CHAPTER 2:
REVIEW OF LITERATURE
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. Introduction

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

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

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

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

It also helped this researcher with an elaborate backdrop for the research. It has been enriching and enlightening journey to discover the changing trends and breaking of
various myths about how masses consume, perceive and absorb the communication delivered by mass mediums like Newspapers and Television. It also offered an understanding of how theories and thoughts in political socialization have been challenged, cross-checked and chronicled over centuries.

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

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

2.2 Political Perspective

Macro perspective,

Micro perspectives,

Political Process,

Political Socialisation,

Political Participation,

Political Communication,

Political Behaviour,

Political Power

2.3. Media Perspective

Media and Political Process,

Media and Politics,

Media and Society,
2.2.1 – Review of Literature – Political Perspective – Macro


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

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


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

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

1... An introduction to the main theoretical perspectives on modern state, in the context of European State System.
2... Interpretation of shifting balance between order and crisis with reference to modern state.

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

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

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

a) The Study of Politics,

b) The Context of Politics,

c) Links between Government and People.

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


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

Another important aspect of this book is the easy to relate approach which states ‘Political Theory is a personal endeavor to understand and experience the present political reality and also to evolve a mechanism in order to transcend the present imperfect society towards perfection and more just order.

The authors have examined the political theory with reference to key theoretical concepts, Decline of Political Theory, Behaviouralism and Revival of Political Theory.

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

The authors have explored Political Theory from different perspectives, such as:
- Political Theory as the History of Political Thought,
- Political Theory as Technique of Analysis,
- Political Theory as Conceptual Classification,
- Political Theory as Formal Model Building,
- Political Theory as Theoretical political Science.

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

‘Political Thought is the thought of the whole community. Thought is time bound’. (Pg.4).
‘Political Theory unlike thought refers to the speculation by a single individual usually articulated in treatise(s) as model of explanation’. (Pg.4).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Political theory has in this way become disengaged from political facts. The implication is that the issues with which political theory has been concerned in the past were not chosen arbitrarily, or as a result of some theoretical argument, and that theory was able to come to grips with the practical world because its discussions were determined by the actual conditions and problems of the day. To substantiate this point, Cobban has offered a series of references which underline his point of view. His series of references ranges from the life and works of John Stuart Miller, Bentham, Burke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Locke, Hobbes and Spinoza, Plato and Aristotle, Harold Laski.
Cobban clearly intends to suggest that modern political theory has largely ceased to be discussed in terms of what ought to be; and the reason as the researcher believes, is that it has fallen under the influence of two modes of thought which have had a fatal effect on its ethical content. These, and they have come to dominate the modern mind, are history and science. The historian naturally sees all ideas and ways of behavior as historically conditioned and transient. Within itself, history has no standard of value but success, and no measure of success but the attainment of power, or survival for a little longer than rival individuals or institutions have survived. Moreover, history is the world studied under the category of what is past: however much we may proclaim that all history is contemporary, its nature is to be a field into which practice cannot penetrate. The paradox of history is that though its writing is a contemporary action, with practical consequences, the historian puts this fact in the back of his mind and tries to behave as though it were not so. (Page 333)

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

_Tijare R.A. Prof with Peshwe V.M. Prof., “Modern Political Theory”, Nagpur, Shri Mangesh Prakashan, (1979)._

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

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

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

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


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

a... Background

a-1. History of Election in ancient India,

a-2. Elections under British Rule,

a-3. Democracy and Parliamentary System of India,
a-4. Constitution of India.

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

b-1. Election Program,

b-2. Process,

b-3. Political Parties,

b-4. Election Symbols,

b-5. Campaign Period,

b-6. Ballot Papers and Counting of Votes,

b-7. Electoral Laws and Rules

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

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

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

Active and Dissenting Citizens,

The challenge of Civil Society,
Deliberative Democracy,

Democracy and Gender.


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

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


In this book the author critically examines the dynamics of federalism and centre-state relations with special reference to Sarkaria Commission and M.M.Punchi Commission Report.

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

1. Judicial Activism, Minority Politics,

2. Electoral Reforms in India,

3. Defection Politics in India,

4. Emerging Political trends in India,

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

6. Religionism in Indian Politics,

7. Language Politics in India,

8. Communalism, Cast and Indian Politics.

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

1... Study of Politics,

2... Power and Authority,

3... Political Cultures,

4... Classification of Governments,

5... Parties,

6... Pressure Groups,

7... Representation,

8... Structure of Governments

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


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

In this book the author has consciously made efforts through his research to lend support to the scholars, who have made immense contribution to disprove two myths about the village life.
These myths are Rural Society is self-sufficient and harmonious. The author, in his study has very effectively touched upon other aspects of the rural life such as Caste, Class, Power Relations, Family Types and Family Relations. The other aspects in this study, according to the author are Linguistic Hegemony, Urban Modelling and Changing Gender Relations.

2.2.2. Review of Literature: Political Perspective - Micro

2.2.2-A – Political Process

Theories of Political Process:

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

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

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

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

Opposition is the struggle individuals or groups in the attempts to achieve objectives and goals. Cooperation is when multiple individuals or groups combine their energies and resources to achieve goals
Accommodation is a process wherein individuals or groups work together in spite of differences.

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

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

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

Elemental and Comprehensive or Master Processes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hype-Policy Making-Insiders - Outsiders and Political Process

Liberal democracy is an ever-evolving set of practices and processes. To put it simply, Political process can be described as a rule governed continuous process of
gaining access to power, retaining or holding on to it and putting it to use to achieve social outcomes and desired outputs for society at large. In liberal democracy, the access to power comes through winning elections. Winning elections implies gaining support of larger voting population, which in turn involves creating recall and referrals through impression management.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.2-B Political Socialisation

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

In this paper shared on crawfordsworld.com, Ogolla has tried to note few observations as regards to the Political Socialization and Political Culture in India. According to Ogolla’s observation, in India, there are large groups of population which do not necessarily believe that elections are the only way to do politics and participate as political process. In such situations, the political leaders, capable of mass movements and mobilization are quite likely to find potential support. According to Ogolla, the large scale Illiteracy is the main obstacle to state –sponsored political socialization through the print media in the past. However, this has been overcome by the emergence and growth of electronic media, which is capable of taking the messages to the masses irrespective of the literacy levels. The strength of electronic media has been primarily triggered because of the competitive market dynamics which also enhances diversity of content, viewpoints, perspectives and also certain degree of sensitivity towards the viewers which are the consumers and are likely to have variety
of expectations and demands from the media. According to Ogolla, Political Participation and Electoral Campaign are most important and significant tools of political socialization. It has also elaborately mentioned about the relation between formal education and political process and also explained the political communication process during election campaigns in Indian context, rural and urban.

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

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2.2.2-C. Political Participation


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

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

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

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

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


This book explores the idea about what constitutes ‘Political Activity’?

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

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

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

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

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

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

2..Measuring citizen awareness towards real issues

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

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

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

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According to Robert E.Agger and Vincent Ostrom, ‘analysis of the roles which constitute the political structure of a community’ is the most central and key area in the study of political participation. Political structure according to them consists of network of communication channels through which policy messages flow in transmitting, receiving and acting upon various demands.
Robert E. Agger and Vincent Ostrom have attempted an elaborate and scientific study of participation as a composite quantitative measure. The indexing under this model works on a scoring scale and encompasses rural and urban audience.

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

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

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

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

These six categories can be briefly described as below-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active Advisors</th>
<th>Passive Advisors</th>
<th>Talkers</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listeners</td>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>Non-Participants</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Active Advisors: People to whom others come for advice on policy matters.
Passive Advisors: People to whom others come for advice but they are inactive otherwise.
Talkers: People who discuss the policy matters frequently within their social circles and peer groups.
Listeners: People who attend community meetings on policy making but do not engage in discussions or deliberation.
Workers: People who take active part on issues but may not discuss the policy matters frequently within their social circles, families or peer groups.

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

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

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

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The term “civil society” needs a close examination and clear understanding in order to explore its potential to politics, political systems and governance. It is observed that the term civil society gets equated or associated to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or citizens’ movements. However it needs to be mentioned here that this term, civil society encompasses a wide range of critical and relevant aspects of inter-relation between people, governments and institutions. It also touches the aspect of civic culture. It involves voluntary participation by average citizens. Noted thinker Robert Putnam, in his path-breaking and though controversial book titled as ‘Bowling Alone’ managed to provide an elaborate perspective about civil society as a practiced concept and very clearly distinguished between bonding and bridging social capital. He categorically observed that only bridging social capital strengthens democratization as process. According to him this process of bridging
social capital can happen primarily in two categories. In one category an individual joins an organization which promotes some aspect of society and in the other category; an individual can act as an individual without any organizational commitments.

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

A.. Broad and inclusive definition of civil society and its nature, diversity and requisites for its engagement process.
B... Challenges of strengthening the role of civil society and promotion of citizen participation.
C... Emerging Global perspective of civil society and the context of national sovereignty.
D... Interface between world public opinion and global civil society.

2.2.2-D Political Communication

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

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


Herbert A. Simon and Fredrick Stern have conducted an elaborate study on the effect of television on voting behavior with reference to United States Presidential election of 1952. This study was conducted and confined to Iowa. This study almost six decades ago works as an excellent frame of reference to explore the correlation between voting behavior and influence of television, casual or otherwise.
Simon and Stern had applied a method to compare the voting behavior in counties with high television density (HTD) and counties with low television density (LTD). They tested the null hypothesis which stated that the differences in television density had no effect upon (a) total participation in the election or (b) Division of votes between two candidates. Their findings concluded that the presence of television irrespective of density had very little effect on the voting and voter behaviour. They have very categorically observed that any generalization about this aspect on influence of television should be avoided and needs to be tested in the context of reach and penetration of other media, intensity of involvement of people in the issues raised in the campaign.

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

This study has explored multiple dimensions of the propaganda models, methodology with reference to respondents from concerted group and conflict groups, analysis of impact on these groups, time and cost factors, implications of propaganda towards success of the party system and political system in democracy. The groups of respondents were also classified as ‘experimental and control groups. The readings and observation were recorded and compared for two consecutive years with reference to type of contact used for propaganda as personal contact, mail. This was further classified into the channel used for reach out and personal contact, such as students, party platforms and mail.
Eldersveld, based on this study in Ann Arbor, has a valid observation which all the future researchers need to take into account. He notes that this study underlined the dilemma faced by the voter activation enthusiasts and advocates of compulsory voting. If this dilemma is not addressed scientifically, mere mobilization of voters may take place, adequate deliberation over candidates and issues may not result and as an outcome of efforts loaded with dilemma, the democratic consent aspects of election may get jeopardized or affected.

2.2.2-E Political Behaviour

Research in Political Behaviour-

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

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

Voting turnout studies, campaign surveys and community case studies of participation between elections.


The year 1908 can be marked as an immensely important year in the study of political Science. In this year two eminent social scientists published their work on the subject matter.
Graham Wallas, an Englishman published “Human Nature in Politics”, where he started off with his observation that the study of politics is just now in a curiously unsatisfactory position.

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

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

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

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

2.2.2-F Political Power

Agents and Techniques of Political Power

A systematic theory of the political process will need empirical data on the characteristics of various types of political decision makers and the investigation of their functioning in the context of power.
Over the past centuries, researchers and students of political science have applied a variety of research approaches and have also crossed over into related social sciences to make their studies more dependable. In this journey of the research, examining Political Leadership, Public Perceptions, Political Communication, Propaganda techniques and models, Impact of Media and Voting behavior amounts immense significance.


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

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

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

Robert A. Dahl, in his essay ‘Hierarchy, Democracy and Bargaining in Politics and Economics (1955)’, attempts to examine the set of categories which would be critical in describing policy alternatives. According to him, in the real world the governments
are both socialist and Capitalist, planned and unplanned and many such extreme characteristic contradictions. This underlines the need to take manifold possibility into account in the conceptual scheme.

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

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

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

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

2.3.1 Media and Political Process

*Narang Ashok, “Political Sociology”, New Delhi, Murarilal & Sons, (2006).*

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

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

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

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

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

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

There are five theories which attempt to interpret and decode this complex and interdependent process of politics.
* Pluralist theory by Robert Dahl emphasizes on ‘interest groups’ within society which drive democratic political systems. Since power and influence are likely to get dispersed among these pressure groups and interest groups dynamically, it offers an inbuilt correction and change mechanism.

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

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

* The Class Conflict theory by Marxists emphasizes that there is a continuous struggle between capitalists and working classes which drive the political process.

* The State Centred theory developed by Nordlinger observes that the state is a political actor at par with interest groups within pluralist political process.

While each of these five theories emphasise on different elements as drivers of political process, they do not provide comprehensive understanding in isolation, hence researchers need to take into account the aspects such as decision making, struggle, legitimation and enforcement.

2.3.2 Media and Politics

2. Impact of politics on media.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Model of Media System</th>
<th>Particulars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Libertarian</td>
<td>Media are free to publish what according to them is correct and necessary. Journalists and media organisations enjoy autonomy in the interest of betterment of society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Responsibility</td>
<td>Some restraint is expected from media and media is expected to strike balance while publishing the information available to them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authoritarian</td>
<td>Government control is clearly defined through censorship and those who violate the norms are published.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet</td>
<td>Very much similar to authoritarian model. The sense of limit and censorship is imposed by the consciousness of the journalists in solidarity of the workers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the modern day and evolving political systems around the world, there have been continuous debates about these models and these models are being examined for their respective strengths and shortfalls towards fulfilling and achieving the desired goals and objectives.

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

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

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

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

Grabber (2005) attempted to divide these models into four categories such as Mirror, Operational, Political and Professional news media. With this classification Graber structured his assessment matrix about benefits and flaws.
Hallin and Mancini (2003) explored this exercise by classifying the media into three categories such as Liberal, Democratic Corporatist and Polarised Pluralist.

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

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

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

**Audience:**

The concept of audience as we discuss today, was shaped during the period of world war I and II, in the developed countries such in Europe, U.K and U.S. It was primarily explored to test the power and impact of propaganda over the citizens. This exploration got evolved over last 7 decades and much more in-depth studies were conducted as regards to what people read (type of information and news), when do they read (Timing), how much do they read (consumption), how do they react (perception building and feedback), where do they search for reliable information (source of information). Each country will exhibit different trends and statistics about these studies, on the basis of socio-cultural demographics, level of education, political environments and opportunities for participation available to them in the respective
systems.
It also throws light on the changing priorities of the audience with reference to significance to be attributed to political parties and mass media. It is also observed that primarily Newspapers (Print), Television (Electronic) and Internet (Digital) media platforms have scale and reach needed for mass communication.

2.3.3 Media and Society


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

While presenting an elaborate perspective of mass media and mass communication in the context of emerging trends in politics around the world, Castells highlights an extremely dynamic transition in politics which runs through various levels such as media politics, personality politics leading to scandal politics and most likely getting resulted in distrust among the citizens about the political class and process in general. This distrust many a times creates a situation wherein people tend to vote against someone rather than voting for something. This can be seen as a unique phenomenon where the active citizens start thinking about getting mobilized around a programme and set of goals which reflect the unbiased and lesser politically motivated agenda. For such citizens the conventional media systems present with set of limitations in
terms of expressing and engaging with the political system. This according to Castells, gives rise to a new kind of media space which is created around the process of ‘mass self-communication’. The advancement in technology and emergence of digital media has the power to connect efficiently, effectively with like-minded people beyond physical boundaries.

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

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

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

He observes that the subject can be studied with two prominent perspectives such as-
a..Mass media, nation state politics and elections in traditional manner, which may not reflect the changes and dynamics emerging out of contemporary world. and
b... Communication oriented research on globalization, interest groups and civil society, new media and alternative forms of media engagement.

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

Normally in this approach the focus gets divided into studying
1. Election campaigns,
2. Political party and government communication with journalists and media
3. Production of news and mass media,
4. Media effects.
The most strongly debated and discussed elements in this approach are documenting the rising public apathy and sentiments with reference to lower electoral turnout, the traditionally acknowledged ‘watch dog’ qualities of media which normally gets tagged as fourth estate as against the comparative analysis of objectivity and pluralism, strong or limited effects of media on understanding the mind map of masses.

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

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

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

Simultaneously the tastes and aspirations of the masses are also getting shaped and influenced by the media in a manner where their preferences towards news content about what to consume, how much to consume, when to consume are changing. Due to this change, reporting on public interest issues that are costly and complex in nature and may lack the market centric appeal has registered a sharp decline. Even while the general life of an average citizen, its political system is being influenced by global factors, there is an equally prominent rise in media products which are being created with hyper local content as the centre point.
In Chapter 11, Kalyani Chadha and Anandam Kavoori have elaborately dealt with Contemporary Media Globalisation Trends across National Contexts.

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

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


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

Barker (1997, P.5):

“Globalisation is not to be seen as a one way flow of influence from the west to the rest, rather globalization is multi-directional and multi-dimensional set of processes”.

Tomlinson (1991, P.175)

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

Silvio Waisbord (1998):

“Present day governments have fully embraced the policy of media privatization, left the control of media industries to market considerations and decisions and shrugged off old regulatory policies”. 
Kitley (2003, P.4):

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

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

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

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

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

2.4 – Theoretical Background-

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

The research by this research student primarily pertained to identify the impact of Print and Television on Political Communication and Process. The research focuses to find out the relevant aspects associated with all the elements of the research topic individually and collectively. The attempt is to create a comprehensive and holistic understanding as regards to the reach, scale and penetration of print and television
media and exploring how it impacts the audience of print and television which are referred to as readers and viewers respectively with reference to political communication and process.

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

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

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

**Describing Politics:**

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

**Describing Political Science:**

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

**Describing Political Process:**

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

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

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

Agents of Political Socialisation:

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

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

Thinkers and Their Perspectives

While the literature provides with innumerable references about the scholars, social scientists and thinkers who have contributed to the development of political theories and concepts, few of them made huge impact on this researcher’s impressionable mind.

The stalwarts are Plato, Aristotle, Edmund Burke, John Stuart Mill, Karl Marx, Graham Wallas, Arthur Bentley, Charles Merriam, Harold Laski, & Karl W. Deutsch. It will be very apt to briefly review few of these doyens of social science in brief.

Plato (428 BCE-348 BCE)-

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

Plato has unparalleled contribution in the fields of ethics and moral psychology, metaphysics, aesthetics, political philosophy, cosmology, epistemology, Plato
emphasized that the thinkers and philosophers need to engage with Justice, Beauty and Equality, which according to him were essential forms.

*Aristotle (384 BCE-322 BCE)*-

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

*Edmund Burke (1729-1797)*-

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

*John Stuart Mill (1806-1873)*-

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

*Karl Marx (1818-1883)*-

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

*Graham Wallas (1858-1932)*-

Graham Wallas was an English Social Psychologist and Co-founder of London School of Economics. According to Graham Wallas, the ‘party’ is the most effective political entity in the modern nation state. The origin of any particular party may be due to a deliberate intellectual process. In the year 1926, Graham Wallas defined his landmark theory called ‘The Art of Thought’, which outlined four stages of creative process. These four stages are ‘preparation, incubation, illumination and verification’.
Arthur Bentley (1870-1957)

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

Charles Merriam (1874 -1953)

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

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

Harold Laski (1893-1950)

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

Karl Deutsch (1912-1992) –

Karl Deutsch was a Czech Social and Political Scientist of remarkable caliber. In the "behavioural” phase of political science, Karl W. Deutsch occupies a place of
major importance. His work reflects many of the major trends which have characterized political science in this phase.

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

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

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

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2.5 Quotes of Wisdom

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

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

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

-Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in his speech in the Constituent Assembly, 12th November 1949.
‘The emergency has not been forgotten but the functioning anarchy of a soft state has equally been repudiated. Neither style will serve. People want decisive, achievement oriented democracy’.

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

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

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

‘The study of political philosophy is irrelevant in the conduct of politics’.
-Michele Oakeshott

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

“There cannot be a non-philosophical political science or non-scientific political philosophy”.
- Stross (Pg.134) Peshwe Book by Prof Tijare.

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

-George Spears et al (2000)
“While the world may never quite become the ‘global village’, rhapsodized by Marshall McLuhan, each village, whether rustic or urban, pre or post industrial revolution is becoming more and more global as, electronically the world increasingly comes to each village and neighbourhood, hamlet and settlement, quarter and suburb.”


“Charisma Creates Arrogance”.

“Charisma without a programme is ineffective”.


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


“The department of Public Information should not engage in Propaganda”.


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

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