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Dr.B.R.Ambedka's Ideology on Political Economy and Indian Medias with Relevance in the Global Context

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ABSTRACT: B.R.Ambedkar established a new trend in Indian journalism. He advocated the democratic values and not caste culture. He warned those journals who upheld the supremacy of caste and varna culture. Ambedkar visualized the dawn of new social order of liberty, equality and fraternity. All the newspaper edited by him demonstrated the dynamism of his movement. He passed through all the difficulties that a journalist would encounter. He faced many humiliations as a journalist and also as the leader of social transformation movement. His main aim was not only to run the journals but also to lead the movement. His thoughts were expressed in his journals represented the contemporary problems faced by the country. However, he left the field of journalism in the middle of his hectic schedules and organizational works. He devoted time to journals, organized funds for smooth running of the newspaper. His courage to revolt against the existing social system of inequality and establishment of the society based on equality was a model to the journalists. He was of the opinion that the country is greater than individuals and journalist should write to remove the disabilities faced by the society. Interestingly with the against those journals, which represented the class interests. But as a journalist Ambedkar was above all narrow thinking. He had so much of concern for a free press that he pleaded very minimum restrictions on the right to freedom speech and expression.

KEYWORDS : 1. Media Communication , 2. Journals, 3. Contemporary Problems, 4. Humiliations, 5. Information and nationalization.

I.INTRODUCTION

Babasaheb Ambedkar realized the significant role of press for educating masses in social transformation movement. He felt that press would play a vital role of path shower in the movement. However, he was subjected to undergo many humiliations, problems to have sustenance of his journals. He started the newspapers entitled as "Mooknayak", (leader of dumb), "Bahishkrit Bharat" (Excluded India), "Samata" (Equality), "Janata" (The People), "Prabuddha Bharat" (Enlightened India). Dr.B.R.Ambedkar started 'Mooknayak' newspaper in 31st January 1920. Chatrapati Shahuji Maharaj had donated Rs 2500 as seed money to start *Mooknayak (Leader of the Dumb)*. This paper will compare the Media in the age of Independence movement and 70 years of Independence India. It will also explore the changing face of Indian Media and its Castiest content and Capitalists view in the contemporary political context.

Theorizing the Political Economy of the Media: Perspectives on Media Industry as Culture Industry is follows Pradip N Thomas highlighted key issues in a contemporary political economy of communications are Media Concentrations, Commodification, Intellectual Property, Media Policy and Governance, Audio-Visual Trade and Information and nationalization and the Cross-Sectorial Digital Economy. The tradition of critical political economy of

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communications was a reaction and response to the dominant, prevalent tradition of media research in the 1950s and 1960s that focused on narrow media effects and benign set of services to the public. The focus on administrative research and research that merely extended consumerism and the culture of contentment (Galbraith 1992) became a prime focus of critique. In fact, one of the doyens of the critical tradition, the Canadian scholar Dallas Smythe (1981), put forward the provocative idea that the media are not only involved in the production of commodities but primarily involved in the production of audiences for advertisers. In Smythe's words, 'the work which audience members perform for the advertiser to whom they have been sold is learning to buy goods and to spend their income accordingly....they work to create the demand for advertised goods which is the purpose of the monopoly-capitalist advertiser'. Golding and Murdock have observed that critical political economy is historical, holistic, adopts a realist materialist epistemology, is based on moral-philosophical foundations and deals with the distributional consequences of the media (1997:xvi). In a later article, Murdock and Golding outlined key areas of focus in a critical political economy of communications. 'Five historical processes are particularly central to a critical political economy of culture; the growth of the media; the extension of corporate reach; commodification; the universalization of citizenship; and the changing role of state and government intervention'.

The field of political economy of media has grown dramatically since the 1990s in India, for reasons that in the "New Economic Reforms and FDI in Mainstream Media and Information Age" approach being self-evident in the Indian context. Few people have reservations about the importance of media, of journalism, of culture industry or of communication in general for shaping the world we live in day today in the society. The Media are a central part of the capitalist political economy, the centre of the marketing structure, and a source of tremendous profit in their own right on information as a public good. The Media industry does not explain everything, but understanding media is indispensable to grasping the way power works in society. It is of significance that the political economy of media does not come close to explaining everything about the media, but what it does do is essential for communication research analysis to be comprehensive, accurate and transparent for the betterment of society.

The three important processes *Commodification*, *Spatialization* and *Structuration* are the main startup points for a political economy of communication/media. *Commodification* is the process of transforming things valued for their use into marketable products that are valued for what they can bring in exchange. For example in the process of turning news stories that people enjoy into news/ current affairs programme in the market place. How does the human act of communication become a product produced for a profit? *Spatialization* is the process of overcoming the constraints of geographical space with mainstream media, information and communication technologies. For example, television overcomes space by bringing images of world events to every part of the globe and companies increasingly use computer communication to organize business on a worldwide basis, thereby allowing them greater access to markets and the flexibility to move rapidly when conditions make it less favourable for them to stay in one place. *Structuration* is the process of creating social relations, mainly those focused around social class, caste, gender and region. For example, with respect to social class and caste, political economy describes how access to the mass media and information and communication technologies are influenced by inequalities in income and wealth which enable some to afford access and others to be left out.

The political economy of media has long-term issues which give a critical point of thinking and views on mainstream media and its development in India. It raises questions with regard to the nature of journalism and its relationship to democratic practices, how media firms and markets operate? We understand the propaganda model by looking at governments, commercial interests and corporate business interests. The relationship of the media is to be seen in terms of class, caste, gender, economic inequality, communication policy making process and regulations. The

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political economy of the media also focuses on public, private broadcasting and the establishment of alternative media institutions and systems for the free flow of information in society. The specific role of advertisements, examples in shaping media markets, content and audience for the survival and sustainability of the corporate media. The media system in India has always been the beneficiary of tremendous subsidies. The largest media firms receive extraordinary subsidies ranging from monopoly licenses to print, television and radio frequencies, monopoly on cable television, satellite television systems, copyright and much more.

Political economy is the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources, including communication resources (Mosco, Vincent, 2009:2). A more general and ambitious definition of political economy is “the study of control and survival in social life”.

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY SHOWS IN THE RESEARCH PAPER IS BASED ON IDEOLOGICAL STUDY

The present study is based on various historical materials available in the form of books, articles in journals, editorial analysis and online sources. Therefore historical methodology is adopted whereby the events of history are chronologically arranged in such a way that a logical consequence is maintained. Its objective is to draw explanations and generalizations from the past trends. It enables us to grasp our relationship with the past and to plan more intelligently for the future. The study is aimed at peeping into the historical past through the journals and other literature, which were being published. The method adopted in the present study by researcher is descriptive and analytical so that meaningful conclusion is drawn. The literature indicating the various facets of Babasaheb Ambedkar is enormous. Most of his valuable works are published in the form of research articles and books are found both in India and abroad specifically in the countries and universities where he studied in England and United States of America. Besides as a journalist since he was the chief editor of the leading journals like ‘Mooknayak’, ‘Bahishkrit Bharat’, ‘Samata’, ‘Janata’ and ‘Prabudha Bharat’ for which he invariably wrote the editorials which have been widely circulated and have created a storm in contemporary Indian context is being made use in the present. The researcher collected many back issues from Babasaheb Ambedkar’s contemporaries, followers and also from museums and libraries.

Babasaheb Ambedkar realized the significant role of press for educating masses in social transformation movement. He felt that press would play a vital role of path shower in the movement. However, he was subjected to undergo many humiliations, problems to have sustenance of his journals. He started the newspapers entitled as “Mooknayak”, (leader of dumb), “Bahishkrit Bharat” (Excluded India), “Samata” (Equality), “Janata” (The People), “Prabuddha Bharat” (Enlightened India). Dr.B.R.Ambedkar started ‘Mooknayak’ newspaper in 31st January 1920. Chatrapati Shahuji Maharaj had donated Rs 2500 as seed money to start Mooknayak (Leader of the Dumb). This Marathi weekly paper championed the causes of the depressed classes. Shri Nandra Bhatkar was the editor, later Shri Dyander Gholap was the editor. Dr. Ambedkar wrote in the first issue of this paper dated 31 January 1920 the following as “The hindu society is like a tower of many stories. It has neither a ladder nor a door to go out. And therefore there is no way to interchange stories. Those who are born on a particular storey die in that storey. Even if the lowest storey person is worthy deserving to be promoted to upper storey he cannot move to that level. And if the person in the upper storey is most unworthy and undeserving still he cannot be pushed down..... A Society which believes that God exists even in inanimate things, also says that people who are a part of that very society should not be touched!”

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III. POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE MEDIA IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

In this study, I have adopted the concept of 'Political economy of media' as developed in the American context by scholars such as Vincent Mosco and Robert McChesney. Mosco (1995) has defined political economy as the 'study of the social relations, particularly the power relations that influence the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication resources'. As applied to the communications media, political economy studies tend to focus on how the work of media institutions relates to the other major institutions of society – particularly the political, financial and industrial – and how these influences account for media industrial and professional practices.

In assessing the distinctive characteristics of the political economy tradition, Mosco (1995) has emphasized that it foregrounds:

- Social change and historical transformation – current changes are seen within much longer-term frameworks.
- The 'totality of social relations', in particular taking into account the inter-relationships between politics, economics and ideology.
- A commitment to moral philosophy – that is to say, to the values that help to create social behavior and moral principles that ought to guide it; various authors in this tradition have addressed values of self-interest, materialism and individual freedom, the acknowledgement of individual and social value in human labour, the extension of democracy to all aspects of social life.
- Social praxis – the unity of thinking and doing.

The principal characteristics of political economy

- Analysis of media in historical, social and political context.
- Addresses media relations to politics, economics and ideology.
- Has a moral purpose.
- Its end point is social action.

The epistemology (or way of knowing) of political economy Mosco argues, is *realist*, in that it accepts as real both discourses and social practices. It is *inclusive*, in that it explains the present with respect to historical trends and broader social formations. It is *moral*, in that it is interested in moral issues. It is *constitutive*, in that it rejects economic explanations as sufficient for understanding. It is *critical*, both because it is interested possibilities for improvement, but also because it recognizes and negotiates tensions between different intellectual positions.

Research into the economic and institutional structures of media and broadcasting usually goes under the heading of political economy. This will involve looking at patterns of media ownership, revenue sources (such as advertising), technological changes and various economic or institutional factors that influence the way media companies operate and the content they provide (Bernadette, Neil, Ben, Liam and Justin 2008: 205).

Ambedkar's active career as a journalist did not last long. Despite that, he was responsible for fundamentally shaping the contours of Marathi journalism. His insightful interventions through his newspapers were well-recognised even by his opponents. His lucid style of writing with a scholarly approach, and his command over the language were equally important in creating an impact at the time. It is possible that his experience of editing *Mooknayak* motivated him to learn an argumentative style of Marathi writing. Ratnakar Ganveer, one of the

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earliest writers on Ambedkar, had pointed out that due to Ambedkar's English schooling he initially faced difficulties in articulating himself in Marathi. In order to cope with the situation, he would write the editorials in English and then translate them into Marathi. He made great effort to learn and understand different dimensions of Marathi literature, which he profusely used in his editorials and commentaries. His strong but composed style of writing was clearly illustrated during the Mahad agitations of 1927.

Ambedkar never became the official editor of the *Mooknayak*, he was its de facto editor during his stay in India. Pandhurang Bhatkar became the first official editor. Ambedkar had taken a break from his doctoral studies and reached India in 1918. He left India to complete his studies in 1920. Bhatkar was replaced by Dnyandeo D. Gholap. Gholap received the memorable distinction of becoming the first 'untouchable' to have been nominated a member of Legislative Council of Bombay Presidency in 1921. Ambedkar closely monitored the activities of *Mooknayak* from London (Prabodhan, 2018).

Gandhi is regularly mentioned in the writings of *Mooknayak* and *Bahishkrut Bharat*. Ambedkar's editorials in *Mooknayak* had opposed the non-cooperation movement started by Gandhi but it praised him for his courage to speak up against the Brahmin orthodoxy. The editorials in *Mooknayak* viewed Gandhi's leadership of Congress with some optimism. Gandhi's emphasis on eliminating untouchability had invigorated a hope of change in the politics. With the onset of Dalit mass politics in 1927, Ambedkar's opinion of Gandhi became increasingly critical. Ambedkar's commentaries in *Bahishkrut Bharat* vehemently criticised Gandhi's views on the *varna* system and his patronising attitude towards untouchables.

Babasaheb Ambedkar analyzing the Swarajya in *Mooknayak* said that, "The rule created by British came in the way of the ambitious upper caste Hindus. These people subjugated Bahujan people thousand times greater. How the six Crore untouchables felt about of social and religious dominance on them by caste Hindus? The social traditions implemented on untouchables were denied all rights. The following rights were essential to lead a civilized life:

1. Personal liberty
2. Personal protection,
3. Right to have personal property
4. Rules of equality
5. Living with good thoughts
6. Liberty of speech and right to religion,
7. Right to conduct conferences,
8. Right to send its representative in politics and
9. Right to have government jobs.

Therefore he advocated strongly his concept of Swarajya in *Mooknayak* where all citizens should be equally benefited in all walks of life. Babasaheb Ambedkar wrote not only on politics but also on social issues of India in *Mooknayak*. *Mooknayak* became the center place for debate on all social issues. Many readers also contributed articles and letters to editor column. The social injustices committed on the various parts of the country were widely reported in the *Mooknayak*. Babasaheb Ambedkar struggled against the social injustices committed on the majority masses. He made a serious study on caste system of India and also presented the paper on it in Columbia University in America. In India "caste became culture." Therefore Babasaheb Ambedkar throughout his

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life crusaded to annihilate the caste system to establish equalitarian society based on the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity.

First Managaon Depressed Classes Conference:

The first conference of Depressed Classes was held on 19th and 20th March 1920 in Managoan near Kolhapur in Maharashtra State. The entire deliberations of the conference were published in the sixth edition of Mooknayak. The conference was the historical milestone in the history of Depressed Classes struggle for their emancipation. The conference was presided over by Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaja and Babasaheb Ambedkar along with many other non-Brahmin leaders.

Babasaheb Ambedkar in his address expressed sorrow by saying that the self-confidence and self-respect were not found among the Depressed Classes, which was necessary for the movement of 'self-elevation'. Three major ways to earn the wealth like trade, service, agriculture were deprived to them due to untouchability. He felt the utter need of political rights for their emancipation. He noticed that "the untouchables should secure the political capabilities which will not come unless and until caste-wise representation is provided." Due to Hajeri System' the Mahars fallen in the modern slave system that made their life dehumanized and miserable and derogated to worst condition.

Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaja in his presidential address stressed the importance of the abolition of the 'Hajeri system.' He also made successive efforts to eradicate it. He also suggested that the Depressed Classes should have faith in themselves and accept Babasaheb Ambedkar's leadership. On leadership issue he said, even animals and birds choose their own leaders within their community's welfare whereas why the untouchables should not have their own leader? He advised them that at any condition should not follow the leadership of Shetaji and Bhataji. He assured that he and his Maratha caste would help the movement of Depressed Classes. In the end, the conference passed many resolutions. Among them was to celebrate the birthday of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaja every year by Depressed Classes. The conference also urged the British Government to enact the legislation to remove the disabilities faced by the depressed classes in enjoying the public usage such as to use the roads, hospitals, schools. Education should be imparted to everyone without any biases of gender and caste and appoint the Depressed Classes' candidate in the Educational Department of the province to counter the personal stakes of Brahmin teachers.

Babasaheb Ambedkar wrote editorials for 12 issues of Mooknayak. Later he went London for higher education. The Mooknayak gave him a rare experience to him and also to develop close associates. He used to inquire the status of the Mooknayak through letters. The Mooknayak published a quotation of Sant Tukaram below the heading of the newspaper. It is said that, we know that we derogated in this world because we are dumb. That is why Mooknayak spoke with its rational articles on various social evils of the country. The Mooknayak competed with newspapers like Tilak's 'Kesari', Agarkar's 'Sudharak' on national issues like politics, freedom and social democracy. Mooknayak reported the incidents of atrocities on untouchables, difficulties faced by the untouchable students in the schools and hostels. Therefore it could be strongly observed that the Mooknayak taught the masses to fight against atrocities committed on them. When Babasaheb Ambedkar returned to India in 1923 and he made up his mind to be independent. However he did not stop his crusade. He formed the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha. Sabha took another great step to establish the newspaper. Babasaheb Ambedkar wrote a pamphlet on 4th December 1924, which had the future plans to start the full fledged Bharat Bhooshan printing press along with newspaper. He appealed to the public to contribute Rs. 20,000/- to materialize it. The public responded positively to Babasaheb Ambedkar's proposal and started contributing the money to it. With the collected money he started Bahishkrit Bharat newspaper on April 3rd 1927.

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Babasaheb Ambedkar addressing the Scheduled Castes Federation said to counter the media's draconian role, "We have no press. The press never reports the crudest of tyrannies and oppressions, to which our people are subjected day in and day out all over India. Even our views on social and political questions are systematically suppressed by an organized conspiracy on the part of the Press. We have no funds to maintain machinery, to render help to our people and to educate, agitate and organize them". However, this shortcoming may be sort out by establishment of newspapers. Along with that he conducted Janasampark or mass contacting techniques such as conducting conferences, meetings etc. The Free Press Journal falsely reported the untouchable repudiate Babasaheb Ambedkar's statement that the Depressed Classes' are with the Congress in their demand for 'Swarajya.' And on the other hand are completely satisfied the Congress would look after the interest under the future government and provide the necessary reservations for their full representation". The Bahujans misunderstood the statement. This statement for the upper caste people but unfortunately Bahujans thought that it represents them.

Babasaheb Ambedkar himself illustrated in the Times of India's views. "It is more important to note that Mr. Gandhi is releasing reactionary and uncontrollable forces. He is fostering the spirit of hatred between the Hindu community and the Depressed Classes by resorting to this method and thereby widening the existing gulf between the two. Further he said that when I opposed Mr. Gandhi at the Round Table Conference, there was a conspiracy in the Nationalist press to represent me a traitor to the Nationalist cause. To suppress the correspondence coming from my side and to boost propaganda against my party by publishing exaggerated Reports of meetings and conferences, many of which were never held.

"Silver Bullets" were freely used for creating division in the ranks of the Depressed Classes. There have been also a few clashes ending in violence." Babasaheb Ambedkar emphatically said about the press "what about the press, the press that stood for freedom and rights of workers and championed their cause as long as the Congress needed their help? Today that press is restoring to lies and falsehoods and distortions and suppression of facts that must make the British and Anglo-Indian journal blush with shame. The Protest strike is condemned as having fallen flat that it was a fiasco, that the workers defied the orders of their leaders. Those who bent on strike were supposed to have been 'intimidated' 'bullied' 'terrorized' and so on. People are familiar with these words. So far, they used to come from a press that was considered anti-national. Today they come from Congress and pro-congress press. That is the tragedy. That is the grim reality we have to face. I ask these journals, what has happened to your truth and non-violence, what has happened to your common decency? As for as the workers are concerned they cannot be misled by this or any other propaganda. They were witnesses to the gigantic demonstrations of protest against the Traders Disputes bill. They know what mighty success the strike has been." Describing the role of journalism he said, "This feeling of supremacy and infallibility is strengthened by the Press. One cannot help saying that the language used by Gardiner to describe the Northcliffe brand of journalism in my opinion quite appropriately describes the present state of journalism in India. Journalism in India was once a profession. It has now become a trade. It has no more moral function that the manufacture of soap.

The press, which was such a noble profession to educate and inform the mass turned into a major instrument to destruct society in the hands of Caste Hindus. The press acted as a puppet to oppose the humanitarian movement and represent their class interests. He personally throughout his life was a worst victim in the hands of manuwadi press, which represented Congress Press and Hindu Press. Their main job was to criticize, misrepresent him and on other side praise the Gandhi and Congress Party.

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Dr. B.R. Ambedkar aptly commented that the profession of Journalism has now been commercialized and the Indian Journalism did not recognize its primary objective as to publishing the news related to privileged persons and trying to correct them. Ambedker's observations on the Indian Press are as follows:

Journalism in India was once a profession. It has now become a trade. It has no more moral function than the manufacture of soap. It does not regard itself as the responsible adviser of the public. To give the news uncolored by any motive to present a certain view of public policy which it believes to be for the good of community, to correct and chastise (The Janatha, 30th January 1932, pg. 3).

The struggle for democracy and an independent media against social anomalies constitutes a way of life, it is constituted by particular media of communication and institutionalized nation. After independence, there had been an intense debate as to the form of government that India would adopt the ultimate resolution of which strongly advocated for a democratic form of governance for India as defined by the privileged social group. Dr. B. R. Ambedker could foresee the consequences of such a theoretical design, wherein the institutions of Varna/Caste, would decisively undermine the authority of the modern state, and thus retain the status-quo.

Kuber, (1974) says "Dr. B.R.Ambedkar stated that we now have Parliamentary democracy in which the caste system plays a significant role in social, economic and political aspects of development and to have real democracy there should be social democracy with social, economic, political and cultural equality among all individuals. All the institutions in the society have to put efforts to achieve such democracy and he expected media to give voice to the millions of people who do not have voice, with social responsibility and accountability. But, he found that media is not an exemption to have caste system penetrated media also where in the dominating media neglected portraying issues related to Dalits".

The media houses registered offices for political parties which are fond of caste and we can see a number of media houses established on the basis of caste with the purpose of protecting the interest of a particular caste. The mainstream news media which are in leading positions according to their publicity and impact, gaze at the flaws of each other which is astonishingly damaging the people's respect and reliability on media.

Article 19 (A) speaks about the freedom of speech and expression but does not speak of *freedom of press* which belongs to people. The First Press Commission pointed that the freedom of press in India is to be guarded as a right of the people in a free society. It carries with the freedom the responsibility to discuss, question and challenge, the actions, utterances of our government and public and private institutions (Vishweshar Rao, 2007, p.44).

Telecom Regulatory Authority of India's (TRAI) 2008, consultation paper on Media Ownership articulates some of the issues. The corporate response to this paper suggests that media ownerships a non-issue, given fragmented media markets and diverse audiences in India. That selective reasoning can be contested. Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation and the Sun TV network owned by Maran may be different in terms of business with politics. Both are rent-seeking monopolies and the empires. Just as the Fox Network in the US has played a significant role in legitimizing neo-conservative politics linked to the Bush administration, so, in the context of Sun TV's on and off alliances with ruling Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam (DMK) party in Tamil Nadu, and the significant involvement of one of the scions of the Sun TV dynasty, Dayanidhi Maran, as a Union Minister involved in the making of communications policy, there have been substantive political investments in assuring Sun TV's corporate, inter-sectoral media dominance. This is similar E TV network owned by Ramoji Rao who is a Media Moghul in Andhra Pradesh state and extending support to Telugu Desam Party (TDP) or Non-Congress Parties.

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Political communication in our country is directed at the election processes. So an increasing number of television channels look at audiences as voters and think of the influence they can have all the time. We have enough incidences where it proves that it will not work out. They have limitations too in that TV channels can say one side will win, and yet the political outcome can be something else. We have seen in 2004 to in 2018. Media was surprised, including the poll agencies found themselves into wrong. It clearly shows very great interest in the processes.

Satyaprakash Reddy from the department of communication says about the class and caste equations in the media as follows:

The class argument doesn't work here because we can't make a class distinction, but caste distinction is very clear. You ask anybody that what is the editorial position of newspaper or news channel, it is open to visible and clear picture. At least some prime news channels they will tell what is their editorial position, it is so open. What is paying dominant role, probably is that each one those channels also know it's not a single caste. It's a formation of caste, they need to address, that what they will address their address will trying to unite their political agenda and try to break the others political formula. So, even though primarily it might look it's possible to argue that it's directed at the interest of the particular dominant group/community. It is impossible to run any media outlet like that for practical reasons because any dominant community has to accommodation some other groups go along with them. That will also seen in the political communication. Signaling is very clear without any ambiguity. Because they need to work together without fail (Satyaprakash Reddy, 2013, personal interview).

Buchanna worked as print media journalist turned to electronic media with huge professional experience says that,

As in all other fields caste is present in media too. No matter how intellectual lower caste people are, there is a notion outside that due to globalization and urbanization there is a change in its nature and characteristics, but the change that has come is not the desired change. It came in another form as a urban-caste. There is a print-caste in print media and electronic-caste in electronic media but in different form. Caste is an invisible physical fact in the society. The way it is in society so is in media also in fact it is more in media. The number of marginalized or oppressed people such as Shudras, Athi Shudras and Dalit in the field of media, like reporters, new readers in T.Vs, Paper readers in print media, is very low than expected. Their presence is not more than 0.1 or 0.2% even if in case it is more than that it is in some rural backgrounds, but still they are not allowed take path breaking decisions or write their news themselves and are controlled by the management simply put subjected to ruthless discrimination (Buchanna, 2013, Personal Interview).

In some news channels, which came into existence lawfully, though they are only one or two in Andhra Pradesh, those lawful couple of channels are trying to function based on moral values and moral aspects when compared with others. These channels of investors have their influence upon nearly 60 to 70% of the content. What content should be taken that day and how it should be driven? Management policy has captured the entire liquor revolution and made all the news coverage captured by it as an internal agenda and brought a social stratum into state politics and made a chief minister. A strong media belonging to another social group, brought a new trend in media field unfamiliar till then in Andhra Pradesh which lead to the destruction of media implicitly, by not giving newsprint and by stopping the agency of that newspaper which is a direct blow - all these things are issues which came out of a paper's management.

Sudha Rani, of the ABN Andhra Jyoti channel has this to say,

The way the managements are and the way of their thinking is to bring a caste into power and retain that caste in power for some years. Today there is a narrow distinction between news and political opinion and it is hard to distinguish it unless you make deliberate attempt. Managements are working powerfully today (in personal interview, 2013).

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It is visible that class and caste domination in the newsroom and board room and its influence on manufacturing content and consent. This data says that there is no need to monitor the board policy on news, content and public opinion. News media is a public good, it is in the hands few castes or class people who doesn't protect the public interest. This will not focus on social justice, equality, deepening the democracy and equal representation of the society in mainstream media. There is need of norms or rules frame for setting up the news television channel for building the gaps in the society. Television news media sets the agenda for the protection of the few communities to get the power and hegemony into their hands. Television is becoming as part of the culture industry where decision taken and imposed on the society. TV as propaganda model and business model is too danger for the long run to the society. It should protect common interest and give voice for voiceless people.

Historically power and economy controlled by upper castes (Brahmin and Baniya) after economic reforms power and economy shifted to Kamma, Reddy, Kapu in Andhra Pradesh state and Velma's recently caputered the political power and economy in Telangana state. When we see their population and proportionate representation, it is in a dominant position again in justice to Dalits, Adivasis and Backward Castes and Minorities. Critical Political economy of media studies analyzed that still the monopoly and hegemony of the upper castes continuing and it is a million question of democratization of media and power. Due to Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization upper castes and class entered into global economy and communications network. It is noticed that and economy has not shifted to grass roots and not decentralized the power relations.

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