Chapter 1

1.0 Introduction

It is an acknowledged and accepted fact that television has become a powerful and influential medium in the present society. It has become part and parcel of daily life. In this context the present chapter gives a brief introduction to the political economy of media; state experiments with television in India for the development of the society; television revolution in India; review of studies that theorize the political economy of media and perspectives on television as a culture industry. Then I go on to give the statement of the research problem, importance and scope of the study, aims and objectives of the study, research methodology and at the end of this chapter.

The political economy of media is the field of the public. From the political economist’s point of view the existing media system is not natural or inevitable or impervious to change. They believe that the media is the result of policies made by the representatives in the public’s name but often without public concern. They believe the nature of the media systems established by these policies goes a long way toward explaining the content produced by these media systems. Political economists of media believe that assessing policies, structures, and institutions cannot answer all the important questions surrounding media, but they believe their contributions are indispensable to the comprehensive study of media. How the political economy of media proceeds is somewhat complicated. It is a field that endeavours to connect
how media and communication systems and content are shaped by ownership, market structures, commercial support, technologies, labour practices, and government policies (Mc Chesney, 2010, pg.12). The political economy of media links the media and communication systems to how both economic and political systems work; and how political and cultural power is exercised, in society. Specifically, in a democratic country like India and across the world, what role do media and communication play, how capitalist economies function, and how do both media and capitalism together and separately influence the exercise of political power? The fundamental question for political economists of media is whether, the media system serves to promote or undermine the democratic institutions and practices. Are media a force for social justice or for oligarchy? Equipped with the above mentioned information and knowledge, what are the options for citizens to address situations that deal with their private and public existence? The political economy of media is viewed from a critical point of view and is an exercise, committed to strengthen democracy as a matter of social responsibility.

Television in India first started in 15 September 1959 in Delhi with the help of a UNESCO grant of $20,000 and offered equipment from United States and Philips Television Company. The main purpose of television at that point in time was community development and education. An experimental Television station is started in New Delhi to train personal and particularly “to discover what television could achieve in community development and formal education”, possible range of transmitter 40 kms radius, members of 180 television clubs provided free sets by UNESCO. In the mid-1960s, Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, a visionary technocrat and
founder of India's space program, began arguing in policy-making circles that a nationwide satellite television system could pay a major role in promoting economic and social development. Sarabhai's initiative, national satellite communication group came into existence and based on its recommendations, Indian government approved a "hybrid" television broadcasting system consisting of communication satellites as well as ground-based microwave relay transmitters. He envisaged the satellite component which allowed India to leapfrog from a very basic to a state-of-the-art communication technology, speeded the development process, which was seriously undermined owing to a lack of infrastructure (Singhal, 2001). By the year 1967 it expanded to include farmer education programming in the rural areas of surrounding states. This was normally broadcast in a one hour bulletin. From 1967-1975, relay stations were established in Bombay, Srinagar, Amritsar, Pune, Calcutta, Madras and Lucknow. In this period, television in India was rather limited in terms of its reach, scope and programming.

All this changed in the year 1975, and for the first time in the world, an experiment in Satellite television called SITE (Satellite Instructional Television Experiment) was started in India. NASA rendered scientific support with Indian government funds to operationalize this project. Developmental programs for rural students, farmers and women, programs on science, health and hygiene, family planning and national integration were beamed to 2,400 direct reception community television sets. They were placed in six of the poorest states- Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. Around this
time, for one year on an experimental basis Kheda TV was started in the state of Gujarat.

Simultaneously, another experiment Kheda TV was viewed in 355 villages in the Kheda districts in Gujarat where community television sets were installed at milk cooperative societies. About 504 small 61 centimetre television sets were installed for community viewing. The main objective of this experiment was to bring development activities to rural people. One-kilowatt television transmitter was installed in Pij to serve an area of 3,000 sq. km of Kheda district. This transmitter received in signals from the microwave receiver terminal located in Ahmedabad about 45 kms. Kheda Television programs were transmitted from a common SITE and Kheda studio at Ahmadabad. In Kheda Television the planners aimed at effecting behavioral changes among the rural poor.

After the Emergency period between 1975 and 1977, television was marked by monopolisation by the state and concomitantly rapid expansion of media. In 1975 the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi imposed a state of national emergency. At that time the freedom of press was suppressed and broadcast media including television became a propaganda tool and mouthpiece of the Congress government. During this time, television was separated from All India Radio and was called Doordarshan. “Door” means distance and “darshan” (in Sanskrit) means vision. In 1977 a National Broadcasting Trust was proposed by the government. The Varghese Committee submitted a report recommending that All India Radio and Doordarshan should function under NBT as an autonomous body which is not yet constituted. It also suggested the setup of a complaint
board with quasi judicial powers. In 1979-80 Indira Gandhi’s Congress
government returned to power and shelved the Varghese Committee Report’s
recommendations. To this date in fact these recommendations have not been
implemented and state television functions under the Ministry of Information and
Broadcasting.
Under the Congress government the broadcasting infrastructure in India expanded
rapidly in the 1980’s to support the forthcoming Asian Games in New Delhi in
1982. This expansion was done under the supervision of Indira Gandhi’s son,
Rajiv Gandhi, who was just establishing himself as a young and dynamic leader
of modern India. India’s 18 television transmitters in 1979 expanded to 176 by
1985. With this change, 80% of the urban population and 50% of the rural
population came within the range of a television signal. For the first time, colour
television sets were introduced. Thus, the form and content of television in India
changed dramatically. Soap operas, news and current affairs and advertisements
began to appear on television. Popular epic serials like the Ramayan and
Mahabharath were telecasted during this time. Television became a source of
entertainment for the masses and a symbol of social status. With this there was a
revolutionary change in dynamics of the Indian social order.
For instance, the Asian Games (1982) had given recognition and reconstructed
the image of Indian society in the global world. Television in India moves from
local space to the global context. India introduced colour Television sets, when
New Delhi, the capital city, became a host for the Asian Games. The state owned
Television reshaped and showed the Global Village through satellite
communication signals across the world. When India was host to the Commonwealth Games (2010) that became an opportunity for the upgradation of Information and Communication Technology in relation to television and also promote the discourse of Television studies in India. From 1982-2010, with in a span of almost three decades, tremendous changes and developments in the history of Television in India have occurred. During the Commonwealth Games private television channels exposed corruption and underdevelopment of slum areas in capital city of India. This became an indication for the Television Revolution in India and its wide impact on state and society. Television as a medium provided a platform for the development of the nation and also in terms of discussion on developmental issues.

An innovative broadcasting experiment was underway in the rural, hilly hinterlands of Jhabua district in India’s Madhya Pradesh state (Space Application Center, 1996). Around 85 percent of Jhabua’s population is tribal, and its literacy rate is 15 percent. Jhabua the district is rich in natural resources, though Jhabua’s people are some of India’s poorest. Agriculture is primitive, infant mortality rates are high and transportation and communication facilities are poor. The Jhabua Development Communication Project (JDCP) was launched in the mid-1990’s by the Development and Educational communication Unit (DECU) of the Space Application Center (SAC) in Ahmedabad (DECU implemented the Kheda Communication Project).

The purpose of JDCP was to experiment with the utilization of an interactive satellite-based broadcasting network to support development and education in
remote, rural areas of India. Some 150 direct-reception systems (a satellite dish, TV sets, VCR's and other equipment) were installed in several villages of Jhabua, which received television broadcasts for two hours every evening from DECU's Ahmadabad studio, delinked through satellite. In addition, 12 talkback terminals were installed in each of the block headquarters to provide feedback, and to report on the progress. However the SITE, Kheda and Jhabua were continued just for short while: later, UGC CEC started educational programs for school children. To provide benefits to the rural children through these programs, the UGC sponsored television sets to the schools. However, due to electricity problems, the schools were not in a position to use these facilities and some areas there are no proper school buildings. There could be various political and economic issues related to this non usage of television as a media for the development of the country.

One of the respondents recollected her reading about state initiatives for television medium for the developmental issues as follows:

When the idea of television came into India, you had SITE, Kheda and Jhabua experiments. The idea behind those projects was to basically initiate a change or see how we can effectively educate communities about the things concerning them and how we can make a difference to a small group of people then to a larger community. But Site or all those projects were about the involvement of people whose lives were ignored, even while the messages were made or even while the construction of the entire project took place so it
had definitely an overwhelming outsider kind of an involvement or the perspective which didn’t percolate so much into the communities because they didn’t see it as their own reflection. Why television should be used only for entertainment? And why are we creating these notions of infotainment, edutainment, entertainment, or anything is being related to entertainment only, WHY? We can educate or we can make change in the pure forms as well because then it’s going to have much more impact. If campaigns like AIDS or Anti-Polio have had so much impact that people’s perceptions about these diseases or these ailments have changed and there is a positive change in their approach. So the same could have been reflected in other things. Caste system, removal of untouchability, or trying to deal with social issues, trying to deal with the exclusion of communities, trying to deal with the discrimination issues; there it is not the same. But then television does have a role to play; it can definitely be a tool for development. You have seen in the global order; there are so many examples of, very bright examples of television or the media playing a very positive role for changing the perceptions of society or bringing in that positive development. And development should be the real development as the founder of Grameen Bank, Mohammed Unis, says that development means the development of the bottom 50. But here we see the definition of development to be something else. Here the development is development of the already developed. If that goes on then we can never use television for what it can be used for, that is the
development of the underdeveloped classes or the underdeveloped communities of the society (Monisa, 2013, Personal Interview).

Similar views expressed by in charge director of the EMMRC at English and Foreign Languages University in Hyderabad. He has narrated the TV as a communication tool important in our society and it has become part of our life. From his profession he entered in Mass Communication and Journalism from Osmania University, his birth is in television is as follows:

TV in earlier days was meant for development purpose. It brought into Indian context only for the social and education purpose of social, economical, cultural, health, education, women and issues were social development purpose not for commercial purpose. But as you know over a period of time, now it has changed entire structure of television industry, whole gamut of television perspective, content, viewership, production everything has changed to the market now which was state owned. Now it is in the hands of market, commercial people, they are exploiting this tool only for the commercial purpose whether it is channel or program. It has commercial element in that, Whole context of television experience has changed, Socialistic perspective to capitalistic perspective. Economic structure itself has changed; Television is no more doing the service for which purpose it has come into India. Any tool for communication should come in for the development of individual to general or general to individual” (Krishna Rao, 2013, Personal Interview).
In the year 1990, the television era began with Foreign Direct Investments into mass media which broadly is known as the globalisation or liberalisation era. After 1990, with liberalisation, economic reforms and globalisation, the monopoly of state owned-television gradually disappeared. There was a steady mushrooming of private television channels all over India. The ownership, the form and content of television underwent dramatic change as a consequence. Between the years 2000 and 2011, in almost a decade, a total of around 800 news and non-news television channels were registered all over the country and at present 150-200 channels are in the waiting list for permission. Of these channels, about 200 news channels actively broadcast the news in English, Hindi and 10-12 other regional languages. From 2009-2011 television owning households increased from 123 million to 141 million. The Cable and satellite television households increased from 90 to 116 million households. The direct to home television sets increased from 15 to 26 million people who own television sets (TAM India, 2010). The changes in Indian television began after the new economic reforms implemented by the then Prime Minister P. V. Narsimha Rao and Finance Minister, who is now the current Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singh from the ruling Congress Party. Between 2000 and July 2011, a staggering total of 500 news and non-news television channels had been officially registered in the country, to broadcast either generic or niche forms of news and entertainment television channels. While several among these projects remained on paper, and still others were shut down, India today approximately has 150 active news channels, the largest number in any country
of the world (Kohli-Khandekar, 2011). However, our knowledge of the nature and implications of this profound transformation in the television industry and media landscape, and how these changes have fundamentally affected political and social relations and practices in the world’s largest democracy, remains incomplete. The changing phenomena of media ownership is a debate in the civil society especially after political leaders, realtors, FDI and others who are from various business backgrounds entered to invest their money in the television industry. The changing face of television journalism ethics and social responsibility is another question. Forty percent of the population is illiterate, with high levels of unemployment and small scale wage labour in rural and remote areas. There is no discussion on free flow of information, developmental programs, educational and health content in the communication policy in India. The information haves versus have-nots’ gap is increasing day by day, with the poor becoming poorer and the rich becoming richer. How do we fill this gap before it collapses the entire social and political system is a question we need to ask ourselves? The culture industry is owned and controlled by the capitalist classes who enjoy the prerequisite economic and technological power that enables them to spread their ideas and values – their advertising-driven ideology – through popular consciousness.

Herbert Schiller’s attack on the corporate capitalist economics of American mass media is perhaps the most comprehensive theoretical and historical account of media and cultural imperialism. In *Mass Communications and American Empire* (first published in 1969), the author claims that “a staggering
global invasion by American electronic communications” is the author of the
day (Schiller, 1992, pg.124). Moreover, this global invasion by American
media has led to the global commercialization of television and other broadcast
media, since successive federal American governments have allowed the media
to be predominantly owned by commercial operators rather than public ones.
Before the global television age, the American media’s commercialism was the
exception rather than the rule, with most European countries operating state­
owned public service broadcasting. However, with the Second World War
having left much of Europe “fascist-occupied and war-ravaged” “the United
States would emerge from the conflict physically unscathed and economically
overpowering” (Schiller 1977:105) which meant that many countries would
yield to the US model of commercial broadcasting. According to Schiller
(1992: 139), one example of this yielding to US media commercialism was the
establishment of Independent Television (ITV) in Britain in 1954. Another
version of the media and cultural imperialism approach is that of Edward S.
Herman and Noam Chomsky’s Manufacturing Consent (first published in
1988). In this book the authors outline a “propaganda model” which describes
“a very important aspect” (Herman and Chomsky 1994: xi) of the function of
mass media – that is, to serve the dominant hegemonic interests of powerful
groups such as the governments and global corporations.
The propaganda model proposed by Herman and Chomsky is made up of five
“news filters” that the mass media deploy – consciously or unconsciously –
when they report on current affairs. The first filter they refer to is the size,
ownership and profit orientation of mass media institutions. The second news filter is the advertising licence to do business. The third filter Herman and Chomsky refer to is the sourcing of mass media news. The fourth news filter is "flak" meaning negative responses to a media statement or programme. The fifth and final filter is the ideology of anticommunism that is widespread across American and Western media more generally (Dan Laughey, 2008, 131-132).

Today in India, we have a two tier television communication system/processes on broadcasting in India. One is a mouthpiece of the state and the ruling party in the name of state owned media: Doordarshan and allied channels which are under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. The second is the Private Satellite Television channels which are owned, managed and controlled by the upper classes and capitalist-oriented, working on a top-down model. The number of television channels has grown exponentially; the ownership or monopoly of the state run television has moved from the state to the private sphere; the content of television has diversified; ad revenue and viewership has increased tremendously. But, still it is in the hands of the ruling government or the upper classes or multinational corporations.

However, the focus of television in India today is on urban, middle class and the educated audience. Rural programming is no longer viewed as being particularly important. The discourse of entertainment has overtaken the development and education programs. The line between news and entertainment has blurred into a new discourse called as infotainment. There is no big difference between the state owned media and private television channels'
content, form, ownership and agenda setting as well as top down approach. They do not have enough space and programs for development and rural India. Both are depending on advertisements and corporations for economic support. With the advent of privatisation, the ownership of television in India is now in the hands of businessmen, political leaders and journalists-turned-owners and others who are investing in the television industry to promote their own interests.

Television has become a propaganda tool for different political and economic interests in the country. Several national and regional parties are using television as a means to political communication especially in Southern India with channels like Sun Network that did the propaganda for Dravida Munnetra Kazagham party, Jaya Television for All India Anna DMK party and Eenadu TV Network which is supporting the Telugu Desham Party and Sakshi TV openly supports Congress Party and later it is supporting YSR Congress Party in Andhra Pradesh. The media which should have been the pillar and a watchdog for democracy has become a pet dog for political parties and market interests. Television has to present the changing image of India, that it is vibrant and growing and not the old static traditional India. It has to blend the modernity of Indian society with the rich cultural heritage in order to create a new culture keeping the moral and ethical elements in view. It has to stop from turning the medium from becoming an agent of commercialism and consumerism and from turning into a vertical communication model. There is a huge demand and space for research on television studies in India. There is scope
for further research for Television studies in the Indian context to investigate the
nexus between political parties and the patterns of television ownership, regulation
and communication policy in India, the relation between sports and the expansion
and popularity of television in India, the many meanings that owning a television
set has come to acquire in the Indian context, print and electronic media ownership
convergence, and film and entertainment programs on television.

1.1 Television Revolution in India

Keeping aside the criticism good and bad, and truth and fiction, we have to accept the
fact that television has become a buzz word and it has been influencing the social life
of the people. It is a known fact that people in the villages pull out cots to the open
area in front of their houses and drown themselves in chat until they go to sleep. Now
the villagers have changed their pastime activity. They have become couch potatoes
and stay awake till early hours of the following day. This indicates how television
programmes have influenced even the rural life of the common person. It makes
people change their timetable as per the schedule of the television programme. It has
become a habit for most people merely to sit before a television set if we could
manage a little time. Now-a-days, people give less importance to spending time with
friends and meeting relatives, even who stay close by. Usually, we discuss the
influence of television on cinema and newspaper but we do not get enough time to go
back into a retrospective mode and think of how television has strained the nature of
social relationships in our society.
We all agree that the technology related to television has changed at such a great pace that we do not even know what we are supposed to make of it. It is surprising to note that we have risen from the stage of paying a license fee to setting up of a DTH dish. Though television has entered India little late, the way it spread across the country is unusual and it is still creating a wave of change by spreading its effects far and wide. Hence, we shall analyze how it has evolved in India over the years.

Indian television industry started with Doordarshan and it moved on at a snail’s pace but after 1990 it has gained momentum bringing about a phenomenal change in its schedule of programmes. It was started with one hour programme twice a week and moved on to managing a telecast of 24 hours news channels. In this revolution there are a number of important stages and challenges that the television industry had to encounter. Analyzing the history of Indian television from four different perspectives is essential:

1. Doordarshan: State owned media and its four decades monopoly
2. Private Satellite TV Channels: Indian media in a globalised world
3. Cable Network Industry and DTH
4. The Rise of 24x7 TV News Channels

1.1.1 Doordarshan: State owned media and its four decades monopoly

When the government started Doordarshan Television in 1959 its objectives were Information, Education and Entertainment. After fifty years Indian television has changed drastically at the level of content, form and ownership and structure of the
media organization. Television has become a symbol of social status, a powerful toll of communication and an influential medium in the hands of capitalists and multinational corporations. Now, it is working under their direction for their wealth and these aspects have changed the face of television as a mode of political communication tool: in short, infotainment, entertainment and sensationalization of issues are fundamental to the discourse of television. The original objectives of the television medium, i.e., information and education are distant in comparison to the current objectives. Doordarshan was established by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, with state financial support from the Planning Commission. It focused on the ruling government and upper class parties (Congress and Non-Congress parties) for their campaigns and as a tool of political communication. DD expanded its services to other states only after the Satellite Instructional Television Experiment in 1975-76 which was sponsored by ISRO and the State.

In 1982, the Indian government demonstrated the use of television as a tool for information and communication in the global context under the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who used Television as an extensive communication tool for the Congress Party. After the emergency conditions in 1975, Indira Gandhi’s Congress government used television as an agent of change for promoting the state agenda. During the Asian Games (1982) coverage they constructed images of India as a developing country. After the collapse of the Congress rule, Janata party formed the government and constituted committees for media role and its policy decisions. From the 1980’s onwards there was the impact of globalization, private satellite television channel boom and the rise of regional parties and media industry which was in the
hands of neo-capitalists. In the 2009 Commonwealth Games again there was a chance for TV in India to address a global audience and enter into transnational relations with global communication networks for the better projection of the Indian Image while concealing a bitter and unpleasant social reality. Since then, the DD had to sustain itself competing with other private satellite channels. Broadly the history of Doordarshan can be divided into three periods: a) Period of Rejection (1959-1981), b) Golden era of Doordarshan (1982), c) Era of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (1991) (Bhavanarayna, 2005, pg.2).

**Period of Rejection (1959 – 1981)**

Initially, Doordarshan had its centre in Delhi and it telecasted only a half an hour magazine on educational programmes. In 1969 the Government of India entered an agreement with NASA to telecast programmes with the acronym SITE (Satellite Instructional Television Experiment). At that time, the programmes were confined to Delhi. After fourteen years, it established its second regional centre. This time the gap itself helps us understand how well it was received by viewers. Eventually, Doordarshan had started its regional centres at Srinagar, Amritsar, Pune, Calcutta, Madras and Lucknow. Around 2400 villages had been covered in 1979 to telecast Doordarshan programmes to crores of rural households of our country. The main objective in establishing television was to telecast programmes related to primary education, health and nutrition, national integration and family welfare. However, it could not reach rural India and thus dialed to fulfill its main objective.
**The golden Era of Doordarshan (1982)**

Delhi Asian Games of 1982 and the advent of colour television sets ushered Doordarshan into a golden era. People stood in long queues to buy colour televisions sets and acquire some kind of a social status. Doordarshan telecast live events and edited programmes in the most striking manner and received international acclaim for those programmes. In addition, the national network programmes along with the advantage of INSAT 1A are the other important mile stones for Doordarshan.

The Silver Jubilee celebrations of Doordarshan and the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1984 both, for different reasons, drew people towards the television sets. Up until then, it telecast programmes from 11 regional transmission centres and in the same year launched a second channel. Besides, it accelerated the move to prove its mettle in the area of entertainment as well. Though it produced diverse programmes on its own, they were insufficient and could not address problems effectively. With this awareness, the people involved in the running of Doordarshan understood that it was not easy to fill slots and satisfy viewers with high budget, quality programmes.

At that point, the private producers entered the field. By that time, people who were associated with film industry turned towards television for extended careers. Most of the artists, producers, directors and technicians started presenting programmes for Doordarshan.

It was at that point in time that the serial “*Hum Log*” created waves across the country. It was received so well that even the commercial advertisement for “Maggi Noodles” during the breaks of that serial became popular. The specialty of the serial
was that it had elements of entertainment and a notion of public and private morals as well. The production of message oriented serials was a successful idea originally implemented in Mexico. A voluntary organization named, Population Communications International of New York explained this concept to the Doordarshan authorities. Consequently, it produced 156 episodes of “Hum Log” in Hindi for seventeen months. It was such a great success with viewers that four lakh people wrote letters to Doordarshan in appreciation of the serial and the authorities felt sorry for having not opened most of the envelops to read them. Later, “Buniyad”, Ramayan and Mahabharat created a virtual sensation in the culture industry of television. Tipu Sultan, Sri Krishna, Jai Hanuman, Om Namah Sivayah along with a fantasy serial Shaktimaan and family oriented serials, Shanti, Hamrahi, and Udaan also gained immense popularity. Film songs and films (Hindi and Telugu) were telecast once in a week and they drew people’s attention. Regarding exit polls, Doordarshan had its own mark. Prannoy Roy present it and if it was like watching the BBC channel, first news private programe on Doordarshan, “The News Tonight” and “The World this Week” it was a felt like watching BBC channel. With this kind of patronage of the people huge income was generated through commercial advertisements. Hence, it is right to say that it was a golden era for Doordarshan but there was an allegation that the ruling Congress government used the radio and Doordarshan for its advantage and as a political communication tool. Hence, as a result the Prasar Bharathi bill was passed in the parliament in 1990 and it was approved.
The Era of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization

In the 80-90s, the communication process started moving from direct/face to face communication to monopolization of information among the agencies. Information has become power in the hands of capitalists and it is the root cause for the emergence of regional politics in society. Economically, politically, socially, and culturally the conditions have matured in society so much so that by the time of Globalization, private capitalists want to take the media industry into their hands. Thus the government was under pressure to privatize media industry like television channels and radio stations. Secondly, in terms of ownership, the medium moved from simple reportage to strategizing to in order to improve the lobbying capacity of capital with governmental forces. This was with whoever mattered, whether it was the opposition or the ruling parties. This power aimed at closeness to the parties but not to control the parties/government.

The mushrooming of television channels in India in general and in particular in AP, the rise of cross-media ownership (like Horizontal - ownership of print, electronic and new media, and vertical - power and hegemony owned by same class people) combined with political clout as embodied in Sun TV, E TV, the media landscape is complicated by business models and ethics that often corrode media practices. In this scenario, systemic corruption is evident in 'private treaties' wherein the media-corporate interface leads to a confusing reportage that is a cross between advertisement and public relations copy. In
today's dynamic media landscape then, media ownership is becoming an increasingly fluid proposition (Krishna Reddy, 2013, Personal Interview).

Definitions of Globalization: One of the most ‘neutral’ definitions is given by Anthony Giddens who defined globalization in 90s “as the intensification of world-wide social relations, which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa”. (1990:64). John Thompson (1995), who focuses on media and culture more than Giddens, is explicit about the role of media and communications, although like Giddens he does not mention them specifically. He writes, “Globalization... refers to the growing interconnectedness of different parts of the world, a process which gives rise to complex forms of interaction and interdependency”. (1995: 149).

According to Roland Robertson (1992), another early pioneer, the difference is remarkable. “Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson, 1992: 8). According to Malcolm Waters (1995), “Globalization is a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding” (Waters, 1995: 3). According to Martin Albrow (1990), “Globalization refers to all the processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society”. (1990: 45). In Arjun Appadurai’s (1990) theory of scapes in the formation of globalization, (Appadurai 1998: 33-6), globalization consists of the junctures and
disjunctures of five scapes: (1) ethnoscape, (2) mediascape, (3) technoscape, (4) financescape and (5) ideoscape.

It may be proposed that in the 1990s, with the collapse of the communist Soviet Union and the expansion of the market economy paradigm, a much broader term “globalization” replaced “imperialism”. John Tomlinson (1991) points out that the idea of ‘cultural imperialism’ is connected to the critical discourse of “modernity”. He argues that the critiques of cultural imperialism are in the process against the spread of (capitalist) modernity “for capitalism, the nation-state and mass communications are all distinctive features of modern societies and determinants of the cultural condition of modernity” (Tomlinson 1991: 173). The idea of “imperialism” contains the notion of a purposeful project with the intention of spreading a social system from one centre of power across the globe. “The idea of “globalization” suggests interconnection and interdependency of all global areas which happens in a less purposeful way. It happens as a result of economic and cultural practices which do not, of themselves, aim at global integration, but which nonetheless produce it” (Tomlinson 1991: 175). Tomlinson also speaks of people’s everyday experiences particularly through mass media. He further notes the link between the processes of globalization with cultural demands for localization.

The early 1990s brought economic liberalization and deregulation which together saw the entry of variety of private, and subsequently foreign direct investments into mass media, entrepreneurs into commercial arenas de-monopolized by the government, compared with the average growth rate of just over 5 percent a year.
in the past decade, though it has showed over the past couple of years. While average income per head quadrupled between 1980 and 2010, the rise of the middle class has propelled consumption especially of cars, television sets and white goods. The urban—rural and rich—poor divides have become wider: farm incomes have grown by half the national average, and between almost 300 million and 400 million people still live below the poverty line (Marius Dragomir and Mark Thompson, Open Society Media Report, 2013).

The Gulf War of 1991 played an important role in bringing down the domination of Doordarshan. During the war people preferred watching CNN and this was carefully observed by various private television channels like Star television. Consequently, satellite private channels attacked Doordarshan. They gave a tough competition to Doordarshan in the race to occupy the number one position. They telecast programmes which were good in terms of picture quality and entertainment. The downfall of Doordarshan was imminent. The number of private channels increased and they offered a lot of choice to the viewers. An impressive variety in programmes increased and Doordarshan stood as the last alternative for the viewer. The objective of offering knowledge and control of government over Doordarshan were the important reason for its backwardness. The Congress government took interest in reviewing the Prasar Bharathi Bill of 1990 by setting the Vardhan Committee in 1991 and the National Front government moved one step forward to frame National Media Policy. In 1995 the Ramvilas Paswan Committee made 46 recommendations and finally a shape was given to Prasar Bharathi in 1997 and the Prasar Bharathi Board
was constituted. Afterwards, Mr. Pramod Mahajan, Information and Broadcasting Minister made an announcement that his government would scrap the Prasar Bharathi. Had it been scrapped, we would have committed a grave mistake second to that of the infamous Emergency. Situations prevailing at that time did not help Doordarshan to yield the results expected through Prasar Bharathi.

During the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government, the Information and Broadcasting Minister, Mr. Arun Jaitley felt that strengthening Prasar Bharathi would help Doordarshan to compete with private satellite channels. He enacted the thought that better programming and marketing could produce positive results by capitalizing on viewership. He set up a committee to reconstruct Prasar Bharathi. Doordarshan, time and again proved itself that it could react effectively to the needs of the new millennium. Now, it telecasts all the proceedings of parliament, Rashtrapati Bhavan and official sports events as it possesses the rights and has gained upper hand in terms of rural viewership. Doordarshan has a significant place in bringing reliable news and in disseminating knowledge. The future of Doordarshan is bright. There is every chance of it occupying an important place in Indian television industry as it is the only player which has a vast terrestrial network across in the country. It is with this intention, that it launched twenty-four hours news channel.

1.1.2 Private Satellite Television Channels In India

Until 1990, Doordarshan had a smooth and successful story but the Gulf War of 1991 brought down the popularity of Doordarshan. During the war, people preferred watching CNN as it telecast the events of war live. With that the CNN laid the
foundation for a revolutionary change in television industry. Most of the star hotels in India installed dish antenna during the time to keep their guests updated with CNN news. Families who had relatives in Gulf watched it with anxiety. These events upheld the importance of satellite television network. A few channels presented their programmes to Indian population with an uplink from abroad. In 1990s satellite television started with Star TV and offered choices to the masses. Eventually, ZEE TV, Sony TV, M TV India, NDTV, CNN-IBN, Times Now, Aaj Tak and Headlines Today, India TV, SUN TV Networks and Eenadu TV Networks from the South entered the open market.

**Satellite Television for the Asia Region (STAR TV Networks)**

Rupert Murdoch, the media Moghul, launched the Satellite Television for the Asia Region (STAR) in 1998 under the aegis of his News Corporation in India. From Japan to West Asia, nearly fifty countries, can watch its STAR TV programmes. It has penetrated the cultural landscape to such an extent that everyone asks for STAR rather than Cable TV. It speaks volumes about the strategy that the Star propagandists used to spread throughout the country through cable network. Investment of huge capital is its strength. Star’s additional feel good factor is that it has produced many programmes for FOX Network under its banner.

Initially, STAR started Star News, Star Sports, Channel V, and Star Mandarin. Soon after, it launched Star Movies, Star Gold, and Star World. Star attracted even Hindi speaking viewers of North with Star Plus. In 2000 the Star telecast “Kaun Banega Crorepati” could pull as many as ten crore viewers and it was a record. It
concentrated on Hindi serials and could entertain viewers better than other channels. It has invested in Balaji Telefilms with the intent to reach the viewers of regional languages of India.

**ZEE TV**

Gulf War showed the need to launch a private channel like CNN in India too. Zee TV was launched in 1992 and it concentrated more on programmes in Hindi which could create an interest in the common masses. It targeted the Hindi speaking population staying abroad. In 1995 Subash Chandra Goel, a businessman launched Zee TV News and Zee Cinema and for South Asians in Britain, he launched another channel in that country. Zee news was the first private news broadcaster from the sub-continent, its motto being *Sabse Pehle* (Always first). ZEE entered into a MoU with STAR in 1996 and started City Cable. It was the first cable channel in India. After a joint business, Subhash Goel took over News Corporation by 2000. In the following year it spread to the South: Zee Music, formerly Zee Asia, was started in 1997. In 1998 it started another ZEE channel for Indians in America. For the regional viewers, ZEE Alpha was started in 1999 as per the demands. Besides launching channels for South Asian region it simultaneously started the channel system before 2001 which in itself was a brave initiative. Though it launched channels with “Alpha Series”, it had to change its name to “Zee Series”. Even Zee Alpha which was launched for Telugu viewers in 2004 had to switch over to “Zee Telugu” in 2005. Later, they launched Zee 24 Ghantalu 24x7 news channel in AP.
Sony TV

Sony Corporation belongings to Japan launched Sony Entertainment Television in India in 1995. Though it started off late, it quickly became popular. It was more popular than STAR by 1998, in terms of viewership. It attracted Hindi speakers of both North and South. Besides serials, it received special appreciation for conducting stage shows too. Though it could not attain number one position, it has been enjoying the patronage of the people.

NDTV

New Delhi Television Limited is one of India's largest and oldest television production companies founded by Radhika Roy and Prannoy Roy in 1988. Its three news channels are NDTV24x7 (English) and NDTV India (Hindi) and NDTV Profit (Business). Over the years it has expanded NDTV Good Times focused on lifestyle and culture in 2007. NDTV 24x7 is the only English News Channel from India which is beamed in the UK, USA, South Africa, Middle East, Australia, New Zealand, Mauritius and most of the SAARC Countries.

MTV India

MTV India started a music channel with the intention of targeting the youth of the country. MTV started an international network in 1981 and MTV India was one among the many global networks. It designed a logo with colours found in the national flag of India. It is strongly oriented towards western culture and it has been a commercial success. It is amazing that a foreign private channel has been successful.
in telecasting 70% of Indian film music and 30% western music. Programmes like
*MTV Houseful, MTV Ek Do Teen, MTV India Hit-list, MTV Select, MTV Hip Shakers, MTV Fresh*, etc. have been thriving with the viewers watching them. Multi National Companies like Pepsi, Coca Cola, Dabur, etc. have sponsored programmes of these channels, which target youth and gained add revenue.

**CNN-IBN TV**

CNN-IBN is one of the newest 24x7 TV news channels in India under the leadership of Rajdeep Sardesai. The network is a partnership between Global Broadcast News, a Network 18 company and Turner International (Turner) in India. CNN-IBN’s name comes from CNN, Turner’s flagship network in the USA, CNN stands for Cable News Network and IBN stands for India Broadcast News.

**Aaj Tak and Headlines Today**

The India Today Group, TV Today Network, owned by Aroon Purie, launched Aaj Tak as a 24-hour news channel in Hindi language in 2000. It has been a top-rated news channel since its inception. It has two mottos that the channel frequently uses *Sabse Tez* (Fastest News) and *Ankhen Khol De* (Open your eyes). Headlines Today 24x7 English News Channel launched in 2003. The network is largely owned by Arun Purie, Controlled Living Media Inc which publishes one of India’s top weeklies titled *India Today*.
Sun Television Network

When Zee TV was launched, Mr. Kalanidhi Maran wanted to start it in the South too. Hence, he went to Mumbai to have talks with ZEE TV management for collaboration. It did not work out. That was the turning point, which helped him establish a strong television network in the South. In addition to Sun TV, he started Sun Music and Sun Movies’ channels. These channels offered a different taste to the viewers and the other channels failed to compete with Sun Network in South India and in particular in Tamil Nadu.

Even before the Sun Network completed its first anniversary, Gemini TV and Udaya TV telecast programmes in Telugu and Kannada respectively. Later, both the channels merged into Sun Network. It started Surya Channel in Malayalam in 1998 and it became the first ever network which covered all the four southern states of India. This network also started KTV, Ushe TV, Teja TV and Sun 24 hours news. Afterwards, they had to withdraw Sun and Udaya English News and Teja News channel. Then, it started Sun Music in Tamil, Kiran in Malayalam and Aditya in Telugu. It even started Surjo in Bengali to cover the North. In Tamil Nadu, Sun TV’s current major claim to fame is that in the closely fought state elections, the network becomes an election issue. This isn’t exactly new; with its partisan clout, it manages to do so every election year. Despite all the talk of media owners and editors in the Rajya Sabha, no media house in the country has managed to come anywhere near the kind of political clout that Sun TV enjoys, as a media company virtually spawned in the headquarters of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in Tamil Nadu. Over
the last decade, Kalanidhi Maran managed to have first, a father, and then a brother, in the cabinets of two successive central governments, formed by two opposing political formations, and a grand uncle who has been chief minister in his home base, Tamil Nadu, for at least seven years of the company’s existence. (Ninan and Chatterji, 2013, page 232-233). India does have some fledging cross-media controls in place. But they do not, for instance, stipulate that a media owner should not have blood relative in the union cabinet with a portfolio which governs the industry.

**Eenadu Television Network (Ramoji Group)**

There was a simultaneous process in which the regional bourgeoisie entered media industries on the one hand, and regional identities pushed themselves into the political domain on the other. A good example is what Eenadu did to reach out and address the mass society. It opens the expansion, reach, marketing strategies and ownership. Eenadu came into the existence with the slogan that “Nityam Ushodayamto Satyam Ninadichugaka” (Every day the sun rises with the truth), that’s the caption. It increased its agents and paperboys network on a massive scale like an army operation. Before NTR entered each village he was heralded by a boy coming from Eenadu. Eenadu built the network through Telugu Desam Party (TDP), in the village that gave foundation to TDP and in turn it built the party. In mid 80s the unfolding of mass society was well understood by Eenadu. This happened with the emergence of the TDP. Thus, in the Telugu public sphere, instead of the newspapers functioning as ‘watchdogs’, they are closely identified with political parties and both in news and opinion pages indulge in open partisanship.
The important function of having the Eenadu daily newspaper was to lobby for other interests and industrial concerns. Though the media never had its own concerns, it was an instrument meant to promote and sustain its interest by way of lobbying and influence on the government and thus protecting the industry’s concerns. Eenadu is classic example in AP of the new way in which the media moves towards a political party. We see Eenadu going beyond merely being close to the party and beginning to control it. Eenadu is an aggressive and important factor in the emergence of TDP; it also had the idea of controlling the politics. This indicates the beginning of Eenadu and the idea of media industry controlling the party in the AP context.

In 1984 when Indira Gandhi was assassinated, images of the funeral ceremony that were beamed into the villages by Doordarshan created grass roots public sympathy for the Indian National Congress Party and brought it to power under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi who became the Prime Minister. In the context of N. T. Rama Rao, the Andhra Pradesh public mind and decision making process were different. The pride of Telugu language ensured that the people voted for the TDP as the non-Congress government. The film actor turned politician N. T. Rama Rao became the Chief Minister of the state. By the late 80s-90s the media became as an industry. Until then it was an instrument for the promotion of a particular person’s or management’s interests. As it entered the 1990s, these private channels began not merely controlling, lobbying, and moving closer to politics, but also became oriented towards profit generation. There by it became a Media industry. At present the media is even more aggressive as an industry. The media is one of the frontrunners of the industrial sector. Another thing to study is how cultural facts and
entertainment became an important aspect of the industry. The commodification of culture started to happen at some point in the 80s and 90s changing the nature of the media, the unfolding of mass society in relation to the concomitant occurrence of the green revolution and economic growth, as they moved from a command economy through globalization and liberalization.

When Eenadu Television – ETV as it is popularly known – was launched in August 1995, there was great anticipation among Telugu speaking audiences who were already familiar with the parent company’s powerful influence in Telugu media, thanks largely to the success of the daily newspaper by the same name. When Gemini TV was launched in April 1995, Telugu speaking viewers had access to two privately owned channels in the state (Prashanti Kumar: 2013:261 &262).

ETV network took the support of the Eenadu newspaper network and started ETV2 in 2003. In the beginning, the channel attracted many people but later it was left behind while competing with Gemini TV. In Kannada, ETV is reaping better results than Sun network’s Udaya. It is not the strength of ETV which is helping it to do well but the weaknesses of Udaya TV. We have to agree that planning and sufficient infrastructure of ETV has made it very special in a certain sense.

1.1.3 Cable Television Industry and Direct to Home (DTH)

Cable television set foot in the media industry when Doordarshan was flourishing well in the country. Using VCRs and VCDs, video parlours started showing films to the public. It was cheap and one could watch the latest films every day. Cable system
was offered at competitive subscription rates to the apartment residents. A cable operator of a huge apartment played at least 75 films for the people residing in flats. Shortly, there was one cable operator for two to three apartments. It was because of this kind of new system of entertainment that cable network became a successful business enterprise.

Grass root changes occurred in the political system, once people began to know the political point of view right from the early days in Doordarshan. This function also exists now and is doing same job. Politician and people in government whether it is in executive role or elected representatives have used television for their own personal advertisement. But it was little bit camouflaged as development, as though the idea was to propagate the development. Sure enough, the individual also benefits from the development model. You know how the structure and content of television has changed but the distribution mechanism was the starting point: for example cable television started in a big way at the grassroots level. The cable television in fact has opened a path to the present media proliferation of television channels. This is because, from the grassroots this demand started increasing, and these small cable operators at the local level started supplying to the needs of the politicians for their propagation and election campaigns. The democratic process that’s the driving force for television channels in Andhra Pradesh is a direct outcome of the cable system in the country and particularly in AP. Now the demand is for fast track news. TV operatives have to catch news, cook stories, create news, sensitize, look are after issues, and thus they
are entering into the personal lives of individuals. They are also sensationalizing the issues, disturbing social values. Now content has also changed, now a day they don’t have lengthy interviews and discussions, only small sound bytes/snippets. ‘Byte’ is a word taken from the computer language. They don’t want you to say what is objective; they want you to say what suits them, that are the kinds of things happening in the field. I don’t know to describe these changes, definitely not for the good of the society. (Krishna Rao, 2013, in personal interview).

In 1984 there were only 100 cable operators. The number rose up to 60 thousand in the country by 1995. Now, there are at least 15 thousand cable operators in Andhra Pradesh alone. The Gulf War and procurement of dish antennae by star hotels made the entry of STAR and CNN into India easy. STAR televised 24 hours news in 38 countries through five channels. The cable operators showed these channels to their subscribers. Besides, ZEE TV strengthened the cable system through its entry. In 1995 the cable operators could provide their service to 1.20 crore houses. Now, it is more than 3.5 crore houses with 250 channels.

This is one part of the story and on the other is that the entry of private channels subjected cable network to a phenomenal change. A change of technology on the one hand and an increase in the number of channels on the other hand stymied the cable operators and the investment of the cable operators increased heavily. At that juncture, smaller operators went on uniting and the number of cable operators declined. As the Cable network operators began to emerge as an organised body,
Multiple System Operators (MSOs) too increased simultaneously. Operators came under the umbrella of organizations like: Siti Cable, In Cable, Hathaway, SCV, RPG, etc. and organised themselves. The MSOs were also successful in turning the operators as their co-agents and gave them the feed. At present Siti Cable evolved as the largest MSO in the country. In cable market, Mumbai stands in the first place and Delhi follows it. In India, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Punjab have a deep-rooted cable network. Sun Network entered the distribution field with the name SCV and could acquire as much as 75% share in the cable network of Tamil Nadu. Very soon, like the Tabloid newspaper, the Sun Network may switch over to terrestrial mode to decentralize the telecast of programmes. The new trend in AP is to start cable television channel in metros and cities. Cable TV channels also competing with satellite channels for add revenue and income generation in AP. Present running cable television channels are In Cable, C Channel, CITI Cable, Local TV (closed), Jagruthi TV, Janata TV, RK News, Deccan TV, TNN TV, Munsif TV, Ruby TV and Metro TV.

Regarding monthly subscription, there is no uniform subscription policy across the country. With the increase in paid channels the subscription too increased with time. The interesting point is that even when there was no competition there was an increase in subscription rates. The important reasons for the increase in subscription are that dummy operators extract money from genuine operators in order to move out of competition; secondly, monopoly in the cable network system; and apart from these things, it has become a status symbol to run a cable network.
Looking at their income level, the government has brought them under service tax domain and introduced the Conditional Access System (CAS) to rein in illegal subscription collection from customers. As per CAS, the customer should buy a set top box. The customer is given the choice to select the channels and a cable operator should offer at least forty free channels for 72 rupees.

Initially, CAS was introduced in the four metros but it gave rise to many disputes. Immediately, there were elections and it was put in cold storage. When the Congress Party came into power, it focused on a DTH policy. In this policy, if customers buy a Dishnet, they can watch 30 channels free of cost. Among these, there are 18 Doordarshan channels. Since, many channels have been showing an interest in joining DTH, Doordarshan is planning to increase the e-platform to 50 channels.

It is believed that DTH is more useful in rural areas. The advantage is that if the customer invests once, he could enjoy the benefits lifelong and the customer need not pay subscription. But the future of DTH depends on whether the customer is ready to buy a receiver or not. This is useful to do away with the cable operator system in the country but at a juncture when cable services are spreading through convergence questions are posed as to whether DTH will be a successful alternative. Earlier, when CAS was introduced there was an insufficient response from the customers. Hence, there are doubts in the case of DTH too.

It is even believed that subscribing for DTH does not mean cable network would stop functioning. Both of them would have their place in the market. Apart from these issues, many channels wanted to generate more income besides advertisements.
Hence, they have been showing an interest to make their channels paid ones. Cable operators have become intermediaries between managements of different channels and customers. If they collect subscription as per the instructions of those managements, operators get commission from them and they even get money for the free channels.

Some Indian channel networks are joining hands with foreign channels to offer different packages for a fixed subscription. STAR package, ZEE package, and Sony package are some examples of this sort of a deal. In Telugu, MAA TV, Gemini TV, Teja TV and ETV are paid channels and they are increasing in number with passing time. In this type of a system, the channel management relies largely on cable operators and the cable network in India has developed in order to establish itself like an organised private limited venture and it is dictating terms to private satellite channels.

These paid channels are not just confined to India; they have crossed the boundaries and started collecting subscription in dollars by launching channels in different countries for the benefits of the NRIs. In the US there are two important agencies, which worked towards this end. They are, Direct TV and Dish Network. The former offers the package for 29.99 Dollars/88 channels and the latter for 19.99 Dollars/70 channels.

In ordered to get recognized by viewers the cable operator should put a channel in the prime band. Though the option is with viewers in terms of what to watch and what not to, a cable operator could promote any channel by changing the order of channels
as per his preference and for his benefit as and when he likes. Channel management has to live by the mercies of a cable operator. In return for the favour, important MSOs would get some money. This money which the operator gets from channels is called *carrier fee* in abroad. This has been imported to India too. This speaks volumes about the strength of Cable Network.

Channel owners have to rely on information related to the question, how many watch which channel in select cities, for rating purpose. The channel owners take the help of MSOs of select cities in the state to improve programmes quality and they do not even hesitate to pay money for better ratings. Hence, cable operators have become important in these circumstances. “Convergence” is taking cable operators forward.


1.1.4 The Rise of 24x7 TV News Channels

24 hour news channels appear to be an increasingly inescapable part of the contemporary landscape, visual wallpaper meant to accompany people in their daily routines. Delivering news 24-hours a day, of course, is nothing new to the culture of journalism. After all, while CNN might have been the dedicated 24-hour news television channel, journalists have always had to work under pressure to meet looming deadlines with time or spatial constraints. The fast-paced 24/7 news culture
is captured in the classic ethnographies of Tuchman (1978) or Gans (1979) where snapshot decisions are made against complaints of lack of time or editorial pleas for more space. As Gans writes, “Lack of time and staff also require the use of quickly and easily applied methods of empirical enquiry, and limited air time and magazine space restrict the number of findings that can be presented”. In other words, journalism is shaped by the resources available to news organizations, adapting and innovating over time to overcome new and more challenging environments (Rantanen, 2009), (Gans, 1979, pg 82). The availability of international news channels now seems a familiar part of multi-channel television, their impact on the broadcasting ecology of news-making continues to influence the culture of journalism. As Pelton (2004; 3) writes, “Communication satellites have made our world global, interconnected, and independent. Satellites are a global agent of change in an incredible range of ways”. While some of these developments may not be celebrated, they have nevertheless acted as important agents- long before the rise of the Internet in the 1990s in shaping a new globally accessible, live, real time genre of television news. Where once news about war or peace may have taken several days to travel from country to country, rolling news stations now deliver news almost immediately and from any remote location with access to cable or satellite communication. Satellite television has thus contributed to making the world more globalized and mediated, redefining our expectations of time, space, and sense of location (Thompson, 1995). As Stephen Cusion narrates the three phases of 24-hour television news, first a coming of age phase when CNN was launched and grew in recognition, most notably in its live reporting of the first Gulf War. While other
channels emerged in this period – Europe’s first rolling news channel, Sky News, emerged in 1989. The Second phase can be characterized as a race for transnational reach and influence. Euronews’s arrival in 1993 was created in a bid to develop a European identity and present a challenge to the monopoly of American news channels with a global reach. Likewise, Al Jazeera’s launch in 1996 provided coverage that addressed, for the first time, Middle Eastern audiences. The third phase emerged as scale down aspirations, with a proliferation in national news channels competing within nations that have witnessed a regionalization of the 24-hour television news genre. The more competitive broadcast news environment has arguably encouraged a growth in market-led news conventions in rolling news provision (Stephen Cushion, 2010; pg 15-16).

Edward Said (1999) warned, “CNN has now shot to an enviable position of almost total global hegemony”. Daya Thussu argued that the Murdoch owned 24-hour news channel Star News in India, over the previous decade, has diminished the quality of Indian television. He concluded that “the market, Murdoch and Murdochization seem to have mitigated against a prospect” where Indian journalism could assert itself on the world stage after the state’s control on broadcasting was relaxed” (Thussu, 2007a; 609). In most parts of the world, 24-hour news channels operate in a very crowded and highly competitive marketplace. Rai and Cottle’s demonstrates that while several news channels have a global reach like CNN and CNNI, BBC World, CNBC and Bloomberg TV cover large swathes of the world, such as Fox News, Euronews, Russia Today, Al Jazeera and Al Jazeera International, Zee News, NDTV India, NDTV 24x7, Sun News, PTV News, ARY News, Star News, CCTV9, Channel News
Asia and ABS-CBN News Channel. These channels, taken together, overlap in transnational reach and influence, and compete not only with each other but a growing army of national and state/local news channels that emerge year on year. In India, it is difficult to pin down the precise number of rolling channels because there are so many news stations offering both rolling content and current affairs programes. In 2010, there were more than 350 entertainment and 350 news and current affairs satellite networks, covered in 10-12 languages registered 24-hour news networks under the ministry of information and broadcasting. These are national, regional and local in reach with other transnational channels also available. (Ministry of I & B, 2010). In News as Entertainment, Daya Thussu (2007b) suggests that 24-hour news stations around the world have been encouraged to adopt more tabloids like news practices by U.S production models and news conventions. He argues that Indian rolling news journalism and other regions where competition between channels is rife are embracing a “style of presentation, with its origins in the ratings-driven commercial news culture of the U.S, this is becoming increasingly global, as news channels attempt to reach more viewers and keep their target audiences from switching over” (Thussu, 2007; pg 8).

TV studies in India explores different aspects and diverse genres as entertainment, news and current affairs, health, education, music, comedy, business, teleshopping, movies, women and kids, devotional and region. Private television channels in Andhra Pradesh are experimenting through television media as communication tool for the development of society. We can observe the TV Industry growth rate, market
concentration and advertising revenue sources and audience ratings or interests with this list of television channels in AP.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>S.N</th>
<th>Diverse Genre/ Subjects</th>
<th>Name of the TV Channel</th>
<th>Network/ Publication</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Public Broadcast Channels</td>
<td>DD Saptagiri, Doordarshan News</td>
<td>Doordarshan Kendra, Hyderabad Ministry Of Information &amp; Broadcasting</td>
<td>State Owned Media</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Comedy Channels</td>
<td>Gemini Comedy</td>
<td>Sun Network Pvt Ltd</td>
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<td>Women’s Channels</td>
<td>Vanitha TV</td>
<td>Rachana TV Pvt Ltd</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Kids Channels</td>
<td>Kushi TV, Disney XD, Cartoon Network</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Infotainment Channels</td>
<td>Discovery Channel, National Geographic Channel, History Channel, Travel Trendz, Gemini Life Channel</td>
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<td>Telugu audio feed</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>a) 24x7 Satellite TV News Channels</td>
<td>1) Gemini News, 2) ETV 2, 3) TV 9, 4) N TV, 5) TV 5, 6) HMTV</td>
<td>Sun TV Network Pvt Ltd, Ushodaya Enterprise Pvt Ltd, ABC Pvt Ltd, Rachana TV Private Ltd, Shreya Broadcasting Pvt Ltd, Hyderabad Media House Pvt Ltd</td>
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<td>9) MAHAA TV</td>
<td>Monica Broadcasting Pvt Ltd</td>
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<td>10) ZEE 24 Gantalu</td>
<td>Zee TV Network Ltd</td>
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<td>11) STUDIO N</td>
<td>Aamoda Broadcasting Pvt Ltd</td>
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<td>13) HY TV</td>
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Source: Table based on Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, field data and secondary sources
1.2 Theorizing the Political Economy of Communication: Perspectives on Television as Culture Industry

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

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

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

The political economy of media has long-term issues which give a critical point of thinking and views on mainstream media and its development in India. It raises questions with regard to the nature of journalism and its relationship to democratic practices, how media firms and markets operate? We understand the propaganda model by looking at governments, commercial interests and corporate business interests. The relationship of the media is to be seen in terms of class, caste, gender, economic inequality, communication policy making process and regulations. The political economy of the media also focuses on public, private broadcasting and the establishment of alternative media institutions and systems for the free flow of information in society. The specific role of advertisements, examples in shaping media markets, content and audience for the survival and sustainability of the
corporate media. The media system in India has always been the beneficiary of tremendous subsidies. The largest media firms receive extraordinary subsidies ranging from monopoly licenses to television and radio frequencies, monopoly on cable television, satellite television systems, copyright and much more.

1.2.1 Political Economy of Communications: An Introduction

In its approach to media, Mosco’s political economy focuses on processes as much as on structures, as the following points demonstrate.

- The process of commodification involves the transformation of measuring value in terms of use, to measuring value in terms of exchange on the market. Communication practices contribute to the commodification of all goods and services (e.g. by ceding greater control to producers over the entire process of production, distribution and exchange). Commodification, as a response to global declines in economic growth in the 1970s, also affected the media, leading to increased commercialization of programming, privatization of public media, and liberalization of communication markets. This has implications for the commodification of the consumer, whose time spent viewing or reading is sold by media institutions to advertisers.

- The process of spatialization refers to the process of overcoming the constraints of space and time in social life. Communications contribute to capitalism by reducing the time it takes to move goods, people and messages over space. They expand the resources of time and space that are available for those who can make use of them; and they contribute to the redrawing of the
space of flows according to boundaries established by flows of people, goods, services and messages. Within the media industries themselves, the transformation of space is structured by global horizontal and vertical integration strategies, and by patterns of both globalization and localization in the origination and distribution of media products.

- The process of structuralization reminds us of the Marxist dialectic that people 'make history but not under conditions of their own making. This introduces into political economic analysis ideas of agency, social process and social practice. This includes the relationship between class and labour, gender and race, and the, construction of hegemony defined as 'what comes to be incorporated and contested as the taken-for-granted, common sense, natural way of thinking about the world' (Mosco, 1995:160).

1.2.2 Political Economy: Definitions, Characteristics and Schools of Thought

Raymond Williams suggested that when taking up a definition, one should start with basic social practices, not fully formed concepts. He called for an etymology based on social as well as intellectual history because the meaning of ideas is forged in concrete social practices (1977:11). Offering a conceptual point of view, the dictionary of economic terms tells us that “political economy is the science of wealth” and “deals with efforts made by man to supply wants and satisfy desires” (Eatwell, Milgate and Newman, 1987:907) But following Williams' socially grounded etymology, it is important to stress that before political economy became a science,
before it served as the intellectual description for a system of production, distribution
and exchange, political economy meant the social custom, practice, and knowledge
about how to manage, first, the household, and later, the community. Specifically,
the term "economics" is rooted in the classical Greek oikos for house and nomos for
law. Hence, economics initially referred to household management, a view that
persisted into the work of founding influences in classical political economy, Scottish
Enlightenment figures like Francis Hutchson and, crucially, Adam Smith. "Political"
_derivates from Greek term (polos) for the city-state, the fundamental unit of political
organization in the classical period. Political economy therefore originated in the
management of the family and political households. Writing fifteen years before
Smith's Wealth of Nations, Stuart (1967:2) made the connection by noting that "What
economy is in a family, political economy is in at a state." It is also important to note
that from the very beginning, political economy combined a sense of the descriptive
and prescriptive. As communication scholar Dallas Smyth describes its driving force
or "meta-political economy", it is "the body of practice and theory offered as advice
by counsellors to the leaders of social organizations of varying degrees of complexity
at various times and places." (Smythe, December 4, 1991)

Political economy is the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations
that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources,
including communication resources (Mosco, Vincent, 2009:2). A more general and
ambitious definition of political economy is "the study of control and survival in
social life".
Political economy has consistently placed in the foreground the goal of understanding social change and *historical* transformation. For the founding figures of political economy, people such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill, who were leading figures in European intellectual life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this meant explaining the great capitalist revolution, the vast social upheaval that transformed societies based primarily on agricultural labour into commercial, manufacturing, and eventually, industrial societies. Responding to this first wave of political economy thinking, Karl Marx shifted the debate by critically examining the dynamic forces within capitalism and the relationship between capitalism and other forms of political economic organization. Marx did this specifically in order to understand the process of social change that would, he contended, ultimately lead from capitalism to socialism. (Mosco, 2009:3).

Political economy is also characterized by an interest in examining the social whole or the *totality of social relations* that make up the economic, political, social and cultural areas of life. Political economy has always believed that there is a big picture of society and that we should try to understand it. Adam Smith was not constrained to look at only those things that a narrow discipline told him to see. He cared about the relationships among all facets of social life, including the political, economic, moral, and cultural. The same applied to Karl Marx, as it also does to today's political economists, whether they belong to the institutional, conservative, neo-Marxian, autonomist, feminist, or environmental schools of political economic thought. They differ on many points but all aim to build on the unity of the political and the economic by accounting for their mutual influence and for their relationship
to wider social and symbolic spheres of activity. The political economist asks: How are power and wealth related and how are these in turn connected to cultural and social life? The political economist of communication wants to know how all of these influence and are influenced by our systems of mass media, information and entertainment. (Mosco, 2009:3).

Political economy is also noted for its commitment to *moral philosophy*, which means that it cares about the values that help create social behavior and about those moral principles that ought to guide efforts to change it. For Adam Smith, as evidenced in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1976), a book he favored more than the much more popular *Wealth of Nations* (1937), this meant understanding values like self-interest, materialism, and individual freedom, that were contributing to the rise of commercial capitalism. Whereas for Karl Marx (1973, 1976a), moral philosophy meant that the ongoing conflict between viewing human labour as a source of individual fulfillment and social benefit, as he hoped would be the case, or simply as a marketable commodity, as he concluded was the case in capitalism. Contemporary political economy supports a range of moral positions but, on balance, tends to favor the value of extending democracy to all aspects of social life. This includes the political realm, where democracy means the right to participate in government, but it also extends to the economic, social, and cultural domains where supporters of democracy call for income equality, access to education, full public participation in cultural production, and a guaranteed right to communicate freely. (Mosco, 2009:3).
Culture industry or cultural industries

Theodor Adorno’s theory of mass media and culture is frequently dismissed for its ‘cultural pessimism’ but such dismissals have not prevented him from becoming one of the most renowned and discussed thinkers of our times. Adorno’s pessimism emerges most noticeably in his work on the ‘culture industry’ and, in particular, the manufacture of popular music. The culture industry - as Adorno and his colleague Max Horkheimer use the term - is synonymous with the capitalist-driven entertainment industry and its mass production of commodities such as films (Hollywood) and music (Tin Pan Alley). The problem is that what the culture industry produces is ‘rubbish’ or - for want of a more intellectual expression - ‘mere twaddle’ (Adorno and Horkheimer 1973:121, 144).

There is method in the culture industry’s madness, however. Adorno argues that consumers are forced to accept what the culture industry provides. The products of the culture industry, moreover, possess ulterior motives to repress imagination and render ‘the masses’ socially and politically inactive. Furthermore, the culture industry is omnipotent: ‘The consumers are the workers and the employees, the farmers and lower middle class. Capitalist production so confines them, body and soul, that they fall helpless victims to what is offered them’ (Adorno and Horkheimer 1973: 133).

The culture industry is owned and controlled by the capitalist classes who enjoy the prerequisite economic and technological power that enables them to spread their ideas and values - their advertising-driven ideology - through the popular consciousness.
According to the authors, ‘men in top posts maintain the economy in which a highly-developed technology has in principle made the masses redundant as producers’ (Adorno and Horkheimer 1973: 150).

The main defining feature of the culture industry for Adorno is Standardization. It is important to understand, though, that Adorno’s theory of standardization refers not only to the products of the culture industry but to its consumers too. Standardization is about political economy only in so far as it accounts for both ‘almighty production’ and consumer demand for such production. Standardization results in the liquidation of individuals – like commodities – to mere statistics and classificatory labels: ‘There is nothing left for the consumer to classify. Producers have done it for him [sic]’ (Adorno and Horkheimer 1973: 125).

In this study, I have tried to understand how this ‘culture industry’ as discussed by Adorno and Horkheimer works in India, specifically the corporatization of media, its expansion and presence as a global network and trans-national media platforms, which influence and transform the culture in specific locales of their operation.

**Media and cultural Imperialism**

Theories of media and cultural imperialism argue that one nation can dominate and control the economic and cultural values of another in the same way that one nation can invade and colonize another through political and military power. Such theories have borrowed from and overlap with political economy and postcolonial perspectives, but they nonetheless amount to a distinct tradition of their own in theorizing media power. Before the First World War, the two major imperialist
powers were Britain and France. These two countries colonized the bodies and minds of nations throughout the world, particularly on the African and Asian continents. In more recent times, the United States has replaced Britain and France as the great imperialist power. The ‘War on Terror’ is arguably a thinly veiled guise concealing colonialist intentions of the historic kind. We should be clear that ‘media imperialism’ and ‘cultural imperialism’ are similar but not synonymous concepts. French cultural imperialism, for example, has been historically challenged by localized media production within its colonies. As ‘ex-French territories start to develop their own media, the ties with France are very considerably weakened’ (Tunstall 1977:260).

Schiller’s attack on the corporate capitalist economics of American mass media is perhaps the most comprehensive theoretical and historical account of media and cultural imperialism. In Mass Communications and American Empire (first published in 1969), the author claims ‘a staggering global invasion by American electronic communications’ (Schiller 1992: 124). Moreover, this global invasion by American media has led to the global commercialization of television and other broadcast media, since successive federal American governments have allowed media to be predominantly owned by commercial operators rather than public ones. Before the global television age, American media’s commercialism was the exception rather than the rule, with most European countries operating state-owned public service broadcasting. However, the Second World War had left much of Europe ‘fascist-occupied and war-ravaged’ but ‘the United States would emerge from the conflict physically unscathed and economically overpowering’ (Schiller 1977:105) which
meant that many countries would yield to the US model of commercial broadcasting. According to Schiller (1992: 139), one example of this yielding to US media commercialism was the establishment of Independent Television (ITV) in Britain in 1954.

Political Economy of Media

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

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

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

• Social praxis – the unity of thinking and doing.

The principal characteristics of political economy

• Analysis of media in historical, social and political context.

• Addresses media relations to politics, economics and ideology.

• Has a moral purpose.

• Its end point is social action.

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

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

While political economy might be seen as a fairly broad heading – one that might, for example, encompass celebrations as well as criticisms of the role of market forces in media production – research into political economy in media and television studies has generally taken a fairly critical perspective. Studies of the political economy of television have been strongly influenced by debates in Marxist theory. Most notably, these debates have revolved around the degree to which economic structures influence ideological or cultural Marxist tradition tend to assume the importance of institutional or economic structures and therefore emphasize the determining influence of political economy, while others have argued that connections between economic structures and ideology are neither inevitable nor independent of certain conditions and contexts.

In media studies debates around political economy focus on the extent to which the ownership and revenue structure of a television company influences the content of its programming. In countries where media are controlled by government, we might expect programming – either subtly or overtly – to reflect the interests of those in power. Privately owned media, on the other hand, are more likely to be sympathetic towards a pro-business view of the world, which may or may not coincide with the interests of political leaders. Public service broadcasters, while generally created and
sanctioned by government, have a more complex ownership structure and are therefore less predictable.

In terms of revenue, the notion that the one ‘who pays the piper calls the tune’ is palpably relevant to broadcasting. Since commercial broadcast media tend to generate the bulk of their revenue from advertising, programming is likely to be tailored to the needs and interests of advertisers, which involves not only delivering the kinds of audiences most likely to buy the products on display, but doing so in a way that keeps viewers or listeners receptive to commercial messages. This has both ideological and aesthetic consequences. In ideological terms, it is in the interests of advertising-based media to favour consumerist rather than citizenship approaches to problems, and to exclude negative messages about those business that advertise and, preferably, the corporate world in general. On an aesthetic level, programmers will tend to be written or structured in ways that ensure a smooth transition to commercial breaks (something that is easier to do in light entertainment like sitcoms or game shows than hard-hitting documentary).

Research into the political economy of media has become increasingly concerned with four contemporary and interconnected trends:

The increasing concentration of ownership in media industries, whereby huge companies like Disney or Time Warner have grown vertically and horizontally to establish media empires with widespread interests in television production and distribution, cable, film, publishing, music, retailing and other related cultural
industries, while many independent or small-scale media companies have either been swallowed up or are unable to compete.

The general move towards the deregulation and commercialization of broadcast media. In commercial media systems like the United States, this has meant giving commercial broadcasters even greater freedom to expand vertically and horizontally, as well as reducing any public service obligations (such as limits on the volume of advertising, requiring some provision of balanced news programming). In public service systems, it has involved public service broadcasters – like PBS – playing a shrinking role. At the same time the expansion of media outlets via cable, satellite and digital technology has increasingly been put into commercial hands (hence, for example, public access to major sporting events has been limited as commercial broadcasters buy rights to them and then increase the cost of viewing).

The globalization of media production and distribution, as broadcasters become transnational corporations catering to a global production is generally based in rich western countries – notably the United States – and is chiefly designed to cater to the more profitable markets), and worries about the homogenization of television culture as programming is required to appeal to large, transnational audiences. In a commercial environment, it also places national, public service systems at a disadvantage, as the market is increasingly flooded with cheaper US imports.

The expansion of media forms and outlets (although not necessarily media content) through internet and digital technologies. While this has led to increases in the number of television channels, critics have suggested that it has not necessarily meant
a companies using different channels to appeal to those demographic groups most favoured by advertisers. In the United States, for example, of the many channels available on cable systems, most are owned by a handful of large media conglomerates catering to lucrative markets. So, for example, there are a variety of business-oriented programmes or channels but none produced by or for organized labour, and a great deal of youth-oriented programming but very little designed for older viewers.

1.2.3 The Development of Political Economy of Communication

Kellner (1989) states that the Frankfurt School of the 1930s was the first to incorporate both culture and communications in a critical social theory of mass communications. Much like many media studies departments today, by combining political economy of the media, cultural textual analysis, and audience reception studies the Frankfurt school theorists worked through theories of mass production, commodification, standardization and massification. In the work of Adorno and Horkheimer (1979) we see a political economic analysis based on the industrialization of the mass media into a culture industry. Other theorists in the Frankfurt School also looked at the audience and a close consideration of how ideology is carried out through the media and other public institutions (Benjamin, 1973). There was, of course, much disagreement and debate between them but they existed side by side, each enhancing the critique of the other and between them they provided a systematic approach to the media that included political economy and socio-cultural approaches.
Kellner (1989) maintains that the inter-disciplinary approach of the Frankfurt School integrated political economy and cultural studies within the context of capitalist society and the manner in which culture and communications were produced and the roles they played. However, as critical social theory transform over time into cultural studies, there was a shift away from some of the foundations pretexts of the first generation of scholars of the Frankfurt School. In short, the idea of the 'culture industries' as ideological and manipulative was questioned (Kellner, 1998), and later rejected as the belief in oppositional cultural practices increased. Similarly, class, which has always been at the core of the political economy approaches, became less central to critical studies as other cultural signifiers, such as race, gender, nationality and audience identities were brought to the fore. This development led to a movement away from the audience position as constructed by the text, towards the examination of the pleasures of the actual audiences. It was the political move by feminist media theorists to focus on women's pleasure that first prompted conceptions of the audience as active. Combined with the work of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), in particular, that of Stuart Hall, the active audience paradigm came into being. When it is coming to Indian context caste question still exist and social scientists and subaltern media theorists were not focused on political economy of media in Indian context.

Political economy was developed in the late 1960s through a concern with the increasing role of private business in cultural production. Golding and Murdock (2000) made to distinction between traditional political economy and critical political economic approaches to the media by highlighting four key differences:
• Critical political economy sees the economy as interrelated with political, social and cultural life rather than as a separate domain.

• It is historical, paying close attention to long-term changes in the role of the state, corporations and the media in culture.

• Critical political economy is centrally concerned with the balance between private enterprise and public intervention.

• A critical approach goes beyond technical issues of efficiency to engage with the basic moral questions of justice, equity and the moral good.

In their own words, a critical political economy:

"...sets out to show how different way of financing and organizing cultural production have traceable consequences for the range of discourses and representations in the public domain and for audiences access to them. (Golding and Murdock, 1991:15)"

Marx and Engels, in their book *The German Ideology* (1938), include a much-quoted passage that highlights the connections between the dominant class, who by their control over the means of material production also control the means of mental production.

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force in society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships. Insofar, therefore, as they rule as a class and determine the extent the compass of an epoch...they do this...also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and
regulate the production and distribution of ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch. (Marx and Engels, 1845)

Antonio Gramsci is an early 20th century thinker; his first writings were in the 1920s. His major writings are between 1920s and 1930s. Though he is a very important thinker, his writings are translated into English for the first time in 1970s. So though his book was written in the context of Italy, his home context, he became a world’s theorist at the time of the explosion of the media in the 1970s 80s, the rise of what is called the culture industry and so on. Through his Selections from Prison Notebooks (1971) translated and edited by Q. Hoare and G.N. Smith, Gramsci gets a new life, his theories get a new life and at the same time Gramsci has a theory not only about culture but also about subaltern, both these are there in Gramsci’s thinking. Gramsci makes you to think and he says that you cannot simply say that there is base and super structure and that the super structure is always dependant on the base. Very often the political power has to be a set of alliances, it will not be just one single class. It will be what we call hegemonic block, power block and in this block many things are coming together. So in Italy he shows the example of how the Catholic Church and capitalist class come together to make this hegemonic class. And how in the southern rural regions hegemony is maintained through the church, power is maintained through the church, in the northern industrial regions of Italy there is a different form of power but they have to combine in order to maintain power. You have to see how the political system also works. The base superstructure system takes the economy as the base says the economic modality is most important, after that everything just follows. He says no we have to look carefully at what is happening in
the cultural and political arena and you cannot just make a division between base and superstructure. They are interconnected and sometimes superstructure can change the base.

According to Susie Tharu the conceptual framework for the political economy of the media and the main contributions are as follows:

Gramsci has some important contributions to make in this theory of culture, what is culture? So his proposal is the culture is a very complex thing through which people agree to be ruled, they give their consent. It is not just that they are forced; it’s not that by force this rule is taking place, there is a concept, and that is the nature of Bourgeois rule. Feudal rule is through force, Bourgeois rule is through consent. So he becomes a very important theorist of media. Because how do you create consent, it is really culture which creates consent. And if you have mass culture, mass media, mass media is the biggest means of creating culture. So he says that the power system in any region is not through force, but through what he calls hegemony. And hegemony is the cultural authority, 1. It is cultural authority, 2. It is often a balance between different forces. So it may be capitalist class plus a certain caste, it’s not that class is caste like that, because they have to come together to hold power and then they find some means of creating consent for them. And the media of course is the main means of creating consent. So media creates consent through many ways, news is only one small way actually. Advertisement is very important. All the major studies of advertisement say that for the
advertisement the sale of the product is half the agenda, the other agenda is the sale of the capitalist system. A consuming personality needs to satisfy oneself through buying so many things. Who is the self, how is the citizen self is to be thought of then. So advertisement is important. Serials and narratives are very important in creating consent. So here we have hegemonic Hindu kind of power system plus an emerging capitalism of middle class, it’s very complex. That is a complex historical bloc and this historical bloc must create consent for its power. So it is not also simply the upper castes are forcing there. There is a much more complicated thing in which we also want it. There is no clear cut opposition, it looks as though they are also supporting all the movements, but movements are not irrational: some people say how can you ask for Telangana, it is not good for capital, you (supporters of Telangana) are saying it is good for people; but how can that which is bad for capital be good for people; It is not a good thing look at these boys they are all so unruly, so you cannot trust them to rule, this that, this that you know so many things that are coming to. So news is only one part, but news is important. How do you present the world in the news channels? So it is not just that you are telling the capitalist’s story, but you are telling many stories with a certain angle and even if someone story does not have that angle, overall that is the angle that is coming through. So there is a news caster, there is a, a person who asks questions, now they have changed the news also, there is a name for that person like ... and actually controls the news (Susie Tharu, 2013, Personal Interview).
Susie here discusses the process of hegemony, the bringing together of the different components of the power system. Here it will be gender, class, caste, region, may be even sub-caste and it keeps changing. Hegemony is not one unit. If there is an opposition, hegemony will change to manage that opposition. It will not retain the opposition outside itself. It will absorb the opposition, but change the opposition in the way it is absorbed.

Pathways to becoming an Information and Knowledge Society: Applications of the steam engine to manufacturing and transportation, beginning around 1750 in England, set off an industrial revolution that began the transition from an agricultural society to an industrial society. The agricultural society had been the dominant form for 10,000 years up until this point. Most Third World nations, including India, are still agricultural societies. The industrial revolution spread throughout most of Europe, to North America, and later to Japan. The US began to industrialize in the mid-1800s; from 1900 to 1955, the largest part of the American work force was employed in industrial and information workers became more numerous. Today they are in the majority, constituting about 60 percent of the US workforce. What occurred was an information revolution, the social changes in society resulting from the impact of communication technologies, especially the telecommunications and the computer. While the US led other nations in becoming an information society, Canada, England, Sweden, France, Japan and other European nations were not far behind. Important characteristics of the agricultural society, industrial society, and the information society are compared in the Table (Singhal, 1989).
Table 2: Comparison of the Agricultural Society, Industrial Society, and Information Society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Characteristics</th>
<th>Agricultural Society</th>
<th>Industrial Society</th>
<th>Information Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Time Period</td>
<td>10,000 years (and continues today in most Third World countries)</td>
<td>200 years (began about 1750 in England)</td>
<td>Began about 1955 in the US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Key element/ basic resource</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Main types of employment</td>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>Factory Workers</td>
<td>Information Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Key social institutions</td>
<td>Farms</td>
<td>Steel factory</td>
<td>Research University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Basic technology</td>
<td>Manual labor</td>
<td>Steam engine</td>
<td>Computers and electronics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Nature of mass communication</td>
<td>One way print media</td>
<td>One-way electronic media (radio, film and television)</td>
<td>Interactive media that are demassified in nature</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Knowledge Society: Information is Power and Knowledge is Power. It is in the hands of big corporate organizations which play a key role in the monopolization of information and knowledge centre in the hands of capitalists, decision making power and gatekeeping model for Public policies and Developmental issues with the help of mass media to manufacture news and consent of the public good.
1.3 Statement of the Problem

Studies that offer a perspective on television as culture industry have impressed upon me the need to look at how the political and economic conditions have changed post-economic reforms of the 1990s and pressurized the mainstream media in India. Here, I will be looking at the following questions:

1. What is the historical and cultural context of the emergence of TV Media proliferation in AP?

2. What is the connection between political - economic processes and the changing dimensions of the mass media role? Class and Caste visibility in mainstream media in AP?

3. What are the conflicts in the political economy of media conditions? Does the demand and supply formula work for Media Industry?

4. How do we understand the role of Media in a democratic country like India and its social responsibility? Is the Television media proliferation strengthens democracy or weakens democracy?

These questions will help to understand the important factors which influence television industry and its growth in AP.

1.4 Importance and Scope of the study

There are studies exclusively focused on SITE (Satellite Instructional Television Experiment) to INSAT for Television communication for development from 1959 to
1990. During this period the state owned media Doordarshan flourished in the minds of the people. After 1990 the New Economic Reforms opened the global market and brought Foreign Direct Investments into mainstream media in India. It has influenced media market and drastic changes in content, form, audience and market have resulted in consequence. Several television studies analysed the middle classes, the urban homemakers, youth, cricket fans etc and consequently the content and space increased for getting television rating points and improving advertisement revenue for their survival. I mentioned in the literature review about the television studies done in the past and I would like to focus on the present and future of television in Andhra Pradesh. My focus is especially on the regional television industry. For the first time in South India, in Tamil Nadu, Dayanidhi Maran started private television channels like Teja, Gemini in Tamil and Telugu languages under the banner of Sun Network Limited. Then, in Andhra Pradesh, Eenadu a daily Telugu newspaper management started Telugu television channels under the banner of Eenadu Network Limited. With the emergence of the private television channels there was a drastic change in ownership, content, form and the target audience. There is a need to focus on regional television industry and its impact on state and society. I have six years of experience with Telugu television industry as a TV journalist prior to my academic life and decided to do my research on the TV revolution in India with a special focus on the state of Andhra Pradesh. As of now, there is no study that focuses on Telugu television industry and its political economy and cultural change in Andhra Pradesh. The 24x7 news channel system promulgates the need to study various issues appended to it. Time and Space, Competition and Economic interests have become
key challenge areas. It's essential to look at how the news media on television is operating against tough deadlines and challenge of time. The 24 hours system run the news round the clock, which makes the planning and arrangement of time is the key concern. Surviving in the zone of cut throat competition and trying to have the best coverage through their channel is another worrying factor. In order to woo the viewers and be the market leader, a channel uses various operations procedures and processes. Moreover, the commercial interests of private telecasters are towering over public service journalism ideals.

1.5 Aims and Objectives of the study

1) To examine the historical and cultural context of the emergence of television industry in Andhra Pradesh.

2) To analyse the Political Economy of Communications: Perspectives on Television as Culture Industry.

3) To study the political economy of the Telugu news television industry in Andhra Pradesh and to understand the role of television media proliferation and democracy.

4) To examine the economics of news television industry and its ownership pattern and nature of influence on state and society.
1.6 Research Methodology

A critical political economy and cultural studies approach must throw light on the impact of media power on the state and society, historical and cultural change in the society, media structures, ownership pattern and ideologies. Critical political economy and cultural studies approach has given me a tool-box, consisting of resources, ideas, texts and conversations that I frequently used to illumine the key deficits and blind spots in the media in Andhra Pradesh. I have chosen to deal with the major issues that have dogged the political economy tradition, in particular the debates with those in cultural studies over the base and superstructure. In this study, I have adopted the method of in-depth interviews of Media (Junior and Senior TV Journalists) professionals, News Editors and Heads of Newsroom, Bureau Chiefs, Academicians and research scholars, intellectuals and News and Current affairs analysts those who are familiar on screen and off screen television.

I prepared a different set of open-ended questions for those with diverse backgrounds of journalism: Respondents for In-depth Interviews were Media Professionals, News Editors, Academicians, Intellectuals and News and Current affairs analysts those who observe News and Current affairs and regularly keep in touch with Television Industry and offer comments on Television Industry and Market. This is a random sample of individuals who access Television and appear on the Television screen in regular debates and discussions. I prepared themes related to 24 hours news channels, a broad view of the historical and cultural context and the impact of television on state and society, political
economy of television media and the economics of television in the market formula. It explored the history of television media from a political economy perspective during the periods of post-reforms (1991), the formation of Andhra Pradesh and the later period characterised by the country's increasing intermeshing with economic and cultural globalisation. I have selected a period of 2000-2010 to focus on the rise of private television industry and in particular news channels in AP. In this period two General Elections have been held in 2004 and 2009. There has been a huge change in the political, economic scenario along with change in the television profession. I noticed that before 2004 and before 2009, many 24 hours news channels started and have been used as political communication and propaganda tool for political parties. It is evident that many political leaders are stakeholder of television news channels. Realtors, politicians, business groups turn into Managing Directors or as members of Board of Directors for Television Industry.

I embarked on translations of in-depth interviews from Telugu to English, some of the interviews are in English, which were later transcribed. For Data Analysis, I started with classification and compilation of the interviews under four themes which I focused on in the History of TV in AP, Impact of TV on State and Society, Political Economy of TV media and Economics of TV in AP. Then I started coding and decoding the interviews, based on chapters where my arguments were strengthened based on relating empirical data with secondary data.
1.7 Chapterization

In the First Chapter, I focused on the Introduction to Doordarshan and on theorizing the political economy of communications: perspectives on television as culture industry, statement of the problem, scope of the study, aims and objectives of the study and chapterization. The second chapter focuses on review of the literature of TV studies in India and studies on political economy of media and research methodology. The third chapter deals with the historical and cultural context of the emergence of television in Andhra Pradesh. In addition with the empirical data analysis, the chapter looks at the history of private television news channels in AP and its impact on society and cultural change. The fourth chapter takes a look at the political economy of television news industry, cross media ownership and corporatization of the television media, political economy of media and caste in AP, economics of television news channels and media regulation, democracy, diversity and social responsibility. The fifth chapter focuses on the concluding chapter devoted to presentation of findings, observations and conclusions.