



Review Paper

Indian Print Media – An Overview

Nahida Begum N

Department of Political Science, Maharani Women's Arts, Commerce and Management College, Bangalore, Karnataka, India
mifzala@gmail.com

Available online at: www.isca.in, www.isca.me

Received 25th October 2021, revised 25th February 2022, accepted 15th March 2022

Abstract

The adage that democracy is a regime by dialogue and debate is relevant only when the electorate is coherent and informed and this is possible through the media. Facts provided by media makes vigilant the policy formulators, civil society and the political parties on rising problems, pressures and prospects. The main focus of this paper is Print Media. This paper presents an introduction to the media and the functions it performs, followed by the history of Indian Print media presented in the three different ages namely-Ancient, Medieval and Modern. The paper focuses on India's four English Dailies namely-The Times of India, The Hindu, The Indian Express and Deccan Herald. It emphasizes on the newspapers origin, ideology and principles and the recent developments. It also highlights the role played by the newspapers in the pre-independent era and their respective contributions in the freedom struggle and in attaining Indian independence.

Keywords: Print media, newspapers, independence, democracy, social responsibility.

Introduction

Media are of two types, print media and electronic media. Print Media includes newspapers, pamphlets, leaflets, journals etc., and Electronic Media consists of Television, Radio and the Internet. All of these acts as a channel of communication between the people and the government. Media is a vehicle of public opinion. It plays a vital role in shaping and influencing public opinion. It provides a platform for the people to articulate their views on significant policy questions without any apprehension from any corner and it helps them to address their grievances which enable the government to set the agenda. It coordinates civic life and public opinion regarding the questions involving the society¹. Its role in a democracy is significant as an information disseminator and as an overseer of the behaviour of the representatives of the people. It carries out various purposes. The same can be studied in terms of ethical and evocative role performed by the media.

According to Robert Audi, media performs four functions, viz., *Political, Perspectival, Historical and Modeling*. Political function here implies media's participation in the civil life of an uninhibited egalitarian state. This role of media can be understood in a more appropriate manner in terms of media disseminating message and knowledge to the inhabitants of the society through reportage, view point and interpretation. This role of media is associated with its relationship with the government and this can be accomplished only in autonomy with the regime.

The lesser the encroachment of the government, more the role the media will have in creating awareness in the society. More

the obstruction, the lesser the role for the media as it cannot exercise the functions in a right manner and this in turn would have repercussions and implications on media's role in enlightening the society. The media in this regard has a larger role to play in terms of disseminating information to the people regarding the operations of the government and thereby engage in their appraisal in the interest of the society. To illustrate, media might engage itself in deliberating over the various schemes pertaining to the societal transformation and its related financial issues. The next function that a media performs could be labelled as the *perspectival function*. Through this function media portrays the existence of the different members of the groups and the essential pursuits they carry out as the members of the group.

It tries to present before the world, the position that the groups occupy at the global level. In addition to this, it also accentuates the working of plethora of organisations and associations existing in the society. Another important purpose for which media exists is its *historical function* which it exercises in relation to the members of the society. This it exercises in the form of linking the present events to the past and assists people in comprehending how the present situation can be understood in the light of the past events. It might at the most assist people to comprehend the events or issues of relevance relating to politics or the political figure. It can also be about how a particular institution of national importance have fared well in terms of its performance since the past like for instance the active role of judiciary in pursuing the interests of the people or in other words judicial activism or it can also be vice versa. Finally, *modeling* is another significant function exercised by

the media. Through this function it exhibits before the society the different patterns of comportment and outlook. This can be related to persons or occurrences².

The print media helps the readers not only to understand the problems but also enables them to realise how significant the problems are from the space provided by the media to a particular issue. The people come to know about the politicians or a political party's assurances, speech-making and the words of honour from the media rather directly through them³. It attempts to focus the attention of the people by publishing the issue again and again and gives shape to the public opinion by bringing the issue on the agenda of the government. Walter Lippmann, in his book *Public Opinion* (1922) writes, "the news media are a primary source of those pictures in our heads about the larger world of public affairs, a world that for most citizens is "out of reach, out of sight, out of mind"⁴. The media articulates the demands and aspirations of the people to the government. These demands of the people are converted into policies by the government and the media communicates to the people, the policies and programmes formulated by the government. It acts as the policy initiator and evaluator. It educates and creates awareness about the policies to the general public. It brings to the notice of the people the lacunae in the policy process and provides a platform for the masses to criticise the government for the errors made in policy formulation.

It acts as a medium between the stake holders of a policy and the policy formulators. It plays an important part both in the domestic and foreign policy making process through creating public opinion. It acts as the 'Fourth Estate'. The term 'Fourth Estate' was branded by Edmund Burke in 18th century, arguing, "there were Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important far than they all." The concept of fourth estate was constructed on a feudal perspective of "estates of the realm "Clergy, nobility and the commons, corresponding to today's public intellectual (clergy), business and economic elites (nobility), and governments (commons). Radio, Television and other forms of media have coupled with the press in the fourth estate⁵.

Media are the dynamic contestants in the policy process and the capability to bring transformation or retain the status quo is influenced by on how they look at the policy issue. They mobilize the public opinion by providing information on policy issue and space for the people to express their opinion on the same. Thus, media brings certain matters to the notice of the political actors which later may become the part of the agenda of the party and later of the political leaders⁶. The adage that democracy is a regime by dialogue and debate is relevant only when the electorate is coherent and informed and this is possible through the media. Facts provided by media makes vigilant the policy formulators, civil society and the political parties on rising problems, pressures and prospects. An incident reported in the media makes it probable to the pressure groups to further

their objectives and the political parties may find the prospect of acquiring recognition by compelling the government to deal with the problem as per their inclination. This in turn sensitises the government to the problem and makes it to the agenda⁷.

The media substance influences the policy because the people take into consideration the news provided by media while exercising their franchise in choosing their representatives. To illustrate, if the media provides more space for the burning issue of poverty at the time of elections focusing more on the effects of poverty leading to decline in the literacy level, increasing unemployment and other related problems, then an electorate when exercising his franchise may give importance to this issue. This would enable the policy makers to allocate more funds to the same. This is known as the "agenda-setting" model of politics advocated by Mc Combs and Shaw³. The influence of media on the policy making can be understood by Stromberg's information associated model on policy effects of media access and content. According to this model, the news disseminated by the media and accessibility to media shapes both the current policy development and the assurances made during the elections. The assurances made by the political parties will have little weight if the targeted people do not have the reach of media and at the policy development level, without the reach of media the government may not be able to communicate to the people what they have done to the people and the people would fail to recognise what the government has done⁸.

It is often said the government is not sensitive to the marginalised section of the society. Here is the role media has to play in making the government answerable to the people. It is the media that makes the people informed which in turn makes a citizen actively participate in the decision-making process⁹.

A peculiar kind of relationship exists between the government and the media in terms of resolving the policy issues and this is described by "Coalition Journalism". This relationship is referred to as the secret love affair between the press and the government proclaiming that it has become an important "power in legitimising governmental institutions and free enterprise." Through this both are in an advantageous position. Media gains appreciation by presenting before the public a 'legitimate story' and the government acquires hype for their policy. It is generally believed that media's concern lies with the commercial policy actors than that of the general public. This is because the reporters and the editors bring the issues on the agenda by sifting the news in such a way that it corresponds to their governing news principles⁶.

Today media is gradually budging from providing what people necessarily need like knowledge and amusement to an amalgamation of amusement, trivialism, thrill and everything that can be sold. As aptly put, 'integration, diversification and internationalization' have resulted in 'industrialization of media'. Leonardo Acosta perceives media as an ideological-industrial complex devoted to the justification and perpetuation of the

capitalist system¹ Muralidharan writes in 'The Challenge to Media' that India's news media, "derives its profit not from delivering information of value to an audience, but from delivering an audience of value to the corporate adviser¹⁰.

History of press in India

Ancient India: India in the ancient times was ruled by the kings and the monarchs. This period was characterised by lack of education, transport and communication in the modern sense. In spite of these, the people were informed about the progress achieved as it was felt that the people need to be informed about the developments to achieve efficacy in the administration¹¹. Prior to the discovery of ink and paper the value of news was realised. In the beginning, the Hindu kings established a sophisticated intelligence system for gathering and communicating information to perform the functions of the state. News was gathered on political and governmental issues both inside and outside the country¹². For instance, the ordinances of Manu can be regarded as an example of news collection in the ancient times. News collection achieved its excellence at the time of Mauryas¹³. During the reign of Emperor Asoka (304 B.C to 233 B.C), the administration developed its own methods of disseminating messages to the people. The majestic decrees were emblazoned on the copper plates, rocks and stone pillars which are found even today from Afghanistan in the North-East to Karnataka state in the South. Day to day, people received the news in the form of tiny depictions portrayed on the walls of temples in ink and colour that could be expunged without any difficulty. The ethical values were communicated to the people through painting. The policy judgments made by the emperors were announced to the people by beat of a tom tom¹¹.

Medieval India: With the entry of the Moghuls in India, the field of communication that existed earlier did not develop but underwent changes. The news collectors during the Moghul period were part of the governmental and martial intelligence set up by Babur in 1526. At the time of Akbar, the Great, the news gathering was systematic. He set up a recording office that supplied the documents to the news writers¹³. There was a flow of written newspapers from 1618 A.D to 1707 A.D. The soldiers of Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb obtained and corresponded the news from the headquarters. Many information centers were established to spread the news. *Vaquia Navis* (news writers) were assigned the task of providing the news about the happenings. Based on the information furnished by these news writers, important policy decisions were made. The news writers were guaranteed utmost freedom to cover and publish the news. Apart from the official communication system, the businessmen and zamindars employed private news-writers to obtain information. It is believed that there were only two wooden printing presses in entire India with inadequate printing services. Appointment of calligraphists during the Moghul rule is the reason for development of printing press in India.

Modern India: An account of the press and the freedom struggle in India indicates a relentless effort towards the success under the British rule. The newspapers - tool for freedom is associated with the struggle for self-government and financial independence. Regardless of the governmental restrictions and imperious officialdom, the press played an important part in the emergence of freedom and in creating general consciousness. It inculcated national spirit and imbibed antagonistic attitude towards the British rule¹⁴.

The printing press in India was established by the Christian missionaries to spread Christianity. They believed that press could be used as a tool to defend and advance their interest. In the year 1556, 6th September, the first printing press reached India. The Indians disapproved the setting up of the printing press in the early years as it appeared suspicious to them because the Christian missionaries used it as an instrument to promote Christianity. But the successive happenings in India showed that the press was a potent means to realise the preferred goals like that of the independence of the country. Though the printing press was introduced in India in 16th century, the printing of newspaper took almost two centuries. Various factors were responsible for the same. It can be said that the proprietors of the press did not have any curiosity in starting a newspaper or it can be that neither the kings nor the people considered it necessary to spread the information¹¹. It is believed that 'one of the reasons for the delay in the introduction of newspaper was that the servants of the East India Company never wanted London to have access to the news of their extra services¹⁵.

The inception of Indian newspapers can be dated back to 18th century. The journalists had to undergo various hardships due to the British as they frequently imprisoned them for their work¹⁶. On 29th January 1780, James Augustus Hicky, started the first English newspaper *Bengal Gazette* in India. Later he changed the name of the newspaper to *Oriental Calcutta General Advertiser*. On the direction of the Governor General, he was expelled for his aggressive attitude towards the East India Company. *Bombay Herald* was the first newspaper to be introduced in Bombay in 1789. In the same year *Madras Courier* was started in Madras¹⁷. In 1816, Indian Newspaper Journalism in English began in Bengal, with the introduction of the first newspaper in English *The Weekly Bengal Gazette* by a teacher by name Gangadhar Bhattacharjee who was impressed by the moderate reformer Raja Ram Mohan Roy¹². In 1818, James Silk Buckingham introduced *Calcutta Journal*. It published that news which the locals in India had interest in without favouring any political party. Unfortunately, in 1823, like James Hicky he too was expelled. John Adams, Chief Secretary to the government made it mandatory to obtain the license before publishing thereby curtailing the freedom of press¹⁷.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy is the pioneer of Indian newspapers who not only brought out English *Brahmanical Magazine* in 1820 in Calcutta but also the vernacular newspapers. He made use of

the press to propagate the liberal ideas among the scholarly people of Bengal¹⁸. He is rightly called as the 'Father of Indian Press' for his publication of *Sambad Kaumudi* (Bengali) and *Mirat-ul Akbar* (Persian) along with the *Brahmanical Magazine*. It is commonly believed that the publication of these newspapers heralded the birth of a new phase in Indian Journalism. The substance of the paper *Sambad Kaumudi* influenced the people to go against Sati system. *Bengal Hurukaru*, first daily newspaper, was started in 1836 with James Sutherland as the editor. The main objective of the newspapers was to bring about the political and social changes in India¹⁵. The other important luminaries of who made an imprint on Indian Journalism are Surendranath Banerjee (Bengalee 1868), Motilal Ghosh, Harish Chandra Mukherjee (*Hindu Patriot*), Keshab Chandra Sen (Indian Mirror), Sisir Kumar Ghose (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 1868), Aurobindo Ghosh (*Bande Matram*) Bhupendranath Nath Dutt (Jugantar). In today's Maharashtra, it was Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak, who founded *Kesari* and *Maharatt* (1881)¹⁸.

The English press drew the attention of those Indians into freedom struggle who were swayed by the Britishers. The Britishers regulated the Freedom of Information and the Right to Criticise. In 1835, registration became mandatory followed by a rule for obtaining license in 1857. The Press and the Registration of Books Act was introduced in 1867, curtailing the freedom of vernacular press. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was published both in English and Bengali. The fear of imposing restrictions on the vernacular, made *Amrita Bazar Patrika* turn into an English Daily abandoning Bengali language. This change took place as a result of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. The Britishers regulated all the English and the Vernacular press barring those started by the Anglo-Indian Community as they did not carry any articles against the Britishers. The educated masses made overwhelming contribution to the English press thereby reinforcing the struggle for independence.

Mahatma Gandhiji, while in South Africa started the newspaper *Indian Opinion* and when he returned to India he continued. *Harijan* and *Navajivan* were the other newspapers which he introduced. He encouraged the press to print, publish and fight for freedom. On occasions, when the printing tools were seized, hand written pamphlets were circulated among the people. Few newspapers which played a significant role during the British days and which continue to impact citizens even today are *The Times of India*, (Bombay) *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, *The Hindu* of Madras and *The Tribune* of Chandigarh. The English press through its courageous writing mobilized the people for freedom struggle. The Indian owned English dailies were priced low in comparison to the British owned newspapers probably for the reason of increased circulation¹⁷. With the formation of the Indian National Congress and the growth of patriotism, a new chapter heralded in Indian journalism. The editors of *The Hindu*, *The Maharatta*, *The Indian Mirror*, *The*

Kesari, *The Rast Goftar* and *The Spectator* participated in the first session of the Indian National Congress.

In the later part of 19th century, the newspapers possessed by the British were expanding at a high speed unlike the Indian newspapers. The desire for independence transformed the tenor of writing and approach to people's problem of the Indian media. Infuriating the officialdom, the writings in the newspaper reinforced the roots of independence. The editors of those times took up journalism not for any financial gains but as a means of operation to secure independence for India. The press largely influenced the governmental apparatus. The people's right to opt for their own leaders through public bodies and constituencies acted as an extraordinary impetus to Indian media. Ultimately, the legislature turned out to be the piece of information for the newspapers. Newspapers steadily acquired a political nature by publishing the discourse of important persons and by throwing them open for argument and appraisal¹⁹.

In the post independent, India the English press was entrusted with the twin task of nation building and development. It was characterised by increasing circulation, and revenue began to be earned through advertisements and new technology was adopted in course of publication. The newspapers upheld the sovereignty of India, during India's war with China in 1962 and war with Pakistan in 1965 and 1971. In 1975, during Indira Gandhi's era, the press was regulated. Several restrictions were imposed on the blunt and straight forward journalists²⁰.

English Dailies

The Times of India (ToI): *The Times of India* was started in 1838 in order to cater to the needs of English in West India. Being a historical newspaper, it has helped to the readers of all kind. It provides insight into the aspects of colonialism, post-colonialism, international relations, terrorism etc. It is one of the earliest daily in India which has covered major incidents of Indian history leading to freedom struggle ranging from the founding of Indian National Congress, Gandhiji's Civil Disobedience Movement, partition of India, assassination of Indira and Rajiv Gandhi to the emerging of Pakistan as a nuclear power²¹. It is the earliest newspaper and has contributed towards the growth of journalism in India. It represented Anglo-Indian opinion. It fell in the category of British owned newspaper and a supporter and defender of British rule in India²². Lord Metcalfe's Act of 1835 relaxed restrictions on the freedom of press and paved the way for the launching of *The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce* on 3rd November, 1838 as a bi-weekly on Wednesdays and Saturdays. The news it carried comprised mainly about Europeans and Americans to the Indians and the Europeans²³. *The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce* served the business community of Bombay. In 1850, it became a daily with the objective of augmenting the share capital. In 1859, *Bombay Standard and Chronicle of Western India* were clubbed into *The Bombay Times and Standard*. In 1861, editor Robert Knight merged *The*

Bombay Times and *Standard* and *Bombay Telegraph* and *Courier* into *The Times of India* which developed into a national newspaper. In 1892, *The Times of India* came into the hands of Bennett and F.M. Coleman which came to be known as Bennett, Coleman and Co. Ltd (BCCL). Under the editorship of Stanley Reed, *The Times of India* achieved its popularity as the news that was received before midnight appeared in the newspaper, because usually the news that was received after 5pm appeared only the next day. In 1946, Seth Ramakrishna Dalmia became the proprietor of the company. *Nav Bharath Times*, Hindi in Delhi and Special Sunday editions were started by *ToI*. Two years later, in 1948 *ToI* was Passed on to Sahu Shanti Prasad Jain, the first chairman of the Sahu Jain Group. In 1962, it started *Economic Times*. In 1988, Government of India released a special stamp to mark 150 years of *ToI*. In 1999 it launched its web portal. The Times Group along with *ToI* have launched various T V Channels, magazines, Radio, internet, movies and books²⁴.

Robert Knight, the first editor was the key person in founding of *The Times of India*. He fought for the freedom of press. During the British period, the Anglo-Indian media dominated the scene. The newspapers were launched mainly with the objective of serving the English. Knight realised the vacuum and founded *The Times of India*. As the editor he commented on the acts of the British. He presented before the Indians the maladministration of the British, their policies which hardly benefited the Indians like education and taxation policies. He always wrote for the cause of Indians and ridiculed the British invasion of Afghanistan in 1878 as expansionism and the British concealing of the famines that took place in the North. His coverage humiliated the British²⁵.

The *Times of India* enjoys the privilege of being the first newspaper in India to have a war correspondent¹⁶. When Thomas J Bennett became the editor, he encouraged the Indians to write articles for *ToI* and were given free paper for their contribution²¹. He showed utmost interest towards the well-being of the people. As an editor he witnessed two famines and the country was affected with plague. In spite of this, the administrators extracted land revenue from the farmers. Bennett then chose to help the people by writing through his columns. He commented on the acts of the officials. A committee was then appointed instantly to find out the allegations made and the committee established it later¹⁹.

Ideology and Principles: According to Rama Rao, "The two basic principles that governed the *ToI* were that the king's government must be carried on and the political susceptibilities of the Indian people must be respected"²¹ The *ToI* in the pre-independent era was known for its abstemious journalism, timely presentation and people's service. As a media company it was committed to improve the journalistic values. Over the years it has built its status known for its principles among the Indians and its corporate venture. Under the editorship of Thomas J Bennett, the *ToI* was led by the views of the people

whom he had faith in. It practised a broad policy generally followed by the moderates of India. It was in favour of the British rule. More importantly on foreign affairs it buttressed the Britishers. But after independence and when an Indian Businessman, Seth Ramakrishna Dalmia became the proprietor, its policy was self-supporting but relying on the goals of a specific party¹⁹.

Recent Developments: In the recent years the *ToI* has taken up several initiatives and has accelerated its path of achievement. In 2005, the Audit Bureau of Circulation accredited *ToI* as the world's largest selling English broadsheet newspaper²⁵. The *ToI* Group has launched various initiatives. To illustrate a few, *Economic Times* launched 'Young Leaders', a programme which identifies leadership qualities among young executives. It carries out this programme in collaboration with India's leading consultancy firms in corporate employee assessment and the Indian School of Business. It started 'Lead India' programme, an endeavour directed towards building the future political leaders of India. It was launched in 8 cities of India viz., Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Lucknow, Pune and Hyderabad on 7th August 2007 and was communicated to people through different kinds of media, like T V, internet, print and cinema. 'Power of Ideas' was launched in January 2009 to imbibe the qualities of entrepreneurship and innovation. *ToI*, in collaboration with Jung Group of Pakistan started 'Aman Ki Asha' (A Hope for Peace) movement to bridge the gap between the two nations to build amicable relations. The programme intended to achieve the above goals through cultural exchange, conflict resolution and commerce. Towards Cultural exchange music festivals, literary and food festivals and peace messages are some of the noteworthy actions taken in this direction. As far as conflict resolution is concerned Editors' Meet in Karachi, a strategic summit in Lahore and a conference in Delhi on the controversial issues of sharing water were coordinated. To achieve the third important objective of improving trade relations, an Indo-Pak trade meet was arranged in New Delhi in May 2010. This movement gained international recognition from U K and U S. Times Foundation in association with FICCI, YELO and TATA power recognised the work of 6 rural women in the field of Rural Governance (Panchayat system, skill development, community volunteering, vocational training, self-help groups and awarded them Women Achiever Award 2009²³.

The Hindu: *The Hindu*, an English language newspaper founded in 1878 is printed in 17 places including the main edition at Chennai. The other places are Coimbatore, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Mohali, Allahabad, Kozhikode, Madurai, New Delhi, Vizag, Thiruvanthapuram, Kochi, Vijayawada, Mangalore, Kolkata, Noida, Tiruchirappalli and Hubli. It has its readership of about 22.58 lakhs²⁶. It covers extensively on local, national and international events²⁷. Apart from the main issue, it also publishes a supplement covering a wide range of issues focusing on civic issues, book reviews, agriculture, environment to science and technology acquainting the citizens with

necessary information. *The Hindu's* effort in making the newspaper reach the major cities, areas and remote corners of South India is commendable²⁸. Its parent company Hindu Group of Publications brings out *The Hindu Business Line* (daily) magazine such as Front Line and Sports Star²⁷. According to National Readership Survey it enjoys the second highest readership. In 1995, it became a pioneer in publishing online edition²⁹.

The Hindu was first printed at Srinidhi Press at Mint Street in the city of Madras on September 20th, 1878. It was founded by six men namely G Subramaniya Iyer, M Veeraraghavachariar, T.T. Rangachariar, P.V. Rangachariar, D. Keshava Rau Pant and N. Subba Rau Pantulu. These young men with little money and knowledge were audacious enough to start a newspaper. The *raison d'être* behind the setting up of the newspaper was that, the Anglo-Indian newspaper criticised the appointment of Muthuswamy Iyer as the judge of the High Court. Stunned by the remarks made by the newspaper, these six young men determined to start the newspaper as there was no Indian owned newspaper to answer them back. When *The Hindu* was started, they commented on the editorials of the Anglo-Indian newspaper and justified the appointment of Muthuswamy. These men regarded service rather than profit to be the main objective of the paper. The paper aimed at mobilising public views on plethora of problems persisting in India. G Subramaniya Iyer worked as editor and Veeraraghavachariar managed the newspaper. It is believed that G Subramaniya Iyer instilled a sense of service in the young minds of India and he is credited for setting right the various administrative flaws. He wrote articles on Dr Gustav Oppert, a German Sanskrit scholar, due to which he realised that he has the potential to write for the press³⁰. *The Hindu* due to poor circulation and advertising revenue was taken over in 1905 by S Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, a lawyer and a businessman, who in course of time diverted the newspaper towards socio-economic development of India. From then, till now, his successors have been striving hard to adapt the newspaper to the fast-changing India technologically, preserving journalistic values and becoming successful in the business sense³¹. It has maintained equilibrium between two factors, one in its focus on disseminating information, moulding public opinion, as an agenda builder and on the other hand its expansion of business²⁸.

The Hindu created awareness among the people about the socio-economic and political issues plaguing the society and at the same time articulated to the government the demands of the people. It gave identity to those vague ideas of the leaders who wanted to clout the British rule and became the spokesperson for the greater representation of the Indians in the administrative services. *The Hindu*, in the initial years of its establishment had to face several financial constraints. The benevolence of the readers was the only strength of *The Hindu* then. It is believed that *The Hindu's* publication as a weekly hindered the discussions as the issues arose, and therefore, *The Hindu* from a weekly developed into a tri-weekly in 1889 on New Year's Day.

It was in favour of the reforms introduced by Lord Ripon and it left no stone unturned to articulate the aspirations of the Indians to the people of England.

The Indian National Congress (INC), founded in 1885, 7 years after the launch of *The Hindu* promoted its principles through *The Hindu*. *The Hindu's* association with the INC annoyed the British, consequently Governor M.E. Grant Duff expressed animosity towards the newspaper. The Mahajana Sabha had its headquarters at the office of *The Hindu*, this made the British to name it as the 'den of the conspirators' Subramania Iyer as an editor, in spite of the stumbling blocks, managed to use *The Hindu* as a tool for national struggle and attacked everybody who disturbed the country's progress, not considering the rank, position and status.

The Hindu did not adopt anti-British policy. It welcomed the decision of Lord Ripon on self-government and the editor visited the presidency of Madras in creating awareness among the people about their role under the new programme. The viceroy had utmost concern for the paper and used it for mobilising public opinion on the new reforms introduced. Once he said, "Take *The Hindu* and see what it says". G Subramania Iyer did not fear even to bring to the forefront the names of the Governors when they committed a blunder. Chintamani, a journalist who owes much to Subramania Iyer says that "Subramania Iyer belongs to the category of giants of the Fourth Estate like B.M. Malabari, Kristo Das Pal and Tilak". He gave priority to national interest at the cost of personal interest. *The Hindu* carried under the obituary column a man's blunder committed in course of performing his duties during his life time. He conveyed to the masses that even a dead man would not be forgiven for his misdeeds³⁰. Subramania Iyer is considered to be the most supreme editor of India. According to Gopal Krishna Gokhale, "There was no other editor in India who had the same masterly grip of public questions as Mr. Subramania Iyer"¹⁶.

The Hindu gained prominence all over India. The princely states of Baroda, Mysore, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Travancore expressed their opinion through the columns of *The Hindu*. The copies of it were circulated in the British parliament by A O Hume³⁰. In 1967, *The Hindu* in its editorial wrote "We must make it clear", it said, "that we are independent, non-party newspaper wedded to the national interest as we see it. We are not the mouthpiece of any party. We have been more often critical of the ruling party perhaps than singing its praises. We have always made a distinction between programmes and measures on the one side and personalities and the parties on the other. Our criticisms have been primarily concerned with the non-wisdom or inappropriateness of certain policies or decisions and whatever governments may come to power we shall continue to judge them not by their professions but by their performances"³². A number of instances can be cited which emphasise its role in effecting public policy. It published progressive and revolutionary ideas to effect social change

which were not in favour of *The Hindu* Orthodoxy like the Age of the Consent Bill³⁰. It carried the news on the occurrences of child marriage. It championed the cause of widow re-marriage and disapproved the caste system. It severely criticised the treatment given to the 'pariahs' (untouchables). In this regard it wrote that "Pariahs be handed over to the Christian missionaries as their welfare is not possible as long as they belong to Hindu community"³³. It disfavoured the railway project by which only the British would avail advantage by extensive use of the raw materials of India. It was also against the changes effected in the working of the textile labourers as that would impact the working of new born textile industries. It espoused the cause of plantation workers as they worked under the British. *The Hindu* was always concerned with the welfare of the people of Madras. On one occasion, when Arundel, the president of the local municipality wanted to light the Marina Beach, it commented that people are the real contributors of the money, and those who deserve it are the people who live in filthy and unhealthy places. It questioned the laxity on the part of the municipality to light the beach for the affluent Europeans. *The Hindu* espoused the freedom of press many a times. Once its publication was on the Punjab issue and another was on Moplah Rebellion of 1921. It commented when it was forced to publish only the official reports, that the imposition of the Press Act will not encourage it to give up its age-old journalistic traditions³⁰. It once commented on Nehru for regarding the press as "more or less as a kind of permanent opposition" and said to "free himself from the obsession" that the press was "incapable of taking an unbiased or rational view of government policies".

It's publication of the first five-year plan reveals that it had great concern for the economic development of India. It expressed its views regarding the kind of economic system India should adopt. It was in favour of private enterprise and empowering the government only with key sectors. It proposed the formation of linguistic states and opined that when a significant portion of population is in favour of establishing a state on linguistic basis, then that section of population must be free to decide about their domestic affairs³⁴. It wrote on India-China boundary dispute in its editorials that "India had done (it's) best to avoid a war" and "could negotiate only on honourable terms and not when our soil is being increasingly occupied by the Chinese". In 1965, in the Indo-Pak War, *The Hindu* observed that "India is witnessing turbulent times. It is a bitter experience that peace loving Indians, engaged in the building up of their national economy and rising living standards to be called upon to divert their energies to military activity and to resist an unscrupulous and well-armed enemy". It had written umpteen times proposing family planning policy. It was against few policies like press ordinances and land ceiling. It had an ambivalent attitude as far as the proclamation of emergency was concerned. It is believed that the paper adopted wait and watch policy until January 1977 and later after emergency was withdrawn, *The Hindu* in its editorial remarked that Mrs. Gandhi has been "demagogic" and hers had been an "authoritarian and repressive regime. "On certain occasions like

the ethnic explosion in Sri Lanka in 1983, it reflected the Indian policy towards Srilanka and adapted anti-LTTE view on the eve of Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. In the beginning of the 21st century it disfavoured the policies of both the centre and the state of Tamil Nadu. In Tamil Nadu, the AIADMK was the ruling party and it filed as many as 16 defamation cases against it³⁵.

Ideology and Principles: In the pre-independent era, the readers commented on the critical issues concerning the society³⁶. *The Hindu* appealed to the educated masses to bridge the gap between the governors and the governed. "Fairness and Justice" were the two guiding principles of *The Hindu* which were quintessential for its existence over a long period of time. It had editorially declared for itself, for the press and the news media in India the five principles or 'Panchsheel' which in course of time would assist in developing India namely-*truth telling, freedom and independence, justice, humaneness and contributing to social justice*²¹. Its business values and stratagem is to achieve greater quality in journalism, practise of core journalistic values, relying on trust, truth, and objectivity, to reach the people to the best possible extent and to adapt its newspaper to the fast changing technology³¹. The editorial writer was given utmost freedom to express his ideas. It always believed that the masses should participate freely in the discussions and it is their role to educate them and the readers should read the newspaper not just for the sake of reading but they must come up with new ideas. It has always disfavoured sensationalism²⁸. *The Hindu* is thus committed towards promoting civic welfare and considers this as the highest loyalty and assigns it the uppermost precedence.

Recent Developments: *The Hindu* could reach at the earliest possible time to the mofussil areas through air, rail and road transport. It was awarded the World Press Achievement Award in 1968 for its strong, independent and courageous editorial position. John C. Merrill, in his book, 'The Elite Press' writes, "Of the several outstanding English language dailies of India, *The Hindu* of Madras enjoys an unrivalled reputation for reliability and concern for truthful and comprehensive news coverage.... *The Hindu* alone among other national newspaper commands wide international respect as an authoritative expression of liberal and cosmopolitan attitudes".

In 1975, it started its international edition in USA, Cannada, Britain, Europe, Japan, Malaysia and Singapore. It has won accolades both at the national and international level. G. Narasimhan, Managing Editor of *The Hindu* was selected for Padma Bhushan award on Independence Day for his contribution in making *The Hindu* a national newspaper³⁵. The 1991, economic liberal reforms introduced in India have also contributed to the growth of *The Hindu* in terms of production, distribution, marketing and other areas. In 2006, *The Hindu*, e-paper was inaugurated. It saw the inauguration of 'The Hindu center of Public Policy, in 2013. In 2016 it won Gold for the finest news website at WAN-IFRA'S South Asian Digital

Media Awards. Brief Case, a paid app was introduced by *The Hindu* in 2018. 140 years ago, *The Hindu* newspaper which was started by taking a loan of a 123 mere rupee and three quarters is now run by Rs 400+ crore company. Mere advertising amounts to 80 percent of the gross income³³. Along with *The Hindu*, it also possesses the credit of publishing *The Hindu Tamil*, *The Hindu Business Line*, *Sport Star*, *Survey of Indian Agriculture*, *Survey of Indian Industry etc.*, among others.

The Indian Express: The failure of Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1932 led to Gandhiji's call for Civil Disobedience which gave further encouragement to the press. The papers started in those days like 'New India' and 'Swarajya' were fading away. At this juncture, Varadarajulu Naidu, Congressman and an Ayurvedic doctor, owner of the paper 'Tamil Nadu' started in 1927, chose to close 'Tamil Nadu' and started *Indian Express* in 1932. Varadarajulu found it difficult to run the newspaper due to monetary constraints, this compelled him to sell it to Sadanand, the owner of Free Press Services a, news agency. *The Indian Express* started its sister publication 'Dinamani' a Tamil daily with the assistance of Ramnath Goenka. *Indian Express* unlike the Anglo-Indian press earned very little revenue from advertising. It was passed on to Ramnath Goenka. Ramnath Goenka's one of the most important contributions is *Indian Express*. To quote B G Varghese, "The Express was not merely a newspaper empire but a mission to uphold the nation's freedom, unity and core values for the progress and prosperity of all its people". Ramnath Goenka intended to bring or disseminate to the people the facts which would otherwise be concealed. His aim was to provide to the people information that would emancipate them. He fought for the freedom of press in the constituent assembly. He gave substantial freedom to the editors. *The Indian Express* throughout had to undergo a series of litigations and was under fire during emergency. The Congress government took all possible measures to stop its publication under 'Pre-censorship' guidelines.

After the death of Ramnath Goenka, *The Indian Express* was partitioned. His grandsons Vivek Khaitan and Manoj Sonthalia managed the Northern and Southern Editions. The Northern editions retained the name *The Indian Express* whereas the Southern editions came to be known as *The New Indian Express*.

Ideology and Principles: *The Indian Express* asserted in its editorial for the first time to be impartial towards any political party, stood for freedom and wove all the communities irrespective of their political, social and economic differences in one realm. In 1951, the First Constitutional Amendment Bill was moved, to amend Art 19(1) (a) which provides freedom of speech and expression and reasonable restrictions were added to the phrase Art 19(2). This provoked Ramnath Goenka and brought out an article captioned 'Freedom Fettered'. The lines read that, 'Eighteen months after adoption of the Constitution guaranteeing to citizens of the Republic, liberty of thought and expression, that vital right was diluted. Ramnath Goenka was a

Congress man. Once in a letter to Frank Moraes, editor, he wrote, "Despite certain points on which we have to differ from the present Congress government, we have by tradition and in practise been what might be generally called as a Congress paper". Frank Moraes was intolerant with Congress Socialism and ridiculed at Nehru's confidence in China. According to Goenka, the differences with the Congress position needs to be substantiated.

The Indian Express in its editorial commented on Madras High Court's announcement of cancellation of exoneration orders passed by subordinate courts in murder cases, consequently it was charged with "Contempt of Court". It was banned in the princely states of Travancore and Mysore for agitating against the pessimism of the princely states and their inhabitants and its zeal towards nationalism. On the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Patel, Azad and other important leaders of the Congress on 9th August, 1942, in its editorial the *Express* reiterated Gandhiji on press that, 'the press should discharge its duties freely and fearlessly. Let it not allow itself to be cowed down or bribed by the government'. It commented in its editorial on Communal Award as, "an arrangement that tends to keep the country distracted in diversity and perpetuate the Communal idea and Communal bickering". It also supported for the dominion status of India. In 1971, *The Indian Express* carried article titled 'Myth and Reality' reflecting Indira Gandhi's assurances made to the people and her formulation of programmes in order to let her down. But Indira Gandhi could win the elections in 1971 by way of the slogan 'Garibi Hatao'. *The Express* on Indira Gandhi taking up the charge again as Prime Minister, wrote 'Authority should not make the Prime Minister authoritarian'³⁷.

Deccan Herald: *Deccan Herald* was founded by K N Guruswamy in the post independent era in 1948. It first appeared on 16th June 1948. It was a manifestation of sanguinity and an expression of the desires of modern sovereign country. Karnataka and in particular Bangalore occupy an extra ordinary position in *Deccan Herald's* system of news presentation. It is printed by the Printers (Mysore) private limited. The sister publications of *Deccan Herald* are *Prajavani*, *Sudha* and *Mayura*. K N Guruswamy devoted his life to truth and fairness. *Deccan Herald* has completed more 73 years in providing news to the people of Karnataka, India and the World. It believes in, 'Constant is the only change'. It places emphasis on critical thinking as vibrant process and remains updated with developments occurring in the newspaper and magazine publishing business. The Group continues to give identity to the principles laid down by the originator of the newspaper. Providing service to the people is the philosophy the paper holds. It claims to be the representative of the needy and the disadvantaged.

Ideology and Principles: Inexorable crusade against corruption and environment friendly economic growth happens to be the objective the newspaper wishes to realise. It carries

comprehensive supplements with an underlying principle of “to each his own”. Its Supplements includes Sunday Herald, Articulations, Economy and Business, Science and Technology, Avenues, Sports Scene, Metro Life, Spectrum, Living and Open Sesame. It consists of articles on science, technology, agriculture, trade, commerce and other myriad issues. It established its online edition on April 15th 1996 catering to the needs of readers across the globe. Its regional editions of Dharwad, Bijapur, Bellary Gulbarga, Raichur, Bidar and Belgaum carry comprehensive local news and accentuate the growth of the respective areas³⁸.

Deccan Herald had made inroads into the living of a number of households in the state of Mysore now Karnataka ever since 1948. It is known for its credibility in news presentation. It is well-known for its audacity and forthright outlook. The newspaper began as a tabloid on a daily basis. Earlier, a joint stock company possessed it which was known as Printers (Mysore) limited. Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Dewan of the formerly known Mysore State sensed the necessity for English daily and supported the setting up of the newspaper. It soon acquired the people’s support and attracted a significant number of readers. *Deccan Herald* produced two great editors namely Pothan Joseph and G.V. Krupanidhi. Pothan Joseph, a freelance reporter and a prominent figure in reporting served *Deccan Herald* for many years. It was because of his writing “Over a Cup of Tea” that made the newspaper more appealing and highly spirited. Having worked for many newspapers, he was a treasure of knowledge. He worked with great fervour and this led to the growth of the newspaper. Another important figure who can be credited for improving the line of the business of *Deccan Herald* was G.V. Krupanidhi. He made an entry into *Deccan Herald* as the Chief Editor in 1958. He made immense contribution to the newspaper with his articles, striking captions, weightage to regional news and others. *Deccan Herald* grew in prominence with him as editor. His viewpoints were comprehended with utmost curiosity and were known for straight forwardness and soberness¹⁹.

Conclusion

Thus, the above said English dailies have accomplished and have been accomplishing a commendable task. They have never left any stone unturned in raising the voice of the marginalised sections of the society. Their efforts in creating a constructive debate among the members of the society pertaining to the contentious issues is worth appreciating which has assisted the government in comprehending needs and aspirations of the people. It has off late been creating awareness among the people regarding the laws formulated by the government possibly because the people need to provide a helping hand to the government in the process of governance. But however, much needs to be done socially, economically and politically as plethora of problems still persist in India. The newspapers should endeavour to bring marginalized sections of the society to the mainstream and assist in successful working of the

democracy. For this to accomplish they should cultivate and build good and amicable relations between the citizens and the government as the noble and worthy relationship between the two forms the cornerstone of democracy. Without their assistance it would be impossible for the citizens to enjoy unbridled and unfettered freedom on the one hand and on the other the government will not be able to implement the policies successfully. Thus, the onus lies with the media together with the others actors to promote good governance.

References

1. Saeed, Saima (2009). Negotiating Power: Community Media, Democracy, and the Public Sphere. *Development in Practice*, 19(4/5), 466-478.
2. Audi, Robert (1990). The Functions of the Press in a Free and Democratic Society. University of Illinois Press, 4(3), North American Philosophical Publications.
3. McCombs, Maxwell E. and Shaw, Donald L. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176.
4. McCombs, Maxwell (2013). The statement of Lippmann is taken from the secondary source: McCombs, Maxwell: “The Agenda-Setting Role of the Mass Media in the Shaping of Public Opinion”. University of Texas at Austin, 1-1-2011 accessed in 2013, Available at infoamerica.org. Available at infoamerica.org.
5. Newman, Nic. Dutton and William H. Blank Grant (2012). Social Media in the Changing Ecology of News: The Fourth and Fifth Estates in Britain. *International Journal of Internet Science*, 7(1), 6–22.
6. Barker, Michael (2005). Manufacturing Policies: The Media’s Role in the Policy Making Process. *Journalism Education Conference Griffith University*. Accessed online at ive-wirez.gu.edu.au/jea.papers/Barker.dco.2013
7. Ayyar Vaidyanath. R.V. (2009). Public Policy Making in India, New Delhi: Dorling Kindersley (India) Private Limited. pp.171-172.
8. Stromberg, David. Snyder and James, M. (2008). The Media’s Influence on Public Policy Decisions, in Islam, Roumeen (ed). *Information and Public Choice: From Media Markets to Policymaking*, Herndon, VA, USA: World Bank Publications. ProQuest ebrary, pp 17-18
9. Besely, Timothy and Burgess, Robin (2000). The Political economy of Government Responsiveness: Theory and Evidence from India.
10. Ganguly, Sumit, Diamond, Larry and Plattner, Marc, F. (ed) (2010). The State of India’s Democracy. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, p188.
11. Padhy S. and Sahu, R N. (1997). The Press in India- Perspectives in Development and Relevance. New Delhi: Kaniska Publishers and Distributors pp 2, 3 & 5.

12. Muzumdar Aurobindo (1993). Indian Press and Freedom Struggle-1937-42. Calcutta: Orient Longman, p4
13. Vilanilam, J.V. (2005). Mass Communication in India-A Sociological Perspective. New Delhi: Sage Publications, p49
14. Iyer, Krishna, V K. Sethi, and D Vinod (1996). Essays in Freedom of Press. New Delhi: Capital
15. Mathur Asha Rani (2006). The Indian Media –Illusion. Delusion and Reality, New Delhi: Rupa Co p13.
16. Ahuja, B. N. (2012). Theory and Practice of Journalism. Delhi: Surjeet Publication, p309.
17. Chakravarty, Jaya (2007). Journalism Concept. Approaches and Global Concept, New Delhi: Sarup Foundation Society.p25.
18. Lohmann, Manfred (1971). The Role of Journalism in the Process of Socio-Political change in India, in Noorani, A.G. (Ed). Freedom of the Press in India, Bombay: Nachiketa Publications Limited, p 87.
19. Murthy Nadig Krishna (1966). Indian Journalism. Mysore: Prasaranga Publications.
20. Newspapers (2003). Pro Quest Historical Newspapers: The Times of India-1838 to 2003. University of Texas <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/indexes/titles.php?id=759> accessed in 2013
21. Parthasarathy Rangaswamy (1995). Journalism in India-From the Earliest Times to the Present Day. New Delhi: Sterling Publications Private Limited.p234.
22. Times of India (2013). Press Room. Times of India, November 1898. <http://www.b/uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocll/p/09pho000000643u00021000.html> accessed from British Library in 2013
23. Times Group (2013). Key Milestones. *Times of India* <http://www.timesgroup.com/bccl/history.html> accessed in 2013
24. Patterson Jeffrey (2013). Challenging the Raj: Robert Knight in India. <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=29634>, Published in 2010, accessed in 2013 from Jhistory
25. TOI Circulation (2013). Travel Requisite News Papers. *Times of India*. <http://itopc.org/travelrequisite/newspapers/timesofindia.html> accessed in 2013
26. News Paper (2013). The Hindu. www.hindu.com accessed in 2013.
27. Topic (2013). EBchecked. The Hindu, <http://www.britanica.com/EBchecked/topic/266283/The-Hindu> accessed in 2013
28. Murali. N. (2013). Core Values and High-Quality Standards. The Hindu updated 13/09/2003 <http://www.thehindu.com/thehindu/th125/stories/2003091301020800.html> accessed in 2013
29. News paper (2013). Travel Requisite. The Hindu, <http://www.itopcd.org/travel-requisitenewspaper/hinduhtml> accessed in 2013
30. A, Govindarajan (1969). G Subramania Iyer. New Delhi: Director Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, p10-12.
31. Ram, N. Yesterday (2013). Today and Tomorrow (Editorial). *The Hindu Newspaper* updated 13-09-2003 accessed in 2013 <http://www.thehindu.com/thehindu/th125/stories/2003091300500100.html>
32. Shamsi, Afaque (2006). Print Media. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Private Limited, p135.
33. S Parthasarathy, Rangaswamy (1978). Hundred Years of The Hindu. Madras: Kasturi and Sons Limited, pp68-76.
34. Stories (2013). A Clarion Call Against the Raj. *The Hindu*, <http://www.thehindu.com/thehindu/th125/stories/2003091300810200.html> updated 13/09/2003, accessed in 2013
35. Kamraj K. (2013). Reading the Hindu. The Hindu, updated 13-09-2003 <http://www.thehindu.com/thehindu/th125stories/2003091300820400.html> accessed in 2013
36. Stories (2013). Developing a Paper for a New Reader. The Hindu, updated 13-09-2003 <http://www.thehindu.com/thehiundu/th125/stories/2003091300830500.html> accessed in 2013
37. Varghese, B.G. (2005). Warrior of the Fourth Estate-Ramnath Goenka of the Express. New Delhi: Penguin Books, pp xiii, 1&2, 10, 24-26, 31, 38, 49, 50, 72, 75, 102, 221, 324.
38. Deccan Herald (2014). The Printers (Mysore) Pvt.Ltd.. www.deccanherald.com/content/130/about-us.html accessed on 26-06-2014