# Media and Public Journalism in India: Some Gaps Identified 

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#### Abstract

The paper records the pre-poll content analysis of television programs before the Assembly polls of Uttar Pradesh in 2012. To validate how far such programs were impacting viewership, a survey was conducted to analyse the extent of the impact. First, the paper illustrates the data gathered and conclusively draws that it is only the intellectuals that is media literate to intercept media messages clearly. Second, the paper also exfoliates important conceptual theories put forth by researchers and restates them in Indian perspective. It is pertinent to point out that online discourses have displaced the ancient perspective of spiral of silence, which in the online discourses is surprisingly missing. Third, the agenda setting function of the press has been challenged and re-stated by the online discourses which have taken a lead to persuade media to look in the direction of the agenda put forth by them. The net conclusion is that public discourse does result in the rise of a civic society and public journalism goes a long way to prove that but in the current phase of transition the impact is limited and steps are needed to accelerate the penetration of public discourse into the psyche of the common man who needs to learn the art of media literacy to understand the clarity of news amidst the clutter of media agenda which is an evident fallout of the new trend of corporatisation of the media.


Keywords: Public journalism, Public discourse, Indian TV data, Agenda setting challenged, Corporatisation of media, Content analysis, Political communication

This paper was presented in the Seminar "Public Discourse and New Media" held on December 2013 in Makhanlal Chaturvedi National Journalism University, Bhopal, that deals exclusively with the ground reality of how much impact does public discourse have on the psyche of the individual audience. Basically, public discourse is a collective term given to public discussions. They represent that public sphere which is an area of social life where individuals can come together to freely discuss and identify societal problems, and through that discussion they may influence political action. Public discourses are essentially conducted with the core purpose of igniting civic and political involvement of the people. This paper deals with the aspects of public journalism. A new term public journalism also sometimes called civic journalism or citizen journalism is essentially gaining prominence today due to the impact of commercial imperatives functional in the operative
mode of journalism. With an increase in the private networks and a battle for television rating points (TRPs), the noble cause of journalism has eclipsed into a somewhat dramatic dose of infotainment served as a daily meal. Public journalism serves as the philosophy that media should try to solve civic problems as well as report the news. It is a hope that reform-oriented news organisations can challenge long standing journalistic conventions despite management's interest in maximising profits. History reveals that public journalism movement began as a response to the gap between government and citizens and between news rooms and its audience. There was a wide spread withdrawal of citizens from the democratic process of election and voting. Scholars at that point had interpreted this mass alienation and disaffection as a result of the mass mediated political discourse. Therefore, to work as a catalyst of generating political debate among citizens, it was the news organisations that began to convert their role from merely being a provider of news to the facilitator of discussion. There has of course been an alternative theory where scholars have said that public journalism was no more than an alternative approach and a marketing strategy to serve the profit motive of media by encasing audience concerns through circulation of such news (Hardt, 1999). Nevertheless, public journalism today has come to mean the idea of integrating journalism into the democratic process. This paper attempts to analyse how far the public discourses and panel discussions which are absorbed with the theme of enlightened public debates on relevant public concerns, in a way representing the public journalism premise of involving citizens into the democratic process, actually impact the audience they are meant to motivate.

The word media needs no introduction, but the new media and its applications are under scrutiny for the last decade or so. As new research is done to understand its impact and implication, new media tends to throw up new weapons of control to bridge the gap between the fantasy and the reality, the personal and the public and finally friends and foes. New media has allowed the writings on the wall to be accessible to the entire world. This open communication has resulted in increased participation at all levels, personal, social, cultural and political. There has been a systematic investigation by social scientists to study the impact of media and the role it plays on the psyche of the viewers that determine their political behaviour. See Miller and Philo (2001), Berelson, (1952), Gunter (1997) Libbey et al. (1994), Curran (1979) Mcquail et al. (1972), Blumler et al. (1974), Bode (1992), Rosen and Taylor (1992), Basil et al. (1991) and Sears and Kosterman, (1991) for more details.

Here political behaviour for all academic purposes relates to the political views that help determine the voting behaviour in the election. To build up consensus media is used by the politicians to display their stand on policy issues. Historically, when the penetration of media was limited, the major means of communication were speeches broadcasted over radio and excerpts printed in newspapers. Today, with the increasing penetration of TV channels per million household (esp. in developing Democracies like India), political campaigns and debates form a part of our daily meal of media consumption.

Increased political participation is claimed to be one among many contributions that political talk and citizen-to-citizen deliberation bring to society (e.g., Fishkin, 1995). Some scholars go so far as saying that conversation is 'the elementary building block of participatory democracy' (Katz, 1994) and propose including political discussion alongside voting, volunteering, or donating money to candidates (Delli et al., 2004). Others conversely argue that exposure to dissimilar views, which happens during interpersonal talk and which deliberation should entail, may decrease citizen participation in the democratic process. Those researchers noted that deliberative and participatory democracy may be mutually exclusive (Mutz, 2006). Empirical evidence exists to support both claims and the debate is still unresolved.

The present paper is emanation of a pre-election survey conducted in Lucknow. A two-pronged methodology is used encompassing two types of the research tools. Firstly, an interview schedule with both open- and closed-ended questions was used to conduct extensive interviews. Secondly, the programs and talk shows were recorded which were put to content analysis for reaching further interpretations.

The interview schedule was designed in two languages - English and Hindi. Hindi is the predominant language of Uttar Pradesh, the capital of which illustrates the data gathered and conclusively drawn that it is only the highly intellectual class that is media literate to intercept media messages clearly. The interview schedule was developed after much deliberations and discussions. It was designed by keeping the basic principles in mind. Most of the questions asked were closed ended. Some had to be sequenced according to individual priority and finally some closed-ended questions had sub-parts which were open ended. A few questions were open ended. The questionnaire consisted of several sections. Part one consisted of general particulars of the respondents, part two consisted of sources of information for political news, part three dealt with the level of interest in political news and part four dealt with the role of media. Finally, the interview schedule ended with an open-ended question based on the role of media and how people perceived it. It is pertinent to point out that the year 2012 was a year of Assembly Elections in the state of Uttar Pradesh.

To make a systematic analysis, the constituency map of Lucknow was studied. The Election Commission had divided the city into nine constituencies. The central part of the city which is also the oldest was divided into five constituencies. These were namely the Lucknow Central, Lucknow East, Lucknow Cantonment, Lucknow West and Lucknow North. A list of polling booths from each constituency was drawn and two polling booths that were apart in a single constituency were chosen at random to represent that constituency. A voter list of the two chosen booths was thus downloaded from the website of the Election Commission and a total of 50 names covering the entire booth with locations largely apart were selected for interview randomly. At the time of the field work, in case the person whose name had been marked was not present

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then someone else from the family was interviewed. At times, the location of the house could not be established or the number printed in the list was not correct or there was no one present to respond from the location, in all such cases the house next door whose address was mentioned in the list was taken. Care was taken to seek response from only one person from a house, male or female. In fact, during the course of the field work, it had become obvious that though men viewed talk shows more and were keen to respond to the questionnaire, but women neither watched talk shows regularly, nor were interested in political news. Therefore, drawing response from them was more difficult, they shied away, shirked and sometimes vehemently denied approach to gain response. Still the male and female response ratio was maintained though women respondents proved to be very difficult to get. The data was collected after running an interview schedule. Accordingly, the demographic profile of respondents is of the complete sample of 525 whereas the main analysis is of 521 individuals as the four respondents refused to answer all the questions. The demographic profiling of the data is as follows. The data has been given in frequency but the discussion is in percentage for better understanding. The conclusions drawn have been outlined at the end.

Table 1: The data analysis

| Sex | Religion | Categories |  |  |  |  | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Gen | $\mathbf{O B C}$ | $\mathbf{S C}$ | $\mathbf{S T}$ | Other |  |
| Male |  | 62 | 19 | 19 | 0 | 0 | 100 |
|  |  | 9 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 12 |
|  |  | $\mathbf{7 1}$ | $\mathbf{2 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 9}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{1 1 2}$ |
| Female |  | 37 | 19 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 58 |
|  | Muslim | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
|  | Total | $\mathbf{4 0}$ | $\mathbf{2 0}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{6 2}$ |

Table 1 shows respondents in the age group of 18-30, the younger lot had 112 males against 62 females. Therefore, the young age group had predominant male respondents $64 \%$ against $35 \%$ females. Out of the males, there were 20 OBC and 19 SCs and in the case of women there were 20 OBCs and 2 SCs. There were equal number of OBC respondents in both genders. In the same age group, there was a single respondent who belonged to the SC community and was illiterate as against 11 male persons who were 9th pass and 9 males who were High School pass. Most of the respondents (38) were graduates $33.93 \%$. This signifies a high literacy rate. Out of the 112 men interviewed 71 approximately $63.4 \%$ belonged to the general category. A total of 62 women were interviewed with as many as 40 in general category. Interestingly, the maximum respondents in this category were either $\mathrm{PG} / \mathrm{PhD}$ approximately $30.6 \%$. This analysis reflected that women were more qualified than males in the $18-30$ segment.

|  | Sex | Qualification |  |  | tegor |  |  | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | Gen | OBC | SC | ST | Other |  |
|  |  | Illiterate | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
|  | Male | Upto $9^{\text {th }}$ | 7 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
|  |  | High School | 3 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
|  |  | Intermediate | 5 | 5 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 16 |
|  |  | Graduate | 25 | 9 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 38 |
|  |  | PG and Ph.D. | 21 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 24 |
|  |  | Professional | 10 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 13 |
|  |  | Total | 71 | 20 | 19 | 0 | 2 | 112 |
|  |  | Illiterate | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
|  |  | Upto 9 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
|  | Female | High School | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| $\varepsilon \stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\circ}$ |  | Intermediate | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
|  |  | Graduate | 12 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 17 |
|  |  | PG and Ph.D. | 13 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 19 |
| 言笔 |  | Professional | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
|  |  | Total | 40 | 20 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 62 |

Sources of Information for Political News

|  | Newspaper | TV | Internet | Radio | Newspaper <br> and TV | Newspaper <br> and radio | Other |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 21 | 51 | 10 | 9 | 18 | 7 | 6 |
| Female | 8 | 20 | 12 | 3 | 19 | 0 | 0 |

Among the age group of 18-30, there were 18.755 males whose main source of political information was the newspaper and $45.53 \%$ were television consumers for political diet. The newspaper and TV both as sources of information were consumed by $16.07 \%$ males. As against the popular notion that this age group will be heavy consumer of Internet, only about $8.9 \%$ men sought their information through net. In the comeback era of radio, a good $8.03 \%$ men were radio consumers for information and $6.25 \%$ were newspaper and radio consumers. Amongst women, about $12.9 \%$ women were consumers of newspapers which were their main source of political information. $32.25 \%$ women got information from the television and a good $30.645 \%$ were using both TV and print for information. Interestingly, more women about $19.35 \%$ claimed that their main source of info on political news was Internet as against the $8.9 \%$ of men who used Internet. Interestingly, again in the age group of $18-30$ years, there were only $4.83 \%$ radio consumers. In the others
category where friends and family and even sms were considered as sources of information on political discussion, about $5.35 \%$ men were gathering information through this source.

When analysing the sources of news or information for political news, the following data was reflected. Among the men of age group 18-30, as against the popular view that Internet will entice this bracket of people, it was seen that only $8.9 \%$ men were using Internet as against the $19.35 \%$ of females, but as the population of men covered in the data was 122 as against 62 women, it can be concluded that the penetration of Internet among both men and women was equal or there was no gender sensitivity as far as Internet usage among the genders was considered.

The people who said that radio was the main source of news information reaching them were $8.3 \%$ in males and $4.83 \%$ in females. Again the population of male respondents being double than the female, we can say that radio as a source of political information was limited to only those who do not really try to assert themselves to get information through any other source. Newspaper as a source of information was available to $25.45 \%$ men and $30.35 \%$ women. The most accessible was the television which was viewed by $45.53 \%$ men and $32.25 \%$ women. Both radio and television were watched by $16.67 \%$ males and $30.64 \%$ females. This means that television as a source of political information was enjoyed more by the females than the males. Lastly, about $6.25 \%$ men recovered political information from a combination of newspapers and radio as against nil women. Interestingly, $5.36 \%$ men had quoted other sources of information like friends, family, etc.

| Sex | Religion | Categories |  |  |  |  | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Gen | $\mathbf{O B C}$ | $\mathbf{S C}$ | ST | Other |  |
| Male |  | 31 | 13 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 51 |
|  |  | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
|  |  | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{6}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{5 5}$ |
| Female |  | 49 | 8 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 61 |
|  | Muslim | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
|  | Total | $\mathbf{5 4}$ | $\mathbf{8}$ | $\mathbf{4}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{6 6}$ |


| Sex | Qualification | Categories |  |  |  |  | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Gen | OBC | SC | ST | Other |  |
| Male | Illiterate | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
|  | Upto $9^{\text {th }}$ | 1 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
|  | High School | 1 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 |
|  | Intermediate | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
|  | Graduate | 12 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 14 |


|  | PG and Ph.D. | 6 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Professional | 6 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
|  | Total | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ | $\mathbf{6}$ | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{5 5}$ |
|  | Illiterate | 11 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 15 |
|  | Upto $9^{\text {th }}$ | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
|  | High School | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
|  | Intermediate | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
|  | Graduate | 20 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 21 |
|  | PG and Ph.D. | 11 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 15 |
|  | Professional | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
|  | Total | $\mathbf{5 4}$ | $\mathbf{8}$ | $\mathbf{4}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{6 6}$ |

The age group of 31-42 had a total of 121 respondents with $45.5 \%$ male respondents and $54.5 \%$ females. In males, there were $58.2 \%$ men from the general category and $27.27 \% \mathrm{OBC}, 10.9 \%$ SC and $3.6 \%$ ST. Among the females out of a total of 66 females, $81.81 \%$ were from the general category and $12.12 \% \mathrm{OBC}$ and $6 \% \mathrm{SC}$. Therefore, the predominant population being Hindus, there were least number of people who represented the ST, this is also because the study was conducted in the metropolitan city of Lucknow where there is a very limited tribal population. As far as the literacy scales measured, the respondents in the age group of 31-42, the figures revealed that $25.45 \%$ males were graduate and $14.54 \%$ were $\mathrm{PG} / \mathrm{PhD}$ and $16.36 \%$ were professionals making a total of $55 \%$ as employed or eligible for employment. This is significant as this category of individuals has a clear say in their political decisions. In the case of female respondents $31.81 \%$ were graduates $22.72 \%$ were PG and PhD and about $9.1 \%$ were professionals making a total of $62 \%$. This shows that employed/eligible for employment category of women in the age group of 3142 was $62 \%$ against the same category of men which was $55 \%$.
Sources of Information for Political News

|  | Newspaper | TV | Internet | Radio | Newspaper <br> and TV | Newspaper <br> and radio | Other |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 14 | 19 | 2 | 2 | 14 | 2 | 2 |
| Female | 17 | 29 | 0 | 3 | 13 | 3 | 1 |

In the age group of 31-42 years, there were about $25.45 \%$ men who were avid consumers of newspapers and taking a lead was the $34.54 \%$ men who chose television as the main source of the information. A combination of newspaper and TV was indicated by $25.45 \%$ men making the print and electronic as the most popular media for this segment. Only meagre $3.6 \%$ men were using Internet, radio and a combination of radio and newspaper for information. About $3.6 \%$ men sought information through friends and family, meaning that they did not consume any mainstream
media to seek political information. In the same age category, about $30.35 \%$ women were voracious consumers of newspapers, surpassing men meaning that in the age group of 31-42 more women claimed to be newspaper consumers for political news. About $51.78 \%$ women claimed TV to be the main source of the information and the combination of both media was consumed by $23.21 \%$. Strangely none of the women of this category were consuming Internet for political information and only $5.35 \%$ women were using radio alone or a combination of radio and newspaper to gather info. There were $1.78 \%$ women who relied on family and friends for information.

Amongst the age group of 31-42 years old, a whopping $34.54 \%$ men consumed political information through television and $25.455 \%$ men gathered news from newspapers and TV.


43-55: Total 116

| Sex | Qualification | Categories |  |  |  |  | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Gen | OBC | SC | ST | Other |  |
| Male | Illiterate | 3 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
|  | Upto $9^{\text {th }}$ | 1 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
|  | High School | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
|  | Intermediate | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
|  | Graduate | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
|  | PG and Ph.D. | 9 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
|  | Professional | 5 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
|  | Total | 35 | 10 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 55 |
| Female | Illiterate | 7 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
|  | Upto 9 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ | 2 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
|  | High School | 7 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
|  | Intermediate | 7 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
|  | Graduate | 10 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
|  | PG and Ph.D. | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
|  | Professional | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
|  | Total | 42 | 12 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 61 |

The age group between 43 and 55 represented 55 men and 61 women. Out of this, about $63.6 \%$ men were from the general category, $18 \%$ were OBC and $18 \%$ were SC. Among women about $68.8 \%$ were from the general category, $19.67 \%$ were OBC and $11.47 \%$ were SC. Therefore, the predominant population is the general category Hindu with equal percentage of OBC and SC respondents. Among women, the OBCs category is more than the SC. Interestingly, the number of Muslim candidates in SC category is nil. About $16 \%$ men interviewed were illiterate, and $20 \%$ were graduates and $18 \%$ were $\mathrm{PG} / \mathrm{PhDs}$ and $18 \%$ were professionals. Therefore, $36 \%$ were either employed or eligible for employment. Among women about $19.67 \%$ were graduates and the total of employed and eligible for employment were $18 \%$.
Sources of Information for Political News

|  | Newspaper | TV | Internet | Radio | Newspaper <br> andTV | Newspaper <br> and radio | Other |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 19 | 17 | 4 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 3 |
| Female | 16 | 21 | 0 | 3 | 19 | 4 | 2 |

In the age group of 43-55 years, about $34.54 \%$ men consumed newspapers, 30.90 consumed TV and $21.81 \%$ consumed both. This is the only age group that showed TV as a lesser popular media than newspaper. Or we can conclude that the middle-aged men relied more on newspaper than TV for their source of information. Only $7.27 \%$ men relied on Internet and none were listening to radio or using radio and newspaper combination for information. But there were $5.45 \%$ men who were relying on personal relationship for political information. Amongst women, $26.22 \%$ women were consuming newspaper and $34.42 \%$ were consuming TV. Interestingly none of the women in this category were using Internet. Both TV and print were being used by $31.14 \%$ women. In this segment, unlike men, women were using radio. About $4.91 \%$ were using only radio and $6.55 \%$ were using a combination of radio and newspaper for political information. Here, also there were $3.27 \%$ women who were using mutual relation instead of media to gather political information.

56+: Total 110

| Sex | Religion | Categories |  |  |  |  | Total |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Gen | $\mathbf{O B C}$ | $\mathbf{S C}$ | ST | Other |  |
| Male | Hindu | 50 | 12 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 67 |
|  | Muslim | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
|  | Buddhist | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
|  | Total | $\mathbf{5 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 2}$ | $\mathbf{6}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{7 3}$ |
| Female | Hindu | 30 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 33 |
|  | Muslim | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
|  | Sikh | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
|  | Total | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{5}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{0}$ | $\mathbf{3 7}$ |

Finally, in the 56+ category there were a total of 110 respondents in which 73 were men and 37 were women. About $16.4 \%$ men were OBC, $75.3 \%$ were from the general category and $8 \%$ were SC. About $20.54 \%$ men were $\mathrm{PG} / \mathrm{PhD}$ or eligible for employment and $20.54 \%$ were employed. Among the women $86.4 \%$ were from the general category and $13.5 \%$ OBC. About $29.7 \%$ women were $\mathrm{PGs} / \mathrm{PhDs}$ and professionals. In the 56+ category, about $20.54 \%$ were newspaper consumers, $23.28 \%$ were TV consumers and $50.68 \%$ were consumers of both media. Among women $13.51 \%$ were consumers of newspapers and $45.94 \%$ were using TV for information. Thus, a larger number of women were using TV in this segment. About $5.40 \%$ women were Internet users and $13.51 \%$ women were using radio for political information.


## Sources of Information about Political Parties and Candidates

|  | Newspaper | TV | Radio | Internet |  |  | Other |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{a}$ | $\mathbf{b}$ | $\mathbf{c}$ | $\mathbf{d}$ | $\mathbf{a + b}$ | $\mathbf{a + b}+\mathbf{c}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ |
| Male | 73 | 19 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 10 |
| Female | 44 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 5 |

In the youngest segment, it is a relief to find that newspaper remained the favourite of $65.17 \%$ men and $16.96 \%$ consumed TV and a combination of both was claimed by $5.35 \% .1 .78 \%$ claimed that radio was their source of information whereas just a single individual claimed that all the three media, print, TV and radio were the source of information also a single respondent was using net for such information. About $8.92 \%$ had other sources that gave them information about political parties and candidates. Among women about $70.96 \%$ read newspapers and $9.67 \%$ relied on TV for information, a combination of both $9.67 \%$ was claimed by a few. None heard radio and used all three media and only a single individual used Internet for political information. About $8.06 \%$ women relied on other sources for information.

## Sources of Information about Political Parties and Candidates

31-42: Total 121

|  | Newspaper | TV | Radio | Internet |  |  | Other |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{a}$ | $\mathbf{b}$ | $\mathbf{c}$ | $\mathbf{d}$ | $\mathbf{a + b}$ | $\mathbf{a + b}+\mathbf{c}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ |
| Male | 36 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 6 |
| Female | 43 | 13 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 4 |

About $65.45 \%$ men got information through newspaper, $3.63 \%$ through TV and $14.54 \%$ through both. Internet was scarcely used, as represented by $1.81 \%$ and though no one exclusively heard radio for information but $3.63 \%$ claimed that they got information through newspapers, TV and radio. About $10.91 \%$ claimed that they got information from other sources like family and friends. About $76.78 \%$ women read newspapers for information, TV gave information to $23.21 \%$ and a combination of both was consumed by $7.14 \%$. Whereas individually none claimed to be gaining information through the radio but a combination of print and TV was claimed by $7.14 \%$ and print, TV and radio was consumed by $1.78 \%$ while $7.14 \%$ women have claimed other sources for seeking information about political parties and candidates. A small percentage of $1.78 \%$ claimed using Internet in this category. Unlike what is assumed there were very few people who relied on Internet for such information and newspaper still remained a favourite of Indian across all age groups.

## 43-55: Total 116

Source of Information about Political Parties and Candidates

|  | Newspaper | TV | Radio | Internet |  |  | Other |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{a}$ | $\mathbf{b}$ | $\mathbf{c}$ | $\mathbf{d}$ | $\mathbf{a + b}$ | $\mathbf{a}+\mathbf{b}+\mathbf{c}$ | $\mathbf{e}$ |
| Male | 39 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 2 |
| Female | 33 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 13 |

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## Sources of Information about Political Parties and Candidates

A clear lead by newspapers was seen, as $70.9 \%$ men claimed in this category to be reading newspaper. About $12.72 \%$ watched TV and the same percentage also claimed to be gaining information through both TV and newspaper. There were $3.63 \%$ who gave other sources as source for information. There were $54.09 \%$ women who read news for information and $16.39 \%$ used TV for information. About $4.92 \%$ used both TV and newspaper and $6.45 \%$ claimed TV newspaper and radio for information. There were $21.31 \%$ women who said they rely on other sources meaning family and friends for information.

|  | Newspaper | TV | Internet | Radio | Newspaper andTV | Newspaper and radio | Other |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 15 | 17 | 4 | 0 | 37 | 0 | 0 |
| Female | 5 | 17 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| About $64.38 \%$ men got their information through the newspaper, $10.95 \%$ through TV and $1.37 \%$ through both. Internet was used by only $1.37 \%$ and family, friends, etc., were quoted as source by $8.22 \%$. Among women a higher percentage $67.56 \%$ claimed that newspaper was their major source of information, followed by $21.62 \%$ who watched television for information. About $2.70 \%$ used Internet and $2.70 \%$ also used newspaper and TV as combination to get information. About $2.70 \%$ quoted other sources for information. Interestingly, none in this age group quoted radio as a source for information. <br> Consultation for Deciding Party/Candidate |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Self | Family | Commu |  | Friends | Media | Other |
| Male | 65 | 31 | 1 |  | 5 | 2 | 8 |
| Female | 27 | 25 | 2 |  | 1 | 2 | 5 |

About $58.03 \%$ men claimed that they decided on candidates according to self, $27.67 \%$ made consultations with family while deciding on candidates. A single individual said that he consulted community for deciding the party candidates. Only about $1.78 \%$ believed the media for consultation and $4.46 \%$ had friends whom they consulted while $7.14 \%$ had others whom they consulted. Amongst women, $43.51 \%$ decided candidates by their own self while $40.32 \%$ decided candidates through their family. The others quoted community ( $3.2 \%$ ), media ( $3.2 \%$ ) and an individual participant quoted friends as people whom they consulted before deciding the candidate. There are about $8.06 \%$ women who have quoted others as sources of consultation. Importantly, the role of new media is very limited in fact negligible.

## Consultation for Deciding Party/Candidate

31-42: Total 121

|  | Self | Family | Community | Friends | Media | Other |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 33 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 8 |
| Female | 31 | 22 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 5 |

There were $60 \%$ males in this age group of $31-42$ who decided by self and about $9 \%$ decided after consultation with family and another $9 \%$ decided after consultation with community. There were about $5.45 \%$ who consulted friends before deciding the candidate of choice while $14.54 \%$ have quoted others whom they consult for finalising the candidate. Only one individual quoted media as consultant for deciding the political candidate. Amongst women, there were $55.35 \%$ who do not consult anyone else but decided on their own the candidate of their choice. Besides $39.28 \%$ have quoted that they consult family, about $7.14 \%$ consult community while $3.57 \%$ consulted friends and media. $8.9 \%$ have quoted others whom they consulted for deciding the candidate.

43-55: Total 116
Consultation for Deciding Party/Candidate

|  | Self | Family | Community | Friends | Media | Other |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 33 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 3 |
| Female | 29 | 17 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 13 |

## Consultation for Deciding Party/Candidate

There were $60 \%$ men who decided whom to vote on their own and only $9 \%$ consulted family, $10.9 \%$ consulted community also the interestingly among all men there were about $9 \%$ who consulted media for deciding the right candidate. About $5.45 \%$ men consulted friends and the same percentage quoted others whom they consult before finalising. Amongst women, there were $47.54 \%$ who decided on their own whom to vote while $27.86 \%$ consulted family and about $21.31 \%$ quoted others whom they consulted before deciding a candidate. Importantly, among women none consulted media and only two single individuals quoted as wanting to consult community and friends, respectively.

|  | Self | Family | Community | Friends | Media | Other |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 42 | 19 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Female | 20 | 12 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

## Consultation for Deciding Party/Candidate

Among men, there were $57.5 \%$ men who consulted self and $26 \%$ consulted family and $8.21 \%$ consulted others while only $6.84 \%$ consulted community. Interestingly, there were none in this category who consulted friends and only one individual claimed to be consulting media. Amongst women, $54 \%$ decided on their own, $32.43 \%$ consulted family. Single individual claimed as consulting friends, media and others.

## Influence of Political Debate on Vote Casting

|  | Yes | No |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 32 | 80 |
| Female | 12 | 50 |

About $28.57 \%$ men felt that political debates influence vote casting while $71.42 \%$ felt they did not. Among women, $19.35 \%$ felt that political debates did influence voting behaviour while $80.6 \%$ felt that voting behaviour was not affected by political debates. $32.14 \%$ said yes and $8.92 \%$ said no whereas $76.78 \%$ could not say.

## Influence of Political Debate on Vote Casting

31-42: Total 121

|  | Yes | No |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 12 | 43 |
| Female | 18 | 48 |

Only $21.8 \%$ felt that political debates do impact voting while a majority of $78.18 \%$ felt that it did not. In the case of women also $32.14 \%$ felt that political debates affected vote casting while $85.7 \%$ felt that it did not.

43-55: Total 116

## Influence of Political Debate on Vote Casting:

|  | Yes | No |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 14 | 41 |
| Female | 7 | 54 |

## Influence of Political Debate on Vote Casting

Only $25.45 \%$ men felt that voting behaviour was influenced by political debates while another $74.5 \%$ felt that it did not. Among women, even less about $11.47 \%$ felt that political debates impacted voting whereas $88.52 \%$ felt it did not.

## Influence of Political Debate on Vote Casting:

56+: Total 110

|  | Yes | No |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 21 | 52 |
| Female | 8 | 29 |

## Influence of Political Debate on Vote Casting

Only $28 \%$ men felt that watching political debates influenced voting whereas $69.3 \%$ felt that it did not. Amongst women about $21.62 \%$ felt that political behaviour is influenced by watching debates whereas $78.37 \%$ felt that it did not affect voting.

Role of Media for Building Climate in Favour or Against Political Party/Candidate
18-30: Total 174

|  | No role | To some extent | To great extent | Cannot say |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 19 | 54 | 26 | 13 |
| Female | 10 | 31 | 16 | 5 |

In this youngest category of men, there were $48.21 \%$ men who felt that media had some role to play but $23.21 \%$ felt media had a great role to play in building the image of a political party or candidate. There were $16.98 \%$ men who felt that media had no role to play. In the case of women, there were $16.12 \%$ who felt that media had no role to play whereas a majority of $50 \%$ said that media had some role to play, while $25.8 \%$ felt that there was a great role to be played by media. There are $8 \%$ who answered as cannot say.

Role of Media for Building Climate in Favour or Against Political Party/Candidate
31-42: Total 121

|  | No role | To some extent | To great extent | Cannot say |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 12 | 32 | 8 | 3 |
| Female | 3 | 43 | 13 | 7 |

There were $21.81 \%$ men who feel that media had no role to play in building the image of an individual. There was a majority of $58.18 \%$ who do feel that there was some role that media played, while $14.54 \%$ men felt that there was a great role that media played in building the image of a political party or candidate and $5.45 \%$ men opted for the cannot say category. In the case of women about $76.78 \%$ felt that media played some role whereas $23.21 \%$ felt that media played an important role in building this image. Whereas $12.5 \%$ women opted for cannot say category.

## Role of Media for Building Climate in Favour or Against Political Party/Candidate

 43-55: Total 116|  | No role | To some extent | To great extent | Cannot say |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 7 | 32 | 10 | 6 |
| Female | 6 | 29 | 9 | 17 |

## Role of Media for Building Climate in Favour or Against Political Party/Candidate

There were $58 \%$ men who believed that media played a role to some extent and $18 \%$ who felt that media played a role to a great extent whereas $12.7 \%$ felt that media played no role at all and $10.9 \%$ refrained from answering the question. Among women, there were $47.5 \%$ who felt that media played a role to some extent and $14.75 \%$ felt that media had a great role to play whereas $9.8 \%$ women also felt that media had no role to play at all besides there were $27.86 \%$ women who fall under the cannot say category.

## Role of Media for Building Climate in Favour or Against Political Party/Candidate

56+: Total 110

|  | No role | To some extent | To great extent | Cannot say |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Male | 9 | 38 | 21 | 5 |
| Female | 5 | 20 | 6 | 6 |

## Role of Media for Building Climate in Favour or Against Political Party/Candidate

There were $12.3 \%$ men who thought that there was no role of media and about $6.64 \%$ opted for the cannot say but majority of $52 \%$ felt that there was a role to some extent whereas $28.76 \%$ felt that there was a role to a great extent that the media played in building a climate for or against an individual. Amongst women there were $54 \%$ who felt that media helped to some extent and $16.21 \%$ who felt that media had an important role to play for crating the image of a political party or candidate. There were however $13.5 \%$ women who felt that media had no role to play whereas $16.21 \%$ refrained to answer the question.

## CONCLUSION

The cumulative result of the above analysis showed that less than $2 \%$ of the entire population studied actually relied on Internet or the new media for information. As most of the users who were regular net users actually relied more on the mainstream media. As against the popular notion that the 18-30 age group will be heavy consumer of Internet, only about $8.9 \%$ men sought their information through net. The results concluded that penetration of Internet among both men and women was equal or there was no gender sensitivity as far as Internet usage among the genders was considered. In the age group of 31-42, more women claimed to be newspaper
consumers for political news. Strangely none of the women of this category were consuming Internet for political information. There were $1.78 \%$ women who relied on family and friends for information. In the age group of 43-55 years, $7.27 \%$ men relied on Internet. Interestingly, none of the women in this category were using Internet. Finally in the 56+ category there were a total of 110 respondents in which 73 were men and 37 were women. Only a single respondent in both male and female was using net for such information. Conclusively as per usage, it is pertinent to point out that new media has not really become an adversary but has a complimenting role to play.

On the sources of information for political party and candidate, the 18-30 and 31-42 categories had only a single respondents in both male and female categories who depended on the Internet, and none in the 43-55 and 55 above categories who used Internet. This reiterates the above notion that Internet had not really seeped in as much for political information as is being perceived.

On the question of how much people consult media for deciding the political party or candidate, there were $1.78 \%$ men and $3.2 \%$ women in the $18-30$ category who depended on media for deciding their voting candidate. In the 31-42 category, only an individual male respondent and $3.57 \%$ women respondents depended on media and in the $43-55$ category about $9 \%$ men and none of the females consulted media whereas in the 55+ category only a single male and female respondent claimed to consult media. This leads one to believe that all across age groups people do admit their dependence on media though it is very limited except in the middle-aged men category where the dependence was more.

The penultimate question on influence of political debates on vote casting, all across the age groups more than $70 \%$ men and $80 \%$ women do not believe that media influenced vote casting.

The last question pertaining to the role of media on building a climate in favour or against a political party or candidate, $71 \%$ males and $76 \%$ women in the first category, $73 \%$ men and $90 \%$ women in the second category and $76 \%$ men and $63 \%$ women in the third and $81 \%$ men and $70 \%$ women asserted that media played a role either to some extent or to a large extent in building a climate pro-against a political party. This leads one to believe that the role building power of media is accepted by the majority. There is truth to believe that media is more an information provider, a propaganda vehicle than a real vote decider.

The entire study also indicates that Noella Newmann's spiral of silence is losing its sheen in the Indian context where in answering the interview schedule people across all age group not only felt important and were cooperative, but also were less hesitant in voicing whom they plan to vote into/out of power in the coming general elections. Outside of this study as well people have voiced their opinion on controversial issues even in group discussions and Internet blogs. The third person effect is still a dominant paradigm as was evident from the reactions of most of the respondents during the course of the interview.

Akanksha Shukla

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#### Abstract

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