Land Grabbing:
Media discourses on land acquisition in India
and by India

Supervisor: Fredrik Movitz

Bachelor’s thesis in Sociology AOP
Department of Sociology
Uppsala University HT-2017
Shiva Shourie
Abstract

To this day, land is a source of survival for billions of people around the globe. However, industrialization and the rush for natural resources has immensely commodified land. As colonization in the past was based on the violent and forceful confiscation of lands, modern day colonialism called as neo-colonialism, operates by the domination of powerful countries over less-developed countries through economic or political influence and control. Hence, land stealing popularly known as land grabbing, in modern times is done most of the times by the native governments themselves for the national and international capitalists by adopting the strategy of neoliberalism which in simpler terms, supports privatization by allowing freedom of trade, capital and investments. Land grabbing over the last couple of years has come under utmost scrutiny as it has impacted millions of rural people in Asia and Africa. Nonetheless, this study does not aim to examine the phenomenon of land grabbing itself rather focuses on exploring how two countries- India and Ethiopia, affected by land grabbing are presented by the media. A total number of twenty-five news articles are analysed by using discourse analysis as the method, and discourse, ideology and postcolonial theory as the theoretical framework. The results drawn from the articles showed that the media presented the issue in a bold manner by unveiling the darker side of the governments and capitalism. The study served the purpose as well as the aim of comprehending the media’s understanding of the phenomenon and the entities involved in it.

Key words- Land, government, people, media, India, Ethiopia
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1. Introduction

Land, the essence of life and the source of existence for billions of people around the globe has been a matter of dispute since time immemorial. Land stealing, commonly known as land grabbing is the eccentric issue the study revolves around. Historically, the greed for land could be traced from the Roman empire to the recent British colonialism which have been associated with greed for land. The aim was to control not merely the land belonging to a country but also controlling the mind and body of the natives (Williams, M: 216). Although the twenty-first century displays the progressive side of mankind where technological inventions and advancements are leading the world, the harsh truth of greed for land still exists - but with changed objectives. Today, the predominant causes to acquire land are an ever-growing population which is putting more demand on food and biofuels, lust for natural resources, and an increasing rush for urbanization. However, it is the developing or poor nations who are facing this man-made crisis more than the developed or rich countries, as agriculture is the main source of income in such nations (Kwa, A. (2017) and loosing land is equivalent to loosing livelihood for those whose lands are dispossessed.

One such developing nation which has been going through land conflicts is India, home to 1.3 billion people, with the biggest democracy in the world, once rich and prosperous now facing challenges and threats at the hands of state as well as non-state members. The colonization of India by the British reduced the country from riches to rags (Tharoor, S :2016). Today even after 70 years of independence, the impact of plunder still exists in the form of poverty and underdevelopment in some of the regions. Although India has come out of the destitution, more than sixty percent of the Indian population still lives in rural areas and over 58 percent depend on agriculture for their livelihood (India and Importance: 2017). However, increasing rush for modernization, urbanization and infrastructural upliftment has resulted in the poor losing their land and facing displacement as a result. The process of acquiring land for this purpose is accomplished by the government itself with the help of a land bill which gives them the authority to confiscate land for “common good” purposes.

The problem of domestic land grabbing is not the only topic of concern and discussion as the Indian government has been accused of grabbing land internationally as well, particularly in Ethiopia. The driving forces behind it is however, of a disparate nature i.e. fulfilling the food demand of the burgeoning Indian population.

Ethiopia, a country where eighty-five percent of the population rely on agriculture for their livelihood, foreign company’s investment in agriculture over the last decades has jeopardized the situation of the locals (Khairo, Battese, Mullen: 2005). The natives particularly from rural areas are facing displacement and dispossession, displaying the denial of human rights to the poorest, which has made
the issue of land grabbing in Africa come under the public eye and scrutiny on an international level. The opposing and contesting viewpoints have been presented by the media, one of the powerful platforms of the 21st century, with the capability to make or break opinions. Thus, the study aims to examine the construction and interpretation of the phenomenon of land-grabbing from the media’s perspective.

1.1 Purpose
Sociology, in layman terms, is a science of society and sociologists are always interested in examining the perpetual power struggle existing in society. However, looking beyond the sociological argument of the media’s role as either constructing or representing information, it is interesting to merely examine the media’s understanding and illustration of the phenomenon, as that is what usually impacts the thinking and opinions of the readers/public. Thus, the fundamental question pursued through this study is:
How is land acquisition in India as well as by Indian Companies in Ethiopia perceived and presented by the media?

The study does not aim to examine right or wrong – fair or unfair representation of the phenomenon by media, rather it purely focuses on understanding the media’s interpretation and presentation of land grabbing.

1.2 Disposition
The thesis is divided into five parts wherein the second and the third part is devoted towards highlighting some of the previous studies done on the subject and discussing the theoretical framework, respectively. The fourth part focuses on explaining how the methodology - discourse analysis – is used in the study. The fifth part consists of presenting the results brought forward by analysing the news articles with the help of the theoretical concepts and the method, and the sixth and the final part comprises of discussions as well as conclusions drawn from the results.
2. Literature Review

This chapter focuses on presenting the various studies done on the topic of land acquisition/grabbing to expand one’s understanding of the issue.

Ownership of land has always been significant to human beings. Before explaining India’s land acquisition act and its impact, one needs to understand a global basic principle behind governments acquisition of land which is known as “Eminent Domain” in the U.S, “Compulsory Purchase” in U.K and New-Zealand, “Expropriation” in Sweden, Spain, France, Italy to name a few, and “Land Acquisition” in India and Pakistan. The principle basically gives right to governments to acquire any land or property for greater general purposes also known as common good (Ramesh & Khan, 2015:1-3). The acquisition is mostly done for infrastructural purposes for e.g., constructing roads, highways, dams etc. Thus, in most of the societies and countries the ownership of land is restricted one way or another by the state (Reynolds, 2010:6).

The outcome of such land acquisitions usually results in the displacement of people in the name of development, particularly in developing countries. In India and China, the world’s two most populous countries, millions have faced this adversity to date. According to the numbers calculated by China’s National Research Centre For Resettlement, 45 million people in the second half of the century got displaced due to development projects in China. Whereas in India the number of displaced people counted to 60 million between 1948 to 2008 (Neef & Singer: 2015). The studies even claimed that 40 percent of all the displaced people in India belonged to the tribal areas (Singh: 2016). From a broader perspective, the number of displaced people in India alone is roughly equivalent to displacing almost every single citizen in France or in the United Kingdom.

In India, as in most countries, the government provides for compensation in return for the land. However, the common belief that compensation would help towards rehabilitation is flawed as in most of the cases it is insufficient. The public secret is that the registered price of the land is usually less than 40 percent of the real or the market price, leaving the land owners with much less compensation than they deserve. Hence, the deficient money offered is usually not enough for people to re-establish and rebuild their lives again.

The unacceptance of such schemes or orders usually ends up in repression. Examples like, police firing at tribal people of the state of Orissa while protesting for the mine work, a defence officer dying in police custody protesting for Gujrat port, exposes the way the government and states exercise power to suppress people (Fernandes: 2006).
In India, the government uses land acquisition bill to acquire land from land owners. The original bill which was passed by the British in 1894 was recently replaced in 2013 by the new bill called *The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act*, with a purpose of providing higher compensation for land acquisition deals. The new act also made it difficult to buy land which was either irrigated or double cropped, and in some states the price of land went too high due to small hoardings. In a nutshell, the act directly impacted the economy (Singh: 2016). However, after the elections of 2013, the newly elected government in 2014 promulgated the ordinance and made it easier for investors to acquire land to encourage growth in the economy. Thus, the farmers and the poor, dependent on land for their livelihood once again lost to power and control (Saxena: 2015).

Along with turning independent farmers into landless labourers, the act (since 1894) in the name of development has grabbed productive land impacting food security of the country (Saxena: 2015), unfolding the other side of the land acquisition which has resulted in leasing or buying land in other countries, coomonly known as Land Grabbing (Hules, M., & Singh, S. J. : 2017). Thus, land grabbing abroad for food security is a necessity for India due to domestic land acquisition for industrialization and infrastructural improvements.

Land Grabbing is a global phenomenon. Naom Chomsky in the book *Grabbing Back* calls rich countries buying land in the global south for agricultural purposes global land grabbing. He claims it to be the control of resources of poor by the rich and dominant (Chomsky 2014: 133). Nonetheless, there are different perspectives of how land grabbing has been seen. Whereas an NGO (Non-governmental organization) called GRAIN calls foreign investors as land grabbing agents, and International Land Coalition which is joined by 116 NGOs internationally that calls it a disregard of human right laws. The World Bank, on the other hand, views leasing foreign lands as business investment (Hermele, 2012 :8).

Further, the global food crisis in 2007 and 2008 contributed to an increased land rush by either buying or leasing land, specifically in African countries. Particularly, the growing economies India and China were highly involved in International land grabbing deals. Between 2000-2010 India was the biggest land grabbing country followed by Malaysia, Indonesia, U.S.A, China and twenty more countries including Norway and Sweden (Hermele, 2012:14). (Perhaps, the impact of the food crisis was not that visible in Sweden but it was one of the triggers behind the Arab spring).

Apparently, land buying or leasing in Sub-Sahara African countries is less disputable and cheaper due to corruption as well as their weak legislation and land rights (Michael & Baumann :2016, Hermele, 2012: 25). Between 2008 and 2012, a total number of 848 land deals were made globally, out of which
there were 80 Indian companies who had invested in 65 deals, most of which were in Africa to grow food, oil-seeds and flowers etc., predominantly for the Indian domestic market. This has been possible due to the several trade and investment programs initiated by the Indian Government with Sub-Saharan African countries (Michael & Baumann :2016).

Land grabbing in Africa has its roots in Colonialism which has impacted the continent’s political, social and economic growth. As the governments in several African countries have made land available for foreign investments, the acquisition has led the locals to face resource scarcity (Cotula, 2009: 5,6). According to a study, between 2000 and 2010, at least 70-million-hectare land was grabbed globally out of which 34 million hectares belonged to Africa (Hermele, 2012: 12). From a larger viewpoint, 70-million-hectare land is roughly equivalent to one and a half size of the area belonging to Sweden. Due to increase in huge land acquisitions the native and indigenous people suffer the most, as loosing land directly affects their livelihood (Moreda: 2017). For example, a study done in Ethiopian regions found that land usually gets transferred to the investors by being framed as underutilized or unoccupied, which questions the identification process of the land by the authorities (Moreda: 2017). There is also a misconception of land being abundant or unused in most of the Sub Sahara African countries as the user’s claim to land being used go unrecognized because of the limited land rights of the natives (Cotula,2009:100).

The abundant facts and figures provided by the researchers as well as NGOs assert that the topic has been extensively researched and written about in the academic world. Thus, by analysing the media’s interpretation of the phenomenon, the study would present how the issue is discussed by the media for the general public. In order to do so, it is essential and beneficial to theoretically frame the issue using the concepts of discourse, ideology and postcolonial studies. The upcoming part of the study focuses on explaining these concepts and their relevance for the study.
3. Theoretical Framework

In this part of the thesis, the theories and concepts used to examine the news articles are discussed and explained. Theories provide a particular perspective to examine as well as investigate an issue. As Phillips and Jorgensen (2002, p. 22) rightly mentions in their book “It is by seeing the world though a particular theory that we can distance ourselves from some of our taken-for-granted understanding and subject our material to other questions than we would be able to do from an everyday perspective”. Hence, the theoretical framework does not only guide and explain what is examined but also test and broaden the existing knowledge. The concepts and the theory used in this study includes: Discourse, Ideology, and Postcolonial theory. It is supposed that by using these particular concepts and theory, a broader understanding of the media’s presentation of the phenomenon would deconstruct how media view’s and represents the issue. The research query the study focuses on is: How is land-grabbing in India and by Indian Companies in Africa, perceived and presented by the media? The sub-question which helped in answering the question is: which deep rooted ideologies could be extracted by analysing the text with the help of theoretical framework?

3.1 Discourse

Different scholars and thinkers have defined the term discourse in various ways. Norman Fairclough with a sociolinguistic background defines discourses as wherein “language is structured according to different patterns that people’s utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002:1). On the other hand, Michel Foucault defines discourse as constitutive and productive. He believes discourses are constitutive as they construct a distinct interpretation of subjects or events, and are productive as they establish what truth is at particular moments (Dobers & Springett: 2010). In this study discourses are understood by combining both the scholar’s interpretation of a discourse i.e. the way language is structured and articulated to construct and produce the knowledge about the phenomenon of land grabbing and the entities involved in it. Examining discourses was considered beneficial for the study as it was believed that it will unfold how common knowledge or beliefs are created through media’s discussions.

Further, finding and analysing discourses not only brings focus on what is being discussed but also highlights it’s binary opposite i.e. the parts or topics which are not discussed or brought forward in a discussion. This characteristic of discourse was viewed as similar to Steven Lukes’s (2005) second dimension/face of power. According to Lukes, power is multi-dimensional and has three faces. Whereas the first face of power is held by elites through attaining the compliance of their decision, the third face of power sees the control through authority and manipulation. However, the second face of power signifies the power of setting an agenda i.e. the power to decide what would be discussed or
not-discussed, the issues and the potential issues (Lukes, 2005: 28, 29). Thus, discourses from this perspective reveals media’s power of setting the agenda in terms of what and how an issue is presented in the articles.

3.2 Ideologies

Ideologies and discourses go hand in hand. Whereas a discourse is an oral explanation and interpretation, ideologies are the ideas behind those explanations. However, not all discourses necessarily depend upon ideologies i.e. a discourse can be constructed without supporting an ideology, but ideologies are always expressed through discourses. Historically, the term Ideology has had many interpretations and has gone from a purely negative connotation to a more neutral one. Ideologies in general are seen as a source through which dominant groups exercise power over subordinate groups by creating ideas and values which reflect the former’s interest. In simpler terms, ideologies are particular idea or ideals which form a characteristic or a belief of a group or individual. Ideologies are expressed both explicitly and implicitly. Whereas explicit ideologies are detected easily, implicit ones are concealed in less-visible structures of discourses (Dijk, 2000: 42). In this study, ideologies would be understood as a specific fundamental belief or a viewpoint of a group or individual. It was reckoned as vital to look for and analyse ideologies in the study, as they can pinpoint why societies/institutions/individuals seem the way they do. Thus, the aim to detect ideologies in the articles was purely to understand the hidden ideas and beliefs the discussions point at or refer to.

3.3 Postcolonial theory

As the issue of land grabbing is strongly viewed by the Indian and international media, the application of postcolonial theory to examine the articles was considered to bring another perspective to the study.

Post colonialism is a literary theory which seeks European colonization of countries around the world, it’s impacts on disparate facets of the lives of the colonized people, and it’s expression and appearance in western literature and philosophical tradition. In other words, it explains the status of the local population in their native land after the foreign domination has ceased. It aims to focus on the subtle but discriminating subject creation in colonial discourses. Although the theory’s application originally inclined towards aiming at cultural production of such societies, it is getting extensively used in historical, political and sociological examinations as these fields carried on studying the consequences of imperialism (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007: 168-171). Post colonialism includes a wide range of theoretical and critical concepts which aids towards analysing culture, literature, politics and history of former colonies. However, the concepts believed to be useful for this study include- Orientalism, Neo-colonialism and Mimicry.

Edwards Said’s concept of orientalism from postcolonial theory is essentially rooted in deceptive
images of the Orient or the east which was and is built up by western poets, novelists, philosophers, economists etc. According to Said, the western interpretation of the eastern image has always displayed a primitive and uncivilized “other” in order to form a contrast to the civilized west. He claims that “Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between “the orient” and “the occident” wherein the orient (people from the east) is seen and considered as primitive and backward by the occident (people from the west). Further, he asserts that it is a misconception that such frights finished with the ending of colonialism. Rather, he claims the impact still exists, affecting many countries (ibid:151-155).

Mimicking is a term which “describes the ambivalent relationship between colonizer and colonized”. Mimicry takes place when colonial discourses influence the colonized to mimic or copy the colonizer by imitating and adopting the colonizer’s cultural practices, beliefs, institutions or principles. In other words, mimicry could be understood as copying the attributes of the person or people in power (colonizer) by hoping that one (colonized) could achieve the same. However, the results of mimicry often come out as a threatening blurred copy of the colonizer (ibid:124-127).

The term neo-colonialism, lastly, is extensively used to “refer to any and all forms of control of the ex-colonies after political independence” (ibid:146). The term in recent times is associated more with the new emerging super powers for their role in exercising control over developing countries. In other words, it is the implementation of capitalism by the rich and super power nations to succumb the developing nations due to their inability to develop an independent and self-sufficient economic and political existence due to the increased pressure of globalization (ibid:146-147). However, fundamentally the concept in the postcolonial theory is understood as powerful nations controlling the previously colonized nation- politically, culturally or economically, in short indirectly after the nation’s independence.

Taken together, these concepts from post-colonial theory were believed would help to frame the issue of land-grabbing as they emphasise on examining the impact of colonialism on once colonized nations as well as the western view of perceiving them. It is well-known that Ethiopia was able to prevent colonization. But since the issue focuses essentially on India which has a colonized past, the theory was used to broaden one’s understanding of the media’s interpretation of the phenomenon through it’s approach.

This part focused on explaining and discussing the relevance of using discourse, ideology as well as concepts from postcolonial theory as the theoretical framework for the study. It is believed that taken together the concepts would deconstruct media’s perception and presentation of the phenomenon. The upcoming part of the thesis focuses on discussing the methodological approach, it’s strengths as well as limitations.
4. Methodological framework

This part of the thesis revolves around discussing the material as well as the methodology used for the analysis. It highlights the sampling and selecting criteria of the chosen articles, explains the method of discourse analysis, and pinpoints its strengths as well as weaknesses.

4.1 Method-Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is not a single approach rather a series of interdisciplinary approaches which is used to study different domains under different studies (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002:1). In discourse analysis, the focus is not paid on examining right or wrong rather the analyst focuses on identifying patterns in the text and the discursive description of reality as its consequences (ibid, 2002:21).

In other words, discourse analysis discloses the relationship between representation and reality (Wetherell, Taylor, Yates, 2001:i). Some of the famous approaches used under the method of discourse analysis are Discursive theory, Discursive Psychology, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Michael Foucault’s Discourse Analysis. In this thesis, Textual Analysis (from three-dimensional model) for carrying out Critical discourse analysis by Norman Fairclough is used as methodology.

As not all readers are familiar with critical discourse analysis, a brief description is offered. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has its roots in Critical linguistics which has a purpose of revealing how language and grammar are used as ideological instruments. There are no absolute or one precise method of doing CDA rather varied critical approaches by a variety of different authors are labelled as CDA. Critical discourse analysis begins with social issues and problems (Fairclough, 2001:230) and helps in analysing text, interactions and any kind of semiotic material which is considered as a resource to examine changes taking place in social lives (ibid:227). It is critical in terms that it uncovers the obscure way language is used in social relations concerning power and domination (ibid:229).

For the study, Fairclough’s text analysis method from his three-dimensional model is used. The three-dimensional model includes analysing a. text, b. discursive practices, and c. social practices. 

**Discursive Practice** focuses on the production and consumption of texts i.e. how authors create a text using existing discourses and genres (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002:67), and how those at the receiving end use available discourses and genres to consume as well as interpret the texts (ibid:69). **Social Practice** - There are two aspects to contextualization of social practices: a. seeking a relationship between the discursive practice and its order of discourse, and b. pinpointing the non-discursive, social and cultural relations as well as structures that form the broader context of the discursive practices (ibid:86). However, as mentioned above the study will only use text analysis of three-dimensional model as it suits the requirements of the study.
Text analysis concentrates on examining the linguistics of a text such as vocabulary, grammar, syntax and sentence coherence with the help of which - discourses are recognized (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002:69). Fairclough claims, texts have causal effects i.e. they have the ability to bring changes in people’s knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, values etc. (Fairclough, 2003: 8). He suggests using several tools such as words, metaphors, grammar, genres, representation of events etc. to analyse a text (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002:83, Fairclough, 2003: 124). He considers transitivity and modality as important grammatical tools to bring forward deeper interpretations of any text. However, as both transitivity and modality works best on shorter texts, and this study involves analysing 25 articles, these grammatical tools were not utilized as a part of the method and instead focus was paid on analysing how words, metaphors, phrases are used to represent the actors, processes or circumstances. Further, discourse does not only comprise of text in terms of written and spoken language but can include images as well. And since images were a part of the material that was analysed, it contributed to an understanding of the discourses at display.

For this study, method of discourse analysis was found most suitable and appropriate as it allows to attain a comprehensive view of a situation or a problem.

4.2 Method for Selecting the Material
The study focuses on examining two levels of land grabbing- national and international (as they could be seen as inter-connected). The topic of land grabbing is of sensitive nature and since the term itself has a negative connotation, the term land acquisition (a legally accepted term) was also looked up in the search engine to find more neutral results. A total number of twenty - five articles were chosen by searching the words ‘Land Acquisition in India’ and ‘Land grabbing or acquisition by India in Africa’ in the web search engine- google on the internet. Land acquisition by Indian government brought over five million results whereas Land grabbing by India in Africa gave over three million results. The results included a huge number of scholarly articles which highlighted how the phenomenon is discussed in academia and thus had to be eliminated from the selection. The articles were selected from the first couple of pages of the search engine as most of the article found on the later pages discussed either politics or focused on issues irrelevant for the study. A total number of 40 articles were chosen as representative of the issue but as 15 out of them appeared to be duplicates in terms of following same story with similar words, they were removed. Thus, the selection of the articles was made purposive and not random. As the previous researches done on the topic only portray the issue in a negative light, it has to be asserted that there was no bias while looking for and selecting the articles. Thus, affirming emphatically, it is not the selection of the articles but the phenomenon itself which gave the results presented in the next part.
The selected articles are from both the web edition of the newspapers as well as only online news websites, and most of them are from the daily news section part. In terms of timeline, the articles published in last eight years were chosen, merely because it was around that time the food crisis had hit the globe and land grabbing had come under major public scrutiny. The articles were selected mostly from the popular websites assuming more readership means impact and influence on more reader’s perspectives. There is a possibility that some articles presenting a different viewpoint were overlooked due to time constraint but nothing from the previous researches done on the issue indicates that any major perspective is missed regarding the discussions around the topic.

There were two portrayals found in the articles based on land acquisition done domestically by the government in India and one revolving around the Indian involvement in land grabbing in Ethiopia. Each portrayal/narrative was seen as representing a theme, thus three themes emerged from the news articles. Themes were chosen on the basis of either word repetition in the articles or the way they highlighted issues. The articles were categorized as informative, analytical or opinionated. Informative articles were those which presented information without any interpretation and with some quotes, analytical articles presented and interpreted information without having the writer participate in suggestions, and in opinionated articles apart from presenting information in the articles the writers were taking a stand in the debate. The results were drawn by categorising how entities and the phenomenon are described and the way spoken discussion unveils the unspoken.

4.3 Strengths and Challenges of the Method

Discourse Analysis is considered beneficial in revealing power relations. It does not only focus on language used in a text but also interprets it beyond the sentences. In other words, it does not only focus on analysing what’s discussed but also considers the social and historical context of the discussion. It’s another strength is that it can be applied at any given time and place. Further, it reveals the hidden motives behind a text and allows the analyst to have a higher position and a broader understanding to achieve an extensive view of the problem.

The challenges one faces while using discourse analysis is that the variety of methods and approaches bring their own understanding of discourse as well as discourse analysis making the concept perplexed at times. Another negative aspect of discourse analysis could be that it does not provide definite or concrete solutions to the problems. It can take huge amount of effort and time. Further, when it comes to discourse analysis one cannot claim to have found an objective reality, as the results are based upon subjective interpretations (Fairclough, 2001:12).
4.4 Limitations
The study is analytical in nature and does not aspire or intend to either identify or discover cause of the phenomenon. Nor does it aim to blame or shame institutions, countries or people it mentions. The sole aim here is to understand how media a powerful medium through which people get information around the world, perceives the phenomenon.

4.5 Ethical considerations
The Swedish research council presents ethical guidelines to be followed by all the researchers wherein the basic requirements that needs to be followed by the researchers are: consent, confidentiality and information utilization. As the empirical material used in this study was published online on news websites, it was believed getting approval or maintaining confidentiality about the websites or the people they wrote about, was not needed. However, in this case, ethical consideration was seen by presenting the views of those in the articles in a fair and unbiased way i.e. by not misrepresenting them or their views.

In this part of the thesis, the procedure for selecting the articles, the method of discourse analysis, it’s strengths and weaknesses, and its relevance for the study were discussed. The next part of the study brings forward the results found by analysing the articles with the help of theoretical framework as well as the method.
5. Results

This part of the study focuses on presenting the results that were drawn by applying the method of text discourse analysis with the conceptual framework of discourse, ideology as well as three concepts from the postcolonial theory-orientalism, mimicry and neo-colonialism. The purpose is to look for answers for the research question this study revolves around i.e. How is land grabbing in India and by Indian companies perceived and presented by the media? As mentioned in the methodology section, three themes emerged from the articles wherein each theme represented a narrative/portrayal about the phenomenon and the entities involved in it. Whereas domestic land-grabbing in India brought forward the themes of “Injustice” and “Development”, Indian land-grabbing in Ethiopia highlighted “Exploitation” as the central theme. The articles belonging to each theme are analysed by finding and highlighting discourses i.e. how the phenomenon and the entities are discussed in terms of vocabulary and visuals and later each discourse is further analysed by using the concepts from postcolonial theory as well as the concept of ideology.

5.1 Injustice

The articles found under this theme were both analytical and opinionated. The articles discussed injustice to the poor by the Indian government as their fundamental discussion topic, and articulated a number of discourses. The discourses were detected by looking at the way government and other entities involved in the phenomenon were discussed in terms of text as well as visual presentation. The common discourses related to land grabbing in India revolved around government, corporates, land owners and land.

The dominant discourse in the articles under this theme was noticed as constructing an image of the government as ruthless, deceptive and fraudulent. Some of the articles alleged this in their very headlines such as ‘Central Government Illegally Grabbing Forest Land and Displacing Forest Dweller’, ‘How the government steals tribal land’. The discourse is composed by claiming the government acquiring land “illegally” from tribal and forest dwellers who have their rights protected by law in the form of The Forest Rights Acts, “forcefully” as land was grabbed without the consent of at least 80 percent of the people affected by acquisition and “disguised” as people were often offered infertile land in exchange. The land acquisition act requires social impact assessment to be done before carrying on with any project however, most of the articles asserted that often the assessment was not carried out. In the articles, words such as brutal, merciless, corrupt, untrustworthy, failed and unjust were noticed as supporting the discourse. The words in themselves show a strong dislike towards the system and the government. Whereas Brutal and Merciless are strongly negative as they connote the violent and inhumane side of the government, Corrupt, Untrustworthy, Failed and Unjust
reflected the moral side which could be implied as greedy, manipulative, and unfair. Furthermore, phrases and expressions with a negative connotation such as – “naked reality behind acquisition”, “from cajoling to repression”, “plundering of natural resources”, “25 years of neoliberal onslaught” were interpreted as adding a dramatic impact on readers about manipulation and treachery done by the government for so long.

The picture shown above was found in one of the articles discussing the issue and its impact. The visual is interpreted as supporting the discourse as it digitally portrayed the phenomenon by showing hooks with banners of Govt Land grabbing the land. It depicted the image of government as powerful, strong and authoritative. The land owners however as shown in the picture were seen as helpless and powerless victims who are forced to watch their destitution in front of their own eyes. Hence, the discourse in terms of image as well presented a powerful but a negative side of the government.

Examining the discourse by the postcolonial theory, the concept of Mimicking was traced. As the theory pinpoints, mimicking takes place when a colonized imbibes the traits or characteristics of its colonizer, which results in a blurred or threatening copy of the colonizer. The Indian government was seen as mimicking the British (ex-colonizer) by using system and power. However, whereas the British used power and manipulation to benefit their country and maintain the strength of the British Empire, the government of India is seen as using the same to encourage capitalism through the traits of forgery and treachery. The concepts of discourse and mimicking suggest the government showing the traits that resemble authoritarianism, which in this scenario would mean a small number of people or group of leaders holding power and demanding obedience to the authority by citizens. Ideologically, the discourse highlights a contradictory political system being used against the poor, even when they have their rights constitutionally protected. In a democracy, the elected representatives are supposed to listen as well as respond to the needs of the people. But from the articles one notices that instead of citizens being the sovereign, the state and the governments have taken up the role of the sovereign (particularly in the case of poor and helpless). The authoritarian ideology was apparent by the manner the government is shown as using its power, and demanding docility from the poor.
Another discourse which was seen as a continued part of the first one- is the government’s alliance with corporates and industrialists. The articles claimed that the government acquires more land than it usually need for various infrastructure projects such as expressways, highways, airports etc. and hand over the extra land to the capitalists for building malls, townships and hotels. The discourse is constructed by alleging the government for buying the land at a “cheaper price” from the land owners and handing it to the real estate developers who later sell the same land at “rocket high prices”, making it a disadvantaged deal for the original owners. For example, one of the articles stated:

*It is crystal clear that it is not only an airport that is the aim here. The excess land is going to be used for capitalist plunder – real estate projects, five star hotels, and malls. All this is specifically for the elite who can bear the cost of flights regularly. The original residents of this place – the farmers and their descendants – are going to have no place here. (Article- India: struggle against land grab (2017)).*

The article from which these statements are cited mentions in detail the costs and the huge profits that were made from the various infrastructure projects in the past. It reveals the way governments use the power of land act to snatch land from the poor and attract capitalists to invest in projects. The writer of the article voiced his/her opinion by making assertive claims that the government acquisition of the land does not support public good, rather it’s a scam done for capitalists by destituting the poor and maintaining the superiority of the rich and elite by creating facilities which would only be used by the upper classes. And the poor and their children have no place in such places. Thus, the statement was understood as highlighting the discourse.

By analysing the discourse with the postcolonial theory, the act of mimicking was noticed again. It could be explained by asserting - whereas the traditional colonizer looted and plundered for the benefit of their native countries and people, the government was shown as stealing from their own people for favoring a limited segment of society. It portrays a bitter truth of today’s world where rich and powerful gets importance and privileges, and poor gets treated as second class citizens (unimportant and side-lined). The discourse as well as the post-colonial theory shows that the government as supporting the neo-liberal ideology. Neoliberalism is an economic model which focuses on encouraging privatization (with less involvement of the state) and free-trade. However, by applying the model in a ruthless manner through snatching land from the poor questions the integrity of the government. It makes the reader wonder how is modernization and industrialization going to help a nation if it is not going to benefit the poor (majority of its population).

Further, a discourse about rural and tribal people being victims of land acquisition is discussed by most of the articles. The articles claimed rural/tribal/forest people being prey to the hands of system.
In other words, the rural and tribal people were represented as victims. The discourse is composed by describing the poor as “weak”, “entrapped”, “forced”, “threatened”, “subjugated”, “suppressed”, “vulnerable”, “prey”, “immiserated”. The terminology used by the media does not only present a miserable picture of the poor but also highlights the media as sympathetic towards them. In one of the articles the writer even put forward his/her views empathetically by creating a dialogue with the readers by stating: “Which one of us would give up our flats for development? We insist that others, who are unwilling but weak, make all the sacrifices on our behalf”. ([Article-How the government steals tribal land (2016)].

These were the opening as well as the finishing statements of the news article where the writer rhetorically asked the readers to put themselves in the situation of the poor. The discourse on poor being the victims, is supported by presenting a darker but perhaps more truthful side of the society in general as it expresses that’s it’s the poor and vulnerable who are often expected to make the sacrifices for the sake of the wealthy. The statement was noted as questioning the inhumane side of mankind which feels completely fine as long as the suffering is not endured by themselves.

*Land acquisition laws of India (2012).*

The image above is taken from one of the article which not only highlighted the miserable condition of the poor but also claimed that they are not against infrastructural development. The picture was interpreted as being aligned with the discourse of poor as victims and leading a miserable life. The image represents the physically hard and struggle-filled life led by farmers in today’s day and age, and still getting exploited by the system.

Edward Said’s concept of orientalism was traced in the basic understanding of the discourse. The depiction of the poor getting marginalized was understood in terms of poor seen as the orient (inferior) and the government behaving as occident i.e. the government was seen as upholding the role of the superior by perceiving the poor as subordinate and insignificant. However, the theory denotes the occident hailing from west and the orient from the east and since in this scenario both the orient (the
superior) as well as the occident (the inferior) belonged to the same country, the results did not align with the theory as the theory. The results will be discussed further in the discussion part of the study. Apart from media being sympathetic towards the poor, no ideological viewpoint was noticed as emerging from the discourse.

Examining the articles under this theme from the other dimension i.e. the undiscussed aspect of the discourse, it was noted that the articles presented strongly negative views and opinions about the government, and avoided mentioning how land acquisition act has helped the country after independence through industrialization. The articles refrained from discussing about the modern infrastructural amenities like malls, airports and sports centres used by millions of people in India. Thus, the apparent discourses not only highlighted media’s perception but also shed light on completely avoided side of the story.

5.2 Development

The articles under this theme explicitly as well as implicitly focused on the positive and developmental side of the land acquisition. The articles were categorized as both informative and analytical but not opinionated i.e. the writers were not taking any stand in the issue (contrary to the first theme where the writers openly presented their opinions). The discourses at play under this theme revolved around government’s measures towards infrastructural improvements, development and farmers being satisfied with the compensation. The articles presented and quoted government officials discussing the phenomenon. The narrative was understood as implying the government as concerned and trying to perform it’s best for the progress of the country. However, as the highlight of the discussion was the way development projects were discussed by emphasising the “current government and their actions”, political propaganda and self-promotion was vividly noticed in the discourse.

![Image]( Higher land acquisition pay-out boosts road construction pace (2016).)

In all the articles, a strong discourse is created by linking land acquisition with infrastructural improvements of the country. The image shown above is part of an article which emphasised on the positive impact of land acquisition, as it helped the government to improve the infrastructure of the
country like building roads and highways. The picture was understood as supporting the discourse through visually presenting fulfilment of a public purpose for acquiring land from the farmers. Moreover, it shows men and women working together which was interpreted as promoting gender equality at work. In short, the image was seen as a visual evidence for publicing the government’s efforts towards bringing improvements in both urban and rural areas.

Examining the discourse with the postcolonial theory, mimicry was traced in the government’s quest for development. In one of the articles which discussed highly of the infrastructural improvement as a gateway to development, a political official was noted stating that “future lies in brain and not agriculture intensive jobs”. The statement was mentioned in the context of highlighting reasons behind the success of western countries. It was interpreted as implicitly justifying that land acquisition is necessary to create jobs. The sentence displays the perception or the misperception of brain or technological jobs being important for the future as compared to agriculture. The official argued for it by claiming the west following the same model. Thus, it was viewed as mimicry from the postcolonial theory’s perspective i.e. the colonized is shown as mimicking the colonizer and as Britain is a part of Europe and the articles mentioned European countries as a role model, the result was seen as aligned with the theory.

Ideologically, the discourse and the postcolonial theory brought forward diverse ideologies. Wherein the ideology of self-propagation was noted in terms of influencing the reader about the positive and development measures taken by the government, the viewpoint of emphasising brain oriented or technological jobs and considering agriculture to be least important for the economy highlighted technological utopianism as the supported ideology of the government officials. Although, technological advancements have extensively changed the outlook of the world but fortunately or unfortunately human beings still rely on farming and agriculture for food - the basic necessity for survival. Thus, the idea of replacing agricultural jobs with technological or knowledge based ones questions the rather illogical suggestion or idea put forward by those who hold the power.

Further, the discourse changes into the way land plays a crucial role in development projects. The discourse is constructed by highlighting how land acquisition has become a hindrance towards development projects, and due to which government is facing land scarcity for such programmes. The discourse is further developed by comparing India with western countries and relating it to India’s global image. The sentences such as “if India has to become equally good as European countries”, “our progress will send the right signal to the west” were seen as not only supporting the discourse but also marked as creating the identities of “the orient” (the inferior) and “the occident” (the superior) from Edward Said’s concept of Orientalism. However, in this scenario, the orient (the government officials) was noticed as looking down upon their own self by viewing the occident (European
countries) as superior to them. It highlighted a stereotypical picture where the developing nations view development and progress from the definition and standards set by the west. In other words, they have bought into the idea that the west is superior to them. However, the result was not in agreement with the theoretical concept’s perspective and would be discussed in the discussion part of the study.

In terms of Ideology, development emerged not only as the theme of the article but is also presented as government’s ideal to achieve for the betterment of the country. However, the specified reasons by the officials such as progress would attain respect from west are highly disputable. In other words, it could be argued that their focus is not on developing the nation for the sake of the nation but rather showing the world that we are equally good. Thus, even though the government is understood as supporting development ideologically, the aim presented behind it - is questionable.

Further, there is a shift in the discourse from land and government to the farmers where it is claimed that no forceful land acquisitions are done by the government, rather the government is offering the land owners higher compensation in exchange for their lands. The discourse is produced by stressing the words such as “increased”, “maximum”, “four times the price”, “high pay out” for compensation. Two of the articles even claimed farmers were happy to accept the compensation. Hence, the articles and the discourse portrays a positive image of the land acquisition by claiming farmers being happy and satisfied.

The image above was taken from the article which discussed higher compensation being paid out to the land owners. The picture was seen as a perfect representation of the discourse. The picture shows an old farmer holding a tool in one hand and a radio in another. The man is not shown performing any work and looks relaxed, which is a contrast to the pictures shown in the theme “injustice” where people were shown either working or being stressed over losing their lands. The discourse in terms of both text and picture make it visible that the purpose or the agenda of such articles is to inform the general public that there are no illegal land acquisition and land owners are paid higher compensations for their land. The discourse could not be analysed by applying the concepts from post colonial theory. However, from an ideological point of view, the discourse demonstrated “win-win ideology” as held by the government. In simpler terms, the government is presented doing a trade of getting hold of land in return for money and development. In other words, win-win attitude/belief which could be
understood as resonableness and impartiality, is portrayed as the ideological foundation of the government’s actions.

Examining the non-discussed aspect of the discourses, it was marked that the articles did not mention anything about displacement that is usually followed by land acquisition. Another issue which was avoided in the discussion was what the farmers are going to do after they have sold their lands and run out of money. Thus, the focus of the articles presenting development as the outcome of land acquisition was noted as portraying a fair and good image of the government but a rather partial image of the development.

5.3 Exploitation

The articles under this theme were informative, analytical as well as opinionated. Amongst the discourses that emerged from the articles related with land grabbing done by Indian companies in Ethiopia, the dominant discourses were India’s inability to grow food for its burgeoning population which has resulted into the abuse of indigenous people of Ethiopia by Indian Companies who are supported by the Indian government. The food and biofuels were claimed as the major objective behind land grabbing by Indian Companies in Ethiopia. The dominant discourse – India being responsible is constructed by using phrases as “India’s role”, “Indian land grab”, “India joins the rush” “India liable for” “India is accountable”. The discourse was noted as creating a negative image of the whole nation i.e. instead of accusing Indian companies or governments, the articles erratically mentioned India (the country) as the central actor being involved in the phenomenon and thus, implicitly blaming the whole nation and its citizens. Further, Indian companies were represented as apathetic and indifferent towards human rights and the impact of such investments was claimed as exploitation and repression of the poor. Metaphors and expressions such as “daylight robbery”, “cherry-picking weaker countries”, “modern piracy” and “food pirates” were used to highlight the Indian investors and the farmers and the poor were claimed as “exploited”, “repressed” and “more vulnerable”. Thus, the words, metaphors and expressions present the Investors as playing a foul play.

The images are taken from two different articles from theguardian.com (2011) (2013).
The images above show Ethiopian people working in farms. The pictures were noticed as supporting the discourse by helping the reader to have a visual image of Ethiopians working to grow food which would later be exported to India. The pictures do not imply it on their own, but with the help of texts provided in the article. The visuals were noted as indicating that there is enough food in Ethiopia but still the local people are dying of hunger. Thus, with the help of the visuals and the text together a sympathetic condition of the Ethiopian people was marked as supporting the discourse of abuse.

Further, the discourse continues by media discussing India and the Indian system by stating “countries like India and China joins the process”, “developing country itself”, “Indian farming is dominated by bullock cart transport”, describing Indian system as “slow and cumbersome”. The discourse when seen through the concepts of postcolonial theory, could be analysed by Edward Said’s concept of Orientalism. Since the articles were from western media, the remarks found in the articles presents the image of “the orient” and “the occident” created by the media. The expressions such as “developing country itself” and “countries like India” clearly showed the occident’s (the European press” having low opinion of “the orient” (India). The remarks on Indian farming and transport system such as – “bullock cart” transport and “slow and cumbersome system” is noticed as portraying a typical picture of the orient (east) being poor, backward and primitive. Unarguably, the bullock cart system still exists in underdeveloped regions of the country but by generalising it as the commonest way of transport for farmers in the whole nation, the article unveils the presence of orientalism according to which a typical perception of the west of east is primitive and backward.

Examining the discourse with the postcolonial theory, the presence of the concepts of neo-colonialism and orientalism was marked. The postcolonial theory explains neo-colonialism does not involve using power the way it used to be under traditional colonialism, rather it involves using economic or cultural influence on controlling the weaker nation and since Ethiopia’s economy is presented as dependent on foreign investments, it would not be wrong to claim Indian investors practicing neo-colonialism there. The economic influence of Indian companies over Ethiopia as alleged by the media, is supported by loans and subsidies from the Indian government. Thus, the Indian government is being held as equally responsible for encouraging such a situation.

The discourse on Indian companies and the government as culprits indicate them of holding neo-colonialism as ideology which demonstrates that it is not difficult to succumb another nation with the help of trade and policies. It highlights stronger nations do not have to physically colonize a country to exploit it for its resources. However, another ideology which emerges from media’s perception of Indian system - is western supremacy, which simply means western people’s perception of being superior to people from the east.
Further, the discourse shifts to the Ethiopian government’s involvement in the issue. The discourse is constructed by the articles claiming that the Ethiopian government plays a role in the exploitation of the poor by encouraging foreign investments. However, in some articles the Ethiopian government was not accused as much or equally. They focused on discussing Indian investors and government’s participation. Some of the articles were noticed as using phrases such as “to some extent”, “to an extent” in the context of Ethiopian government’s involvement. The simpler understanding of which would be that Ethiopian government is held only partly and not equally accountable for its people’s condition. This sheds light upon the media’s paradoxical and distorted viewpoint, as it is simply impossible to exploit any nation or its resources without it’s government’s involvement and approval.

Due to the restrictions of the postcolonial theory being only applicable on the countries which have been colonized before, the discourse could not be analysed by it. While extracting ideologies from the discourse, the Ethiopian government was noticed as supporting the ideology of neoliberalism by encouraging free markets and privatization. Hence, even in the case of Ethiopia, neoliberalism is seen as being used as a model to boost and improve the economy. However, the developing or poor nations supporting such an ideology makes one wonder if privatization and capitalism is really required in such countries, as from what has been reported by the media, the poor are evidently considered as a lamb to the slaughter/easy sacrifices, by governments and capitalists.

In terms of non-discussed aspects of the discourse, the articles entirely avoided to mention if there have been improvements in the Ethiopian economy due to such trades. They even refrained from mentioning if poverty has increased or decreased in the country since the arrival of foreign companies. Thus, the focus or the agenda under this theme was noticed as discussing exploitation of the poor in Ethiopia by the Indian companies.

In a nutshell, all three themes were believed to be driven by certain agendas. Whereas in the Indian context, the Indian media was noticed as taking sides i.e. either positive or negative about land acquisition, the European media was seen as lashing out at Indian companies and government for grabbing land in Ethiopia. The concept of discourse and postcolonial theory highlighted various ideologies supported by the governments and the media. In other words, the analysis of the articles uncovered media’s take on the issue by interpreting the discussed as well as the non-discussed issues.
6. Discussion

The results drawn from the chosen articles brings forward the media’s representation of land acquisition/grabbing allegedly committed by the Indian Government and Investors domestically and abroad. In the domestic land acquisition context, two contrasting themes named “injustice” and “development” in the results, whereas only one theme “exploitation” emerged in the Ethiopian context since the media was of similar views.

In domestic land acquisition, the negative and the more dominant narrative from the theme “injustice” reckoned the government as anti-poor and pro-capitalists/elite. Analysis of the articles helped in highlighting the discourses which consequently showed the media condemning the government as blameworthy for forcefully and illegally grabbing land from the farmers to encourage capitalism. There were various ideologies which emerged under this theme, but the government supporting neoliberalism could be considered as the prominent and dominant one. On the other hand, in the articles from the positive theme “development” the government was shown as advocating the land acquisition as beneficial for the progress of the country. The theoretical framework aided in drawing disparate ideologies. Whereas the concept of discourse in terms of what is discussed and how it is discussed unveiled the ideologies of development and self-propagation by the government. The postcolonial theory pointed at the ideology of technological utopianism behind the ideology of development. The articles found under the third theme “exploitation” representing the Ethiopian land grabbing were published by international media and the ideologies drawn by detecting and analysing the texts through discourse and postcolonial theory emphasised Ethiopian government holding neo-liberal ideology whereas the Indian government as supporting neo-colonialism as ideology.

Nonetheless, answering the research question - the media was noticed as opposing the Investors and governments greatly for ruining and devastating the lives of rural people in both the countries. Neoliberalism, development and neo-colonialism were the dominant ideologies that the analysis brought forward. Comparing and contrasting the ideologies, one could assert that all three could be seen as interconnected i.e. they were seen as impacting and inducing each other. Whereas in the Indian context neoliberalism (which encourages privatization and a minimal role of state in the economy) was depicted as a medium for development of the country, the same model (neoliberalism) in the Ethiopian context was seen as inducing neo-colonialism (control of less-developed nation’s economy).
A deeper contemplation beyond what’s discussed (in the articles and the results above) indicates globalization as a major contributor to land acquisition/grabbing. Advances in technology has made the world globally connected today, and globalization is often related with the notion of development (particularly for the developing or the poor nations). However, for that goal development needs to be understood from a peculiar perspective first, as is explained by Amartya Sen in his book *Development as Freedom* where he states, “Development requires major source of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or overactivity of repressive states” (2001: 3). Although both India and Ethiopia are presented as pursuing development, but their purpose and approach are of an entirely conflicting nature, as no country can be developed where social welfare of the needed are neglected and rejected by their own state, government or people.

Reverting to the theoretical framework used in the study, the combination of discourse, ideology and postcolonial theory presented a much broader understanding and representation of the phenomenon. Analysing the articles with the help of discourse (as one of the concepts), representations done by the media were aligned with the previous research. It showed how development discourse used by the Indian government has resulted in creating disastrous impacts in India in the form of food insecurity (Saxena: 2015), and has resulted in land leasing in Ethiopia and thus negatively effecting the lives of Ethiopian people as well (Hules, M., & Singh, S. J. : 2017).

However, looking at the power of discourses in terms of discussed and non-discussed topics in the articles, the results showed the way strong and powerful discourses are pushed forward in the articles by focusing on particular agendas which in this case was showing either positive or negative aspects of the entities or the phenomenon. For instance, the articles viewing land grabbing immoral only discussed it’s impact on the poor and did not mention how infrastructural progress like highways, airports, roads etc. have eased the lives of both the rich as well as the poor. Further, comparing the representation of the Ethiopian narrative under the theme “exploitation” with the world bank’s assessment review of poverty in Ethiopia, which claims there has been poverty reduction from 44 to 30 percent since 2000 due to foreign agricultural investment, one notices how various positive results or facts are left out while focusing on and constructing negative discourses (Ethiopia: Poverty Assessment, The World Bank Data). In the same manner, the articles on development did not mention how the poor will survive once the compensation money is consumed, or how the farmers will fend for their families without farming since they do not possess the skills to perform other jobs. The concept of discourse not only aided in a holistic understanding of the articles but also assisted in extracting the ideologies hidden in the text. Ideologies as Van Dijk (2000) assert, are the influences in talks and texts (Van Dijk, 2000: 5) and thus, by detecting ideologies behind the discourses, it became possible to understand the perspectives and believes behind the discussions in the news articles.
Further, the postcolonial theory- the third key concept/theory, opened the dimensions of understanding
the representation of the phenomenon from a larger perspective as it allowed to view the existence of
modern day colonialism and showed the impact of India’s colonization lingering in India as well as
west. However, it is crucial to point at the theory’s limitations as well which were faced while carrying
the study. The theory’s central feature is to look at once colonized countries and the way they are
viewed by the west, but it’s very characteristic came across as its weakness at times. In the results,
under the first theme injustice, the Indian government was seen as playing the role of the occident and
the poor as orient. In short, both the orient and the occident belonged to the same nation which could
not be explained by the theory. Further, in the development theme, the government officials were
interpreted as looking at the west as superior and hence looked down upon their own selves, which in
simple terms displayed the orient confirming itself as inferior. And in the third theme, the discourse on
the Ethiopian government could not be examined by the theory as Ethiopia wasn’t colonized. Such
examples accentuated the limitations of the theory in terms of its understanding and viewing the
situation only from the western viewpoint. In other words, the theory focuses more on the western
view of the east and does not explain how east views west or itself. Thus, it could be said that the
theory has a potential to be adjusted or developed further by including the views and understandings
from the eastern perspective as well.

In terms of the methodological approach, Discourse analysis as a method came across as an
illuminating and a powerful tool to interpret texts. However, it has its challenge where one must
detach one’s subjective viewpoints and decisions afar by viewing the material only through the
conceptual and theoretical framework’s lens. A genuine attempt was made not to allow subjective
interpretations blend with the analysis. Overall, the combination of the methods and the concepts shed
light on some expected and some unexpected results.

To conclude, the results of the analysis showed that the media seemed to be trying to unmask the
irrationality of the governments and capitalism. The phenomenon of land grabbing was represented by
the media as creating social instability and inequality by unbalancing the societies in terms of
destitution and pushing the poor towards more poverty through handing over power to the already
powerful.
Future Studies

It was enlightening as well as thought provoking in terms of the way media holds power and the platform to bring public attention to such issues relating inequality and injustice. Thus, examining the other aspect i.e. how people react to such issues either by commenting on the articles in the comment section, discussing them in online forums or by sharing the articles on their social media accounts, would make an interesting and challenging topic for a future study.
7. References


Articles used in analysis


