Introduction
The mass media, important extensions of man, have changed the very aspect of human life and played a crucial role in every conceivable area of human activity. First, they helped challenge possession of knowledge by the clergy. The invention of movable press has made the common man more powerful at the cost of the Church, resulting in evolution of a secular society. Printing technology has completely altered the very structure of human conscience and thought (McLuhan, 1964). As an advertising medium also it created new space for industry. During the two world wars, it was a medium for war propaganda. Even today, in the age of globalisation, it is playing a more important role in the process. It is not an exaggeration to say that the mass media - newspapers, radio, television and film are reaching the entire humanity either directly or indirectly.

Mass media- ‘the global nervous system - are ‘ making increasing demands on our time, helping define our patterns of leisure, playing a role in our
social lives, presenting us with overwhelming amount of information and images about ourselves and about other people. They became an indispensable part of human life in democratic systems moulding public opinion- the lubricant that moves the engine of democracy. The mass media provide a forum for public discussion. In the area of culture they present definition. As economic entities, they have become very important players on a global level.

**Interest of researchers on media and effects**

Fascinated by the power of the media over society and individuals, researchers have been trying to figure out its functioning and impact. The interest can be seen right from the days of world war, when researchers were interested in finding out how media could be used for war propaganda. Going by its influence in every area of human life, everybody including the media industry, government and academicians were interested in its' functioning. Researchers with different disciplinary backgrounds saw the impact and role of media in different ways. Basically the media were supposed to perform functions like information, interpretation, education and entertainment. Based on these functions, and depending on the society
in which the media operate, researchers have formulated certain expected functions. These classifications, known as normative theories of media, are authoritarian theory, free press, social responsibility, development theory and democratic-participant theory (Siebert, et al., 1956; McQuail, 2000).

Each theory enjoins upon the media a certain kind of function and the society also expects the media to play a particular role and fulfill certain responsibilities.

Based on their functions, the media are expected to play a particular role in a society in its given context. Even in a given society and media system, these roles may change from media to media and from time to time depending on the social, political, economic and competitive environment. Journalists may see these roles differently depending on their social and professional backgrounds, the training they have undergone and the ‘professional socialization’.

Media scholars also view different roles and functions “as an agent of the government, adversary of government, preserver of status quo, fourth estate, reality definer and mobilizes of public opinion”. Each of these views about
the media role changes the journalists' work and media content in a significant way. Primarily, these roles change from society to society and from time to time. While the media in communist countries are expected to be a part of the government and an agent of propaganda, in capitalistic countries they are seen as adversaries of the government. In developed countries, they are expected to play the role of nation builder and a catalyst in the development process. The press keeps the various departments of the government in touch with each other and also with the nation (Fourth branch of government). Others see its role as an advocate or an adversary of the government. Even in a given country, the role expected may change in a given situation. For example, during the time of war and internal disturbances, media are expected to be with the government and also forgo its rights like freedom of speech and expression. Lerner, Schramm, Pool and Rao have highlighted the role of media in development. The use of media for propaganda by the governments is well documented (Herman and Chomsky) and to indoctrinate the people during the world war, for nation building by the governments, and for social change has been proved by several researchers. The author of the book 'imagined communities' has also
corroborated the role of media in nation building. The newspapers were the weapons in the struggle for independence in Latin America against Spanish domination and in India against British rule.

Later, they were instruments in governments' efforts in transforming social structures and solve economic problems (McBride, 1980: 13).

**Historical role**

The newspaper from the early days was an actual or a potential adversary of the authority in power (McQuail, 2000: 21). The press carries out many functions: dissemination of information – political and commercial, entertains, investigates truth, forms public opinion, provides forum for public discussion, builds nation, plays a catalytic role in development process and is an organ of governments (in communist countries). In addition, the media also sets an agenda to the government, people and other institutions. However, these functions depend on the social, political, legal and other environments in which the media operates. There is large amount of research evidence to show that the media functions in these areas.
The research has been focusing more on impacts than on how media creates its message, who produces it and why the message takes the shape as it is. The research on the making of the message is less compared to others. "Constant demands to measure and assess the effects of the media product on the public at large from governments, international organizations, corporations, foundations, and the operating units of the media themselves would seem to be an irresistible challenge for social scientists (Nayman: 1973).

To understand journalism better, researchers thought it important to know who the journalist is; his/her background and training; what beliefs and values he/she holds about his/her own particular job and about the occupational community of journalists in general and what changes they deem necessary to be implemented within the occupation? And of great importance, yet rarely studied, is how he/she places his/her occupational role in the framework of modern or developing society with regard to roles played by other occupations (Nayman, 1973:196-197). The newspapers with their power over the minds of the people and the journalists who are
important ‘makers of content’ naturally became the subjects of research for media scholars.

**Media content and communicator**

Gate keeper studies: researchers started taking interest to understand the gatekeeper to find out the factors, which influence creation of media content (White: 63).

Maletzke proposed a model in which he describes the factors influencing the communicative behavior of communicators. The factors, according to him are: communicator's self image, communicator's personality structure, communicator's working team, communicator in his organization, communicator's social environment and pressures and constraints caused by the public character of the media content (James Watson, 197). The social environment includes journalists' upbringing, social class and social expectation, which will influence the behavior in the work context. He quotes Sparks to show how communicator's image of the audience shapes the content and the perceived needs of the readers by the newspapers will dictate what becomes news.
As today’s newspapers, compared to earlier papers, are more interested in generating more profits from advertising, they try to create market for the advertiser. The communicator’s concept of popular which, means news as entertainment and whatever appeals to the reader rather than what he ought to know. This popular journalism concentrates more on the individual than on institutions, on local and immediate rather than on international and short term than on long term. This is similar to the proposition of social control in the newsroom where the organizational control and the editorial policies will dictate what is news.

Another area, which influences journalists, is professional norms. The image of the receiver/reader held by the communicator will also influence the news, which will be valued by the receiver.

According to Gallagher (1982) “reasons for the concentration of media research on the end (effects) rather on the beginning are many: institutional support, funding, theoretical and methodological influences (P 151). From the beginning audience has been much more accessible focus of enquiry than the communicators themselves (ibid).
Says Halloran (1998) about the uneven research attention on media research: 'because of commercial and market demands and requirements, and because the communication process was not regarded as a social process, the research effort was unbalanced' P (2). He calls for research in the area of production process and also professional socialization. New members are socialized into their profession, they have to take on beliefs, values, basic assumptions and understanding as well as sets of occupational routines, in order to be accepted as qualified and successful. Much of this adoption and adaption goes on at unconscious and subconscious levels—hence the need to 'unpack age the professional unconscious' if we wish to know how they really operate.

**Factors effecting content**

Having studied the impact of media on society and individuals, researchers turned their attention on the making of content. Production of service or product or generation of idea is influenced by the society in which it is produced. This holds good more for the media, which is a cultural product. The influence may be at the individual level, organizational level or societal level. The shaping of the media content is influenced more by the culture in
which it is produced. Media researchers started looking at the factors influencing the content of the newspapers. While no particular dimension which influences the media content is identified, organizational, societal and institutional factors play an important role in shaping of the media content. It is observed and proved that the size of the media organization, goals of the media organization are important factors (McQuail, 2000). However, studies could not find any clear correlation between the size and chain papers and their content. Though journalists enjoy some degree of freedom to create content in the name of professionalism, they are bound by the newspaper policies, guided by profit considerations in private enterprises and propaganda purposes by the governments. Those who look at the media from political economy perspective argue that media and journalists try to protect the interest of the ruling class and advertisers (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Golding, 1977; Altchull, 1984).

Another important factor, which has bearing on the media content, is legal and historical legacy. The developing countries like India, which were under colonial rule and played crucial role in freedom movement, still influences the professional role conceptions of the newspapers and journalists. "This
historical link can still be perceived today both in the content of reporting and in the way in which newspapermen conceive their social and political responsibilities in this region of the world" (McBride, 1980: 7).

Self-censorship: "even where freedom is not openly attacked by authority, it may be limited by self-censorship on the part of communicators themselves. Journalists may fail to publish facts which have come into their possession for several reasons: sheer timidity, an excessive respect for the power structure or in some instances lest they give offence to officialdom and thus risk losing access to their sources of information. Self-censorship, like censorship itself, if adopted as a regular practice, grows more and more restrictive (McBride, 1980: 19).

Status of the journalists varies across the countries depending on the social, economic and cultural, technological, educational, legal and moral factors. But the stable factors among these are traditional, legal and journalistic profession. Of these, 1980s have been more profound in nature. These are technological ones, which influenced the journalists directly and indirectly.
Direct impact is the way they work and indirect ones are the economic and proprietorial due to changing media structure.

While the eighties have ushered in technological changes in the media world, the nineties have opened the media to the international developments. In India the liberalisation process, initiated in the early nineties has changed the media to a large extent. Further, the expansion of cable television has forced the newspapers to change their content and even philosophy. These developments have left those who work in the newspapers unawares. Print media has a special role in democratic societies even in this age of television and convergent media.

The research has been focusing more on impacts than on how media creates its message, who produces and why the media message takes the shape as it is.

The recognition of the need for more focus on communicator-related research felt by several researchers: Weaver suggests that research agenda should include among others- media organizational constraints in shaping journalists' orientations and perceived role self concepts, impact of
journalists perceived roles, orientation and organizational environments upon media coverage. The dominant paradigm of communication research was 'overly preoccupied' with "individual level audience phenomena" and ignored the nature of production process, and the values of professionals (Blumler and Gurevitch, 1987-18).

Says Halloran (1998) about the uneven research attention on media research: 'because of commercial and market demands and requirements, and because the communication process was not regarded as a social process, the research effort was unbalanced' (P, 2). He calls for research in the area of production process and also professional socialization. New members are socialised into their profession, they have to take on beliefs, values, basic assumptions and understanding as well as sets of occupational routines, in order to be accepted as qualified and successful. Much of this adoption and adaption goes on at unconscious and subconscious levels—hence the need to 'unpack the professional unconscious' if we wish to know how they really operate.
According to Koch (1991), news is artificially mediated by the culture it supports. In theory, journalism is public service and the press has to function as a watchdog of the society. Further, journalists have to treat their profession not just as a service to the employer or stockholder but also a service benefiting the entire community or the reader. However, Lee Sigel describes the service to the society as 'institutional myth'.

But the commercial reality dictates that the newspapers to survive in the market have to take the bottom line into consideration. This, in fact is very important, as the newspaper has to pay bills to its employees and stay in business. Koch quotes Pulitzer that the twin functions of journalism are public good and corporate profit. Journalism survives on public trust, which requires reporting of facts and treating journalism as service. At the same time they have to keep in mind that their livelihood depends on the economic viability of newspaper. "News professionals thus must balance the functional goal of self-interest with professional values of service if they are to work and to eat" (Koch: 4). Koch further says that any discussion of modern journalism must therefore accept as its context a tension between at least two competing goals: service and profit. [Was there no need for profit in the olden
days? There was. But as the production cost has gone up, the subsidization by advertising revenue is a must. Otherwise, the newspapers become costly and the poor may not afford to buy them. The argument of the necessity of advertising has gone to such an extent that to attract more readers, the newspapers often forgot public service.

Koch lists four functions before journalists and media organizations: institutional, instrumental, and general and functional. Functional goals, in economic terms are social valuation. The competition from television and Internet for advertising and audience have forced the newspapers to choose between financial and social goals. Journalists, think that exposing corruption at higher levels may result in problems created by the owners or the government. The owner or the government, in such situations may impose some restrictions on the journalists' investigative activities. This tendency is already visible in several countries and journalistic profession in many countries is going through crises forcing the honest journalist to leave the profession and keeping the young away from journalism career (McBride, 1980: 234).
Koch says that the functions and roles of media organizations and professionals are economic, social, and technological. The newspapers are facing several challenges—competition from television and new media for audience and advertisements, increased costs because of technological obsolescence, increasing profit pressures (from the shareholder). In India also newspapers like *Mid-day, Sandesh*, and *Deccan Chronicle*, have raised money from stock market. In response to these challenges, the industry has re-examined its values and attempted to restructure its coverage and newsroom managers are taking more interest in marketing of the newspapers. What happens when newspapers give more importance to market aspects than journalistic principles? Dough and Stamm suggest that there are fears among journalists that changes in news content suggested by marketing studies will shift the emphasis of their profession. Journalists fear that they will be expected to find ways of entertaining audience at the expense of covering serious news of the day (P-66).

Koch argues that there is a corporate context in which media operates and the news are made. The context is the viability of media. The news organizations have to make profits to survive in the market. A newspaper
organisation has to sell its paper to the reader and space to the advertiser. The circulation for a newspaper is essential but may not bring in advertisements if the readers are not the expected target consumers for an advertiser. This may force the journalist to give more importance to corporate needs rather than professional needs. Journalists may not try to serve the public but the corporation that hired them. This results in the journalist encountering the problem of balancing personal, professional and corporate goals. Both journalists and corporations face challenges to "balance economic necessity against both the institutional and the instrumental myths that culturally define their professional functions" (Koch: 12).

He argues that the journalists have a primary function in relation to their organisation and secondarily a social function to serve the society by providing objective and complete information. The information may depend on social system.

"The history of the press is marked technically by two separate streams of innovation. One has allowed for the ever more economic production and
dissemination of information through increasingly efficient presses and
distribution systems (trains to trucks to airplanes to satellites). In the 1980s,
the ability to send electronic impulses via satellites to secondary printing
facilities allowed, for example, the creation of regional editions of individual
newspapers (USA Today and Wall Street Journal). Another theme of
innovation is the ability to transmit with ever greater speed and efficiency
the reporter or writer' text from distant locations to the editorial facility" (Koch: 46).

Goodwin and Smith describe how business concerns of newspaper and
media organizations are posing challenges to journalists in fulfilling their
professional obligations. The dual role of serving public and making profits
for the owners is creating ethical problems for the journalists. This is
creating tension "between greed and idealism." Because of the entry of big
business houses into journalism and the profit motives of the newspaper
owners journalists are facing the problem of how to deal with bottom-line
journalism.
Journalism, when called a profession helped journalists gain status and generates an ideological orientation towards work. This also helps the researchers understand how journalism worked (Zelizer, 1993). He suggests that the view of journalism as professionalism failed to give full picture of journalism like pack journalism, media pools, media briefing etc. Further, journalism does not require the trappings of professions. The professional approach also does not fully explain the journalism and its working (Hallin in Mass media and society). Due to the changes in the economics of mass media, the line between journalism and entertainment has been disappearing (246). Further, he says that total newspapering concept, which means circulation, sales and editorial efforts must be integrated, all directed toward project of marketing news-information (ibid).

Pavlik (2001) in his book 'Journalism and New Media' posits that new media are transforming journalism in four ways. 1. the nature of news content is inexorably changing as a result of emerging new media technology. 2. the way journalists do their work is being retooled in the digital age. 3. the structure of the newsroom and news industry is undergoing a fundamental transformation. 4. new media are bringing about a realignment of the
relationships between and among news organization, journalists, and their many publics, including audiences, sources, competitors, advertisers, and governments (xiii).

**Interest in journalists**

At another level researchers started exploring the making of media content and the factors influencing the news rejection and acceptance.

In 1950s itself, researchers looked at how news was made otherwise known as gatekeepers. Ettema, Whitney and Wackman: suggested that the mass-mediated symbols like news are analysed at three levels: work of individual or group, product of complex organizations, reflection of economic arrangements of media industries and institutions. They quote Dimmick and Coit, 1982 that the work of individual mass communicators cannot be understood outside these organizational, industrial, and institutional contexts. At the individual level, whether or to what extent, individual's attitudes, values, cognitions, demographic characteristics, and the like influence what they report and write.
The gatekeeper study by White is to understand the behavior of mass communication specialists. This study, Gieber says was to understand the sociology of journalist(174). He says news is what newspapermen make it. But, he concludes, stand better the social forces which bear on the reporting of the news we will never understand what news is" [studies knowing the journalists were started to know and better understand the news and journalism] he says that the gatekeeper studies or interest in journalism were carried out under the premise that the role of the press and its impact on society are important.

Researchers started evincing interest in journalism as it influences the public opinion and community in a big way.

Berkowitz (2004 ) says that at the industrial and institutional levels, evidence suggests that journalists' work patterns are clearly shaped by the economic necessities of a media organization in its particular socioeconomic system. At the organizational level, news becomes the outcome of bureaucratic activity where journalists learn work routines and strategies for meeting organizational expectations and constraints. At the individual level,
questions about news focus on how journalists' predispositions and personal characteristics relate to the news that person produces—often these individual-level influences have been reinterpreted as stemming from higher-level influences.

Functions of newspapers, derived from the functions of media such as surveillance of the environment, correlation, education and entertainment.

Market driven journalism: the changing economics of newspapers has resulted in 'replacement of Journalistic judgment with market judgment'. The author argues that the newspapers in U.S. operate in four markets—reader, advertisers, sources and investors. This situation has already been prevailing in America for a long time, in India also we can see this situation in a number of newspapers and television channels. Newspapers like *Mid-Day* and *Sandesh* have already been listed in stock exchanges. These papers, like others will try to maximize the value to the investor. In such a scenario, the bottom line of the newspapers will be of prime importance to the management of newspapers.
In their book 'Manufacturing Consent' authors Herman and Chomsky proposed a propaganda model which explains the filters or the factors that influence the content of the media. These set of news filters or elements of the model are: 1. the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass media firms; 2. advertising as the primary income source of the mass media; 3. the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and "experts" funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power; 4. "flak" as a means of disciplining the media; and 5. "anticommunism" as a national religion and control mechanism (p-2).

Initially researchers were interested in how media content is made. This was done at three levels-individual, institutional and organizational level. One of the reasons for the interest of researchers in journalism was its power to influence society and individual.

To understand journalism, scholars started looking journalism as a profession.
Context of the study: the earlier studies seem to ignore the context in which journalists were studied, which is essential as Newbold, Boyd-Barret and Bulck (2002) argue that “phenomena do not exist on their own, in isolation, but must rather be studied in relation to the context and environment in which they appear and operate” (p-xiii). This study assumes that the media training and other ways socialize the Indian journalists as Golding (1977) argues. The media in the third world are primarily off-shoots of Western education etc., another area of the changed context in which the study is ‘framed’ is through the semi-globalised, commercial-oriented media of today’s Indian society (Ram, 2000).

Traditionally, functions of newspapers are different compared to radio and television, as the former relies more on subscriber revenue while the latter survives on advertising revenue. The newspapers still think that their main functions are to inform, educate and entertain whereas the electronic media’s primary role is to entertain. However, the changed economics of newspapers and media environment, newspapers have responded to the competition from television by reorienting their news values towards advertisers needs and consumer attraction.
Democratization of mass media has been a concern for media scholars like Chomsky, Bagdikian and others. For example, in the United States it has been a major issue for the journalists association. In fact, the American Society of Newspaper Editors strongly advocates the inclusion of Blacks and other Asian-Americans and African-Americans in newsrooms. The diversity in media organization is an important issue in America. Hitchins commission in America has made it a point that the media should include blacks in its editorial ranks. But the two press commissions seem to have ignored the issue. In India also there has been demand from Dalits that they should be given more representation. Bagdiakian says the diversity is not the ornament of the media but an essential component of media democracy.

The recent move of the central government to make reservation compulsory in the private sector, which also includes media, makes it an important issue. This has been in the news for the last few years as a section of dalits have appealed to the president of India to see that the representation of dalits is increased in media.
Indian journalism

This section intended to provide context to the study, gives a brief outline of press the in India before Independence and the major trends in post-independent journalism; sketches the profile of journalist, journalistic roles and the press' relations with governments. It will discuss issues like how the Indian press has moved away from service and nationalistic orientation to professional orientation and then to full-fledged commercial entity. Then it will analyse the implications of these developments and trends on journalists' values, work ethics, their perception of media roles and developments. Finally, the chapter will review the developments in the Indian language press vis-à-vis English language press with special reference to the growth, development and status of the Telugu and English press in Andhra Pradesh.

Pre-Independent Journalism

Journalism in Asian and African countries, which came under colonial rule, was a transplanted concept (Golding 1997). Like other countries under
colonial rule, Europeans started newspapers in India. These papers existed for the benefit of the ruling class reflecting their value systems, interests and views. These values, including the social responsibility notions, have remained even after the British left India (Eapen, 1989:190). Gradually, the native Indians started their own newspapers and used them for freedom struggle and national liberation (Unesco,8). Modern press, native to the industrialized west, was transplanted into India in the 18th century (ibid.).

According to Ram (2000), the pre-independent press had two streams: one was the Anglo-Indian press, owned, edited, and managed by foreign commercial interests, eager to make profits and mostly serving as handmaiden of the colonial rulers. It was an influential, rich and powerful mouthpiece of the British-Indian opinion. While India's first newspaper, 'Bengal Gazette', exposed malpractices of East India Company's rule and administration, other papers, established later, were reflecting the life and opinion of the European community.
The other stream - the English and Indian language press - was an instrument to promote social, religious, educational and political reforms and to fight for freedom (Viswanath and Karan). This stream was marked by the launch of newspapers to strive for social reforms against sati and child marriage. This phase may be described as the age of 'advocacy journalist' (Natarajan, 1962: 26-27). “The newspapers, as a matter of fact, were organs of local British opinion and, if in subdued way unlike that of Hicky's Gazette, reflected the views of those outside the privileged official circle of the administration” (Natarajan, 1962: 21).

The first Indian to start a newspaper, *Bengal Gazette*, in English in 1916 was Gangadhar Bhattacharjee. A majority of the newspapers started by Indians were organs of the social reformers and later became weapons to ignite the masses for the country's masses struggle for independence. Notable social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and others is well known. For example, newspapers like *Harijan, Young India, Navjivan*, and others during the freedom struggle had single aim: "to be an adversary of the British and to wrench freedom form the foreign yoke" (Eapen, 1989 :179).
Unlike the present-day newspapers, newspapers in those days were started for the cause of independence and social reforms. To journalists, journalism was a mission, salaries were low and the real remuneration was emotional. As the newspapers were very small compared to the post-Independent press, the operations were less and there was very little division of labour. The editors themselves carried out the functions of a reporter, publisher and owner. Though the circulation was very less, their influence on public opinion was tremendous. The coverage was mainly political and there was no comprehensive coverage of news or investigative reporting, explanation of social and economic issues and there was linking people's lives to the news. If one were to compare them with today's newspapers, they are just opinion sheets (Ram, 2000 and Sarkar, 1965: 76).

The last phase of pre-Independent press was marked by professional issues like modernisation of printing presses and supply of newsprint.

With the British leaving India, the press was completely Indianised as foreign management and ownership disappeared. The nature of the Indian press was shaped to a large extent by its historical experience and, in
particular, by its association with the freedom struggle as well as movements for social emancipation, reform and amelioration. (Ram, 2003:3). According to Pye(), the newly Independent countries needed to build their nations and the press, in countries freed from colonial rule, was expected to play two roles –inspector general of government policies and inspirer of masses to support its policies.

Nair states that the entire Indian press stood by the government and it was responsible in its conduct during the initial years of independence. He noted “the private press in India has been helpful yet watchful in the country has planned development. By explaining the necessity of planning, by emphasizing the importance of public participation for the success of plans, by praising where commendation was due, and criticizing where criticism was called for, it has been very powerful democratic instrument in mobilizing the national effort”(188).

As the years passed, the Indian press transformed itself into an industry and was more concerned about the bottom line than the traditional functions of news media. Initially, the Indian press was sympathetic towards
the government but later turned adverse as the government's socialist policies were against the interests of the newspaper owners. Nationalization of banks and abolition of privy purses were other reasons for the strained relationship between the government and the press (Aggarwal, 1988: 46).

**Role dilemma**

During the freedom struggle the journalist had a clear goal before him—winning freedom for the motherland. After Independence, he had no clear-cut role before him.

And the newspapers were in a dilemma about the role it was to play. Molded in freedom struggle and tuned to a particular kind of ideology, the Indian press was in a confused state about the role and functions of journalists and of the media towards society (Ram: 242). The press in pre-independent India was to function under several administrative and legal regulations. "Independent India also reinforced and refined the ideological canvass presented by its predecessor, stressed the need for the press into a new regulatory framework" (Dhavan, 1987: 475).
According to Dhavan, the confusion was caused by legal ideology which prescribed 'what is good and bad' journalism, the style of journalism to follow and the limits of journalism in exposing the status quo. While norms like objectivity prescribe journalists to maintain status quo, other aspects such as watchdog role enjoin them to expose or to investigate the wrong-doings of the government. The government, during Mrs. Indira Gandhi regime, also prescribed that major purpose of journalism was to write about development. According to this, the press was supposed to be writing about success or failure of plans but not the issues behind politics of the state or plans (Dhavan, 1987 :472). Ramphal (1984) and Eapen (1967). Expressed similar views. All these left the Indian press in a confused state whether to be a supporter of the government or its adversary, to follow the journalistic principles of fairness and accuracy, whether to be an aide of the government by propagating about its programmes or to be its critic (Eapen, 1967).

Another point of confusion among journalists is the status of freedom of the press enshrined in the Indian constitution, which treats the press like an individual before law. But, it does not enshrine institutional status for the press to perform adversary or investigative role. Irrespective of the status
given to the press in the constitution, the journalists in India are no more mere individuals before law. The two Press Commissions, appointed by the Indian government, have advocated the need for investigative journalism, ignoring the fact that investigative journalism requires treatment of journalism as an institution. "By not giving the press any greater right than those given to an ordinary citizen, it has been put in the difficult position of having been given responsibilities with no special privileges to discharge these responsibilities" (Dhavan, 1987:399).

The different role prescriptions, expectations and traditions have left the Indian journalists in a confused state.

Emergency in India during 1975-77 is a watershed for the Indian press, which was subjected to censorship. It reminded the media of its responsibility and power. After the emergency, the press evolved into a professional and marketed oriented entity. Fuelled by the political consciousness among the public and birth of regional parties, the circulation of vernacular newspapers has increased sharply. Around this time, the Watergate scandal in America was fresh in the minds of Indian journalists.
After being subjected to censorship during the emergency, journalists in India during the late 1970s were feeling that the Indian press needed to take adversary role in a big way. Though the transformation to an adversary role and the consequent orientation towards investigative journalism cannot be totally attributed to the emergency and its aftermath, this did pave the way for journalistic activism. The more active role played by the reporters saw the gradual fading of the editors.

After emergency, political consciousness was very high among people and their appetite for news resulted in increased newspaper circulation, particularly Indian language newspapers (Jeffrey 2000). This was the outcome of factors like improved literacy levels, better communication facilities, purchasing power and more importantly, the political developments in several states (Jeffrey, 2000).

The first phase of economic reforms initiated in 1984 by the Rajiv Gandhi government, launch of India’s national television in a big way, introduction of computers and printing technology have made newspapers to change their
attitude towards media business. Ninan (1993) describes it as the beginning of business orientation among newspapers in India.

During the early 1980s, the Indian press has witnessed major changes in the internal and external environment in which they operate. On the external front, newspapers faced competition from electronic media for advertisements and for readers' time. During this period, there was major shift in the proprietors' attitude towards the business of newspaper publishing. They started looking at the newspaper as business and gave more importance to aspects of marketing.

Investigative journalism, over the years since emergency, reached its peak and lost its sheen as it was misused. The media also changed its stance on public issues. These factors coupled with awareness among citizens and floating of new regional parties gave impetus to language journalism (Singh, 1992 and Jeffrey, 2000). Increased road and communication facilities resulting in access to remote corners of the country, in addition to purchasing power of the people also contributed to the growth of language journalism. Though investigative reporting contributed to the rise in the
status of the reporter, market forces ensured the genesis of management supremacy over editorial department. Magazine boom and launch of colour television in India also were important developments, which changed the print media scenario during this period.

The changes in Indian journalism since 1990s are best described by the title of an introductory chapter ‘trading idealism for realism’ (Ninan, 1996). The newspapers during this period became complete commercial entities and started market-driven journalism. According to ... market-driven journalism believes in giving more importance to packaging than content, giving more preference for news about private sphere over public sphere.

The second phase of liberalization started in 1991, explosion of cable television following the Gulf war, development of new media technologies, business journalism’s rise and the hike in journalists’ salaries, attracted a new breed of journalists into the profession. Another development during the 1990s was entry of business houses into newspaper arena for ‘political influence’ without which ‘businessmen cannot succeed in India’ (Vijay
Mallya in Sunday, 21-27, Jan, 1996). However, very few businessmen succeeded in their media ventures (Ninan, 1993).

For India and the Indian press, 1990s are significant in several aspects. While in the eighties, the Indian government started lifting controls on industrial production, 1991 was the beginning of the integration of the Indian economy with the global economy. The structural adjustment programme and the globalisation of Indian economy in a big way, the lifting of restrictions on Indian economy, in addition to cable television boom, changed the environment in which the newspapers operate. Newspapers had to compete with the television for audience's time and advertisers' money. The revolution in consumer goods led to a boom in advertising. To create advertiser-friendly content, newspapers had to redefine news and started giving more importance to news of interest to advertisers. Packaging became more important than substance. Colour was given primacy over content. The casualty was the ethics of historically-cherished values in journalism. The management started treating reader as a market and newspapers became commoditized. *Times of India* group became the torchbearer of this trend.
According to Ram (2000: 242), at the turn of the 20th century, cardinal virtues and core values of journalism have come under threat from various sides, where confusion reigns over the functions and roles of journalists and the media vis-à-vis society. Further, the globalisation of salaries has shifted journalistic responsibility and loyalty from the reader to the patron and the proprietor (Narayanan-1998).

All these developments have changed the news concept, which was earlier focused more on the reader.

While Ram describes today's Indian journalism as semi-globalised and market-driven, Kuldip Nayar (1997) was of the view that newspapers and journalists should be anti-establishment. If they become part of the government, they cannot change the society, which is their goal.

During earlier days, journalists used to be recruited based on a kind of observation. Physical fitness was also one of the factor considered to test the suitability of a candidate. There was very little formal journalism education. During the sixties, several organizations like the Press Institute of
India and Press foundation of Asia conducted short-term courses for journalists particularly in development journalism.

**Reporting practices**

Ramphal (1984) traces the origin of the adversary press in India to 1972 following the government of India's decision to impose control on newsprint on the pretext of foreign exchange problems. However, the Supreme Court of India struck this down. Another reason for the changed stance was the control of a major share of advertisements by the government. Imposition of emergency further widened the gap between the government and the press. Inspired by the Watergate scandal in the United States and the newly-found freedom after emergency, investigative journalism was born. Exposes like Kamala story, Bhagalpur blindings, have brought many scandals to light. *The Indian Express,* under the stewardship of Arun Shourie has taken up several issues, which led to resignation of Maharashtra Chief Minister A.R. Antulay. Though this was a welcome development, adoption of questionable methods to gather information came under criticism. For example, when Pritish Nandy, editor of the *Illustrated Weekly of India,*
interviewed Chandra Swamy, pretending as somebody's 'assistant', Arun Shouri's revelation of the then chief minister of Karnataka, Bangarappa's off-the-record information, questions were raised. More recently, Tehalka, which used hidden cameras to capture defence officials accepting bribes was also questioned on the grounds that it was unethical on the part of journalists to shoot clandestinely. More recently, India television's telecast of file actors, shady lives has brought the issue to the focus once again.

Journalists, in their penchant for sensational news, scoops and to unravel the misdeeds of those who are in power adopt several practices.

The First Press Commission raised the issue of corruption among journalists even during 1950s. This assumed alarming propositions during the 1980s and more so during 1990s. The issues are raised both at the individual and organizational levels. At the individual level corruption may lead to self-censorship by the journalist himself. According to Sawant (1997), this is a dangerous trend in Indian press. Corruption among journalists, specifically business journalists, forced the Press Council of India to formulate code of conduct for financial journalists.
The press in India, because of people's limited purchasing power, low literacy levels and poor communication facilities, is limited in its reach. According to the Second press Commission, the reach of the press in India was limited to only about 2,600 and odd towns and cities because of certain limitations such as sociological profile of Indian publishers, editors and journalists and newspaper readership (P-20). Eapen described the Indian press as 'class media' rather than 'mass media' as it was owned, read and manned by urban middle class. Liberalisation process has helped newspapers get more advertisements and they started paying good salaries, which attracted young and well-educated people.

Unlike the 1970s and 1980s, today journalism has become more of a career choice as salaries have gone up considerably. This is more so particularly after Government of India's 1991 budget, which gave boost to business journalism (Verma and Narula 1998). Liberalisation process has further pushed the Indian press into elitism.

The journalists were mostly from middle or upper class with urban background (Second Press Commission, 180).
practices in the home bases of other newspapers to overwhelm and kill competition, raising fears about media monopoly; and rampant corruption are deeply worrying tendencies" (Ram, 2003:8).

Conclusion

The Indian press, from the beginning, seems to have been in a dilemma as to whether to be an adversary or assume developmental role. This is more so after liberalisation process, adoption of new communication technologies and competition from the television and Internet. Journalists are expected to take up multiple roles and responsibilities and acquire multi-skills. There is no empirical evidence to show what Indian journalists think about the role of the media. Whatever is available is only anecdotal in nature. The condition of Indian journalists can be summed up by what Ram says "there is a confusion about the role and functions of journalists and media vis-à-vis society."
newspapers have become graver with development of technologies and the rise of television in India. This gave rise to cross-media ownerships with several newspaper owners launching television channels. With newspapers depending more on advertising revenue, smaller newspapers are finding it difficult to survive in price wars. This problem is visible both in English and language press. With the government clearing foreign direct investment in print media, this problem may assume alarming propositions. This is already evident from the fact that publishing houses like the Times of India have tied-up with the Wall Street Journal to bring out Indian edition. Kolkata based Telegraphs' stake in STAR television are also indications of monopolistic tendencies in the future.

Ram describes the status of Indian journalism as "increasing concentration of ownership, manipulation of news, analysing public affairs information to suit the owner's financial and political interests; the downgrading and devaluing of editorial functions and content in some leading newspaper organizations; the growing willingness within newspapers to tailor the editorial product to subserve advertising and marketing goals set by owners and senior management personnel; Murdoch-style price wars and aggressive
Until 1980, Indian language journalists were treated as inferior to journalists working in English language newspapers. Jeffrey quotes Narendra Mohan, editor *Dainik Jagran* that "a caste system in prevailed among journalists in which those who belong to language press ...are considered to be a lower-caste people and those who are in the English press are supposed to be upper-caste people" (Jeffrey, 2002). However, with the spread of newspapers and advertising revenue, the status of journalists of Indian language newspapers started improving since 1980s. Jeffrey considers 1983 as a benchmark for classification of the Indian press; this was the year when the colour television was launched in India.

**Monopolistic tendencies**

Concentration of newspapers in the hands of a few individuals and business houses led monopolistic tendencies which were evident during the early 1950s itself. The First Press Commission found that a mere 15 per cent owners controlled over 50 per cent of circulation and warned against tendency towards concentration of ownership and monopolies. This may lead to erosion of diversity and pluralism. The dangers of concentration of
Trivialization

With the adoption of market-driven journalism, newspapers started giving more importance to the content sought by the advertisers, resulting in the casualty of the news, which is of value to the reader. The market-oriented news, which focuses more on what the reader is interested than what he is supposed to read, is given more coverage. The news became entertainment-oriented and 'dumbing down' has become a norm. Trivialisation is the order of the day. The newspapers are increasingly becoming 'user papers', more so business papers. Around this time, managements started looking at the newspaper management called 'total newspaper concept' which rested on principle that the various departments in a newspaper must communicate, cooperate and coordinate efforts at becoming a superior newspaper ready to meet the challenges of the changing market (Willis, 1988).

The introduction of new technologies made the journalists' job easier and faster. Despite resistance from journalist unions, newspaper managements successfully introduced new technologies (Samaddar, 1997).