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-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Period</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pre-Independence Phase (Up to 1947)</td>
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</table>

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 irre-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?

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

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

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

6. 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?

7. 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?

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

9. 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?

10. 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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1.2 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table No.</th>
<th>1</th>
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<p>| <strong>Maharashtra-Electoral Setup 2016</strong> |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial Number</th>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Number of Revenue Divisions</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Number of Districts</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Number of Parliamentary Constituencies</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Number of Assembly Constituencies</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Number of seats of Legislative Councils</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Number of Polling Stations</td>
<td>89479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Number of Polling Locations</td>
<td>55907</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 withdrawal 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Governing Caucus</th>
<th>Social Movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cause Advocate</td>
<td>Rational Team of Office Seekers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideological Community</td>
<td>Urban Machine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucratic Organisation</td>
<td>Personal Coalition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 )

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indian National Congress (INC)</th>
<th>Samajwadi Party (SP)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)</td>
<td>Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)</td>
<td>Communist Party of India (CPI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ShivSena (SS)</td>
<td>Communist Party Marxist (CPM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Party Of India (RPI)</td>
<td>Janata Dal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) India* Civil 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dailies</th>
<th>Tri / Bi weeklies</th>
<th>Weeklies</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005-2006</td>
<td>88863</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>50580</td>
<td>40728</td>
<td>180738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-2007</td>
<td>98837</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>52082</td>
<td>40420</td>
<td>192077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-2008</td>
<td>105791</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>57995</td>
<td>42666</td>
<td>207108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-2009</td>
<td>135805</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>69180</td>
<td>52392</td>
<td>257953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2010</td>
<td>162312</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>83789</td>
<td>65078</td>
<td>308816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-2011</td>
<td>175665</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>89483</td>
<td>63086</td>
<td>329204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011-2012</td>
<td>196951</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>103471</td>
<td>72487</td>
<td>373839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012-2013</td>
<td>224337</td>
<td>1187</td>
<td>104860</td>
<td>74651</td>
<td>405037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013-2014</td>
<td>264289</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>112005</td>
<td>73397</td>
<td>450586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014-2015</td>
<td>296302</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>127483</td>
<td>85762</td>
<td>510521</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Growth in percent between 2005-6 and 2014-15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication category</th>
<th>Dailies</th>
<th>Tri and Bi weeklies</th>
<th>Weeklies</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>333.4</td>
<td>171.9</td>
<td>252.0</td>
<td>210.6</td>
<td>282.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name of Publications</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Times of India</td>
<td>393,424</td>
<td>597,359</td>
<td>727,054</td>
<td>1,059,690</td>
<td>327866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Indian Express</td>
<td>134,430</td>
<td>186,282</td>
<td>NAM</td>
<td>NAM</td>
<td>NAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.N.A.</td>
<td>DNE</td>
<td>DNE</td>
<td>DNE</td>
<td>NAM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustan Times</td>
<td>1,032</td>
<td>1,066</td>
<td>1,342</td>
<td>115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakal Times</td>
<td>DNE</td>
<td>DNE</td>
<td>DNE</td>
<td>NAM</td>
<td>NAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marathi</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakal</td>
<td>282,114</td>
<td>508,382</td>
<td>823,976</td>
<td>1,384,043</td>
<td>1E+06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra Times</td>
<td>160,035</td>
<td>177,099</td>
<td>260,902</td>
<td>287,111</td>
<td>NAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokmat</td>
<td>269,268</td>
<td>709,885</td>
<td>973,919</td>
<td>1,617,581</td>
<td>1E+06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pudhari</td>
<td>107,758</td>
<td>168,009</td>
<td>254,558</td>
<td>688,580</td>
<td>668603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loksatta</td>
<td>332,246</td>
<td>372,367</td>
<td>NAM</td>
<td>287,527</td>
<td>339303</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legend For Reference**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation in chart</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAM</td>
<td>Not A Member</td>
<td>Data sourced from ABC-Audit Bureau of Circulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Not Accepted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNE</td>
<td>Did Not Exist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 editions 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.
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content Genre</th>
<th>Viewership Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English Entertainment</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infotainment</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Music</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi News</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Movies</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional News</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s-Kids</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English News</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi GEC (General Entertainment Channels)</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional GEC (General Entertainment Channels)</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi Movies</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Share-Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindi News</td>
<td>49.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional News</td>
<td>49.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English News</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 - wwwwtv.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.

44
### Table No.7

**Internet Users in India (Year 2000-2016)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Internet Users**</th>
<th>Penetration (% of Pop)</th>
<th>Total Population Figures in'000</th>
<th>Non-Users Figures in'000</th>
<th>IY User Figures in'000</th>
<th>Change in percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2016*</td>
<td>462,124</td>
<td>34.80%</td>
<td>1,326,801</td>
<td>864,676</td>
<td></td>
<td>30.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015*</td>
<td>354,114</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>1,311,050</td>
<td>956,935</td>
<td></td>
<td>51.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>233,152</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>1,295,291</td>
<td>1,062,139</td>
<td></td>
<td>20.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>193,204</td>
<td>15.10%</td>
<td>1,279,498</td>
<td>1,086,294</td>
<td></td>
<td>21.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>158,960</td>
<td>12.60%</td>
<td>1,263,589</td>
<td>1,104,629</td>
<td></td>
<td>26.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>125,617</td>
<td>10.10%</td>
<td>1,247,446</td>
<td>1,121,828</td>
<td></td>
<td>36.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>92,323</td>
<td>7.50%</td>
<td>1,230,984</td>
<td>1,138,660</td>
<td></td>
<td>48.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>62,166</td>
<td>5.10%</td>
<td>1,214,182</td>
<td>1,152,016</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>52,431</td>
<td>4.40%</td>
<td>1,197,070</td>
<td>1,144,638</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>46,597</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1,179,685</td>
<td>1,133,088</td>
<td></td>
<td>42.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>32,602</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
<td>1,162,088</td>
<td>1,129,485</td>
<td></td>
<td>19.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>27,327</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
<td>1,144,326</td>
<td>1,116,998</td>
<td></td>
<td>22.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>22,259</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1,126,419</td>
<td>1,104,159</td>
<td></td>
<td>19.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>18,692</td>
<td>1.70%</td>
<td>1,108,369</td>
<td>1,089,677</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>16,765</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
<td>1,090,189</td>
<td>1,073,423</td>
<td></td>
<td>136.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>7,076</td>
<td>0.70%</td>
<td>1,071,888</td>
<td>1,064,812</td>
<td></td>
<td>27.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>5,557</td>
<td>0.50%</td>
<td>1,053,481</td>
<td>1,047,923</td>
<td></td>
<td>96.50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.
(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.

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**

   
<p>| 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 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Persons - (Percent of population literate)</th>
<th>Male- (Percent of Literate Population)</th>
<th>Female- (Percent of Literate population)</th>
<th>Male-female gap in literacy rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>52.21</td>
<td>64.13</td>
<td>39.29</td>
<td>24.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>64.83</td>
<td>75.26</td>
<td>53.67</td>
<td>21.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>74.04</td>
<td>82.14</td>
<td>65.46</td>
<td>16.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

**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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr.No</th>
<th>Description and Parameter</th>
<th>Year 2011</th>
<th>Year 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Approximate Population</td>
<td>11.24 Crores</td>
<td>9.69 Crore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Actual Population</td>
<td>112,374,333</td>
<td>96,878,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>58,243,056</td>
<td>50,400,596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>54,131,277</td>
<td>46,478,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Population Growth</td>
<td>15.99%</td>
<td>22.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Percentage of total Population</td>
<td>9.28%</td>
<td>9.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sex Ratio</td>
<td>929</td>
<td>922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Child Sex Ratio</td>
<td>894</td>
<td>913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Density/km²</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Density/mi²</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Area(Km²)</td>
<td>307,713</td>
<td>307,713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Area mi²</td>
<td>118,809</td>
<td>118,809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Total Child Population (0-6 Age)</td>
<td>13,326,517</td>
<td>13,671,126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Male Population (0-6 Age)</td>
<td>7,035,391</td>
<td>7,146,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Female Population (0-6 Age)</td>
<td>6,291,126</td>
<td>6,524,694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Literacy</td>
<td>82.34%</td>
<td>76.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Male Literacy</td>
<td>88.38%</td>
<td>85.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Female Literacy</td>
<td>75.87%</td>
<td>67.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Total Literate</td>
<td>81,554,290</td>
<td>63,965,943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Male Literate</td>
<td>45,257,584</td>
<td>37,184,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Female Literate</td>
<td>36,296,706</td>
<td>26,780,980</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table No.10</th>
<th>Electorate Data Maharashtra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ELECTORATE DATA</strong></td>
<td><strong>General Elections to Maharashtra Legislative Assembly</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eligible Electors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28551885</td>
<td>29656815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26541977</td>
<td>27219599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electors who voted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20750590</td>
<td>18869053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18748271</td>
<td>15794780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poll Percentage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constituencies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total*</td>
<td>Includes Male+Female+Third Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total**</td>
<td>Includes Male+Female+Third Gender and Postal Votes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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).