Swachh Bharat Abhiyan Mission
Odisha

Executive Summary

The goal of this study is to evaluate specific aspects of the Swachh Bharat Mission. To understand this, we developed a sentiment polarity indicator based on the media data extracted from a variety of sources such as newspapers and magazines both on the state and national levels. Geographically, the study will focus specifically on rural areas in the state of Odisha. The data we have gathered consists of 5250 pieces of written textual data in more than 291 newspapers and other media types covering the time period from August 2014 until April 2016.

The study concentrated on several aspects of the media coverage of the mission. First of all, we observe how National and Regional publications covered different aspects of the SBM's mission. Results from this part of the study indicate that focus of topic preferences differ widely between Oriya and English publications. One of the biggest disparities between the coverage of the national and regional papers is observed within two categories: coverage of the Third Party Involvement (**TPI**) and Information, Education and Communication (**IEC**) activities within the mission. While almost half (48%) of the national coverage focused on the **IEC**, only 30% of Oriya articles were dedicated to the topic. **Third Party Involvement** (TPI) was covered 25% of the time by the national publications and 15% by Oriya publications. Both national and regional papers devoted approximately similar percentage of their coverage to the themes of **Quality** and **Behavioral Change**. Lastly, the theme of **Gender** received the least amount of coverage from both types of publications.

Furthermore, the study analyses the sentiment of media coverage both overtime and with a particular focus on five main themes of the mission.[1] Taking a temporal perspective, the study finds out that positive and negative content of the publications changed overtime both within national and regional publications. While the sentiment of national publications changed drastically since the inception of the mission in 2014 until the second quarter of 2016, the sentiment in regional papers fluctuated more or less around zero and stayed arguably neutral. Lastly, the study provided a ranking of the five themes based on the overall sentiment polarity. And the results indicated that **Gender** was the theme covered most positively with an overall score of almost 30. It was followed by **Quality** (score of 24) and **IEC** (score of 24). Two themes that were ranked least positively ranked are the **Third Party Involvement** (score of 20) and **Behavioral Change** (score of 11).

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[1] See p.4 for more details on themes.

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1. Background and Objectives

Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM) is a major initiative of the current government, launched by Prime Minister Modi on the second of October, 2014.[2] The objective of the mission was to accelerate the process of achieving universal sanitation coverage and to increase the focus on responsible hygiene and sanitation. One of the key planks of the program is to build nearly 12 crore toilets in rural India to ensure an Open Defecation Free India by October of 2019.

The response to the program has been overtly positive, being credited to bring the long-standing issues of sanitation to the forefront of public attention as well as a policy priority. However, while some progress has been achieved[3], there are still outstanding issues in the implementation of the program. Several reports have found that the toilets remain underused[4] or used for unrelated purposes (such as storehouses).[5] Thus, it is important to critically analyze the performance of the mission to understand some major flaws or remaining issues in the implementation of the program.

Conceptually, the study follows two steps. Firstly, the data will be analyzed with regards to the content of the main themes summary of which is presented in Table 1. Secondly, the sentiment polarity has been created using tools of the Natural Language Processing (NLP).[6] The sentiment polarity score provides for a common denominator for analysis of the mission's aspects. Namely, the indicator was useful in scoring and ranking the above-mentioned themes based on the sentiment of the media coverage.

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[2] http://www.firstpost.com/india/govet-to-launch-intensive-nationwide-swachh-bharat-campaign-from-25-sept-2443694.html

[3] http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/poltiics-and-nation/52-citizens-find-their-city-cleaner-after-600-days-of-swachh-bharat-mission/articleshow/52702533.cms

[4] http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-3196966/Modi-s-Swachh-Bharat-mission-built-80-lakh-new-toilets-people-using-them.html
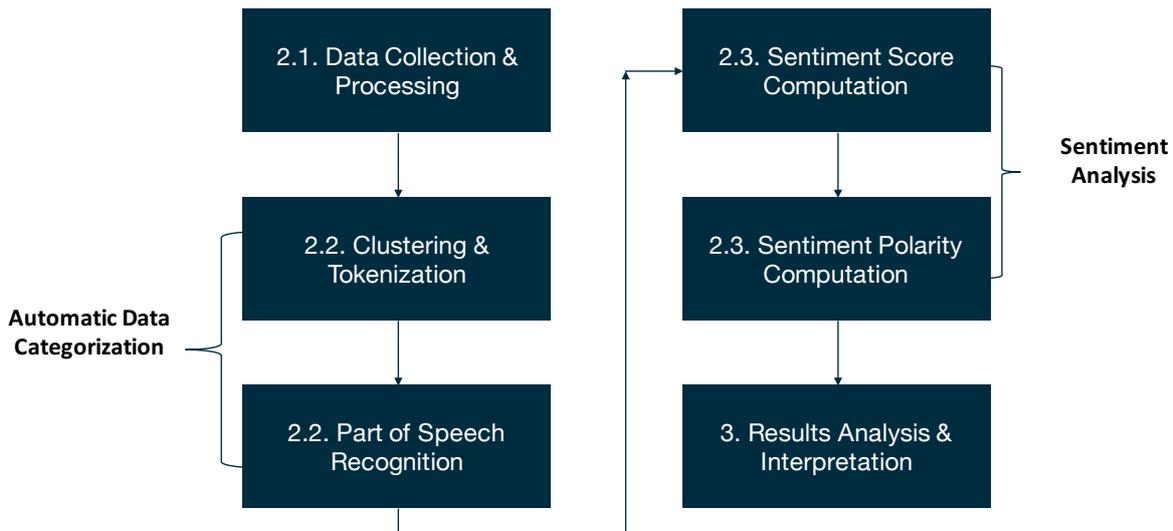
[5] http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bareilly/UP-villagers-prefer-open-fields-raze-Swachh-loos/articleshow/50582495.cms

[6] See the methodology for further details.

2. Data and Methodology

Using methods of natural language processing, we aim to evaluate the media perception of the Swachh Bharat Mission in the region of Odisha. To account for a variety of perspectives, both Odisha and India-wide publications are included in the study. Articles for both types of publications are included in the study only when they discuss the mission for the state of Odisha. Data processing and analysis is divided into several steps. Figure 1 provides an overview of the main methodological steps used for the present analysis. Each of the steps is further described in more detail.

Figure 1: Methodology Overview

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2.1. Data Collection and Processing

Data used in this report consists of a set of publications on Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM) collected from two sources: Google News Aggregator for English publications and a collection of digitally available articles in Oriya. All available data on the topic from September of 2014 and July 2016 has been collected, amounting to 5250 news pieces from 273 English publications and one of the major local publications, called the Samaya. After the collection of textual data, both English and Oriya datasets were cleaned. Semi-automated cleaning of the data allowed for the elimination of irrelevant information, such as stop words, punctuation as well as signs that do not carry meaning.[7] Due to interest in specific aspects[8] of the project, search, and analysis of the articles were narrowed down to five specific themes:

a) **TPI,** or Third Party Involvement**:** the category which accounted for the role of NGOs, contractors or other outside agencies;
b) **BC,** or Behavioral change: the category which accounts for issues related to change in behavior especially with regards to open defecation fields in rural areas;
c) **IEC**: Information, Education and Communication Activities of the project;
d) **Gender**: articles discussing involvement of women or gender-related aspects of the mission;
e) **Quality:** articles that dealt with the quality of construction on the ground.

The goal of this study is to evaluate specific aspects of the SBM mission. To understand how those aspects rank based on media perceptions, we developed a sentiment polarity based on the data extracted from a variety of sources such as newspapers and magazines both on state

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[7] Signs such as &, various types of brackets and others.

[8] Aspects were identified by the PAC team.

and national level. Geographically, the study will focus specifically on rural areas in the state of Odisha. The dataset for the study on Odisha consists of 5250 pieces of written textual data from more than 291 newspapers covering the time period from August 2014 until July 2016. The following table provides a distribution of the dataset according to the main themes of the study.

Table 1: English and Oriya Data Distribution

Language	Behavioral Change	Construction Quality	IEC	Gender	Third Party Involvement
English	343 articles	571 articles	1800 articles	115 articles	950 articles
Oriya	218 articles	217 articles	439 articles	140 articles	216 articles

2.2. Data Categorization

Two steps are performed at the stage of data categorization. Initially, the collected data is categorized according to the five **clusters**, or themes, mentioned above. In the next step, the raw textual data is **tokenized**. That is, natural language processing algorithms – using pre-established dictionaries – break up the sequence of data into pieces of speech. Depending on the purpose of the assignment, the data can be tokenized into words, specifically defined keywords, phrases, and even symbols. Since the present analysis will be engaged in analysis of words within a given text, the data has been tokenized down into individual words.

The tokenized dataset is further analyzed for **parts of speech**. Specifically, we use part-of-speech (POS) tagging methods to classify words as nouns, verbs, adverbs and other based on their syntactic function. Since some parts of speech – as nouns or pronouns – do not carry any sentiment, POS tagging helps to create a subset of relevant sentiment-carrying elements such as adjectives and adverbs into a corpus of text ready for analysis. For the purpose of the present study, we updated the algorithm to account not only for adjectives but also for adverbs and a collection of SBM-specific nouns and phrases (for instance, "open defecation fields"). The algorithm was also trained to understand negation and emphasis in sentences. Words such as "not" or "no" which invert the meaning of words and consequently the direction of sentiment have been controlled for.

2.3. Sentiment Analysis

Once the creation of the sentiment-carrying corpus is completed, we **compute sentiment scores**. Namely, the data is scored through the Sentiwordnet dictionary for positive and negative sentiment.[9] After each sentence is assigned a positive and a negative score, the scores of all the sentences are obtained and averaged to represent the article score. Using positive and negative sentiments, we further obtain the **sentiment polarity** score for each of our five themes. The polarity score is created using the following formula:[10]

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[9]Sentiwordnet is a lexical database that is useful for opinion mining. It assigns a score of positivity and negativity to each word derived from the Wordnet dictionary. Wordnet is a large database that groups words and acts as a thesaurus ad backend for natural language processing tools. It is maintained by Princeton University. For detailed information on Sentiwordnet see https://wordnet.princeton.edu. For more information on Sentiwordnet see Esuli, A., & Sebastiani, F. (2006, May). "Sentiwordnet: a publicly available lexical resources for opinion mining. In proceedings of LREC (Vol. 6, pp. 417-422).

[10] For a more detailed information of the formula and the method please see: William Lowe, Kenneth Benoit, Slava Mikhaylov, and Michael Laver (2011). "Scaling Policy Preferences From Coded Political Texts." Legislative Studies Quarterly 26(1, Feb): 123-155.

Polarity Score = ln (PositiveSentiment + 0.5) – ln (NegativeSentiment + 0.5)

The polarity score is useful in understanding whether the given theme is covered in positive, negative or neutral tone. The formula provides us with a score which will equal to zero, some positive value or some negative value. The value of zero will signify that the sentiment for the given category is neutral and does not expose any positive or negative sentiment. Positive score and negative score will signify positive and negative sentiment accordingly. Besides providing a sense of sentiment for a given theme, sentiment polarity is useful in comparing the sentiment of two or more themes.

3. Sentiment Analysis

3.1. Coverage Overview

Media reflects the current political agenda as well as the perception towards the discussed topics. But not all topics get the same attention, i.e. the same level of coverage. Thus, looking at the extent to which some aspects of a policy are prioritized over others, gives the first idea of policy priorities. Figure 2 shows the media coverage of the themes described in section 2, by illustrating the number of articles dedicated to a respective theme in English and Oriya publications. The numbers are then expressed as a share of the total national articles (light blue) and Oriya articles (dark blue) on SBM. For example, around every second article in national newspapers (48%) covered some aspects of Information, Education and Communication activities within the SBM.

Figure 2: Theme coverage by national and local papers
In % of all articles
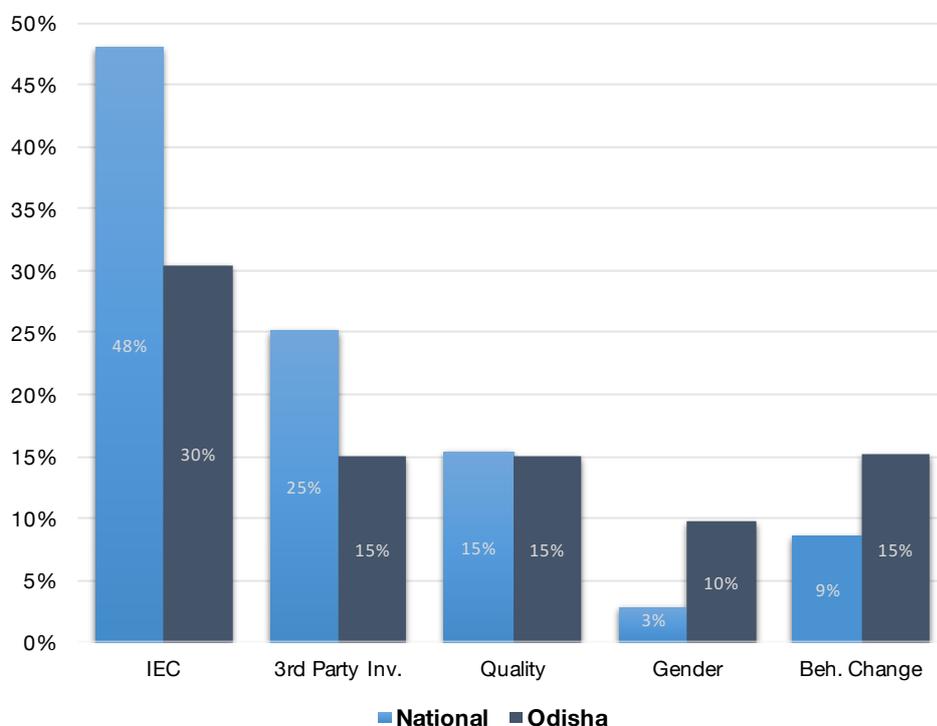
As can be noticed topic preferences differ widely between Oriya and English publications. The biggest disparity between national and local coverage is observed within two categories: coverage of the IEC (Information, Education and Communication activities) as well as the coverage of the Third Party Involvement. While almost half (48%) of the national coverage

focused on the IEC, only 30% of Oriya articles were dedicated to the topic. Despite the disparity of coverage, however, the theme of IEC was the most important for both English and Oriya publications. The second most important for the English publications was the coverage of the Third Party Involvement. More precisely, 25% of English papers or every fourth article, discussed how the third party agencies are involved in the mission. The next two important topics within the English publications are Quality and Behavioral Change. While Quality of construction was covered in around 15% of the entire dataset, Behavioral Change was covered only in 9% of the cases. And the topic which received the least coverage within the English dataset is the topic of Gender. Namely, only 3% of all the articles discussed gender participation or gender-specific aspects of the mission.

While Oriya publications mostly focused on the topic of IEC, the papers also concentrated on other areas such as Third Party Involvement, Quality and Behavioral Change. To be more precise, with 30% of articles focusing on the IEC aspect of the mission, every third paper discussed how the mission propagates information about sanitation and cleanliness. And another 15% of articles focused on Third Party Involvement in the mission. That is, Oriya papers also discussed how NGOs, subcontractors and other organizations were involved in the mission. Oriya papers similarly focused on the issues of Quality and Behavioral Change 15% of the time. It is interesting that distribution of Oriya papers, with the exclusion of IEC, is almost equally distributed between the remaining four themes. This is indicative of the fact that all aspects of the mission have been equally important for the regional publication. And this is very dissimilar to the distribution of the national coverage which is skewed toward the two topics of IEC and Third Party Involvement. Yet another dissimilarity occurs when we look at the coverage of Gender by national and regional publications. While national papers covered Gender only 3% of the time, Oriya papers dedicated to the topic 10% of the overall coverage.

Having an overview of the themes' importance is indicative of what is more discussed in the media. This quantitative overview of the coverage, however, does not indicate whether the sentiment in that article was negative or positive coverage for SBM. The next chapter of the study employs sentiment analysis methods to understand how themes were perceived within the public sphere.

3.2. Sentiment Change over time

This part of the study is preoccupied with analyzing the sentiment of media towards the mission. Taking a temporal perspective, we also analyse how negative and positive sentiments towards SBM have, or have not, changed since the mission's inception. That is, we will track how positive and negative statements in the newspaper content changed over time relative to the third quarter of 2014 (base quarter). Thus, the goal of the chapter is to provide insights about a temporal change of media sentiment within a given dataset. Analyzing the base quarter for English publications, one can observe that positive and negative newspaper sentiments were close to zero both for English and Oriya publications. That is, during the third quarter of 2014, media coverage of the mission was neutral and newspapers did not expose extremely positive or negative sentiments.

But how did the sentiment evolve over time? In order to answer the question, we looked at the change of the sentiment from quarter to quarter. Furthermore, we differentiated between English and Oriya newspapers. The results are summarized in Figure 3 below. Looking at the picture overall, one can conclude that both positive and negative sentiments fluctuated more or less around zero with the exception of the 3rd and 4th quarters of 2015. Taking Q1/2016 as an example, one can observe that there was almost 20% decrease in positive sentiment in English publications when compared to Q3 of 2014. Similarly, we observe a 25% decrease of the negative sentiment in the first quarter of 2016 comparative to Q3 of 2014. Observing both sentiments for the Q2 of 2016, one observes that positive sentiment was relatively on the decrease as compared to the base quarter in 2014. That is, within the last two-year period, the

positive coverage of the mission has dramatically decreased. Negative sentiment, on the other hand, stayed close to zero most of the time.

Figure 3: Sentiment change in English papers
In % change relative to the Q3 of 2014
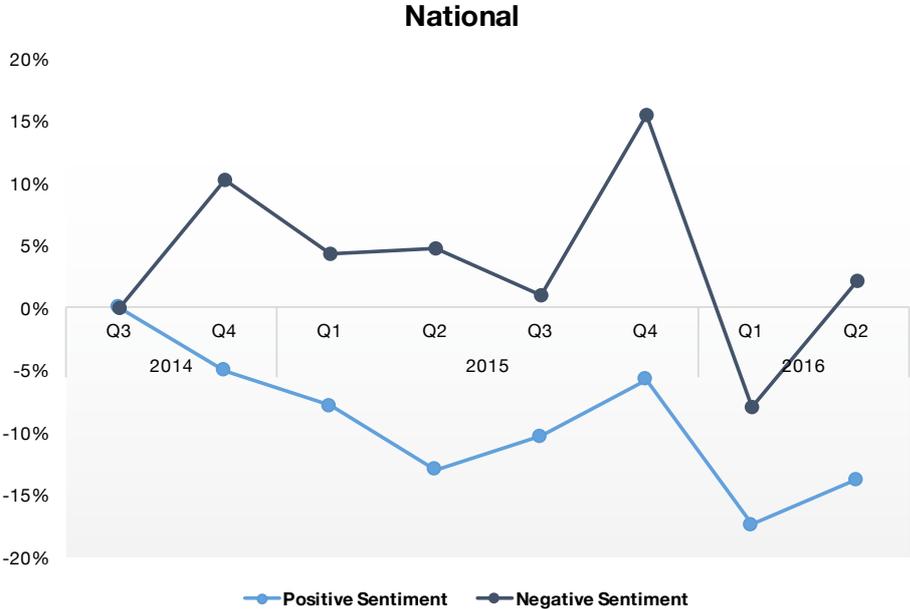
Sentiment change within Oriya publications provides two important insights. First of all, as opposed to the English publications, it is the negative content that has been decreasing when compared to the base quarter. Looking into the Q3, Q4 of 2015 and Q1 of 2016 on Figure 4, for instance, one observes a steady decline in the negative sentiment of the SBM coverage. The decreasing negative trend is steady across the entire period with some spikes in Q4/2014 and Q2/2016. This overall decrease of negative content indicates that the negative coverage of the topic in regional papers has been on the decline.

Figure 4: Sentiment change in Oriya papers
In % change relative to the Q3 of 2014

Odisha
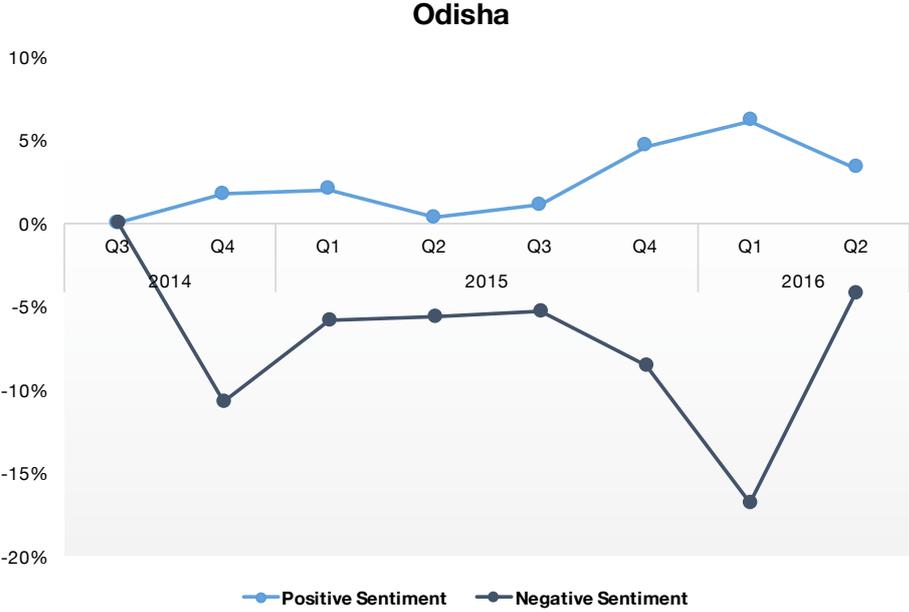
Despite the decreasing negative content, and secondly, there is no increase in the positive content as indicated by observing changes of positive sentiment in Figure 4. Namely, the positive sentiment has barely changed since the inception of the project. The positive sentiment of articles constantly hovering around zero indicates that within the regional articles, positive coverage of the mission was minimal. This trend changes a little in the Q4/015 and Q1/2016 when positive sentiment increased by about 5% relative to the base Q3 of 2014. Detailed analysis of articles for that period consists of articles which aim at evaluating the progress of the mission after almost a year since its inception.
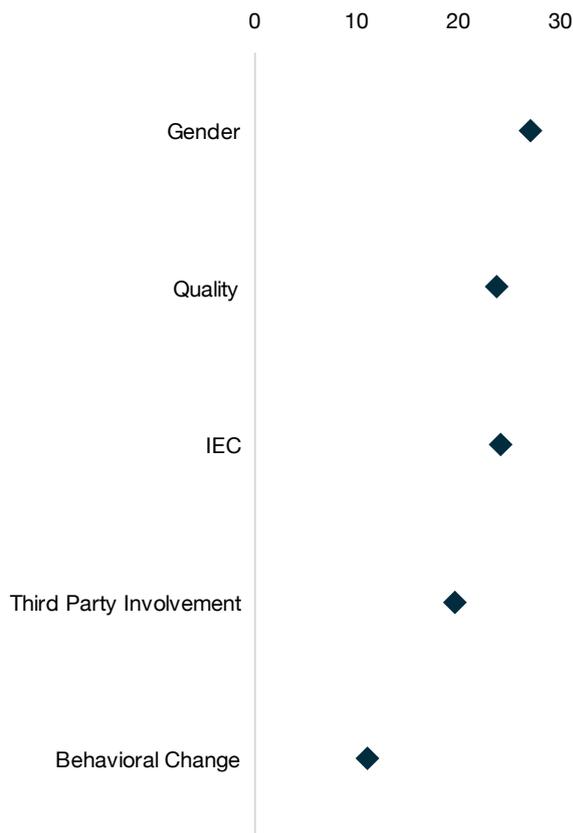
3.3. Sentiment Ranking

While having an idea of the changes in sentiment, the analysis in the previous chapter lacks a focused approach to the five SBM themes that have been identified as important aspects of the study. It would be interesting, for instance, to understand how media coverage of the themes can be compared as well as the detailed context of each theme. To understand this, we developed a polarity indicator which enables to compare several themes of the mission. As suggested in the literature[11], using sentiment polarity provides a comparative aspect within the sphere of natural language processing.

The results of implementing these methods for the present study indicate the following insights. First of all, taken together, media coverage of the SBM has been positive. While calculations of sentiment polarity do allow for negative values to occur, none of the themes in the present study received an absolutely negative scoring. Nevertheless, some of the themes were ranked close to zero, indicating that for two categories specifically – Third Party Involvement and Behavioral Change – the sentiment polarity is positive only by a small margin.

Detailed ranking of the five themes is provided by the Figure 5. With the positive score of just above 25, Gender is the theme that has been covered most positively by the media. Gender is closely followed by the themes on Quality and Information, Education and Communication. And the last two categories are Third Party Involvement and Behavioral Change.

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[11] Will, Lowe, Benoit, Kenneth, Slava, Mikhaylov, & Laver, Michael. 2011, "Scaling Policy Preferences from Coded Political Texts." Legislative Studies Quarterly, vol. 36, no.1, :123–55.

Figure 5: Sentiment Ranking

We further analyzed each of the categories in detail with the goal of understanding the context behind the sentiment ranking. One could wonder, for instance, about specific terms and topics that are discussed within the theme on Gender. What are the most frequent topics and can the overall positive ranking of Gender be attributed to those specific words and concepts? To understand this, we pulled five most frequent terms that have been used within each theme. Figure 6 on the following page visualizes those terms for each of our themes. Furthermore, the Figure provides a polarity score for each of the words within the theme. Seeing a negative polarity score of the word "work" within Gender, for example, we can infer that media has mostly exposed negative sentiment of that word when discussing gender within the SBM.

While the theme of **Gender** has been evaluated more positively than the rest f the categories, several aspects of the mission's engagement with gender were criticized by the media. The words that were most frequently used within the topic of Gender are "girls", "growth", "women", "Nrega" and "work". Concepts of "Nrega" and "work" have been mostly evaluated negatively by the media. Interestingly, articles about Nrega frequently refer to female employment as on of the biggest benefits of the project which reached its fifth anniversary in 2015.[12,13] The term women, on the other hand, has been referred to mostly in a positive light in specific articles. The positive feedback arises from the fact that the mission acknowledged and tried to address the women's security when it comes to using open fields at the risk of being sexually abused.[14] The SBM's initiatives, however, are only regarded as the necessary minimum to productively employ women in public space and the working sphere. Thus, most articles conclude that there
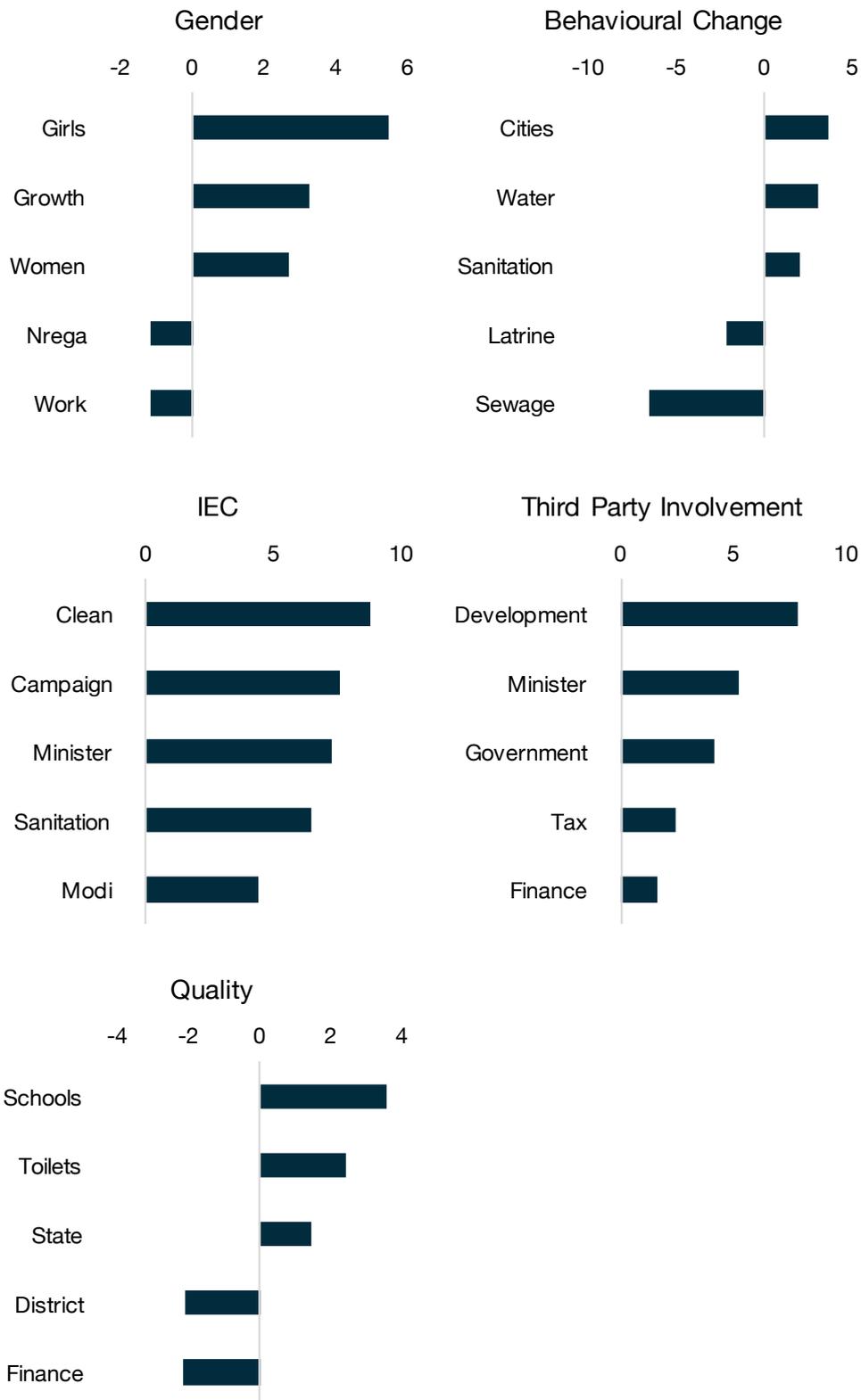
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[12] http://www.youthkiawaaz.com/2016/02/10-years-of-nrega/
[13] http://www.boomlive.in/half-full-half-empty-10-years-of-nrega/
[14] http://www.huffingtonpost.in/ashraf-engineer/want-growth-focus-on-wome_b_6781112.html

is still a lot to be achieved when it comes to ensuring the security of women in public spaces and workplace.[15]

Figure 6: Sentiment polarity of the most frequent words within five themes

Gender

Girls	(bar extends to ~5.5)
Growth	(bar to ~3)
Women	(bar to ~3)
Nrega	(bar to ~-0.5)
Work	(bar to ~-0.5)

Scale: -2, 0, 2, 4, 6

Behavioural Change

Cities	(bar to ~4)
Water	(bar to ~3)
Sanitation	(bar to ~2)
Latrine	(bar to ~-2)
Sewage	(bar to ~-7)

Scale: -10, -5, 0, 5

IEC

Clean	(bar to ~9)
Campaign	(bar to ~7)
Minister	(bar to ~7)
Sanitation	(bar to ~6)
Modi	(bar to ~4)

Scale: 0, 5, 10

Third Party Involvement

Development	(bar to ~7.5)
Minister	(bar to ~5)
Government	(bar to ~4.5)
Tax	(bar to ~2)
Finance	(bar to ~1.5)

Scale: 0, 5, 10

Quality

Schools	(bar to ~3.5)
Toilets	(bar to ~2.5)
State	(bar to ~2)
District	(bar to ~-1)
Finance	(bar to ~-1)

Scale: -4, -2, 0, 2, 4

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15 ibid.

Most frequently used terms within **Behavioral Change** are words such as "cities", "water", "sanitation", "latrine" and "sewage". There are two major critiques within this theme. Most articles argue that Behavioral Change is not actively promoted. Namely, it is argued that an overall focus on infrastructure does not allow for concentration on any other aspects such as the promotion of the development of habits with regards to the usage of latrines.[16] One of the articles, for instance, covered a study which was published in the health journal Lancet. The article states that the projects similar to the SBM do not necessarily positively affect health indicators exactly because they rather focus on the infrastructure instead of promoting Behavioral Change. The study has been conducted on more than 100 rural villages in India.[17] Additionally, there is a criticism of not having adequate measuring and evaluation methods with regards to the mission and its goals, especially within the sphere of open defecation fields.[18]

Articles focusing on the **Information, Education and Communication** efforts of the mission used most frequently words such as "clean", "campaign", "minister", "sanitation" and "Modi". The list of words is not surprising because the prevailing majority of articles cover campaigns of key BJP party leaders promoting the mission and its goals on a national and regional levels.[19,20] One of the focus areas of such promotional campaigns were schools, especially with regards to the separation of bathrooms for girls and with regards to basic hygiene-related information for school kids.[21] Another set of articles approach the IEC activities within the mission with a critical eye. One of the biggest criticisms comes from articles arguing that IEC activities are usually outsourced and done ineffectively, resulting in the misuse or complete demolition of the infrastructure.[22] Most of those articles are very critical of building the infrastructure without providing the necessary educational background. But some of the most recent papers observe that statistics on the infrastructure construction were also misrepresented, especially in rural areas.[23] And according to the media coverage of the theme, this type of misuse and political clientelism is especially true for rural areas where information and education on usage of latrines are lacking.[24] Some articles also focused on the launch of the project in Odisha at Bhubaneswar station by the Minister Dharmendra Pradhan.[25]

Words most used within the articles discussing **Third Party Involvement** consist of terms such as "development", "minister", "government", "tax" and others. Looking in detail into the media narratives, one observes a single story revolving within this theme. And that is the involvement of other organizations in funding or promotion of the SBM mission. In Odisha, for instance, the involvement of the National Aluminum Company Limited was widely covered as the example of corporate India's involvement in the promotion of the project. [26] Interestingly, the main focus of corporation's activities tends to be public spaces like schools, railway stations, villages or

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[16] http://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/not-a-clean-sweep/

[17] http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/widely-used-sanitation-programmes-do-not-necessarily-improve-health-finds-lancet-study/

[18] http://www.livemint.com/Opinion/zmpdfMwhbAsO3DdhTpsAVN/Swachh-Bharat-Mission-must-address-untouchability.html

[19] http://www.dnaindia.com/lifestyle/report-wins-and-losses-for-women-2014-2048469

[20] http://www.deccanchronicle.com/141003/nation-current-affairs/article/narendra-modi-aims-shake-sanitation-clean-india-drive

[21] http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report-smriti-irani-launches-swachh-bharat-mission-at-kendriya-vidyalaya-2021524

[22] http://www.livemint.com/Opinion/zmpdfMwhbAsO3DdhTpsAVN/Swachh-Bharat-Mission-must-address-untouchability.html

[23] ibid.

[24] http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/most-of-rural-india-still-opts-for-open-defecation-nss-report/article8495947.ece

[25] http://odishachannel.com/index.php/1990/swachh-bharat-campaign-launched-in-odisha/

[26] http://www.freepressjournal.in/india/corporate-india-shows-zeal-in-swachh-bharat/495573

police stations in various parts of the state.[27,28] Along the articles focusing on corporate India, there are articles that discuss the government's efforts in trying to include international organizations, such as the World Bank, in the financing of the mission as a developmental priority of India.[29]

The Quality of construction has been covered from two main perspectives. A certain category of articles focused primarily on the infrastructures, and thus is the frequent usage of the word "toilet". Furthermore, the word has been used mostly positively as those articles focused on the process and numbers of toilets being built in districts, schools and villages.[30] One of the articles, for example, focused on the allocation of toilets to Ganjam schools in Odhisha.[31] They also tried to evaluate such aspects of the rural infrastructure as the availability of water and proper sewage system under the mission.[32] Another set of articles takes a critical approach towards the mission's overarching focus on the infrastructure. Namely, they argue that behavioral change of the population can not be triggered simply focusing on the infrastructure. Those articles argue that in the rural areas, the success of the mission is especially dependent on the campaigns which sensitize citizens towards usage of the toilets and trigger behavioral change when it comes to usage of open fields.[33]

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[27] ibid.

[28] http://causebecause.com/news-detail.php?NewsID=660#sthash.gALxADpl.dpuf

[29] http://orissadiary.com/CurrentNews.asp?id=65860

[30] http://causebecause.com/news-detail.php?NewsID=660#sthash.gALxADpl.dpuf

[31] http://www.newindianexpress.com/states/odisha/Toilets-in-All-Ganjam-Schools-Soon/2014/11/03/article2505721.ece

[32] http://www.firstpost.com/india/swachhta-status-report-70-percent-more-households-get-toilets-in-2015-16-rural-areas-face-divide-2728944.html

[33] http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2014-09-03/news/53522700_1_separate-toilets-open-defecation-bharat-abhiyan

4. Annex

Table of Regional Publications

Number	Regional
1	Samaja

Table of National Publications

Number	Publication
1	3BL Media
2	ABP Live
3	ABP Live (blog)
4	ABP News
5	afaqs
6	Affaritaliani.it
7	Ahmedabad Mirror
8	Amar Ujala Shimla
9	ANINEWS
10	Archeomatica
11	Asia Society (blog)
12	Asian Scientist Magazine
13	AsianetIndia
14	AsiaNews.it
15	Assam Times
16	Assam Tribune
17	Avenue Mail
18	Bangalore Mirror
19	BBC News
20	Best Media Info
21	Bhatkallys
22	Bihar Prabha
23	Bollywood Helpline
24	Bollywood Hungama
25	Bollywood Life
26	Bollywood Mantra
27	Bollywood Spice
28	Boom Live
29	Business of Cinema
30	Business Standard
31	Business Today
32	Business Wire India
33	Businessinsider India
34	Calcutta Telegraph
35	Campaign India
36	CarTrade.com

37	Catch News
38	CauseBecause
39	Centre for Science and Environment
40	Chandigarh Tribune
41	Chicago Tribune
42	Christian Science Monitor
43	CineGoer.net
44	Citizen Matters Bangalore (blog)
45	Codewit World News
46	CounterCurrents.org
47	Cricket Country
48	Daijiworld.com
49	Daily Bhaskar
50	Daily Bhaskar (press releases)
51	Daily Bhaskar (blog)
52	Daily Excelsior
53	Daily Mail
54	Daily News & Analysis
55	Daily Pakistan
56	Daily Pioneer
57	DailyO
58	DAWN.com
59	Dazeinfo
60	De Kritische Belegger
61	Deccan Chronicle
62	Deccan Herald
63	DeshGujarat
64	Desimartini
65	Devex
66	Diamond World Magazine
67	E Kantipur
68	E-Pao.net
69	Eastern Mirror
70	eco-business.com
71	Economic Times
72	Economic Times (blog)
73	Economy Lead
74	EL PA' S
75	EL PAÕ S
76	ET Auto
77	ET Retail
78	ETAuto.com
79	ETTelecom.com
80	Exchange4Media
81	exchange4media.com (blog)

82	Fair Observer
83	FilmiBeat Hindi
84	Financial Express
85	Firstpost
86	Firstpost (satire)
87	FitnHit.com
88	Forbes India
89	Forbes India (blog)
90	Foreign Policy
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93	Frontline
94	Governance Now
95	Greatandhra.com
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97	Greentech Lead
98	Gulf Times
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113	Il Post
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116	India PRwire (press release)
117	India Today
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119	India West
120	India West (blog)
121	India.com
122	indiablooms
123	IndiaEduNews.net
124	IndiaGlitz
125	Indiainfoline
126	Indian Cooperative

127	Indian Express
128	Indiantelevision.com
129	Indiatimes.com
130	indiatvnews on mobile (press release)
131	indiatvnews.com
132	indiatvnews.com (blog)
133	indiatvnews.com (satire) (press release) (registration) (blog)
134	Indileak
135	IndRead (blog)
136	Inext Live
137	InfoCilento
138	Infotech Lead (registration) (blog)
139	International Business Times India Edition
140	Jagran Josh
141	Jagran Post
142	Jansatta
143	Journal International
144	KanglaOnline
145	Kashmir Life
146	Khabar India
147	khaskhabar.com (Regional)
148	koimoi
149	La Tribune.fr
150	Livemint
151	Livemint - Business & Finance News India
152	Loksatta
153	Mainstream
154	MarineLink
155	Market Realist
156	MBAUniverse.com
157	Medical Xpress
158	MensXP.com
159	Meri news
160	Merinews
161	MFA China
162	Mid-Day
163	Mobiletor.com
164	Moneycontrol.com
165	Moneylife
166	Morung Express
167	Mumbai Mirror
168	mydigitalfc.com
169	Nagpur Today
170	Nai Dunia
171	Narendra Modi (press release) (blog)

172	NDTV
173	NDTV (blog)
174	NDTVSports.com
175	NetIndian
176	New America Media
177	New Kerala
178	New Security Beat (blog)
179	New York Times
180	News Nation
181	News Today
182	NewsClick
183	Newslaundry
184	Newstrack India
185	Newsweek
186	NYOOOZ
187	Odisha News Insight
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191	Oneindia
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195	Orissadiary.com
196	Outlook
197	Outlook India
198	PaGaLGuY
199	Patna Daily
200	Patrika
201	Pitch (blog)
202	Plastics News
203	Plastics News (blog)
204	Poskotanews
205	PR Newswire (blog)
206	PrepSure
207	PRI
208	Pune Mirror
209	Punjab News Express
210	RadioandMusic.com
211	Rajasthan News
212	Rajasthan Patrika
213	Rate Movies Here
214	Rising Kashmir (press release) (registration) (blog)
215	Sahara Samay
216	SahilOnline

217	SciDev.Net
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219	Scoop News
220	Scoopwhoop
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243	The New Indian Express
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248	The Siasat Daily
249	The Statesman
250	The Statesman (blog)
251	The Voice of Sikkim
252	The Wire
253	TheHealthSite
254	thenortheasttoday.com
255	Times Now.tv
256	Times of India
257	Times of India (blog)
258	Times of Oman
259	Travel Trends Today
260	TwoCircles.net
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262	ummid.com
263	Wall Street Journal (blog)
264	Web India
265	Webdunia Hindi
266	Wisden India
267	World Policy Institute (blog)
268	YourStory.com
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