**CHAPTER – I**

**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Political communication or campaign through media is now turning into a basic paradigm of Indian elections. Now media is more capable of shaping public opinion and influence voting behavior. At present India have 832 permitted private satellite Television channels out of which 406 are News & Current affairs channels, and 426 are Non News & Current affairs channels1 . Media is the means where by voter’s forms opinions on the ability of political leaders or political parties. Politicians and political parties are now keen to use websites, blogs, wikis or having listening on social networking sites like as a way of reaching voters. As a result voter choice is now more heavily affected by short term factors such as campaign events, issues and candidate appeal. The emergence of electronic news media as a source of power to enjoy political influence over the electorates at this age can be termed as a new trend of electoral politics after Liberalization.

The emergence of satellite TV in the 1990’s and now the internet in new millennium, the volume of communication of the electronic news media in particular has been expanded. The sphere of influence of media is increasing day by day as the coverage of news is very wide these days. More importantly media plays the role of facilitator of development, disseminator of information and being an agent of change today media is considered the fourth estate of democracy all over the world. In the context of a biggest democracy like India with the proliferation of media, their accessibility and wider reach, they have become a handy tool for politicians and political parties in reaching out to a large number of audience at a speed unknown a few decades ago. Whether the media should restrict themselves to the role of informing and educating the society on issues that are crucial to the people or set agenda for larger debate and deliberations are issues on which scholars as well as academicians have different views. However the truth is that media have become an inevitable part of the political process especially during elections and election campaign.

The role of media in contemporary society and politics holds two different conceptions of democracy. One conception of democracy has it that a democratic society is one in which the public has the means to participate in some meaningful way in the management of their own affairs and the means of information are open and free. The other conception of democracy is that the public must be barred from managing their own affairs and the means of information must be kept controlled (Chomsky, 1991). It may sound like an odd conception of democracy but it’s important to understand because it has long been not just in operation but even long in theory. This theoretical discussion in this chapter is to understand how that kind of alternative conception of democracy emerges on the basis of media’s role in politics and how the problem of media and disinformation enter with in that context. Walter LippMann who was the dean of American Journalists also a major theorist of liberal democracy argued that, what he called a revolution in the art of democracy could be used to manufacture consent in politics. The use of innovation’s in communications to bring about agreement on the part of the public for things that they didn’t want. So the use of the new techniques of propaganda in a political system here implies the role of media in societies how it can drift people from one position to another without any particular sense of change that is how media controls the public mind.

The role of media in mobilizing citizens for political participation is an important act of enhancing democracy in the state played by the news media channels. This relationship between media and mobilization needs better understanding relating it to the complex political environment where media has to function. The political actor always seeks for positive coverage by the media to win the support of the common masses as their agenda of establishing connections to the media houses. On the other hand media always holds their own agendas keeping an eye to their two distinctive objectives, political gain and the profit maximization as an industry they also have to looks after it. With this complex political environment again the whole media system is not a homogenous one it has internal diversities as belongs to different language s, different ownerships and different scope of their functions as national or local. But the close observations on media impacts on public opinion helps to understand the role of media in such a complex environment with so much of diversities that media holds the possibilities of mobilizing people when people are exposed to diverse media and became familiar of using media as a source of political information in democracy.

The emergence of private TV news channels in Kerala has opened new ways through which people opinion and voting have been link. All this contained immediate, wide and multiple sources of information to the voters of a region thirsting for reliable and speedy access for information. The role of these private TV news channels when it has been criticized by scholars, media critics and academician, but as a source of political knowledge and information they are now influential factors to the electorate and their voting behavior. This has brought a vital change in the mood of political communication in the state. This research work will seek to analyze the impact of media on voting behavior in electoral politics of Kerala.

**CHAPTER – II**

**PROBLEM STATEMENT**

**RESEARCH PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Television the most common and easiest way of entertainment of the masses has emerged as a vital tool of political communication not only for the educated or elite section of societies but to the whole masses as a unit of viewers of television irrespective of education, income, gender and classes in the societies of Kerala. It has the power to creating public opinion as well as the educating the masses through different awareness programs and encouraging them for the participation in social and political activities. Regarding that role of television in society’s television news media channels can be termed as the institution of political information to citizens or voters. The television news channels of Kerala broadcasts various programs such as news, serials, films, advertisements, interviews and different talk shows on social issues. Most of the entertaining programs are produced for a target audience and when it comes to the point of telecasting political information the targeting audience is the whole citizens of the state. Here this opinion survey among the voters of Kerala to understand the impact of the television news channels contents on the voting behavior of the citizens and to substantiate the conclusions that has been drawn from the content analysis of the four selected channels during normal times and elections to analyze the ways of media influence on public opinion in the electoral politics of Kerala.

**SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

Voting is the main form of political participation in liberal democratic societies and the study of voting behavior and its affecting factors is a highly specialized subfield with in political science. The study of this area is important because the private television news channels in the politics of Kerala are a new phenomenon to the common people. This research work highlights the role of media in the politics of Kerala. In developing democracies like India, media have to play a crucial role to facilitate the best political stability since we lack strong party system as in the case of Britain and America. Media has to take the role of opposition with its political reporting. This research work critically examines the activities of media regulatory bodies in developed countries to suggest a similar kind of regulatory body in Kerala. The study also throws much light on the impact of political communication through media on voting behavior. It brings out the kind of political communication that has been brought by the development of electronic media in Kerala. Also the study looks at the functioning of the TV news channels in matters of political news reporting and news treatment. The findings of this research could be a form of guideline to the electronic news media for their functioning in the future politics of Kerala. Lastly the media and the TV news channels in particular have enough scope for acting as champion of the community by taking their views to action. So to know the importance and influence of media on citizens of Kerala the study of this area of research is important.

**OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

* To critically analyze the relation between media and democracy.
* To trace the development of electronic media in India as well as in Kerala.
* To analyze the impact of media on voting behavior of both rural and urban citizens in Kerala. To examine the existing trend of media workings in Kerala through the idea of Mediamorphosis.
* To study the role of media regulatory bodies & suggest way to strengthen their functioning.

**HYPOTHESIS**

* Media is more influential to voting behavior rather than old long term factors or other methods of campaigning.
* Swing voters are more influenced by electronic media while voting in assembly elections than compared to national elections.
* Higher the education level of voters more is the influence of electronic media on their voting behavior.
* In compared to national channels voting behavior in Kerala is more influenced by local channels.

**METHODOLOGY**

Primary data gathered through a field survey from the respondents who were selected through multistage stratified random sampling. For collecting primary data, questionnaire method was applied in field survey. The primary data collected through questionnaire method in the field survey. The survey was conducted in a selected universe for a particular section of respondents who have been selected through stratified random sampling method. The survey was based on structured questionnaire in which answers were recorded by the researcher himself

**LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

The researcher takes the four selected private satellite television news channels as the core area of understanding the impact of electronic media on voting behavior in Kerala. The working of government media or other local media channels has been left intentionally here. It is not an easy task to make a content analysis of news media channels whole contents due to its huge size and problem of accessing the contents of all the media channels at a same time. Copying the program contents from their depository software processors is not so easy because of the contents large sizes not afforded to personnel computer use as they used the license version programming for content propagation. That’s why the researcher in this study takes the content of four months only for qualitative content analysis two months of normal times and two months during elections. The comparison of media working in the other states of the northeastern region is not included because of the possibilities of turning the research into a wider area of research.

**REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

(Lippman, 1922) The author argues that political studies of the media indicate the media influence on voters mind in forming images towards candidates of elections. The idea of manufacturing consent in the minds of voters in a democracy by using agenda setting theory of media was first discussed in this book. On later this concept of ‘Manufacturing Consent’ has been used by Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman as the title of their book as Manufacturing Consent: the political economy of mass media in the year 1988. (Noam Chomsky, Edward S. Herman, 1988) with the agenda setting theory they are also talking about the propaganda model of mass media. While talking about the propaganda model there is a critical analysis of the working system of mass media, manipulation and sensitization of media contents as well. They also laid their focus in this book on the elite domination of the media, about the filter system of the raw materials of news by which money and power are able to filter out the news and how it allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public.

(McCombs, 2004)In continuance with the ideas of agenda setting theory Maxwell McCombs talked about the second level of agenda setting. The book is partly an investigative document on Spanish regional and municipal elections. The author analyzes different news and advertising agendas and the role of media in creating images of the parliamentary and mayoral candidates in viewers mind. The basic argument in this book is that media establishes a framework for voter thinking where it influences voters choice. (Stanely Kelly, 2012)What kind of role can be played by media in elections is explained well. Media as a tool carries the campaign propaganda to high amount of people. They are the platforms to reach more people for the politicians in a quicker way. Media is the means for politicians and political parties to say things differently to create their own image in public sphere. The author argued that telecast of different political news during elections is actually a kind of propaganda of the political parties through media. An election for voters according to the author is to make decisions and in the way of making decisions media is the source of major influence on voters.

(Mendelssohn, 1996)Media can play a major role in influencing the outcomes of elections has been argued relating it to the atmosphere of vote’s instability during campaigns due to the role of media. In priming the leaders or the candidates of elections media sometimes gives less importance to party identification. Voters always have their own opinions on political parties, issues but they are more concerned with the qualities of the candidates as possess by the media. The evaluation of candidates in casting their vote is now influenced by the image of the candidate as shown by the media. (Carpentier, 2011) He has shown up certain new field of research to know how media in new millennium can be used as a common forum for the protection of people rights. The book is a theoretical monograph about common people’s involvement in media. It related to the different levels of participation in the process of political decision making. The author discusses democratic theory and participation as well as audience participation and communication to analyze the role of media focusing on the changing and complex relationship between media and participation in politics.

(Louw, 2005)The author elaborated the dynamic relationship between the media and political process. It provides a closer observance on the relationship between media, public relation and modern day politics. Tracing the development of media in western liberal democracy the book discusses the constructivist approach to the functioning of media in mass democracy. This book institutionalizes the media politician’s relationships in modern world and termed the workings of the fourth estate as the political media practice. (Sainath P. , 2000)he has said about the role of media during the time of 1997-2000 in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Orissa relating to the case of committing suicides of people and he commented that the attention of media was moving from ‘news’ to entertainment and consumerism. The basic argument of his analysis is the dependency of media working on people choices and how media used to choose news and stories to telecast or not. The shifting of media’s attention to consumerism slides away the role media should play in societies and the trend is increasing due to the competitive market of media in modern world as an industry.

(Agarwal, 2001) The book is a core text book of mass communication and journalism studies. It extends it s level of discussion to all forms of print, Radio and Electronic media with its every elements of connection to their role in societies. It also contains the theories of media in communication studies among which the author critically explains the hypodermic needle model of media impacts on humans minds with solid arguments that media used to express information in the way that the messages injects the human minds to thought accordingly the way media expresses. The book also holds a part of the author’s dissertation for PhD as ‘Role of Media in Development’ and explores how the role of media is changing in modern societies with the innovations of science and technologies. Indicating the development of private media big houses and their growing role and importance in day to day life of people the author also discusses a theoretical understanding of what should be the media’s role with accordance the ‘social responsibility theory’ and ‘democratic participant-media theory’.

(Jenifer Whitten-Woodring, Patrick James, 2012)The impact of interactions among media, citizens and government has been discussed in details in a part of the book. They have developed three models of explaining the role of media democracy. The first model represents the decisions of the news media whether or not to perform the watchdog role in democracy. The second model represents the responses of the public to the role of media and the acceptance of media in public sphere as an important factor. And the third model represents the mechanism or policy of the government to maintain a balance with the workings of media to gain public support. The critical discussion on the role of media has argued that media independency should be exists in democracy to represent the voice of the public. (J. D. Ponder, Paul Haridakis, 2014)The role of modern media has been theoretically highlighted that with the development of electronic news media people are now afforded a variety of options for political information. People use multiple media sources to get information regarding all aspects of politics. The use of particular media sources to access information always has an influence at the frequency of political discussion among the electorate. As a result differences in sources of accessing political information results differences in attitudes towards politics. It explains the process of political participation through media in politics and the formation of political beliefs in the minds of the electorate under media influences.

Starting from the concept of agenda setting to the modern concepts around the impact of media on peoples thoughts and behavior the theoretical formulations holds on the ground of mass media. The rise of new theories approaches or perceptions about media with the advent of technologies in society’s are basically from the communication research field. Whatever the disciplines of sociology contributed towards the role of media in society is also not specific but only certain universal ideas. But to look at the impact of media in today’s technology driven societies and digitalized peoples world it needs more specific and critical ideas and concepts towards it. The close observations can reveal that the role and impact of media in this world is very diverse accordance with the differentiation in the category of states, political system and people. The role of media in a developed world is differing from the role of media in a developing world. The impact of media on people of a more advanced nation is different from the impact on people from a less advanced nation. Again the amount of space of media’s freedom of working media used to get in a liberal nation is different from a nation with rigid code and circumstances.

There are lots of studies and theoretical works on the impacts of media on human behavior. Basically many of those studies belongs the field of communication or advertisements. The theories which explain a situation of political involvement of media in western developed nations can’t be completely successful in explaining the situation of media working in a developing country like India. In case of an agrarian society of Kerala the gap is far more which belongs to the north eastern part of the country. To look at the media impact on voter’s opinion or voting behavior from the perspective of political science it needs more focused and specific level of orientation of ideas relating to its theoretical level. This research takes ideas from different theories around media across the various disciplines of research and tries to make its own graphics of ideas which can address the elements and circumstances related to the study’s own ground level.

**CHAPTER – III**

**THE STUDY**

**EVOLUTION OF ELECTRONIC NEWS MEDIA IN INDIA**

The growth of media in recent decades both numerically and in terms of quality has, in the words of Fareed Zakaria produced “thousands of outlets for news that make central control impossible and dissent easy” (Zakaria, 2003). He also quotes Thomas Friedman in that connection to the effect that “everyone is connected but no one is in control” to substantiate the qualitative difference between the great information revolution of the 1920’s which unleashed radio, television, movies and megaphones and its latest version during the “roaring 1990s”. He distinguishes the latter as democratisation of technology and information with the example of the multiplication of television channels with abundant choice for the viewer. Raja Rammohun Roy was the father of journalism in India because he was the first to comprehend and promote the twin purpose of journalism or the media as it is called these days. He used his newspapers including a Bengali weekly to propagate and popularise the campaign against SATI. The sway of the early newspapers had to be limited to urban centres like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore and Allahabad because of limitation of resources and talent (RajaGopal, 2009). The idea of a newspaper as a source of information was not common among the bulk of the people who were largely inward looking due to lack of communication facilities. Thus as stated, politics and the press were inseparable in the late 19th century when Indian journalism saw its birth. It was understandable because politics then was geared to the twin task of social reform and political emancipation of the country (Bhargava, 2005). In the process, journalism in India began on a purposeful note as different from what it has come to mean in the late 20th century and the new millennium- divisive, polemical to the point of being abusive, largely directionless, and in some cases patently devoid of social purpose.

The first phase of journalism was thus geared to the ongoing social reform movement, which needed and used the medium of the newspaper to spread its message at the same time to communicate with the authorities. It was marked by partnership in the national movement as it was then perceived. The next phase in the early 20th century saw the tapering of that relationship when journalism steadily set itself free of its umbilical cord with politics and began to develop an identity of its own with professionalism writ large on its progress. In the earlier decades there was sporadic birth and growth of mostly English newspapers published from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras run by political leaders and social reformers as second strings to their larger purposes. The new newspapers even when launched or promoted by national leaders were not vehicles of their socio-political objectives. Their only connection with politics was upholding the nationalistic cause (Bhargava, 2005). It was in that sense a transition from journalism driven by social purposes to a quasi professional mission.

**Development of Print Media**

The adoption by the constituent assembly of the country’s republican constitution in 1950 had a direct impact on the character of the media. It guaranteed fundamental rights including citizen’s freedom of speech and freedom of expression. The Supreme Court subsequently enlarged the scope of freedom of expression to include freedom of the press. Media became livelier and more readable and the circulations began to look up. The government set up a press laws and inquiry committee which gave its report promptly in May 1948. It considered comprehensively the sections of Indian penal code, The Indian telegraph act and the Criminal procedure code. It also reviewed the restrictive regulations brought out from the shelf by the British Government during the war such as the Press and Registration of books act and the Indian press act (Bhargava G. S., 2005). The committee favoured the abolition of laws especially concerning the press and incorporation of their major provisions in the ordinary laws of the land. It advocated the repeal of the act pertaining to the princely states, The Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act.

The coming into force of the constitution in January 1952 emboldened the press to take advantage of the comprehensive fundamental rights enshrined in the constitution. The then home minister C Raja Gopalachari argued for a comprehensive law relating to the press in consonance with the spirit of the constitution to eliminate unhealthy conditions and foster cordial relations between the government and the Media. This was the signal for the prime minister to accede to the IFWJ1 demand for a press commission. Nehru said the proposed commission would have among its members, representatives of the employees and the media houses managements. Accordingly the first press commission was established in October 1952 under the chairmanship of Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha. The terms of the reference of the commission provided for an overall inquiry into the state of the press in India, its present and future lines of development. The accent was on establishment and maintenance of high professional standards and growth of healthy journalism (Bhargava G. S., 2005). The commission was also asked to react to the establishment of Press advisory committees at national and provincial levels for the purpose of workable liaison between the government and the press and for ironing out differences arising from time to time. To sum up the purpose of the commission was to safeguard the freedom of the press while ensuring high standards of media working across the country.

In 1978-79 the Janata party government set up the Second press commission to have a second look at the state of the press in the context of threat to its freedom from government, managements, advertisers and trade unions. The basic objectives were to in what way would the media be able to stand up to such threats and retain its independence and integrity? What kind of structural changes in the media houses will be needed for the purpose? Of course it’s terms of reference were more generally and widely framed but the circumstances in which the second press commission was set up were thus clear. Justice Goswami was the chairman and M. V. Desai, a senior editor with experience in both newspaper and radio journalism was the secretary. But before the commission could finalise its report in 1980 after an extended term, Indira Gandhi who returned to power in the 1980 general election absorbed it into the Mathew Commission established by her government with different terms of reference and changed personnel (Bhargava G. S., 2005). Thus, the press commission established apparently to white wash her record during the emergency by sidelining the issue of freedom of the press and threats to it from the administration has come to be known as the second press commission and not third, which it was.

The use of electronic technology in the print media the flings of newspaper printed at the main publishing centre were flown to other publishing areas for incorporation in the newspaper. It was technologically an intermediate stage between the old-world printing technique and today’s more modern standards. In major media houses like the Times of India and the Indian Express, only the editorial page was common to the different editions, the rest of the newspaper had to be produced separately with the flavour of the regional effort making itself felt. In the case of The Hindu, which published mainly from madras, the Coimbatore and Hyderabad editions had a shared front page as well, besides the rest of the newspaper. Only a Quarter of the front page was left blank for important local news and a picture from the area. The Hindu was a pioneer among electronically published newspapers. Today it is published from many more centres like Bangalore, Madurai and Visakhapatnam in the south besides Delhi and Mumbai. But the Indian Express beats all of them with as many as 14 editions in the different states. The Times of India too publishes from Patna, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad and Ranchi besides Lucknow, Bhopal and Jaipur (Utpal J. Choudhury, Joyjit Deka, 2012). This phenomenon interestingly is not only limited to the English language newspapers only but also applicable to other regional languages also.

**Development of Radio**

Radio is the effective medium through which millions of people are able to become unified on the basis that they are common recipients of a particular message. In an ideal world radio allows members of a community to gain access to information, education and entertainment. In its purest sense, it is the media in which people can participate as planners, producers and performers and it is the means of expression of their voices. Radio can play a vital role in the development and democratisation of a country enabling communities to voice their own experiences and to critically examine issues, processes and policies affecting their lives. In India the broadcasting was introduced by amateur radio clubs in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Lahore. Before the clubs launched their ventures several experimental broadcasts were conducted in Bombay and other cities. The Times of India records that a broadcast was transmitted from the roof of its building on August20, 1921. However the first license granted for transmitting a broadcast was given only on February 23, 1922. The Radio club of Calcutta was perhaps the first amateur radio club to start functioning in November 1923, followed by Madras Presidency radio club which was formed on May 16, 1924 and began broadcasting on July 31, 1924 (Lakhendra, 2014). Today over 95 percent of the country’s population is covered by AIR’s Broadcasting services.

Broadcasting in India actually began about 13 years before AIR came into existence. In June 1923 the Radio Club of Bombay made the first ever broadcast in the country. This was actually followed by the setting up of the Calcutta radio Club five months later. The Indian Broadcasting Company came into being on July 23, 1927, only to face liquidation in less than three years. In April 1930, the Indian broadcasting service, under the department of Industries and Labour, commenced its operations on an experiment basis. Lionel Fielden was appointed as the first controller of broadcasting in August 1935. In the following month Akashvani Mysore, a private radio station was set up. On June 8, 1936, The Indian state Broadcasting service became All India Radio. The CNO2 came into existence in August, 1937. In the same year AIR came under the Department of Communications and four years later came under the Department of Information and Broadcasting. When India attained independence, there were six radio stations in India at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Tiruchirapalli and Lucknow. CNO was split up into two divisions, the news services division and the External services division (Lakhendra, 2014). In 1956 the name Akashvani was adopted for the national broadcasters. The Vividh Bharati service was launched in 1957.

**Development of Television**

Experiments in television broadcasting were initiated during the 1920s in the United States and Europe. In 1923 came the invention of the iconoscope, the electric television tube. The inventions of the kinescope or picture tube, the electronic camera and TV home receivers arrived in rapid succession during the next few years and by the 1930s the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) had set up a TV station in New York, and BBC a TV station in London offering regular telecast programmes. Germany and France too established television stations around the same time. By the late 1940s and early 1950s television had become a feature of life in most developed countries. In 1948, for instance there were as many as 41 TV stations in the United States covering 23 cities through half a million receiving sets. Within a decade the figure jumped to 533 stations and 55 million receivers (Keval J Kumar, 2007). The age of satellite communication dawned in 1962 with the launch of Early Bird, the first communication satellite. The two big international satellite systems, Intelsat and Intersputnik began operating in 1965 and 1971 respectively and from then on the progress was phenomenal.

For more than a decade, the ministry of Information and Broadcasting managed to hold out against demands from educational institutions, industrialists, politicians and indeed the middle classes in urban areas for the introduction of television. The industrial and communication revolutions have changed the face of our country. Electronic media captured a vast mass in India and gave a phenomenal growth in the last two decades, leading to a huge impact on socio cultural understandings. Thus the impact of electronic media especially television has to be seen in the background of our tradition and value based structure. The Indian television system is one of the most extensive in the world. Television was introduced in India in 1959, A UNESCO grant of $ 20.000 for the purchase of community receivers and a United States offer of some equipment proved much too tempting to resist, and on September, 1959, the Delhi Television centre went on air. Television broadcasts started from Delhi as part of the All India radio’s services (Lakhendra, 2014). The first major expansion of television in India began in 1972, when a second television station was opened in Bombay.

Entertainment and information programmes were introduced from August 1965, in addition to social education programmes for which purpose alone TV had been introduced in the capital. The federal republic of Germany helped in setting up a TV production studio. By 1970the duration of the service was increased to three hours and included, besides news, information and entertainment programmes, two weekly programmes running to 20 minutes each for ‘teleclubs’ and another weekly programme of the same duration called ‘Krishi Darshan’ for farmers in 80 village. “Krishi Darshan’ programmes began in January 1967 with the help of the Department of atomic energy, the Indian agricultural research institute. The programmes could easily be picked up as the range of the transmitter was extended to 60 kilometres. The number of TV sets in 1970 stood at around 22,000 excluding the community sets and all those was imported. By the mid seventies however, Indian sets were in the market, and the number overshot the 100,000 mark in no time.

At early seventies there was demand from Indian cities, television manufacturers and the advertising industry as well as of the then Indira Gandhi’s government popularity contributed to make a decision of expand the medium of television nationwide. By the end of that decades there were more than 200.000 sets in Delhi and the neighbouring states. After Bombay of 1972 TV centres began to operate in Srinagar, Amritsar and Pune. In 1975 Calcutta, Madras and Lucknow were put on the television map of the country and from January 1, 1976 ‘Commercials’ came to be telecast at all the centres. At the same year the separation of TV from All India Radio was another significant development. As a result of which Television had turn to an independent media unit in the ministry of Information and Broadcasting under the new banner ‘Doordarshan’. In 1977, terrestrial transmitters were put up at Jaipur, Hyderabad, Raipur, Gulbarga, Sambhalpur and Muzaffarpur to extend television coverage to a population of more than one hundred million (Keval J Kumar, 2007). For the first time in the history of Indian broadcasting political parties shared equal radio and TV time with the ruling party for their election campaigns.

Meanwhile, the success of the satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) brought India international prestige: the country appeared ready for satellite television. NASA, ITU-UNDP, Ford Aerospace were major foreign actors in this success. The minor actors were General Electric, Hughes Aircraft, and the Massachusetts Institute of technology and representatives of western nations at the ITU’s World Administrative Radio Conference. The INSAT series of domestic communications satellite and microwave cable networks have provided the country the infrastructure for a national satellite hook-up. But the Joshi Committee Report 1983 found the development of indigenous software continues to serve the urban masses. The Asian games which were held in New Delhi in 1982 led to the expansion of the national television network and in the mid 1980s the second channel was introduced as the Popular metro Entertainment Channel or DD-2.

India has more 24-hour news networks than any other country in the world. The sheer numerical strength of the television news industry suggests robustness in the medium, a growth that is unparalleled. The economics represent only part of the problem. The bigger issue is the crisis of content. Is the multiplicity of channels resulting in better journalism? Almost every major newspaper publisher in India owns at least one television and FM radio channel. For example the country’s largest chain of newspapers, the Bennett Coleman & Co. Ltd. Times of India group has Times Now, A television news channel. The List will continue with TV18 group, India Today group, ABP group and so on and so forth. Political parties have followed suit, launching their own channels to propagate their own ideologies. At the end of 2007 most of the major political parties in North and South India did that with their own agenda. It explains that the TV industry is also following similar revenue model of newspaper revolution in India (kaushik, 2014).

Satellite-based TV transmissions proved to be successful during its dry run as a part of SITE but really took off nationwide only in the early 1990s with the arrival of Star TV. Satellite TV gave the citizens of the country access to both national and international channels and programmes in different Indian languages. Cable and satellite television brought to an end the monopoly exercised by Doordarshan on television networks of the country as also the monopoly of Hindi and English programming. The DTH delivery mode launched by Doordarshan in 2003 made it necessary to have a set top box to receive signals direct from communication satellites. Majority of the viewers was unable to afford this additional investment even though most of the channels were free. Later Zee TV and Star TV networks launched their own DTH service, Dish TV and Tata Sky respectively and fro the broadcasters it was a boon for it provided them with accurate data on the numbers of viewers (Keval J Kumar, 2007). In January 2007 Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) made Condition Access System (CAS) obligatory for cable TV households in Delhi, Mumbai and Calcutta. It was already obligatory in Chennai for some years. CAS meant that households could pay only for the channels they chose to watch.

**Advent of The Electronic Age**

In today’s media production through electronic means in case of newspapers, the computer divides the programmed space available for news and how it should be filled leaving little to the editors because the page layout also is programmed. Because of the accent on advertising and market considerations, it will not be possible for the news desk to do justice to the stories awaiting publication. The gap between the need and availability of space in newspapers and time in news channels is so vast in these days of primacy of the market it will be small comfort even if a little space or a short span of time is wangled through persuasion. But if the management wants it can have a newspaper or news channel with a more balanced ratio between news and advertisements. The editor could ensure it if he or she were alive to the content of the publication or telecasting of news channel.

In this perspective, the advent of electronic production of the newspaper has not basically changed the procedure of newspaper making but there is a qualitative difference between the two systems, not entirely due to technology but because of the abdication of responsibility by the editor. For example, the editorial page was sacrosanct under the old dispensation and rarely carried advertisements. A full column was left for the letters to the editor, the edits were set in a larger type and the edit page article was spaced in a reader friendly manner. In the past the editorial page was not everybody’s cup of tea but now younger generation readers read cogently argued and analytical edits.

Many of the reader now days would like to understand in depth even day to day developments and assess them. They used to look to the edits and opinion page articles for the purpose. The writings of Intellectuals, academicians and particular subject experts are keenly awaited, carefully read and widely noted.

Parliament, these days is not awash with flow of eloquence and feast of reason on important national and international issues. Still the media shut out whatever discussion takes place during the transaction of legislative business. Only the sensational aspects like someone members of the house invading the well of the house and mutually trading accusations and charges of a purely political nature are projected. It is a sad commentary on the media coverage of parliament proceedings that MPs make a beeline to the gate of parliament house to hold forth in front of TV cameras. Political leaders are tempted to take the easy road to hit the headlines rather than make a studied contribution.

**Digital Media: Internet In Indian Democracy**

Every sphere of a citizen’s life is now covered by the use of digital media. The change that the idea of digital media has brought is visible in political, educational, cultural, business and even in behavioural pattern of human across the globe. In the field of information and technology it can be called as a paradigm shift. The policy of government or the private sector regarding E-learning, E-governance plan or EPanchayat everything is the result of the advancement of Digital media in the country. In simple words digital media means any media encoded in a machine readable format. Current scenario around digital media is crystal clear with its mainstream adoption across the globe. With the introduction of internet and World Wide Web (WWW) it has become the modern face of all the traditional media. One of the first theorists of digital media, Mark Poster argued that new and digital media is active and the traditional media is passive. He further added that interactions, two way communications as in the internet model of communication diminishes the distinction between producers and the consumers making it less hierarchical and more decentralised (Poster, 1995). The term ‘internet’ is technical as well as a social one. In technical sense it is a network of computers for exchanging information and in social sense it’s a network that connects societies of the world. The origins of internet are in the military domain. A method was needed to ensure the survivability of some communication infrastructure. ARPAnet, the ancestor of internet was designed around 1964 and deployed in 1968.

The development of internet has changed the relationship between the rulers and citizen. It has provided useful tools for people to get mobilized for specific political causes. It has blurs traditional distinction between news production and news consumption. Elements like web page content, email, forums, blogs and podcasts are now the fastest form in dissemination of political information. Whether internet has a dominant role in politics or not is an important question? But there is convincing examples of the internet ability to act as a catalyst in certain political situations. It’s not like that internet is replacing the traditional mass media instead the relationship between internet and the traditional media is increasingly symbiotic at enhancing people involvement in politics through media (Oates, 2008). The internet is the sphere which can involve virtually all levels of the political communication world simultaneously. For example at the same time it can connect different level of elements of a countries political system, Government’s officials who are broadcasting their policies via websites, the mainstream media which are elaborating or interpreting these policies in different websites or via live video, and the citizens or voters who are accessing the information about these policies at their computer or mobile phone. So with all these new possibilities of dissemination of information, delivery and creation the internet is the efficient means in this age of digitalisation to enhance political communication within society or of citizens with political system.

Regarding regulation of internet it is both self regulated and regulated by a series of controls at three different levels i.e. the physical, the code layer and the control layer. The actual equipments at which the internet operates and the telecommunication networks that host the internet servers known as physical layer. For example the government of country has the right to control over its telecommunication industry and can shut down any parts of the telecommunication infrastructure. The software that operates the system by providing links to the server known as code or the transport layer. No law controls this layer except through a set of self regulated or self governance system. There are self governing bodies like Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), the World Wide Web Consortium (W3C), and the Internet Engineering Task Force (IETF) for the control of this code layer (Oates, 2008). The established national law of country used to control the content layer as it govern the other forms of broadcasting media. The publication of contents, distribution of contents and transmission of contents comes under the scrutiny of these regulating laws.

**Review of Theories and Approaches to Media Effects**

The Agenda setting theory has its origin in the works of Walter Lippmann1 . He has argued that media works as the link between the events in the world and the images in the minds of public. According to this theory the issues that receive the most attention from media become the issues that the public discusses, debates. This means that the media are determining what issues and stories the public think about (Lippman, 1922). So related to the agenda setting theory the impact of election campaign through electronic media in the minds of the electorate can be explained. The electronic media used to repeatedly telecast different campaign works of the politicians or political parties. During the time of election it happens many times in a day which captures the attitudes of the electorates. The Social learning theory of Albert Bandura2 argues that children used to learn different behavior by viewing others. He suggested this theory on his experiment of “bobo doll”. This theory can be directly related to the young voters in electoral politics. Considering the young voters as the new generation of politics the political activities shown on television may have a direct impact on the minds of these voters. So going with this theory the assumption is that the telecasting of electoral campaign of different politicians or political parties by electronic media it has a major influence in the political attitudes and behavior of the young voters.

The Limited effect theory was first introduced by Paul Lazarsfeld3 . This theory claims that more well informed, experienced and intelligent people are minimally influenced by the media. Conversely those who are less informed are more likely to be influenced by the media. Again the culturalist theory states that people are influenced by the media as much they allow themselves to be. The educated electorate used to create their own meaning out of the messages the media offer them. So these two theories can be related to the difference of political media campaigns effects exists among voters on the basis of their educational level. This theory will be helpful to examine the difference of media influence on literate and illiterate voters in the electoral politics.

In the 1940’s researches were beginning to ask questions about how the needs and desires of the audiences might influence the effect of mass media programming. The first formal statement of the Uses and Gratifications theory came from Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch at 1974, who enumerated basic points of the framework that uses and gratification theory address. First this theory introduces the idea of an active audience. Second this theory began to conceive of these audience motives as gratifications that were obtained by the individuals from the media. And third it highlighted the ability of audience members to provide useful information about their motives and desires with regard to media (John F. Cragan, Donald C. Shields, 1996). This theory can be related to the role of media as a platform of political participation among electorates. To find the reasons those electorates have for accessing the media to get political information and also to analyze the opinions of the voters regarding media role and workings in the political process.

The Mirror approach to contents of media assumes that what the media distribute conveys an accurate reflection of social reality to the audience-like a television camera turned on the world. The null effect approach similarly suggests that media contents reflect reality, but it sees this reality as the result of compromises between those who sell information to the media and those who buy it. The communication centered approach suggests that psychological factors intrinsic to communication personnel, their professional, personal and political attitudes. The organizational routine approach argues that media content is influenced by the ways in which communication workers and their companies organize works. News reporters are taught to write stories in the inverted pyramid, for example putting what they consider the most important information first and organizing the rest in descending order of importance. The journalistic assessment therefore determines the contents of the story (J. Shoemaker, Stephen D. Rees, 1996).These approaches can be related to the contents of the electronic media, to analyze the different sources of influences on the media contents. It would be helpful to make content analysis of different talk shows, political debates and discussions.

**Agenda Setting Theory**

The debates on political communication effects throughout the post war period were from its general perspectives. The “Limited Effect Model” was the core idea of these debates. The role of media in politics was basically about the role of print media or was concentrated on the printed version of media. The emergence of the TV’s and its growing role as an influential means of communications in societies and the dissemination of political information in wider way like never before in such a speed led the notions of limited effect model to the idea of “Powerful Effect Model” . The portrayal of politics in the contents of the television media increases the dependency of political parties or political organizations on media on one hand and the increasing responses of the audience’s to the political contents of the TV’s on the other (Edward S Herman, Noam Chomsky, 1988). Although the ideas of agenda setting theory was about the political economy of mass media and the concentrations was on mostly on the printed version of media but the subsequent concepts that grows around the inclusion of TV’s with the passage of time are very much useful in explaining the role of electronic media in the present politics.

There is no doubt that the sources of political information to citizens or voters are now so diverse and fragmented. But the idea of agenda setting theory on the issues covered by media on telecasting of political news to the citizens for their consideration of which information are important for them to keep connected to the political system is the most important. It helps to explain the relationship between media coverage of issues and the citizen’s considerations of their importance in electoral politics. ‘Priming theory’ is another important concept related to agenda setting theory in this regard.

The above idea can be used to explain the role of electronic media in terms of election in democracy. When the media channels propagate political information or cover issues related to elections subject for public it mobilizes the common public towards any political party or candidate. It influences the public mind most rather than the all other old methods of election campaign. For example, the issue of corruption of the government, the working dissatisfactions of the existing government amidst the people and the issues that has been taken by different political parties for election campaign. If the media channels of a state repeatedly focus on the corruption issue then the public also talked about the corruption issue the most. When voters comes to give their vote they measure that particular political party or the candidate of the election taking into consideration the political information about that particular political party or candidate they gathered from the contents of the media knowingly or unknowingly.

**Theories of Voice**

The theory of voice is related to the new paradigm of development of media with the innovative advancement of technologies in the form of new media. It means new media with new kinds of effects as a form of new communication between people to people as a new paradigm of media role in contemporary societies. This theory concentrated on the idea of voice from two perspectives. The first one is about the development of better opportunities in the hands of people in the forms of apps and social networking sites at mobiles, laptop or any other electronic gadget of communications. The theory focuses on the advancement in the process of getting expressed and heard like never before and the creation of a hyperlinked society connected through new media at any seconds of life (D. Hallin, P. Mancini, 2004). Here the society is connected means also the politics of that society or state is connected through technology based. This perspective also challenges the ideas of propaganda model about the domination of one section of people or private players on media contents. It argues media is no more the puppet in the hands of the elite with the emergence of new media.

The other perspective of the theory of voice is that the voices are no more left behind without getting proper space or its values. Every voices that can be counted as important in the everyday lives of people are now been reaching to every home and every human being are connected at the contemporary societies. This perspective of theory of voice holds the widening of the scope of communications access to everyone of society as well to citizens in democracy. The emergence of web mediated technology provides the platforms of communications even to the formerly ignored section of societies which issues were not covered or their voices were not propagated (Katz, 2015). The arguments here of the theory is that the growing role of this new media in societies has empowered the voices of those sections of people in politics and creating their space through the process of political participation in the electoral politics. The emergence of this new tool of political communication has enabling the participatory process of democracy in a wider way and are inspiring more people participation in politics through digital mode of political communication. It provides a platform for continuous engagements to the voters and for regular discussion on political contents or political issues. These two perspectives of theory of voice are elaborating the ideas of agenda setting theories explanations of relationship of media agendas on people agendas. The basic foundation of the explanations and interpretations of these theories lies on the idea of deeper influence of media messages in people’s life and on opinions are the core theoretical framework of this research. Because all these ideas about media impacts on people is also applicable to the explanations and examinations of media impacts on citizen’s or voters in terms of electoral politics.

No doubt the dimensions of media influences as a means of communications is now getting hybridized or mixed with both the old and new forms of media turning to the most influential source of information to common people in politics. Political communication in present societies depends on different elements of its various means. However this concept of hybrid media system argues to one concept of the former theories relating to the contents of media. Before the contents of the media were in form of news cycle which contained information that the public or the citizens should know. But now that news cycle has transformed into political message cycle of the media especially of the television news media channels in contemporary societies which largely influences peoples mind and compelled them to think on a particular directions towards particular political information.

**Theories of actor’s role**

The idea of the theories of actor’s role is useful in granting political parties, political organizations or other private players as the actors influencing the messages of media. This theory looks at the emerging trend of media-politicians relations and the involvement of the political actors in the working of media. The ground of concentration of this theory is on the responses of the political actors and political organizations towards the growing importance of media in politics (Habermas, 1989). The theory traces the development of the actor’s role classifying into different stages of time as pre-modern, modern and post modern taking political campaigns as the dependent variables of politics to all this stages of time. It argues that although in terms of quantitative there are immeasurable differences in the workings of media in politics at all those stages but in terms of qualitative there is only a minimum difference. Media was always the key means to respond a large public in the hands of political or private actors and now also it is holding the same kind of role in politics of democracy.

But however this theory talks about the current phase of post modern campaign where the new forms of party-voter interactions is prevailing where political actors has been also checked and balanced by the role of civil actors through the contents of the same media. The political actors are very much careful to the concept of ‘professionalized campaigning’ in elections (Fishkin, 1997). The mode of online campaign through social networking sites and different apps also kept the political actors observed by the civil actors at their every step of collective actions. The argument here is formerly at the premodern and modern stages the idea of campaign was dependent on one actor that is political actors who used to influences the contents of media. But now at the post modern stage media is not only connected to political actors but also it takes care of the criticisms that it get as the response from it audiences or viewers as civil actors. Before the interests of the political actors were the higher considerations in front of political information of media now it has to look at the interests of the other civil actors of societies. The post modern development regarding the concept of the theories of actor’s role looks at the working of media from the perspectives of its audiences or viewers for the enhancement of the concept of a participatory digital media culture of democracy.

**Media as the Fourth Pillar of Democracy: The Debate of Autonomy, Neutrality and Accountability of Media**

In a democratic system election is undoubtedly the best way of measuring the participation of the stakeholders and inclusiveness of the voters. For India democracy and its related affairs provide the country an exalted status and naturally the electoral process is an important part of this and the most discussed issue in this country. Discussions about the emerging political equation during election time are an all pervasive affair that runs from rural tea stalls to the talk shows of electronic media. A new addition is of course the use of social media. All these put together no doubt give the impression that democracy in this country has travelled a long way. These are no doubt impressive developments.

But what about the fourth pillar of Indian democracy that has evolved with a distinctive identity and as a vibrant entity during the last several decades in the country? This is unquestionably true that when elections are held whether it is of general or assembly there is the existence of a disturbing trend in the coverage of election related affairs concerned by a section of Indian media. A certain section of print and electronic media seems taking stand either in favor of some political parties and political organizations or against some other. There is no harm in discussing electoral politics, emerging political equations and agenda of different political parties that are in the front of elections. Up to that level things can be justified.

But if the media plays the role in extending someone’s political agenda with a loud and clear appeal to the electorate to vote for a certain party or against one this is not only unfortunate but a matter that deserves serious pondering. If we look at the general elections of 2014 and assembly elections of 2016 at the state of Kerala not only through front page reporting but in the editorial opinions of a sections of newspapers have repeatedly written in support of certain political parties appealing the voters about whom they should vote for or against (Bhattacharjee, 2019). Regular debates in the electronic media seem to be keeping no stone unturned to influence the voters by making political agendas serious discourses. The most unfortunate development is perhaps the people being able to identify some newspapers and electronic news channels with the respective political parties-this one favors this political outfits and that one supports that. There is no need of any further elaborations as people of the state know this very well.

Similarly at this point of time it seems that all other affairs happening at the country don’t possess the potential enough to become news items for a section of media channels as if for the general elections in India time has stopped and all affairs both within this country and beyond have ceased to occur. Even if for arguments sake it is accepted that election and related affairs are prime news items in the country in general and in the state in particular. Here the concept of priming theory and framing theory comes to the front. Because the question is what is getting prominence in the contents of media and why? Both print and electronic media used to fix their focus on what the politicians are saying. Elections speeches gets coverage regarding what is there in hyping the talks of the vote seekers? This trend of media working seems beyond logic. In reality every single activity in the arena of poll politics gets needless coverage.

Another important point is what substantive have been promised in the poll manifestos of the political parties for the people and in the larger interests of the country. How much credible are the promises? What can people expect substantially from a political party if it is voted to power? All these are far more relevant points to report and analyze by the media than following the election rallies. A much better option for the media is to expose the real character of the politicians and of political parties during election time with an unbiased approach (Neyazi, 2018). If the vote seekers talk about the social sector show them the gasping agony of the Indian masses. If they talk about the employment show them the rate of unemployment in the country and lack of opportunities, counter their hype on FDI with existing enterprises, expose the dismal state of public health, education and all other social indicators to make the politicians mum.

The fact is during the election time politicians need media coverage in fact a lot of that. They try to fill the gap of mass communication through the media as most politicians remain disconnected from those who are their fortune makers-the voters or the citizens. Then why should the media give such political organizations the means to communicate with the voters? Media at this point has the potentiality and ability to make the politicians more rational and practical as the election is the toughest time for the politicians. Media as the distinctive entity should be with the people and the nation and keep on debating more on the issues of mass concern. As a democratic nation India needs to cover a long way to ensure justice to all the stakeholders. This journey is impossible without the support of the media the ever alert sentinels of national interests.

**CHAPTER – IV**

**DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

**TABLE NO. 4.1**

**GENDER WISE CLASSIFICATION**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Male  | 30 | 60 |
| Female  | 20 | 40 |
| **Total** | **30** | **100** |

 **Source: Primary Data**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.1 shows that 60% of the respondents are male and 40% of the respondents are female.

**TABLE NO. 4.2**

**AGE WISE CLASSIFICATION**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| 20-30 | 20 | 40 |
| 31-40 | 10 | 20 |
| 41-50 | 18 | 36 |
| 51-60 | 2 | 4 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.2 shows that 40% of the respondents belonging to the age group of 20 to 30 years. 36% of the respondents are belonging to the age group of 41 to 50 years. 20% of the respondents are from the age group of 31 to 40 years and 4% of the respondents are from the age group of 51 to 60 years.

**TABLE NO. 4.3**

**LOCALITY**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Village  | 12 | 24 |
| Town | 38 | 76 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.3 shows that 76% of the respondents are from town area. 24% of them are from village.

**TABLE NO. 4.4**

**EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Illiterate  | 0 | 0 |
| High school  | 4 | 8 |
| HS  | 9 | 18 |
| UG  | 20 | 40 |
| PG  | 7 | 14 |
| Others  | 10 | 20 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.4 shows that 40% of the respondents are degree holders. 20% completed other educational qualification. 18% have HS, 14% are PG holders, and 8% of them completed their high school education.

**TABLE NO. 4.5**

**RELIGION**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Hindu  | 23 | 46 |
| Muslim  | 18 | 36 |
| Christian  | 9 | 18 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.5 shows that 46% of the respondents are Hindu. 36% of them are Muslim and 18% are Christians.

**TABLE NO. 4.6**

**LANGUAGES KNOWN**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Malayalam  | 20 | 40 |
| English  | 15 | 30 |
| Hindi  | 7 | 14 |
| Others  | 8 | 16 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.6 shows that 40% of the respondents know Malayalam. 30% of the respondents know English, 16% know other languages and 14% of the respondents know Hindi.

**TABLE NO. 4.7**

**MARITAL STATUS**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Married  | 35 | 70 |
| Unmarried  | 15 | 30 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.7 shows that 70% of the respondents are married and 30% of them are unmarried.

**TABLE NO. 4.8**

**DO YOUR HOUSEHOLD HAVE ACCESS TO THE FOLLOWING**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **Electricity** | **Radio** | **Mobile Phones** | **Television** | **Laptop/ Computer** | **Total** |
| Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| **No. of respondents** | 50 | 0 | 50 | 0 | 50 | 0 | 50 | 0 | 45 | 5 | 50 |

**Source: Primary Data**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.8 shows that majority of the respondents have access to electricity, radio, mobile phones and television. 45% of the respondents have laptops/ computers and 5% of them haven’t access to laptop/ computers.

**TABLE NO. 4.9**

**HOW REGULARLY DO YOU READ THE NEWS PAPER**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Everyday  | 45 | 90 |
| Weekly  | 5 | 10 |
| Occasionally  | 0 | 0 |
| Never  | 0 | 0 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.1**

**HOW REGULARLY DO YOU READ THE NEWS PAPER**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.9 shows that 90% of the respondents read the newspaper every day. 10% of the respondents read newspaper weekly.

**TABLE NO. 4.10**

**HOW REGULARLY DO YOU LISTEN TO NEWS ON RADIO**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Everyday  | 10 | 20 |
| Weekly  | 20 | 40 |
| Occasionally  | 15 | 30 |
| Never  | 5 | 10 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.2**

**HOW REGULARLY DO YOU LISTEN TO NEWS ON RADIO**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.11 shows that 40% of the respondents listen to news on radio weekly. 30% of them listen occasionally, 20% every day and 10% of the respondents never listen radio.

**TABLE NO. 4.11**

**ON AVERAGE HOW MUCH TIME DO YOU SPEND WATCHING TELEVISION**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Less than 2 hours | 16 | 32 |
| 3 hours  | 8 | 16 |
| More than 3 hours  | 26 | 52 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

 **CHART NO. 4.3**

**ON AVERAGE HOW MUCH TIME DO YOU SPEND WATCHING TELEVISION**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.11 shows that 52% of the respondents spend more than 3 hours for watching television. 32% spend less than 2 hours and 16% of the respondents spend 3 hours.

**TABLE NO. 4.12**

**PURPOSE OF WATCHING TELEVISION**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Entertainment  | 15 | 30 |
| Information  | 10 | 20 |
| Both  | 25 | 50 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.4**

**PURPOSE OF WATCHING TELEVISION**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table 4.12 shows that 50% of the respondents agreed that the purpose of watching television is both for entertainment and information. 30% of them watch television for entertainment purpose and 20% of the respondents watch television for information.

**TABLE NO. 4.13**

**WHEN DID YOU FINALLY MAKE UP YOUR MIND ABOUT WHOM TO VOTE FOR**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| On a day of voting  | 24 | 48 |
| a day or two before voting  | 15 | 30 |
| earlier during the campaign  | 6 | 12 |
| even before the campaign started | 5 | 10 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.5**

**WHEN DID YOU FINALLY MAKE UP YOUR MIND ABOUT WHOM TO VOTE FOR**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.13 shows that 48% of the respondents said that they finally make up their mind about whom to vote for on a day of voting. 30% said a day or two before voting. 12% said earlier during the campaign and 10% sad even before the campaign started.

**TABLE NO. 4.14**

**DID YOU VOTE AT THE LAST ASSEMBLY ELECTION HELD IN 2021**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Yes  | 49 | 98 |
| No | 1 | 2 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.6**

**DID YOU VOTE AT THE LAST ASSEMBLY ELECTION HELD IN 2021**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.14 shows that 98% of the respondents vote at the last assembly election held in 2021. 2% of the respondents not voted.

**TABLE NO. 4.15**

**DID ANY CANDIDATE OR PARTY WORKER COME TO YOUR HOUSE DURING THE CAMPAIGN TO ASK FOR YOUR VOTE IN THE ABOVE MENTIONED ELECTION**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Yes  | 50 | 100 |
| No | 0 | 0 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.7**

**DID ANY CANDIDATE OR PARTY WORKER COME TO YOUR HOUSE DURING THE CAMPAIGN TO ASK FOR YOUR VOTE IN THE ABOVE MENTIONED ELECTION**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.15 shows that the entire respondents said that candidate or party worker came to their house during the campaign to ask for their vote in the election.

**TABLE NO. 4.16**

**TYPE OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN GOT YOUR ATTENTION DURING THE LAST ASSEMBLY 2021**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Rallies  | 5 | 10 |
| Home canvassing  | 20 | 40 |
| Posters/pamphlets  | 8 | 16 |
| Media campaign  | 11 | 22 |
| Election meetings  | 6 | 12 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.8**

**TYPE OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN GOT YOUR ATTENTION DURING THE LAST ASSEMBLY 2021**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.16 shows that 40% of the respondents said that home canvassing got their attention during the last assembly 2021. 22% of them said that media campaign got their attention, 16% said posters/pamphlets, 12% said election meetings and 10% of the respondents said that rallies got their attention during the last assembly 2021.

**TABLE NO. 4.17**

**DO YOU THINK CAMPAIGN THROUGH MEDIA IS MORE EFFECTIVE THAN THE ABOVE MENTION OTHER TECHNIQUE**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Yes  | 50 | 100 |
| No | 0 | 0 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.9**

**DO YOU THINK CAMPAIGN THROUGH MEDIA IS MORE EFFECTIVE THAN THE ABOVE MENTION OTHER TECHNIQUE**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.17shows that the entire respondent thinks that campaign through media is more effective than the above mention other technique.

**TABLE NO. 4.18**

**IN DECIDING WHO TO VOTE FOR IN THE JUST CONCLUDED ELECTIONS, WHO’S OPINION MATTERED TO YOU MOST**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Local political leader  | 4 | 8 |
| Caste/ community leaders  | 1 | 2 |
| Husband/wife  | 7 | 14 |
| Other family members  | 9 | 18 |
| Friends  | 5 | 10 |
| Own decision  | 21 | 42 |
| Co workers  | 3 | 6 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.10**

**IN DECIDING WHO TO VOTE FOR IN THE JUST CONCLUDED ELECTIONS, WHO’S OPINION MATTERED TO YOU MOST**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.18 shows that 42% of the respondents said they make decision alone regarding who to vote for in the just concluded elections. 18% said family members, 14% said husband/wife, 10% opined friends, 8% said local political leader, 6% opined co-workers and 2% said that caste/community leaders influence them in deciding who to vote for in the just concluded elections.

**TABLE NO. 4.19**

**MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN ELECTION WHICH YOU TOOK INTO CONSIDERATION WHILE DECIDING WHO TO VOTE FOR**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Conditions of roads  | 20 | 40 |
| Electricity problem  | 1 | 2 |
| Corruption  | 8 | 16 |
| Law and order issues  | 2 | 4 |
| Flood  | 13 | 26 |
| Educational and health  | 6 | 12 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.11**

**MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN ELECTION WHICH YOU TOOK INTO CONSIDERATION WHILE DECIDING WHO TO VOTE FOR**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.19 shows that 40% of the respondents consider condition of roads while deciding who to vote for. 26% consider flood, 16% consider corruption, 12% of them consider educational and health, 4% consider law and order issues and 2% of the respondents consider electricity problem while deciding who to vote for.

**TABLE NO. 4.20**

**HOW DID YOU GET ACCESS TO THE INFORMATIONS ABOUT THE ISSUE YOU TOOK INTO CONSIDERATION FOR VOTING**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Newspaper  | 14 | 28 |
| Magazine  | 2 | 4 |
| Radio  | 10 | 20 |
| News Channel | 18 | 36 |
| Internet | 1 | 2 |
| SNS | 5 | 10 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.12**

**HOW DID YOU GET ACCESS TO THE INFORMATIONS ABOUT THE ISSUE YOU TOOK INTO CONSIDERATION FOR VOTING**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.20 shows that 36% of the respondents said that they get access to the information’s about the issue which they took into consideration for voting through news channel. 28% said newspaper, 20% through radio, 10% through SNS, 4% through magazines and remaining 2% of the respondents through internet they get access to the information’s about the issue which they took into consideration for voting.

**TABLE NO. 4.21**

**DO LOCAL ISSUES AS FOCUSED BY NEWS MEDIA CHANNELS OR THE DISCUSSIONS ON THOSE ISSUES ON TALK SHOWS MATTERS TO YOU WHILE VOTING IN ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Yes  | 50 | 100 |
| No | 0 | 0 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.13**

**DO LOCAL ISSUES AS FOCUSED BY NEWS MEDIA CHANNELS OR THE DISCUSSIONS ON THOSE ISSUES ON TALK SHOWS MATTERS TO YOU WHILE VOTING IN ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.21 shows that the entire respondents agreed that local issues as focused by news media channels or the discussions on those issues on talk shows matters to them while voting in assembly elections.

**TABLE NO. 4.22**

**DO THE POLITICAL CONTENTS OF THE LOCAL MEDIA CHANNELS WAS IMPORTANT TO YOU WHILE VOTING IN THE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS 2021**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Yes  | 0 | 0 |
| No | 50 | 100 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.14**

**DO THE POLITICAL CONTENTS OF THE LOCAL MEDIA CHANNELS WAS IMPORTANT TO YOU WHILE VOTING IN THE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS 2021**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.22 shows that the entire respondents disagreed that the political contents of the local media channels was important to you while voting in the assembly elections 2021.

**TABLE NO. 4.23**

**RATE MEDIA CHANNELS PERFORMANCE IN PRESENTING POLITICAL NEWS BEFORE THE AUDIENCE**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Impartial Presentation  | 10 | 20 |
| Informative Presentation  | 35 | 70 |
| Bias Presentation  | 5 | 10 |
| No Response  | 0 | 0 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.15**

**RATE MEDIA CHANNELS PERFORMANCE IN PRESENTING POLITICAL NEWS BEFORE THE AUDIENCE**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.21 shows that 70% of the respondents said that the media channels performance in presenting political news before the audience is informative. 20% said they are impartial and 10% of the respondents said that they are bias.

**TABLE NO. 4.24**

**DO YOU USE THE FOLLOWING SOCIAL MEDIA TO GET POLITICAL INFORMATION**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Particulars** | **No. of respondents** | **Percentage** |
| Facebook  | 12 | 24 |
| Whatsapp  | 5 | 10 |
| Twitter  | 15 | 30 |
| Instagram  | 10 | 20 |
| Others | 8 | 16 |
| **Total** | **50** | **100** |

**Source: Primary Data**

**CHART NO. 4.16**

**DO YOU USE THE FOLLOWING SOCIAL MEDIA TO GET POLITICAL INFORMATION**

**INTERPRETATION**

Table no.4.24 shows that 30% of the respondents sue twitter to get political information. 24% use Facebook, 20% of them use Instagram, 16% use other apps and 10% of the respondents use Whatsapp for getting political information.

**CHAPTER – V**

**FINDINGS, SUGGESTIONS AND CONCLUSION**

**FINDINGS**

* 60% of the respondents are male
* 40% of the respondents belonging to the age group of 20 to 30 years.
* 76% of the respondents are from town area.
* 40% of the respondents are degree holders.
* 46% of the respondents are Hindu.
* 40% of the respondents know Malayalam.
* 70% of the respondents are married
* majority of the respondents have access to electricity, radio, mobile phones and television. 45% of the respondents have laptops/ computers
* 90% of the respondents read the newspaper every day.
* 40% of the respondents listen to news on radio weekly.
* 52% of the respondents spend more than 3 hours for watching television.
* 50% of the respondents agreed that the purpose of watching television is both for entertainment and information.
* 48% of the respondents said that they finally make up their mind about whom to vote for on a day of voting.
* 98% of the respondents vote at the last assembly election held in 2021.
* The entire respondents said that candidate or party worker came to their house during the campaign to ask for their vote in the election.
* 40% of the respondents said that home canvassing got their attention during the last assembly 2021.
* The entire respondent thinks that campaign through media is more effective than the above mention other technique.
* 42% of the respondents said they make decision alone regarding who to vote for in the just concluded elections.
* 40% of the respondents consider condition of roads while deciding who to vote for.
* 36% of the respondents said that they get access to the information’s about the issue which they took into consideration for voting through news channel.
* The entire respondents agreed that local issues as focused by news media channels or the discussions on those issues on talk shows matters to them while voting in assembly elections.
* The entire respondents disagreed that the political contents of the local media channels was important to you while voting in the assembly elections 2021.
* 70% of the respondents said that the media channels performance in presenting political news before the audience is informative.
* 30% of the respondents sue twitter to get political information.

**SUGGESTIONS**

* Taking the media channels as an industry there should be transparency about their ownership and their final transactions annually like a budgetary system. The owner partnership should not be given to politicians or political party or any kind of political organizations with political affiliations.
* The categorical distinct should be maintained by the media houses as they are registered to a certain category. There should be certain minimum standard of codes that a news media channel belongs to the category of news and current affairs with a huge social responsibility should not be turn into a channel of entertainment for television rating Points.
* The reporting and news coverage of the media channels should be in accordance with a minimum level of standardization as their liabilities to the public as the fourth pillar of democracy. The media channels should maintain their ethics at their own of not turning into a mouth piece of a particular political party or political organizations during elections.
* There should be a mechanism of taking actions against the appealing of media channels to voters directly to go for or against of a political party or candidate in elections at the contents of political information.
* The media channels should organize their program content before elections in such a way that the political awareness among the people can be increased for more people participation in the electoral process. Logical and rational reporting’s on socio economic facts and figures and on problems of society’s rather than dramatic stories and dramatization of political events.
* The regulatory body should be dedicated to each medium in its form of electronic media whether government or private media. There can’t be uniformity of regulation if the form itself can be distinguished.
* Inside a media organization there should be a media ombudsman under the suggestive regulatory body to receive and investigates complaints from viewers about accuracy, fairness, balance and good taste in news coverage under the jurisdiction of an independent regulatory body with proper measures of taking actions against of those.
* There should be certain policies of the regulatory body for creating innovative ways of encouraging compliance, like publication of outcomes of compliance, publicity to regulatory mechanism and policies to enhance professionals to approach regulation.

**CONCLUSION**

The early pioneer of media effects research Lasswell (1948) pointed out that that there are mainly three fundamental functions of mass media in a society. First is surveillance of the surrounding environment, second is the fostering of consensus in society and third one is the transmission of cultural heritage. Applying his idea of the first two functions to the role of electronic media in Kerala politics, at first the surveillance of the environment or the political environment and secondly the fostering of consensus or political consensus among the citizens the working of the news media channels is important. The coverage of the day to day happenings of the political process is a routine work of these news channels during elections, as the disseminator of information on the surrounding political environment to the common masses and to some extent as the means of communications for creating political consciousness to voters or citizens.

The role of media in mobilizing citizens for political participation is an important act of enhancing democracy in the state played by the news media channels. This relationship between media and mobilization needs better understanding relating it to the complex political environment where media has to function. The political actor always seeks for positive coverage by the media to win the support of the common masses as their agenda of establishing connections to the media houses. On the other hand media always holds their own agendas keeping an eye to their two distinctive objectives, political gain and the profit maximization as an industry they also have to looks after it. With this complex political environment again the whole media system is not a homogenous one it has internal diversities as belongs to different language s, different ownerships and different scope of their functions as national or local. But the close observations on media impacts on public opinion helps to understand the role of media in such a complex environment with so much of diversities that media holds the possibilities of mobilizing people when people are exposed to diverse media and became familiar of using media as a source of political information in democracy.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**BOOKS**

* Blumler, J. G. (2015). Core Theories of Political Communication: Foundational and Freshly Minted. Communication Theory, 426-438.
* Jayanta Das, Chittaranjan Nath. (2014). Media and Rural India: Challenges to Media with Special Reference to North East. In Z. Alam, Journalism and Media Industry of North East India (pp. 66-76). Guwahati: Eastern Book House.
* Kohli, V. (2003). The Indian Media Business. New Delhi: SAGE.
* Madhavan, K. (2012, April 4). The New National. Broadband India Megazine , pp. 13-16.
* Nain, T. (2003). Growth and Structural Transformation of news paper industry in India, An Empirical Investigation. Economic and Political Weekely , 82-89.
* Price, M. (2008). Broadcasting Reform In India: Media law from a Global Perspective. In S. Verhulst, Media Reform and Regulation Since Liberalisation (p. 377). Oxford University Press.
* Raja Gopal, A. (2009). The Indian Public Sphere. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
* Ranganathan, M. (2013). Tweets and the political class. In S. C. Sevanti Ninan, The Hoot Reader: Media Practice in 21st Century India (pp. 281-288). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
* Usha M. Rodrigues, Maya Ranganathan. (2015). Indian News Media: From Observer to Participant. New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd.

**APPENDIX**

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

Name

1. Gender :
* Male
* Female
1. Age
* Locality
* Village
* Town
1. Educational qualification
* Illiterate
* High school
* HS
* UG
* PG
* Others
1. Religion
* Hindu
* Muslim
* Christian
1. Languages known
* Malayalam
* English
* Hindi
* Others
1. Marital sttus
* Married
* Unmarried
1. Do your household have access to the following?

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Name | Yes | No |
| Electricity |  |  |
| Radio |  |  |
| Mobile phones |  |  |
| Television |  |  |
| Laptop/computer |  |  |

1. How regularly do you read the news paper?
* Everyday
* Weekly
* Occasionally
* Never
1. How regularly do you listen to news on radio?
* Everyday
* Weekly
* Occasionally
* Never
1. On average howmuch time do you spend watching television?
* Less than 2 hours
* 3 hours
* More than 3 hours
1. What is the purpose of watching television?
* Entertainment
* Information
* Both
1. When did you finally make up your mind about whom to vote for?
* On a day of voting
* A day or two before voting
* Earlier during the campaign
* Even before the campaign started
* NA
1. Did you vote at the last Assembly election held in 2021?
* Yes
* No
1. Did any candidate or party worker come to your house during the campaign to ask for your vote in the above mentioned election?
* Yes
* No
1. Which type of election campaign got your attention during the last assembly 2021?
* Rallies
* Home canvassing
* Posters/pamphlets
* Media campaign
* Election meetings
1. Do you think campaign through media is more effective than the above mention other technique?
* Yes
* No
1. In deciding who to vote for in the just concluded elections, whose opinion mattered to you most?
* Local political leader
* Caste/community leaders
* Husband/wife
* Other family members
* Friends
* Own decision
* Co workers
1. Thinking about the Assembly election 2021 which was the most important issue in election which you took into consideration while deciding who to vote for?
* Conditions of roads
* Electricity problem
* Corruption
* Law and order issues
* Flood
* Educational and health
1. How did you get access to the information about the issue you took into consideration for voting?
* Newspaper
* Magazine
* Radio
* News channels
* Internet
* SNS
1. Do local issues as focused by news media channels or the discussions on those issues on talk shows matters to you while voting in assembly elections?
* Yes
* No
1. Do the political contents of the local media channels was important to you while voting in the Assembly elections 2021?
* Yes
* No
1. How would you rate media channels performance in presenting political news before the audience?
* Impartial presentation
* Informative presentation
* Bias presentation
* No response
1. Do you use the following social media to get political information?
* Facebook
* Whatsapp
* Twitter
* Instagram
* Others