CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Prologue

The world has witnessed remarkable progress in the art and craft of urban governance in the new millennium. The media play a vital role in a democratic society. The media institutions are identified as the informal universities and extra-opposition leader in democracy. The elected representatives and other stakeholders of urban governance are sensitized by the media about their obligations, roles and responsibilities. The media also bridge the communication gap between the urban government bodies and civil society through regular information, education, guidance and allied services. Adequate studies are not carried out in India on the media habits of elected representatives even though cultivation of healthy media habits improves the profile and performance of the elected representatives. The present study assumes academic significance since media habits and information level of elected representatives’ matter most from research and development point of view. The urban governance in India, media in civil society, media scenario in India, freedom of speech and expression in India, profile of Karnataka state, significance of the study, statement of the problem and objectives of the study are enumerated in this chapter.

1.2 Urban Governance in India

There is increasing urbanization across the globe which is caused by several factors. The cities are considered as engines of national development in the present times. New possibilities are explored by the policy makers, administrators and experts for better urban governance in a developing country like India. Government is the constitutionally accepted machinery and institutional arrangement for serving the people who live in cities and townships. The phrase ‘urban governance’ is widely discussed by the various stakeholders. According to P.S.N. Rao (2004:174) “Urban governance is the sum of many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manages the common affairs of the city. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action can be taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of citizens”.

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Urban governance is universally defined as the management and development of cities on the basis of the principle of good governance based on certain values. The United Nations (1999:204) launched a global campaign for sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world. This approach basically involves ‘inclusive city’ which promotes urban growth with equity to facilitate better development of cities. The urban governance is inextricably linked to the welfare of the citizens regardless of other considerations. Good urban governance basically includes better civic amenities, infrastructure development, law and order, growth opportunities, social security and other dimensions.

Several concepts and theories have emerged over a period of time on urban governance. Arnold Toynber, Lewis Mumford, Gibson, Max Weber, Gandhi, Ambedkar and other statesmen have studied urban governance in terms of generation, distribution and consumption of income. The urban government jurisdiction is basically limited and it intends to provide civic amenities to the people who live in cities. Urban governance has a strong constitutional foundation in India and other countries. The main aim of urban governance is to implement the general goals set by the framework agreement between central and local government, observes Archibugi et.al (1998:14).

Urban governance gained a new momentum in Europe and America. The year 2008, marked a watershed in human history when for the first time, about 3.3 billion people migrated to cities from villages in the South Asia. This region witnessed rapid economic growth which took place in vital sectors like manufacturing, information technology, high-end service industries, trade, retail and banking, insurance and finance, all of which were urban–centric notes Ashwini Roy (2006:180).

Urban development occurred in India in a remarkable way since about 35% of the people lived in urban India according to Census Report - 2011. The projections put urban populations’ share to be at 40% by 2021. India is the fourth largest country in the world from urbanization point of view. The declaration in urban growth is attributed to the decline of rural-urban migration, reports Kundu (2003:118). The National Commission on urbanization emphasized that urbanization was inevitable for economic change in India. Urban India has to network with a great number of people, plan to provide them services, find resources to meet the needs of maintaining and augmenting infrastructure, deal with urbanization and poverty, preserve their environment and retain their competitive edge, cautioned Human Settlement Management Institute (2001:97).
The National Commission on Urbanization (1985:145) made certain recommendations for strengthening the management and administration of urban local governments in the country. The recommendations were seriously considered by the Government of India which introduced the Constitution (65th Amendment) Bill in 1989 with a view to improve the status of urban governance and development in India. The dissolution of Lok Sabha caused a temporary setback to the bill. But the Constitution 74th Amendment Act, 1993 was a landmark in the history of urban governance in India. The Act provided for mandatory and discretionary provisions for better urban governance in the country.

The local government is indeed a state subject and the states and union territories have the authority to implement such provisions across the country. These provincial governments have modified and amended their municipal laws. The regional socio-political situations differentiate local grassroots governance pattern and diversity characterizes uniformity according to U.B. Singh (2000:196). There is a constitutional obligation to stabilize urban governance in India by taking appropriate and timely actions to ensure systematic constitution of the urban sector with proper representation to all sections of the society. The Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India responded to the issue of local governance according to the recommendations of Balwantrai Mehta Committee.

The Nagarapalika Bill was introduced by late Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to create Ward Committees and Zonal Committees to enhance people’s participation in the process of urban governance. The country has witnessed the growth of large cities over-riding existing municipalities due to rapid industrialization over a period of time. In Karnataka the Karnataka Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1994 and the Karnataka Municipal Corporation (Amendment) Act, 1994 became effective from June 1994. The state has also achieved notable progress in urban governance over a period of time.

1.3 Media in Civil Society

Concept of Civil Society

Aristotle defined civil society as a ‘community’, commensurate with the Greek city-state characterized by a shared set of norms and ethos, in which free citizens on an equal footing lived under the rule of law. The Roman scholar Cicero added a new dimension to civil society and stated that civil society was a system which ensured peaceful co-existence of people without any discrimination. The civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors
and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Scholars have identified different elements of civil society namely public charities, foundations, development non-governmental organizations, community and grassroots organizations, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups.

Civil society is the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens. Civil society includes the family and the private sphere, referred to as the third sector of society, distinct from government and business. The 21st Century Lexicon defines civil society as 1) the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest interests and will of citizens or 2) individuals and organizations in a society which are independent of the government. The civil society also represents the basic elements such as freedom of speech, an independent judiciary, etc, that make up a democratic society according to Collins English Dictionary. The French Revolution provided a new dimension to civil society based on liberty, equality, fraternity and collective welfare.

Marxist theorists and practitioners have generally been divided on the question of the relation of civil society and the state. The Russian, Chinese, East German, North Korean, Vietnamese and other communist states all banned private associations. The civil society organizations are indeed part of an ideological state apparatus. The civil society organizations function as intermediate social institutions whose function was to 'mediate' between citizens and government, or the political state. In the 1980s, scholars gave a serious thought to the concept of civil society and International Society for Third Sector Research and Association for Research on Non-profit Organizations and Voluntary Action gave sound ideological foundation to civil society movement across the world. In a democracy, the concept of civil society is widely recognized and opportunities are created for the sustainable progress of the civil society.

**Media in Civil Society**

Media institutions are regarded as the fourth estate of a democracy. The legislature makes the policies, executive implements the programmes, the judiciary examines the constitutional validity of the policies and programmes and media bridge the communication gap between the government and society. The scholars and statesmen have noted that media institutions strengthen the foundations of democracy. The media also function as the watch dog of public interest in a democracy. The media are also called upon by the statesmen to function as the extra-opposition leader outside the parliament. In reality, the media plays an important
role in the creation and success of a strong civil society structure. The media sways public opinion and helps influence and even create the direction of social change. Scholars have explored the role of media in civil society in their writings and speeches.

A.K. Shivakumar (2011:195), a noted development economist states that media assume great significance in a civil society since they provide several services which sensitize the various stakeholders of civil society movement. The media are definitely driven by the need for financial sustainability. They cannot do what a lot of civil society groups and NGOs can, or try to do, of managing on low budgets, according to the scholar. He has identified the limitations of media in civil society.

Syeda Hameed (2012:91), former Member, Planning Commission of India, examined the role of media in civil society and stated that civil society is an entity that articulates concerns that affect the entire community. She called upon the media to help in articulating the social concerns and provide relevant solutions for the sustainable development of India. She explored new possibilities for the meaningful intervention of media in civil society movement.

Tarun Tejpal (2014:200), Editor-in-Chief of the news magazine Tehelka, carried out certain sting investigations which emphasized the role of media in civil society. He called upon the media to articulate the concerns of civil society. He observed that the Indian media constantly focused on soft targets and completely steers clear of hard targets. The need for understanding the framework of Indian democracy and obligations of media towards civil society were also addressed by the media personality. He called upon the media professionals to understand the ideas of public space and public good in India. Tejpal observes “The best thing that can happen is for the media to amplify civil society’s battles and understand how very crucial they are. But the challenge really is that there are not enough people in both journalism and civil society who are able to articulate arguments in a manner that forces both money and power to be accountable”.

Sevanti Ninan (2013:149), a well known columnist and author notes: “I believe that, increasingly, the media have been forced to reach out to civil society. Take television. There is a constant seeking out of data and opinion from those in the field, whether it is for a panel discussion or simply to keep programmes going. After all, civil society groups are the people with the data; they are the ones who interact with those on the ground and understand local
issues. The media have to always seek out people who have done the groundwork for them”. The civil society needs active media support in modern times.

Lysa John (2012:103), Global Campaign Director, Global Call to Action against Poverty states: “Civil society as a concept has come into use only in the last few years. It needs to be interpreted much more broadly, in terms of citizen action for society, than is generally the case. This is not just about the contributions of traditional NGOs but encompasses any kind of citizens’ formation which looks at larger issues of social or political change -- work that is not being done through the government or private sector”. The media are controlled by the market forces which are responsible for commercialization of media services in the new millennium. They are interested in financial sustainability rather than sustainable and inclusive development of the marginalized sections of society.

The civil organizations are not able to articulate what they are thinking but they should work for the uplift of the mankind. The media are actively engaged in social and political mobilization. They should be most progressive, far-reaching and visionary ideas today come from civil society. The media are largely falling in line with the interests of the powerful. The only people who are thinking out of the box to transform lives and existing structures are the people who constitute civil society. The social media are playing a notable role in the civil society movement in India and abroad.

1.4 Media Scenario in India

The Constitution of India has guaranteed the freedom of speech and expression to all citizens including the media professionals. In the post-independence era, the media institutions have grown in a commendable way in India. The press in India played a historical role during the national freedom movement. It also played a responsible role during emergency (1975-77) and post-emergency periods and sustained the democracy and freedom of speech and expression. “There is a close association between modern India’s struggle for political and social emancipation from imperialist thralldom and oppression. There is also a rich historical legacy, cultural diversity and social pluralism in the Indian press. The Indian press tradition also reflects sharp ideological and political differences” writes Ram (2011:169).
Print Media in India

Print media have grown well in India as the voice of the people before and after independence. The news publishing business has become one of constant updating, of monitoring, distilling and repacking information, observes Shyam Parekh, editor of DNA, Ahmadabad. The independence of India's press has been bolstered by the liberal government economic policy and the increase of private-sector advertising. The controls on the distribution of newsprint could also be used to reward favored publications and threaten those that fell into disfavor. The newspaper sale in the country has increased by 15% in 2014 according to Audit Bureau of Circulation. India is also recognized as one of the largest markets in the world of newspapers followed by China and Japan. Manjula Rajagopal, associate editor of Dinamalar observed that print media business boomed in India due to economic liberalization. The commendable growth of language press in the 1990s was termed by Jeffrey (2000:102) as ‘Indian newspaper revolution’.

Aggrawal and Gupta (2001:03) write: “The rapid technological changes, which the print media is adapting to survive, has brought about far – reaching changes in the contemporary media scenario. The leading newspapers are taking to online journalism in a big way. Several leading print media organizations have been developing comprehensive websites of their own, which regularly cover interviews, chat shows, business and economy news, lifestyles and entertainment”.

Ninan (2007:148) observes: “Hindi newspapers, harbingers of nationalism at the turn of the century, had witnessed more material change by the turn of 21st century. They busted with contour supplement and marketing coupons even as they brought politics, sports and news to rural and urban homes”. The Indian print media grew considerably in the new era because of the entry of local market forces into print media in India. Besides this, India and China are regarded as ‘the world absolute leaders in the newspaper industry according to WPT (2009). The Government of India allowed 26% of Foreign Direct Investment in 2002 in accordance with the policy of economic liberalization. The National Readership Survey (2006) reported that there were an estimated 204 million readers of daily newspapers and 222 million readers of all publications in India.

The print media are challenged by the TV, online and mobile. Indian media industry is expected to cross US$ 200 billion by 2015 according to the analysts. The global financial crisis and economic slowdown of the previous decade have adversely affected the print media in India.
and other parts of the world. The advertising revenue has also gone down subsequently. The print media circulation and readership have also declined in India due to broadcasting media and new media domination. The Indian print business continues heavily to subsidize digital journalism which has put pressure on newspaper circulation, readership and business. The culture of Indian journalism is also changing due to the entry of international companies and competitive media business management. The newspapers and magazines are capable of providing in depth coverage of issues concerning the public interests when compared to television, Internet and commercial media.

S.V. Manjappa (2014:130) states: “But, the logic of capitalism has driven newspaper expansion as a potential readership according to media critics. The Press Council of India has taken serious note of certain unhealthy practices of Indian press such as concentration of ownership, devaluation of editorial functions, hyper-commercialization, price wars, paid news, private treaties with corporate, bribe-taking and downgrading the professional ethics and social obligations. The champions of social responsibility of press have called upon the press to function responsibly in India under the changed circumstances”.

Ram (2000:168) observes: “The idea that information, and specifically the news media, can play a substantive and even a crucial role in the formation of public opinion in society and in shaping public policy on major social, political and economic issues is an appealing one in intellectual and socio-political terms. The discovery that on vital matters such as mass hunger, deprivation, and a sudden collapse of entitlements, timely and relevant information makes a qualitative difference to the way public opinion is shaped and official policy is made to respond is somewhat flattering to the self-image of professional journalism. In a sense, it begs a much larger question. It depends on the kind of independent, or relatively independent, role that newspapers and other news media are allowed to play in society; and this in turn depends on the political system and practice, the constitutional and legal safeguards and the information cultures that prevail in the country in question. Under ideal circumstances, the purpose and tendency of press reporting, criticism, investigation, and even watchdogism may be to improve the government or reform the system”.

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Electronic Media in India

Radio broadcasting began in India in 1927. The Indian Broadcasting Service was established in 1936. All India Radio has emerged as the largest broadcasting network in the world. The Indian broadcasters have used certain hybrid models which govern the economics of radio. The subscription, exterior business financing, commercial sponsorship and direct advertising models are all market based or consumer dependent models, because the amount of income generated with these models is directly dependent on the quantity and quality of program consumers. Tax funding, license fees, exterior private financing and voluntary listener sponsorship are non-market or non-consumer dependent models, because the amount of income is not directly dependent on the quantity and quality of program consumption. In contrast to television, radio as a mass medium remains a state monopoly in India.

The Indian Media Scenario March (2011) observes that FM radio is poised for an exponential growth in India. There are around 250 FM stations broadcasting now and in the next phase, 1100 more are expected to be licensed, most of them private according to this source. In the urban areas, FM stations are more popular through film and other popular music programmes. Radio City, Radio Mirchi, Big FM, Red FM and other radio channels have attracted the attention of the people in the urban areas.

Public and private radios are catering to the needs of special audience in India. Modern radio takes many forms, including wireless networks and mobile communications of all types, as well as radio broadcasting. Before the advent of television, commercial radio broadcasts included not only news and music, but dramas, comedies, variety shows, and many other forms of entertainment. The community radio stations are generally less expensive to operate programming than commercial and public stations which have the potential reach of the programming from community stations.

The radio and television networks are very well developed in India especially in the post-independence era. All India Radio is the largest radio network in the world. Doordarshan is the second largest television network in the world. All India Radio and Doordarshan are owned, managed and controlled by the Prasar Bharathi Corporation. The private radio and television channels are giving tough competition to the All India Radio and Doordarshan. The public and private radio and television networks and operations are complimented by the application of innovative broadcasting technologies and progressive techniques of broadcasting media.
management in India in the age of globalization. Doordarshan has emerged as the largest terrestrial television network in the world. There are about 1000 foreign and domestic television channels which are competing with Doordarshan in India. In India, television has emerged as the prominent medium of mass communication.

As of now, there are 413 radio centers in India which cover 92% of geographical areas and 99.19% of the population in the country. The radio programmes are broadcast in about 23 major languages and 146 native languages. There are about 400 F.M radio stations which are operating in the country. The number is likely to cross 1000 in the near future according to Media Scenario March (2014). In India there are about 1000 television channels (both foreign and domestic) which provide prominently infotainment and edutainment programmes which are governed by the economics of broadcasting according to the annual report of Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (2014).

The television in India is also targeting the specific segments of the audience, in particular, young adults. The urban, middle to upper class youth, especially, constitute a key target group for private channels. According to the recent statistics, Doordarshan network consists of 64 Doordarshan Kendras/Production Centers, 24 Regional News Units, 126 Doordarshan Maintenance Centers, 202 High Power transmitters, 828 Low Power Transmitters, 351 Very Low Power Transmitters, 18 Transposes, 30 Channels and DTH Services according to the latest statistics. In the age of globalization, there was worldwide surge of commercial television. The emergence of satellite and cable distribution of programming has dramatically increased the number of channels available in India.

The broadcasting system has been reformed over a period of time on the basis of the reports submitted by various committees. The Government of India enacted the Prasar Bharati Act, 1990. The Government of India liberalized the broadcasting policy since it viewed media as one of the many sectors like steel, textile, coal and iron which indicated the influence of globalization and neo–liberalism on media. The Sen Gupta Committee submitted its report in 1996 and suggested that the creation of Radio and Television Authority of India as an independent body outside the purview of Prasar Bharathi Corporation. The committees also suggested the extension of up linking facilities to domestic and foreign satellite channels and bring them under the purview of Indian laws. Subsequently, All India Radio and Doordarshan were brought under the Prasar Bharathhi Corporation in 1997 when S. Jaipal Reddy was the Minister for Information and Broadcasting.
The historical Supreme Courts’ judgment of 1995 also paved the way for remarkable management of broadcasting services in India. The Supreme Court observed that the airways should not be the monopoly of anybody in a democratic country like India. This judgment led to the creation of an autonomous body for the management of All India Radio and Doordarshan. The satellite television has grown remarkably in India and other parts of the developing world. In 2013, television households in India were about 150 million, with 120 million served by cable and 30 million by direct-to-home television according to the estimates of TAM. The entry of multi-channel private satellite television without any regulatory framework in place has certainly made a major difference to the media landscape, observes Ram (2011:169).

The invasion of sky by the satellite television also compelled certain major policy changes in the electronic media management in India. The Government of India liberalized the broadcasting and allowed the broadcasters irrespective of their ownership and management to uplink form India with a condition that they must abide by the norms and guidelines of government on advertising and broadcasting services. There was no restriction on foreign equity in production of software, marketing of television rights, airtime and advertisements. In 2005, about 58 companies were enabled to uplink 68 TV channels with varying degree of foreign equity and remaining 41 companies were permitted to uplink 93 TV channels which had 100% Indian equity.

Bhatia (2002:33) writes: “The rapid expansion of the television services has provided more entertainment and advertisement services. In the 1980s, television became a quasi-commercial medium and commercialization of Indian broadcasting increased after globalization. The Nehru – Sarabhai approach of tapping the communication revolution in general and television in particular, as a major tool for the development of the masses had been ignored. The entry of foreign satellite channels eroded whatever little the national electronic media had been doing for socio-economic development in spite of the pressures of commercialization. The marketization has changed the content and role of television from development to entertainment – oriented. Globalization has further pushed the culture of consumerism with television being the main carrier of consumer capitalism around the world”. The global media conglomerates have shown interest in Indian broadcasting market and launched regional television news channels. These developments have brought about an era of competitive broadcasting in India despite certain disadvantages.
Film in India

India emerged as a prominent film making country in the world. Statistically speaking, India produces largest number of newsreels, documentaries and feature films in the world. Since beginning, the cinema has been a profit-oriented business enterprise in India. As the film industry gained new dimensions, the producers came in large number and produced commercial films on the basis of box office economics. Vilanilan records: “How the movies contributed to the democratization of communication in society is evident from the fact that all over the world it is the most common and economical entertainment for ordinary people”.

The films are the most effective means of communication which give something for everyone. Lenin, the architect of October Revolution in Russia had immense faith in cinema as a social communication medium. He rightly believed that cinema could play a major role as catalyst in shaping the society. The Eastern European countries were also greatly influenced by the power of cinema and established film institutions to train the people in the art and the craft of film making.

Basu (2005:22) recalls: “With black market and corruption abounding in the country, businessman began to think in terms of easy money and quick returns. The inflationary war boom has been greatest encouragement for all and sundry to enter the various branches of the film industry in India”. The Hollywood also gained a foothold in India with special effects films such as Jurassic Park (1993) and Speed (1994) which were appreciated by the Indian audiences. The Bollywood continued to be formulaic story lines, expertly choreographed fight scenes, spectacular song and dance routines, emotion-charged melodrama, and larger-than-life heroes in the world.

The Government of India established the National Film Development Corporation (NFDC) in order to promote healthy film culture and production in India. Subsidized financial assistance was given to the producers of new wave cinema in India. A good number of award winning new wave films were produced by the talented and committed Indian film makers. Thoraval (2000:202) states: “India is one of the rare examples of a non-western country where cinema was not simply confined to metropolis but penetrated to rural areas as well. The Indian public both in the cities and countryside consists of some of the most avid enthusiastic moviegoers to be found in the world”. The adventurous and enterprising film makers also explored the foreign market.
Kohli (2006:110) pointed out that Indian films attracted the Indian Diaspora and earned adequate foreign exchange rates than the previous years. The Indian films earned more revenue from overseas than in India in the age of globalization. The Indian film industry witnessed several changes in the age of economic liberalization. It lost its audience to the video clubs and video theatres. The invasion of Indian sky by the satellite television also adversely affected the business prospects of Indian film industry.

Kohli (2006:110) further states: “Till the mid 80s, films had for worse – a captive audience. After the decline of Amitabh Bachchan, there was no other major star on the horizon that could attract both financiers and audiences. Video and cable TV cut the time a film had to recover its most in the theatres-to less than half. The cost of film production became very high under by 1993, this figure had gone up to 30-50 million. As viewers started hooked to soaps, there was no need to spend a lot of money on films. The satellite channels began buying under production rights or libraries. These developments, combined with alterations in policy, finally forced some structural changes in the film industry”. The digital technology, multiplex and PRV theatres also sprung up in metros and motivated the audience to see a good number of Bollywood and regional films.

The recent entertainment tax policy of the government has also enabled the multiplexes to make about 70% gross margins. If multiplexes are changing film viewing patterns in the cities, the digital theatres are changing them in smaller towns and rural areas. This has added a pan-Indian flavor to the changes sweeping across film retail in India. The digital technology and digital theatre have added new dimension to film industry in India. The home video market also grew considerably in India since the prices of home video rights range from Rs.0.5 million to Rs.10 million.

**New Media in India**

The telecommunication, satellite communication and computer communication technological applications constitute the gamut of ‘new media’ in modern society. India also achieved commendable progress in the field of communication science and technology. The new media have been rightly considered as the instruments of development by the scholars. The Government of India has formulated the new media policy to facilitate expansion, decentralization and democratization of new media in the Indian Republic. The policy makers have realized that active participation of underprivileged, marginalized, underserved and under-
represented segments of society, including women and weaker sections is very crucial from the point of view of inclusive development. India is heading in the right direction with the development of new media in modern society. Modern government and non-government organizations have utilized the new media for developmental endeavors in all spheres of human life.

The liberalization of Indian economy in 1991 under the dynamic leadership of P.V. Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh duo brought about remarkable economic growth of over 6% annually during 1993-2002. The economic reforms were driven in part by significant application of new media in India. The National Democratic Alliance Government led by Atal Bihari Vajpayee boosted the development of new media in India. The Government formed the Indian National Task Force on Information Technology and Software Development in 1996. India achieved series of developments in the fields of telecommunication, satellite communication and computer communication by the end of the 20th century. The BSNL, Bharti Airtel, Reliance Communications, Vodafone and other organizations became the prominent institutions which played a crucial role in the telecom revolution in India.

S.V. Manjappa (2014:130) states: “The basis of the information revolution in India is the technological revolution in telecommunications, computers and electronic media. There has been a convergence of technologies relating to different areas of communication such as telephone, telegraph, radio, TV, Internet and data networks. The process of globalization has facilitated greater potential benefit of information and communication technologies. India has become an information/data processing service provider to the world. In India, telecommunication has become a substitute for transport as the information collection role of transport is minimized due to information flows which are efficient and cost effective. The technological advances have made possible the unbundling of telecom services in India”. The market based approach has been accepted and implemented in India which is known for investment de-licensing and free entry, rational pricing of natural resource, regulation of queasy natural monopoly elements and tax and subsidy for social objectives.

The emergence of cable TV and wireless technology has brought about the natural monopoly position which has urban and rural utility. The government has complete authority over all physical channels of communication including television and radio broadcast. The social concerns are met through a cross tax subsidy scheme. There is no economic rationale for any license fees and charges on account of full cost pricing of all telecom services in India.
India has become a prominent nation in the world for the development and application of new communication technologies which have become effective instruments of education and development. Eminent communication scholars and scientists have prepared grounds for the conduction of new media experiments in the country.

India is in the forefront in the field of new media management in the world and conducted several experiments in the field of application of new media for various developmental endeavours during the last quarter of 20th century. In the present times, the social media have also become prominent tools of multi-faceted development of the country on the basis of interactive and democratized communication in urban and rural areas. The communication and information specialists have adopted the best strategies for the effective management of new media for various developmental activities in the age of globalization.

**Media Scenario in the New Millennium**

India has experienced the bright side and dark sides of globalization from economic development and media management points of view. India has also emerged as a prominent media power in the world over a period of time. The culture of Indian media is also changing due to several factors including media imperialism of dominant powers which rule the roost in the media and economic sectors. The media industry has undergone sweeping changes in India in the age of globalization. The sovereignty of the nation and autonomy of the media are affected by the neo-colonial forces which own, control and direct the media which have become the main carrier’s consumer capitalism in India and abroad. The Indian corporate sector has primarily depended on corporate advertising and communication practices to generate income and build reputation in the present times. The reckless liberalization of economy and ruthless media imperialism has created a new consumerist society in India over a period of time. The globalization of media in India poses a wide range of questions which need to be answered by the stakeholders of national development.

The media in India have become more and more class self-conscious and displayed the sense of profit maximization which has cost national interest dearly. The power of media as watch dogs of public interest has certainly gone down greatly in India in the age of globalization. The ascendancy of a new kind of globalization of finance has made the process of media management vulnerable. The media institutions have become tools of intellectual hegemony imposed by the market forces which exercise media power in relation to economic
issues and compulsions. Under these circumstances, the state should design professionally sound and socially accountable regulatory and governance mechanisms for media management which need to be put in place in the modern times in India.

1.5 Freedom of Speech and Expression in India

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was the chief architect of Indian Constitution. He was a great champion of free and independent media which are the fourth estate of democracy. He laid emphasis on the freedom of speech and expression of all citizens of India including the media professionals. The Constitution of India guarantees various fundamental rights to its citizens. One such important right is - Right to Freedom under Article 19. This includes right to freedom of speech and expression, to assemble peacefully and without arms, to form associations and unions, to move freely throughout the territory of India, to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India, and to practice any profession, to carry on any occupation, trade or business.

Article 19(1)(a) says that all citizens shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression. This right is available only to citizens of India and not to foreign nationals. This right is, however, not absolute and it allows Government to frame laws to impose reasonable restrictions in the interest of sovereignty and integrity of India, security of the state, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, decency and morality and contempt of court, defamation and incitement to an offence. There has been lot of discussions and disputes leading to Court cases on this Right to Freedom.

The pre-censorship of the press was held to be unconstitutional in the cases of Ramesh Thapar Vs. State of Madras, (1950) and Brij Bhushan Vs. State of Delhi, (1950). Similarly, there has been lot of differences of opinions regarding indecency and immorality as to what constitutes indecent literature or other expressions through media. Similarly, the law of sedition under section 124A of the I.P.C. was also subjected to dispute in Kedarnath Vs. State of Bihar, A. (1962). The Supreme Court held the validity of this provision. Under the Freedom of Speech and Expression, there is no separate guarantee of freedom of the press and the same is included in the freedom of expression, which is conferred on all citizens as per the judgments’ of Supreme Court in respect of Virender Vs. State of Punjab, (1958) and Sakal Papers Vs. Union of India (1962). It has also been by this judgment that freedom of the press under the Indian Constitution is not higher than the freedom of an ordinary citizen.
Further restrictions were also imposed on the freedom of speech and expression by Article 51A defining fundamental duties of a citizen (42nd Amendment in 1976). Under Article 51A, no one should in exercise of the freedom of expression or of the press do any of the following acts:

- to disparage the constitution, its ideals and institutions, the National Flag or the National Anthem;
- to undermine the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;
- to disrupt the spirit of common brotherhood among all the people; and
- to insult the rich heritage of our composite culture.

It has been held by the Supreme Court that right of speech and expression includes right to acquire and import ideas and information about the matters of common interests in the case of Hamdard Dawakhana Vs. Union of India (1960) and LIC Vs. Union of India, (1993). This freedom also includes right to impart and receive information through telecasting as per the Supreme Court judgment delivered in respect of Ministry of Information Vs. Cricket Association, (1995). It also includes publication of advertisement and commercial speech in case of Tata Press Vs. MTNL (1995). It also covers right to hold telephonic conversation in privacy in case of PUCL Vs. Union of India (1997).

These cases clearly indicate that right to acquire and get information is a fundamental right under the Indian Constitution. But all types of information cannot be obtained by the people in the interest of the state. The information relating to matters of public or common importance affecting people in general can be obtained under the normal circumstances. In a democratic set up, the people are the sovereign republics. The people have a right to choose and elect their representative to Parliament, State Assemblies and Local Bodies for a fixed period. The people also enjoy the right to good governance which primarily depends upon the proactive role of media in a democracy. Without right to information, people will not be in a position to know what is happening and thus to take further steps in the direction. The Supreme Court held that right to information lay at the foundation of all democratic organizations, for without free political discussion, no public education, so essential for the proper functioning of the processes of popular government, is possible.

In the same judgment, the Court held that the public interest in freedom of discussion of which the freedom of press is one aspect stems from the requirement that members of the democratic society should be sufficiently informed that they may influence intelligently the
decisions which may affect themselves. The freedom of expression, as learned writers have observed, has four broad social purposes to serve: (i) it helps an individual to attain self-fulfilment; (ii) it assists in the discovery of truth; (iii) it strengthens the capacity of an individual in participating in decision-making; and (iv) it provides a mechanism by which it would be possible to establish a reasonable balance between stability and social change. The freedom of speech and expression should, therefore, receive a generous support from all those who believe in the participation of people in the administration. The right to get information in a democracy is recognized in all the countries since it is a natural right flowing from the concept of democracy.

True democracy cannot exist unless all citizens have a right to participate in the affairs of the polity of the country. The right to participate in the affairs of the country is meaningless unless the citizens are well informed on all sides of the issues, in respect of which they are called upon to express their views. One-sided information, disinformation, misinformation and non information all equally create an uninformed citizenry which makes democracy a farce when medium of information is monopolized either by a partisan central authority or by private individuals or oligarchic organizations. This is particularly so in a country like ours where a majority of the population is illiterate and hardly 1½ per cent of the population has an access to the print media which is not subject to pie-censorship. In modern constitutional democracies, it is axiomatic that citizens have a right to know about the affairs of the government which, having been elected by them, seek to formulate sound policies of governance aimed at their welfare. Democracy expects openness and openness is concomitant of a free society and the sunlight is a best disinfectant. In reality, the freedom of speech and expression includes right to collect information and to disseminate it. This freedom is necessary for self-fulfilment as it enables people to contribute to debate on social and moral issues. The right to get information in a democracy is recognized all over and it is a natural right flowing from the concept of democracy.

The Indian Freedom of Information Act 2002 was passed by both the Houses of the Parliament in December 2002. Under this Act, it is obligatory upon every public authority to provide information and maintain records, consistent with its operational needs. These records will have to be duly catalogued and indexed and published at such intervals as may be prescribed by an appropriate government or the competent authority. The legislation seeks to promote openness, transparency and accountability in administration. Recently, one of such
rights which came to limelight was right of people to know about the antecedents of a candidate contesting elections - especially about their criminal background, educational qualifications and their properties and assets.

In a public interest litigation filed by Association of Democratic Reforms Union of India Vs. Association for Democratic Reforms and Ann, JT (2002) the Supreme Court directed the Election Commission to require the persons contesting elections to give such information. It was felt that this information would help the people to choose good, sincere and honest persons to the legislatures. Even in day to day life of the people, they have right to know what is happening to their applications made to the Government Departments, how much time it will take to process them and if rejected, reasons for such a rejection. Though, internal instructions have been issued by various Government Departments laying down a time frame for disposal of such applications, but in actual practice, it is not being adhered to. Even Departments like Passport Office which has developed a website for the purpose; it is not always possible to know where one's application is pending.

The Right to Information Act, (2005) was an important step in promoting a really transparent, vibrant and accountable government. This legislation is expected to usher an era of performance and efficiency, eliminate the scourge of corruption and bring the common man’s concern to the heart of all processes of governance. The actual implementation of the Act is bound to pose a great challenge to the governments at various levels since the functionaries have to change their mindset about sharing the information that would benefit the people.

1.6 Profile of Karnataka State

The State of Karnataka is the 8th largest state in the country geographically and the 9th largest in terms of population. It comprises of 30 districts. The state’s capital city is Bengaluru. Karnataka State extends to about 750 km. from north to south and about 400 km. from east to west. It covers an area of about 1, 90, 498 sq. km. Karnataka is one of the 30 states in India, emerging as an industrial super power of the country. The state has 30 districts and 176 taluks. The State of Karnataka enjoys 3 main types of climate and the tropical climate covers the entire coastal belt and the adjoining areas. According to the 2011 census of India, the total population of Karnataka is 6.25 crores. Of this, 50.9% are male and 49.1% are female. There is a decadal increase in population of 17.3% from 1991 to 2001. Population density is 275.6 per km², the sex
ratio is 964 females to 1000 males and 34.0% of the people in Karnataka live in urban areas.
The literacy rate is 75.4% as per the 2011 census.

The state has registered an impressive economic growth during 2001-15. The annual growth rate of GSDP for the state was at 8% as compared to 9% at all India level during the present decade. The sector wise shares in the income of the state stood at 20.9% for primary, 23% for secondary and 56.1% for tertiary sectors. The developmental expenditure stood at 63% while the non development to the expenditure stood at 37% in the present decade. However, expenditure on agriculture and allied services formed 11% of the total development expenditure.

The health care in Karnataka is not adequate according to the latest statistics. Apart from capital Bangalore and coastal districts of Udupi and Dakshina Kannada other parts of the state especially northern districts have not received sufficient attention by government and private sectors. The state has a birth rate of 2.2%, death rate of 0.7%, an infant mortality rate of 5.5%, a maternal mortality rate of 0.2% and 2.2 being total fertility rate. The health and family welfare services department has about 8,500 health centers which include - 600 primary health units (PHUs), 1,700 primary health centers (PHCs), 20 mobile units, 7,500 maternity annexes, 19 urban PHCs and 120 community health centers.

The State has a total road length of 2, 09,014 km, which works out to 108.98 km of road length per 100 sq. km. About 70 percent of villages are connected with all weather roads and the rest are connected by fair weather, kucha and non-motorable roads. The agriculture sector consists of about 55% of net shown area followed by 16% forest, and 29% of the land consisted of non agricultural, uncultivated and barren land. The small and marginal holdings accounted for 72.9% in the state and a large proportion of farmers in the state were small scale cultivators. The state also witnessed decline in the size of land holding mainly due to division of families, fragmentation of holdings and migration of cultivators to urban areas. The state has about 43.95% of irrigation resources. The major sources of irrigation were canals (33.7%), wells (15.1%), bore wells (31.3%), tanks (6.3%) and other sources (13.6%).

Food grain production in the State was estimated to be 97.90 lakhs while production of oil seeds was estimated to be 15 lakh tones during 2014-15. Animal husbandry played an important complementary role in the rural economy. The state also achieved commendable progress in the field of dairying due to implementation of cross breading programme, disease diagnosis and control, adoption of new technology, improvement of infrastructural facilities and
other developments. Small farmers and landless laborers accounted for about 53% of the animal husbandry and 51% of milk production in the country. The extent of awareness of modern aspects of forming, crop insurance, membership of registered farmers’ organization and membership of Self Help Groups consistently grew in the state during the present decade.

Karnataka state has achieved notable progress in the field of finance management. There are five major commercial banks in coastal Karnataka. It is also a prominent centre of high technology manufacturing industries after independence in areas such as machine tools, defence electronics, aerospace, telecommunications, and earth-moving equipment. It also introduced decentralized systems of governance. It provided a supportive environment for the creation of India’s globally competitive information technology services industry and today accounting for 35-40% of software exports from India.

Karnataka state is considered as a pioneering e-governance in India through Bhoomi project to computerize rural land records and make available land record information for a nominal fee. The state as maintained about 18% of share of industrial sector and the average annual growth of industrial production stood at 6.5% during 2014-15. The growth of IT sector has been phenomenal. The state leads the IT revolution with software exports of over US$ 1.6 billion. About 110 new IT companies were established in the state with an investment of Rs.2000 crores during 2014-15. About 130 biotech companies have also invested about Rs.1000 crores in the state during this period. About 13,000 small scale industries were also established in the state with Rs.500 crores of investment.

Karnataka state has gained the leadership position in software and information technology-enabled services, biotechnology, nanotechnology, and light engineering industry (particularly precision engineering). Karnataka also has a strong base of education and research institutions in the country. It has a well developed higher education system which is noted by the various stakeholders of education. The notable features of Karnataka include - Strong economic growth, A well-structured and qualified administrative system, fertile lands and high agricultural productivity along river basins and in irrigated areas, leadership in coffee, raw silk, sandalwood, and floriculture production, reputation as a progressive state, strong position in new high-technology industries such as biotechnology, rub-off from success of high technology industry, availability of trained manpower, wide network of educational institutions, generally peaceful environment and communal amity, according to Karnataka Vision – 2025 document.
Karnataka has the potential to move to be within the top three ranks on an all India basis on these human development indicators by 2025. The State has also registered satisfactory progress with respect to the indicators of health and quality of life as compared to all India levels. The worth rate (20.6%) and death rate (7.1%) were also lower as compared to the all India level. The infant mortality rate was also lower at 50 per 1000 while life expectancy at birth was 62.8 years for males and 66.2 years for females. The literacy rate is (66.6%) in 2001 and the state occupied 8th rank in the country in this regard. Gross enrolment rate at the primary school level was (98.06%) for boys and (97.98%) for girls. The State has also implemented Vidya Vikasa, free uniforms and textbooks and mid-day meal programme in order to enhance the educational status of children.

The Government of Karnataka has developed a novel document entitled ‘Vision of Karnataka - 2025’ which envisages integrated development of the state on the basis of constructive participation of all stakeholders of development. The government is primarily responsible for the development of the state by mobilizing the resources and enhancing the budgetary allocations for infrastructure development, civic amenities and social and economic programmes. The regional imbalance should be overcome through suitable development measures. In particular, the human development goals should be achieved to improve the quality of life of the people. The industry and commerce sector also has a great corporate social responsibility to go beyond their economic roles to partner with government and NGOs in human development. The non-government organizations also have a salient role to play in three dimensions of the vision – leadership in human development, balanced regional development, and improving accountability in governance. The progressive organizations and media institutions also have a great responsibility of sensitizing the government, industry and other stakeholders of development to take appropriate actions in the right time for the integrated development of the state.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The media institutions play a vital role in democracy. The media and democracy are two inseparable entities, which exert an undeniable influence over each other. The elected representatives are required to cultivate healthy media habits and obtain relevant information on their role, functions and responsibilities. The relationship between media and politics is widely discussed and studied in the world. In particular, the agenda setting studies carried out by
Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw are widely viewed as the intellectual godfathers of the agenda-setting research approach.

Gone are the days when the general public and the pillars of democracy – politicians, bureaucrats, judges, etc – relied on newspapers, radio or TV channels for information. We are well and truly into an information age – people get vital bits of news as they break out. A politician is not worth his profession if he does not have a twitter or face book account today. Not having a social media account may soon even be seen as a disqualification in the coming days. That is the power of the social media. And, no better than the ruling party in centre has understood this. Every Union Minister has a twitter account, and our Prime Minister’s favourite channel of communicating with citizens is twitter. He has also used Google Hangout to directly interact with his voters. The speed with which India’s increasing young population is hopping on to internet-enabled smart phones, and the falling prices of android phones will re-write the rules of journalism and information dissemination. The society is undergoing rapid changes in the last four years with information available at the click of the mobile.

Walter Lippman examined the role of media in public opinion formation and stated that the result of this mediated view of the world is that priorities of the media which strongly affect the priorities of the public. Another scholar McCombs observes: “The power of the news media to set a nation’s agenda, to focus public attention on a few public issues, is an immense and well-documented influence. Not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news. Yet, there is also an equally strong school of thought who questions the agenda setting role of the media”.

Dan Berkowitz studied the relationship between politics and media and noted that news agenda was not set in the same way that the agenda-setting tradition considers the transferral of a set of issue priorities from the mass media to the public mind. Instead, the creation of a news agenda is the result of a process that depends on much more than loosely linked transferral of one group’s priorities to another. Scholars have argued that the news sources exert stronger influence over the news agenda than do journalists. Practically, the policy makers are more influential in setting the news agenda than the overall group of news sources that journalists rely upon.
Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky examined the political economy of mass media and stated that free market economics model of media leads inevitably to normative and narrow reporting. The scholars argued that contrary to the usual image of the news media as cantankerous, obstinate, and ubiquitous in their search for truth and defence of justice, in their actual practice, the media defend the economic, social, and political agendas of the privileged groups that dominate the society, the State and the global order.

The media habits of elected representatives are not scientifically examined by the scholars across the globe. Hence, the present study was carried out in the Karnataka state to understand the media habits and information level of elected representatives in urban government bodies like city corporations. The study provides vital insights into the exposure of the respondents to various communications media and technologies since it affects their profile and performance.

1.8 Statement of the Problem

Media provide food for thought and action to all sections of society including the elected representatives. The media also sensitize the elected representatives and other stakeholders of good governance through intellectually sound ideas and guidelines. The information level of the elected representatives needs to be upgraded on the basis of cultivation of healthy media habits. The environment is changing rapidly on account of several factors. The political environment is not an exception. The elected representatives should feel the pulse of the people who matter most in democracy. Scholars have examined the relationship between media and politics and observed that media have a definite bearing on the elected representatives. A synthesis of the available literature suggests that media habits of elected representatives are not fully and properly understood and evaluated by the past researchers. Therefore, the primary tasks of the present study are concerned with identifying reasonably representative sample of elected representatives of major city corporations of Karnataka state so as to assess their views on the influence of media on political agenda setting with reference to urban governance.

India is urbanising rapidly, and a city like Bengaluru is home to about 10 million people or about a sixth of Karnataka’s population. Karnataka’s urban sprawls battle several issues such as drinking water, sewerage, storm water, transportation, power supply, garbage clearance, etc., besides livelihood issues as well. Then there are also issues of equally great importance to citizens such as khata issuance, birth/death certificates, property tax payments, etc. The urban
civic body in a city such as Bengaluru, Mysuru, Mangaluru etc., will have to have a robust information technology backbone to rise to citizen’s expectations. They expect civic services quickly and with minimal hassle.

Those of us, who live in urban areas, tend to interact more with civic bodies and corporators, and less with law makers. If our urban administration is effective, we seldom would approach an MLA or an MP for those functions that fall clearly within the ambit of a corporator. Mysuru-Kodagu MP Prathap Simha was recently heard saying many of his Mysuru voters approach him with problems that fall within the functions of local corporators. The challenge is to make corporators aware of their responsibilities, and duties.

1.9 Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

a) To study the communications media association of city corporators,
b) To assess the dependency of communications media by city corporators
c) To analyze the uses of media for city corporators
d) To examine the gratifications of media among city corporators; and
e) To suggest media consumption strategies for enhancing the information level in order to improve the performance of city corporators.

1.10 Presentation of the Study

The first chapter deals with the introduction wherein the objectives of the study are presented. It also throws light on the urban governance in India, media in civil society, media scenario in India, freedom of speech and expression in India, profile of Karnataka state, significance of the study, statement of the problem and objectives of the study. The second chapter presents the review of literature under different headings such as studies on local governance, studies on media habits, studies on media and democracy and studies on media habits of elected representatives at international, national and regional levels. The third chapter, viz., research methodology deals with the study hypothesis, study variables, study sample, research design, statistical analysis, limitations of the study and definitions of the terms used in the study. The fourth chapter presents the demographic features of the respondents, media exposure among the city corporators, attitude of the city corporators towards media, perception
of respondents about media habits, dependency of media among the city corporators, uses of media for city corporators and gratifications of media among city corporators. The fifth chapter presents the findings of the study, testing of hypotheses, limitations of the study, implications on government, implications on city corporations, implications on media institutions and suggestions for future research. The last chapter indicates the bibliography, questionnaires and other annexure.

1.11 Summary

The world is witnessing remarkable growth and development of urban areas. The institutional arrangements are made to serve the urban people. A new branch of urban governance has emerged across the world over a period of time. Several theories and approaches to urban governance are developed by various scholars. Urban governance has gained a new momentum in the new millennium. India is the fourth largest country in the world from urbanization point of view. Karnataka state has achieved progress in the field of urban governance on the basis of constitutional provisions and amendments. The media are regarded as the fourth estate of democracy. The elected representatives set the political agenda and media agenda is set by the market forces in India and abroad. The relationship between the media and civil society is also extensively examined by the scholars. In reality, the media plays an important role in the creation and success of a strong civil society structure. The Constitution of India has guaranteed the freedom of speech and expression to the citizens including the media professionals. Hence, the present study was carried out in the Karnataka state to understand the media habits and information level of elected representatives (city corporators) in urban government bodies. The study provides vital insights into the exposure of the respondents to various communications media and technologies since it affects their profile and performance. And, in cities like Bengaluru and Mysuru, a good number of corporators are switching to this new challenge, and surely did not disappoint us. They have boarded the learning curve. When the technology-driven information wave is sweeping across the country, obviously, corporators cannot remain untouched by it or pretend to be blind. They have no choice but adapt: they need to know the goings-on around them in their own wards as well as the wards of other corporators as well as other urban bodies by keeping themselves glued to the social media, besides, of course, the conventional media. The corporators, hence, have to stay young in their attitude to transformation of the way information is disseminated and analysed, and debated.