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FAILURE OF PRESS IN ADDRESSING ISSUES OF MARGINALISED COMMUNITIES IN INDIA

(With special reference to English dailies)

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ABSTRACT

Often press or perhaps, media doesn't give enough coverage space to their struggles. Many scholars have expressed their anguish on the hypocrisy of Press in terms of inappropriate and less coverage of the Scheduled caste or marginalised communities. The issues affecting the people from the lower castes, who are mostly poor, like Dalits and Adivasis doesn't come under the scanner of these newspapers and more so to the media as well. The mainstream Media became profit centric and marginalised communities disappeared from its vision.

KEYWORDS: Press, Media, Marginalised Communities, issue, coverage.

INTRODUCTION

There are enumerable issues which has proliferating effects on the lives of outcastes. Often press or perhaps, media doesn't give enough coverage space to their struggles. Many scholars have expressed their anguish on the hypocrisy of Press in terms of inappropriate and less coverage of the Scheduled caste or marginalised communities. There are many repercussions to it as well like – (a) Constitutional calls for fraternity. And it's hard to fraternise – to practice fraternity – with people who aren't

there. (b) Resentment within the people with whom discrimination is targeted against get bubbles up. (c) Half way coverage can create certain kind of image which perhaps is a helpless presentation of issue which makes it even more vulnerable. These vast forms of exploitations – economic as well as societal doesn't get suitable coverage because of deep rooted corporate interests and vast capital is at its stake to systematically make people un-aware of this menace.

In 2006, the CSDS did a survey on the social profile of New Delhi's media elite. Of the 315 key decision makers surveyed from 37 Delhi based Hindi and English publications and television channels, not one of the 315 was a Dalit or an Adivasi; only 4 per cent belonged to castes designated as Shudra, and 3 per cent were Muslim (who make up 18 per cent of the population). In the insurgency hit area of the central India (Chhattisgarh and parts of Andhra Pradesh) where predominantly tribals were living for far too many



centuries. It has been said that more than 200 MoUs of mining and industrial projects are signed between the government and the corporate. The area is densely forested and rich of minerals. The very same corporations are displacing millions of tribals from their home land and the very same corporations are running twenty four by seven media channels, newspapers, magazines and also literary festivals. On the other side, issues are rampant – According to National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), a crime is committed against a Dalit by a non-Dalit every sixteen minutes; Dalit atrocities have increased up from 32,712 in 2010 to 47,064 in 2014. This has been an increase in percentage of around some odd 44 points. In 2012 alone, the year of Delhi gang-rape and murder 1,574 Dalit women were raped and 651 were murdered. The issue of land holding has lot of importance in terms of understanding the economic dominion of the caste Hindus over the Untouchables. Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribes together constitutes around twenty five per cent of the Indian population. But their agricultural land holding capacity is limited to only 9 per cent amongst their population. Out of 312 millions of Schedules Castes and Schedule Tribes only 29 million have farm land. Often it has also been observed that press try to deviate the issues into some another form. In 2006, Surekha Bhotmange along with her two young daughters were brutally raped and killed in Khailanji village in state of Maharashtra. Surekha and her family had purchased a little plot. It was surrounded by farms belonging to castes that considered themselves superior to the Mahar caste that Surekha belonged to. At first, the Press reported it as a ‘morality’ murder, suggesting that the villagers were upset because Surekha was having an affair with a relative (whom was also assaulted to death). Mass protests by Dalit organisations eventually prodded the legal system into taking cognisance of the crime.

“The untouchables have no Press. The Congress Press is closed to them and is determined not to give them the slightest publicity. They cannot have their own Press for obvious reasons. No paper can survive without advertising revenue. Advertisement revenue can only come from business and in India all the business, both high and small, is attached to the Congress and will not favour any Non-Congress organisation. The Staff of the Associated Press in India, which is the distributing agency in India, is entirely drawn from Madras Brahmins – indeed the whole of the Press in India is in their hands – and they, for well known reasons, are entirely pro-Congress and will not allow any news hostile to the Congress to get publicity. These are reasons beyond the control of the Untouchables.” These were some of the remarkable words amongst the history books on Press in India by ever prolific writer Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.

The writings of Babasaheb haven’t loosen its relevance in contemporary times as well. The slice of the knife has not changed its course. Perhaps it has become even more stringent and sharp. And the people who are at periphery meeting the dots of the marginal ends, in the sake of finding un-shattering corners of those marginal ends has still not been able to get their say in the mainstream Press. There are certain elements within the Ambedkars’ statement which have a changed characteristics but rest of the story is very much the older and same. Since the independence of India from being a British Colony, private ownership patterns within Press and apparently motives of Press have changed. So, if earlier these papers were started to serve the purpose of most pretainly to the cause of freedom. In the aftermath of the independence movement, Indian businessmen, mostly Baniyas (Vaishyas, in Varna system) started to acquire the stakes of these some very predominant newspapers of our today’s times. Their purpose was to make them profitable ventures.

Likewise, The times of India, the leading English daily in 1946, was bought by the founder of the Dalmia-Jain group, for around twenty million rupees. With it Ramkrishna Dalmia, founder of the Dalmia Industries, a Vaishya by-caste and also one of the then leading industrial family is still holding the ownership of the leading English newspaper of the country. India’s another very famous newspaper, Hindustan Times, founded by Sunder Singh Lyallpuri. Prior to an owner of a newspaper owner, he considered himself firstly an Akali in terms of his political ambitions. With its Editorial board of utmost integrity, led by KM Panikkar as the Editor-in-chief. Besides consistently being pushed, Panikkar made the newspaper more than merely an Akali Sheet. While the Akali movement got weakened with time, its readership started getting shallower and in 1933, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya along with industrialist GD Birla took full control of the paper for fifty thousand rupees (mostly paid by Birla). Till now the paper is being run by the Birla family. The paper now is managed by Shobhana Bhartiya, daughter of KK Birla and a member of Parliament of Congress party, who is also a Marwari Bania.

Considered to be India’s most credible newspaper of today’s time. The Hindu also has some un-common

past. Having bought by a South Indian Brahmin S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar in 1895 along with his corporate arm Egmore Group, which also was led by two Brahmin Industrialists. Since then the newspaper has been owned and managed by the members of the Kasturi Ranga Family. Having a readership of more than nineteen million and cross overtly read into pan Indian Hindi speaking states, Dainik Jagran, is managed by Sanjay Gupta. Again an owner with a tag of being forward caste Bania.[2] Similar kind of trend can be traced mostly through the larger mainstream media. These huge Corporations have been driving Press from the forefront and all amongst them exists the older structure, in which, consolidation of wealth is splintered within the fold of the forward and un-deprived castes particularly Vaishyas. Not just amongst the ownership of the Press but caste has also intruded into the premises of the newsrooms and editorial boards, of these self proclaimed independent newspapers. The account of the reporters and perhaps the editors, themselves from the Upper castes, doesn't hold particularly evident to be interested in issues affecting to the poor of this country. As to how, as journalists, they be serving the cause of the people who have considerable say within the demographics of the nation? As in not-so-well, the agenda formulation would itself be very limited. The issues affecting the people from the lower castes, who are mostly poor, like Dalits and Adivasis doesn't come under the scanner of these newspapers and more so to the media as well. The mainstream Media became profit centric and marginalised communities disappeared from its vision. So it was a relevant and contemporary issue for study.

OBJECTIVE:

- To study the coverage pattern of marginalised community issues in popular English dailies.
- To study the presence of marginalised communities in Indian English Media.

METHODOLOGY

The researcher has assessed four national dailies for 15 days in the month(s) of March and May, 2016. The idea was to get an overview of caste representation in English print media. The National dailies selected were: The Times of India, The Indian Express, and Hindustan Times, The Hindu. We scanned the front pages, the op-eds and the editorials for by-lines. Surnames of each by-line were examined and put under the following categories: Upper Castes, Other Backward Castes, Schedule Castes, Schedule Tribes and Others (including minorities like Muslims, Christians, Parsis et cetera). Agency copies from ANI or PTI or IANS and articles that were not directly attributed to a reporter – like stories with no by-lines or editorials – were not included. Surnames that we could not directly indentify as a particular caste group were dropped. We understand that the scope of this exercise is limited and does not give us enough about caste representation across the Indian media. Yet it gives us a fair idea of the under-representation of oppressed castes in four of the leading newspapers in the country that do set the tone of national discourse and agenda.

DATA INTERPRETATION

The data collection and its interpretation has been followed up and divided on the basis of two-month activity. Whereby separate analysis has been done from the data gathered in month of May and March for year 2016. The idea behind selection with a gap of one month is to suggest that, varying possibility might seem suggestively accurate as in comparison done to the contrast of subsequent months (if chosen as part of research methodology). In this fast and tarnishing times of news reportage, one month gap would be fine in terms of catching up with un-clear interpretation, if so happened. At the end of separate analysis, data gathered for both the months will be placed on the same sheet parallel to each other, in order to check the varying possibilities.

• **Front Page Analysis (May, 2016):**

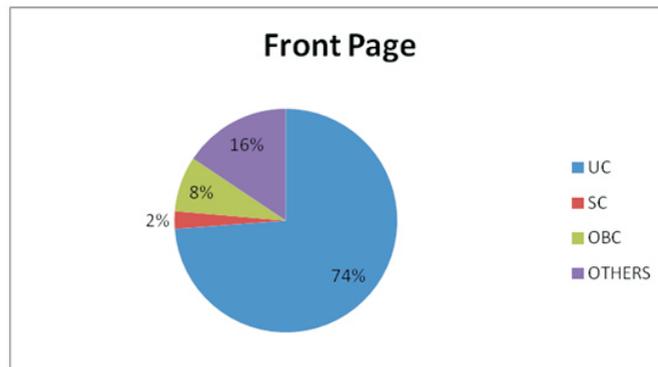
NP/CASTE	UPPER CASTES	SCHEDULE CASTES	OTHER BACKWARD CASTES	OTHERS (MUSLIMS, CHRISTIANS ETC)
HINDUSTAN TIMES	37	1	7	5
THE INDIAN EXPRESS	59	5	5	22
THE TIMES OF INDIA	56	0	8	6
THE HINDU	51	1	2	10
TOTAL	203	7	22	43

*Note: Schedule Tribes were zero in number.

(TABLE: 0.1)

The Figure below representing table 0.1 displays the number of reporters falling into each particular caste category. According to the data mentioned into the above table, in the month of May, 2016 amongst the total percentage of reporters covering the front page news, 73.81 % belonged to the privileged castes. Meanwhile 2.54 % of reporters belonged to the Schedule Castes. And 8.0 % were from the Other Backward Castes, 15.63 % among others.

The others here is used for different religions likewise Islam, Christianity, Sikhs and Parsis. As data points to staunch facts, that, in the month of May, almost two-thirds of the reporters covering the stories were part to upper caste Hindu-consolidation. As we go deeper into statistics, one might find appalling Brahminical strong hold into the process of news reportage. More so in range of sixty to seventy per cent in caste Hindu strata for all four national dailies chosen for this particular research.



Pie Chart illustrating graphical representation of caste matrix in terms of percentage.

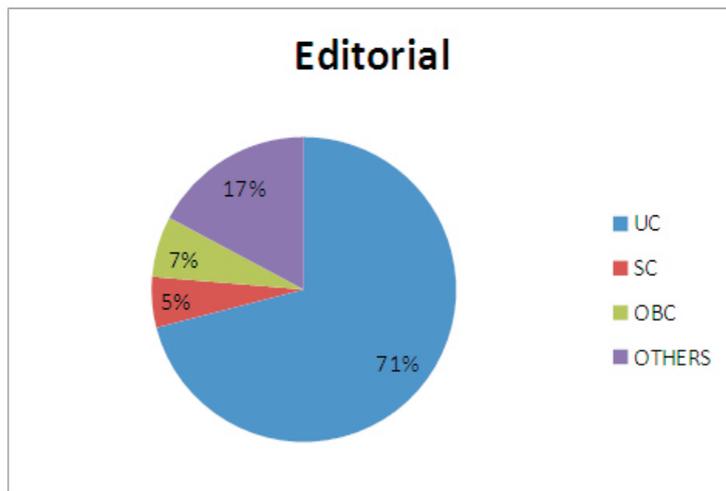
• **Edit Page Analysis (May, 2016):**

NP/ CASTE	UPPER CASTES	SCHEDULE CASTES	OTHER BACKWARD CASTES	OTHERS (MUSLIMS, CHRISTIANS ETC)
HINDUSTAN TIMES	5	2	3	1
THE INDIAN EXPRESS	21	1	2	7
THE TIMES OF INDIA	21	2	0	4
THE HINDU	19	0	1	4
TOTAL	66	5	6	16

*Note: Schedule Tribes were zero in number.

(TABLE: 0.2)

The Figure below representing table 0.2 displays the number of editorial writers in the newspapers falling into each particular caste category. According to the data mentioned into the above table, in the month of May, 2016 amongst the total percentage of editorials written, 78.72 % were considered written by people from the privileged castes. Meanwhile 2.8 % of writers belonged to the Schedule Castes. And 3.5 % were from the Other Backward Castes, 14.89 per cent among others. The others here is used for different religions likewise Islam, Christianity, Sikhs and Parsis. Editorial often is seen as an add-on perspective of the newspapers. When writing is becoming so less diverse and remains into the hands of a single group. Then chances of adding alternative agenda, different shade a particular issue becomes lesser.



Pie Chart illustrating graphical representation of caste matrix in terms of percentage.

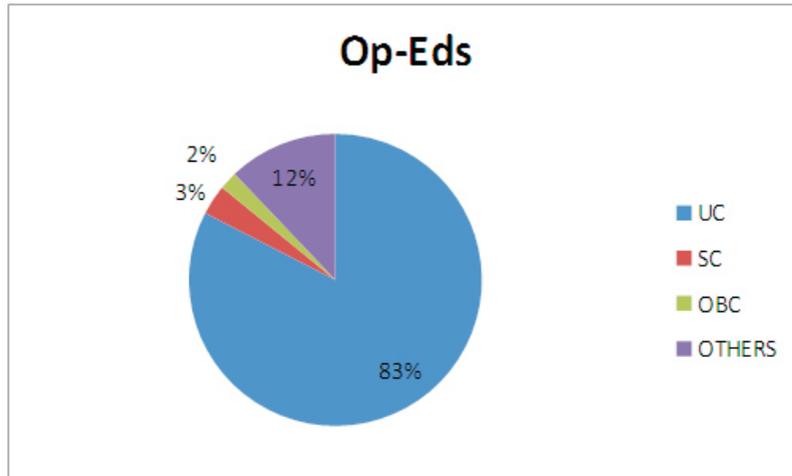
• **Op-ed Analysis (May, 2016):**

NP/ CASTE	UPPER CASTES	SCHEDULE CASTES	OTHER BACKWARD CASTES	OTHERS (MUSLIMS, CHRISTIANS ETC)
HINDUSTAN TIMES	37	1	0	1
THE INDIAN EXPRESS	35	3	2	4
THE HINDU	32	0	1	10
THE TIMES OF INDIA	19	1	0	3
TOTAL	123	5	3	18

*Note: Schedule Tribes were zero in number.

(TABLE: 0.3)

The Figure below representing table 0.3 displays the number of opinion writers in the newspapers falling into each particular caste category. According to the data mentioned into the above table, in the month of May, 2016 amongst the total percentage of opinion pieces written, 82.55 % were considered written by people from the privileged castes. Meanwhile 3.35 % of writers belonged to the Schedule Castes. And 2.01 % were from the Other Backward Castes, 12.08 per cent among others.



Pie Chart illustrating graphical representation of caste matrix in terms of percentage.

The others here is used for different religions likewise Islam, Christianity, Sikhs and Parsis. Opinion makers are crucial especially in times when media tends to sell perception instead of fact finding sacred reportage. Here zero per cent inclusion of tribal writers rightly portrays the non-caring attitude of modern mass communication channels towards far away tribal and moreover, marginalised societies.

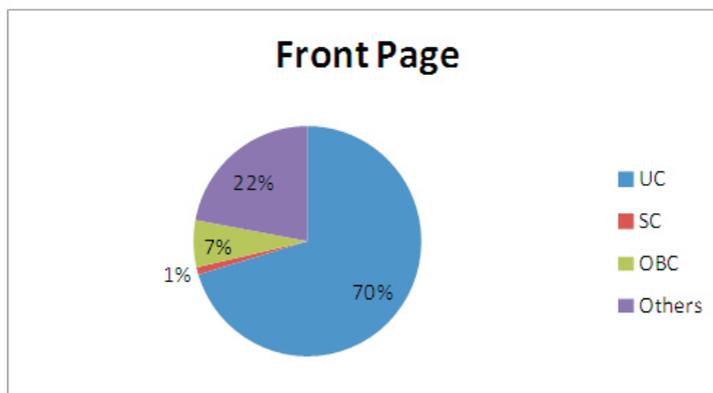
• **Front Page Analysis (March, 2016):**

NP/CASTE	UPPER CASTES	SCHEDULE CASTES	OTHER BACKWARD CASTES	OTHERS (MUSLIMS, CHRISTIANS ETC)
HINDUSTAN TIMES	45	0	4	12
THE INDIAN EXPRESS	62	0	5	13
THE TIMES OF INDIA	39	2	6	8
THE HINDU	55	1	4	30
TOTAL	201	3	19	63

*Note: Schedule Tribes were zero in number.

(TABLE: 0.4)

The Figure representing table 0.4 displays the number of reporters falling into each particular caste category. According to the data mentioned into the above table, in the month of March, 2016 amongst the total percentage of reporters covering the front page news, 70.27 % belonged to the privileged castes. Meanwhile 1.04 % of reporters belonged to the Schedule Castes. And 6.64 % were from the Other Backward Castes, 22.02 % among others.



Pie Chart illustrating graphical representation of caste matrix in terms of percentage.

The others here is used for different religions likewise Islam, Christianity, Sikhs and Parsis. Almost two-thirds of the reporters covering the stories belonged upper caste Hindu-consolidated group. Even if looking deeper in this statistics, one might find appalling Brahminical strong hold into the process of news reportage. More so in range of sixty to seventy per cent in caste Hindu strata for all four national dailies chosen for this particular research.

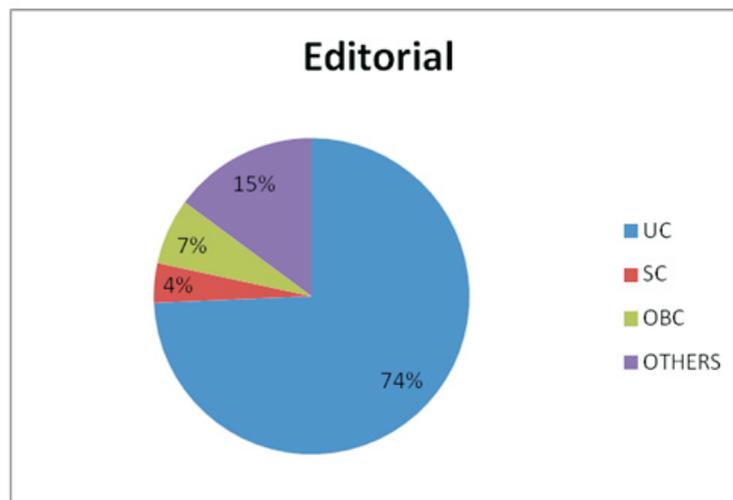
• **Edit Page Analysis (March, 2016):**

NP/ CASTE	UPPER CASTES	SCHEDULE CASTES	OTHER BACKWARD CASTES	OTHERS (MUSLIMS, CHRISTIANS ETC)
HINDUSTAN TIMES	6	2	2	1
THE INDIAN EXPRESS	20	0	1	3
THE TIMES OF INDIA	18	1	2	4
THE HINDU	11	0	0	3
TOTAL	55	3	5	11

*Note: Schedule Tribes were zero in number.

(TABLE: 0.5)

The Figure below representing table 0.5 displays the number of editorial writers in the newspapers falling into each particular caste category. According to the data mentioned into the above table, in the month of March, 2016 amongst the total percentage of editorials written, 74.32 % were considered written by people from the privileged castes. Meanwhile 4.05 % of writers belonged to the Schedule Castes. And 6.75 % were from the Other Backward Castes, 14.86 per cent among others. The others here is used for different religions likewise Islam, Christianity, Sikhs and Parsis. Editorial often is seen as an add-on perspective of the newspapers. When writing is becoming so less diverse and remains into the hands of a single group. Then chances of adding alternative agenda, different shade a particular issue becomes lesser.



Pie Chart illustrating graphical representation of caste matrix in terms of percentage.

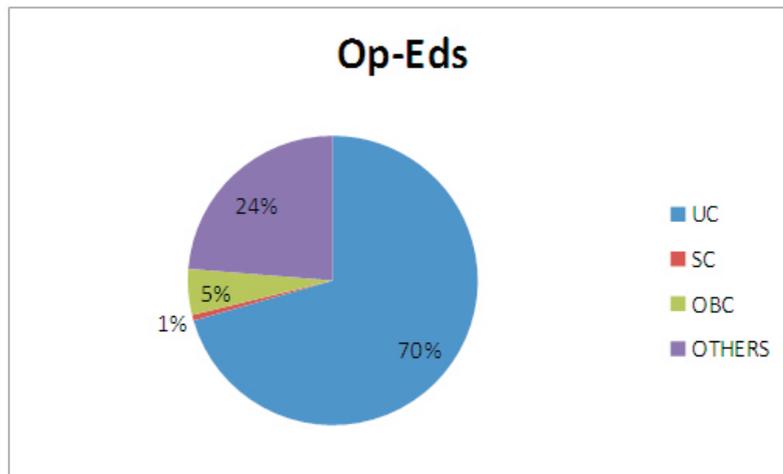
• **Op-ed Analysis (March, 2016):**

NP/ CASTE	UPPER CASTES	SCHEDULE CASTES	OTHER BACKWARD CASTES	OTHERS (MUSLIMS, CHRISTIANS ETC)
HINDUSTAN TIMES	22	0	3	10
THE INDIAN EXPRESS	36	0	1	15
THE HINDU	35	0	3	9
THE TIMES OF INDIA	17	1	1	3
TOTAL	110	1	8	37

*Note: Schedule Tribes were zero in number.

(TABLE: 0.6)

The Figure below representing table 0.6 displays the number of opinion writers in the newspapers falling into each particular caste category. According to the data mentioned into the above table, in the month of March, 2016 amongst the total percentage of opinion pieces written, 70.51 % were considered written by people from the privileged castes. Meanwhile 0.64 % of writers belonged to the Schedule Castes. And 5.12 % were from the Other Backward Castes, 23.71 per cent among others.



Pie Chart illustrating graphical representation of caste matrix in terms of percentage.

The others here is used for different religions likewise Islam, Christianity, Sikhs and Parsis. Opinion makers are crucial especially in times when media tends to sell perception instead of fact finding sacred reportage. Here zero per cent inclusion of tribal writers rightly portrays the non-caring attitude of modern mass communication channels towards far away tribal and moreover, marginalised societies. The data gathered for the two months of March and May doesn't displays any major dramatic shift or at least it doesn't displays much of differing values. As in contrast from March to May, the Scheduled Caste and Schedule Tribes, which includes Dalits and other marginalised communities are still at periphery of the Indian press in terms of their reach to the media. The representation of the tribals is seen at a zero in all four major dailies.

To reckon with the data, the schedule castes combined presence for the two months counts for merely 2.66 per cent of the overall percentage of people writing in the newspapers including reportage. This directly suggests, that people belonging to backward strata are finding it difficult or, perhaps are struggling to have their say in the mainstream English press. Though there's no survey till date, by any competent press agency which also includes press council, on the exact representation of Dalits and Adivasis in the newsrooms. But still, there are various studies which have constantly questioned this hegemony of caste Hindus in the Indian media. According to this study, the representation of SC/STs remains strictly confined in between one to three per cent in opinion or comments section of the English newspapers. Around one to two per cent in reportage and close to

four per cent in editorial writing. This has serious repercussions not just on the composition of the key news organisations. But also upon the importance attached to certain subjects.

According to the Karnataka state funded Dr. Ambedkar Research Institute, Dalit issues make headlines only when they are violent in nature such as rape, murder, and suicide. This has lot to do with the poor representation of the community into the press. According to the census 2011, Dalits and Adivasis constitute around twenty seven per cent of the total population of the country. And millions of them still live under below poverty line. Automatically this adds to the fact, that problem faced by the community are gigantic.

CONCLUSION

Not much has changed since 1947 in terms of the demographic divide within the modern day mass communication channels. Upper Castes still has maintained monopoly over the Press key positions in India. From the Press ownership to the reportage bureaus, even to the commentators within the fold of newspapers dominion of the caste Hindus is still unchallenged.

Press is at its peak and to even proliferate more it needs to raise concerns of all the sections of the society. For that it has to be inclusive and more apparently proportionally represented in contrast to the demographics of the particular society.

Indian Press has failed to achieve that. For this very fact often opinions and stands taken by media are considered by many people to be anti-poor. Indian Press is certainly not the mirror of the Indian Society because in composition of the Indian society, Schedule Tribes and Schedule Caste has persistently been more than twenty per cent. And their representation within all democratic institution is at its very low including the Press. So we can say that Indian press certainly not the mirror of the whole society.

This not just affects the way press functions, but moreover it also affects the way in which press thinks. Casteism has long and extending far down presence in our society and media is part of the society. To witness any radical shift, this solidified structure within media is needed to be broken. Will Indian journalists be casteless? Or, there be still need to look for handful presence of Dalits in the Indian media? Working journalists will have to find answers to these questions themselves.

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APPENDIXES

1. Caste list – TOI (May, 2016)

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