



K.R. MANGALAM UNIVERSITY
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SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION ORGANIZES

EXTENSION ACTIVITY (LONG TERM) : CASE STUDY ROLE OF DIGITAL MEDIA IN SOHNA VIOLENCE

**1st September
to
31st December 2023**

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School of Journalism and Mass Communication

Extension Activity

(Role of Digital Media in the Sohna Violence, Haryana)

Research Proposal

Introduction

Digital media has radically transformed the way individuals communicate and share information. While this has often exacerbated the extant schisms within the society, the surfeit of information available to the public is often inversely proportional to its quality. Additionally, the inflammatory nature of information circulated has also often incited people to react in violent manners. This becomes even more dangerous in communally sensitive environments that are increasingly witnessed in various regions across India.

One such incident was witnessed in Sohna district of Haryana in August 2023 wherein incendiary videos and other content circulated on digital and social media platforms sparked communal violence in multiple districts of Haryana across two weeks in August. This proposed study tries to capture the aspects of digital media that helped various facets of this incident to especially focus on how digital media played a role in promoting violence.

Context:

In August 2023, the village of Nuh district of Haryana witnessed violence clashes between the Muslim residents of the village and the Hindus pilgrims who were due to visit a temple in the district. This was spurred by the inflammatory content posted by individuals with a criminal past on online platforms. The violence that erupted spilled over to neighboring districts of Faridabad and Gurugram, including Sohna. This period was rife with rumors and conspiracies that were actively shared through digital platforms. The incident also resulted in the state banning mobile internet in the affected regions in a fashion that has become its standard response in most incidents.

Rationale:

Given the rise of incidents of communal violence across the country, the case of violence that erupted in Sohna district presents a microcosm of how online platforms are utilized to spread communal violence. The response of the state to curb internet also presents an opportunity to study the efficacy of such a move that limits the fundamental right of the citizens in the area for the period. Moreover, given the presence of the university in the same district by virtue of

which it is embedded in the local community also highlights the need for students to be aware of the community that they are part of.

Objective:

- To study the information seeking behaviors of people during the period of communal violence
RQ1: What are the predominant sources of information for people?
RQ2: Which sources of information do people trust the most?
- To study the digital media factors involved in violence
RQ3: Did digital media contribute to communal violence in Sohna?
- To study people's perception of the role of media in spreading misinformation in Sohna violence
RQ4: Do people perceive that media had a role in spreading communal violence in Sohna?

Literature Review:

The relationship between digital media, dissemination of misinformation and communal violence is increasingly studied across the globe in the context of the rise of majoritarian politics. While there have been cases of religious violence in the past, digital media amplifies the speed with which incendiary messages are spread in the society (Mirchandani 2018). This becomes particularly important in a communally sensitive context. Studies have shown the echo chamber effect of social media caused by confirmation bias wherein individuals only selectively consume content that confirms their beliefs (Cerf, 2016)¹.

Methodology:

This study will be conducted by the students of School of Journalism and Mass Communication, KRM University. We will first identify a region that was affected by violence to understand the consumption of digital media content amongst members of the community. It will follow a quantitative approach to achieve the two aforementioned objectives.

The students will first conduct a survey with 50 people to map out the use of various kinds of media of the respondents. The study will select respondents using random sampling in the regions that were affected by the communal violence. The questions will aim to understand their digital media usage patterns, their trust in the different kinds of media and also to understand whether they hold media responsible in spreading communal violence.

The data collected will be analysed using basic statistical methods on Microsoft Excel.

Expected Outcome:

This activity will provide an opportunity for the students to get hands- on experience of conducting research. It will help them to learn the techniques of information gathering

¹ <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s41060-022-00311-6#ref-CR11>

through objective questioning, a key skill required to become a responsible communication professional. This will also help the students become aware of the social and economic context that they are a part of which is essential to build empathetic citizens of the country.

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**REPORT ON
EXTENSION ACTIVITY (LONG TERM): CASE STUDY**

**ROLE OF DIGITAL MEDIA IN SOHNA VIOLENCE
HARYANA: A CASE STUDY**

UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF
DR ANSHUMAN RANA & DR SUSAN KOSHY
(ASSISTANT PROFESSORS)



DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION
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School of Journalism and Mass Communication

Extension Activity

Report on Role of Digital Media in Sohna Violence: A Case Study

1. Executive Summary

The research study conducted by students at KRMU delved into the dynamics of the communal violence in Sohna, Haryana, with a focus on the role of digital media. Despite the outbreak of clashes and the subsequent imposition of an internet ban, the study revealed that a limited number of respondents attributed responsibility to social media for escalating the violence. Television and digital media emerged as the primary sources of information during the unrest, with a noteworthy lack of trust in digital content among the residents. The findings contradicted the efficacy of internet shutdowns during conflicts, raising questions about their impact. The study underscored the need for media literacy, given the moderate trust in digital media and the insufficient verification of information. Importantly, the research challenged the prevailing narrative, suggesting that external forces and pre-existing tensions played a significant role in the Sohna violence, with digital media serving as a secondary contributing factor. The results advocated for a reevaluation of policies related to internet shutdowns and emphasized the urgency of media literacy programs in enhancing the community's ability to critically evaluate information and navigate the challenges posed by digital media during times of crisis.

2. Context and background of Study

As the month of July in 2023 drew to a close, several districts of Haryana erupted in communal violence between Hindu and Muslims. It started in the district of Nuh (earlier called Mewat) which is historically a Meo Muslim dominated area. The residents of this area are often well-known for following a syncretic form of Islam that draws heavily on Hindu practices. Although the area witnessed mass killings and exodus of Meo Muslims during the riots of the Partition, it has remained relatively calm post-Independence where both communities lived in proximity to each other. Since the rise of the right wing politics in 2014, there were a few incidents of Muslims being killed by cow vigilante groups in the name of cow smuggling. However, these incidents had also resulted in a simmering tension between the Muslim residents and various Hindutva outfits.

The bubbling calm erupted into full blown clashes on July 31st when a religious procession by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad was attacked by the Muslim residents of the village. The villagers were on the edge because of multiple videos by Mohit Yadav called Monu Manesar, exhorting all Hindus to join the procession and promising that he would also join the same. Manesar, the head of the cow vigilante groups in Haryana was accused in one of the abovementioned case of Muslims being killed in the name of cow vigilantism. He also posted several incendiary speeches against Muslims. The Muslim villagers had also responded saying that they would attack if Manesar would enter the village. Consequently the environment had been on edge. However, the Muslim residents started attacking a white car believing him to be present in it. This eventually resulted in full-blown riots that spilled over to other districts of Haryana such as Gurgaon, Palwal and Faridabad. Within Gurgaon, violence was witnessed in Sohna and a few parts of Gurgaon. The state administration responded to the violence by imposing a ban on internet in various areas during the period and the Home Minister also blamed social media for fuelling violence. On the other hand, the police and the administration has also been criticized for ignoring the warning signs that were present for everyone to see with the videos being circulated amongst the population.

With this background, the project aimed to conduct a case study of the role of digital media in the violence in Sohna. Sohna presents an interesting case since this was not the epicenter of the violence but a result of the spill-over effect of the violence in Nuh. Moreover, the town being a trade hub and an important hub for neighboring villages, it can also be perceived as

node in the passage of information especially in a period when internet was shut down due to the riots. Moreover, given that the University is based in the same town, it is necessary that the journalism and mass communication students of the School imbibe an in-depth understanding of the socio-political environment where the institution is situated. Additionally it was also an experience to learn research, information collection and communication strategies within communally sensitive areas since these are increasing becoming a reality of the country.

Sohna is a small town that is located within the National capital Region and is part of the Gurgaon district. It has a population of 165629 according to 2011 Census of India. The town is historically important as it part of the travel route between Delhi and Alwar and also the site of religious significance to Hindus due to the presence of a sulphur spring. It is also increasingly becoming a part of the Gurgaon growth story as witnessed in the increasing number of private university campuses and real estate developers cashing in on the rising property prices.

The religious divide of the town roughly reflects that of overall country wherein 88.03% of the population is Hindu with an 11.31% of Muslims.

3. Objectives

- To study the information seeking behaviors of people during the period of communal violence
 - RQ1: What are the predominant sources of information for people?
- To study the digital media factors involved in violence
 - RQ2: Did digital media contribute to communal violence in Sohna?
 - RQ3: RQ4: Do people perceive that media had a role in spreading communal violence in Sohna?
- To study people's perception of the role of media in spreading misinformation in Sohna violence
 - RQ4: Which sources of information do people trust the most?

4. Research Methodology

The case study for this project was conducted between September ---- and 30th November 2023. We followed a mixed methods approach that involved a survey with 50 respondents and in-depth interviews with 10 respondents².

The survey was conducted in the main market area of Sohna through random sampling and the respondents included a cross-section of the people in the area that mostly included the shopkeepers and other kind of vendors. It also included an occasional customer who was willing to answer the interview questions. Given the highly gendered structure of the society, most of the respondents were male as female presence in public areas is negligible. The few women who were present in the shops were hesitant to respond to the questions and instead directed the interviewers to their male counterparts. Additionally, the market is dominated by the Hindu trading caste and consequently the respondents were mostly Hindu, barring a few.

The survey questionnaire included mostly included closed-ended questions except those which required follow up questions. The in-depth interviews on the other hand were guided by an interview schedule that directed the general flow of the discussion with broad questions to be covered. The interviewer then guided the interview based on the responses the question elicited.

5. Data Analysis and Interpretation:

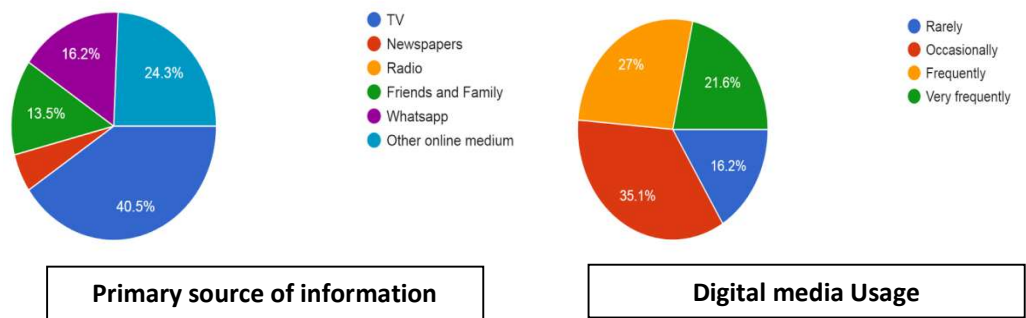
Sources of Information

The survey results showed that most of the respondents did not witness the riots themselves although it happened at a short distance from the location of their shops and residences. Most residents were fairly convinced in their interviews that the rioters were people from outside the town and shared that neither they nor anyone they knew personally participated actively in the riots. Sundeep shared however that they did create defenses in their neighborhood in case they were attacked. In such a scenario, content they saw or heard in media and local networks were crucial in contributing to whether they felt scared or remained calm.

The survey showed that both digital platforms and Television are equally popular as sources of information for the residents of Sohna. Despite the relatively higher literacy rate of the area (78%), newspapers are not a popular medium for receiving information. This is further

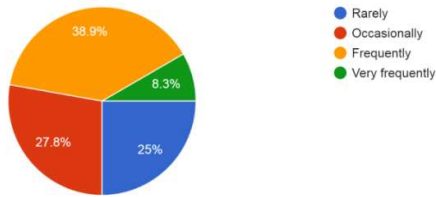
² Names of respondents have been changed in the report to maintain their anonymity.

corroborated with almost 48.6% of the population identifying as heavy digital media users while 41.3% recognize as infrequent users of these platforms.

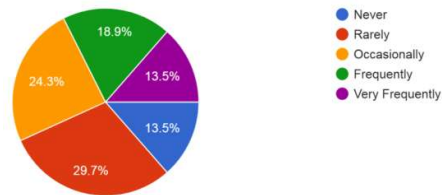


News on Sohna violence

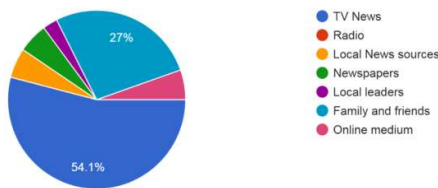
The significance of digital media in spreading information during critical periods like riots becomes further evident with the narratives from the respondents. They shared that since they were not moving beyond their immediate neighborhood during the period, the information they received on digital platforms especially those about others' safety became crucial. Almost 50% of the respondents reported having regularly seen news about the riot on various digital platforms. Moreover, over 50% of the respondents shared having actively searched for news related to the Sohna violence on these online platforms. This data becomes particularly pertinent in light of the disconnection of internet services that was noticed by over 90% of the survey respondents. During the period, they mostly relied on local networks for information. Multiple studies (see Shah 2021, Panicker 2020) have punctured the justifications of the Indian government in shutting down the internet for various reasons which instead has often proven to be a violation of citizens' fundamental rights.



Frequency of News on Sohna Violence on Digital Media



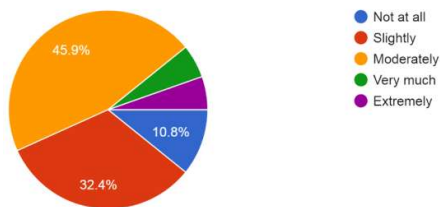
Active seeking of News on Sohna Violence on Digital Media



Accessing information during internet shutdown

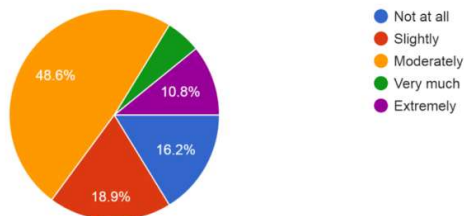
Digital media in Sohna violence

Furthermore, contrary to the official narrative that has ascribed the primary responsibility of the conflict to digital platforms, the respondents largely believed that the conflict was pre-meditated and was instigated by people outside Sohna. They further strengthened their argument by pointing out that it was primarily the area around Sohna Bypass where violence was witnessed which is en route from Nuh to Gurgaon. Maximum number of respondents stated that they believed that digital media played a middling role of escalating the conflict. Sunil shared that while online platforms can be used for arranging the logistics etc., the primary blame lies with politics of the day. This rejects a deterministic view of technology (William 1975) and instead emphasizes on the significance of social processes.



Role of digital media in escalating violence in Sohna

As mentioned in the earlier sections, only 35% of the respondents were personally or knew of someone affected by the riots. Even within that group, only a small percentage of people blamed digital media entirely for the violence.



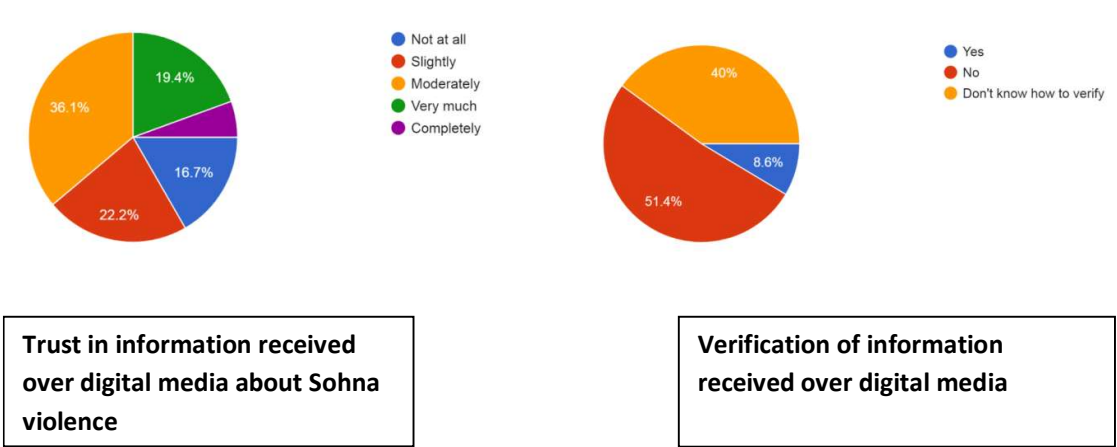
Role of digital media in Sohna violence (amongst those personally affected by riots)

Trust in Digital Media

Despite being the primary source of news for a significant number of respondents, respondents only moderately trust the information they receive through these platforms. This highlights the crisis of trust that people have in their sources of information. This becomes pertinent in times of crisis when the conditions are primed for spreading of rumors. This situation becomes even more worrisome as most residents don't verify the information they receive on digital platforms and it is often because they don't know how to do so. This significantly highlights the need for media literacy at a time when audience is exceedingly able to tailor the kind of information they are exposed to. Shalini shared that she does not necessarily believe everything she sees online and emphasizes the need to be careful while using such platforms. She shared that she usually believes the content that eminent people

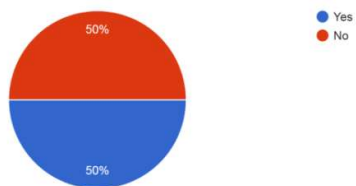
‘bade log’ or experts share on online platforms (Turcotte & others , 2015). This brings to fore the role of key opinion leaders in sharing the specific kind of information that can potentially shape public opinion. On the other hand, Sunil shared that information he largely believed content shared by people he knew personally.

Secondly, despite the low level of trust in digital media content, a mere 8.6% of respondents verify the information they receive on digital media. This is primarily because they do not know how to verify such information. This brings to fore the need for media literacy especially in today’s media saturated world.

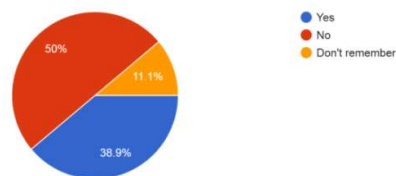


Sharing Behavior on social media

Similarly an equal number of respondents shared that they forward content on social medium. Amongst those who do share, people mostly share content on politics and religion. Anjali shared that the motivation to share content was rooted in the desire for a shared activity and emotion. Rahul on the other hand shared that he would prefer to call people and speak to them directly rather than forward content. Additionally they also shared that almost 38.9% of the respondents had shared content during the period of the violence while almost 50% had not done so.

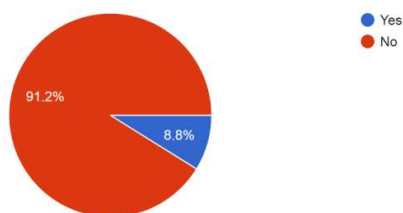


Forwarding behavior on digital media



Forwarding behavior on digital media during the Sohna violence

Corollary to the hesitation in forwarding content on digital platforms, around 91% of respondents don't hesitate to share content on digital media.



Hesitation to forward information on digital media

Key Informant Interviews:

These questions were asked from the respondents during data collection

1. How does the government assess the impact of digital media on the escalation of communal violence, particularly during the recent events in Sohna?
2. What policies and strategies does the government have in place to address the role of digital media in disseminating information during periods of unrest?
3. In your opinion, how effective are internet shutdowns as a preventive measure, and what considerations inform the decision to implement them?
4. From your perspective, how has digital media influenced community dynamics in Sohna, especially during times of communal tension?

5. Are there community-led initiatives or interventions to promote media literacy and responsible information-sharing within the town?
6. In your interactions with community members, have you observed changes in trust levels towards digital media platforms?
7. How does the media view its responsibility in reporting information during sensitive periods, such as the communal violence in Sohna?
8. What challenges do media outlets face in verifying and ensuring the accuracy of information before dissemination, especially on digital platforms?
9. In your experience, how has the media landscape evolved in response to criticisms regarding its role in escalating communal tensions?
10. From a scholarly perspective, how do you interpret the findings of the study regarding the role of digital media in communal violence?
11. What recommendations would you provide for integrating media literacy into academic curricula, particularly in regions prone to social unrest?
12. How can research in media studies contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics between digital media and communal conflicts?
13. How does the local law enforcement agency perceive the impact of digital media on law and order during communal unrest?
14. Are there specific challenges in monitoring and addressing misinformation spread through digital platforms in Sohna?
15. In your experience, how can law enforcement collaborate with digital media platforms to ensure responsible information sharing and prevent violence?

Key Informants Interview Responses:

Pradeep Saini (Government Official, 32 Years) : Pradeep, a government official closely involved in managing public affairs during communal tensions, sheds light on the government's perspective. He emphasizes the challenges posed by digital media in escalating violence, noting the difficulty in controlling the spread of misinformation. According to Pradeep, the government employs internet shutdowns as a preventive measure during crises, although he acknowledges the need for a nuanced approach. He stresses the importance of balancing freedom of information with public safety. Pradeep also highlights ongoing efforts to develop policies and strategies that address the role of digital media in disseminating information during periods of unrest, aiming for a more comprehensive and effective response.

Dilraj Khatana (Community Leader, 28 Years): Dilraj, a respected community leader in Sohna, shares insights into the influence of digital media on community dynamics. He notes that digital media has become a significant factor in shaping perceptions and reactions during communal tensions. Dilraj discusses community-led initiatives aimed at promoting media literacy, emphasizing the importance of responsible information-sharing within the town. He reflects on changes in trust levels toward digital media platforms, highlighting the need for community members to critically evaluate information. Dilraj believes that fostering a sense of media literacy among residents is crucial for maintaining communal harmony and preventing the spread of misinformation.

Rajesh Singla (Media Representative, 29 Years): Rajesh, a media representative covering events in Sohna, discusses the media's responsibility in reporting information during sensitive periods. He acknowledges the challenges media outlets face in verifying and ensuring the accuracy of information, particularly on digital platforms. Rajesh shares insights into the evolving media landscape, emphasizing the need for responsible reporting to mitigate tensions. He discusses how media organizations are adapting to criticisms regarding their role in communal conflicts. Rajesh emphasizes the importance of ethical journalism and transparent communication to build trust and contribute positively to the community.

Dharamchand (Academic Expert in Media Studies, 31 Years): Dharamchand, an academic expert in media studies, interprets the findings of the study on the role of digital media in communal violence. He emphasizes the need for deeper scholarly exploration of the complex dynamics between digital media and social unrest. Dharamchand suggests that integrating media literacy into academic curricula is crucial, particularly in regions prone to social tensions. He discusses the potential contributions of media studies research in providing nuanced insights and shaping educational approaches. Dharamchand sees an opportunity for academia to collaborate with communities and policymakers in developing strategies for responsible media consumption and production.

Prem Pratap (Local Law Enforcement Representative, 33 Years): Prem, a representative from the local law enforcement agency, offers insights into how digital media impacts law and order during communal unrest. He acknowledges the specific challenges in monitoring and addressing misinformation spread through digital platforms in Sohna. Prem discusses the importance of collaboration between law enforcement and digital media platforms to ensure responsible information sharing. He emphasizes the need for proactive measures to prevent

violence and maintain public safety. Prem sees potential in leveraging technology and partnerships to effectively navigate the complexities of digital media's role in shaping public perceptions during communal crises.

6. Major Findings:

1. Communal violence erupted in Haryana, with Nuh as the epicenter.
2. Rise of right-wing politics heightened tensions between Hindu-Muslim communities.
3. Violence spread to Sohna, triggering a study on digital media's role in the town.

Objective:

1. Information-seeking behaviors during communal violence.
2. Digital media factors in violence.
3. Perception of media's role in spreading misinformation.

Methodology:

1. Mixed methods approach with surveys and in-depth interviews.
2. Sample included 50 respondents from Sohna's main market area.
3. Gender and caste imbalances in respondents due to societal structures.

Findings:

1. Both digital platforms and television were popular information sources.
2. Digital media played a crucial role in spreading information during the riots.
3. Majority believed violence was pre-meditated and instigated by external forces.
4. Moderate trust in digital media, emphasizing the need for media literacy.
5. Limited verification of digital media content due to lack of knowledge.
6. Sharing behavior on social media reflected mixed attitudes, with some hesitation.

Digital Media's Role:

- Contrary to official narratives, respondents believed digital media had a moderate role in escalating the conflict.
- Emphasis on the significance of social processes over a deterministic view of technology.
- Crisis of trust in digital media content, especially during critical times.

- Urgent need for media literacy to empower residents to verify information independently.
- Limited hesitation in sharing content on digital platforms, highlighting the potential for misinformation spread.
- Importance of key opinion leaders in shaping public opinion acknowledged.
- Reevaluation of internet shutdowns during conflicts, considering the continued reliance on local networks for information.
- Advocacy for media literacy programs to address the trust crisis and enhance verification skills.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations:

The outcomes of the study can have several implications for various stakeholders:

Policy Reevaluation:

The study's findings challenge the efficacy of internet shutdowns during periods of communal violence. This could prompt policymakers to reevaluate the implementation of such measures and consider alternative strategies for managing information flow during crises.

Media Literacy Initiatives:

Given the low trust in digital media and the limited verification of information, the study underscores the critical need for media literacy programs. Educational institutions, community organizations, and the government may consider initiatives to enhance residents' ability to critically assess and verify information from digital sources.

Community Awareness and Engagement:

The study highlights a lack of trust in digital media content and the potential for misinformation spread. This could lead to community awareness campaigns aimed at promoting responsible information-sharing behavior and fostering a greater sense of media literacy among the population.

Understanding Social Dynamics:

The emphasis on external factors and pre-existing tensions contributing to the violence suggests a need for a deeper understanding of the social dynamics in regions experiencing

communal strife. This understanding can inform interventions and conflict resolution strategies tailored to address underlying issues.

Communication Strategies for Authorities:

Authorities may reconsider their communication strategies during crises, taking into account the predominant sources of information identified in the study. Effective communication channels, both digital and traditional, could be utilized to disseminate accurate and timely information, potentially mitigating the impact of rumors and misinformation.

Media Regulation and Responsibility:

The study's insights into the perceived role of digital media in escalating conflict may prompt discussions on media regulation and responsibility. Policymakers might explore ways to ensure responsible reporting and content dissemination, especially during sensitive periods.

Academic Curriculum Enhancement:

Universities and educational institutions, especially those situated in socially sensitive areas, may incorporate the study's findings into their academic curriculum. This could enhance the understanding of journalism and mass communication students about the complex socio-political environments in which they operate.

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Annexure

Photos Geo Tagged:



Photo 1: Data Collection Team on the field



Photo 2: Team during data collection in Sohna



Photo 3: Data collection at Sohna

Photos Non Geo Tagged



Photo 1: Team Member while data collection



Photo 2: Team while data collection in Sohna.



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School of Journalism and Mass Communication

Extension Activity

(Role of Digital Media in the Sohna Violence, Harayana)

Interview schedule

Introduction:

We are students of KRMU and this is our class assignment. We are conducting a survey to understand the role of digital media in the violence that occurred in August in Sohna. Would you be comfortable in answering these questions? Any data collected would be completely anonymized and it would be used only for academic purposes.

Name:	Age:
Gender:	Religion:
Education:	Occupation:
	Income

Section 1: Understanding Digital Media Exposure

1. Do you personally own a smart phone or a computer?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
2. How often do you use digital media platforms (social media, news websites, etc)?
 - a) Rarely
 - b) Occasionally
 - c) Frequently
 - d) Very Frequently

Section 2: Information Consumption Habits

3. What is your predominant source of information?
 - a) TV
 - b) Newspapers
 - c) Radio
 - d) Friends and Family
 - e) Whatsapp
 - f) Other online media

- Please specify medium _____

- How frequently do you come across news related to Sohna Violence on Digital Media?
 - Rarely
 - Occasionally
 - Frequently
 - Very Frequently
- Did you actively seek information related to Sohna violence?
 - Never
 - Rarely
 - Occasionally
 - Frequently
- Did the internet stop working during the period of riots?
 - Yes
 - No
 - Don't know
- How did you access information during that period?
 - TV news
 - Radio
 - Local news sources
 - Newspapers
 - Local leaders
 - Family and friends
 - Online medium
 Please specify how _____

Section 3: Digital Media and Violence Perception

- In your opinion, how significant was the role of digital media in escalating conflicts leading to violence in Sohna during August?
 - Not at all
 - Slightly
 - Moderately
 - Very much
 - Extremely

Section 4: Trust in Digital Media

- How much did you trust the information provided by digital media regarding Sohna violence during the time of the incidents in August?

- a) Not at all
- b) Slightly
- c) Moderately
- d) Very much
- e) Completely

10. Do you verify the different kinds of information you receive on online medium?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Don't know how to verify

11. Do you forward content on online medium like Facebook or Whatsapp?

- a) Yes
- b) No

12. What kind of messages are these? (*can tick more than one option*)

- a) Political
 - b) Religious
 - c) Local News
 - d) Health information
 - e) National News
 - f) Entertainment such jokes, music, etc
 - g) Others
-

13. Have you ever hesitated to forward such content?

- a) Yes
- b) No

14. If yes, why?

15. Did you forward any content you saw related to the communal violence on Facebook, Twitter or Whatsapp?

- a) Yes
- b) No

Section 5: Personal Experiences with Violence

16. Did you personally experience or witness any violent incidents in Sohna during August?

- a) Yes
- b) No

17. According to you, did digital media play a role in these incidents?

- a) Not at all

- b) Slightly
- c) Moderately
- d) Very much
- e) Extremely

Feedback and Additional Comments

18. Were you present here during the riots?

- a) Yes
- b) No

19. Were you or someone in your family physically or monetarily affected due to the riots?

- a) Yes
- b) No