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Original Research Article

Press Coverage of Election Campaign: A Comparative Study of Issues Priorities Political and Policy Problems in Two Mainstream Indian Dailies

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Abstract: In this vigor, vivacious and vibrant socio-political change, media has grown into a formidable corporate sector where reporting of common concern of people has been edged out injudiciously. Following craving corporate influence, humanitarian news of greater social significance has been replaced with escalating jingoism and sensationalism. This paper explores how media practices and policies have been diluted from the development communication following more concentration on sensational political stuff than on the developmental news. The study explores the content devoted to political subjects and major issues including health, education, environment, corruption, crime, economy, security, gender justice, defense, terrorism, or foreign policy, etc. during the elections. In a high voltage reporting of the election campaign, the key public issues i.e., health, education, corruption, crime & justice, environment become significant in the light of socio-economic development. The constitutional provision under article 12-35 as regards the right to a decent and dignified life amidst pertaining perils in the current circumstances makes these issues even more critical. Further, the undertaken work outlines the significant role of mass media and factors responsible for shaping the political discourse at the interface of media in public policy by focusing on specific issues while overlooking certain others.

Keywords: Press, Election, Campaign, Issues, Priorities, Policy Problems.

INTRODUCTION

Public affairs used to be at the core of the news. Now it is one niche in a news agenda oriented more toward features and lifestyle issues.

-Robert Lichter and Jeremy Tobin

The established notions and generalized postulations indicate in scores of media research that social issues are the dominant determinant and dynamics which influence the way people think and shape public opinion in political decision-making in society (Adams, Clark, Ezrow, & Glasgow, 2004). For example, research on the content of media presentations of public issues during parliamentary or provincial elections. A wide range of studies on socio-political implications of such coverage has been characterized by mounting sophistication and application of the ultra-modern means through which major social and political messages, images and beliefs flow across the society to facilitate deliberation of discourse and narrative in the larger interest of the specific social group. Many studies have contributed continuously to stress upon interesting parallels of press coverage of the public issues and analogous priorities of the polity as seen through several public opinion surveys. However, gauging the relationship between press coverage and public concern has proved to be a challenge due to media control and convolutions of issues that affect human life directly or indirectly (Lafont, 2015).

In principle, the prime concern of press coverage of elections is to fulfill the right of voters to get full and accurate information on trends of persisting state of affairs of public relevance and to ensure their participation in debates

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and dialogue with the political entities or other individual pressure groups and units on various contemporary issues and policy matters. At the core of this task is the entitlement of parties and candidates to use the media as a common mechanism to share and discuss with the public (Sani, & Segatti, 1998). Furthermore, the Electoral Management Body (EMB) critically demands communication channels to share important election-related information with the electorate and other relevant groups, including the political parties and candidates. The media vehicles themselves have a great responsibility to report the whole electoral process transparently without any fear and favor. Such media facilitated vigilance or surveillance is a vital deterrent against various corrupt practices in the management or smooth conduct of the progress of the electoral process (Lange, & Ward, 2004).

Media is the key factor instrumental between sustainable human life and social development through various issues related to mankind's need. The political conditions of any place in one or another way affect the sustenance and survival of people and media is the mechanism connecting them. During elections, people depend upon media for the latest updates and top trends which turn them into the highly desired and valuable service provider. The political occurring and recurring reports by media turn media into a major plate-form to keep the readers and viewers attentive to their programs devoted to elections (Lawes, & Hawkins, 2011). In the 2014 general elections, the politics of development was the main poll plank and media rhetoric and leaders across the party lines projected their model of development in different state governments which the media reported passionately. For the main opposition BJP, if it was the development model of Gujrat, Congress highlighted its good work in Delhi or Uttarakhand similarly other regional parties also marketed their work where they were in power, for example, the communist party in Kerala or Trinamool in West Bengal. In this way, different political parties and their leaders tried their best to project their model of development and good governance in media and media provided the necessary plate-form to people to choose the best among the available options based on the viability, feasibility and suitability.

Need for the study

The study demonstrates the coverage analysis of two mainstream English Dailies -The Times of India and The Hindu (news stories, articles and editorials) concerning content classified into specified categories about the political subject and public issues. In its analysis of issues coverage, the study explores the various drawbacks and limitations of the press coverage that affect society directly. The study becomes further important in the wake of its great significance to various media scholars working on media applications and politics.

Objectives

To quantify newspaper content in terms of political subject and public issues.

To study campaign coverage and press priorities with specific reference to various public issues.

- To categorise the press coverage of the election campaign in terms of news stories, editorials and articles.
- To present and analyse the significance of press coverage of various issues during the election campaign.

To compare press coverage of various issues of the campaign in the light of policy problems attributable to political and press priorities.

Methodology

The research method of content analysis has been adopted to interpret, illustrate and examine the multiple content categories to draw inferences indicating trends of reporting during the campaign in the general elections of 2014 with specific reference to public issues and media priorities. The data units were collected from the two mainstream Hindi dailies Dainik Jagran and Amar Ujala to analyze the coverage of general elections 2014. The data was sorted specifically into the categories of political subject e.g. political parties, leaders and public issues i.e. crime, corruption, economy, foreign affairs, sectarianism, democracy, defense, health, agriculture, gender justice and environment, etc. The study attempts to examine and explore the newspaper data for a selected period to draw valid inferences through the qualitative as well as the quantitative content analysis method. The study carries a census study of the selected mainstream dailies for 30 days each from Dainik Jagran and Amar Ujala. The period of newspapers has been chosen one week before the first polling day of general elections. Hence, the data include a period from 1 April 2014 to 30 April 2014 of both the selected English mainstream dailies for the research investigation and analysis.

Sample

The sample selections include a census study of the selected mainstream Hindi dailies for 30 days each from the Dainik Jagran and Amar Ujala. The data from selected mainstream dailies have been taken from one week before the beginning of the elections. Therefore, data were collected for the period from 1 April to 30 April 2014 in light of the objectives of the undertaken work.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Sevanti Ninan in her book, "Headlines from the Heartland: Reinventing the Hindi Public Sphere", narrated that in the 1990s, a "newspaper spring began blowing across northern and central India" especially among citizens with lower levels of political interest and awareness (Ninan, 2007). The renowned writer Harwood I Childs through his research work on public opinion established that public opinion tends to be vulnerable to many manipulating forces including media hence he strongly voiced protecting public opinion for its objective role without any curtailing and undermining it. Based on the findings of the Childs, these factors include the uncapped and unchecked growth in executive power, the complex and cumulative enrichment of the institutional structures and unprecedented pace of social transformation, rise of multiple pressure groups, high degree political intervention, mass media and other miscellaneous organizations and fringe groups (Childs, 1965).

Mohd Anas in his thorough examination of coverage general elections 2009 and 2014 outlined that media reporting of 2014 general elections was idiosyncratic in many ways including its high voltage extensive sensitizing and sensationalizing coverage influencing the masses in scintillating socio-political temperature. The two national parties the Indian National Congress (INC) commonly referred to as the Congress party, and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) stood much ahead in terms of coverage allocated to other national or regional parties during the elections. Media reports indicated political subject dominated public issues in all the four selected mainstream dailies. Among the issues covered, the core public issues of health, education, employment were outnumbered by other issues such as foreign policy, terrorism, economy or sectarianism, etc. In the overall content analysis political subject prominently appeared in both Hindi as well as English daily while issues of core concern to people were behind the scenes. Unlike previous times, in this election for the first time media outreached to cover rural parts of India to ensure proportionate press coverage spread to rural like urban India to connect the voters with this democratic fest of electing representatives to govern the country (Anas, 2019). Noted scholar P V Sharda, in her work on the impact of radio and television, stressed the efficacy of the two powerful media from a politician's perspective. She carried out her work with the qualitative research method and conducted in-depth interviews of 100 politicians across the political parties, having won the elections in the state assembly or the parliament. Among the respondents, as many as 75% disagreed that media restricted its access to them to spread out their party's vision or agenda. Similarly, as many as 74% of respondents admitted to getting weekly media attention in election time whereas, 17 percent admitted to having been accessed twice a week by media persons. An interesting proposal was suggested by some elected representatives to turn it into a regular phenomenon particularly for elections. Interestingly most of the political figures referred to print media over radio and television (Sharda, 1989).

Neyazi, in his well-articulated work, submitted that with the Congress decline started after the 1967 general elections and with the weakening of the Congress organization, the resurgence of regional awakening began on the back of local, regional and vernacular press that revolutionized the regional aspirations. He maintained as nationalist forces were at the forefront of the freedom movement, it became difficult to ignore the potential power of the vernacular press aligned with them. The vernacular press activism redefined and further paced the development of nationalistic fervor and cultural fabric subsequently. In northern India, many nationalist Hindi newspapers came to name and fame with support from prominent non-congress leaders during the 1980s. Thus, Hindi media emerged as a popular platform for many leaders to maneuvering images or creating cults turning them into emerging political stalwarts of North India. Neyazi concluded following rapidly growing vernacular press circulation and expansion of Hindi newspapers reshaped the public sphere with a considerable impact on the political setup and social values at the local level. Effective political economic and social democracy seeks the maximum participation of the informed citizens. The smooth transition and transformation of the direct democracy in India resonate with the reality that India is the world's largest celebrated democracy. The regular review of the orderly operation of the democratic practices by the media remains at the center warranting checks and balances in the political system. The digital technology-driven media emergence backed by the sharp surge of the vernacular press helped to mainstream the marginal, deprived, or abandoned groups of the society that political elites perceived as a threat to their hegemony, following potential challenge that may emanate by so formed regional public sphere of local legends or luminaries (Niyazi, 2011).

Media and Politics

The politics and media of any geographical area tend to be mutually interlinked and interdependent; the two primarily share inputs and outputs exchange relationships. The media of any sovereign state play a pivotal role in informing and awakening crucial pros and cons as a watchdog during the elections. The press with the tremendously vital role not just makes people politically conscious, but also provides a vigilant check upon the electoral system through its surveillance function (Paletz, & Entman, 1981). The elections are the foundations of the process of democratization and involve a large number of people in a country. The roles and responsibilities of media during election times are pivotal (Esipisu, & Khaguli, 2009). During the electoral campaign, journalists help inform the public to enable them to opt for the right choice on the day of elections. Many factors affect the voter's decision in a democratic country as diverse as India with a mixed culture of different caste, color, creed, religion, region, apart from the dynamics of family, the personality of candidates, parties, agendas and mass media and so on and on that influence the decision of voters (Abbe,

Goodliffe, Herrnson, & Patterson, 2003). The mass media has become a vital tool for politicians and political parties in reaching out to scattered masses largely at the revolutionary changes in communication technology in recent years (Hallin, & Mancini, 2004). The political process has been under the constant influence of mass media ever since a society having the freedom of speech and expression to its citizens (Robinson & Sheehan, 1983) hold that Cohen's concept of 'media telling people what to think about' (Cohen, 1973) has now become an obsolete idea infect in present time the researchers have started studying the second level of agenda-setting in which the media not only make a public opinion about the important aspect but also ascertains the public perception in the light of vital issues or potential candidacy of parties during the campaign coverage (Kiousis & McCombs, 2004). Many questions regarding media and its role in society pertinent to the common cause of concern settle the media discourse. The media means through their functions of information dissemination, exploration, analysis and mobilization help people decide on critical political questions such as why to vote? Who to vote for? How to vote? What should be the roles and responsibilities of the representatives? Hence, media provide a crucial plate form to judge the candidates on different parameters of suitability and viability besides it provides crucial details about the process of elections (Kellner, 2015).

General Elections 2014: Issues and Press coverage

Media reporting of the general elections of 2014 was very important as the election was the biggest democratic exercise of the world in the second-highest populated nation of the world. The high voltage coverage by TRP craving media to win the race of competitive reporting turns the election updates into the news currency of the time during the general election 2014. The coverage was crucial from the perspective of the media networks as well as the people, who depended on these channels to be aware of the ongoing events & trends in the elections. Similarly, for the media vehicles, the news of the elections is the thrust information desired in the market results in increasing subscribers (Ahmed, Jaidka, & Cho, 2016). Among the many news-making elements including political subject mainly about interparty-political rivalry, statements counter statements, allegations counter-allegations, slime game, slurs or mud-slinging, etc. and certain issues like health, education, employment, development, development or environment, etc. prevailing in that time also provide required stuff to media. In 2014, development was the main poll plank among these issues which the media reported extensively. A comparative study of the coverage of the 2014 general elections campaign in two mainstream Hindi Dailies 'Dainik Jagran' and 'Amar Ujala' particularly about various issues including key issues such as health, education, crime, corruption and environment demonstrates a wider view to validate inferences of the study. The two newspapers are among the most circulated media outlets in the print, particularly among Hindi-speaking voters. The two newspapers have since long been in the public domain as most read outlets with potential reach and influence. Both the newspapers, Dainik Jagran or Amar Ujala enjoy huge readership including illustrated Editorials and Articles or News items and both the newspapers devoted extra pages with substantial useful information and many eve-catching visuals specifically related to the campaign.

Dainik Jagran

Dainik Jagran is among the leading Hindi dailies of the country with huge circulation and readership. The origin of the newspaper dates goes back to the year 1942 (Rao, 2009). In this digital dynamic era, consumers have a galaxy of choices but Dainik Jagran as a news brand enjoys the choices of millions of Indians as they start their day. The premium Hindi daily enjoys a readership of over 55 million, which places it into a leading read daily of India in the last 23 rounds of the Indian Readership Survey consecutively. Among the major media houses with 37 editions, 10 titles across 13 states in 5 different languages and a total readership of 68 million, Dainik Jagran is the largest print media group in the country. The World Association of Newspapers (WAN) has listed it among the top read newspapers of the world (Khanduri, 2019).

The newspaper carried out extensive coverage of the different news features. The newspaper reported the general election 2014 passionately while doling out extra space with additional pages dedicated to the election-related news. The newspaper devoted many of its articles and editorials as per its editorial team strategy during the general elections of 2014. The elections were a big event for the newspaper to raise the people's aspirations to keep the readers better informed and updated amid tough competition for the TRP. Therefore, the newspaper uniquely presented the news with the application of all available new methods and technology to keep the subscribers intact. In the coverage of issues, the newspaper allocated fewer front-page news stories while more articles and editorials on the edit page. Dainik Jagran covered both political subject and public issues in all selected content categories. In the total reportage of political content exclusively, the newspaper allocated 112 news stories 55 articles and 60 editorials.

News stories

As for the news stories, Dainik Jagran did more front-page stories on the political subject (see figure 1.1) demonstrating the affairs and activities of politicians or political parties. Among the stories that appeared it reported the mutual barbs of politicians, inter-party political rivalry, party agenda, ideologies, charges or counter charges, mutual defense & clarifications or pledges or plans of parties, etc. As against this, only a few stories appeared on the various public issues or concerns.

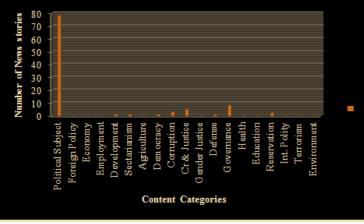


Fig-1.1: News stories Source: Dainik Jagran, April 2014

As apparently visible in figure 1.1, merely a few stories appeared on the governance, crime and justice (Cr & Justice), corruption, democracy, development, sectarianism or reservation while no story was seen on foreign policy, economy, employment, agriculture, gender justice, health, education, international polity (Int. Polity), terrorism or environment. Therefore, front-page coverage of the newspaper was heavily dominated by the political subject while issues went neglected.

Editorials

As regards the editorials, figure 1.2 indicates Dainik Jagran allocated a greater number of editorials on the political subject mainly discussing parties and their politicians. Such editorials brought into light inter-party vibes and jibe their political affairs, mutual rivalry, different counter-strategy and planings critically as well as complimentary to shape common opinion regarding them among the readers. Such an opinion of the newspaper reflected newspaper policy to let the people have an alternate view regarding political units.

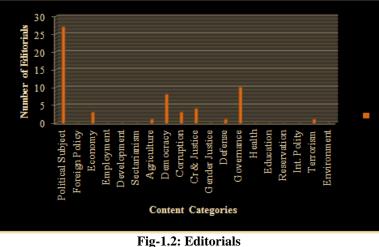


Fig-1.2: Editorials Source: Dainik Jagran, April 2014

As visible from figure 1.2, governance, democracy, crime and justice (Cr & Justice), and economy got more editorial coverage than other public issues like corruption, agriculture, or terrorism that were allotted a few editorials only whereas no editorial appeared on foreign policy, employment, development, sectarianism, health, education, international polity (Int. Polity), reservation or environment. Hence, as evident from the figure public issues were largely unfocussed while many core issues of greater public interest i.e. health, education, employment, or environment remained completely ignored in the editorial coverage of the newspaper. Therefore, political subject items were preferred in editorial coverage of the newspaper while most of the issues were on the edge.

Articles

Articles usually present an extensive and elaborative explanation of the various subjects by renowned subject experts because of which they are critically important particularly in the elections. As figure 1.3 suggests more articles

appeared on the political subject which analysed or discussed various political parties, their prospects, challenges or presented an account of strength, weakness, opportunity and threats for a political entity and thus attempts to position them either at advantage or adversary. These articles focused on party politics, their rivalry, political strategies and policies, procedures and plans in the light of prevailing circumstances of the social setup. Therefore, such articles provided a larger view of political happening during the elections.

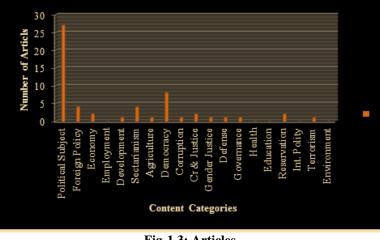


Fig-1.3: Articles Source: Dainik Jagran, April 2014

As for the article to various issues in Dainik Jagran, figure 1.3, demonstrates that more articles were allotted to democracy, sectarianism, economy, foreign policy and reservation than development, crime and justice, (Cr & Justice), agriculture, gender justice, defense and terrorism while no article was published on employment, health, education, international polity (Int. Polity) or environment. Hence, as numbers show, political subject dominantly occupied articles whereas public issues were largely unfocussed as many of them with greater public significance, for example, health, education, employment or environment remained completely neglected in the article published in the newspaper. Therefore, political subject items were considered more desired over the public issues by the newspaper. The overall coverage of the newspaper including news stories, editorials, or articles political subject news persisted preferred over the news of multiple issues. Even as among the issues several other issues were given coverage whereas issues of health, education, employment, or environment went unreported or underreported.

Amar Ujala

Amar Ujala is another top-selling and broadly circulated Hindi language newspaper of India. The newspaper is available in multi-edition and comprises around 19 editions spread over seven states and one union territory with its services to 179 districts across the country. The circulation of the newspaper has been estimated to over two million copies, catering to national as well as international news concerning politics, business, sports and entertainment. Among the top dailies, with around 30.13 million readers in the country, the newspaper is one of the most-read broadsheet newspapers in India (ABC, 2017) while with a circulation of around 2.93 million copies, the newspaper covers a range of north Indian states including Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu, Haryana, Chandigarh, Punjab, Delhi NCR and Uttar Pradesh (Anas, 2019). Amar Ujala too had paid special attention to the parliamentary elections in its campaign coverage through all its news items including News stories, Editorials and Articles. The newspaper reported general elections 2014 vigorously keeping in mind the information needs of the readers about the election updates, events and affairs of parties, poll strategies, or leading trails that can help decide the best and most appropriate choice among the available options. Overall, the mainstream Hindi daily covered 2014 general election news overtly by 115 news stories, 33 articles and 17 editorials. The coverage remained substantially dominated by the political subject while issues appeared in a lesser number of news stories, articles and editorials.

News stories

As regards the election coverage in the news stories, Amar Ujala devoted more news stories to the political subject (see figure 1.4) comprising the communications and acts of politicians or political parties. Among the news stories covered, the newspaper reported the political or apolitical mutual spurs of politicians, inter-party-political contests, party programs and welfare schemes, principles and plans, smear campaign, mud-slinging or slapping slurs, charges or counter charges, defense statements & clarifications, etc.

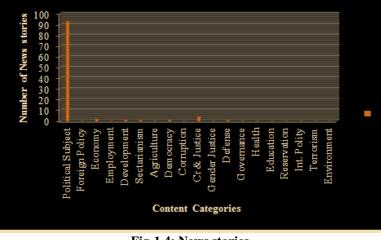


Fig-1.4: News stories Source: Amar Ujala, April 2014

As against political subject, just a few stories were counted on the public issues or common concerns of the masses. As presented in figure 1.4, only a couple of news stories appeared on crime and justice (Cr & Justice), economy, democracy, development, sectarianism, or defense while not a single news story was done on foreign policy, employment, agriculture, governance, health, education, international polity (Int. Polity), reservation, terrorism or environment. Therefore, front-page coverage of the newspaper was predominantly reported political subject while it remained largely indifferent to most of the issues.

Editorials

As for the allocation of the editorials, (see figure 1.4), Dainik Jagran did only a few editorials in a total of which many editorials were on the political subject mainly speaking about parties and their leaders. Such editorials mainly focused on inter-party verbal clashes, political affairs, mutual enmity or contentions, strategies counter strategies and planings, critical as well as complimentary analysis shaping common minimum consensus about leaders or their political ideologies. These very newspaper opinions echoed the newspaper policy to set alternate views in tune with public opinion.

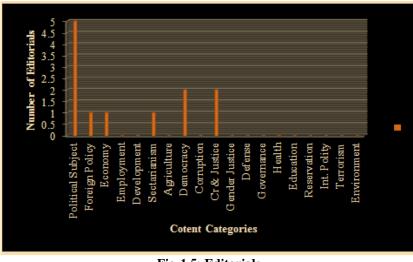


Fig-1.5: Editorials Source: Amar Ujala, April 2014

As figure 1.5 display among the issues crime and justice (Cr & Justice), democracy, sectarianism, foreign policy, and economy only got a few editorials whereas other public issues like employment, corruption, agriculture, development, governance, health, education, international polity (Int. Polity), reservation, or terrorism or environment were not covered at all in the editorial coverage. Hence, as apparent from the figure newspaper was indifferent to most of the public issues as the majority of the core public issues i.e., health, education, employment, or environment were completely ignored in the editorial coverage of the newspaper and political subject was given more editorial coverage.

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Articles

As figure 1.6 displays, a large number of articles appeared on the political subject which elaborated, explained and discussed the parties in the fray, their discourse, prospects, and plans. Such articles examined, assessed and presented strength, weakness, opportunity and threats or challenges of political entities and this is how such amplifications identified them as privileged or in trouble. The articles on the political subject covered different parties their politics or policies, their rivalries, campaign strategies, procedures and plans in the wake of ongoing occurring or recurring. In this way, these articles delivered an extensive picture of political activities during the elections.

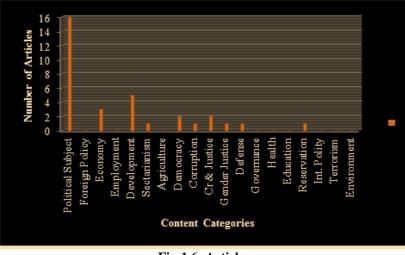


Fig-1.6: Articles Source: Amar Ujala, April 2014

As depicted in figure 1.6, in the issues Amar Ujala published a greater number of articles on allotted to development, democracy, economy, and crime and justice, (Cr & Justice), followed by a small number of articles on sectarianism, corruption, gender justice, gender justice, defense and reservation while no article was published on foreign policy, agriculture, employment, health, education, terrorism, international polity (Int. Polity) or environment. Hence, as numbers demonstrate, political subject dominantly occupied articles whereas public issues were largely unfocussed as many of them with greater public significance, for example, health, education, employment, or environment remained completely neglected in the article published in the newspaper. Therefore, overall article coverage indicates political subject was considered the favorite over the public issues. In the newspaper coverage, issues of core concern issues i.e. health, education, employment, or environment were not on the priority as against others.

CONCLUSION

The media and politics have an inseparable linkage as both are interdependent and interrelated following their nature of functioning and operation. Since the information and communication is base of any political activity, media are the vehicles to ensure commutation of such useful information from the right source to the right destination. In elections, it is the crucial need of the people to obtain correct, concrete, proper, precise, pertinent, actual and accurate information related to election activities and processes which help them choose suitable representatives in consonance with their choices.

The priority-based media reporting of the issues helps the people in the apt selection of the candidates with an informed decision out of options available to them. The problems and social issues are key to any election but recent trends of media reporting indicate how media has been indifferent to these issues while giving more coverage to non-issues or sensational political subject in its coverage of election campaigns. The general election 2014 was an event of historic significance and so it became the center of reporting for the national as well as international mainstream media. The coverage by both the newspapers The Dainik Jagran and Amar Ujala demonstrate that how issues of greater human importance i.e. crime, corruption, health, education, employment, development, environment, or gender violence were preceded by a dominant political subject reporting about political slangs, blame games and inter-party political barbs and rivalries and other sensational political discourse. Issues for the greater good of the people almost deviated from the actual agenda. While both the newspapers in their edit page coverage did more stories on issues but frontpages largely covered the political subject. With a greater number of stories, the Dainik Jagran was more focused on election coverage than the Amar Ujala. Given to little space to the public issues of core concern like agriculture, health, or education, both the newspapers ostensibly compromised their fundamental duty and distracted from its basic principles. In the larger public interest, such a deviation from actual discourse can be a deadly trend which in turn may deprive people of their

rightful dues reducing them at the mercy of an authoritarian polity with no countercheck or balance. On an ethical note, the utmost duty of media is to provide for questioning in the system on various public issues of public interest. Media should facilitate as a platform for dissent and act as a pressure group to voice out the counter voices of the common people. The media, as a principal advocate of people, s rights or a constructive critic, should maintain an appropriate and balanced approach without any fear or favour to any party or individual to ensure a functional democracy.

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