A STUDY OF IMPACT OF
PRINT AND TELEVISION MEDIA
ON
POLITICAL COMMUNICATION
AND POLITICAL PROCESS
OF MAHARASHTRA:1991-2015

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Thesis submitted to

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In
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Under
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By
Savarkar Sanjay Dattatray

Under the guidance of
Dr. Ghodke Sharad Tukaram

January 2017

DECLARATION

I, **Savarkar Sanjay Dattatray**, hereby declare that the references and literature used in my dissertation entitled, *"***A STUDY OF IMPACT OF PRINT AND TELEVISION MEDIA ON POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND POLITICAL PROCESS OF MAHARASHTRA:1991-2015***"* are from original sources and are acknowledged at appropriate places in the dissertation.

Further, I declare that this dissertation is a bonafide record of research work carried out by me and that no part of the dissertation has been presented earlier for any degree or diploma.

Date: January 2017   **Savarkar Sanjay Dattatray**

Place: Pune

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that **Savarkar Sanjay Dattatray**, a research scholar in Political Science from Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune has duly completed his research work under my supervision and guidance.

Savarkar Sanjay Dattatray is submitting his thesis titled *"**A STUDY OF IMPACT OF PRINT AND TELEVISION MEDIA ON POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND POLITICAL PROCESS OF MAHARASHTRA:1991-2015"**.*

I have approved his thesis and permitted him to submit to the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune for Ph. D. degree in Political Science.

It is further certified that neither this dissertation nor any part thereof has been submitted to this university or any other university in the country or abroad for the award of Ph. D. degree or any other degree.

This thesis is compiled with all relevant conditions specified in the regulations of the University Grants Commission, New Delhi and Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune.

Date: January 2017   **Dr.Ghodke Sharad Tukaram**
Place: Pune   **Guide**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1: INTRODUCTION

1.1.1 Background and Context

'Communication' is considered to be a basic instinct of human species as well as a social, economic, cultural and political need. The Human species has always been acknowledged as 'social animal' by social scientists and by anthropological perspective. The desire and inclination to be social is prominent in human species. Socialisation is a continuous process which makes an individual or group of individuals or societies evolve in terms their interdependent and interrelated existence, survival and quest for excellence.

Political Socialisation is a process through which the individuals become aware of politics and also shape their political values. Media is considered as a key agent in the process of socialisation. The communication in this context acquires significance as very important subject of study since the mobilization, desired actions and results are achieved through effective use of communication among individuals, groups and societies.

The process of communication has progressed through many stages such as speech, writing, symbols, art, music, printing, telegraph, telephone, wireless, electronic devices, etc.

Communication:

Noted communication scholars Adler and Towne [1] have described communication as a process between at least two people that begins when one person wants to communicate with another. Communication originates as mental images within a person who desires to convey those images to another. Mental images can include ideas, thoughts, pictures, and emotions.

Communication can also be defined as a process concerning exchange of facts or ideas between persons holding different positions in an organisation to achieve mutual harmony. The communication process is dynamic in nature rather than a static phenomenon.

The Communication Model-

The person who wants to communicate is called the **'Sender'.** To transfer an image to another person, the sender first must transpose or translate the images into symbols that receivers can understand. Symbols often are words but can be pictures, sounds, or sense information (e.g., touch or smell). Only through symbols can the mental images of a sender have meaning for others. The process of translating images into symbols is called encoding. Sender uses medium to communicate the message (content) to the receiver.

Elements of Communication Process-

There are broadly seven elements of communication process. These seven elements can be briefly described are as below:

1. Sender-

The person who intends to convey the message with the intention of passing information and ideas to others is known as sender or communicator

2. Ideas-

This is the subject matter of the communication. This may be an opinion, attitude, feelings, views, orders, or suggestions.

3. Encoding-

Since the subject matter of communication is theoretical and intangible, its further passing requires use of certain symbols such as words, actions or pictures etc. Conversion of subject matter into these symbols is the process of encoding.

4. Communication channel –

The person who is interested in communicating has to choose the channel for sending the required information, ideas etc. This information is transmitted to the receiver through certain channels which may be either formal or informal.

5. Receiver-

Receiver is the person who receives the message or for whom the message is meant for. It is the receiver who tries to understand the message in the best possible manner in achieving the desired objectives

6. Decoding-

The person who receives the message or symbol from the communicator tries to convert the same in such a way so that he may extract its meaning to his complete understanding

7. Feedback-

Feedback is the process of ensuring that the receiver has received the message and understood in the same sense as sender meant it.

Today, communication systems have become increasingly sophisticated, dynamic, technologically driven and equally complicated. The term 'Media', is thought of and used as a device for communication. However when we think of media in the context of a developing country like ours, wedded to the democratic political system, mass media is expected to play a very challenging role of being "an extension and reflection of the society".

The speed and scale of the media in today's world, is technologically upgraded and getting evolved continuously. The mass media works as eyes and ears which facilitates the flow of information between the communicators and receivers for enhancement of achievement of communication objectives.

Irrespective of various positions and point of views taken by different individuals and groups within the society, the mass media has become an element of extremely prime importance as a critical factor in the social and intellectual development of an individual as well as the society.

The proposed research work undertaken by this research student, has a canvas of possibilities and set of focused areas to attend to.

The basic premise of this study can be presented in the form of the following key elements:

1. The mass media, its scale and reach

2. The society and its growth in members as potential readers, viewers and audience for the content presented by the mass media, primarily because of increased literacy and access to these media platforms

3. The vibrant democracy and the prospective and existing political parties and players who aspire to explore as many communication possibilities as may be possible at any given point in time to reach out to their desired 'public' to consolidate their position and proximity to power.

4. The impact and result getting created by this relentless process. The term Political communication needs to be studied closely and carefully without generalizing its essence with reference to context, concerns, content and connect. The term 'MASS MEDIA' is referred to herein as a generic term which encompasses various communication mediums, both traditional – Print and new age-Digital.

Mediums like newspapers, magazines and periodicals, radio, cinema, television, internet, social networks, blogs, online communities, which are capable of reaching out, interact and influence to masses i.e. large numbers of readers, viewers. The '6E Effect Matrix of Media' towards society also gets evolved as a continuous process. The 6Es can be listed as Explore, Educate, Entertain, Enlighten, Enrich, and Empower.

The term Political Process, has evolved a lot over last several decades. This process is a collective collaboration of a structured yet flexible system which consists of ideologies, principal custodians of the ideologies, strategists, political parties, followers, supporters, people and society at large. This political system is expected to represent the concerns and desires of the people and society to facilitate the results and changes through relentless delegation to executive system and judiciary, as may be needed. In a democratic country like India, common citizens look up to political system to effectively interface with executive and judiciary on their behalf. To put it simply, for a common citizen the answers to his problems and issues are through political system. This makes the members of political system far more significant for the masses and for them mass media becomes their biggest tool to pursue and to build pressure on the executive system and simultaneously to underline their efforts and initiatives through mass media for their people. This makes the political process a continuous process and takes it much beyond elections as well as between any two elections.

India has been acknowledged as the largest democracy of the world. The population, the social and cultural diversity and the extensive possibilities of representation through elections from Gram-Panchayat level to Parliament have provided Indian political system with an un-paralleled magnitude. The complexity of public opinion and preferences at each of these levels is a unique feature of how the dreams and desire of people at large get reflected, echoed and translated into a democratic administrative infrastructure. It must be noted here as an extremely unique character of Indian Democracy that the same person practices his right to cast vote for different legislative offices at different points in time with different contexts, concerns and considerations. The process to explore the query as to "How does the Indian electorate and various representative social forums and platforms and the aspirants for these various legislative offices manage their interface amongst themselves brings to the table the fourth pillar of the Indian democracy, which is 'Media'. While this holds very true in modern day context of a society exposed by an environment wherein media exists in everybody's life almost on a 24x7 basis, the roots of media in India can be traced in a journey of over a century and half. The chapter on Media will attempt to chronicle this with the help of multiple references and statistical data.

It needs to be acknowledged in the basic premise of the introduction that the Indian mass media has successfully performed few critical functions and tasks during the last even decades.

It has consistently and relentlessly supported the objectivity in the news and information being delivered to people to make 'informed decisions'.

It has evolved from within to provide multiple platforms and forums for the opinions and voices of the people. It facilitates better political participation as a result of effective mobilisation.

The media has a huge task of complex responsibilities ranging from carrying out its core function of propagating objective, unbiased and credible information to being accountable to the society and the nation on a self-proclaimed moral high ground of principles, values and promise of a better informed society.

This study will attempt to understand the Political Communication from different perspectives which include the Communicators, Communication Media and People to whom the communication is addressed to.

This study will account for all the critical elements incorporated in the title statement in details and will attempt to present a collaborative picture of kaleidoscope of the political socialization, political process, political system, political participation, political communication and print and television media with reference to set of interpretation of the term impact in the context of Indian Democratic Structure and Society.

This proposed study will try to examine the medium, masses and messages and explore how it is working with reference to the desired levels and will attempt to identify gaps, deviations and probable solutions in the form of a communication model and design which addresses these gaps in the long run and in the interest of the society.

Political Socialization:

Political socialization is a lifelong process by which people form their ideas about politics and acquire political values. The family, educational system, peer groups, and the mass media all play a role. While family and school are important early in life, what our peers think and what we read in the newspaper and see on television have more influence on our political attitudes as adults. These elements are termed as the agents of socialization.

Family:
For every individual, the first political ideas are shaped within the family. It is observed that the parents seldom "talk politics" with their young children directly, but casual remarks made around the dinner table or while helping with homework can have an impact. Family tradition is particularly a factor in party identification. However, the family may be losing its power as an agent of socialization as institutions take over more of child care and parents perform less of it.

Schools:
Children are introduced to elections and voting when they choose class representatives and the more sophisticated elections in high school and college teach

the rudiments of campaigning. Political facts are learned through curriculum and schools, at their best, encourage students to critically examine various government institutions. Schools themselves are involved in politics; issues such as curriculum reform, funding, and government support for private schools often spark a debate that involves students, teachers, parents, and the larger community.

Peer groups:

Although peer pressure certainly affects teenagers' lifestyles, it is less evident in developing their political values. Exceptions are issues that directly affect them, such as the social and student movements of large scale participation possibilities and aimed at achieving relatable changes in their life as students and their future prospects because of the issues they face. Later, if peers are defined in terms of occupation, then the group does exert an influence on how its members think politically. For example, professionals such as teachers or bankers often have similar political opinions, particularly on matters related to their careers.

Mass media:

Much of our political information comes from the mass media: newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and the Internet. The amount of time the average the individuals and families watch television makes it the dominant information source, particularly with the expansion of 24-hour all-news cable channels. Not only does television help shape public opinion by providing news and analysis, but its entertainment programming addresses important contemporary issues that are in the political arena and directly and indirectly affect or connect with the individuals. The news television content which is dominated by political under-currents, debates, opinion polls, viewer participatory talk shows bring the individuals and the groups more prominently face to face with the political scenario and its likely impact on the individuals and groups . The growth of the Internet is also significant; not only do essentially all-news outlets have their own Web-sites, but online bloggers present a broad range of political opinion, information, and analysis.

The study on 'Media in India' with reference to its 'Impact' on political communication and process in Indian context can be broadly divided into four time phases. These four phases are as below-

1. Pre-Independence Phase- (Up to 1947)
2. Post-Independence Pre-Modernist phase-(1947-1960)
3. Post-Independence and Pre-Liberalisation Phase-(1960-1990)
4. Post-Independence and Post-Liberalisation Phase-(1991 Onwards)

Each of the above referred phases represents distinct media trends in terms of Number of media platforms available, Types of Media, Literacy Levels, Social, Political and Cultural systems and scenario of the nation, Profile and purpose of the people actively working in media, Aspirations and Orientation of people who consumed the media content, Exposure and Access of the population to these mediums.

The first two phases out of the above four were essentially dominated by Print media. While the first phase a historic mission to drive in the form of awakening and mobilizing of the masses towards achieving independence and social objectives to compliment the making of an independent country with harmony at the core of nation building.

The second phase revolved entirely around realizing the task of nation building through the propagation of ideology and principles. The media was largely on print platform and numerous learned and scholarly qualified journalists with credentials in field of social, economic and cultural fields dominated the content and message delivered by the media.

The third and the fourth phase have witnessed the evolution and emergence of technology driven electronic media which has transformed the world into a multi-media universe. This change has created more number of touch points for the media and its masses to interact and communicate. Quite interestingly this multi-media environment brings along more opportunities and challenges. The media, masses and message are changing at a phenomenal scale and speed. The editorial protocol, control

and hierarchy of content prioritization and presentation which existed in traditional media is getting changed by more reader, viewer generated content.

Introduction of television in Urban India in September 1959 gave a major boost to the mass media in India and with deregulation of Indian Television network and introduction of cable satellite network in 1991 changed the media landscape and dynamics and created a paradigm shift in the manner in which masses, media and message have interface and impact on each other.

This researcher has focused on the fourth phase since it has witnessed the most dynamic transformation in the world of media. The scale and speed achieved by the media to generate, process and deliver information to the audience (readers and viewers) and the growth of literacy of Indian population in this phase have changed the entire communication matrix. This phase has also encompassed the 'Information Explosion' age and an era of politics of alliance of multiple political parties which emerged as a result of fractured electoral verdicts handed over to major political parties by the Indian voters repeatedly since 1991 to 2010. This kaleidoscope of myths and realities make it a subject of study which needs to account for in the problem statement.

This study has attempted to create a holistic reference system which covers data on media, population, literacy, electoral behaviour, context and content offered by media to its audience, and correlate it with a sample data of adult citizens wherein various parameters like audiences consumption patterns, their preferences, their assessment of these elements and the influence quotient of these elements towards their thought process, ability to relate, impact on their decision making process through perception based communication initiated by the political players in the system. It also needs to be mentioned here that while the elections in India are looked and studied as the largest electoral exercise across the world, the political communication remains a continuous process due to the mammoth structure of India's multi-level democratically elected system ranging from Gram-Panchayats, Zilla Parishads, Municipal Councils, and Assemblies to Parliament.

The political communication has become extremely complex and competitive process due to social, cultural, economic, linguistic, religious diversity of India and requires

proficiency to understand and interpret the evolving nature of this matrix. The growth of the multi-media universe which encompasses the audience further makes the study immensely interesting and challenging.

These parameters need to be taken into account when we study the aspect of impact. The term 'impact' also needs to drilled down in the best possible manner to understand as to what does it amount to and how does it gets measured. The term 'impact' can indicate different expressions at different points in time for different people.

The few important expressions of the term 'impact' can be enlisted as below-

1. The levels of social sensitization achieved across various socio-cultural and economic strata of the society towards actions aimed at improving the conditions and solving problems and issues...

2. The levels of electoral participation and voters turn-out into general elections for parliament and assembly elections.

3. The levels of people's mobilization and participation into agitations and movements which encompass large scale issues which have relevance to larger number of people.

4. The actual results and actions in the form of rule and law making towards corrections and change derived out of these movements.

Media Studies-Perspectives:

The study undertaken by this research student focuses on the 'Post-Independence-Post Liberalisation' phase of the mass media, with reference to Maharashtra. The Media Impact Study with reference to Political Communication and Process needed to be carried out with the following multiple perspectives, wherein each of these perspectives is equally important and significant.

The perspectives are-

a) The Media as a source of information and knowledge aimed at awareness and sensitization of people in power and people being governed,

b) The Media as a Platform and Catalyst for Political Participation,

c) The Media as a Tool for Agenda Setting,

d) The Media as a Facilitator for building an informed and opinionated civil society,

e) The Media as a reflection of peoples desires and aspirations.

f) The Media as a propaganda mechanism

1.1.2- Problem Statement and Research Question-

The period of two and half decades, (1991-2015) is significant for such a study because of few reasons as well.

1) This is considered as the ICE Age in India. ICE- Information, Communication, Entertainment .This Information and Knowledge Explosion was expected to bring in clarity at critical levels by sensitising the people who matter.

2) Indian democracy has been subject to fractured political verdicts in 5 consecutive general elections and has witnessed a major turn-around in the general elections of 2014, which witnessed tremendous application of aggressive campaign and communication strategies based on multi-media environment and brought into reality a government under single party majority.

3) Classical Democratic model of One Ruling party with clear mandate to runs the country stably and ably and a strong opposition which ensures accountability from them is missing owing to variety of reasons and factors at national, regional levels.

4) The alliance politics, its compulsions and constraints, if devoid of consensus and conscience lasts for longer periods brings inconsistency and ire-regularities in policies and philosophies.

5) India's identity consolidation has got affected and may weaken the perception about India's global position and perception.

6) In the post globalisation period, focus should have been entirely on becoming competitive and efficient to reap the benefits. However India many a times has witnessed in its system and society, some trends of complexity, confusion and chaos.

7) People strongly believe that Mass Media in collaboration with the Political System and Alert Executives, Watchful Judiciary is capable to facilitate the process of dealing with challenges, changes for collaborative corrections.

This discussion guided this researcher towards defining the key research questions, as below-

1. What is the role played by the print and television media with reference to the political socialization and political process during the period of this study?

2. Which are the key social and political movements which have defined the political process during the period of this research?

4. How is the mass-media universe evolved during the post liberalization period?

5. How is the mass-media accessed and consumed by the masses?

6. Which are the content elements most preferred by the masses and audiences of the mass-media?

7. What is the perception matrix in the minds of the audiences (masses) about the mass-media, with reference to the use of media for political propaganda, promotions and publicity and coverage?

8. What is the perception matrix in the minds of the masses about the political parties, their programmes and manifestos, role and responsibilities of civil society?

9. What is the influence and impact of the mass-media content on the minds of the audiences (masses)?

10. What according to the masses, is the role played by the mass-media with reference to facilitating political process, social and political movement towards logical end?

11. What is the awareness level among the respondents about the Right and Responsibility to Vote to strengthen the democratic process and nation building process?

In this context, "The study of Impact of Print and Television Media on Political Communication and Political Process of Maharashtra 1991-2015', offers a certain degree of relevance. According to this researcher, it will help to identify and understand the gaps and opportunities in the communication process and practices and will enable to provide a set of few evolved solution centric communication models for the society.

1.1.3 Objectives of Research

1. To study the communication models and initiatives adapted by political systems with reference to their respective audiences by using Print and Television media.

2. To study the reflection of prominent political movements in Maharashtra in Print and Television media.

3. To study the trends in peoples preferences in media consumption, changing lifestyles and their participation in these political movements.

4. To study the actual impact and translation of mass media coverage into the political process in terms of trends of peoples voting and electorate turn-out, during 1991-2015.

5. To study and recommend suitable communication models which can reflect the peoples' desire, achieve more sustainable results through dialogue and harmony to minimise friction, conflict, confrontation and becomes a catalyst of positive social and political change. These changes can be in the form of Rule Making, Adjudications etc.

1.1.4 Hypothesis

The close examination of the problem statement and the objectives of this study helped this researcher define the set of hypothesis. This hypothesis needed to be studied by taking into consideration all the elements of communication process which included the communicators, content, audience and the outcome of the communication in form of a tangible change or action. There is a set of responsibilities and values to be fulfilled by the media and as perceived by its audience. There is a set of potentials and possibilities offered by media and as perceived by the communicators. There is a set of possibilities towards the communicators and the audience, as aspired and defined by the media as an entity comprising of collaborative and collective strength of multi-media platforms and the professionals working in it. The interplay between the communicators, the audience

and the media creates an extremely dynamic universe of communication which is full of conflicts, confrontations, confusion, chaos, crisis all aimed at achieving tangible consensus in resolving issues and making the society and the world at large a better place for all concerned.

Hypothesis-1

The masses are educated and enabled by the mass media about their rights and duties towards better participation in the political process.

Hypothesis-2

The political system has also realised this change and is reconciling accordingly.

Hypothesis-3

The awareness through mass media, the access and availability of information through the media is not resulting into levels of action which are proportionate to the information delivered by the mass-media.

Hypothesis-4

The Mass media is showing tendency of becoming judgemental, biased and sensational.

1.1.5 Statement of Hypothesis

The media has been recognized as one of the key agents of political socialization. The media, as an entity comprising of multi-media communication platforms has been continuously evolving primarily because of technological advancement. The audience catered by the media has been subject to series of changes in the lifestyle due to economic, social and cultural changes taking place around them. The audience today is more driven by the factors that affect their lives and facilitate their progress and future. The communication matrix has changed dramatically. The society has become an extremely interlinked, inter-connected and inter-dependent structure. These factors have certainly influenced the equations between the media, the message (content) and the masses (audience).

The roles, responsibilities and accountabilities of the media and its audiences have changed remarkably. The value systems are also getting redefined while the core

essence principles are retained as much as possible. This vibrant scenario has provided this researcher with an opportunity to study and understand the impact on the communication process.

1.1.6. Significance of the study:

It is already mentioned in earlier pages that political communication is an important element of the political socialization and media is an immensely important agent of political socialization. The period under this study represents the era of 'ICE age', which underlines the information explosion and also economic liberalization. The entire dynamics of media operations, media audiences and media users has been evolving. In this context this study has significance in multiple ways.

The political system has very clearly realised this change and has incorporated the necessary modifications in reaching out to their audiences and invite them to participate in the respective political processes with the help of effective political communication methods and tools, which very obviously involves media as the most critically important tool.

The study will attempt to focus the trends in communication, gaps in communication practices, perception building initiatives, opinion building efforts and the end results which get expressed in the form of the voter turn-out in various elections, people's participation in various social and political movements and rule making. This will also attempt to present certain tangible recommendations for better and efficient communication models for the political fraternity and communication professionals to work upon.

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[1] Adler, R.B., and Towne, N (1978) Looking Out –Looking In (2nd Ed), New York. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

1.2 Dimensions of the Research Subject

1.2.1 Political Canvas

India is recognized as one of the largest functioning democracy of the world. The people of India get to represent their aspirations, expectations through the democratically elected public representatives at various levels. People's representations range from Gram Panchayats, Panchayat Samitis, Zilla Parishads, Municipal Councils, Municipal Corporations, Legislative assemblies to Parliaments.

The elections in India get conducted as per the constitutional provisions and laws made by Parliament. The major laws to this effect are Representation of People Act 1950 and Representation of People Act 1951.

1.2.1.1 The structure of Government of India-

The structure of Government of India comprises of three core sections which are Executive, Legislature and Judiciary. Each of these sections has primary responsibility defined by constitution, as below-

Executive: To pass the laws made by legislature.

Legislature: To make laws responsibly

Judiciary: To solve conflicts between Executive and Legislature and public related matters and conflicts.

By the primary responsibility, the Legislature represents the aspirations and the expectations of the people of the country. This primary responsibility establishes and underlines the significance of political communication, participation and process. The structure of Union Government of India and Governments of States in India, Union Territories in India has attributed significant roles and responsibilities for the legislature since they represent the people. These roles and responsibilities cannot be accomplished in its true spirit and essence unless it has focus on accountability. The media, which is considered and acknowledged as the fourth pillar of Indian Democracy acquires significance in this context. It can be stated here that the three pillars of democracy are expected to function with accountability to the people of the country. The people and the three pillars of democracy communicate with each other

through various media platforms. The media facilitates much needed interface between the three pillars and the people.

1.2.1.2 Elections in India

Election Commission of India:

The Election Commission of India is an autonomous organization formed under the Constitution of India. It was formed to ensure free and fair elections across in the country across every nook and corner to facilitate people's representation in the political process of the country.

Few of the key responsibilities of Election Commission of India are-

1. Registration and maintenance of the electoral rolls

2. Registration of political parties

3. Regulation of laws for the political parties

4. Issuance and marking of polling areas and constituencies

5. Appointment and maintenance of officers working in each and every polling booth and area

6. Educating voters about their rights and the process of voting

7. Managing the technological aspects of voting

1.2.1.3 Elections in India - Scale and System:

Elections in India are truly like an event of magnificent scale and proportions. It comprises of political mobilization and administrative complexity of tremendous scale. Conduct of the general elections for the Lok Sabha (Lower House of Parliament) is largest management activity of the world. The basic numbers tell the story of these elections very clearly.

The general elections involve the electorate exceeding 700 million and number of polling stations exceeding 700,000 from across the country in different geographies and climatic conditions.

The scale of general elections described in the numbers as above gets escalated with elections getting conducted at different time intervals for each of representative office under the structural definition of Indian Government.

 Overview of Electoral Statistics for Maharashtra

The research work undertaken by this researcher has Maharashtra as its specific reference. In this context an overview of the state of Maharashtra in terms of its demographic statistics becomes a basic reference.

The following tables comprise of the key elements of the demographics, electoral set-up, and number of seats for Parliament, State Assembly and number of recognized political parties at a glance.

Table No.	1

Maharashtra-Electoral Setup 2016		
Serial Number	Parameter	Details
1	Number of Revenue Divisions	6
2	Number of Districts	35
3	Number of Parliamentary Constituencies	48
4	Number of Assembly Constituencies	288
5	Number of seats of Legislative Councils	78
6	Number of Polling Stations	89479
7	Number of Polling Locations	55907
Source-https://ceo.maharashtra.gov.in		

Elections in India - Process Flow –

The election process has multiple and complex dimensions. The citizens, voters get associated with different aspects of the elections at different points in time in different capacities and roles. Campaign, Casting of Votes, Counting of Votes are key phases wherein the political parties, the election machinery and the citizens, voters have maximum interface with each other. This interface is through an equally elaborate media coverage which facilitates the desired communication to take place between all the stake holders.

Nomination and Campaign:

The political parties and their candidates put their best foot forward to make best and most of the campaign period. This is the period utilized to reach out to the people with proposed programmes and initiatives which according to each of the contesting party and candidate are their promise to perform and facilitate the next level of change. The official campaign lasts at least for a period of two weeks after the last date of with-drawl of scrutinized nominations and the final list of nominated candidates contesting is formalized. The official campaign ends 48 hours before the polling closes.

Casting of Votes and Counting of Votes:

On the day of casting votes, the entire election machinery functions in tandem with all its elements on and off the field. This comprises machinery of Election Commission of India at respective hierarchy along-with the administration, and comprehensive security preparations towards maintaining law and order. All this is aimed at facilitating free and fair elections. After due diligence towards the polling is done with, the actual counting of votes takes place under the returning officer and observers as appointed by the Election Commission. The Returning Officer officially and formally declares the results for the respective constituency.

Media Coverage:

The media becomes one of the key elements in establishing and ensuring the much needed transparency in this entire process of elections. The people get to receive all the necessary information, announcements, and updates through media.

1.2.1.4. The Political Party System:

In the parliamentary democracy, the legislature represents people of the country in the form of elected members to the respective house. The process of elections has been articulately defined, structured and governed under constitutional provisions. The aspirations of people get expressed in the form of programmes, policies and views aimed at finding the desired solutions through political parties with different ideologies. Each of the parties in the political arena has its own approach towards defining and executing policies and programmes. The party as an entity has a structure of ideation, thinking, dialogue, collective wisdom of like-minded people with similar beliefs. The party represents a set of collective ideologies, common interests and aspirations, collaborative and concerted efforts towards achieving these aspirations.

The political party as an integral concept of democracy has been defined in many ways than one.

Gerald M. Pomper's concept of political party-

According to Gerald M Pomper [1], the concept of political parties needs to be looked into with the help of three critical dimensions which are- Parties' focus on masses or elite, their collective and coalitional goals and objectives and their instrument and modus of expression. Pomper has further mentioned that the combined effect of these three critical dimensions results in eight abstract party concepts wherein each of the concepts gets identified with particular theorists and practitioners of the theories. These eight concepts are classified broadly as below- (Table No: 2)

Governing Caucus	Social Movement
Cause Advocate	Rational Team of Office Seekers
Ideological Community	Urban Machine
Bureaucratic Organisation	Personal Coalition

In the course of time, many factors such as access to leadership positions, identification with voter goals and character of popular participation decide the journey of the entity of the respective parties.

Dr. Daniel Thabo's concept of political party-

Dr. Daniel Thabo [2] has defined party as an organized group of people with at-least roughly similar political aims and opinions, that seeks to influence public policy by getting its candidates elected to public office. In the process parties get deeply and durably entrenched in specific sub-structures of society in a sustainable and well-functioning democracy. According to Dr. Thabo few tasks performed by the political parties are as below-

1. Understanding, analysing and articulating the needs and problems of society, as identified by its members and supporters,

2. Putting relentless efforts in terms of socializing, interacting and educating with citizens and voters within the framework of political and electoral system and generation of value system within the political system.

3. Balancing multiple and complex demands and converting them into general policies and programmes.

4. Mobilising citizens into participating in political decisions and facilitating the transformation of the public opinion into workable policy options.

5. Channeling public opinion from citizens to government.

6. Recruiting and training eligible candidates to acquire the public offices through democratic electoral process.

According to Dr. Thabo, the political parties often get described as institutionalized mediators between civil society and those who make policies and implement them.

Election Commission of India's concept of political party-

The Election Commission of India has defined the requirements political party and associations or organisations with reference to their registration.

While clarifying [3] if it is necessary for an association to get registered by the Election Commission, the Election Commission has made it clear that it is not necessary for every association to get registered by the Election Commission. Only an association or body of individual citizens of India calling itself a political party and intending to avail itself of the provisions of Part-IV-A of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, (relating to registration of political parties) is required to get itself registered with the Election Commission of India.

1.2.1.5. Major Political Parties (Maharashtra 2015) (Table No: 3   )

Indian National Congress (INC)	Samajwadi Party (SP)
Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)	Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)
Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	Communist Party of India (CPI)
ShivSena (SS)	Communist Party Marxist (CPM)
Republican Party Of India (RPI)	Janata Dal
Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS)	

1.2.1.6 Election manifesto: Concept and Significance

In India, the elections have been extremely significant to bring in major change in policies and positions on various critical issues of public interest at large. The deep rooted democratic process has shaped the people and political parties to work around the elections with reference to the aspirations and expectations of the electors and promise and programs designed by the political parties to realize these aspirations and expectations into reality. This has made the period between two elections equally important for all the political parties. The responses by the political parties to various economic, social, cultural issues through actions and reactions, promises and programs have become core indicators of their credentials to represent the people through electoral process. Irrespective of the formal campaigns, the electors observe, monitor and reconcile their assessment about various political parties with the help of inputs through print and television media.

Election Manifesto thus has become very important tool for the political parties over last few decades. The election manifesto is a published document wherein the political parties declare their ideologies, intentions, views, policies and programmes. It serves as an important reference or benchmark for the electors at large to assess, evaluate and compare various political options available to them with reference to the challenges and situations existing at any given point in time and decide their preference towards the forthcoming elections.

This process is a continuous one, both for the electors and the political parties. The role of media gets underlined in this context as well.

1.2.1.7 Civil Society

Introduction

As political demonstrators have demanded greater civil society involvement in the governing of the country, India commentators in recent weeks have been musing on what this term means and who is qualified to represent it.

Definitions and Perspectives

Prof. Niraja Gopal Jayal, a professor at the Center for the Study of Law and Governance at New Delhi's Jawaharlal Nehru University, has elaborated this concept and its multiple dimensions. According to Prof.Jayal, even-though is an old concept in the realm of political thinking, many intellectuals don't like to hazard a definition of the term because this is a concept with a complex history and this concept has meant different things at different points in time and in different societies,Despite the lingering confusion about the nature and composition of civil society, the term has gained wide political currency in recent time.

Samuel Gregg, director of research at the U.S.-based Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty, notes that up to around the 18th century, the term "civil society" was used to distinguish the realm of the secular from the realm of the church, but then underwent a shift. India Real Time made a stab at defining the term "civil society" from his work as comprising those "intermediate associations" of society – academic,

cultural, religious or charitable – that are separate from the family, and from the institutions of the state and the market. Mr. Gregg calls such associations "little platoons" that draw "people out of their immediate family without subsuming them into the state" and that have "the capacity to assist people to look towards those higher ends of truth, beauty, and the good."

This definition effectively covers charities, non-governmental organizations or NGOs, civic associations like local Residents' Welfare Associations, social movements, traders' associations, social service initiatives, and faith-based groups and so on.

Prof. Jayal agreed with this definition of civil society to some extent. In India's context according to Prof. Jayal, civil society has had diverse relationships with the state ranging from the adversarial anti-dam movement of the Narmada Bachao Andolan (Save the Narmada River Movement) to the relationship of partnership as demonstrated by nonprofit organizations focused on development that provide service delivery functions in the areas like health and education in rural areas, often working closely with local administrations.

The political scientist described India's civil society as robust, and vital to India's democracy—and certainly its credibility will be bolstered if public protest is able to ensure the passage of a bill that has only been in the works for about four decades (leaving aside the question of how useful it will be).

Of course, some commentators have criticized the role in drafting legislation that activists have taken on in recent months as what they have viewed as the government's excessive responsiveness to it.

According to Prof. Jayal, the civil society groups do need to acknowledge the importance of existing mechanisms and processes of the state—and that law-making should be the domain of elected representatives, rather than un-elected ones.

According to Prof. Jayal the democratic state needs a strong civil society, but a strong civil society can only exist within a democratic framework guaranteed by the state and this is a symbiotic relationship, which should also mean that one does not trespass into the other's domain.

The civil society being different from the state implies an arena in which people can realize their self-interest, develop their personality and learn the value of group action by depending on others for their welfare. Civil society prepares the people to

participate in state functioning and thus, it provides a solid base of citizenship. Civil society can be described as something private as contrasted to the state and as something public when contrasted to the family.

Though it is an aspect of the modern state and is subject to its control, yet it is autonomous and voluntarily organised. *Charles Taylor, a prominent English language philosopher* of contemporary times has characterised Civil Society as a commercial society that includes both economic associations as well as the domain of non-economic voluntary associations.

Earnest Gellner, noted philosopher and researcher has observed that "civil society is that set of diverse nongovernmental institutions which is strong enough to counterbalance the state and, while not preventing the state from fulfilling its role of keeper of the peace and arbitrator between major interests, can nevertheless prevent it from dominating atomizing the rest of society".

According to Dr. Devinder Singh, Associate Professor, Dep't. Of Political Science, S.P.N. College Mukerian, Dist. Hoshiarpur (PB) IndiaCivil society must also have foundation in a mature democracy and a mature political culture. It can be built only if there is widespread determination on the part of society to demand respect for, and observance of, individual rights, and popular will to hold accountable anyone or any institution, which violates them.

Civil society derives its strength from the Gandhian tradition of volunteerism, but today, it expresses itself in many different forms of activism.

These NGOs can be broadly classified into three categories, as below:

1. Voluntary Social Work on ground, where it is needed most.

2. Voluntary Research on subjects of high social relevance and impact and lobby with policy makers to prevent potential threats to society or community...

3. Activists

India is a representative rather than a participatory democracy.

Once the elections are over, the politicians who run the federal and state governments do not really need to go back to the electorate for every major decision – there is not tradition of referendums in India, as there is a Switzerland or Denmark. So, in the five years between one election and another, the NGOs and parts of the media, to some

extent are often the only means available to the citizens to voice their opinions on any decision taken by a government.

In a large developing country like India, there are numerous gaps left by the government in the development process, sometimes by intention, sometimes due to lack of funds or sometimes due to lack of awareness. These are the gaps that many NGOs try to fill in modern India. Some of them may work in areas that the government does not want to get into, like fighting discrimination on the basis of caste.

Education, Healthcare, Environment, Human Rights are few critical areas of social interests wherein the contribution of civil society is noteworthy.

1.2.2 Media

Introduction:

The media in India has evolved and expanded exponentially over last two and half decades, during 1991-2015 in size and scale. This growth is a result of multiple factors such as literacy, logistics, access, availability, urbanization, technology put to use for news gathering, production and efficient delivery mechanism. The media which used to be essentially in the form of print publications till 70's became electronic and then upgraded to be digital in last three and half decades (1980-2015). The word mass used with reference to mass media indicates its scale and reach. Mass media has reach, spread, penetration of very high scale and it has an in-built capability to influence its readers and viewers in an extremely short time span. The mass media manages to take the communication process including the news, views, information and analysis beyond constraints and addresses the masses and elites as well. The media which is studied in this research work is broadly classified into Print and Television which is part of digital platform of mass media.

While the print has been in existence since over one and half century the digital has been around since over 6 decades. This research has attempted to pick up the relevant threads of the transition and transformation which took place at various time intervals to arrive at a frame of reference which adheres to the subject matter of this research in the best possible form.

1.2.2.1 Print Media

The origins and roots of media in India can be clearly traced down to print media. The pre-independence period had triggered the need for social and intellectual leaders of the Indian society to address and communicate the fellow Indians as regards to the ongoing dynamics of the freedom struggle, efforts. The thought leaders of that era had used the print format to sensitise and mobilise the people of the country towards the larger goal of Indian Independence and all the allied aspects of independence. This modest beginning gained momentum with the access to resources, literacy, and technology and over a period of five decades of pre-independence phase there were innumerable attempts and initiatives to use the print platform to reach out to wider audience for the objective. There were publications, bulletins and periodicals with different periodicity, format, in regional languages and in English, which were launched during this period the nation to reach-out to people with different demographic profiles. These publications were largely launched and headed by the various leading thought leaders and thinkers, who were icons in their own distinguished ways. The content had been driven by an agenda and it was more of views and opinions and was low on news, by design.

Alongside this prominent objective, the editorials in these publications also strongly focused on promoting social awareness about the prevailing issues pertaining to equality, justice, literacy, women participation, progressive thoughts aimed at the betterment of the entire society.

In the post-independence period the ground reality changed as expected and dramatically. The country got its identity as a nation in many ways than one. The administrative control, freedom of expression, one of the most respected constitutions of the world, a whole new horizon which was full of dreams, desires, aspirations, possibilities, opportunities, avenues and challenges unfolded in front of the young nation called India. During the post-independence period the objectives, purpose and context changed dramatically and obviously. The nation was a free nation and needed to focus on its nation building process more prominently. India had become a young and aspiring nation that had many dreams and desires to fulfill and achieved. The print publications and the people associated with the format realized this changed quickly and adapted to it effectively. India had become a nation with multi-lingual,

multi- cultural, multi-religious diversity and media in India adorned a role which had a set of challenging tasks which were historical and had epic dimension. The political and cultural socialisation of a generation of population, with such diversity towards nation building had been the primary task for the print media, immediately in the post-independence period.

The ideas and road maps about nation building were getting debated, discussed at different levels across the population and especially the literate population. The ideological orientations of the social, political and thought leaders were shaping the debates and dialogues. There were points of agreement and dis-agreement. There were points of consensus and conflicts. There were points of breakthrough and blockage. There were points of egos and emotions. There were points of cheers and chaos. Each of the opinion maker was using the print publication platforms to reach out to the people in the best possible manner and the print media not only reflected the mood swings of the young nation called India but in retrospective chronicled every possible detail as a treasured reference for the future generations to refer to for corrections and changes, as and when need be.

The first two decades of the post-independence period witnessed the print media coming to terms with the expectations and aspirations of the existing and emerging readers. The situation during this phase had been extremely fluid. The people associated with the print media also needed to re-assess their roles and responsibilities towards their readers and society at large by consistently exploring and re-defining the concepts of information and journalism. The access to high level sources of information and future policy matters of the nation through the connect and proximity to people in power, which the print media happened to have earned over the decades of relentless hard work and research transformed print media into becoming the fourth pillar of the state which had consciously accepted itself into a sovereign, republic and democratic state by design and determination.

The earlier five decades had brought India face to face with the changing dynamics and under-currents of the world around it. This had conditioned the orientation of the nation towards the new world order, which largely was driven with the access to tangible information which was getting used as knowledge.

This provided much needed backdrop and context for the media to become mass media in a very short time period.

This research subject in focus primarily refers to a period of two and half decades (1991-2015). This period has the print media canvas reaching its crescendo. The print media in this period had explored various innovations and experiments. It consisted of publications in categories such as Newspapers, News-Weeklies, Fortnightly, Magazines, Quarterly and Annuals, based on its periodicity of publication. The size of the publications was another parameter to get these publications categorized as, Broadsheets, Tabloid, A4-Magazine Size. The editorial and content focus of the publications also categorised them into News, Opinions, Analysis, Special Reports, Sports, Business and Finance, Social and Economic Issues and more.

The growth, spread and penetration of print media and primarily the newspapers was because of advancements in technology. The printing facilities became state of art, which facilitated far better print and production quality, integration of internet enabled software and data transfer systems brought into to reality the era of multi-edition large size newspapers. The integration of internet enabled technological infrastructure made it possible to publish a newspaper from different locations simultaneously. These locations are primarily called as editions. This facility provides the newspapers with dual advantage of retaining the consistency of prominent editorial, content, design and visual features and top it up with local flavor to ensure better localized connect with the readers. The newspapers also worked upon developing special interest supplements for their readers to address and cater to the changing needs and tastes of the readers. This development and transformation within the content delivery of newspaper coupled with tremendous growth of news-channels and internet changed the dynamics of news-weeklies and news-magazines and created multiple challenges for their survival and growth because of the impact on their circulation and advertising revenues.

The subsequent sub-sections and tables incorporated here present with a set of indicators about the scale of print media in India, publication profiles, content profiles and fact-sheet about the certified circulation figures of few newspapers during 1991-2015,in Maharashtra which is the specific reference point of this study.

Table No.4	Fact-sheet of print media in India				
TOTAL CIRCULATION OF REGISTERED PRINT PUBLICATIONS FROM 2005-06 TO 2014-15 (Figures in'000)					
Year	**Dailies**	**Tri / Bi weeklies**	**Weeklies**	**Others**	**Total**
2005-2006	88863	566	50580	40728	180738
2006-2007	98837	737	52082	40420	192077
2007-2008	105791	654	57995	42666	207108
2008-2009	135805	574	69180	52392	257953
2009-2010	162312	635	83789	65078	308816
2010-2011	175665	969	89483	63086	329204
2011-2012	196951	928	103471	72487	373839
2012-2013	224337	1187	104860	74651	405037
2013-2014	264289	893	112005	73397	450586
2014-2015	296302	973	127483	85762	510521
Growth in percent between 2005-6 and 2014-15					
Publication category	**Dailies**	**Tri and Bi weeklies**	**Weeklies**	**Others**	**Total**
Percent	333.4	171.9	252.0	210.6	282.5
Source	59th Annual Report of the Registrar of Newspapers for India called "PRESS IN INDIA"-(2014-2015). Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. (rni.nic.in)				

Table no.4 comprises of data as regards to the trends in print publication in India. The table clearly indicates the phenomenal growth in print publications during the period of 2005-2015. It also provides category-wise trends in daily newspapers, weeklies, tri and bi weeklies, for different print publication platforms.

Table No.5					
ABC Certified Circulation Figures (Maharashtra) 1995-2014					
Newspapers from Maharashtra covered in this study					
Year >>	1995	2000	2005	2010	2014
Name of Publications					
English					
The Times of India	393,424	597,359	727,054	1,059,690	327866
The Indian Express	134,430	186,282	NAM	NAM	NAM
D.N.A.	DNE	DNE	DNE	NAM	
Hindustan Times	1,032	1,066	1,342	115	
Sakal Times	DNE	DNE	DNE	NAM	NAM
Marathi					
Sakal	282,114	508,382	823,976	1,384,043	1E+06
Maharashtra Times	160,035	177,099	260,902	287,111	NAM
Lokmat	269,268	709,885	973,919	1,617,581	1E+06
Pudhari	107,758	168,009	254,558	688,580	668603
Loksatta	332,246	372,367	NAM	287,527	339303

Legend For Reference			Source	
Abbreviation in chart	**Meaning**		Data sourced from ABC-Audit Bureau of Circulation	
NAM	Not A Member			
NA	Not Accepted			
DNE	Did Not Exist			

This table no.5 provides the ABC audited circulation figures of few prominent daily newspapers (English and Marathi) from Maharashtra, referred in this study.ABC-Audit Bureau of Circulation is the authority which certifies the paid circulation of members publications. This data is compiled and certified every six months for the period of January-June and July-December.

Media Profiles in brief-Newspapers*

(* The newspapers incorporated in this study)

_____

Kesari (Marathi Daily) -

Kesari is published by Kesari Mahratta Trust and has a legacy of over 135 years. In the media domain, which is increasingly getting commercial, Kesari is looked upon as 'national heritage' because of its length of service to the society and the causes and missions it is associated with over a century.

Sakal (Marathi Daily) –

The flagship product of the Sakal Media Group, Sakal started out as a 4-page daily in 1932 and has today metamorphosed into the voice of the entire state of Maharashtra, making it one of the top read regional dailies in India.

Sakal has ediitions at Pune, Kolhapur, Satara, Nashik, Aurangabad, Ahmednagar, Nagpur, Jalgaon, Mumbai, Akola.

Loksatta (Marathi Daily) –

Loksatta was launched on January 14, 1948.

Loksatta, believes in being a forum and voice of democracy in Maharashtra. It also strives hard for its impartial coverage and nonconformist & liberal viewpoint.

Maharashtra Times (Marathi Daily) -

The Maharashtra Times is rooted in Marathi culture and values. Maharashtra Times is one of the most distinguished regional newspapers.

Maharashtra Times has editions at Mumbai, Pune, Nashik, Aurangabad and Kolhapur.

Lokmat (Marathi Daily) –

Lokmat is the market leader in terms of average daily circulation in the Marathi daily newspaper segment in Maharashtra and Goa. (Source: ABC Jan - Jun 2014). Lokmat has 11 Marathi editions covering entire Maharashtra and Goa. To cater to the local needs and dialect, we also publish 46 sub editions, enabling us to customize content to cater to the interests of our readers in each market. Lokmat is published from Mumbai, Pune, Nagpur, Aurangabad, Nashik, Kolhapur, Jalgaon, Ahmednagar, Solapur, and Akola & Panaji.

The Times Of India (English Daily) –

The Times of India is most popular and widely read English broadsheet daily in India, with the ABC certifying it as the world's largest selling English language daily.

'dna'- (Daily News and Analysis) (English Daily) -

Launched on July 30, 2005, in Mumbai, **dna** is an English broadsheet daily owned by Diligent Media Corporation, an Essel Group company.

Through news, views, analyses and interactivity, **dna** provides readers with a composite unbiased picture of the city, the country and the world around them.

The Indian Express -

The Indian Express is founded by Shri Ramnath Goenka in 1932. From a single-edition paper in Madras in 1932, The Indian Express has grown into a multiple-edition paper influencing thought and policy across the country. 'Journalism of Courage', is the mission statement of The Indian Express.

Sakal Times (English Daily) – The Sakal Times is Pune's oldest English daily and was launched in its new avatar in 2008. It is a family centric daily with a balanced coverage. Sakal Times has one edition at Pune.

(Source – The websites of respective publications and information from the market)

Content Profile in Print Media

The print media has a tradition of over a century and half. In these years the print media has evolved in many ways. The content elements, content orientation, the readers and the target audiences, their aspirations, the changing socio-economic and cultural conditions, the lifestyle changes have redefined the content profile of print media consistently and continuously. The print media, which includes daily newspapers and news periodicals get published as per their pre-declared periodicity and hence do not have the neck-breaking pressure of 'breaking news' characteristic of television media.

As a result of evolved processes in the print media, the news gets duly processed, edited in appropriate manner as specified by the editorial guidelines of the print platform in general and the editorial policies of the particular publishers and editorial board. There is an in-built accountability in the entire process of making news and analysis based print publication.

The content profile of the print media can broadly comprise of a content hierarchy, which gets implemented in disciplined manner from the front page to the last page. The content elements are spread across the pages in the form of dedicated sections and pages meant to offer a consistent reading experience to the readers.

The commonly observed flow for the daily newspapers is as below-

1. Front Page is used for Headlines, Editorial Pointers, Anchor Story and briefs.

2. Few pages after the front page are used for the coverage of local happenings, news-items, announcements.

3. Specific pages are used for regional and state news after local news.

4. Editorial and Op-Ed sections are dedicated for opinions, analysis, special reports, readers' letters to editor, opinion polls etc.

5. Business, Commerce, Finance, Share and Commodity Markets are covered in the business section.

6. This is followed by International and World News

7. In most of the newspapers, last two to three pages are dedicated to sports news coverage.

8. Most of the newspapers have created special supplements and pull-outs for Entertainment, Lifestyle, Health Care, Travel and Tourism etc., and these sections are published as additional section of the core newspaper.

This is the most common template of pagination used by newspapers. The thrust and emphasis on a particular category of news can change depending on whether the newspaper is a hyper-local or regional or state or national newspaper and also whether it is a newspaper in regional language or a newspaper in English language.

This content profile and hierarchy is followed by the newspapers so consistently that the readers get used to the flow.

Similar to the newspapers, the news periodicals (Weeklies, Fortnightlies, and Magazines) have a content plan, which is comprised of-

1. Cover Story

2. Special Report

3. Analysis

4. Sections on art, culture, sports, places, personalities, newsmakers

5. Readers' response to the content published in the earlier editions

6. Photo-feature etc.

The Cover Stories and Special Reports are the major holding points for the readers of the periodicals.

Besides this standard content plan and flow, the periodicals do publish many special editions on subjects and topics ranging from travel and tourism, health care, education, entertainment, festival specials, event specials etc.

The print media continues to be editorial lead and emphasis is on delivering well researched, checked, analysed content to the readers within the deadlines, though the print media does not have the neck-break compulsions of television media.

1.2.2.2 Digital Media

a. Television

Introduction and Background:

The contemporary digital media of today's time has got evolved from electronic media to become a comprehensive digital media universe because of the communication platforms created by the advancement in electronics and internet. This journey includes Radio, Television and Internet enabled Social Media.

Television as a broadcast communication platform came into existence in the year 1926-27 in United States, which had introduced the electronic imaging system and used the radio frequency to transfer and transmit the data. Philo Taylor Farnsworth [4] had launched this invention in the form a device in its primitive format.

After the initial teething troubles with reference to the perception about the social, political and ideological orientations of people associated with television, the journey became rapidly commercial and feasible for the television industry and the television acquired the dimension of mass media around 1950.

The first indication of the power of this audio visual medium was noticed by the modern world when television covered the U.S. Presidential election in 1952 and later in 1960 when television debates changed the way people listen, see and interpret for actual action. In the subsequent five decades the television expanded phenomenally with technological advancements, satellite and cable networks, digital image and sound quality enhancement.

Television in India:

The television in India has arrived in few stages between 1959, 1976 and 1982.It got introduced and experimented with social objectives of facilitating the communication related to rural India, agriculture and farming, children and education. The television in India was identified as Doordarshan on the similar lines of Akashwani or All India Radio. Television became a mass media in the last two and half decades, post economic liberalization and reforms.

Television which entered as a primary element of education and information has engulfed the viewers with a world of news, views, information, knowledge and entertainment. Quite simply the content on television is commonly categorized as 'infotainment'. The programming has become competitive in nature, sophisticated by technology, comprehensive by scale and dynamic by character. It has been consistently deriving its strength from the smart use of traditional print and ever evolving digital media and attempts to revitalize itself in terms of its relevance.

The television in India today stands at over 800 channels which comprises of 400 news channels in English, Indian Regional and Hindi languages. The next two tables provide us with the data and analysis of genre-wise television viewership and language-wise viewership of news channels.

Table No. 6

Television Viewership Data

Content Genres and Television Viewership Trends	
Content Genre	**Viewership Percent**
English Entertainment	0.9
Infotainment	1.3
Regional Music	1.8
Sports	2.4
Hindi News	3.7
Regional Movies	3.7
Regional News	3.7
Music	3.2
Children's-Kids	7.3
English News	0.1
Others	9.4
Hindi GEC (General Entertainment Channels)	31.2
Regional GEC (General Entertainment Channels)	17.9
Hindi Movies	13.6

Comment	
The Genre of news channels commands only 7.5% of the total television viewership as per this industry report. But its significance from impact perspective gets indicated by the Advertising Share it commands. AdEx (Advertising Revenue Share) for news genre is 21.7%.	

Analysis of viewership (News channels Only)	
Language	**Share-Percent**
Hindi News	49.30%
Regional News	49.30%
English News	1.30%

Share-Percent

- Hindi News
- Regional News
- English News
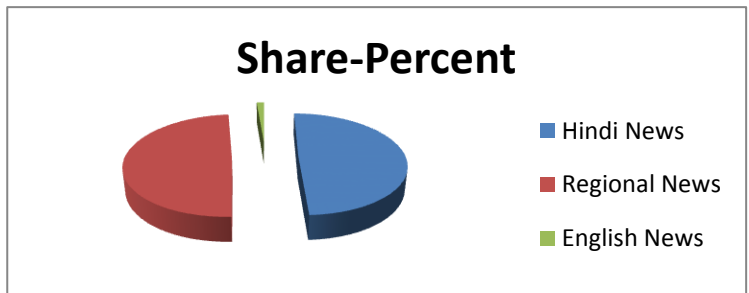
Comment	
Regional languages and Hindi language dominate the news channel viewership. The viewership of English news channels stands at 1.3% of the total news channel viewership.	

Source: FICCI-KPMG Indian Media and Entertainment Industry Report 2015

Future of Television Viewership Analytics:

The Television Viewership data and analysis is expected to become more focused and sophisticated during the period of next five years (2016-2020), because of increased focus on analytics. The focus will not only be on audience analysis but will incorporate content analytics and distribution analytics.

Media Profiles in Brief - News Channels*
(*Incorporated in this study-Maharashtra)

1. IBN Lokmat, India (Marathi)
IBN Lokmat is a Marathi-language News and Current Affairs channel based in Mumbai. It offers the latest from the world of business, sports, entertainment and news from across the globe and India. IBN Lokmat is a Joint Venture between Network 18 and Lokmat Media Ltd.

2. ABP Majha, India (Marathi)
ABP Majha (formerly known as Star Majha) is a 24-hr national free-to-air Marathi news channel. It was launched in 2007 and it delivers news in the Marathi language. Its headquarters is based in Mumbai, Maharashtra.

3. Zee 24 Taas, India (Marathi)
Zee 24 Taas is a 24 hour news channel launched by Zee News in 2007.

4. Times now, India (English)
Times now is a 24-hour news TV channel. The channel is based in Mumbai. It was launched in 2006 and is owned by the Times Group.

5. CNN IBN, India (English)
CNN IBN is a news TV channel based in Noida, Gautam Buddh Nagar, and Uttar Pradesh. It was founded in 2005. It offers News from India and the World. It has rebranded itself as CNN News18, effective April'2016.

6. NDTV 24x7, India (English)

NDTV 24x7 (New Delhi Television Limited) is a commercial news and current affairs TV channel, based in New Delhi). NDTV was launched in 2003. The channel won 2 times the Best English News Channel Award, at the Indian Television Academy Awards.

7. Headlines Today, India (English)

Headlines Today is a News TV channel which was launched in 2003. The channel is based in Mumbai. The channel carries news, current affairs and business programming. It has been rebranded as India Today Television.

8. NDTV India, India – (Hindi)

NDTV or New Delhi Television Limited is a commercial Hindi TV channel that was launched in 2003. It provides both National as International News.

9. DD News, India (English and Hindi)

DD News or Doordarshan News is a News TV channel. The News channel is controlled by the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology. It was launched in 2003. The programs are in Hindi and the English language.

—————————

(SOURCE - wwitv.com/tv_channels)

Content Profile of Television Media

The television media comprises of Entertainment Channels (GECs, Movies and Music), Special Interest Channels (Niche Segments such as Travel, Wildlife, Food and Cuisines, Kids, Sports etc.) and News Channels (Referred as Television Media in this research).

The commonly observed content profile of News Channels is as below-

1. News Headlines (At regular time intervals-Every Hour)

2. Special Reports

3. Special sections for updates from the world of entertainment, art and culture, sports

4. Interviews

5. Debates, Talk shows etc.

6. Live Coverage of events and rallies which have significance to the audience beyond geographical boundaries

It needs to be noted here that the economics of television channels depends on the advertising revenues. The advertising revenues depend on the reach and audience. The reach and audience is indicated in the form of TRPs (Television Rating Points). This has resulted into an extremely competitive and sometimes desperate, restless anxiety of delivering 'breaking news'. This rush of breaking news sometimes results into flashing a news story without thorough verification of facts, figures and context.

Radio

The content profile of Radio

In the wake of a dynamic media universe, which is empowered and energized by the technology the radio continues to hold its ground with reference to the remote corners of the country as a medium of mass communication.

The basic advantage of radio is that it allows the audience (listeners) to continue with their activity on hand without making them get stationery and watch it attentively in a theatrical set-up.

The radio news bulletins which get broadcasted at regular time intervals throughout the day offer some limited relevance to the audience who is away from any access to television, internet and also for the audience which is not literate.

However the content on radio is not restricted to merely news broadcast but incorporates weather reports, farm and crop updates, interviews, lectures, talk-shows, radio programmes and music.

Content Profile of New Age and Social Media

Introduction

The New-Age Media is primarily digital and technology driven. It comprises of Internet, Mobile platforms, News-portals, Websites, Blogs, Online Communities, Virtual Communities, and Social Media Networks.

The dynamics of new media drives the content in many ways than one. It is young in age, has no physical and geographical boundaries. It is global in nature and character. The Rules, Regulations, Norms, Discipline, Hierarchy and Standardization are still getting in place for the New-Age Media. The role of editors is way different in the new age media. The editors in new age digital media need to have proficiency in 'content creation, content generation and content management and content delivery

In the new-age media domain the emphasis is on being the first, the focus is on being 'Crisp' and also on presentation which can catch the attention and traction of netizens (Internet Users).

The social media largely accommodates user generated content (UGC) and creates instant acceptance and connect for the users and drives the media to next levels.

The biggest concern and sensitivity with content on the social media is that most of it gets uploaded and consumed unedited and can have some potential to cause social unrest on the issues which are sensitive and delicate in nature for the society at large.

The general media industry statistics indicates the scale and size of the social media.

Google (Over 160 crore users), Facebook (Over 128 crore users), Twitter (Over 64 crore users), WhatsApp (Almost every smart phone user).

The new-age media which is dominated by internet enabled social media. The internet penetration data for the period year 2010-2016 clearly indicates the trend and the future growth story of this new media dynamics.

Table No.7

Internet Users in India (Year 2000-2016)

Year	Internet Users** Figures in'000	Penetration (% of Pop)	Total Population Figures in'000	Non-Users No Internet Figures in'000	1Y User Change in percentage
2016*	462,124	34.80%	1,326,801	864,676	30.50%
2015*	354,114	27%	1,311,050	956,935	51.90%
2014	233,152	18%	1,295,291	1,062,139	20.70%
2013	193,204	15.10%	1,279,498	1,086,294	21.50%
2012	158,960	12.60%	1,263,589	1,104,629	26.50%
2011	125,617	10.10%	1,247,446	1,121,828	36.10%
2010	92,323	7.50%	1,230,984	1,138,660	48.50%
2009	62,166	5.10%	1,214,182	1,152,016	18.60%
2008	52,431	4.40%	1,197,070	1,144,638	12.50%
2007	46,597	4%	1,179,685	1,133,088	42.90%
2006	32,602	2.80%	1,162,088	1,129,485	19.30%
2005	27,327	2.40%	1,144,326	1,116,998	22.80%
2004	22,259	2%	1,126,419	1,104,159	19.10%
2003	18,692	1.70%	1,108,369	1,089,677	11.50%
2002	16,765	1.50%	1,090,189	1,073,423	136.90%
2001	7,076	0.70%	1,071,888	1,064,812	27.30%
2000	5,557	0.50%	1,053,481	1,047,923	96.50%

Legend For Reference :

* estimate for July 1, 2016

** Internet User = individual who can access the Internet at home, via any device type and connection.

Source	Internet Live Stats*** (www.InternetLiveStats.com)

*** 'Internet Live Stats', is part of the Real Time Statistics Project (Worldometer and 7 Billion World). It is an international team of developers, researchers and analysts.

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(1) Source-http://jtp.sagepub.com/

(2) Source-pachodo.org

(3) Source-eci.nic.in

(4)-Reference-Mitchell Stephens-Grolier Encyclopedia-www.nyu.edu

1.2.3: The People

1.2.3.1 Introduction

In the study of impact, the scale and size of the effect amplifies the relevance of the term 'Impact'. In this research work the scale and size, with reference to which the impact is being studied is of magnificent proportions.

The population is the most significant aspect which in numerical terms underlines the 'size and scale' of the research. The growth in population and simultaneously the growth in literacy have fuelled the possibility of access to media, awareness through media and aspiration to bring the necessary change into reality for the masses.

This study refers to 'impact of print and television on political communication and process'.

Each of the term which comprises the research title, has scalability and size as an integral and in-built dimensions. It is a given reality of this research work that the people of India and Maharashtra particularly are being studied. The people under subject matter are primarily all adult citizens who are eligible to vote and participate in active political process and consume political communication to be able to do so.

However another critical dimension of this research work is the exposure to media and their media preferences and habits. This has added other criteria to the sample selection, which was their literacy indicator. People is an extremely important element in the field of social sciences. It is 'people', which create societies. It is 'people', which represent interests and clash of interests of individuals. It is 'people', which trigger and drive the social and political processes in any society. It is 'people', which get impacted and affected by the process of socialization.

Hence it is 'people', which need to be studied with different perspectives.

1.2.3.1 Perspectives to understand people:

Population and Literacy

'Educate one man, you educate one person, but educate one woman and you educate a whole civilization', -Mohandas Karamchand alias Mahatma Gandhi.
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Literacy level and educational attainment are key indicators in the development of the society. The United Nations has also set the attainment of primary education as its millennium global goal, to be achieved by the year 2015. The emphasis on literacy has multiple dimensions to achieve. It has a direct impact on improving awareness about quality of life, demographic parameters such as fertility, mortality, reducing gender gap; acquiring new skill sets to achieve sustainable development supported by increased awareness level. Taking this into account the Planning Commission, in its eleventh five year plan has targeted objectives like achieving literacy levels to 85% and reducing the gender gap in literacy to 10 percent points.

It is also interesting to note here that while working on the literacy as a mission aimed at effective nation building, the population between the age group of 0-6 years is considered to be illiterate since the experts have established an observation that the primary skill to read and write, essential for literacy are attainable from 7th year onwards.

In this context the literacy rate is presented in two types as below-
1. Crude Literacy Rate

> Crude Literacy Rate is calculated as per the following formula-
> (Total Literate Population / Total Population) x 100

2. Effective Literacy Rate

> Effective Literacy Rate is calculated as per the following formula-
> (Total Literate Population of above 7 years of age **/** Total population of above 7 years of age) x 100

Table No. 8   **Literacy Rate in India –   Period   1991-2011**

Census Year	Persons - (Percent of population literate)	Male- (Percent of Literate Population)	Female- (Percent of Literate population)	Male-female gap in literacy rate
1991	52.21	64.13	39.29	24.84
2001	64.83	75.26	53.67	21.59
2011	74.04	82.14	65.46	16.68

This data on literacy is referred here since literacy has a close relation with the process of socialisation wherein education system and environment are considered as one of the most prominent agents of individuals' socialisation.

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Source: National Commission on Population under Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India. (populationcommission.nic.in)

The following table provides population and literacy data for the state of Maharashtra for the period of two consecutive population census surveys in 2001 and 2011.

Table No.9

Population and Literacy Data -Maharashtra - 2001-2011			
Sr.No	**Description and Parameter**	**Year 2011**	**Year 2001**
1	Approximate Population	11.24 Crores	9.69 Crore
2	Actual Population	112,374,333	96,878,627
3	Male	58,243,056	50,400,596
4	Female	54,131,277	46,478,031
5	Population Growth	15.99%	22.57%
6	Percentage of total Population	9.28%	9.42%
7	Sex Ratio	929	922
8	Child Sex Ratio	894	913
9	Density/km2	365	315
10	Density/mi2	946	815
11	Area(Km^2)	307,713	307,713
12	Area mi2	118,809	118,809
13	Total Child Population (0-6 Age)	13,326,517	13,671,126
14	Male Population (0-6 Age)	7,035,391	7,146,432
15	Female Population (0-6 Age)	6,291,126	6,524,694
16	Literacy	82.34%	76.88%
17	Male Literacy	88.38%	85.97%
18	Female Literacy	75.87%	67.03%
19	Total Literate	81,554,290	63,965,943
20	Male Literate	45,257,584	37,184,963
21	Female Literate	36,296,706	26,780,980
Source : www.census2011.co.in			

Maharashtra Electorate Data:

The electoral data is a basic indicator of the political participation in democracy. The following data provides the electoral participation of the population of the state of Maharashtra for 5 consecutive General Assembly Elections.

Table No.10	**Electorate Data Maharashtra**				
ELECTORATE DATA					
General Elections to Maharashtra Legislative Assembly					
Parameter	Election Year				
	1995	1999	2004	2009	2014
Eligible Electors					
Men	28551885	29656815	34374364	39851051	44121737
Women	26541977	27219599	31591428	36117261	39405601
Total*	55093862	56876414	65965792	75968312	83528310
Electors who voted					
Men	20750590	18869053	22362451	24528942	28383004
Women	18748271	15794780	19390813	20669389	24308397
Total**	39498861	34663833	41845710	45337945	52937040
Poll Percentage	71.69	60.95	63.44	59.68	63.38
Constituencies	288	288	288	288	288
Total*	Includes Male+Female+Third Gender				
Total**	Includes Male+Female+Third Gender and Postal Votes				
Source:Statistical Reports on General Elections to Maharashtra Legislative Assembly-Election Commission of India, New Delhi.(eci.nic.in)					

1.2.3.3 Significant Peoples Movements (1995-2015)

Introduction

The political communication is an integral part of the larger process of political socialization. The political socialization of the individuals and society in general is a continuous process which happens at different levels at different but interlinked time intervals. The socialization can be chronicled and examined with reference to context of certain specific events and incidents, which make the individuals and society, get mobilized to achieve and fulfill some aspiration and or objectives in collective interest with efforts which are essentially collaborative in nature. This collaboration can be between ideas, interests, social need, futuristic or corrective measures to facilitate better and seamless execution of the society at large.

This continuous process may sometimes need a large time frame to realize the germ or concept to acquire a form of a law, act or a rule which has a sustainable significance for the society. The process which happens over a period of time where-in multiple social, economic, cultural and political elements and factors collaborate together to amplify the need and relevance of the subject in focus to achieve the desired objectives can be termed as a movement. Movement has to have a concept, comprehensive and inclusive narrative, integrated strategy, direction, decisive, equipped   and focused leadership with a committed team and tremendous endurance to travel its trajectory from the launch to destination point. This journey or process of any movement is not possible without due support and contribution of flawless and efficient communication mechanism.

India has a rich legacy of social and political movements aimed at achieving various aspirations and objectives ranging from freedom movement to social reforms and matters of larger significance.

The changed dynamics of communication technology and platforms have contributed towards awareness, sensitizing, efficient resource and time management and addressing the target audiences at the respective points in time.

During the period considered for this research project (1991-2015), various social and political movements have got into motion in the respective desired directions. I propose to refer to three significant movements during this period, which are immensely important from nation building perspective.

These movements are – **Lokpal, Right To Information (RTI) and Right To Education (RTE).** These three bills and acts were result of relentless and exemplary efforts by the respective thought leaders and activists along-with equally committed team of volunteers who joined their hands and hearts to make sure that these movements reach the desired destination by overcoming the obstacles and difficulties in the course of this period. These three movements also have close reference to the collective and collaborative role and impact of mass media (Print and Television) and social media (Facebook, Twitter etc.).

This aspect of the role, impact and contribution of media in the success of these three movements was duly checked by this researcher in the field survey carried out with the help of separate questionnaires for general respondents and professionals from the fields of advertising, public relations, journalism, content creation, media business function and finance.

Lokpal:

Introduction:

In the Post-independence period, the socio-political landscape got changed rapidly. The process of nation building involved policy decisions of tremendous magnitude, large scale projects, and multi-levels of governance, complex web of systems incorporating the political and administrative systems being enabled to facilitate this process. However, with these changes the evil of corruption and lack of accountability to the people and the nation at large started getting compromised at various senior levels of these administrative structures. The biggest casualty of this rampant corruption was obviously the efficiency and progress which had started getting affected. This situation prompted the need to create an institution which has the sovereignty and authority to examine and enquire into the matters of corruption, loss of productivity and lack of accountability of the officials and high level functionaries in order to re-assure the people about the core commitment of the nation-state towards governance.

The Lokpal and Lokayuktas (L&L) Act 2016:

The concept of Lokpal has been designed on the lines of the concept of 'Ombudsman', which existed in countries like Sweden and many other democratic republican countries since the beginning of 19th century. Ombudsman is a Swedish word which means 'an official, which is appointed by the parliament to dispose the cases relating to the executive and judiciary.

Accordingly Administrative Reforms Commission (ARC) was formed in the year 1966, under the chairmanship of Morarji Desai. This commission recommended the establishment of two institutions named 'Lokpal' at the central government level and 'Lok-Ayukta', at the state government level.

Subsequently the first Lokpal and Lok-Ayukta Bill was passed in the year 1968. The journey of The lokpal and LokAyukta Bill to get transformed into an act has been immensely complex, full of agreements and dis-agreements, arguments and debates, resolutions and reservations, challenges and changes at various levels of committees and select committees appointed from time to time to achieve a consensus in Loksabha and Rajyasabha. Most of the developments as regards to the enactment of The Lokpal and Lokayukta Act took place between 2010 and 2014. The Lokpal and Lokayuktas (L&L) Act 2014 was passed by parliament in December 2013 and it got the Presidential assent on January 1, 2014.

Right To Information (RTI):

Introduction:

The term and concept of 'Governance' has become very prominent since last two decades, especially after the World Bank Document on Governance and Development'1992 got into reality. Similar to the Lokpal and Lokayukta (L&L) Act, the pressing need for openness, transparency and accountability was getting recognized as an extremely essential value system in the public administration domain. It was getting widely debated as to how to ensure the access to information for the citizens, civil society organisations, business houses, pertaining to processes, actions and decisions taken by the public authorities, in the emerging age of liberalization and globalization.

Background in brief:

In the year 1977, a working group was constituted by the Government of India, which comprised of officials from cabinet secretariat, Ministries of home Affairs, Finance and Defence to review the need and necessity as regards to the modification of the 'official Secrets Act,1923, to facilitate an efficient flow of information to the people. The journey and process of creating an act which assures the citizens and all the stake holders of the country had a flow of events similar to The Lokpal and Lokayukta (L&L) Act, which involved series of attempts, debates, rounds of efforts to reach a draft bill which reflects and echoes the expectations of all the concerned and has the substance much needed to create a broad consensus among all the political parties, citizens, civil societies and the executive.

The Bill was finally passed by the parliament on 4th December, 2002 and it received the assent of the President of India on 6th January, 2003.

Meanwhile, many states attempted to create their own laws and a legal framework towards achieving the objectives of Right To Information, between 1997 and 2002.

These states included Karnataka, Goa, Delhi, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra. The Maharashtra Right To Information (RTI) Bill, passed by the Maharashtra Assembly is acknowledge to be one of the most progressive in nature among the various initiatives by various states towards their versions of this act. The process of transformation of the administrative system and governance from the era of Colonial Official Secrets Act to more transparent, open governance accountable

to citizens and civil society had been a long journey of over 7 decades. The Right To Information has been recognized as the fundamental right which facilitates participation of citizens, civil societies to ensure accountability and governance. There are certain hurdles such as the pervasive nature of secrecy and arrogance within the bureaucracy, as cultivated by the decades long existence of Official Secrets Act 1923, Literacy levels and Awareness levels which the nation and the people have to be overcome as yet towards making the provisions fully efficient and comprehensive. However there have been many positive and constructive indications within the system, such as increasing use of information technology which facilitates improvement in the flow of information as an in-built advantage. The Right To Information is an achievement for many champions of this cause, wherein the contribution and relentless commitment from noted social activist Shri Anna Hazare is recognized as driving force beyond any doubt. Besides this, activists, civil servants, professionals, civil societies were consistently mounting the much needed pressure to ensure that the momentum towards reaching this landmark destination is maintained. The National Campaign for People's Right, which was formed in 1990's provided these efforts with a broad based platform for better and efficient coordination among all the elements mobilized towards the objective. This campaign towards Right To Information was also facilitated by the contribution from multiple elements like Press Council of India, Consumer Education Research Council (CERC),

The role of media (Print, Television and Social) has been extremely powerful and significant in terms of creating awareness, participation , sensitization and keeping the momentum with the help of responsible and pro-active editorial support to enhance the credentials of all the efforts aimed at achieving the objective within a specific time frame.

This particular aspect of the role and contribution of media with reference to the success of the movement of Right To Information (RTI) had been incorporated in the field research covering the citizens and professionals by this researcher.

Right to Education (RTE)

Right To Education is the third significant people's movement in the period under research undertaken by this researcher. The Education is considered to be an important agent of political socialization. The education shapes individuals and society at large towards becoming an evolved entity. It also contributes towards the nation building process through a well-informed society or group of individuals. With this in context the significance of Right to Education needs to be understood. As per the Article 21-A, inserted in The Constitution (Eighty-sixth Amendment) Act, 2002, in the Constitution of India with an aim to provide free and compulsory education of all children in the age group of six to fourteen years as a Fundamental Right. The manner and method of implementation is to be decided by the State. The RTE Act and Article 21-A, came into effect on 1st April 2010. The title of the RTE Act incorporates the words 'free and compulsory'. 'Free education' means that no child, other than a child who has been admitted by his or her parents to a school which is not supported by the appropriate Government, shall be liable to pay any kind of fee or charges or expenses which may prevent him or her from pursuing and completing elementary education. 'Compulsory education' casts an obligation on the appropriate Government and local authorities to provide and ensure admission, attendance and completion of elementary education by all children in the age group of 6-14 years...

This is a landmark step in the direction which ensures rights based framework and casts a legal obligation on the Central and State Governments to implement this fundamental child right as enshrined in the Article 21A of the Constitution, in accordance with the provisions of the RTE Act. The RTE Act is significant because it facilitates a potential framework, mindset and drive towards creating a society which is sensitive and pro-active in developing a well-informed society. A well-informed society is a strong tool for sustainable socialization as well.

(Source: MHRD-Ministry of Human Resource Development / mhrd.gov.in /)

1.2.4: Impact

Introduction:

The term 'Impact' has been widely defined by various dictionaries as 'The Impression made by an idea, cultural movement, social group etc. The term 'Impact' used in this research work is significant from various perspectives. The significance of the term 'impact' with reference to this research work can be understood holistically when the research work attempts to explore and examine the political communication and political process in the context of an evolved and dynamic multi-media environment wherein the audience is exposed to some or other media input almost continuously and 24x7.Communication involves five key elements which are 'message or content of the communication', 'sender of the message', 'medium of communication', 'receiver of the message' and 'feedback or response to the message'.

When these five basic elements are understood with reference to political communication, it offers the basic premise of the research subject. The premise or frame of reference for political communication emerges as below:

1... Message (Content) : The information, updates, appeals, advertisements, posters, banners, handbills, bill-boards, audio and video programs, events, seminars, greetings, news reports, images, data, news analysis, statistics, issues, problems, initiatives and efforts taken by the political fraternity to resolve these issues and problems, the proposed actions and initiatives as planned by the political fraternity.

2... Sender of the message: The political parties, candidates, peoples representatives, aspiring candidates, activists,

3... Medium of communication: The tool or communication platform used to transmit the message and amplify it for larger and wider reach. The newspapers, periodicals, bulletins, radio, television, social media etc.

4..Receiver of the message : People, in the form of readers, listeners, viewers who are likely to be the voters, opinion makers, consumers, supporters and potential associates, allies etc., whose response or actions or decisions matter to the senders.

5... Feedback or Response to the message: Every communication activity has a core objective to achieve. The communication process is expected to be complete or

successful when the receiver receives analyses and processes the message (information) and gives his/her response or feedback which may be as desired or otherwise. The feedback is an essential element for the sender and receiver with different intensity. The response, feedback defines the actions or decisions which defines the outcome of the political communication and impact on political process.

Summary:

The review of literature with reference to various aspects of politics and political socialisation had helped this researcher with the necessary background and context to closely explore the contemporary trends, tendencies and practices to which the people (population, mass, voters, activists) are exposed to and subject to from the political system on ground.

1.3. Chapter Scheme: Structure of the study report-

The study has been structured broadly in six chapters.

The chapter 1 has covered the introduction of the research subject, hypothesis, and statement of hypothesis, problem statement and objectives of research. This chapter has comprehensively covered the dimensions of the research subject. The dimensions are covered in two sections which include Political Canvas and Media Canvas. The Political Canvas has incorporated the government structure, election machinery, election related statistics, concepts of political party, major political parties in Maharashtra, and concept of civil society in the democratic system. The media canvas has incorporated the media scenario from print, television, digital in India from different perspectives such as fact-sheet of print publications and the trends of growth and change (2005-2015), Fact-sheet of newspapers from Maharashtra which are covered in this study (1995-2014), brief profile of newspapers and news channels , content profile of newspapers, television and digital new-age media.This chapter has covered the key aspect of this study which is 'people', from different perspectives. The aspect people as population based on literacy, population as electorate, people's movements in India and Maharashtra in the period between 1995-2015.This chapter has also covered the aspect of 'impact' with necessary interpretation in order to establish the necessary connect with the research work

The chapter 2 covers the review of literature. The review of literature in this chapter has been compiled in three broad sections which are- political perspective, media perspective and thinkers and their perspectives.

The chapter 3 has covered the research design, data collection and sample, data analysis framework.

The chapter 4 covers the analysis of the data collected from the field and the data collected from the professionals with reference to media consumption, media preferences, media usage habits, content preferences, participation trends based on media, the perceptions of readers and viewers (audience) about roles, responsibilities, expectations from media and political system and their assessment of the media and political system.

The chapter 5 covers the findings and conclusions derived from the observations based on the analysis of data with reference to the objectives and hypothesis of the research.

This chapter covers the recommendations based on the conclusions. The recommendations are aimed at improving the functional efficiency of the communication process by minimizing conflicts, confrontations, confusion and chaos and maximizing consensus for the benefit of the society.This chapter concludes with the scope for the future research on this subject.

The chapter 6 consists of appendices. The appendices include list of tables, questionnaires, list of profiles of the respondents from the professional category, specimen of election coverage in various media, specimen of manifestos, propaganda material etc. and the references (bibliography and webliography).

CHAPTER 2:
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. Introduction

The research topic undertaken by this researcher has multiple facets to explore and understand the complexity of the principles and processes. The political thoughts and theories have been getting evolved and documented in many ways over centuries. As envisaged by this researcher, the study pertaining to political communication needed to take into consideration an elaborate and as much comprehensive overview of the widely available literature and study material as possible to define and fine-tune the frame of reference of the proposed study. In this context, survey of literature forms an integral part of the study to understand the existing literature in the field of political communication. The review of literature helps a researcher to determine the operational definition of the research study, its scope and limitation.

Review of literature further helps to avoid duplication of already obtained perspectives. It is extremely relevant from the point of view of either confirming the line of researcher's thinking or contradicts it and helps in conceptualising the content with utmost clarity.

Accordingly the attempts to survey the literature helped this researcher with a realisation that political communication through mass media still remains a relatively lesser explored aspect of research .In the review of literature, the researcher has attempted to review the literature in the best possible manner as was available and accessible. It surely helped this researcher with understanding about reach and extent of mass media content, presentation, policies. Autonomy and. characteristics of political communication, role, responsibilities and rationale of mass media through a range of perspectives such as political perspective, people perspective, system perspective and impact perspective etc.

The review helped this researcher with getting much needed clarity and context with the help of presenting with an opportunity of extensive interface between the kaleidoscope of views, theories, interpretations, observations of various researchers and scholars and my desire to understand the subject in its multi-dimensional nature.

It also helped this researcher with an elaborate backdrop for the research. It has been enriching and enlightening journey to discover the changing trends and breaking of

various myths about how masses consume, perceive and absorb the communication delivered by mass mediums like Newspapers and Television. It also offered an understanding of how theories and thoughts in political socialization have been challenged, cross-checked and chronicled over centuries.

The review of literature compiled here attempts to present the an overview of ideas and concepts documented by few researchers and scholars that helped shaping of the thesis towards the desired level of contextual frame of reference to proceed. This researcher has tried to compile the review of literature in the following sub-sections, to facilitate a seamless view point of the body of work and wisdom of the scholars, researchers, social scientists and thought leaders.

The sub-sections of the review of literature have been classified as below-

2.2 Political Perspective

Macro perspective,

Micro perspectives,

Political Process,

Political Socialisation,

Political Participation,

Political Communication,

Political Behaviour,

Political Power

2.3. Media Perspective

Media and Political Process,

Media and Politics,

Media and Society,

2.2.1 – Review of Literature – Political Perspective – Macro

Shukla D.M., "Political Socialisation and Women Voters", New Delhi, Anmol Publications, (1987).

This book examines political socialization with a focused reference to political participation, political culture and political behaviour in modern democratic structure. According to the author, the significance of political socialization is evident from the fact that it maintains and transforms the existing political system and creates a new one.

While the book has explored Political Socialisation and women voters with a case study of Kodarma Constituency of Bihar, the references and observations offer an extensive significance in terms of its applicability and scalability to the constituencies with similar characteristics. According to the author, the involvement of women in socio-political activities would largely depend on Educational Standards, Social Norms and Values, Religion and Cultural Context, Economic Condition. The author has observed that the elections have different meanings and different roles in different political systems. According to him, in democracies, the elections are a valid means of people's participation. In a Totalitarian state, the elections are mere rituals. Elections ensure the involvement of people in the process and ultimately provide the channels of interaction to the individuals and the system.

Held David , "Political Theory and Modern States: Essays on State, Power and Democracy", New Delhi, Maya Publishers Pvt Ltd. (1984).

This book comes across as an immensely important resource for the researchers in Political Sociology and Political Science. The author, who is a senior lecturer in Social Sciences at Open University, has explored many perspectives in political thought of contemporary context and times.

The book deals with three broad objectives in this process, as below:

1... An introduction to the main theoretical perspectives on modern state, in the context of European State System.

2... Interpretation of shifting balance between order and crisis with reference to modern state.

3...Assessment of adequacy of various leading political theories as the basis of political understanding in present day context.

Accordingly, the author creates a canvas of exploration of various ideas and concepts ranging from Class, Power and the State, Power and Legitimacy, Sovereignty, National Politics and Global System

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Ponton Geoffery and Gill Peter , "Introduction to Politics", U.K, Blackwell Publishers, (1993).

This book offers three focused sections which are helpful to the researchers in understanding the concepts and ideas associated with politics in holistic manner. The three sections are-

a) The Study of Politics,

b) The Context of Politics,

c) Links between Government and People.

a).. The section on 'The Study of Politics', covers the Meaning and Scope of Politics with reference to approach, concepts, models, ideology and definition of Politics and Political Activity'.

b).. The section ' The Context of Politics', covers the concept of Political Stability with reference to Stability, Dynamics of political systems, History, Tradition and Myth, Economic and Social Context of Politics.

c)... The section 'Links between Government and People' covers Political Socialisation Process, Legitimacy of Political Participation, Representation and Elections, Referendum, Voting.

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Subrata Mukherjee, Sushila Ramaswamy, *"A History of Political Thought-Plato to Marx"*, New Delhi, PHI Learning Pvt.Ltd, (2011).

The authors of this book firmly believe that 'Political Theory is one of core areas of Political Science'. Alongside the western political theories, the authors of this book have acknowledged the growing relevance and recognition to Confucianism and Kautilya (Ancient Indian Political Tradition).

Another important aspect of this book is the easy to relate approach which states 'Political Theory is a personal endeavor to understand and experience the present political reality and also to evolve a mechanism in order to transcend the present imperfect society towards perfection and more just order. The authors have examined the political theory with reference to key theoretical concepts, Decline of Political Theory, Behaviouralism and Revival of Political Theory.

In the process of an extensive analysis and comprehensive exploration of theory, the authors have meticulously scanned the concepts, content and context of the works of stalwarts like Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Edmund Burke, George Wilhelm, Friedrich Hegel, John Stuart Mill and Karl Marx.

The authors have explored Political Theory from different perspectives, such as-
-Political Theory as the History of Political Thought,

-Political Theory as Technique of Analysis,

-Political Theory as Conceptual Classification,

-Political Theory as Formal Model Building,

-Political Theory as Theoretical political Science.

The comments and observations of the authors about Political Thought, Political Theory and Political Ideology can be considered as exemplary and need to be quoted here as the guiding lights on the path for researchers

'Political Thought is the thought of the whole community. Thought is time bound'. (Pg.4).

'Political Theory unlike thought refers to the speculation by a single individual usually articulated in treatise(s) as model of explanation'. (Pg.4).

'Political Ideology is a systematic and all-embracing doctrine, which attempts to give a complete and universally applicable theory of human nature and society with detailed programme of attaining it'. (Pg.4).

The authors have sighted two immensely important references in this book. One of the references is to American Declaration of Independence (1776), which spoke of Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness. The second reference is about the Preamble of the Constitution of India, which according to Burker is the best possible articulation of collective desire of an entire nation.According to the authors, every political theorist plays a dual role, that of a scientist and a philosopher.

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Shukla D.M., "Political Socialisation and Women Voters", New Delhi, Anmol Publications, (1987).

This book examines political socialization with a focused reference to political participation, political culture and political behaviour in modern democratic structure. According to the author, the significance of political socialization is evident from the fact that it maintains and transforms the existing political system and creates a new one.

While the book has explored Political Socialisation and women voters with a case study of Kodarma Constituency of Bihar, the references and observations offer an extensive significance in terms of its applicability and scalability to the constituencies with similar characteristics. According to the author, the involvement of women in socio-political activities would largely depend on Educational Standards, Social Norms and Values, Religion and Cultural Context, Economic Condition. The author has observed that the elections have different meanings and different roles in different political systems. According to him, in democracies, the elections are a valid means of people's participation. In a Totalitarian state, the elections are mere rituals. Elections ensure the involvement of people in the process and ultimately provide the channels of interaction to the individuals and the system.

Alfred Cobban in his research article called ' The Decline of Political Theory', has examined the dynamics of political theory, practice, progressions, re-statement and review of the corrections and changes in the course of time with a comprehensive approach which takes into account the Context, Connect and Content of political ideas in the changing and evolving times.

His observations and noting articulated in the referred research article offer words of wisdom and a clear vision, which has been shaped by deep introspection of facts and objectively critical approach towards the study.

Century after century the political ideas of the Western World have undergone progressive modification. The interplay of idea with institution has changed now one and now the other, and the flow of ideas has been punctuated at intervals by the synthesis created by a great political thinker. (Page 321)

Political ideas are not immortal; however we try to identify them with eternal values. *(Pg.322- POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY [VOL. LXVIII).*

The dominant political idea in the modern world is democracy. Most of the contradictions of contemporary politics find their place under the democratic umbrella, but broad as that is they jostle one and-other, and moreover the umbrella seems to be leaking badly. And where are the political theorists of democracy today? (Page 325)

Political theory has in this way become disengaged from political facts. The implication is that the issues with which political theory has been concerned in the past were not chosen arbitrarily, or as a result of some theoretical argument, and that theory was able to come to grips with the practical world because its discussions were determined by the actual conditions and problems of the day. To substantiate this point, Cobban has offered a series of references which underline his point of view. His series of references ranges from the life and works of John Stuart Miller. Bentham, Burke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Locke, Hobbes and Spinoza, Plato and Aristotle, Harold Laski.

Cobban clearly intends to suggest that modern political theory has largely ceased to be discussed in terms of what ought to be; and the reason as the researcher believes, is that it has fallen under the influence of two modes of thought which have had a fatal effect on its ethical content. These, and they have come to dominate the modern mind, are history and science. The historian naturally sees all ideas and ways of behavior as historically conditioned and transient. Within itself, history has no standard of value but success, and no measure of success but the attainment of power, or survival for a little longer than rival individuals or institutions have survived. Moreover, history is the world studied under the category of what is past: however much we may proclaim that all history is contemporary, its nature is to be a field into which practice cannot penetrate. The paradox of history is that though its writing is a contemporary action, with practical consequences, the historian puts this fact in the back of his mind and tries to behave as though it were not so. (Page 333)

According to Cobban, mostly, what is called political science seems like a device, invented by university teachers, for avoiding that dangerous subject politics, without achieving science. Taking it at the highest valuation, political science can give us guidance of the greatest possible importance in achieving the objects we want to achieve; it cannot help us to decide what those objects should be, or even what they are. (Page 335).

Tijare R.A. Prof with Peshwe V.M. Prof., "Modern Political Theory", Nagpur, Shri Mangesh Prakashan, (1979).

This book explores Modern Political Theory in two separate sections, a)...Political Theory and b)...Political Analysis.

The section on Political Theory covers elaborate account of political theory with reference to the concept of Nation State, Objectives, Rights and Responsibilities, Political Obligation and Pluralistic Theory. It also provides insight based on the assessment of Idealism, Liberalism, Marxist Socialisation and Fascism.

The second section covers evolving nature of Modern Political Science, Methods and Approach, Behavioural Approach, Concepts of Power and Authority, Ideology.

Gordon Graham, "Politics in its place: A study of six ideologies", Oxford, Clarrendon Press, (1986).

The premise of this book is based on the developments and discussions of political ideas during the period during 1975-1985 and has a strong reference to the views of Michele Oakeshott, one of the most widely acclaimed theorists of twentieth century. The author has examined the ideologies with a very clear and upfront pre-text. According to the author, there is no account of sociological conception of ideology which can offer a good reason to let the philosophical criticism aside. The author has presented an in-depth assessment of the following-1... Marxist Conception of Ideology,

2... Liberalism,

3... Socialism,

4...Nationalism,

5...Fascism,

6... Anarchism,

7...Conservatism (Rejection of Ideology)

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V.S.Rama Devi and S.K.Mendiratta, "How India Votes: Election Laws, Practice and Procedure", New Delhi, Lexis Nexis Butterworth, (2008).

This book presents a comprehensive commentary on all aspects of Indian Election System.It presents an elaborate reference to the following aspects with in-depth statistics and data-

a... Background

a-1. History of Election in ancient India,

a-2. Elections under British Rule,

a-3. Democracy and Parliamentary System of India,

a-4. Constitution of India.

b. Checklist of statutory information needed for an objective study of –

b-1. Election Program,

b-2. Process,

b-3. Political Parties,

b-4.Election Symbols,

b-5.Campaign Period,

b-6.Ballot Papers and Counting of Votes,

b-7.Electoral Laws and Rules

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Ginsborg Paul, "Democracy: Crisis and Renewal", London, Profile Books Ltd. (2008).

This book can be acknowledged as an extremely brilliant metamorphosis of Context, Content and Connect in the field of social and political research. The author has commenced his narration with a prelude which is aptly titled as 'A Meeting of Minds'.

This prelude has been crafted and written as an 'Imaginary Meeting setup in 1873, which has brought three critical characters together over series of brain storming and intellectually stimulating interactions, debates and discussion sessions. These three characters are William Gladstone, the then Prime Minister, John Stuart Mill, acclaimed liberal thinker and Karl Marx. The narration of this imaginary meeting brings forth comprehensive depth and gravity of these great minds which have impacted the dynamics of centuries to follow.

After this fascinating prelude, the author examines the issues associated with Democracy at the Crossroads. Some of the key aspects covered in this process are-

Active and Dissenting Citizens,

The challenge of Civil Society,

Deliberative Democracy,

Democracy and Gender.

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Morris-Jones W.H.,, "The Government and Politics of India", NewDelhi, B. I. Publications, (1974).

This book presents an overview of key aspects of Politics of India and the government. It explores the undercurrent and inter-relations between some legacies which include close examination of old administrative systems, structured hierarchy, judicial system, awakening movement among the people, politics and society and political forces.

It also presents an elaborate account of political parties, complexity and nature of political party system, regional parties and their aspirations and electoral performances upto the year 1967.

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Fadia B.L.Dr., "Indian Government and Politics", Agra, Sahitya Bhawan, (2011).
In this book the author critically examines the dynamics of federalism and centre-state relations with special reference to Sarkaria Commission and M.M.Punchi Commission Report.

Few significant content elements and aspects explored in this book are-

1... Judicial Activism, Minority Politics,

2...Electoral Reforms in India,

3...Defection Politics in India,

4...Emerging Political trends in India,

5...Women's political participation as an agenda for empowerment,

6...Religionism in Indian Politics,

7...Language Politics in India,

8... Communalism, Cast and Indian Politics.

Ball Alan R.,, "Modern Politics and Government", London, ELBS MacMillan (1983).

In this book, the author has dealt with 'Nature of Politics' with reference to few key parameters such as-

1... Study of Politics,

2... Power and Authority,

3...Political Cultures,

4...Classification of Governments,

5...Parties,

6... Pressure Groups,

7... Representation,

8... Structure of Governments

The book has been updated by taking into account the evolving and changing nature of emerging political scenarios, approaches and chronicles the era of post communism collapse.

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Johnson Kirk, "Television and Social Change in Rural India", New Delhi, Sage Publications, (2008).

This book presents an ethnographic study of social environment of village life and the role the television plays in the ever-changing landscape of Rural India. It elaborately covers aspects such as, Consumerism, Migration, Restructuring of Human Relations, Aspirations, Attitudes, Expectations, and Concerns of village population or rural population.

In this book the author has consciously made efforts through his research to lend support to the scholars, who have made immense contribution to disprove two myths about the village life.

These myths are-Rural Society is self-sufficient and harmonious. The author, in his study has very effectively touched upon other aspects of the rural life such as Caste, Class, Power Relations, Family Types and Family Relations. The other aspects in this study, according to the author are Linguistic Hegemony, Urban Modelling and Changing Gender Relations.

2.2.2. Review of Literature: Political Perspective - Micro

2.2.2-A – Political Process

Therories of Political Process:

The concept of social interaction when explored and understood in the context of system of relationships. Society and culture can be defined as the products of social interaction. Social Interaction can be defined as dynamic interplay of forces wherein contact between persons and groups results in modification of the attitudes and behavior of the participants. By definition it can be interpreted as a continuous process. The definition also underlines significance of two important elements as contact and communication.

The process of the formulation and administration of public policy, usually by interaction between social groups and political institution or between political leadership and public opinion

With this in context, the fundamental social processes can be identified as 'interaction and socialization, opposition and cooperation, accommodation, acculturation and assimilation'. Each of these processes is experienced by individuals and groups during their existence and living-hood. These individual processes can be briefly and simply explained as below:

Interaction and Socialisation takes place at every single occasion when an individual and group interact with other group or groups.

Opposition is the struggle individuals or groups in the attempts to achieve objectives and goals. Cooperation is when multiple individuals or groups combine their energies and resources to achieve goals

Accomodation is a process wherein individuals or groups work together in spite of differences.

Acculturation is when individuals or groups from different cultures and orientation unite or integrate towards a goal.

Assimilation is when individuals or groups which are primarily dissimilar with each other in terms of interests and outlook become similar by the way of uniting their ideas.

According to noted scholar Prof.Loomis, these processes can be classified into two categories such as-

Elemental and Comprehensive or Master Processes.

It is observed that social process is a concept of movement and change. It can chronicle reaction against static theories and theories of structure.

Theories:

When we refer to the term 'Theory', it's assumed to explain a concept of massive philosophical complexity by bringing in order and standardization in the research to facilitate the process of research in future.

Exchange Theory: This has a strong connect with behaviour and patterns which lead to order.

Game Theory: This theory assumes the rationality of participants and is more realistic.

Systems Theory: This relates to a structured social interaction pattern which may also be seen as conceptual framework with guidelines for efficient functioning.

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Narang Ashok, Political Sociology, New Delhi, Murarilal and Sons, (2006).

Hype-Policy Making-Insiders - Outsiders and Political Process

Liberal democracy is an ever-evolving set of practices and processes. To put it simply, Political process can be described as a rule governed continuous process of

gaining access to power, retaining or holding on to it and putting it to use to achieve social outcomes and desired outputs for society at large.In liberal democracy, the access to power comes through winning elections. Winning elections implies gaining support of larger voting population, which in turn involves creating recall and referrals through impression management.

In this context, the politicians need to master a balancing act between two domains named as policy making and hype making. Both these domains, when connected with articulate professional approach quite likely produce desired results for the politicians. While analyzing the political process, the people generally tend to relate to it differently depending on their roles, responsibilities and relationship with the process They can be primarily classified as Insiders, Semi-Insiders and Outsiders.

This classification offers very significant relevance while studying and examining the relationship between political process and media.

According to Narang, the insiders are most commonly a small minority of the population which is actively involved, engaged in playing elite politics and mass politics. Most likely they are active and are engaged in policy formation and hype. Semi-insiders according to Narang function mostly as the bridge between elite and masses and the outsiders comprise mostly of the passive mass, which consume on the work of insiders and semi insiders.

In this eco-system especially in liberal democracy, perception management becomes a critical and sensitive function. Perception management involves tactful handling of manufacturing and delivering hype. Hype involves stimulating an atmosphere of excitement and enthusiasm. This creates role for professionals who can understand and execute the multi-layered and complex task of impression management, consent building in a programmed manner.

Media can be classified as –'Information Rich' and 'Information Poor'. It is observed that political insiders and political elites are normally information rich as they need to derive maximum benefits and mileage out of the access to information and also out of the exposure they get in mass media.

This dynamics in mutually dependent relationship between politics and media has brought in significance to communication professionals, who specialize in perception

building and impression management which have become an integral part of political system. It requires an in-depth approach towards research, invent and groom political personalities into acceptable faces across the social strata and ensure longevity to their political careers. However, political impression management is much more than this. It also need to perform on the parameters such as scripting and disseminating principles, ideas, sentiments and set of beliefs which create the phenomenon work as some kind of magic over masses.

In the rapidly evolving modern world, the geographical boundaries are getting irrelevant because of advancement of technology and its reach. The changing dynamics, complexities emerging out of global trends in people to people connect between masses and its leaders have started resulting in a scenario where the people do not encounter with politics directly but mostly through media platforms. This leads to another complex yet key phenomenon called as 'manufactured consent' or building public opinion as an intellectual exercise.

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2.2.2-B Political Socialisation

Ogolla Simeon, "India: Political Socialization and Political Culture". www.crawfordsworld.com

In this paper shared on crawfordsworld,com, Ogolla has tried to note few observations as regards to the Political Socialization and Political Culture in India. According to Ogolla's observation, in India, there are large groups of population which do not necessarily believe that elections are the only way to do politics and participate as political process. In such situations, the political leaders, capable of mass movements and mobilization are quite likely to find potential support. According to Ogolla, the large scale Illiteracy is the main obstacle to state –sponsored political socialization through the print media in the past. However, this has been overcome by the emergence and growth of electronic media, which is capable of taking the messages to the masses irrespective of the literacy levels. The strength of electronic media has been primarily triggered because of the competitive market dynamics which also enhances diversity of content, viewpoints, perspectives and also certain degree of sensitivity towards the viewers which are the consumers and are likely to have variety

of expectations and demands from the media. According to Ogolla, Political Participation and Electoral Campaign are most important and significant tools of political socialization. It has also elaborately mentioned about the relation between formal education and political process and also explained the political communication process during election campaigns in Indian context, rural and urban.

Ogolla lists three principles of means of communication between a party and its potential masses or audience. These three principles are Printed Communication, Public Speeches and private and implicit appeals addressed to the potential audience or voters.According to Ogolla, the voting behaviour is a combined result of multiple factors comprising of class, community, caste and few critical local elements such as local factions and alignments.

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2.2.2-C. Political Participation

Latham Earl, "The Group basis of Politics", Cornell University Press, U.S.A, (1952)

Earl Latham has explored multiple aspects of the concept of 'group' with reference to the political process and participation.

As observed by Latham, the literature of many disciplines do agree of centrality of 'groups' towards understanding of human in relation with each other. According to Latham, Social science, Philosophy, Psychology and Economics all tend to agree on the group basis of society. There is an emphasis on collective approach when it comes to participation and process. Each of these sciences have their respective interpretation of the plurality which we are referring here as groups. The concept of 'group' can be examined in various contexts such as Social Sciences, Political Theory, Structure of Power, Dynamics of plural forms and can be extended and substantiated with reference to concept of officiality and the group struggle in officialdom in subgroups and hierarchy of authority and span of control. The Group Idea in Political Theory refers to political community and entity of state. The entity of state encompasses various groups ranging from political community,

associations such as religious institutions, corporations, trade unions etc. claiming their proportionate claim towards the state.

The organised groups are considered as structures of power because they concentrate the human wit, wisdom, energy and desire to achieve the defined set of objectives and purposes. However the centrality of individual remains very much relevant in this examination since the individual remains the centre of circumference called as group.

The study of Dynamics of Plural forms help us understand that there is no rigidity to the entity of group but there is an inherent capacity to inculcate change and modifications as may be needed to retain the relevance .

The various elements which facilitate this dynamics can be enlisted as satisfaction of achievement of objectives and desire, security, self-expression. The interactions between the groups with these elements as tools the groups are able to generate dynamics and also create rule on which public policy is formulated.

Woodward Julian L. and Roper Elmo, "Political Activity of American Citizens", American Political Science Review, Vol. XLIV, (1951)

This book explores the idea about what constitutes 'Political Activity'?

Woodward and Roper have explored to find out what makes a person or persons or groups or communities 'political active'. Though their study was in the context of American citizens, the deep examination of the parameters and findings can show close relevance to all emerging democracies in the quest to find solutions to their problems through participation.

 Woodward and Roper, in their work in 1951 have defined a comprehensive set of questions aimed at measuring the political activity of respondents and have also identified five channels of possible influence on legislators and government. Accordingly these channels can be listed as (1) Voting in polls, (2) Supporting possible pressure groups, (3) Direct personal communication with legislators, (4) Participation in political party activity, (5) Social engagement with other citizens for dissemination of political opinions.

These five channels collectively constitute an operational definition of the term or concept of 'Political Activity'.

Woodward and Roper recommend an interesting phenomenon of 'Political Activity Index'. This 'Political Activity Index' is a scientifically weighed assessment structure which attributes ststistically designed weightages to the respondents' feedback towards their responses to the channels as mentioned above.

This index when collaborated with other aspects of political participation can throw significant light on the analysis of electoral outcome as well

Woodward and Roper observe that the study of 'Political Activity Index' can be put to better practical usage in the following ways-

1... Comparison of different groups from the population with reference to their political activity.

2..Measuring citizen awareness towards real issues

3...Study the relationship between political activity and availability of information

4...Segregation of target groups based on the basis of intensity of being inclined towards action,

5...Providing pro-active test groups for advance study on influence and opinion formation.

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Agger Robert E , Ostrom Vincent, Eulau Heinz (eds), *"Political Participation in a small community", Chicago, Free Press, (1957).*

According to Robert E.Agger and Vincent Ostrom, 'analysis of the roles which constitute the political structure of a community' is the most central and key area in the study of political participation. Political structure according to them consists of network of communication channels through which policy messages flow in transmitting, receiving and acting upon various demands.

Robert E. Agger and Vincent Ostrom have attempted an elaborate and scientific study of participation as a composite quantitative measure. The indexing under this model works on a scoring scale and encompasses rural and urban audience.

This study gives emphasis on various demographic factors such as Education, Income, Occupation, Age have direct co-relation to participation. These factors are often interdependent.

According to Robert E. Agger and Vincent Ostrom, another area of study the participation is political identification. They observe that people participate with reference to direct or indirect, conscious or sub-conscious influence of their preferred decision maker within the given political structure.

According to Robert E. Agger and Vincent Ostrom, another area of study the participation is with reference to reflection of political roles. This aspect of study of the participation classifies and examines the roles played by people at the core character level, into 6 broadly defined categories which are- Active Advisors, Passive Advisors, Talkers, Workers, Listeners and Non-participants.

Their roles and participation can be mapped on 4 parameters which are- Advise, Discuss, Active on Issues and Attend meetings to facilitate.

These six categories can be briefly described as below-

Active Advisors	Passive Advisors	Talkers
Listeners	Workers	Non-Participants

Active Advisors: People to whom others come for advice on policy matters. Passive Advisors: People to whom others come for advice but they are inactive otherwise.
Talkers: People who discuss the policy matters frequently within their social circles and peer groups.

Listeners: People who attend community meetings on policy making but do not engage in discussions or deliberation.

Workers: People who take active part on issues but may not discuss the policy matters frequently within their social circles, families or peer groups.

Non-participants: People who are not engaged in any of these categories.

This study presents to researchers and students of the political science with a possibility of 'Political Sub-structure'. This political sub-structure indicates an interlinked relationship between Top Leadership, Active Advisors, Listeners, Talkers and Workers, wherein the top leaders are more likely to be connected to active advisors and active advisors do have potential to influence the leadership. Listeners are also providing an immensely relevant feedback to the leaders with reference to the actions and decisions.The process of acquiring power also gives rise to another entity called as power aspirants which derives its strength mainly from the dissatisfaction within the system. The power aspirants and talkers are likely to share a close connect. The workers facilitate the consolidation and firming of the shape of the system as designed, programmed by the leaders and active advisors.

The study of political participation offers a robust and dependable reference structure for the political science researchers and students.

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Narang Ashok, "Civil Society and Political Governance", New Delhi, Morarilal & Sons, (2006).

The term "civil society" needs a close examination and clear understanding in order to explore its potential to politics, political systems and governance. It is observed that the term civil society gets equated or associated to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or citizens' movements. However it needs to me mentioned here that this term, civil society encompasses a wide range of critical and relevant aspects of inter-relation between people, governments and institutions. It also touches the aspect of civic culture. It involves voluntary participation by average citizens. Noted thinker Robert Putnam, in his path-breaking and though controversial book titled as 'Bowling Alone' managed to provide an elaborate perspective about civil society as a practiced concept and very clearly distinguished between bonding and bridging social capital. He categorically observed that only bridging social capital strengthens democratization as process. According to him this process of bridging

social capital can happen primarily in two categories. In one category an individual joins an organization which promotes some aspect of society and in the other category; an individual can act as an individual without any organizational commitments.

The role and significance of civil society can be explored effectively by initiating a thorough examination of few critical aspects which can be noted as below:

A.. Broad and inclusive definition of civil society and its nature, diversity and requisites for its engagement process.

B... Challenges of strengthening the role of civil society and promotion of citizen participation.

C... Emerging Global perspective of civil society and the context of national sovereignty.

D... Interface between world public opinion and global civil society.

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2.2.2-D Political Communication

In political communication, we are broadly interested in the relationship between politics and citizens and the communication modes that connect these groups to each other. We examine how these forces interact with each other and affect one another. Scholars in this area use many different methods, from quantitative to rhetorical approaches.

It is an interactive process concerning the transmission of information among political machinery (politicians), media and the public.

Herbert A. Simon and Fredrick Stern, "The effect of Television upon voting behaviour with in Iowa reference to U.S. presidential elections of 1952", The American Political Science Review-Volume 49 No.2, (1955).

Herbert A. Simon and Fredrick Stern have conducted an elaborate study on the effect of television on voting behavior with reference to United States Presidential election of 1952. This study was conducted and confined to Iowa. This study almost six decades ago works as an excellent frame of reference to explore the correlation between voting behavior and influence of television, casual or otherwise.

Simon and Stern had applied a method to compare the voting behavior in counties with high television density (HTD) and counties with low television density (LTD). They tested the null hypothesis which stated that the differences in television density had no effect upon (a) total participation in the election or (b) Division of votes between two candidates. Their findings concluded that the presence of television irrespective of density had very little effect on the voting and voter behaviour. They have very categorically observed that any generalization about this aspect on influence of television should be avoided and needs to be tested in the context of reach and penetration of other media, intensity of involvement of people in the issues raised in the campaign.

Eldersveld Samuel J., "Propaganda Techniques and Voting Behaviour", The American Political Science Review, Volume 50 No.1 / (1956).

Samuel J. Eldersveld refers to two different experiment designed and conducted in Ann Arbor in 1953 & 1954 to determine the comparative effectiveness of personalized and impersonalized propaganda techniques. There were multiple reasons which made this study relevant for the future researchers to refer and explore. He observes that during the period of the research in 1955-56, need for a calibrated study about the co-relation between the technological advancements in media and personalized contact programmes, propaganda was underlined. The efficacy of various techniques of canvassing used for propaganda was needed to be examined scientifically.

This study has explored multiple dimensions of the propaganda models, methodology with reference to respondents from concerted group and conflict groups, analysis of impact on these groups, time and cost factors, implications of propaganda towards success of the party system and political system in democracy. The groups of respondents were also classified as 'experimental and control groups. The readings and observation were recorded and compared for two consecutive years with reference to type of contact used for propaganda as personal contact, mail. This was further classified into the channel used for reach out and personal contact, such as students, party platforms and mail.

Eldersveld, based on this study in Ann Arbor, has a valid observation which all the future researchers need to take into account He notes that this study underlined the dilemma faced by the voter activation enthusiasts and advocates of compulsory voting. If this dilemma is not addressed scientifically, mere mobilization of voters may take place, adequate deliberation over candidates and issues may bot result and as an outcome of efforts loaded with dilemma, the democratic consent aspects of election may get jeopardized or affected.

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2.2.2-E Political Behaviour

Research in Political Behaviour-

Political behavior is not a field of political science. It is one way of studying most of the customary subject matter of political science. Political behavior attempts to describe the government as a process made up of the actions and interactions between men and group of men. Thus identification of the recurring uniformities of political activity and the development of generalization about political action has become basic objective of the political behaviour approach. Political participation can be defined generally as encompassed many behavioural activities such as, working in campaigns, discussing politics, contacting public officials and so forth.

It also needs to be noted here that leadership behavior, decision making, administrative behavior are few key elements which have decisive impact on political behaviour. The studies of political participation can be classified into three types as below:
Voting turnout studies, campaign surveys and community case studies of participation between elections.

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Eulau Heinz, Eldersveld Samuel J. and Janowitze Morris (eds), "Political Behaviour", Amerind Publishing Co.Ltd., New Delhi, (1956).

The year 1908 can be marked as an immensely important year in the study of political Science.In this year two eminent social scientists published their work on the subject matter.

Graham Wallas, an Englishman published "Human Nature in Politics", where he started off with his observation that the study of politics is just now in a curiously unsatisfactory position.

Arthur f. Bentley from United States published his remarkable work in the name of "The process of Government" wherein he started off with his observation by saying that "It is the formal study of the most external characteristics of governing institutions".

The work of both these eminent social scientists remains relevant even today. Graham Wallas discussed the emotional and symbolic role of 'Party' as a 'role system'. According to him party is a system of relationships whose regularity is maintained by party prepossessions and party expectations.

Arthur F. Bentley emphasized on action and interaction, functional relations and group processes as objects of inquiry as elements which need to be considered in political science.

It must be noted here that both Graham Wallas and Arthur F. Bentley did not have immediate impact of the then mainstream trends in political science. The year 1925 saw the emergence of Charles E. Merriam , who in 'New Aspects of Politics', chronicled the need for minute inquiry and microscopic studies of the political process carried out by scientific methods. He asserted the relevance of applying psychological and sociological insights to political investigation. Around the same time, Harold D. Lasswell one of the eminent from the group of brilliant students at the University of Chicago, picked up the thread of the study on political science from where Graham Wallas and Arthur F. Bentley had progressed. From here-onwards, Political Behaviour aspect acquired significance in the study of political process.

2.2.2-F Political Power

Agents and Techniques of Political Power

A systematic theory of the political process will need empirical data on the characteristics of various types of political decision makers and the investigation of their functioning in the context of power.

Over the past centuries, researchers and students of political science have applied variety of research approaches and have also crossed over into related social sciences to make their studies more dependable. In this journey of the research, examining Political Leadership, Public Perceptions, Political Communication, Propaganda techniques and models, Impact of Media and Voting behavior amounts immense significance.

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Seligman Lester G. , "The Study of Political Leadership", The American Political Science Review, Volume 44 No.4, (December 1950).

Lester G. Seligman in 1950 has created an elaborate assessment of the concept of Political Leadership. According to him the search for the values of security and equality have brought in key changes to the character of politics. Many observers and researchers have noted that a liberating and democratic leadership often contributes to rekindled involvement and participation from the people.The modern literature in education, management and administration echoes with this observation.

Seligman chronicles the various studies of leadership with reference to key aspects and explores the concept of leadership in respective aspect centric situations. The classification recommended by Seligman categorises leadership, broadly into four categories such as- Leadership as a Social Status Position, Leadership in Types of Social structures, and Leadeship as Organisational Function and Leadeship as Personality Type. Seligman recommends that research on profitable leadership need to be based on developmental studies, studies of representative dimension of leadership, Studies of political leadership techniques and specific case studies.

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Scott John (ed), Power: Critical Concepts, Volume II, London, Routledge,1994.
This book comes across as an exceptionally brilliant collection of research papers by eminent research scholars on rational action, exchange and social networks, reputations, issues and non-decision. In this collection, the work of Robert A .Dahl has been widely acknowledged by many authors.

Robert A.Dahl, in his essay 'Hierarchy, Democracy and Bargaining in Politics and Economics (1955)', attempts to examine the set of categories which would be critical in describing policy alternatives. According to him, in the real world the governments

are both socialist and Capitalist, planned and unplanned and many such extreme characteristic contradictions. This underlines the need to take manifold possibility into account in the conceptual scheme.

According to Dahl, his assessment of the journey of the political thought over two thousand years, the theorists are revisiting few possibilities repeatedly. These patterns of relationships between leaders and non-leaders define the theories of political alternatives. According to Dahl, in the democratic relationship the leaders are highly controlled by non-leaders or ordinary citizens.According to Dahl, in the hierarchical relationship, leaders exert a high degree of control over non-leaders.Dahl also explores two more possibilities.One of which is relatively less clearly discussed alternative as 'bargaining or reciprocal and the second is 'price system'.

Dahl has presented an extremely engaging point of view that the choice of alternative from these four frameworks depends largely for making decisions and a society can simultaneously employ democracy and hierarchy along-with bargaining and price system. He examines these four policy alternatives with reference to and in the context of four distinct problems such as – 'Problem of Power', 'Problem of Political Participation', 'Problem of Personality and Pre-deposition' and 'Problem of the Policy maker in applying the models'.

James C Davies, "Charisma", The American Political Science Review 48, (1954).

Max Weber has described Charisma as a concept evolved out of absolutely personal devotion and personal confidence in revelation, heroism or other qualities of individual leadership. Taking this description further, Davies notes that Charismatic Leader is endowed with super-human powers to solve political problems. The followers of a charismatic leader look up to the leader as being all powerful, all-wise and morally perfect. Davies has noted an extremely relevant observation which can hold good at any given point in time which says that 'Charisma seems most likely to occur during periods when the force of neither tradition nor reason appears to be adequate to cope up with mountaining political crisis.

2.3 Review of Literature: Media Perspective

The literature reviewed with reference to media and politics has been classified into three categories, which are Media and Political Process, Media and Politics, Media and Society.

2.3.1 Media and Political Process

Narang Ashok, "Political Sociology", New Delhi, Murarilal & Sons, (2006).

This book explores the inter-relation between politics and media by taking into account aspects such as political process, communication, decision making, and also uses the five theories of political process as the much needed backdrop for the same.

Politics has always been looked upon as a communicative occupation. When we examine politics as a phenomenon or concept, process of communicating becomes a central theme. This makes being a politician, an occupation which is intensely a social occupation where-in the players are involved in regulating social power relationship and making decisions which govern process of allocation and distribution of social resources.

The political communication has multiple dimensions and forms. It ranges from speech, body-language, memoranda, media reports, political rallies, agitations etc.

The politicians need to work relentlessly on this aspect with a result oriented communication initiatives which may be needed from case to case basis and appropriate to face the challenge and fulfill the task.

Political Process is an extremely complex and multidimensional phenomenon to examine and explore.

In simple terms, politics can be seen as a collective process involving - Decision Making Process, Struggle over getting in positions of power, Process of legitimating and / or enforcing decisions. The dimension of legitimating has a direct co-relation with the role and impact of media.

There are five theories which attempt to interpret and decode this complex and interdependent process of politics.

* Pluralist theory by Robert Dahl emphasizes on 'interest groups' within society which drive democratic political systems. Since power and influence are likely to get dispersed among these pressure groups and interest groups dynamically, it offers an inbuilt correction and change mechanism.

* Public Choice theory by Downs observes that the drivers of political process are desire of politicians to retain the power and self-interest of the voters. In this theory the politicians have to consciously focu on mobilizing 'good publicity'.

* Elite theory advocated by Mills, observes that the division of society into elites who rule and subordinate masses who are ruled, remains a universal nature of human organization.

* The Class Conflict theory by Marxists emphasizes that there is a continuous struggle between capitalists and working classes which drive the political process.
* The State Centred theory developed by Nordlinger observes that the state is a political actor at par with interest groups within pluralist political process. While each of these five theories emphasise on different elements as drivers of political process, they do not provide comprehensive understanding in isolation, hence researchers need to take into account the aspects such as decision making ,struggle, legitimation and enforcement.

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2.3.2 Media and Politics

Sarah Oats, *"Introduction To Media And Politics", New Delhi,* Sage Publications India, (2008)...

The Media and Politics being studied in the context of each other have multiple dimensions and areas of significance. Every passing year, every passing generation, every passing decade and century leaves behind imprints of images and incidents for reference in the time to come. This imprints quite often offers dots which helps in connecting and analyzing the contemporary narratives in the field of politics with comprehensive perspective. When researchers and scholars attempt to study the media and politics, it becomes essential to explore two prominent aspects, which are-

1. The effect of media on politics

2. Impact of politics on media.

There is bound to be subjectivity in the approach of different media platforms from same political system. It is observed that every media caters to the taste and preferences of its readers and audiences.However when it comes to in depth study of media and politics, it becomes essential to take into account the different types of media environments, content and audiences.It is acknowledged fact that the most widely acknowledged models of decoding the inter-relationship between media and politics were designed by Siebert in his work in 1963 **(Siebert et al).**

The work by Siebert divided the world's media into four models, which are- Libertarian, Socially Responsible, Authoritarian and Soviet. Each of this models represents is differentiates in terms of the approach to deliver news content with certain perspective to its respective audiences.**Table No. 11 Classic Models of Media Systems in different Political Environments** – (Source: Siebert, Peterson and Schramm-1963)

Type of Model of Media System	Particulars
Libertarian	Media are free to publish what according to them is correct and necessary. Journalists and media organisations enjoy autonomy in the interest of betterment of society.
Social Responsibility	Some restraint is expected from media and media is expected to strike balance while publishing the information available to them.
Authoritarian	Government control is clearly defined through censorship and those who violate the norms are pubished.
Soviet	Very much similar to authoritarian model. The sense of limit and censorship is imposed by the consciousness of the journalists in solidarity of the workers

In the modern day and evolving political systems around the world, there have been continuous debates about these models and these models are being examined for their respective strengths and shortfalls towards fulfilling and achieving the desired goals and objectives.

Libertarian model comes with a set of obligations towards the society and civil society it belongs to. The most prominent obligation is to provide the general public with the information about the current events and also entertain them. The news and information is communicated quickly, accurately and objectively without adding any bias. Libertarian models is also considered as commercial and where it is left to the audience to evaluate and decide as regards to what to believe and what to question from the information delivered to them and absorbed by them. It also needs to be taken into account the risk of getting unfiltered information getting delivered and resulting into some serious social consequences.

The Social Responsibility model on the other hand needs to address some of these problems by being better oriented towards disseminating information which strengthens the civil society. The set of expectations from Social Responsibility model turns media into the guardians of public welfare and social concerns. The discussions and deliberations about the social responsibility model amount to various possibilities as regards to the benefits and limitations. This also leads to few critical areas of concern such as control, manipulation and ownership of media in the larger social perspective.

Many modern political communication scholars have critically rejected these models developed by Siebert. These critical examinations have been carried out by series of various scholars over last six centuries.

Bennett is one such prominent scholar. According to Bennett (2000), it will be more useful to establish the link between impact of media on societies and media's relationship with political power.

Grabber (2005) attempted to divide these models into four categories such as Mirror, Operational, Political and Professional news media. With this classification Graber structured his assessment matrix about benefits and flaws.

Hallin and Mancini (2003) explored this exercise by classifying the media into three categories such as Liberal, Democratic Corporatist and Polarised Pluralist.

These three types represent distinct components of pressures of market (being commercial), role of state, legal regulations and integration of media into party politics. These models exist in different parts of the world in the context of the political systems adopted in the respective countries.

What becomes extremely important in this regards is to examine the ways and nature of audience behavior and reaction to these models. This needs to be closely associated with another set of elements such as Journalists, Public Relations and the Political Systems. These three elements and the under-currents between them most likely shape what the audiences get to read or consume as news and information through mass media.

It is observed that journalists behave and function differently in different countries and political environments. Journalists are required to carry out their duty in distinct political, legal and media environments. It is also observed that in all these different scenarios and environments one of the most consistent element is the escalating pressures on journalist's .While democracies do offer certain degree of respect and protection for journalists, the non-democratic states offer very little protection from pressure, intimidation and even physical violence against them. The political system of the state and their Public Relations strategies do attempt to influence the role and function of journalists towards news production and delivery of the same to audience.

Audience:

The concept of audience as we discuss today, was shaped during the period of world war I and II, in the developed countries such in Europe, U.K and U.S. It was primarily explored to test the power and impact of propaganda over the citizens. This exploration got evolved over last 7 decades and much more in-depth studies were conducted as regards to what people read (type of information and news), when do they read (Timing), how much do the read (consumption),how do they react (perception building and feedback), where do they search for reliable information (source of information).Each country will exhibit different trends and statistics about these studies, on the basis of socio-cultural demographics, level of education, political environments and opportunities for participation available to them in the respective

systems.

It also throws light on the changing priorities of the audience with reference to significance to be attributed to political parties and mass media. It is also observed that primarily Newspapers (Print), Television (Electronic) and Internet (Digital) media platforms have scale and reach needed for mass communication.

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2.3.3 Media and Society

James Curran (eds), *"Media & Society"*, Bloomsberry Academic, U.K, (2010).

The book is organised into three key areas of debate: media and society, media production and mediations. This book comprises of excellent research articles by eminent international experts from academics on various critical issues and aspect in the field of contemporary media.

In Chapter-1- Manuel Castells has dealt with Communication Power. Manuel Castells has defined power and counter power in a very simple and straight manner. He believes that power relationships constitute society.

Castells defines Power as the rational capacity that enables a social actor to influence asymmetrically the decisions of other social actors in ways that favour the empowered actors will, interests and values.

According to Castells wherever there is power, there is a counter power as social actors challenge the domination embedded in the institutions of society. Castells defines counter power as the capacity by social actors to resist, challenge and eventually change the power relationships institutionalized in society. It is observed that communication has a significant role to play in the power relationships. The manner in which information is conveyed, communicated and the approach in which communication processes are structured by the people in power as well as people aspiring to be in the position of power create certain coercion possibilities and it results in influence over minds of masses. Castells has defined communication as process and elaborately defined another aspect called as socialized communication which forms integral part of exercising power in the society.

According to Castells, it becomes essential to create a mind share among the masses because, the way people think ultimately defines the fate of the institutions, norms and values on which societies are constructed.

Castells defines communication as the process of sharing meaning on the basis of information transfer. Castells defines socialized communication as the one that exists in the public realm, and it has a potential of reaching out to society at large.

The role and significance of mass communication with reference to politics and political process has been extensively debated since last 6-7 decades alongside the advancement of technology and evolving nature of media and communication organisations. It has been a consistent trend despite the emergence of new media platforms that the main channel of communication between political system and citizen is mass media system.

The mass media has evolved into a professional entity which largely depends on being competitive, driven by independence and dedication of journalists. This holds true in almost all countries and especially the ones, which have democratic political environment. The influence or impact of this deep rooted existence of media is so critical that whatever exists in media becomes the reality for the masses which consume the media. This leads to a situation where political message is normally communicated through media and it acquires the status of media message. It can be interpreted that media are the not holders of power but they constitute and create a much needed space which works like a melting pot of ideas where the processes of power can take place.

While presenting an elaborate perspective of mass media and mass communication in the context of emerging trends in politics around the world, Castells highlights an extremely dynamic transition in politics which runs through various levels such as media politics, personality politics leading to scandal politics and most likely getting resulted in distrust among the citizens about the political class and process in general. This distrust many a times creates a situation wherein people tend to vote against someone rather than voting for something. This can be seen as a unique phenomenon where the active citizens start thinking about getting mobilized around a programme and set of goals which reflect the unbiased and lesser politically motivated agenda. For such citizens the conventional media systems present with set of limitations in

terms of expressing and engaging with the political system. This according to Castells, gives rise to a new kind of media space which is created around the process of 'mass self -communication'. The advancement in technology and emergence of digital media has the power to connect efficiently, effectively with like-minded people beyond physical boundaries

Most of the recent social movements managed to achieve and fulfill their objectives and goals on the basis of the effective use of the 'mass self- communication'. This marks the arrival of new form of socialized communication, 'mass self-communication'. This has a unique character primarily because it is self- generated in content, self-directed in emission and self-selective in reception, where many communicate with many others.

In Chapter-5 Aeron Davis has dealt with Media and Politics.

Aeron Davis has attempted to examine the changing paradigm with reference to the research on political communication in the dynamics of politics which had direct or indirect impact of international and global undercurrents.

He observes that the subject can be studied with two prominent perspectives such as-

a..Mass media, nation state politics and elections in traditional manner, which may not reflect the changes and dynamics emerging out of contemporary world. and

b... Communication oriented research on globalization, interest groups and civil society, new media and alternative forms of media engagement.

When the research has the traditional communication and political model in focus, much of the emphasis is put on public opinion, electorate, role of public opinion and media in developing nation state democracies.

Normally in this approach the focus gets divided into studying 1. Election campaigns,

2. Political party and government communication with journalists and media

3. Production of news and mass media,

4. Media effects.

The most strongly debated and discussed elements in this approach are documenting the rising public apathy and sentiments with reference to lower electoral turnout, the traditionally acknowledged 'watch dog' qualities of media which normally gets tagged as fourth estate as against the comparative analysis of objectivity and pluralism, strong or limited effects of media on understanding the mind map of masses.

In this context it is observed by Davis that in the twenty-first century, the foundations of research as were explored in earlier century have been challenged and become unstable and restrictive.

Davis underlines further that the parameters, processes and purposes of this research are getting re-configured across the globe. Many of the political issues that affect a nation state often relate to actors and trends which are beyond physical boundaries. The other key factors such as environment, natural resources, international finance markets, currency fluctuations have multiple dimensions which can be international in its core nature.

The socio political fabric of every nation state is becoming complex in core because of inter dependency and hence cannot be studied in isolation. The evolving nature of traditional and new media have opened dynamic avenues for citizens' participation into the process and thus modifying the impact beyond known paradigms. The news production and delivery mechanism is changing continuously and swiftly due to technology. The public (masses) is being addressed to and represented as passive consumers rather than enlightened, informed and engaged citizens.

Simaltaneously the tastes and aspirations of the masses are also getting shaped and influenced by the media in a manner where their preferences towards news content about what to consume, how much to consume, when to consume are changing. Due to this change, reporting on public interest issues that are costly and complex in nature and may lack the market centric appeal has registered a sharp decline. Even while the general life of an average citizen, its political system is being influenced by global factors, there is an equally prominent rise in media products which are being created with hyper local content as the centre point.

In Chapter11, Kalyani Chadha and Anandam Kavoori have elaborately dealt with Contemporary Media Globalisation Trends across National Contexts.

The globalization as a phenomenon has happened over past two decades. The earlier stage of being International was about setting up benchmarks with reference to developed world and the practices in those geographies. Globalisation goes beyond the boundaries and makes the world a canvas for exposure, reaction, feedback etc. to any concept almost simultaneously.

This book offers few excellent quotes by eminent scholars which attempt to define 'Globalisation' with as much clarity and perspective as possible in sync with their respective areas and depth of studies.

Malcolm Waters (2001, P 5):

"We can define globalization as a social process in which the constraints of geography on economic, economic and cultural arrangements recede in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding and in which people act accordingly".

Barker (1997, P.5):

"Globalisation is not to be seen as a one way flow of influence from the west to the rest, rather globalization is multi-directional and multi-dimensional set of processes".
Tomlinson (1991, P.175)

"The effects of cultural globalization are to weaken the cultural coherence in all individual nation states, including economically powerful ones".

Silvio Waisbord (1998):

"Present day governments have fully embraced the policy of media privatization, left the control of media industries to market considerations and decisions and shrugged off old regulatory policies".

Kitley (2003, P.4):

"In the former Western colonies of South east Asia, television developed as a central element in the political and cultural processes of nation-building".

The content with such focused, specific yet elaborate context elements attempts to chronicle the Impact Analysis of Globalisation in a comprehensive manner for the students and researchers.

Emergence of new transmission technologies have brought in a wave of foreign programming into the historically regulated and closed broadcasting systetms in Asia. This has resulted shifts in media policies in the region. Effectively this region not only has more number of private and commercial broadcasters but the earlier monopolistic enterprises to adopt a more corporate mode of operations, cut costs and diversify revenue sources to rely less on license fees and government subsidies. India has echoed this trend in last two and half decades.

These developments have also ushered a completely new aspect in the world of media in the form of giant size global media conglomerates.

This book tries to effectively establish that the globalization enabled various creative and commercially viable brainstorming of content ideas.

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2.4 – Theoretical Background-

Introduction:

The research work undertaken by any researcher is primarily expected to bring to the table new perspectives and add to the already existing body of work in the selected subject. It is also necessary about the research to be relevant and contemporary in terms of context.

The research by this research student primarily pertained to identify the impact of Print and Television on Political Communication and Process. The research focuses to find out the relevant aspects associated with all the elements of the research topic individually and collectively. The attempt is to create a comprehensive and holistic understanding as regards to the reach, scale and penetration of print and television

media and exploring how it impacts the audience of print and television which are referred to as readers and viewers respectively with reference to political communication and process.

It became imperative to look at each of the element closely. Before getting started as to how each of these elements figures and fits into the research design and process, it was essential to take an exploratory review of various literatures associated with the subject of political communication. Political communication is an integral part of the larger concept of Political Socialisation,

The socialization as a concept has been debated, discussed and documented by social scientists and researchers over centuries across the world. The political theories have been put forth in various emerging political scenarios in different parts of the world from time to time. These theories have contributed towards the development of political thought of generations through challenging and correcting the ideas and interpreted the changed theories to next level.

This review provided this researcher with a context for the further study in the form of few key points in simple terms which were extremely useful to create the outline and design of the study.

Describing Politics:

While there have been far too many definitions of 'politics' in the treasures of literature, it can be described as 'the activities that relate to influencing the actions and policies of a government or getting and keeping power in a government'.

Describing Political Science:

A social science concerned chiefly with the description and analysis of political and especially government institutions and processes.

Describing Political Process:

The process of the formulation and administration of public policy usually takes place by interaction between social groups and political institution or between political leadership and public opinion.

Describing Political Socialisation:

Political Socialisation is the process by which political culture is transmitted in a given society.

It occurs both at individual and community level and extends further to encompass the learning of more sophisticated political ideas and orientations. It is a life-long process.

Agents of Political Socialisation:

Family, Peers, Social Class, Legal System, Media, Religion, Education are the key agents of political socialization.

The Political Communication being integral part of Political Socialisation as a concept and continuous process and Media being an important agent of socialization provided this researcher with the context which defined the premise of the researcher's initial orientation towards the topic.

Thinkers and Their Perspectives

While the literature provides with innumerable references about the scholars, social scientists and thinkers who have contributed to the development of political theories and concepts, few of them made huge impact on this researcher's impressionable mind.
The stalwarts are Plato, Aristotle, Edmund Burke, John Stuart Mill, Karl Marx, Graham Wallas, Arthur Bentley, Charles Merriam, Harold Laski, & Karl W. Deutsch. It will be very apt to briefly review few of these doyens of social science in brief.

Plato (428 BCE-348 BCE)-

Plato was a Greek philosopher. He shared a unique position in the history of development of philosophy. He had been a student of Socrates and teacher to Aristotle.

Plato has unparalleled contribution in the fields of ethics and moral psychology, metaphysics, aesthetics, political philosophy, cosmology, epistemology, Plato

emphasized that the thinkers and philosophers need to engage with Justice, Beauty and Equality, which according to him were essential forms.

Aristotle (384 BCE-322 BCE)-

Aristotle was a Greek philosopher and scientist. Aristotle's work has a long lasting impact on Western thinkers and thought leaders. While Aristotle is recognized as the founder of 'Formal Logic', he contributed remarkably in subjects, which ranged from ethics, metaphysics, and political theory, philosophy of science, psychology, zoology, and physics.

Edmund Burke (1729-1797)-

Edmund Burke was a British political thinker, parliamentarian and was a prominent public figure. Edmund Burke is recognized for his theory of 'Conservatism'.

John Stuart Mill (1806-1873)-

John Stuart Mill was an English Philosopher and Economist. While his name is prominently associated with the 'Utilitarianism', his contribution in logic and political economy is widely recognized.

Karl Marx (1818-1883)-

Karl Marx was a German philosopher, sociologist, economist and revolutionary. His illustrated writing such as 'The Communist Manifesto', 'Das Kapital' and many more have established him as unique and un-parallel thinker in the history of socialist movement.

Graham Wallas (1858-1932)-

Graham Wallas was an English Social Psychologist and Co-founder of London School of Economics. According to Graham Wallas, the 'party' is the most effective political entity in the modern nation state. The origin of any particular party may be due to a deliberate intellectual process. In the year 1926, Graham Wallas defined his landmark theory called 'The Art of Thought', which outlined four stages of creative process. These four stages are 'preparation, incubation, illumination and verification'.

Arthur Bentley (1870-1957)

Arthur Bentley was an American political scientist and philosopher. Bentley is widely recognized for his work in the fields of development of behavioural methodology of political science and logic, linguistics and epistemology. According to Arthur Bentley, it is the study of human nature or personality, which can very well be considered as raw material of politics and the activities and relationships of the social groups whose unending interactions constitute society.

Charles Merriam (1874 -1953)-

Charles Merriam was an American political scientist. He was a very strong advocate of democracy and firm believer of practical approach towards politics. According to Charles Merriam 'what the society really strives hard to achieve is neither psychology nor psychiatry, nor biology nor history, nor economics as such, nor statistics as such but, the development of scientific method in observation, measurement and comparison of political relations. Possibly, the door of human natures is closed by some decree against scientist but it is also possible that we have not found the key that will unlock it. Study of Mental Measurement is a prominent idea put forth by Merriam.

Further to the behavioural approach towards the concept of socialization, few other aspects such as Study of Aggressiveness, Study of Temperament, Study of Will and Determination were also examined closely by the social scientists.

Harold Laski (1893-1950)-

Harold Laski was a British political scientist. He was a member of British Labour Party and also an educationist. In his exemplary work in the field of political philosophy he had managed to explore a holistic perspective of the notion of sovereign state as well as political pluralism.

Karl Deutsch (1912-1992) –

Karl Deutsch was a Czech Social and Political Scientist of remarkable caliber. In the "behavioural" phase of political science, Karl W. Deutsch occupies a place of

major importance. His work reflects many of the major trends which have characterized political science in this phase.

Deutsch had a quest for concepts of sufficient precision and applicability to provide the basis for the development of theory; the creation of operational (quantifiable) indicators for the testing of hypotheses about political behavior; and the adaptation and utilization of concepts, methodologies and insights from other disciplines.

According to Deutsch, the existence of social science is based on the ability to treat a social group as an organization and not as an agglomeration. Deutsch observed and stated that 'Communication is the cement', that makes organizations .Communication alone enables a group to think together, to see together and to act together.

With this in context, Karl Deutsch and his theory of 'Transnationalism', needs to be studied to understand the depth and dimensions of Political Communication.

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2.5   Quotes of Wisdom

The review of literature in the process of pursuing the research work offered this research student with various opportunities to discover observations and quotes of wisdom by many eminent stalwarts from the field of social and political science, which can have lasting influence on the minds of any student or researcher. These quotes often come in-built with the essence of a perspective of subject matter, much needed to add value to the work.

This researcher attempts to present few significant quotes, which have the wisdom to enlighten the minds of researchers and students.

"In politics, we will have equality and in social and economic life, we will have inequality. How long shall we live this life of contradictions?

-Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in his speech in the Constituent Assembly, 12ᵗʰ November 1949.

'The emergency has not been forgotten but the functioning anarchy of a soft state has equally been repudiated. Neither style will serve. People want decisive, achievement oriented democracy'.

-B. G. Vargese, 'Rhetoric to Solutions', - India Today, New Delhi, 16-31 January 1980

Democracy necessarily consists of mass organisations, mass movements and mass determinations'.

-C.C.Maxey, 'Political Philosophies', New York, MacMillan & Co, 1961, Pg.684.

'In the ultimate analysis, elections provide linkage patterns, acting thereby as the most important and influential agency of political socialisation'.

-H.B.Mayo, 'An introduction to Democratic Theory', New Delhi, Sterling Publishers, 1967, Pg.107

'The study of political philosophy is irrelevant in the conduct of politics'.

-Michele Oakeshott

'Ideology is a prescriptive doctrine that is not supported by rational argument'.

-D.D. Raphael, 'Problems of Political Philosophy', London, 1970, Pg.17.

"There cannot be a non-philosophical political science or non-scientific political philosophy".

- Stross (Pg.134) Peshwe Book by Prof Tijare.

"The images that appear in mass media not only reflect society; they also play a part in directing it as well. People either see themselves, their values, their aspirations represented in the media or they do not. To the extent that people find themselves represented in the media, they find their goals and their activities validated".

-George Spears et al (2000)

"While the world may never quite become the 'global village', rhapsodized by Marshall McLuhan, each village, whether rustic or urban, pre or post industrial revolution is becoming more and more global as , electronically the world increasingly comes to each village and neighbourhood, hamlet and settlement, quarter and suburb."

-Salzman (1993:1) in Kirk Johnson / Television and Social Change in Rural India / New Delhi / Sage Publications / 2008.

"Charisma Creates Arrogance".

"Charisma without a programme is ineffective".

-Page 103 - Peter Drucker /The New Realities / Oxford, U.K / Butterworth-Heinmann / 2003.

"Unlike the traditional political leadership, which worked around disagreement, the emerging political leadership needs to organize around agreement over ends to mobilise the consensus on ends. We need serious commitment, willingness to concentrate on one or two priorities, terribly hard work and competence".

-Page 105-106 / Peter Drucker /The New Realities / Oxford, U.K / Butterworth-Heinmann / 2003.

"The department of Public Information should not engage in Propaganda".
-The United Nation in News Media, (Page No.298)', 'M.I.Khan and Kaushal Kumar / Studies in Modern Mass Media, Volume-1 / New Delhi / Kanishka Publishers / 1993.

Political ideas are not immortal; however we try to identify them with eternal values. (Page 322)

Mostly, what is called political science seems like a device, invented by university teachers, for avoiding that dangerous subject politics, without achieving science. (Page 335)

-The Decline of Political Theory by Alfred Cobban, Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Sep., 1953), pp. 321-337, The Academy of Political Science

CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH DESIGN
&
METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

3.1   Research Design – an Introduction

Research Design forms as the most critical backbone of the research. Research Design works like a blue print of a project to be accomplished in interdependent and interlinked stages over a period of time. This design can offer a robust and stable framework wherein in the process the understanding of researcher about the subject gets evolved and this evolution gets reflected in the content. The Research Design is also essential to ensure that during the research process It gets evolved on few critical levels such as

a. Clarity in the formation of a problem statement for research

b. To facilitate the delimiting the boundaries of the proposed research work and sufficient elaboration of all the relevant elements

c.   To clearly identify the sources and method of data collection

d. To ensure seamless data analysis and interpretations of the research findings.

3.2   Key Elements of Research Design

This research work in question deals with five key elements which can be enlisted as-

a) Political Communication

b) Political Process,

c) Print Media,

d) Television Media,

e) Impact

With these five key elements as the context a frame of reference was created and structured to facilitate the required research design. Each of these five elements needed to be explored to the necessary levels of details to understand the finer aspects and then interlink the various facets to create a canvas of possibilities of interpretation.

This study involved an approach of collective and collaborative study and interpretation of the understanding of the magnitude of exposure to the media, growth of population and literacy, trends of electoral participation in the elections during the

period of the study, flow of information, the consumption of the various forms of news and information, the reading and viewing patterns, various content elements which are published and telecast, broadcast in the respective media, the perceptible impressions and feedback of the readers and viewers of print and television media respectively, evolving nature of the society which is increasingly becoming a multi-media enabled eco system wherein the people, problems, process, practices and possibilities co-exist to challenge, correct and change for a better future.

3.3   Research Method and Data Collection

3.3.1   Nature of research inquiry:

To test out this hypothesis, this researcher attempted to evolve a research methodology aiming at exploratory study. Since people oriented analytical literature is very scarce, this researcher adopted a method of combination of survey of literature (secondary data) as well as empirical approach to understand adult citizens' attitude, approach, knowledge, practice, aspirations and problems etc. on one hand and the political communicators on other hand.

3.3.2   Review of literature:

Review of literature in form of Government publications was attempted to remain informed with official version of communication scene of the country in general.

Secondary data in form of media critics' articles, review, books, newspaper clippings. Doordarshan and All India Radio programmes were reviewed to conceptualise the hypothesis. to devise proper research method, technique, tools and to evolve an analytical framework.

3.3.3   Research Method:

The research subject focuses on impact. This impact needed to be studied with reference to the people (masses) and the print and television (media). In this context 'Survey method' was decided to be put to use. The data collected from the survey and its analysis needed to be closely studied in combination with all the secondary data collected.

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3.3.4   Research technique:

It is quite impossible or impractical to collect data about people by observation in the field of political communication. In this context, Interviews and questioning were identified as the more prescribed tools commonly used to gather information This research student has followed interviewing and questioning techniques.

3.3.5   Research tool

Since the study was conducted at two levels. Two different tools were devised.

The first level comprised of adult citizens and interview and data collection was planned for them. This category represented the masses or people to whom the communication is addressed and to whom the impact occurs.

The second level comprised of Political Communicators and Professionals from Advertising, Public Relations and Journalism.

This category of respondents was defined with an objective of creating a cross check mechanism within the research sample. The questionnaire for this category was more function specific towards their professional function. This is because these professionals in their professional functionality use the media matrix in reality to establish interface between the masses and the political systems.

The two level research samples provided this researcher with a compact yet functioning eco-system comprising of masses, media and message (content).

3.3.6. Study area;

Study was carried out in 8 (Eight) different centres from Maharashtra, which offered this research student with a representative and indicative glimpse of the mindsets of adult citizens towards media, politics, communication, process and participation.

Table No. 12   **The centres covered in the study are-**

Pune	Nashik	Kolhapur	Aurangabad
Navi Mumbai	Jalgaon	Nagpur	Amaravati

3.3.7. Sampling Criteria-

The sample comprised of 'Adult Citizens' who are eligible to vote.

3.3.8. Sampling procedure:

The sampling procedure used for the field survey was 'Non-probability Random Sampling'.

3.3.9. Sampling method:

Accidental

3.3.10. Sample size:

A) Total of 495 adult citizens as a part of field survey and data collection.

B) Total of 35 respondents from professional category comprising of Political Communicators, Media and Communication Professionals, Political P.R Professionals

3.3.11. Limitations of sampling:

Since this research work was conducted by this research student on individual level the sample size limitations need to be accepted and acknowledged. Therefore the observations, findings and conclusions are indicative. These observations, findings, conclusions and recommendations can be generalized only when this data collection is done by using larger sample.

3.3.12. Demographics of Sample:

Area: Urban and Semi-Urban Cities

3.3.13. Sample profile by gender:
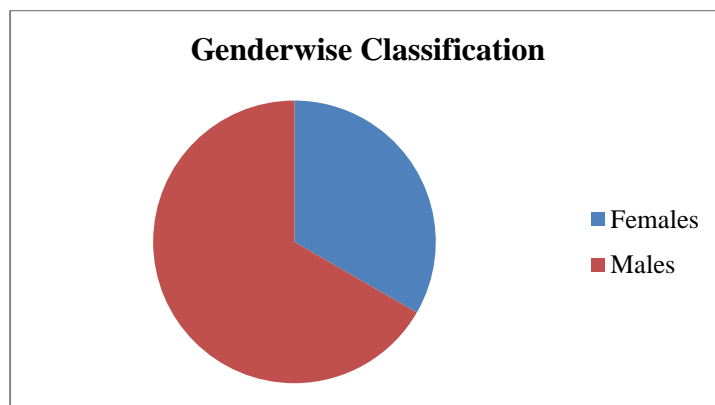
327 male adult citizens;

168 female adult citizens.

3.3.14. Frame of Analysis;

Data collected from the field was entered into a computer and a specific software programme was prepared to analyse data according to gender. Age, area, media preference, consumption and education.

3.3.15. Content Analysis;

This study is about the Impact of Print and Television on Political Communication and Process. Hence the focus was primarily maintained on the media preferences and consumption pattern of the adult citizens from the sample. Besides this primary focus the coverage in few select print media and television news channels with shows, special reports and stories during election period and non-election period of recent elections in 2014-15 were also observed closely.

3.4. Reporting research:

This research student has attempted to present the observations based on the information obtained from secondary data sources and the analytical interpretation of primary data in this thesis. The outcome of intensive interaction with the communicators and the receivers coupled with the survey of literature and content analysis is also being presented in this thesis.

CHAPTER 4:
ANALYSIS OF FIELD SURVEY DATA AND OBSERVATIONS

Analysis of Field Survey Data and Presentation

Introduction

The topic of this research specifically referred to the analysis of the impact of print and television on political communication and process. The field survey data primarily provided this researcher with the data to be examined from the audience's point of view. The term 'audience', used here included 'readers of print and viewers of television', who read, watch and consume the content delivered to them. The impact of both the media with reference to the research objective was studied with the help of the response from the respondents towards their expectations from the media, experiences with the content delivery by the media and perceptions about the media. The analysis of the reading and viewing habits, preferences, practices reflected in the data provided co-relation with the perception and impact.

Field Survey

The research work undertaken by this researcher is with specific reference to Maharashtra. The sample selection being random, the primary criteria was adult citizen who is eligible to vote, had some exposure to media and political communication in some form and a potential participant in the process. The degree and level of participation may vary. The questionnaire was prepared, tested and finalised accordingly to ensure that the necessary parameters

get reflected in the responses and the questionnaire was made very simple to ensure that there were no interpretations of the questions but only the desired querry is communicated to the respondents. The survey was carried out in eight different cities of Maharashtra to bring in due representation of the views, opinions and expressions of respondents on the research subject.

Sample

General Field Survey	495
Professionals Survey	35

The following reports are based on the analysis of the individual elements covered in the questionnaire used for the field survey.

No.	**Parameter of study and the statistics**

4.1   Primary language used to extract news

(Multiple options were allowed for the respondents.)

4.1.1   Marathi

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	484	97.8	**97.8**	97.8
	No	11	2.2	2.2	100
	To	495	100	100	

4.1.2   English

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	177	35.3	**35.3**	35.3
	No	318	64.7	64.7	100
	To	495	100	100	

4.1.3 Hindi

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	119	24	**24**	24
	No	376	76	76	100
	To	495	100	100	

4.1.4 Language other than Marathi, English and Hindi

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	36	7.3	7.3	7.3
	No	459	92.7	92.7	100
	To	495	100	100	

Observation 4.1

Marathi was the most preferred language to extract news, followed by English, Hindi and language other than Marathi, English and Hindi as noted for the sample under study. This observation may hold good for the other regional languages for the respective states.

4.2 Choice of medium used to extract the news-

(Multiple options were allowed for respondents)

4.2.1 Newspapers

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	299	99.6	**99.6**	99.6
	No	2	0.4	0.4	100
	To	495	100	100	

4.2.2

Television News Channels

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	481	97.09	**97.09**	97.09
Valid	No	14	2.91	2.91	100
	To	495	99.3	100	

4.2.3   **Radio**

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	176	35.6	**35.6**	35.6
Valid	No	319	64.4	64.4	100
	To	495	100	100	

4.2.4   **Computer with internet**

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	81	16.36	**16.36**	16.36
Valid	No	414	83.64	83.64	100
	To	495	99.6	100	

4.2.5   **Mobile with internet**

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Yes	119	39.6	**39.6**	39.6
Valid	No	299	60.4	60.4	100
	To	495	100	100	

4.3   Overall preference for medium to extract news

(Preferences of the respondents were ranked on the scale of 1 to 5)

4.3.1   Newspaper as the first preference

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	295	59.6	**59.6**	59.6
	2	155	31.3	31.3	90.9
	3	27	5.5	5.5	96.4
	4	5	1.1	1.1	97.5
	5	12	2.5	2.5	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.3.2   Television as the first preference

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	110	22.2	**22.2**	22.2
	2	220	44.4	44.4	66.5
	3	119	24	24	90.5
	4	40	8	8	98.5
	5	5	1.1	1.1	99.6
	Total	495			100

4.3.3   Radio as the first preference

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	25	5.1	**5.1**	5.1
	2	49	9.8	9.8	14.9
	3	212	42.9	42.9	57.8
	4	87	17.5	17.5	75.3
	5	122	24.7	24.7	100
	Total	495			

Computer with internet as the first preference

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**1**	11	2.2	**2.2**	2.2
	2	16	3.3	3.3	5.5
	3	29	5.8	5.8	11.3
	4	164	33.1	33.1	44.4
	5	275	55.6	55.6	100
	Total	495			

4.3.5 **Mobile with internet data as the first preference**

Reading		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**1**	54	10.9	**10.9**	10.9
	2	56	11.3	11.3	22.2
	3	106	21.5	21.5	43.6
	4	200	40.4	40.4	84
	5	79	16	16	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.3.6

Summary of ranking of most preferred mediums

(Based on the First Preference)

Rank	Medium	Percentage
1	Newspaper	59.6
2	Television	22.2
3	Mobile with internet data	10.9
4	Radio	5.1
5	Computer with internet	2.2
Total		100

The multi-media environment in which today's reader and viewer lives is clearly indicated with this parameter. The news and information is extracted by the readers and viewers from multiple mediums ranging from conventional print to digital.

While the use of internet enabled mediums is on rise at all levels and places, print has managed to retain its premier position.

4.4. **Language of newspapers, regularly read by the respondents**

(Multiple options were allowed)

4.4.1 **Marathi**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	451	90.5	**91.2**	91.2
	No	44	8.7	8.8	100
	Total	495	99.3	100	

6.4.2 **English**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	209	42.2	**42.2**	42.2
	No	286	57.8	57.8	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.4.3 Hindi

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	72	14.5	**14.5**	14.5
	No	423	85.5	85.5	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.4.4 Language other than Marathi, Hindi and English

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	9	1.8	**1.8**	1.8
	No	486	98.2	98.2	100
	Total	495	100	100	

Observation 4.4

The data reflects the contemporary social dynamics wherein the readers and viewers are not only living in multi-media environment because of technology but multi-lingual and multi-cultural eco system. The overlap in the access to Marathi and English underlines this change subtly but clearly.

4.5. **Language of News-channel watched regularly by respondents**

(Multiple options were allowed)

4.5.1 **Marathi News-channel**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	436	88	**88**	88
	No	59	12	12	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.5.2 **English News-channel**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	164	33.1	**33.1**	33.1
	No	331	66.9	66.9	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.5.3 **Hindi News-channel**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	169	34.2	**34.2**	34.2
	No	326	65.8	65.8	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.5.4. **News-channel other than Marathi, Hindi, English**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	11	2.2	2.2	2.2
	No	484	97.8	97.8	100
	Total	495	100	100	

The trend noticed in print readership gets highlighted further in television viewership data analysis. Television is audio-visual medium and goes beyond the literacy constraint. Additionally the world of entertainment in the state of Maharashtra also operates largely in the Hindi language and hence has expanded the possibility of better panetration for Hindi News-channels.

4.6 **Co-relation of education and news-channel watch**

(Cross Tab between Question no.5 VS Question no.32)

(Figures in Frequency)

4.6.1 **Marathi News-channel**

	Education		Total
	Upton Graduation	Post Graduate	
Yes	297	139	436
No	33	26	59
Total Frequency	330	165	495

4.6.2 **English News-Channel**

	Education		Total
	Upton Graduation	Post Graduate	
Yes	78	87	165
No	252	78	330
Total Frequency	330	165	495

4.6.3 Hindi News-Channel

	Education		Total
	Upton Graduation	Post Graduate	
Yes	99	71	170
No	229	96	325
Total Frequency	328	167	495

4.6.4 Other than Marathi, English and Hindi.

	Education		Total
	Upton Graduation	Post Graduate	
Yes	8	3	12
No	322	162	483
Total Frequency	330	165	495

Observation-4.6

Education levels have direct link with enhanced access and consumption of news and information in English language.

4.7 Average daily media consumption in minutes

4.7.1 Reading Newspapers

Valid data	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Upton 15 minutes	142	28.7	28.7	28.7
15 to 30 minutes	283	57.1	**57.1**	85.8
More than 30 minutes	70	14.2	14.2	100
Total	495	100	100	

4.7.2 Watching News-channels

Valid data		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Upton 30 minutes		221	44.7	**44.7**	44.7
30 to 45 minutes		189	38.2	38.2	82.9
More than 45 minutes		85	17.1	17.1	100
	Total	495	100	100	

Observation-4.7

The trends of average time spent to read newspapers and watch news-channels indicates the lifestyle changes of todays' readers and viewers.
This analysis also underlines the challenges in front of the news and media content creators to cater to their audiences in more focused and reader-viewer friendly manner.

4.8 Preference to news-category

4.8.1 Local News Coverage

Valid		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	1	166	33.5	33.5	33.5
	2	148	29.8	29.8	63.3
	3	50	10.2	10.2	73.5
	4	34	6.9	6.9	80.4
	5	98	19.7	19.7	100

Total	495	100	100

4.8.2 Regional and state level news coverage

Valid		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	1	40	8	8	8
	2	106	21.5	21.5	29.5
	3	141	28.4	28.4	57.8
	4	135	27.3	27.3	85.1
	5	74	14.9	14.9	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.8.3 National News and Coverage

Valid		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	1	74	14.9	14.9	14.9
	2	102	20.7	20.7	35.6
	3	171	34.5	34.5	70.2
	4	113	22.9	22.9	93.1
	5	34	6.9	6.9	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.8.4 World and International News Coverage

Valid		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	1	31	6.2	6.2	6.2
	2	81	16.4	16.4	22.5
	3	83	16.7	16.7	39.3
	4	126	25.5	25.5	64.7

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	5	175	35.3	35.3	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4,8   **Preference to news-category**

4.8.5   **Headlines**

Valid		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	1	187	37.8	37.8	37.8
	2	56	11.3	11.3	49.1
	3	50	10.2	10.2	59.3
	4	87	17.5	17.5	76.7
	5	115	23.3	23.3	100
	Total	495	100	100	

SUMMARY -News category of first preference

News Category	Percentage
Headlines	37.8
Local News Coverage	33.5
National News Coverage	14.9
Regional and State News	8
World and International News	6.2

Observation-4.8

This analysis has a close connect with the earlier study about the average time spent. The readers and viewers have a preference model about the various news elements within the time spent. This categorisation navigates their reading and viewing

preferences. The local news coverage and headlines dominate this trend for obvious reasons such as getting in sync with the community they live in and getting the pulse of the most important happenings around them.

4.9   Preference of News-Topic

4.9.1   Civic Issues

Valid		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	1	160	32.4	32.4	**32.4**
	2	126	25.5	25.5	57.8
	3	79	16	16	73.8
	4	56	11.3	11.3	85.1
	5	74	14.9	14.9	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.9.2   Politics and Political Affairs

Valid		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	1	142	28.7	28.7	**28.7**
	2	141	28.4	28.4	57.1
	3	85	17.1	17.1	74.2
	4	99	20	20	94.2
	5	29	5.8	5.8	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.9.3 Business, Trade and Commerce News

Valid		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	1	74	14.9	14.9	**14.9**
	2	117	23.6	23.6	38.5
	3	108	21.8	21.8	60.4
	4	113	22.9	22.9	83.3
	5	83	16.7	16.7	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.9.4 Sports News

Valid		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	1	72	14.5	14.5	**14.5**
	2	72	14.5	14.5	29.1
	3	111	22.5	22.5	51.6
	4	137	27.6	27.6	79.3
	5	102	20.7	20.7	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.9.5 Entertainment and Cultural News

Valid		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	1	72	14.5	14.5	**14.5**
	2	72	14.5	14.5	29.1
	3	111	22.5	22.5	51.6
	4	137	27.6	27.6	79.3

	5	102	20.7	20.7	100
	Total	495	100	100	

SUMMARY -News topic of first preference

News Category	Percentage
Civic Issues	32.4
Politics and Political Affairs	28.7
Business, Trade and Commerce News	14.9
Sports	14.5
Entertainment and Cultural	6.2

Observation-4.9

The analysis of the preferred news categories and news topics show similar patterns. The hierarchy of the news topics in the above analysis indicates that the coverage of civic issues and problems, politics and political reports dominate the content preference, followed by Business, Economy and Commerce, Sports and Entertainment.

4.10 **Readers inclination towards editorial page, analysis and special reports**

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very High	121	24.4	**24.4**	24.4
high	234	47.3	47.3	71.6
Average	70	14.2	14.2	85.8
Low	63	12.7	12.7	98.5

Very Low	7	1.5	1.5	100
Total	495	100	100	

4.11 **Readers inclination to share feedback with editors and letters to editor**

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very High	36	7.3	7.3	7.3
High	113	22.9	22.9	30.2
Average	88	17.8	17.8	48
Low	229	46.2	46.2	94.2
Very Low	29	5.8	5.8	100
Total	495	100	100	

4.12 **Readers and Viewers participation in political rally or initiative based on media coverage**

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very High	42	8.4	8.4	8.4
High	167	33.8	33.8	42.2
Average	94	18.9	18.9	61.1
Low	180	36.4	36.4	97.5
Very Low	12	2.5	2.5	100
Total	495	100	100	

Observation- 4.12

This analysis indicates the engagement and responsive quotient of readers and viewers with the mediums.

Conventional preferences are changing in sync with lifestyle.

4.13 **Viewers preference towards television debates and panel discussions**

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very High	92	18.5	18.5	18.5
High	283	57.1	57.1	75.6
Average	50	10.2	10.2	85.8
Low	59	12	12	97.8
Very Low	11	2.2	2.2	100
Total	495	100	100	

Observation- 4.13

The television debates and panel discussions are perceived to be of high decibel levels and are conducted in extremely aggressive manner. However the television viewers in this study have indicated very high to high preference to these programmes. The range of topics, participation of eminent personalities, top of the mind recall of the issues and anxiety to get wider perspective are few key reasons for this trend.

4.14. **Significance of combination of watching prime time news channels and reading newspapers**

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very High	162	32.7	**32.7**	32.7
High	207	41.8	41.8	74.5
Average	61	12.4	12.4	86.9
Low	61	12.4	12.4	99.3
Very Low	3	0.7	0.7	100
Total	495	100	100	

Observation 4.14

The cumulative preference of 74.5 percent for very high and high significance of the respondents covered in this study to the significance of the combination of watching prime time news channels and reading newspapers next morning indicates the healthy apetite of the readers and viewers towards their desire to get the most of the news from respective mediums. The news channels offer them instant updates and the newspapers offer them details.

4.15   **Social Media**

415.1   **Active on Social Media**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative percent
Yes	302	61.1	61.1	61.1
No	193	38.9	38.9	100
Total	495	100	100	

4.15.2   **Gender-wise trend of being active on social media**

(Cross Tab between Question no.15 and Question no.33)

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Yes	188	114	302
No	140	48	193
Total	333	162	495

Observation 4.15

This analysis underlines the trend of multi-media environment which surrounds the readers and viewers. Out of the total respondents covered in this study, 62 percent are also active on some social media platforms. It is very interesting to note that 70 percent of female respondents and 57 percent of the male respondents are active on social media. This trend is also likely in this particular study because of the time availability on hand

because of the professions of the respective gender. This trend can be ratified and established further with wider sample size and analysis of the activities conducted on social media.

4.16 **Choice of newspapers, television news-channels, personal political beliefs, understanding and interpretation of political process**

4.16.1 **Personal political beliefs decide choice of newspaper or channel read or watched by the respondents**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree		92	18.5	18.5	18.5
Agree		250	50.5	50.5	**69.1**
Neither Agree Nor Disagree		85	17.1	17.1	86.2
Disagree		61	12.4	12.4	98.5
Strongly Disagree		7	1.5	1.5	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.16.2 **Choice of newspapers read or news-channels watched influence respondents political opinion**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	90	18.2	18.2	18.2
Agree	252	50.9	50.9	**69.1**
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	61	12.4	12.4	81.5
Disagree	90	18.2	18.2	99.6
Strongly Disagree	2	0.4	0.4	100
Total	495	100	100	

4.16.3 **The understanding or interpretation of political process gets evolved because of newspapers and television news-channels**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	193	38.9	**38.9**	38.9
Agree	203	41.1	41.1	**80**
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	54	10.9	10.9	90.9
Disagree	42	8.4	8.4	99.3
Strongly Disagree	3	0.7	0.7	100
Total	495	100	100	

Observation

This analysis is very critical to the topic of research undertaken by this research student. This analysis has identified key trends towards the impact and influence aspects of media with reference to political communication, process and participation

Observation - 4.16.1

The cumulative 69.1 percent of respondents, who strongly agree and agree, have established that the choice of media read and watched by them has a linkage with their own political beliefs and orientation.

Observation-4.16.2

The cumulative 69.2 percent of respondents who strongly agree and agree, have established that the choice of media read and watched by them influence their political opinions.

Observation -4.16.3

The cumulative 80 percent of respondents who strongly agree and agree, have established that their understanding and interpretation gets evolved because of print and television media

4.17 Responsibilities of media towards the society

4.17.1 To provide authentic information

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**1**	236	47.6	**47.6**	47.6
	2	115	23.3	23.3	70.9
	3	70	14.2	14.2	85.1
	4	52	10.5	10.5	95.6
	5	22	4.4	4.4	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.17.2 To provide additional information and analysis

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**1**	101	20.4	**20.4**	20.4
	2	128	25.8	25.8	46.2
	3	88	17.8	17.8	64
	4	113	22.9	22.9	86.9
	5	65	13.1	13.1	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.17.3 To enhance and facilitate general knowledge

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**1**	54	10.9	**10.9**	10.9
	2	128	25.8	25.8	36.7
	3	144	29.1	29.1	65.8
	4	130	26.2	26.2	92
	5	40	8	8	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.17.4 To provide authentic and credible updates on current affairs

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**1**	83	16.7	**16.7**	16.7
	2	99	20	20	36.7
	3	156	31.6	31.6	68.4
	4	130	26.2	26.2	94.5
	5	27	5.5	5.5	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.17 Responsibilities of media towards the society

4.17.5 To provide entertainment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**1**	22	4.4	4.4	4.4
	2	25	5.1	5.1	9.5
	3	36	7.3	7.3	16.7
	4	70	14.2	14.2	30.9
	5	342	69.1	69.1	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.17.6 Summary of responsibilities of media, as expected by the readers and viewers

Preference No.	Responsibility	Top Percentage
1	Authentic information	47.4
2	Additional information and analysis	20.6
3	Authentic updates on current affairs	16.7
4	General Knowledge	10.9
5	Entertainment	4.4

Observation- 4.17

It is very significant to notice that even in the contemporary multi-media environment the respondents, who are the readers of newspapers and viewers of television news-channels have indicated clearly that they rely on print and television for Authentic Information, Additional information and

analysis and Updates on current affairs.

4.18 Impact on society

4.18.1 To promote Awareness

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	241	48.7	**48.7**	48.7
	2	67	13.5	13.5	62.2
	3	106	21.5	21.5	83.6
	4	36	7.3	7.3	90.9
	5	45	9.1	9.1	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.18.2 To Sensitise

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	85	17.1	**17.1**	17.1
	2	203	41.1	41.1	58.2
	3	74	14.9	14.9	73.1
	4	99	20	20	93.1
	5	34	6.9	6.9	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.18.3 To Mobilise

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	67	13.5	**13.5**	13.5
	2	115	23.3	23.3	36.7
	3	203	41.1	41.1	77.8

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	4	40	8	8	85.8
	5	70	14.2	14.2	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.18.4 **To Sensationalise**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**1**	72	14.5	**14.5**	14.5
	2	50	10.2	10.2	24.7
	3	70	14.2	14.2	38.9
	4	218	44	44	82.9
	5	85	17.1	17.1	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.18.5 **To create chaos and**

Confusion

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**1**	31	6.2	**6.2**	6.2
	2	59	12	12	18.2
	3	42	8.4	8.4	26.5
	4	102	20.7	20.7	47.3
	5	261	52.7	52.7	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.18.6 **Summary of assessment of impact of media on society**

Preference No.	Impact Parameter	Top Percent
1	To promote Awareness	48.7
2	To sensitise	17.1
3	To Sensationalise	14.5
4	To Mobilise	13.5
5	Chaos and Confusion	6.2

Observation-4.18

The analysis of impact of media underlines that media plays significant role in terms creating awareness, sensitising and mobilising the masses. However a combined top score of 20.7 percent being attributed to two negative parameters such as 'sensationalising' and 'creating confusion and chaos' is certainly an alarming sign. The professionals working in media need to take attend to this concern and ensure corrective measures.

4.19 **Perception of readers and viewers about media**

4.19.1 **Being used for Promotions and Publicity**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	243	49.1	**49.1**	49.1
Agree	171	34.5	34.5	**83.6**
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	52	10.5	10.5	94.2
Disagree	25	5.1	5.1	99.3
Strongly Disagree	3	0.7	0.7	100
Total	495	100	100	

Media being used for promotions and publicity has been clearly indicated by the respondents with cumulative 83.6 percent score for the two options of strongly agree and agree. This indication needs to be taken into account for necessary correction and change by the content creator in media.

This score indicates challenge to the credibility in the long term period.

4.19.2 **Being Unbiased**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree		99	20	**20**	20
Agree		169	34.2	34.2	**54.2**
Neither Agree Nor Disagree		108	21.8	21.8	76
Disagree		99	20	20	96
Strongly Disagree		20	4	4	100
	Total	495	100	100	

Observation

The perception of media being unbiased is just half-way in terms of percentage. Media professionals need to attend to this.

4.20 **Contribution of media towards the success of recent social movements**

4.20.1 **RT I- Right To Information**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	389	78.5	**78.5**	78.5
	No	106	21.5	21.5	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.20.2 **Lokpal**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	227	45.8	**45.8**	45.8
	No	268	54.2	54.2	100
	Total	495	100	100	

4.20.3 **RTE- Right To Education**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	214	43.3	**43.3**	43.3
	No	281	56.7	56.7	100
	Total	300	100	100	

Observation- 4.20

The Right To India (RTI), Lokpal and The Right To Education (RTE) have been three widely acknowledged social movements and initiatives which were prominently covered editorially by print, television, digital and social media in recent

times during last decade. However the respondents have clearly indicated their perception about the role and contribution of media in the successful formation of RTI and are relatively lesser aware about media's contribution in the successful making of Lokpal and RTE.

4.21   **Significance, Perceptions and Expectations**

4.21.1 **Role of media towards mobilising people's participation**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very High	155	31.3	**31.3**	31.3
High	279	56.4	56.4	87.6
Neither High Nor Low	45	9.1	9.1	96.7
Low	12	2.5	2.5	99.3
Very Low	3	0.7	0.7	100
Total	495	100	100	

Observation-4.21.1

The respondents have endorsed the role of media towards mobilising peoples' participation. This also needs to be noted as one of their key expectations from media.

4.21.2 **Manifestos of Political Parties**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very High		57	11.6	**11.6**	11.6
High		247	49.8	49.8	61.5
Neither High Nor Low		113	22.9	22.9	84.4
Low		45	9.1	9.1	93.5
Very Low		32	6.5	6.5	100
	Total	495	100	100	

Observation-4.21.2

Only 11.6 percent of the respondents attributing very high significance to the manifestos of political parties are a wake-up call for the political parties. However 49.8 percent of respondents attributing 'high' significance indicate scope to improve this perception.

4.21.3 **Getting used for Political Propaganda and Publicity**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very High		131	26.5	**26.5**	26.5
High		198	40	40	66.5
Neither High Nor Low		83	16.7	16.7	83.3
Low		77	15.6	15.6	98.9
Very Low		5	1.1	1.1	100
	Total	495	100	100	

The respondents have maintained the trend in terms of their perception about the media being used for political propaganda and publicity, similar to promotions and publicity. The cumulative of 66.5 percent score of this point indicates that media content is also getting intercepted with political propaganda and publicity. This point also needs to be taken into account by the media and political communicators.

4.21.4 **Media as an alert watch dog and custodian of society**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree	167	33.8	**33.8**	33.8
Agree	240	48.4	48.4	82.2
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	43	8.7	8.7	90.9
Disagree	45	9.1	9.1	100
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	100
Total	495	100	100	

The score of this point underlines the expectation

level of the respondents about the prime responsibility of the media to be an alert watch dog and custodian of the society.

4.21.5 **Political parties think of political process and people's participation beyond elections and power**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree		49	9.8	**9.8**	9.8
Agree		153	30.9	30.9	40.7
Neither Agree Nor Disagree		135	27.3	27.3	68
Disagree		135	27.3	27.3	95.3
Strongly Disagree		23	4.7	4.7	100
	Total	495	100	100	

Observation-4.21.5

The political parties survive and grow on the strength of the perception about their being connected with the people beyond elections. The score of only 9.8 percent of the respondents endorsing this can be a wake-up call for the parties to correct and change

4.21.6 **Awareness about Right and Duty to Vote and Actual Action**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Agree		221	44.7	**44.7**	44.7
Agree		151	30.5	30.5	75.3
Neither Agree Nor Disagree		22	4.4	4.4	79.6
Disagree		32	6.5	6.5	86.2
Strongly Disagree		68	13.8	13.8	100
	Total	495	100	100	

Observation-4.21.6

To cast the vote and participate in the democratic electoral process has been endorsed of 75.3 percent of the respondents. However with growth in literacy levels, extensive awareness campaigns and initiatives implemented by successive governments and Election Commission of India, this score could have been much better.

4.22 **Analysis of responses from the professional category**

The respondents from the professional category comprised of advertising, public relations, journalism, content creation and business head functions. The analysis of their responses and views is self- explanatory.

4.22.1 **Most preferred medium to extract news**

Options for response	Percentage of preference (Values in %)
Newspaper	47
Mobile with internet	29
Television	12
Computer with internet	12
Radio	0

Percentage of preference
- Newspaper
- Mobile with internet
- Television
- Computer with internet
- Radio
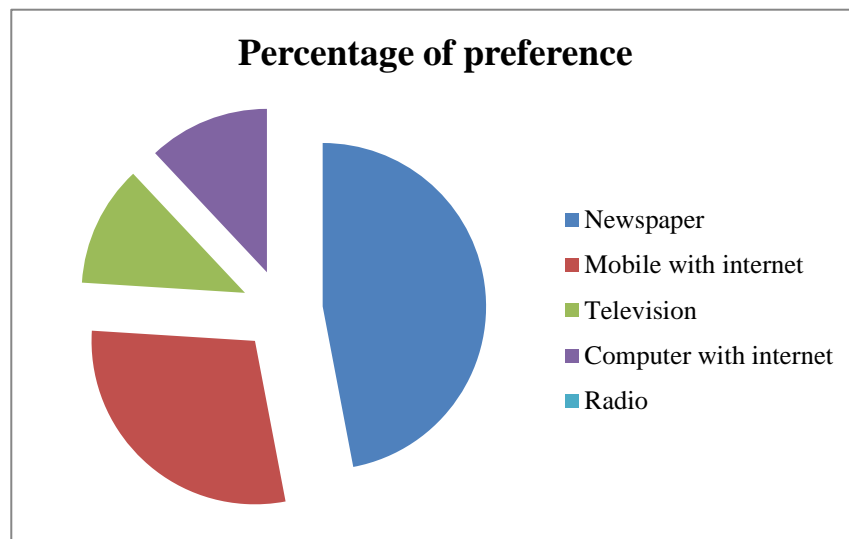
Observation 4.22.1-

Traditional Print (Newspapers) still continue to dominate the preference in the professional category, followed by mobile with internet and television.

4.22.2. **Average Time spent for newspaper reading**

45-60 minutes

4.22.3. **Average Time spent for news television viewing**

30-45 minutes

4.22.4.   **Assessment of readers inclination towards editorial pages**

Options for response	Percentage of inclination
High	17
Average	24
Low	59

Percentage of inclination
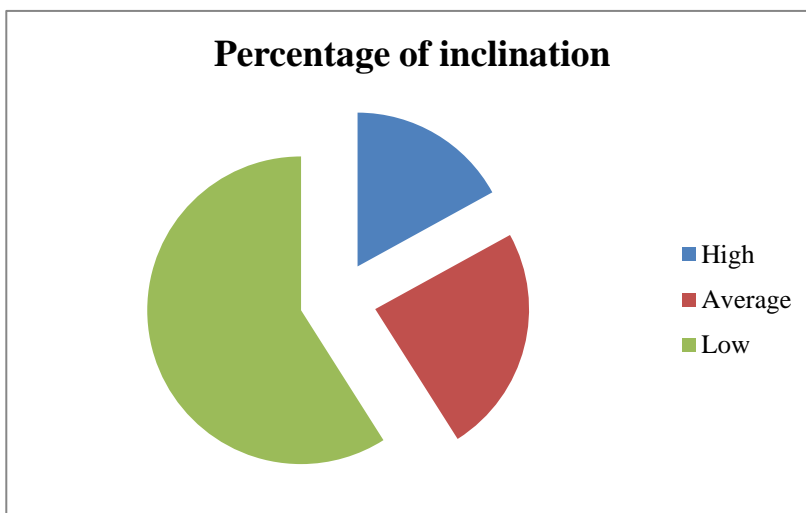
Observation 4.22.4.

The respondents from the professional category has acknowledged that ,the inclination of readers and viewers towards the editorial pages is low.

4.22.5.   **Assessment of readers inclination to respond to editors**

Options for response	Percentage of inclination
High	24
Average	32
Low	44

Percentage of inclination
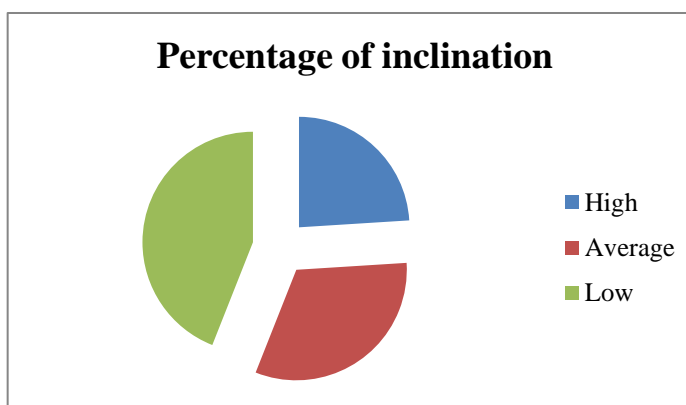
Significance of prime time debates on news channels

Options for response	Percentage of significance
High	28
Average	27
Low	45

Percentage of significance
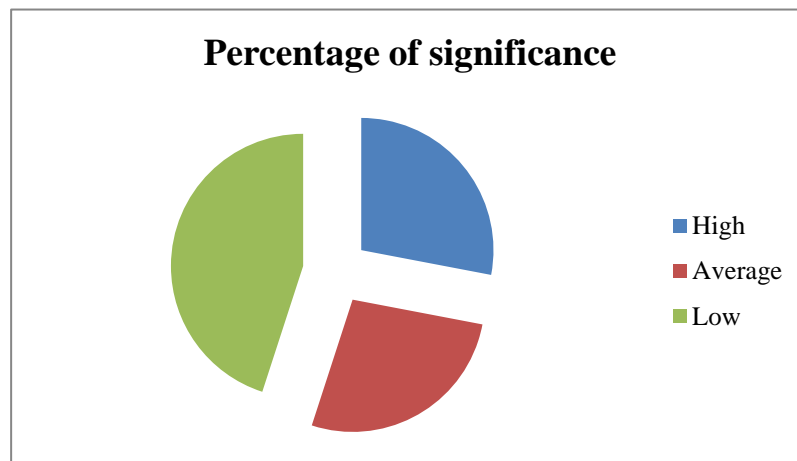
Observation 4.22.6.

The respondents from the professional category do not assign too much of significance to the prime-time debates with reference enriching the audiences in tems of political sensitization and orientation.

4.22.7.   **Assessment of role of media in evolving the understanding of audiences (readers and viewers) of issues and trends.**

Options for response	Percentage of agreement
Yes	53
No	42
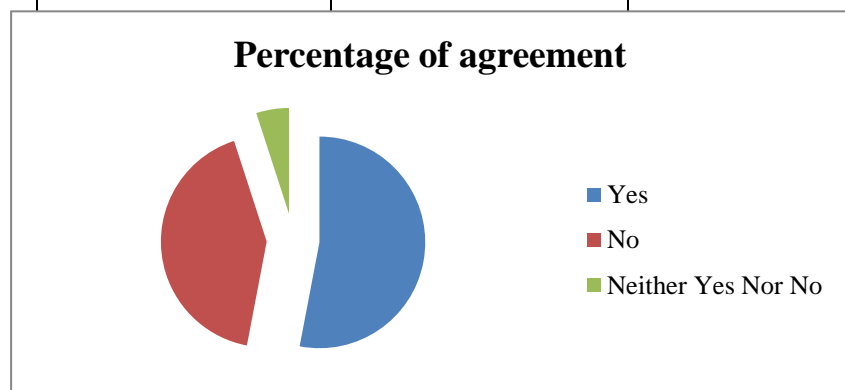
Percentage of agreement

The respondents from the professional category have acknowledged that the media helps the audiences in terms of evolving their understanding of issues.

4.22.8. **Assessment about media getting used for**
Propaganda and Publicity

Options for response	Percentage of agreement
Yes	90
No	5
Neither Yes Nor No	5

Percentage of agreement
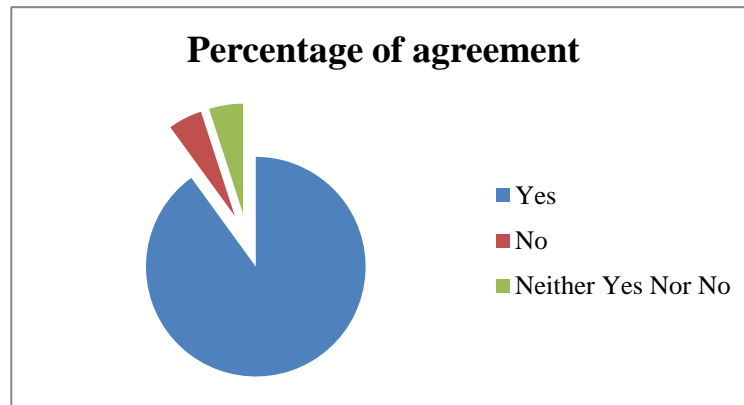
Observation 4.22.8

The respondents from the professional category have acknowledged that the media is excessively getting used for propaganda and publicity.

4.22.9. **Assessment about the media being unbiased**

Option for response	Percentage of agreement
Yes	8
No	88
Neither Yes Nor No	4

Percentage of agreement
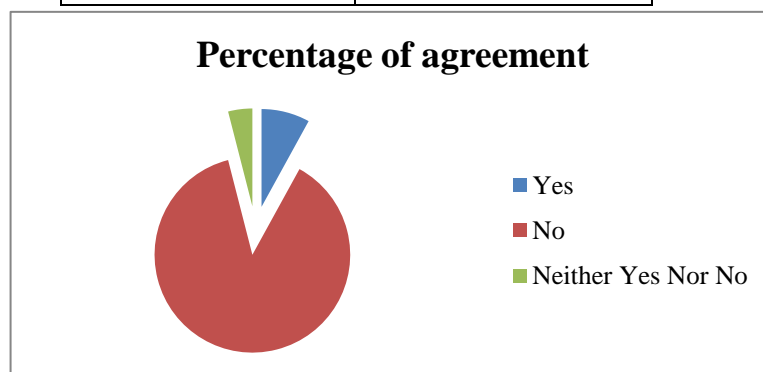
Observation 4.22.9.

The respondents from the professional category have acknowledged that the media is excessively getting biased..

4.22.10. **Assessment about the significance of manifestos of political parties**

Option for response	Percentage of significance
High	24
Average	10
Low	66

Percentage of significance
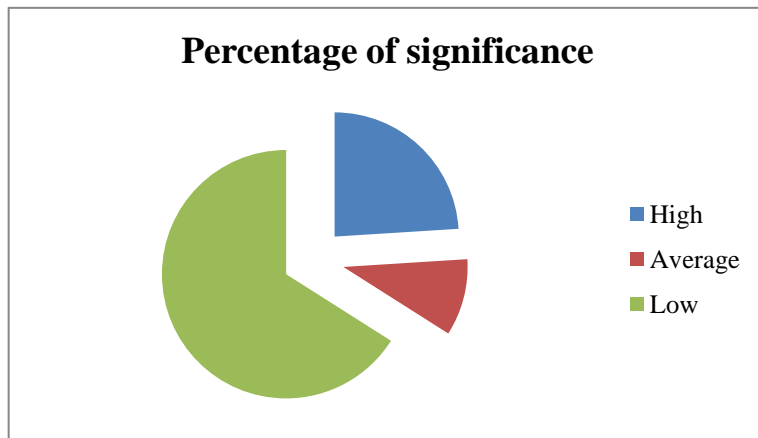
Observation 4.22.10

The respondents from the professional category have acknowledged that the significance of manifestos of the political parties is getting lowered.

4.22.11. **Assessment of the perception about the political parties and their connect with people beyond power and elections**

Option for response	Percentage of agreement
High	39
Average	8
Low	53
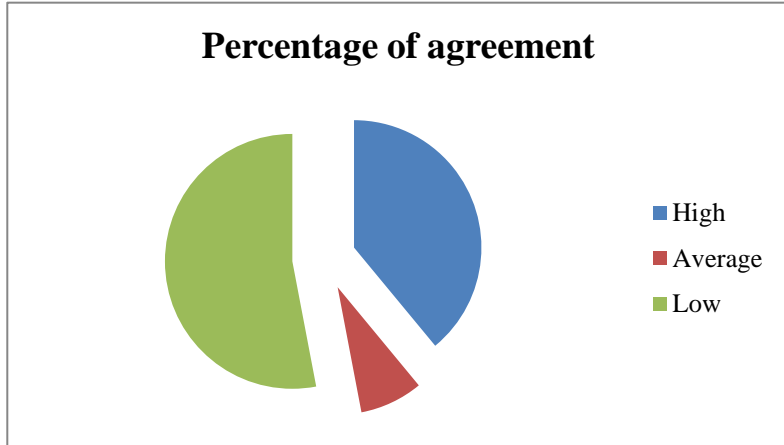
Observation 4.22.11.

The respondents from the professional category have acknowledged that the perception about the political parties and their connect with the people beyond power and elections is indicating negative trend. Low and average perception comprise of 61% .

4.22.12.   **Assessment about impact of media being Positive and Constructive**

Option for response	Percentage of agreement
Yes	48
No	35
Neither Yes Nor No	17
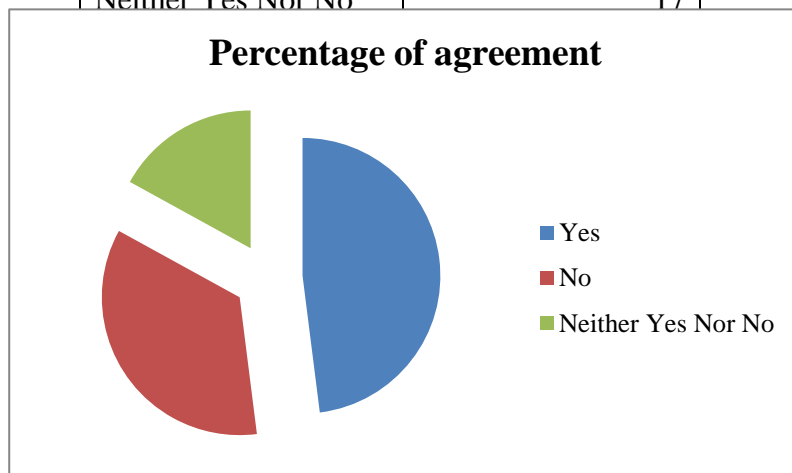
Observation 4.22.12.

About half (48%) of the respondents from the professional category have endorsed that the impact of the media is positive and constructive. This percentage indicates the challenges for the media to restore its credentials to live up to the desired levels of responsibilities as perceived by its audiences and society at large.

Summary:

The analysis of the data and the observation associated with each of the parameter under study has certain degree of endorsement and agreement between the respondents from the samples from general category and the category of professionals.

Many of the concerns and pointers emerging out of the respondents from the general category have been echoed by the professionals. This observation underlines the gap between the expectations and perceptions, promise and performance by the media and political fraternity.

CHAPTER 5:

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS,

RECOMMENDATIONS
&
SCOPE FOR FUTURE STUDY

5.1 Introduction and Background:

The Human species has always been acknowledged as 'social animal' by social scientists and by anthropological perspective. The desire and inclination to be social is prominent in human species. The concept, structure and entity of society have got evolved over few thousands of years. The evolution of Human species and society had created multiple challenges, corrections and changes in this continuous process. Quite clearly it needs to be acknowledged as a dynamic and complex process.

According to Aristotle, 'Man is by nature a social animal. An individual who is unsocial naturally; and not by accident is either beneath our notice or more than a human. Society is something that precedes the individual'.

A recent research conducted by a team of researchers from the University of Padova of Italy , under the leadership of Psychologist Umberto Castiello, to explore the social behaviour of twins before the birth established that the babies want to be social even before they are born. (Ref: Brandon Keim / www.wired.com/social babies).Their findings were published subsequently in 'Public Library of Science One'. The social nature of human species, development and evolution of the concept and form of the entity called society had been duly researched and established by many social scientists and anthropologists over few centuries in multiple studies. The dynamic and evolving nature of society underlines an important concept as that of socialization.

The socialization has been a continuous process and there are different agents, which facilitate this process. Media is considered to be one of the key agents of socialization and with this in context; communication needs to be studied as one of the most critical element in facilitating the various agents of socialization.

Communication is dynamic process in every sense and perspective. It has the capability and potential to connect different individuals, groups, communities to one another and facilitate the process of socialization. The communication as a process gets evolved with every word written, every word spoken and with every expression.

The process of communication needs mediums to facilitate the desired objectives of the communication.

This researcher has attempted to study the role and impact of media with reference to 'Political Socialisation and Political Process'. This research proved to be extremely engaging and enriching for this researcher in many ways than one. It provided these researchers various opportunities to refer, revise and explore the theories of socialization as documented and chronicled in the pages of books, periodicals, web world which can undoubtedly be called as the treasures of knowledge and wisdom. The journey of the ideas, concepts and theories provided a backdrop and frame of reference as regards to the research work undertaken by this researcher.

The realm of the research topic can be broadly established once the backdrop and frame of reference got in its place. The focus of this research work was to explore the macro and micro dimensions of various theories, concepts, ideas which have been evolving all around the world and then to connect these dots to create a document in the context of the specific objectives of the study for future references and advance research on this subject. The objectives of this study have a wide spectrum of variables and parameters which are dynamic and evolving in nature.

The chapter about conclusion and recommendations will take into account analysis and interpretation of various data compiled and collected during the process of research on field and also from various credible sources from where it needed to be gathered in order to provide the research work with the necessary depth and dimensions.

The entire study conducted in this project is based on the following aspects-

People	Media
Political Communication	Political Process

The Impact as mentioned in this research title has been studied with reference to population and has been incorporated in this report as 'people'. This aspect has covered the voting behaviour, voting trends, inclination of people towards their potential participation in social and political movements, events, activities, rallies, initiatives based on the inputs and coverage in media. There is a special reference to three of significant social movements in India during 1991-2015. These movements are Right To Information (RTI), Right To Education (RTE) and Lokpal. Respondents' perception about media's role and contribution in the success of

these social movements in achieving the objectives of these movements from concept to adjudication and creation of an act through due diligence and optimizing the representative and participative democratic principles and practices was checked with the help of specific questions in the questionnaire.

The political communication covered in this research work has taken into account the political news coverage, the literature prepared for publicity, promotions and propaganda, manifestos of political parties, perception of the respondents about how media is being perceived to be performing to achieve various duties and social obligations like awareness, authentic information, sensitization, mobilization.

The impact here refers to the people, citizens and society. Accordingly, the aspect of 'people' has been explored from various perspectives. These perspectives and parameters include population, gender-wise break-up, literacy levels with reference to the census figures of 2001 and 2011 for India and Maharashtra. This study of the aspect of 'people' provides this researcher with understanding the assessment of the potential audience, likely to be impacted because of media. The population data provides scale and size and literacy data provides the indication of the potential audience likely to get exposed to some or other form of media because of literacy as a qualifying aspect. This is very important because an informed society enhances its possibility of better socialization.

The media selected for this study are Television and Print media. This aspect has been studied with the necessary historical background and empirical data to support it.

The Television and Print media have seen explosive growth during 1991-2015 primarily because of growth in population, literacy, accessibility, technology driven and internet enabled production and delivery mechanism developed during this period. However while exploring the numerical data on this topic, due attention has been ensured by this researcher towards the content elements consumed by the readers and viewers of news-media The term audience has been used in the text of this study report with primary reference to the individuals, group of individuals, communities and society which gets catered by the content creators, news providers and the socio-political system which uses the access and reach of media to address the audience (Viewers of Television and Readers of Print Media).

The preference to particular media to extract the daily news, time spent on reading newspapers and viewing news channels, preference to news based on categories and subjects, inclination towards news analysis and feedback to editors, combined exposure to print and television news media and its influence, respondents assessment of significance they attach towards manifestos of political parties, respondents assessment about the significance given by political parties towards the people beyond elections and political power, respondents' view-point about the significance towards their right to vote and actual action was covered in the data collection with specific and simple questions.

The study about impact has been explored with reference to political communication and political process. These two aspects of this study have been studied with the help of data collected from field with the help of questionnaire, which was designed to facilitate the respondents relate to the research topic without any ambiguity and complex communication obstruction and respond in simple terms, tested for compatibility in terms of statistical analysis method using the inputs and services of a certified SPSS (Statistical Packages for Social Studies) Professional.

5.2 Findings

The conclusion of this research work is a reflection of the collective understanding and assessment of this research student about following aspects with reference to the objectives of study and the hypothesis and statement of hypothesis-

1) Various literatures reviewed to explore politics as a concept, concept, process and agents of political socialization.

2) The political system, Government structure and Civil Societies.

3) People as population, audience, which consume the content delivered by mass media (readers and viewers with reference to their habits, choices and preferences), voters, supporters, activists.

4) Mass Media and its reach, penetration and its influence. Mass Media studied under this research work is Television and Print.

5) Communicators which use the mass media to create various content elements and cater to their audience (readers, viewers, voters)

As established very elaborately in the literature review, the politics as a concept and its allied theories have been challenged, corrected and changed in the respective societies under different compelling situations and circumstances. It can be concluded that social, cultural and economic environments and challenges during the course of time has a direct impact on the way the changes take place.

Media has been acknowledged as key agent to facilitate political socialization. The changes and corrections are integral part of this process. The communication, information, analysis and potential options for change are put across by the media to all the players in the socio-political system and the masses that are either benefitted or affected by the circumstances and the changes.

The transition and transformation of media into mass media has taken place in terms of size and scale, primarily because of advance technology, improved literacy levels. In the context of India, the role played by media during pre-independence and first three decade of post-independence period was characteristically different under different set of challenges, objectives and parameters which existed in the respective period in time. The profile and pre-requisites of the communicators has got redefined in terms of skill sets and knowledge zones and genres. However the significance of media as the key agent of political socialization has remained intact and unchanged.

5.2.1 Finding 1:

"Political Socialisation has been an evolving and dynamic process wherein the matrix of intensity and priority of various parameters which drive the process is the extremely sensitive aspect.

5.2.2 Finding 2:

"Impact of Television and Print Media on Political Socialisation and Process has been established undoubtedly during this research undertaken by this researcher".

5.2.3 Finding 3:

"Impact of Media has to be assessed as a collective percolation and precipitation of information received and consumed by the readers of print and viewers of television".

5.2.4 Finding 4:

"The viewers of television and readers of print media (collectively referred in this research report as audience), in contemporary time exist in a multi-media environment and they have to be studied in-sync with this multi-media eco-system which has redefined the media consumption pattern as an integral element of vibrant lifestyle".

5.2.5 Finding 5:

"The conventional content plan and elements of mass media have been challenged by the emerging generation of readers and viewers because of their extensive exposure to the world around them and access to the information because of technology and competitive literacy levels".

5.2.6 Finding 6:

"The readers and viewers are extremely conscious about the authenticity, objectivity credibility as the key merit elements of the mass media and media has to be positive and constructive in terms of impact".

The analysis of the field data and inputs from professionals indicates challenges for the communicators, content creators and media fraternity in order to restoring the expected merit elements.

5.2.7 Finding 7:

"The readers and viewers are sensitive to the excessive use of the mass media for propaganda, publicity. This excessive usage of media for propaganda and publicity affects credibility of information flowing into the society and also affects the active participation and action towards issues and movements".

The analysis of the respondents' data and inputs from professionals clearly indicate strong reservations about this aspect".

5.2.8 Finding 8:

"The readers and viewers are sensitive towards the media getting increasingly biased".

The analysis of respondents' data and the inputs from the professionals clearly indicate their apprehensions about this aspect".

5.2.9 Finding 9:

"The readers and viewers are sensitive towards their experience and perceptions about the political system, primarily referred here-in as political parties. The political parties and political communicators have also got their communication processes and efforts in sync ".

The respondents have become more alert as regards to the interface with the political system. The analysis of the field data and inputs from the professionals strongly indicate that there is a growing perception that political parties do not think about the masses (readers and viewers in this research), beyond elections and power. The significance of manifestos of political parties, which are expected to be one of the most trusted and reliable communication between the people and the political parties is on sharp decline. This is certainly a wake-up call for the political parties.

5.2.10 Finding 10:

"The Television and Print Media has to be studied as an integral part of the multi-media environment and a rapidly changing lifestyle which keeps the audience connected with the world around them beyond any geographical boundaries and physical limits".

Many a time the information which is getting delivered by this 24x7- multi-media scenario, to the audience is unrequired or excess. The unrequired or excess information may lead to chaos and confusion if the content is not duly processed edited and prioritized in sync with the receivers' requirements.

5.2.11 Finding 11:

"The Print Media continues to be extremely relevant, credible, trusted source of news, information, and analysis even in the dynamic digital and multi-media era".

The political socialization can be engineered effectively if print media upgrades its content plan elements, delivery mechanism and introduce possibility of interface and interactivity with more exposed and learned contributors and subject experts, social

scientists, thinkers, at regular intervals. These possibilities of interface and interactions and the elaborate news coverage of these interactions have the potential to ease the challenges faced by the communication process in the context of the new world order which will soon aspire to get linked and connected to the treasures of knowledge and wisdom to make this world a much better place not only for him or herself but for the generations to come. The mass media today is blessed with a historical challenge and opportunity rolled into one at this juncture.

5.3 Conclusions:

Following the close assessment of the set of findings as enlisted above in 5.2, with reference to the set of hypothesis defined for this research; it has been established with clarity that the entire set of four hypothesis stand proved.

Hypothesis-1
The masses are educated and enabled by the mass media about their rights and duties towards better participation in the political process.

Findings no.1, 2, 3, 4 and 11 , have established and proved the Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis-2
The political system has also realised this change and is reconciling accordingly.

Findings no.1 and 9 have established and proved the Hypothesis-2.

Hypothesis-3
The awareness through mass media, the access and availability of information through the media is not resulting into levels of action which are proportionate to the information delivered by the mass-media.

Finding no.7 has established and proved the Hypothesis-3.

Hypothesis-4
The Mass media is showing tendency of becoming judgemental, biased and sensational.

Findings no.6 and 8 have established and proved the Hypothesis-4.

The political socialisation can be engineered effectively if print media upgrades its content plan elements, delivery mechanism and introduce possibility of interface and interactivity with more exposed and learned contributors and subject experts, social scientists, thinkers, at regular intervals. These possibilities of interface and interactions and the elaborate news coverage of these interactions have the potential to ease the challenges faced by the communication process in the context of the new world order which will soon aspire to get linked and connected to the treasures of knowledge and wisdom to make this world a much better place not only for him or herself but for the generations to come. The mass media today is blessed with a historical challenge and opportunity rolled into one at this juncture.

5.4 Recommendations

Introduction

The elaborate conclusions enlisted in the earlier section present this researcher with a set of few specific recommendations, in order to optimize the impact of television and print media to derive maximum positive and constructive results of political socialization and political processes. This researcher sincerely believes in the power of communication and strength of each of the media platform (print, television and digital). The recommendations presented herewith are based on a basic principle that Mass Media has a huge responsibility of creating, delivering and amplifying content and concepts which is aimed at achieving two sets of objectives which can be defined as-

1) To minimize conflicts, confrontations, confusion and chaos in the society to which they address and represent.

2) To enhance and optimize confidence and conviction with emphasis on clear conscience.

5.4.1 Recommendation 1

The media professionals need to integrate the multi-media environment into the content planning, content creation, content presentation and content delivery. The readers and viewers have simultaneous access to multiple media platforms and hence along-with the efficiency in news and content delivery, the objectivity and authenticity is needed to be enhanced by the entire news media. The access to

information and the accuracy of the information will ensure that news content has a positive and constructive impact.

Recommendation 2

The process and practice of exploiting the media for propaganda, publicity and promotions need to be done with lots of restraint. The readers and viewers have developed strong reservations about this aspect of media. This is needed to be corrected at the earliest to restore the faith and trust associated with media.

Recommendation 3

The political parties and political system also need to inculcate a culture of objectivity and credibility and incorporate value driven professionalism while using the technologically advanced media platforms. The restraint and responsibility needs to be practiced more prominently by the political communicators. This restraint and responsibility will enhance the harmony in the political communication. The harmony will certainly have lasting and sustainable results in the interest of people and society, which the political parties primarily exist to represent.

Recommendation 4

The new age digital media needs to evolve from within in terms of defining their content prioritization matrix. The emphasis on 'breaking news' has been existing in television media out of market driven compulsions, such as audience ratings and revenue share has started affecting their core of credible and objective content. The television media need to focus on content styling and detailing which print cannot do because of the space constraint and social media does not do because of absence of content editing and processing acumen before it is delivered to the viewers. The market pressures and compulsions need to be addressed with a re-worked strategic communication with the advertising professionals and advertisers. The content is the essence of the existence of any media and technology and rapidly growing markets should help the media platforms stabilize and consolidate instead of pushing the panic button every now and then. The audio-visual dimension of television and digital and social media has the power to immediately influence the audience to make believe. The focus should be to make the audience realize. The realization is the best trigger to act constructively and positively.

Recommendation 5

The audience (Readers and Viewers) need to get educated about the constructive, productive and positive application of the strength of the television, print and digital media. This is very important, primarily because the access to digital media does not necessarily need any media literacy. The audiences need to develop their cross-check points and mechanism before they get carried away by the sweeping power of the new age media. This aspect of recommendation is very essential because, whichever way the media drives their audiences, it is the audience which gets affected as people, population, citizens, consumers, businesses or voters. The error of judgment if any by the audiences based on any un-processed and un-edited media reports is likely to affect the individuals or groups or communities of the society.

5.5 Scope for Future Research

Introduction- Scope for Future Study on this subject

This research was undertaken with a specific objective of examining the impact of television and print media on political communication and process. This researcher being an advertising and communication professional had an exposure to the market driven compulsions that dominate the business aspects (revenues and profitability) of media establishments. The compulsions range from circulation, readership, response and revenue. These compulsions are interdependent and interlinked. The business model of media establishments has got changed dramatically after the entry of every technologically advanced and digitally enabled media platform. The talent pool which creates content in accordance with the technical specifications of the respective media and the talent pool which works to develop new market segments for these media establishments to sustain and grow, does not get created overnight. This gap between the market pressures and actual performance has affected every dimension of the media as business and media as a key agent of socialization.

The size and scale of the reach of all media put together transmits this unrest emerging out of compulsions, onto the three other dimensions, which are audience, communicators and people in power or people who are eager to come to power.

This evolving and volatile dynamics need to be closely studied by everyone associated with the political process and media to develop sustainable and constructive communication models which derive strength from the technological advancements in media and not get carried away towards chaos and confusion.

The research work which this researcher is submitting herewith is a small step in this direction. This subject offers tremendous scope for future study primarily because it connects the problems with solutions, challenges with conviction, aspirations with efforts, yesterday with today and today with tomorrow.

The future study on this subject can focus on-

1. Study of Media Literacy of masses and audiences in-sync with the basic literacy. The media literacy can help the audience to deal with the unnecessary clutter and excess of information being pushed into their receiving mechanism.

2. Study and audit of the content created and delivered by the media to its potential audience. This study and audit should be a continuous and pro-active process aimed at improving qualitative efficiency of media and accountability towards society.

3. Study and audit of the credentials of the communicators who use the strengths and weaknesses of the media to derive political mileage.

4. Study and audit of the media eco-system to facilitate the efficiency political participation and political process of our country which is 'people centric and sovereign democratic by definition and character.

5. Study of effect of multi-media convergence on the communication process in the new age media environment with emphasis on access and audit of user generated content on social media with a quest for credibility, reliability and authenticity.

6. Study of objective and chronological documentation of social and political movements and initiatives with reference to its reflections and impressions in mass-media to derive better understanding of the impact of mass-media on political socialization and political processes

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6: APPENDICES

6.1 List of Tables –

List of Tables

6.2 Questionnaires.

6.2.1 Questionnaire used for field-data collection-English-PDF as seen below

6.2.2 Questionnaire used for field-data collection-Marathi-PDF as seen below

PROJECT RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire Ref No.		*CONFIDENTIAL FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE ONLY*
City		

Research Questionnaire by **Sanjay Dattatray Savarkar**, for research work for **Ph.D in Political Science** from Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune.
Research topic is '**Impact of Print and Television on Political Communication and Participation', with reference to Maharashtra.**

Q.1　　　　**Which language do you primarily use to extract news ?**
　　　　　(Multiple options possible. Tick applicable options)

CODE	Language		Choice
1	Marathi		
2	English		
3	Hindi		
4	Other		

Q.2　　　　**What medium do you use to extract news?**
　　　　　(Multiple options possible. Tick applicable options)

CODE	Medium		Choice
1	Newspaper-		
2	Television		
3	Radio		
4	Computer with internet		
5	Mobile with internet		

Q.3　　　　**Rank your preference of extracting news. (Rank from 1 to 5)**

CODE	Medium		Rank
1	Newspaper-		
2	Television		
3	Radio		
4	Computer with internet		
5	Mobile with internet		

Q.4 **Which language newspaper do you read regularly?**
(Multiple options possible)   (Tick the applicable options)

CODE	Language	Choice
1	Marathi	
2	English	
3	Hindi	
4	Other	

Q.5 **Which language news-channel do you watch regularly ?**
(Multiple options possible)   (Tick the applicable options)

CODE	Language	Choice
1	Marathi	
2	English	
3	Hindi	
4	Other	

Q.6 **How much time are you able to spare for reading newspaper?**
(Avarage per day-Minutes. Tick your option)

Option		Tick
Upto 15 minutes		
Upto 30 minutes		
45 minutes and more		

Q.7 **How much time are you able to spare for watching news-channels ?**
(Avarage per day-Minutes. Tick your option)

Option		Tick
Upto 30 minutes		
Upto 45 minutes		
More than 45 minutes		

Q.8   **Rank your news preference. Rank from 1 to 5**

Preference			Rank
Local / City News			
Regional / State mews			
National News			
International news			
Headlines			

Q.9   **Rank your preferred category of news. Rank from 1 to 5**

Preference			Rank
Civic Issues and News			
Political News			
Business & Financial News			
Sports News			
Entertainment			

Q.10   **You read the comment/analysis from editorial page of the newspaper**

CODE	Tick the applicable option		Option
1	Strongly Agree		
2	Agree		
3	Neither Agree-Nor Disagree		
4	Disagree		
5	Strongly Disagree		

Q.11   **You share your opinions and feedback to Editors thro' e-mail or letters**

CODE	Tick the applicable option		Option
1	Strongly Agree		
2	Agree		
3	Neither Agree-Nor Disagree		
4	Disagree		
5	Strongly Disagree		

Q.12   **You participate in any political rally, social initiative, based of newspaper / news-channel reports**

CODE	Tick the applicable option		Option
1	Strongly Agree		
2	Agree		
3	Neither Agree-Nor Disagree		
4	Disagree		
5	Strongly Disagree		

Q.13   **You watch the prime time television debates and panel discussions**

CODE	Tick the applicable option		Option
1	Strongly Agree		
2	Agree		
3	Neither Agree-Nor Disagree		
4	Disagree		
5	Strongly Disagree		

Q.14   **It helps according to you, to watch news in the evening-night on news-channel and then read in detail in the next morning newspaper**

CODE	Tick the applicable option		Option
1	Strongly Agree		
2	Agree		
3	Neither Agree-Nor Disagree		
4	Disagree		
5	Strongly Disagree		

Q.15   **Are you active on 'Social Media' ?**

Tick the applicable option		Tick
Yes		
No		

Q.16 **If yes, tick your option (Multiple options allowed)**

Tick the applicable option	Tick
Facebook	
Twitter	
Instagram	
Other	

Q.17 **You read the only newspapers / watch news-channels which echo your political beliefs**

CODE	Tick the applicable option	Option
1	Strongly Agree	
2	Agree	
3	Neither Agree-Nor Disagree	
4	Disagree	
5	Strongly Disagree	

Q.18 **Your choice of newspaper and news-channel influence your poitical opinion**

CODE	Tick the applicable option	Option
1	Strongly Agree	
2	Agree	
3	Neither Agree-Nor Disagree	
4	Disagree	
5	Strongly Disagree	

Q.19 **Your understanding or interpretation of political process gets evolved based on newspapers and news-channels?**

CODE	Tick the applicable option	Option
1	Strongly Agree	
2	Agree	
3	Neither Agree-Nor Disagree	
4	Disagree	
5	Strongly Disagree	

Q.20   **What according to you is the most important responsibility of newspapers and news-channels towards society? (Rank on the scale of 1-5)**

Responsibility	Rank
Authentic information	
Comments and Analysis	
General Knowledge	
Current Affairs	
Entertainment	

Q.21   **What according to you is the impact on society by newspapers and news-channels? (Rank on scale of 1-5)**

Probable Impact		Rank
Awareness		
Sensitising		
Social mobility and participation		
Sensationalising		
Confusion and chaos		

Q.22   **Newspapers and news-channels are often said to be used for propoganda and publicity.**

CODE		Tick the applicable option		Option
	1	Strongly Agree		
	2	Agree		
	3	Neither Agree-Nor Disagree		
	4	Disagree		
	5	Strongly Disagree		

Q.23   **You believe that newspapers and news-channels are unbiased.**

CODE		Tick the applicable option		Option
	1	Strongly Agree		
	2	Agree		
	3	Neither Agree-Nor Disagree		
	4	Disagree		
	5	Strongly Disagree		

Q.24   According to you, which of the following social movements was successful
        becoause of active media support dusing last two decades?
        (Multiple options possible)

Tick the applicable option	Yes	No
Right To Information (RTI)		
Lokpal		
Right To Education (RTE)		

Q.25   Significance according to you towards the role of media in mobilising
        peoples' participation

CODE		Tick the applicable option	Tick
	1	Very High	
	2	High	
	3	Neither High Nor Low	
	4	Low	
	5	Very Low	

Q.26   Significance according to you , to the manifestos of political parties ?

CODE		Tick the applicable option	Tick
	1	Very High	
	2	High	
	3	Neither High Nor Low	
	4	Low	
	5	Very Low	

Q.27   Significance given by newspapers and newschannels to the political propoganda?

CODE		Tick the applicable option	Tick
	1	Very High	
	2	High	
	3	Neither High Nor Low	
	4	Low	
	5	Very Low	

Q.28   The Media (Newspapers and news-channels) have to play role of alert watch-dog

CODE		Tick the applicable option		Tick
	1	Strongly Agree		
	2	Agree		
	3	Neither Agree-Nor Disagree		
	4	Disagree		
	5	Strongly Disagree		

Q.29   **Political Parties think of political process and peoples participation beyond elections and power.**

CODE		Tick the applicable option		Tick
	1	Strongly Agree		
	2	Agree		
	3	Neither Agree-Nor Disagree		
	4	Disagree		
	5	Strongly Disagree		

Q.30   **Your Right to vote is very important responsibility and you exercise it regularly.**

CODE		Tick the applicable option		Tick
	1	Strongly Agree		
	2	Agree		
	3	Neither Agree-Nor Disagree		
	4	Disagree		
	5	Strongly Disagree		

Respondents information:

Name

Address

City   PIN CODE

Age-Years   **Education (Tick Applicable)**

Male	
Female	

Graduate and more

S.S.C and more

संशोधन प्रकल्प – प्रश्नपत्रिका

संदर्भ क्रमांक [   ]   शहर [   ]

(कार्यालयीन उपयोगाकरिता)

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❖ संजय दत्तात्रय सावरकर यांच्या राज्यशास्त्र विषयाअंतर्गत पीएचडी संशोधनाकरिता आवश्यक माहिती संकलनार्थ प्रश्नपत्रिका. सदर माहितीचा उपयोग फक्त संशोधन प्रकल्पाकरिताच केला जाईल.

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प्र.१ आपण आपल्या दैनंदिन व्यवहारात प्रामुख्याने कोणत्या भाषेचा उपयोग करता?

[कोड] (एकापेक्षा अधिक पर्याय शक्य)(योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१. मराठी [   ]

२. इंग्रजी [   ]

३. हिंदी [   ]

४. इतर [   ]

प्र.२ बातम्या व माहितीकरिता आपण कोणत्या माध्यमांचा उपयोग करता?

[कोड] (एकापेक्षा अधिक पर्याय शक्य) (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१. वृत्तपत्र [   ]

२. टेलिव्हिजन [   ]

३. रेडिओ [   ]

४. संगणक [   ]

५. मोबाईल [   ]

प्र.३   बातम्या व माहितीकरिता असलेल्या माध्यमांचा तुमच्या बाबतीत प्राधान्यक्रम कसा
        आहे?

        कोड (१ ते ५ या क्रमांकानुसार क्रमवारी अपेक्षित)

        १.   वृत्तपत्र

        २.   टेलिव्हिजन

        ३.   रेडिओ

        ४.   संगणक

        ५.   मोबाईल

प्र.४   आपण कोणत्या भाषेतील वृत्तपत्र नियमित वाचता?

        कोड (एकापेक्षा अधिक पर्याय शक्य) (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

        १.   मराठी

        २.   इंग्रजी

        ३.   हिंदी

        ४.   इतर

प्र.५   आपण कोणत्या भाषेतील वृत्तवाहिनी (न्यूज चॅनेल) नियमित पाहता ?

        कोड (एकापेक्षा अधिक पर्याय शक्य) (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

        १.   मराठी

        २.   इंग्रजी

        ३.   हिंदी

        ४.   इतर

प्र.६   आपण वृत्तपत्र वाचनासाठी सरासरी किती वेळ देता?

        कोड (सरासरी मिनिटे) (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

        १.   सुमारे १५ मिनिटे

        २.   सुमारे ३० मिनिटे

        ३.   सुमारे ४५ मिनिटे व अधिक

प्र.७ आपण सरासरी किती वेळ न्यूज चॅनेल्स (वृत्तवाहिन्या) पाहण्यासाठी देता?

कोड (सरासरी मिनिटे प्रतिदिवस) (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१. ३० मिनिटांपर्यंत

२. ४५ मिनिटांपर्यंत

३. ४५ मिनिटे व अधिक

प्र.८ बातमीकरिता तुम्ही सर्वाधिक पसंतीनुसार क्रमाने १ ते ५ अशा रितीने तुमचा प्राधान्यक्रम कसा आहे?

कोड

१. स्थानिक वृत्त

२. प्रादेशिक वृत्त

३. राष्ट्रीय वृत्त

४. आंतरराष्ट्रीय वृत्त

५. हेडलाईन्स

प्र.९ बातमीच्या विषयानुसार सर्वाधिक पसंतीनुसार क्रमाने १ ते ५ अशा प्रकारे तुमचा प्राधान्यक्रम कसा आहे?

कोड

१. स्थानिक प्रश्न/समस्या

२. राजकीय वृत्त

३. व्यवसाय व अर्थविषयक वृत्त

४. क्रिडाविषयक वृत्त

५. करमणूक विषयक माहिती

प्र.१० तुम्ही बातम्यांप्रमाणेच विश्लेषण व संपादकीय नियमितपणे वाचता

कोड (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१. पूर्णपणे सहमत

२. सहमत

३. तटस्थ

४. असहमत

५. पूर्णपणे असहमत

प्र.११ तुम्ही तुमची मते व प्रतिसाद वृत्तपत्र/वाहिन्यांच्या संपादकांकडे पाठवता ?

<div style="border:1px solid;display:inline">कोड</div> (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१. पूर्णपणे सहमत ☐

२. सहमत ☐

३. तटस्थ ☐

४. असहमत ☐

५. पूर्णपणे असहमत ☐

प्र.१२ तुम्ही वृत्तपत्रे/वृत्तवाहिन्यांवरील बातमीच्या आधारे सामाजिक-राजकीय उपक्रम चळवळीत सहभागी होता ?

<div style="border:1px solid;display:inline">कोड</div> (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१. पूर्णपणे सहमत ☐

२. सहमत ☐

३. तटस्थ ☐

४. असहमत ☐

५. पूर्णपणे असहमत ☐

प्र.१३ तुम्ही वृत्तवाहिन्या न्यूज चॅनेल्सवरील परिसंवाद पाहता ?

<div style="border:1px solid;display:inline">कोड</div> (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१. पूर्णपणे सहमत ☐

२. सहमत ☐

३. तटस्थ ☐

४. असहमत ☐

५. पूर्णपणे असहमत ☐

प्र.१४ तुमच्या मते वृत्तवाहिन्या/न्यूज चॅनेल्सवरील प्रमुख कार्यक्रम पाहिल्यानंतर वृत्तपत्र वाचणेही उपयुक्त ठरते ?

कोड (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१. पूर्णपणे सहमत ☐

२. सहमत ☐

३. तटस्थ ☐

४. असहमत ☐

५. पूर्णपणे असहमत ☐

प्र.१५ तुम्ही 'सोशल मीडिया' वर सहभागी/सक्रीय आहात का ?

कोड (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१. होय ☐

२. नाही ☐

प्र.१६ सक्रीय असल्यास खालीलपैकी कोणत्या प्रकारात ?

कोड (एकापेक्षा अधिक पर्याय चालतील) (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१. फेसबुक ☐

२. ट्विटर ☐

३. इन्स्ट्राग्राम ☐

४. इतर ☐

प्र.१७ तुम्ही साधारणतः तुमच्या राजकीय विचारांशी सुसंगत असणारे वृत्तपत्र वाचता/वृत्तवाहिनी पाहता ?

कोड (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१. पूर्णपणे सहमत ☐

२. सहमत ☐

३. तटस्थ ☐

४. असहमत ☐

५. पूर्णपणे असहमत ☐

6

प्र.१८ तुम्ही वाचत असलेले वृत्तपत्र/पाहत असलेली वृत्तवाहिनी याचा तुमच्या राजकीय विचार व दृष्टीकोनावर परिणाम होतो/प्रभाव पडतो.

कोड (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१. पूर्णपणे सहमत

२. सहमत

३. तटस्थ

४. असहमत

५. पूर्णपणे असहमत

प्र.१९ तुमच्या सभोवतालची राजकीय प्रक्रिया आणि त्यासंबंधीचे आकलन हे नियमित वृत्तपत्र वाचनामुळे किंवा वृत्तवाहिन्यांवरील कार्यक्रमांमुळे विकसित होते.

कोड (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१. पूर्णपणे सहमत

२. सहमत

३. तटस्थ

४. असहमत

५. पूर्णपणे असहमत

प्र.२० तुमच्या मते वृत्तपत्रे आणि वृत्तवाहिन्यांच्या समाजाप्रती असलेल्या जबाबदाऱ्यांचा अग्रक्रमानुसार प्राधान्यक्रम कसा असावा ?

कोड (एक ते पाच या क्रमांकानुसार क्रमवारी)

१. वस्तुनिष्ठ माहिती

२. विश्लेषण व संदर्भ

३. सामान्य ज्ञान

४. सभोवतालचे जग व घटना

५. मनोरंजन

प्र.२१ तुमच्या मते वृत्तपत्रे आणि वृत्तवाहिन्यांच्या समाजावरील परिणामांच्या दृष्टीने अग्रक्रमाने प्राधान्यक्रम १ ते ५ या क्रमाने कसा आहे ?

कोड

१.	माहितीचे प्रसारण

२.	सामाजिक जबाबदारीचे भाव व संवर्धन

३.	सामाजिक सहभागाचे संवर्धन

४.	उथळ व सनसनाटीपणा

५.	गोंधळ व दिशाहिनता

प्र.२२ वृत्तपत्रे आणि वृत्तवाहिन्यांचा प्रसिध्दी व प्रचारासाठीच अधिक उपयोग केला जातो

कोड (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१.	पूर्णपणे सहमत

२.	सहमत

३.	तटस्थ

४.	असहमत

५.	पूर्णपणे असहमत

प्र.२३ वृत्तपत्रे आणि वृत्तवाहिन्या वस्तुनिष्ठ व तटस्थपणे काम करतात असे तुमचे मत आहे.

कोड (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१.	पूर्णपणे सहमत

२.	सहमत

३.	तटस्थ

४.	असहमत

५.	पूर्णपणे असहमत

प्र.२४ तुमच्या मते गेल्या दोन दशकांमध्ये खालीलपैकी कोणत्या सामाजिक चळवळी/आंदोलने वृत्तपत्रे/वृत्तवाहिन्यांच्या सक्रीय सहभागामुळे यशस्वी झाली.

कोड   (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

		होय	नाही
१.	माहितीचा अधिकार		
२.	लोकपाल		
३.	शिक्षणाचा अधिकार		

प्र.२५ समाजाचा सहभाग वाढविण्यासाठी वृत्तपत्रे व वृत्तवाहिन्यांचे तुमच्या दृष्टीने महत्वाची भूमिका आहे.

कोड   (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१.	अतिशय महत्वाचे	
२.	महत्वाचे	
३.	तटस्थ	
४.	कमी महत्वाचे	
५.	खूपच कमी महत्वाचे	

प्र.२६ तुमच्या मते राजकीय पक्षांच्या जाहीरनाम्यांचे महत्व.

कोड   (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१.	अतिशय महत्वाचे	
२.	महत्वाचे	
३.	तटस्थ	
४.	कमी	
५.	खूपच कमी	

प्र.२७ तुमच्या मते राजकीय प्रसिध्दी व प्रचार वार्तांकन याला वृत्तपत्रे व वृत्तवाहिन्या देत असलेले महत्व/स्थान .

बॉक्स कोड (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१.   खूपच जास्त

२.   जास्त

३.   तटस्थ

४.   कमी

५.   खूपच कमी

प्र.२८ तुमच्या मते आपल्या लोकशाहीमध्ये वृत्तपत्रे आणि वृत्तवाहिन्या यांची भूमिका जागरुक पहारेकऱ्याची असली पाहिजे.

बॉक्स कोड   (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१.   पूर्णपणे सहमत

२.   सहमत

३.   तटस्थ

४.   असहमत

५.   पूर्णपणे असहमत

प्र.२९ तुमच्या मते राजकीय पक्ष हे राजकीय प्रक्रिया आणि लोकांचा सहभाग याचा निवडणूक आणि सत्ता या पलिकडेही विचार करतात.

बॉक्स कोड   (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१.   पूर्णपणे सहमत

२.   सहमत

३.   तटस्थ

४.   असहमत

५.   पूर्णपणे असहमत

प्र.३० तुमच्या मते तुमचा मतदानाचा अधिकार बजावणे महत्वाचे आहे आणि तुम्ही तो बजावता.

| कोड | (योग्य पर्यायासमोर √ खूण करा)

१.   खूपच जास्त

२.   जास्त

३.   तटस्थ

४.   कमी

५.   खूपच कमी

सदर संशोधन प्रकल्पाकरिता माहिती देवून सहकार्य केल्याबद्दल मनःपूर्वक धन्यवाद.

आपली थोडक्यात माहिती

नांव   :   ....

पत्ता   :   ....

शहर   :   ....

जिल्हा   :.   ....

पिनकोड   :   ....

वय वर्षे :   स्त्री   पुरुष

शिक्षण   :   पदवीपर्यंत

            पदव्युत्तर

6.3 List and brief profile of professionals interviewed for this project-

Profile of Professionals interviewed for this research study

No.	Name	Brief Profile
1	**Mr.Abhay Vaidya**	Eminent Journalist with over 25 years of professional experience. Worked with Bennett Coleman and Company (Times of India), dna -Daily News and Analysis, The Golden Sparrow on Saturday in Editorial Leadership Function.
2	**Mr.Abhijit Joag**	Advertising and media professional with over 30 years of experience. Worked with Pratisaad Communications as Chairman and Managing Director. Closely associated with few significant campaigns for political parties and candidates.
3	**Mr.Amitabh Dasgupta**	Eminent Journalist with over 25 years of professional experience. Worked with Times Of India, Sakal Times, Gomantak Times and Symbiosis Institute of Communication and Journalism in Leadership Function.
4	**Mr.Anand Agarwal**	Eminent publisher with over 20 years of professional experience. Publisher and Managing Editor of three dailies from three languages- Aaj Ka Anand (Hindi), Sandhyanand (Marathi) and Life 365 (English).

5	**Mr.Anil Shidore**	Veteran in the field of Research, Social Work and Political Strategy Planning with over 25 years of experience. Spokesperson for Maharashtra Navanirman Sena.
6	**Mr.Ankush Kakade**	Veteran in the field of Social Work and Active Politics with over 30 years of experience. Spokesperson for Nationalist Congress Party at Pune.
7	**Mr.Camil Parkhe**	Eminent Journalist with over 25 years of professional experience. Worked with Indian Express Group, Maharashtra Herald and Sakal Times at reporting and desk.
8	**Mr.Deendayal Vaidya**	Eminent Journalist with over 15 years of professional experience. Worked with Sakal Media Group and MediaEdge in features, reporting and content development portfolios.
9	**Mr.Ishwar Dighe**	Senior Media Professional with over 35 years of experience in Advertising, Political Public Relations, Community Engagement Initiatives. Worked with AAY's Advertising in Business Leadership Function.

10	**Mr.Jagdish Patankar**	Senior Media Professional with over 30 years of experience in Advertising, Public Relations, Brand Development, Reader Engagement Initiatives. Worked with Indian Express Group and MM Activ in Business Leadership Function.
11	**Mr.James Mathews**	Eminent Journalist with over 20 years of professional experience. Worked with Times of India, dna (Daily News and Analysis), and The Golden Sparrow on Saturday at news editing and desk portfolio.
12	**Mr.Jeeten Pandya**	Content Creation professional with over 30 years of experience
13	**Mr.Madhav Gokhale**	Eminent Journalist with over 25 years of professional experience. Worked with Indian Express Group, The Maharashtra Herald, Sakal Times and Sakal Media Group at reporting and news editing portfolio.
14	**Mr.Mahesh Gajendragadkar**	Senior Media Professional with over 30 years of experience in Political Public Relations and Media Relationship Management, Community Engagement Initiatives.

15	**Mr.Makarand Pawangadkar**	Advertising and Public relations professional with over 20 years of experience. Worked closely with Political Campaigns and Propaganda Initiatives. Worked with Sakal Media Group.
16	**Mr.Navneet Deshpande**	Eminent Journalist with over 20 years of professional experience. Worked with Sakal Media Group for Print and New Media, MediaEdge Content Creation Company in leadership function.
17	**Mr.Prakash Bang**	Senior Media Professional with over 30 years of experience in Advertising, Public Relations, Brand Development, Reader Engagement Initiatives. Worked with Quiksel Communications in Business Leadership Function.
18	**Mr.Rahul Shiledar**	Senior Media Professional with over 15 years of experience in Advertising, Political Public Relations, Brand Development, Voter Engagement Initiatives. Worked with Monaa Advertising in Business Leadership Function.
19	**Mr.Rajendra Yadav**	Advertising and media professional with over 30 years of experience. Worked with Sadhana Advertising as Business Head and has been active in social service initiatives.

20	**Mr.Ranjeet Jagtap**	Advertising and Public relations professional with over 25 years of experience. Worked closely with Political Campaigns and Propaganda Initiatives. Worked with Sakal Media Group, Aikya, And The Golden Sparrow on Saturday (English News-weekly).
21	**Mr.Sameer Ranade**	Media Professional with over 15 years of experience in Public Relations and Media Relationship Management.
22	**Mr.Sandeep Rishi**	Advertising and public relations professional with over 25 years of experience. Worked with Lokasatta, Indian Expresss Group, dna (Daily News and Analysis). Has a significant connect with the emerging and politically sensitive region of Ahmednagar and Aurangabad.
23	**Mr.Sanjay Pawar**	Eminent Media Professional with over 25 years of experience. Worked with Indian Express Group, dna (Daily News and Analysis), Lokmat Group, and Sakal Media Group in business leadership function.
24	**Mr.Satish Desai**	Veteran in the field of Social Work and Active Politics with over 30 years of experience.

		Spokesperson for Indian National Congress at Pune.
25	**Mr.Shashwat Gupta Ray**	Eminent Journalist with over 10 years of experience. Worked with Sakal Times, Pune and Gomntak Times, Goa as Assistant Editor and Resident Editor respectively.
26	**Mr.Shriram Shinde**	Eminent Journalist with over 25 years of professional experience. Worked with The Maharashtra Herald, Mid-Day, Sakal Times and Sakal International Learning Centre in multiple portfolios.
27	**Mr.Sumit Paul**	Eminent Journalist with over 25 years of professional experience in content creation, special features for regional and national dailies.
28	**Mr.Sunandan Lele**	Media professional with over 25 years of experience. Worked with Kesari, Aikya, Mahanagar, Shatkar, ibnLokmat, Zee24 Taas, as special correspondent and consulting sports editor. Actively connected with various social, cultural and sports platforms and forums.
29	**Mr.Uday Jadhav**	Senior Media Professional with over 20 years of experience in Advertising, Circulation, Content Planning, Public Relations, Brand Development, Reader

		Engagement Initiatives. Worked with Sakal Media Group and Guardian Corporation in Business Leadership Function.
30	**Mr.Vijay Joshi**	Eminent advertising and media professional with over 20 years of experience. Worked with leading advertising and branding agencies in client relationship and media planning function.
31	**Mr.Vijay Kumbhar**	RTI activist and crusader from Pune. Relentlessly working for awareness about RTI, citizen's rights and public interest movements and initiatives.
32	**Mr.Vijay Thombre**	Senior Media Professional with over 30 years of experience in Advertising, Public Relations, Brand Development, Reader Engagement Initiatives. Worked with Sakal Media Group and MM Activ in Business Leadership Function.
33	**Mr.Vinit Deo**	Senior Corporate Finance Professional with over 15 years of experience. Worked with PosiView Consultancy in Business Leadership Function.
34	**Mr.Vinit Kuber**	Advertising and media professional with over 30 years of experience. Worked with Saket Communications as

		Chairman and Managing Director. Closely associated with few significant campaigns for political parties and candidates.
35	**Ms.Vinita Deshmukh**	Eminent Journalist with over 25 years of professional experience. Worked with Indian Express Group, Intelligent Pune, Life 365 as Resident Editor, Features Editor and acclaimed as an eminent RTI Activist. Acclaimed author of many books.

6.4. Specimen of few of the political and election news coverage in print and television media and propaganda material.

ELECTION COVERAGE IN
PRINT & ELECTRONIC MEDIA

Loksabha 2014 Election Coverage in various newspapers

Loksabha Election 2014: Coverage in various newspapers

Loksabha Election Manifestos
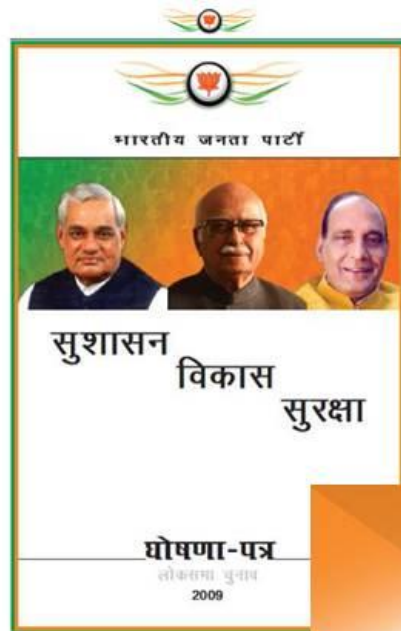
Loksabha Election 2014: Television Coverage

Loksabha Election 2014 Results: Television Coverage

Loksabha / Vidhansabha 2014 Election: Print Advertisements

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