the data was again observed and sorted into the prepared list of frames for further analysis, in order to understand how farming of news consolidates and reaffirms a certain view of reality while negating other, how it is able to influence, shape and reshape cultural values and culture of a society and how exactly the codes of culture are embedded in the news text and communicated through it.

As the news programme episodes were sorted into different frames it was observed that an episode could have used more than single frame, with some containing as many as three frames per episode. The results were consolidated and quantified to get an idea of which frames are the most used by the media.

Data Analysis

The themes varied from the kind of news it was to specific events that the news might be discussing. The themes for all the programmes were further quantified to get a better idea of the most recurring themes within news and their significance with respect to the news culture. A total of 215 themes were observed from a list of 26 recurring themes in the data set of 68 programmes (Please see Table 1). Of the total themes observed it was noticed that politics was by far the most recurring theme with it forming 28.37% of the total themes observed, closely followed by the themes of Election and Corruption both covering 14.08% of the total themes each. (Please see Table 1) The theme of Culture formed 4.18% of the total themes and religion covered 6.5%. Something like pure theme did not exist, almost the entire programmed analysed fell into two or more theme. (Please see Table 1) While politics formed the most used theme of debate and discussion it was always accompanied by another theme, the same was the situation with the theme of culture. Since the data set collected belonged from the time of Uttar Pradesh elections a significant percentage of debates and discussion were around the background of the theme of elections. Elections while registered as an independent theme in this study always occurred unsurprisingly with a theme of politics, elections inherently being political in nature; they however were accompanied with themes of culture, religion, caste and communalism. The concept of vote bank was constantly invoked by resorting to the themes of caste, religion and communalism.

Table 1: Theme distribution in News Programmes

Theme	Halla Bol	Taal Thok Ke
Demonetization	12	5
Corruption	10	8
Election	14	18
Sports	0	0
Terrorism	1	1
National Security	4	2
Animal Rights	1	1
Protests	3	1
Women Rights and Sexism	2	4
Religion	7	7
Freedom of Speech and Expression	2	1
Tradition, ritual, and culture	5	4
Communalism/ Secularism	4	4
Governance	3	2
Caste	4	2
Health	0	0
Indo-Pak Relations	1	0
Budget	3	2
Environment	0	0
Crime	0	0
Development	4	2
Defence and Armed Forces	1	1
Politics	33	28
J&K	1	2
Muslim	1	4
Total	116	99

One of the most significant results was that while Politics formed the most used theme in this study with only 10.6% of themes directly relating to culture (religion 6.5% and 4.18% culture), the frames that framed the news culturally were at a significant 39% (including Religion Dominance Frame, Nationalism Frame, Cultural Identity Frame, Morality Frame and Gender Equality Frame) (Please see Table 2) Signalling to an understanding that while most of the news that is discussed and debated on television might still be related to politics in one way or the other, the definition of politics here being one that concerns the state that is governance, political parties, elections, political contestation etc. The way it is narrativized and framed is still cultural. News requires and relies on codes of culture to communicate and in order to be understood. Even the way in which news about politics is communicated is by it being framed through a frame that is cultural in nature. News constantly relies on images and themes that are easily understood, that over a period of time have been imbibed and naturalized by the audience and communicates the same through images, text and the spoken

words, using all three of them as a frame. In doing so, it heavily relies on cultural tropes to talk about politics, to discuss it and to process it. Politics thus on national television is shared through the lens of culture.

In television news cultural tropes and codes are constantly used to discuss and debate about political themes. Election is continuously told by mentioning religion and vote bank politics. Images of communities belonging to minority are shown regarding appeasement; concepts of cultural and religious identity are time and again invoked on political and legislative matters turning political themes being communicated through cultural narratives. Few examples in the form of text displayed on screen are:

“Modi for 3 days in Kashi, opposition anxious, Ganga, cow service and prayer will result in the communion to success” (6th March 2017, Halla Bol); “The boys of UP Vs the adopted son” (15th February, 2017); “Lord Ram will help sail through the river of election” (27th January 2017, Halla Bol); “Talibani fatwa for how long under Mamata's rule?” (9th January 2017, Taal Thok Ke); “how beneficial is the cow: adding cow butter to yagna increases the oxygen content of air” (20th January 2017, Taal Thok Ke); “action on accused after considering their religion in UP?” (10th February 2017, Taal Thok Ke); “a woman's veil is the curtain covering the face of democracy” (3rd March 2017, Taal Thok Ke)

Table 2: Frame distribution in News Programmes

	Halla Bol		TTK		Total	
EF	2	3.2%	4	8.68%	6	5.71%
HF	9	15.25%	0	0%	9	8.57%
MF	6	10.16%	4	8.68%	10	9.52
CJF	3	5.08%	0	0%	3	2.85%
LOF	0	0%	2	4.34%	2	1.90%
RDF	0	0%	4	8.68%	4	3.80%
GF	1	1.6%	2	4.34%	3	2.85%
NF	8	13.55%	7	15.21%	15	14.28%
PF	15	25.42%	10	21.73%	25	23.80%
CF	5	8.47%	4	8.69%	9	8.57%
AF	10	16.94%	9	19.56%	19	18.09%
Total	59		46		105	

While politics is presented through a lens of culture it happens by incorporating the various common codes of culture that make it easy for the audience to relate to it, process it, and understand it. These codes of culture facilitate audience engagement as they are shared, they are born out of the same culture, are embedded in news text and return to the society and culture, reinforcing a particular form of culture and strengthening their position within it.

Political Frame was the most used frame in Halla Bol forming a quarter of the total frames at 25%. Attribution of Responsibility Frame, Human Interest Frame and Nationalism Frame were near to equal distribution forming 17%, 15%, and 14% of the total number of frames.

Morality Frame and Cultural Identity also had a significant presence at 9% each. Interestingly Religious Dominance Frame did not mark its presence in Halla Bol. (Please see Table 2)

It was observed that Political Frame and Attribution of responsibility Frame were the most used frames in Taal Thok Ke, at 22% and 19% of the total frames respectively. Nationalism Frame closely followed with a significant 15% of the total frames, and Religious Dominance Frame, Cultural Frame and Nationalism Frame formed an equal 9% each of total frames. (Please see Table 2)

The Politics of Culture: Nation in News

While already established that even news related to politics is more often than not communicated through a cultural medium a significant finding of the study was that there was a dominance of religious narrative and nationalism narrative in news debates. While culture was constantly invoked for discussions and argument, two of the ways it was used the most was through using religion and nationalism.

The scholars of nationalism primarily used culture to stand for language, ethnicity, and broadly defined traditions. However, nationalism itself falls within the wider ambit of culture. The cultural turn led to a new generation of scholars changed the focus of the field emphasis on nationalism to that national identity. Thus, the nation becomes not a reified object but a symbol competed over, and nationalism becomes a field of debates about the symbol of the nation.

Nationalism is formed in the background of shared national character, not just the physical boundaries of the state. Rousseau understood national character as the result of a dynamic interplay between culture and politics and in terms of the role it played in fostering national consciousness and the general will. Benedict Anderson's seminal work describes nation as an imagined community, a shared culture and language plays an important role in creating the community and keeping it together. "nationality or, as one might prefer to put it in view of that word's multiple significations, nationness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind." (Anderson, 2006). The origin of nationalism as Anderson writes and news media especially print media is indubitably linked. (Anderson, 2006) The news form of television medium thus too deeply affects the concept of nationalism, it keeps it safe and helps propagate it. In recent years there has been a fresh push toward a more nationalist media and discourse on television news. The data from the present study proves it that on an average 14.28% of news debates are framed through a nationalism frame. (Please see Table 2) The frame of nationalism is time and again invoked to support various lines of arguments, there is a push towards a common culture, a nationalist culture that accepts certain ideas, symbols and practices and vehemently denies the presence of the others. It is done through the use of multiple devices such as text on screen, quotes by anchor and participants and through the visuals on screen. Frequently displayed texts like "nationalism vs. anti-nationalism, freedom of speech targeted!" (3rd March 2017, Halla Bol), "Pak fires bullets and India speaks the tongue of literature" (13th march 2017, Halla Bol), "after JNU, war of nationalism in DU" (27th February 2017, Halla Bol), "who conspires to turn an honest country into a selfish one?" (9th December 2016, Taal Thok Ke), "why are not those who

support terrorists called as terrorists themselves?” (17th February 2017, Taal Thok Ke), give the news a nationalist fervour, using cultural tropes to frame the news text in nationalist frame. The same is done by the use of language, especially if the one speaking is the anchor, which adds a sense of legitimacy to the spoken word and strengthens the frame which is used in the particular programme, for instance, “to debate is important but is it bigger and more important than the nation?” (1st March 2017, Halla Bol) and “are you confused as to whether you are living in India or elsewhere? Does west Bengal belong to India or elsewhere?” (9th January, 2107, Taal Thok Ke) This nationalist frame finds a common ground with the audience, a shared belief of belonging to a particular and thus the requirement to have common culture and ideologies. Even political themes are discussed through the frame of nationalism making it a significant part of the recent cultural and political narrative.

Nationalism is the result of perceptions of history and their aesthetic representation in material symbols and performance in rituals that succeed in taking hold as national culture. Instead of looking at nation as a ‘thing’ an ‘entity’ or as a historical and sociological fact, which have the nation constituted through debates about what constitutes “its” culture, its key symbolic representations. The political is thus constantly invoked through the cultural and thus the national.

Conclusion

Culture and Politics are indubitably related. Following Dukhiemian perspective of society’s “collective representations,” the meaning of collective representations being common popular vocabularies or narratives that put people’s intentions into acts of speech, writing and stories that others can easily understand. In news debates, interviews, in news papers and rallies people and politicians invoke the collective consciousness of nation or community by referring the collective ‘We’ or ‘the country’ or the ‘citizens of the nation’ These are structured vocabularies of specific intentions and motives, moral languages we use to make our acts significant, meaningful, attractive and persuasive to others. Politics is about the people, about the state that they create by a social contract, it concerns the state. Culture also concerns the people, it is the basis of their everyday life, it is how they live their life it is how they communicate it is how they relate to each other. Both politics and the culture thus occupy a significant and momentous position in the life of people, it is thus unsurprising that they shall interact and share space with each other. It is difficult to point where one end and the other begin, especially when it comes to communication through news, both occupy the other’s territory and the lines are permeable. The present research shows that the line dividing the two is fine and difficult to grasp. Both affect news equally, events of politics are told in cultural terms, symbols and languages; events of culture occupy a political position in the manner they are communicated. Cultural issues inevitable become political concerns and political concepts are shared, communicated and discussed through the codes of culture. The increasingly strong emphasis on frames of nationalism goes on to show that how inter-related these both are, for nationalism occupies a political position and at the same time is inherently cultural, it becomes the site of the action for the dynamic interplay of both culture and politics. Culture, politics and communication exists in a self legitimizing cycle, culture helps communication and communication strengthens culture and they both are in turn used for

political motive. News and political news is shared in the language of culture, it creates a social cultural reality that people live in and is able to do it by using shared and understood codes of culture.

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