

## The Crucial Role of Media in Strengthening Democracy - Analysis of New Media's Roles, Responsibilities and Challenges in the World's Largest Democracy

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**Abstract**—Media is considered as the fourth estate of democracy in India. It is indeed a backbone of Indian Democratic system as without it, it is really impossible to manage and execute the world's largest democracy. The former chairman of the Press Council of India Justice Jaichandra Reddy rightly called it even more powerful than the three traditional organs of our democracy i.e. the Executive, the Legislative and the Judiciary as it is the only authority which can criticize and comment on the deeds and misdeeds of these organs.

Such is the importance and power of media in a democratic state. We cannot forget the memorable role played by print media in the Indian freedom struggle which served as a medium for propagating the nationalism, enlightening and educating the people and successfully curbing, and in certain cases, eradicating social evils that were prevalent in the Indian society. Since then, its potential and power has been recognized by Indians and its regulatory bodies in the national development, public welfare and in strengthening the democratic values. The media played a pivotal role in foregrounding the process of democracy by educating the citizens, protecting their rights, ensuring people's participation in the working and decisions of government and finally serving as a bridge between the people and their representatives and generating public opinion which is the core essence of democracy.

With the rapid expansion of Internet and accessibility the new vistas of opportunities and possibilities have bloomed for the democracy to thrive in real terms. Internet is flourishing in India with fast pace and the current growth rate is massive with nearly 49%. IAMAI statistics suggests that it took more than a decade to grow from 10 million to 100 million, but 100 million became 200 million in the span of 3 years, and then in just one year from 2014 to 2015, 300 million surged to more than 400 million internet users. Currently the internet users in India are around 450 million and by the year 2017 another 200 million are estimated to join as per the IAMAI iCube report. Also as per the figures of Trai (Telecom Regulatory Authority of India) and Minister for communications and information technology the internet users in India will be over 500 million by the end of 2016 with over one billion mobile subscribers. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's recent Digital India Campaign is a revolutionary initiative with tremendous potential to transform the country into digitally empowered economy by 2018. A report – "Internet in India 2015, released by the IAMAI (Internet and Mobile

Association of India) and IMRB International says that India has the world's 2nd largest Internet users by December, 2015 surpassing the U.S. It is the 3rd most growing country in the Asia Pacific region after Vietnam and China.

It is quite evident from the statistics that there is a sharply growing awareness among Indians about the importance and need of this revolutionary medium - internet. Even the rural Indians are getting online apace in order to use social networking sites and for information updation. A study by Boston Consulting Group says that by 2020, there will be around 315 million rural Indians connected to internet in comparison to current 120 million internet users of rural India and fascinatingly 70% of the rural Indians use the internet for facebook and emailing.

As per Baller and Green 2005, Goodnoe 2006, and Totty 2007, on this medium, large number of users gets information and entertainment but at the same time they contribute as information providers by the way of blogs, wikis, videos etc. on variety of topics and subjects. Thus serving as a real platform for democratic state where there is equal give and take of information and exchange of views has become so easy and everyone's cup of tea.

New media creates an ambience for such a liberal democracy where every individual has equal rights. As per sociologists real media is that which ensures common man's participation and new media provides equal opportunities to all without any distinctions whereas traditional media has restrictions. This way new media can be called as harbinger and guardian of democracy. According to American thinker Naum Chomski, this new media seems to be more liberal though it appears that its liberty is limited to educated and strong people and it will take some more time to connect with common man. But the statistics suggest that with the expansion of internet and increasing popularity of this new media, common man and rural India are connecting with it and taking advantage of this tool providing ample scope for freedom, connectivity, commerce and other social benefits.

Thus, considering the popularity and wide scope of new media, we can conclude that this new avatar of media too is an integral part of Indian democratic system and is very crucial for healthy democracy. Oxford Internet Institute's Sociologist H.Duton has even called it "5th Pillar" of Democracy. Renowned Political thinker Herald J. Laski in his book - Grammer of Politics has asked for two conditions for the establishment of Democracy. One is that there should be no special rights to anyone and second is equal opportunities to one and all. Both the conditions are fulfilled by this new media. It has developed such an effective and two way platform for the people of the country to connect themselves, express themselves and interact with their policy makers. Via this they can keep a watch on the entire working and decisions of the government, can raise their voice for their fundamental rights and can participate in the government decisions ensuring the smooth execution of healthy democracy. Thus, it is the harbinger and guardian of democracy in its real terms.

But at the same time, it is confronted with criticism, challenges and new concepts because of the changing times and emerging ideologies which needs to be tackled

carefully in order to maintain the image of this sacred institution which is assisting in strengthening democracy and development of a common man.

### **Introduction - Media and Democracy**

Democracy and Media go hand in hand and are complimentary to each other. Both have common goals and objectives. Democracy in general terms is defined as of the people, for the people and by the people and the sole purpose of Media is service to the people. It's all roles and functions revolve around the people. Journalists are the agents of public, they are the trustworthy sources from whom they get authentic and true picture and who takes care of their rights while in democratic state, there are elected representatives who are agents of people and take care of their needs and rights.

In a democratic state, people and their decisions are supreme and media plays a crucial role in ensuring that people participate in decision making and make informed decisions. Also it serves as a platform for the public to communicate with their representatives and to voice their opinions. Thus, in today's society media is very much essential for good governance, national and social development. Media inform, educate and aware the masses and generate the public opinion to help democracy survive in real terms. This is where the importance of media arises. Media through its various means of Print, Electronic and Online mediums has a powerful impact on the minds and hearts of people. It has a power to make and break the public opinion. It can change perceptions and arouse emotions.

Thomas Jefferson once said that if I have to decide whether we should have government without newspapers or newspapers without government, I will not hesitate for even a moment to choose the latter. There can be no objective and accountable government without the presence and fear of press; because the power corrupts so there is a need of some institution which keeps a check on it. Transparency and accountability are most essential elements for the proper functioning of democracy. Here media works as a watchdog and guardian of people's fundamental rights and freedom of speech and expression. Just like fish can survive only in water, similarly, the people's rights and freedom are possible in a democratic state with free media only which can keep an eye on the governing authorities and safeguard their rights. Thus, in a democratic country like India, media's roles and responsibilities becomes more important.

The role of media in world's largest democracy is not merely to provide information and entertainment, its most important function is to educate and make the masses aware to ensure the social and national advancement. In a country like India which is struggling with its basic problems of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and underdevelopment, the media's responsibility increases and the need of development journalism likewise, also increases. Media has always been working for the development and betterment of the society. We cannot forget the role of print media before and during the independence struggle. Later, electronic media i.e. radio, television and cinema played a significant role

in shaping and reviving the society. And since last three decades, with the evolution of internet, new media has become the flag bearer with its powerful reach and efficiency of spreading information and ideas worldwide in real time.

If we see traditionally and constitutionally there is no role of media in governance and it cannot change the decisions taken by the three organs and arms of the state but still media's role is very powerful as it helps to communicate the citizens' voice and opinions to the lawmakers, thus ensuring people's participation and safeguarding their rights.

The media also exposes loopholes in the administration and working that assists regulatory bodies in making the system more accountable, and citizen- friendly. Thus, a democracy without media is indeed a vehicle without wheels.

#### **Roles and Responsibilities of Media in a Democratic state-**

**Watchdog** – The first P.M. of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that Media is the watchdog of our democracy. This watchdog function is essential in a democratic society where people must know what their governments are doing. The most important function of media is to guard the public interest by keeping an eye on the policy makers and force them to explain their actions which affect the public.

**Responsible and Objective Communicator**- Media has a great responsibility in the functioning of our democracy by being a communicator between the public and regulatory bodies. It informs and aware people about state affairs and important issues related to them. All the journalists have the responsibility to report the unbiased, accurate information as it is received from reliable sources. It is their obligation to obtain all sides of a story and to report on both the good and the bad stuff.

**Generator of Public Opinion** – Media has been playing a crucial role in deepening democracy by educating the citizens, protecting their rights, ensuring people's participation in the working and decisions of government and finally serving as a bridge between people and its representatives and generates public opinion which is the base of democracy. According to the NATO Spokesman Dr. J.P.Shea, It informs public about all the important issues, ensures people's participation in the decision making process and mobilize public opinion.

**Ensuring equal opportunities and participation of one and all** – Renowned Political thinker Herald J. Laski in his book – Grammer of Politics has asked for two conditions for the establishment of Democracy. One is that there should be no special rights to anyone and second is equal opportunities to one and all. It is the duty of the media to provide equal platform and forum to one and all without any distinctions. With press freedom we then know what the differing views in society are, opening the floor to debate and discussion, all of which aid healthy functioning of a democratic society.

**Harbinger of reforms and development** – it promotes and propagate reforms, positive and healthy ideas and projects ensuring development of citizens and

society whether they come from government or those who are in opposition. It is believed that the press speaks for the people and helps them in raising their voice against all ills as well as supports all developmental projects.

**Change makers** - Finally, one of the most powerful strengths the media has in any society is the ability to effect change, both on a social and governmental level. Media has a power to bring revolutions and change perceptions and it is the duty of the media to bring positive changes for the development of the people and nation.

**As the Fourth Estate** – Media’s most important function in a democratic society is of the 4th estate or pillar of democracy which checks the functioning of all the three regulatory bodies i.e. executive, legislative and the judiciary. Its prime mission is to safeguard the rights of the citizens and make people aware and conscious about the affairs of the state, thus, force the regulatory bodies, elected representatives to work for the development of people. Many a times, media is silenced, gagged and suppressed by the other three bodies but still media is trying its best since independence in performing the function of most important pillar of democracy.

In the current age of information revolution where information is the necessity for economic progress and social development, Media has evolved as more important institution and with the emergence of internet and new media, its importance has been multiplied many times as it is serving as an effective medium transforming lives of the people and supporting the national development. Thus, considering the roles of media, we can conclude that it is an integral part of Indian democratic system and is very crucial for healthy democracy.

### **New Media in India**

The 20th century witnessed a mighty resurgence and merging of many new forms of communication and created a history in the field of mass communication with its revolutionary and innovative approach. All these means of communication helped the society progress with its increased accessibility and wide range. Among all the mediums, the most revolutionary and publically accessible is the system of worldwide inter connected network called as Internet.

Internet is thriving in India with fast pace and the current growth rate is massive with nearly 49%. IAMAI statistics suggests that it took more than a decade to grow from 10 million to 100 million, but 100 million became 200 million in the span of 3 years, and then in just one year from 2014 to 2015, 300 million surged to more than 400 million internet users. Currently the internet users in India are around 450 million and by the year 2017 another 200 million are estimated to join as per the IAMAI iCube report. Also as per the figures of Trai (Telecom Regulatory Authority of India) and Minister for communications and information technology the internet users in India will be over 500 million by the end of 2016 with over one billion mobile subscribers. Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s recent Digital India Campaign is a revolutionary initiative with tremendous potential to transform the country into digitally empowered economy by 2018. This digital

drive has been praised by US based telecom key company AT&T which will boost the use of internet in the country.

**A report** - "Internet in India 2015, released by the IAMAI (Internet and Mobile Association of India) and IMRB International says that India has the world's 2nd largest Internet users by December, 2015 surpassing the U.S. It is the 3rd most growing country in the Asia Pacific region after Vietnam and China.

It is quite obvious from the statistics that Indians are now very much aware about the importance and need of the internet and the interesting fact is that social networking and entertainment is the second largest reason behind internet use after online communication like email, chat and data transfer.

Even the rural Indians are getting online with fast pace in order to use social networking sites (mainly facebook). The report published in livemint in 2016 states a study by Boston Consulting Group which says that there will be around 315 million rural Indians connected to internet by 2020 in comparison to current 120 million internet users of rural India and fascinatingly 70% of the rural Indians use the internet for facebook and emailing.

It is true that currently majority of new media users use it for social interaction through social networking sites and mobile apps like facebook, twitter, whatsapp, instagram, etc. Around 2.7 billion are estimated to use this new media which is approximately 39% of the entire world's population. People use this media to exchange views, update their information, keep touch with their family and friends and participate in various activities, events and discuss on the matters of national and social interest. This medium is breaking all the restrictions and opening ample of opportunities for common man ensuring ways for liberal and healthy democracy.

As per the 'Digital Social Mobile India Report 2015' the prime motive of 88% users for accessing internet is sharing content and spending time on various social networking sites and among them Facebook is the most liked social media with around 800 million active users. Facebook has revolutionized social media with its unbeatable popularity and has opened new opportunities for the communication world. Facebook is the most popular online social network founded in February 2004 by Mark Zuckerberg with 1.59 billion active monthly users by the end of 2015 as per the facebook statistics. On facebook, 1 million links are shared, 2 million people send friends request and 3 million messages are sent in every 20 minutes. Twitter is considered as the most preferred medium for citizen journalism as it provides immediate and regular news feeds and updated information about all the events and crisis. According to Busari, 2008 as per a CNN article around 80 tweets are estimated to be sent in every 5 seconds to Twitter via messages.

The statistics of 'we are social' report shows that there will be 283 million social network users in India by the year 2018 from 134 million active users in 2015. So, now after tech savvy, new buzzword is social media savvy which has become a part of life of about 2/3rd Indians. Social media has become the most powerful online activity during the last couple of years. This interactive media is getting

popular because of its multiple features like live-chat, image and video sharing, status updates, quick reviews, responses and critical comments from friends and experts. The report published in E- paper Live Mint dated 23 March, 2016 also says the popular activities on social media are maintaining profile, sharing pictures, posting updates and liking as well as replying on friends' updates and messages. In the current social world where millions of internet users are actively available on social media, India is among top ten countries which are using social networks at higher level.

As per Baller and Green 2005, Goodnoe 2006, and Totty 2007, On this medium, large number of users gets information and entertainment but at the same time they contribute as information providers by the way of blogs, wikis, videos etc. on variety of topics and subjects. Thus serving as a real platform for democratic state where there is equal give and take of information and exchange of views has become so easy and everyone's cup of tea.

As per the sociologists real media is that which ensures common man's participation and new media provides equal opportunities to all without any distinctions whereas the traditional media is restricted to a particular educated section. New media has broken all these limitations and has involved larger sections to its circumference. This way new media can be called as harbinger and guardian of democracy. According to American thinker Naum Chomski, this new media seems to be more liberal though it appears that its liberty is limited to educated and strong people and it will take some more time to connect with common man. But the statistics suggest that with the expansion of internet and increasing popularity of this new media, common man and rural India are connecting with it and taking advantage of this tool providing ample scope for freedom, connectivity, commerce and other social benefits.

**Scope and Forms of New Media** - Current era is the era of internet revolution which has connected everyone to the mainstream. With its expandable reach, unlimited access and lots of choices for entertainment and information, this new medium has brought drastic changes in the ways of communication and moreover it is easily accessible than the traditional media. It is wider in its form, size and organization than any other form of traditional media. Also it is less restricted or dependent on any medium like print media on paper and electronic media on television or radio sets. Because of its unbeatable qualities, this new media has flourished as the mainstream media for the exchange of information and social communication. Today the new media has taken a mature form and completed around 3 decades but due to its features of adopting new every now and then, it is still new till date. Innovations and creativity are its salient features and its relevance is also multiplying in comparison to other traditional forms of media. Specially, last 5 years have been very crucial where the new media platforms have brought revolutions and served as the entirely liberal democratic platforms for its consumer citizens where everything revolves around the people and public opinion is on the top priority.

New media is not just limited to online journalism rather its scope is very much wide and it is present in front of us in various ways in the forms of all online

materials like websites, portals, blogs, e-magazines, online ads, social networking sites, emails, online chatting, SMS, online gaming, communities forums, all user generated content like youtube, flicker, wikipedia, citizen journalism, all govt. and private services and facilities in the form of e-banking, e-commerce, e-shopping, e-administration, e-education, computer softwares and download services and all other digital content available online.

All this proves that new media has emerged as a great power which has no limits and boundaries and it is continuously attracting the consumers with its easy to use multiple features and services and has undoubtedly become a necessity of today's life whether it is personal, career related, education or politics, or social-cultural aspect, it has touched common man's life. New media has made our life easy and well informed. This revolutionary medium has changed the entire scenario of the country and has for sure helped in the survival of healthy democracy. Freedom of expression and exchange of views which are the salient features of democracy has got a strong forum by the way of various forms of new media. It has given new dimension and factual form to the freedom of expression.

Anna Hazare's movement in the year 2011 against corruption is the best example how the new media can play a strong and effective role in revolutions and social change. The movement gathered lakhs of people at one platform within few days and generated huge public opinion showing the power of democracy. This organizing power of new media was realized by the entire nation in which more than 1.5 lakhs supporters on Facebook and around 44 lakh tweets on twitter during the very initial days of the revolution.

Another instance of this power of new media revealed during Mumbai attacks during which many people wrote blogs for emergency information like helping people to search their relatives or to fulfill the requirement of blood donations by the hospitals. A 29-year blogger Harish Iyer set up a blog soon after the attacks and published his mobile and email details (at <http://mumbaiTerrorHelpline.blogspot.com/>). And within 20 hrs, he received 60 calls and 100 mails from the needy ones.

Recent demonetization by Prime Minister Narendra Modi got popularity through the social media and online news portals and entire nation expressed their views and communicated with the govt. officials as well as other authorities on this forum and supported PM in his mission to remove black money and corruption. At the same time, critical comments also came about RBI and PM's decisions. Thus, balanced and unbiased opinion was generated on this platform which is quite valuable. This is the reason both private as well as public undertakings have started taking this new media and views expressed here very seriously. According to the new media expert Parmeet J. Naathan, a single negative tweet and facebook status can spoil or deteriorate any company's trust and image.

At the social and cultural front too, new media and its various forms are helping people especially the young India to express their views and use their fundamental rights regarding complex traditional issues related to religion, caste, fashion, marriage, and other stereotypes. Thus, again it can be quoted as an example of



strengthening democracy. It is a platform where people freely discuss, critically analyse and comment on any subject or issue and thus, the information received by the people is not biased or chances of viral of rumors and anti-social elements are quite less. The credibility is there.

New media technology use is also being promoted by the government by the way of e-government programs that are being implemented in almost all the Indian states at urban and rural level. The Indian Ministry of Human Resources and Development has recommended blogging, community radio and digitalization of all the government services and programs in order to make an access to all the citizens. (Sreekumar, 2007; Schwittay, 2008). Also it is being observed that better and more realistic assessment of all the programs is being carried out with the help of new media technology and bringing meaningful difference in the lives of people.

Thus, considering the popularity and wide scope of new media, we can conclude that this new avatar of media too is an integral part of Indian democratic system and is very crucial for healthy democracy. Oxford Internet Institute's Sociologist H. Dutton has even called it "5th Pillar" of Democracy. Renowned Political Thinker Herald J. Laski in his book - Grammar of Politics has asked for two conditions for the establishment of Democracy. One is that there should be no special rights to anyone and second is equal opportunities to one and all. Both the conditions are fulfilled by this new media. It has developed such an effective and two-way platform for the people of the country to connect themselves, express themselves and interact with their policy makers. Via this they can keep a watch on the entire working and decisions of the government, can raise their voice for their fundamental rights and can participate in the government decisions ensuring the smooth execution of healthy democracy. New media constructs an environment for such a liberal democracy where every citizen has equal rights to express and exchange his views and to get all the information.

This online medium has given a new dimension and factual form to the freedom of expression which has been declared as the fundamental and human right by our constitution. It promotes citizen journalism via blogs and other online modes of communication. New media constructs an environment for such a liberal democracy where every citizen has equal rights to express and exchange his views. Thus, it encourages citizen engagement and is the harbinger and guardian of democracy in its real terms.

But at the same time, it is confronted with criticism, challenges and new concepts because of the changing times and emerging ideologies which needs to be tackled carefully in order to maintain the image of this sacred institution which is assisting in strengthening democracy and development of the common man.

### **Challenges and Recommendations**

Today the new media is becoming so prominent tool in communicating with millions of people all over the globe. It is setting new trends, and new culture via different forums, chatting, social and professional networking sites and web

portals. Undoubtedly its influence is spreading beyond boundaries but with the technical advancement and information revolution, it has raised one concern about new media's impact on human attitude and behaviour (Watson, 1998) as it is quite aggressive in nature, very fast and has changed the traditional patterns of conversation and communication.

Here people discuss about various topics of national and international importance, daily routine, gossips etc. As per (Preece, 2000)., this online community which is supported by technology and guided by norms has a potential to enrich the society and culture but at the same time, the overflow and exchange of large number of messages without any check of authenticity of content and context can be quite harmful as it can facilitate the spread of rumors. Just as renowned blogger Tim Mallon said that he noticed the ugly side of twitter where the news actually takes a form of confused, illogical rumour which we can see through overflow of tweets, re-tweets and re-re-tweets. (quoted in Busari, 2008).

India is still groveling with the basic problems of providing food and shelter for many poverty stricken citizens and so there is a need to use this effective media to discuss and solve these problems rather than spreading these rumors and gossiping on superficial topics. Thus, if we talk about the drawbacks of new media which has already raised a concern world- wide is that it lacks authenticity and accountability. Here news can be viral in fraction of seconds. Such a speed but who is responsible for the outcome? Nobody knows. How much authentic it is? Nobody cares. No doubt it is very effective medium but at the same time there is no filtration of messages which can sometimes be dangerous to the nation and democracy as well. For example at the time of Mumbai's Taj hotel attack by terrorists, commandos operation was hindered due to the unnecessary informed released over media. Terrorists were getting all the secret information about the operation of commandos and created problem for them.

Also such information without any restrictions can have negative impact on children. On this medium, every kind of information is available and it can be accessed by everyone which can cause harm to the society in many ways and can also be dangerous to the nation and democracy as well.

Another challenge of new media is that it is more a virtual world rather than a real world. Here lakhs of people share information and express their opinions about many personal and other social-cultural-national and international topics but the concerned ones are very less and those who act on the issues are negligible. It is a world of thoughts and not of actions. This democracy is quite different from real one. Thus, the new media stil has a long way to go and there is a need to transform all virtual principles and talks into practical one.

The study observes that many people consider this new media a challenge for age-old social values and our culture as it is more in the hands of young brigade who share and express their modern ideologies and views through this medium which might be a threat to our social cultural values. This fear can be true to some extent for some superstitions and stereotypes which needs to be changed for the betterment of the society but when we see that today entire world is

following our traditional values and appreciating and embracing our classic culture which is enriching us, how can anyone think of leaving it. And moreover we are all educated and rational beings and make our choices as per our preferences, so the exposure to modern culture can not be blamed. The faith and bonding with the culture should be strengthened.

The world of social media has given new dimension to the social and friendship status of the people and increased the social life and contacts despite of the busy lifestyle but it is superficial and limited till they are online otherwise in reality even the family members are not connected with each other and feel lonely despite of living in the same house. Such issues should be discussed online to make people aware what they are doing and where they are going... from real life to the imaginary world where they are all alone.

Another point of concern or challenge for the new media is that it is very aggressive and fast in disseminating latest and hottest news but while performing this function, this media has bypassed its traditional role of responsible journalism. Though there are some norms regarding publication of any material or news but looking at the overflow of unedited, incoherent information and messages, it is recommended that there should be some kind of procedure of filtration of the messages on this online medium.

It is true that this medium has wide reach and incomparable features in comparison to traditional media for getting information and entertainment but still there is a digital gap in India in comparison to the developed nations. Despite of the technological advancement and digitalisation of country, many people still don't have access to all the facilities and are not able to express them via this medium due to scarcity of resources and knowledge.

### **Conclusion**

The role of media has grown tremendously over time and it would gain more importance in the times to come as media has become more powerful and efficient institution with the emergence of new media. The world in which we live today is very much fascinating and life has become impossible without technology and media. With the rise in the living standards of the people and digitalization of the country, people are more exposed to high speed internet and various social and professional networking sites, online news portals and other forms of new media.

For a developing country like India, fraught it is, with certain challenges mentioned earlier and the most vicious of them all being corruption, the media's role becomes very much significant in safeguarding people's rights. One of the strongest roles of this new media is that it engages millions of people. In this manner, the fundamental role of ensuring participation of its citizens in the decision making process of the country is being done by this media very well and thus helping in proper implementation of democracy.

It has developed such an effective and two way platform for the people of the country to connect with each other, express themselves and interact with their

policy makers. Through this medium they can keep a watch on the entire working and decisions of the government, can raise their voice for their fundamental rights and can participate in the government decisions ensuring the smooth and proper functioning of healthy democracy.

Finally it can be concluded that with great power comes greater responsibilities. This New Avataar of Media with millions of followers has overtaken the entire scenario within just three decades, so, its responsibility increases towards ensuring responsible social development, economic advancement, political stability and national security. We can count on it considering its multiple features and efficient role as despite of some flaws, it is trying to fulfill the responsibility of strengthening the democracy in its real terms.

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