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RECENT TRENDS IN THE GUJARATI PRESS.

HAVING STUDIED SO FAR THE NATURE AND GROWTH OF THE --GUJARATI PRESS in relation to different social factors which were operative on the former since its emergence in 1822, we propose to delineate in this chapter aspects of the recent trends in the contemporary Gujarati press. The present delineation shall have to be rather broad and general, as, being too close to the events taking place in a fast moving situation, judgement has to be of necessity confined to the outlines of the pattern of changes etc. We shall attempt just to place the --Gujarati press in juxtaposition to the different social factors obtaining presently.

Complete and reliable data regarding the press from 1947 to 1956 are not available. We get scanty and partial references to the Indian press here and there; however, systematic collection of data regarding the press began from the year 1956, since the office of the Registrar of Newspapers for India (also known as the Press Registrar) was set up in Delhi under the Registration of Newspapers (Central) Rules promulgated after the Press and Registration of Books (Amendment) Act, 1955 (55 of 1955) was brought into force on July 1956.

According to the first Annual Report of the Press Registrar,¹ there were 41 dailies, 121 weeklies, 80 fortnightlies, 155 monthlies and 13 guarterlies and other periodicalssmaking a total of 410 journals in circulation in 1956 (Tables in the Appendix). The report has mentioned the circulation figures of some of the Gujarati journals as the figures for the whole of the Gujarati press were not supplied to the Press Registrar by all the Gujarati journals. Accordingly, the circulation of some 203 Gujarati journals (including 27 dailies, 47 weeklies, 29 fortnightlies, 94 monthlies and 6 quarterlies etc.) out of them was 8,27,000 copies per issue, the 27 dailies having -between them reached a circulation of 2,65,000 copies per issue by that time.² The subsequent report refers to 367 Gujarati journals including 33 dailies, 103 weeklies, 58 fortnightlies, 159 monthlies and 14 quarterlies and other periodicals in circulation during 1957. Of these, some 229 (27 dailies, 58 weeklies, 33 fortnightlies, 100 monthlies and 11 quarterlies etc.) Gujarati journals had touched a circulation figure of 7,97,000 copies - the 27 dailies having touched a figure of 2,56,000 copies per issue. 4 By 1958 there were 437 Gujarati journals including 38 dailies, 112 weeklies, 64 fortnightlies, 208

1 Annual Report of the Registrar of Newspapers for India 1956, pp. 50-51, 109-169.

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- 2 Ibid., for 1957, pp. 41-43.
- 3 Ibid., pp. 123-188.
- 4 Ibid., for 1958, pp. 33-34.

monthlies and 15 quarterlies etc. in circulation. Of these, some 272 (28 dailies, 67 weeklies, 34 fortnightlies, 130 monthlies and 14 quarterlies etc.) Gujarati journals had reached a circulation figure of 10,31,000 copies per issue while the 28 dailies had reached an aggragate circulation of 2,69,000 copies per issue.⁵ In the following year, i.e. 1959 there were 513 Gujarati journals in circulation including 39 dailies, 123 weeklies, 66 fortnightlies, 257 monthlies and 28 quarterlies and other periodicals. 6 Of them, some 326 Gujarati journals (including 29 dailies, 77 weeklies, 33 fortnightlies, 171 monthlies and 16 quarterlies etc.) had touched a circulation figure of 11,59,000 copies per issue ---- the 29 dailies having surpassed a figure of 3,71,000 copies at that. 7 And finally, during 1960, the latest year for which figures are available, there were 513 Gujarati journals (366 in the Gujarat State and 147 published from Bombay, now in the Maharashtra State) including 38 dailies, 111 weeklies, 64 fortnightlies, 268 monthlies and 32 guarterlies and other periodicals.⁸ Of them <u>some</u> 293 Gujarati journals (27 dailies, 70 weeklies, 31 fortnightlies, 150 monthlies and 15 quarterlies) are reported to have attained a circulation figure of 12,01,000 copies with the 27 dailies reaching a figure of 3,54,000 copies per issue.9

⁵ Ibid., pp. 33-34, 130-214.
⁶ Ibid., 1960, part II, pp.48-171.
⁷ Ibid., part I, pp. 64-77.
⁸ Ibid., 1961, Part II, pp. 52-84 and 188-280.
⁹ Ibid., part I, pp. 26-75.

The above account indicates briefly the growth of the contemporary Gujarati press in terms of increase both in the number of Gujarati journals as well as in their circulation. We shall adopt one more criterion in this regard to indicate the growth of the Gujarati press. That criterion pertains to the increase in the number of the types of specialised journal--s. Incidentally, that particular criterion is indicative, -also, of the changing nature of the Gujarati press.

On the basis of their contents, we have divided the different Gujarati journals into the following 29 types. The first 27 types in this list have been adopted from the subjectwise classification of the Indian journals as a whole as mentioned in the Annual Report of the Registrar of Newspapers for India for 1956 and onwards, while, the type number 28 'Prize Competitions' and type number 29 'Caste and Community' have been mentioned separately by us although in the Press Registrar's Reports they come under the type number 27 'Miscellaneous'. We may as well mention here that the classification of the Gujarati journals into 29 types has been done by us on a factual persual of the contents of the different Gujarati journals. It is not done on the basis of what the journals might have claimed to be in their annual returns sent to the Registrar of Newspapers. For instance, Agahi, Janata, Paramsukh, Prakash, Shreefal, --Savdhan and Vafadar --- dailies --- have been referred to as

¹⁰ Ibid., for 1956, pp. 69-73.

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'General Interest Newspaper' in the Press Registrar's Reports while, on perusal they were found to devote about 93% of printed space to quotations of the opening and closing rates of -cotton on the New York Cotton Market from time to time, and, 6.5% space was occupied by advertisements (pertaining to tips on the future opening and closing rates of cotton there). Barely 0.5% space in these dailies has been allotted to some stale news just to qualify for the benefits a newspaper is entiled to. Similarly, the weekly Bahurupi has been classified in the Reports under type number 27 'Miscellaneous' because its subject has been mentioned under 'Not available ' while, on perusal we found it fit to be put under type number 26 'Fiction'. Again, the weekly --Paramsukh (weekly edition of the daily Paramsukh referred to above) has been put under type number 3 'Religion and Philosophy' in the Reports while, for reasons mentioned above it should go under type number 22 'Market Reports and Bulletins'.

The space is too small here to permit citation of such instances wherein the types of journals as professed and mentioned accordingly in the Press Registrar's Reports do differ from what they actually are. Suffice it to mention therefore that our classification is based entirely on the analysis of the contents of the journals. For further elucidation of this point we have given below the said 29 types with a brief mention about the contents of the different Gujarati journals.

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TABLE INDICATING DIFFERENT TYPES OF GUJARATI JOURNALS.

| No. | Type. | ngudalikina ngjeri Delikinstanaj Tajategangan | PREDOMINANT CONTENTS. |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | News and Affairs. | Current | Daily news about occurences, events, editorial comments, features. |
| 2. | Literary Cultural. | | Literary columns, short stories, serialised novels, dramas, poems, comments about : social institutions habits, customs, fashions and con- temporary happenings. |
| 3. | Religion losophy. | and Phi- | Articles on religious matters, moral preachings, scriptural,quotations, Bhajans, ethical discussions. |
| 4. | Women. | | Discussions on domestic questions, mother-craft, recipes, fashions in dress, hair-style, and, short storie poems etc. |
| 5. | Children. | | Fables, anecdotes from biographies of 'great men', quizz, tit-bits, believe it-or-not. |
| 6. | Films. | | News about films in the making, about films released, biographies and per- sonal ideosyncracies of film stars, film reviews, questions and answers |

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on variegated subjects.

7. Sports. News about sport events, tips about in-door, out-door games.

8. Radio and Music. Schedules of fortnightly radioprogrammes, excerpts from radio broadcastsgmusical notations of popular songs.

9. Education. Instructions to students taking different examinations, instructions to teachers.

10. Science. Articles about some scientific subject.

11. Medicine and Health. Articles on health and hygiene, seasonal hints to keep fit, hints about food habits and well-being.

12. Art. Articles on dramatics, music, dance, photography, one-act plays and hints on enacting them.

13. Social Welfare. Articles on social institutions exhorting people to reorient their outlook, Sarvodaya, Bhoodan.

14. Commerce and Industry. Commercial tips, rates.

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- 15. Finance and Economics.
- 16. Insurance, Banking, Cooperation.
- 17. Labour.

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- 18. Law and Public Administration.
- 19. Agriculture and Animal husbandry.
- 20. Engineering and Technology.
- 21. Transport and Communication.
- 22. Market Reports and Bulletins.
- 23. School/College Magazines.

Financial implications of old and new industries, shares etc.

Articles on these subjects : mainly on the Cooperative movement.

Articles on Workers' problems : on their trade-unions mainly.

Articles on Tenancy Legislation, on Money Lenders' Act, on House Rent Control Orders, particularly on Tenant's rights, etc., Panchayat Raj.

Articles on agriculturists' problems, paultry farming.

Articles on Engineering and Technology.

Articles on Transport rules and freight schedules.

Quotations from : New York Cotton Market, grain dealers' association, timber merchants' association.

Annual magazines of schools and colleges.

| 24. | Publicity journals and House Organs. | Bulletins of certain mercantile concerns. |
|-----|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 25. | Astrology. | Weekly/monthly forecasts of astro- logers, discussions on planetary positions and the fate of men. |
| 26. | Fiction. | Short stories, serialised novels written by amateurs and well-known literateurs. |
| 27. | Miscellaneous. | 66 , (21 |
| 28. | Prize Competitions. | Discussions about cross-word puzzles, hints and results. |
| 29. | Caste and Community. | News about castes etc., articles on social reforms. |

Even this classification of the different Gujarati journals into 29 types is not aimed at a watertight grouping. Overlapping is possible in several cases. A journal put into one type does contain other matter to a greater or less extent. For instance, the daily Bombay Samachar or the Gujarat Samachar or the Janmabhoomi which we have placed under type number 1 'News and Current Affairs' includes varigated matter covering the range of almost all the other 28 subjects in our classification. Similarly, the monthly Akhand Anand which we have put under type number 2 'Literary and Cultural' does not exclude other matter. Or, the -- monthly Kumar which we have grouped under type number 5 --'Children' contains occasionally matter intelligible to adolescent and informative to grown-ups even. And, the Bhatia Stree Mandal Patrika which we have put under type 4 "Women' is a -magazine addressed to women of the Bhatia Jati exclusively.

With these reservations we have given in the appendix typifications of the different Gujarati journals published during 1956-1960 (inclusive), arrived at on the besis of their contents. It will be observed from these tables that there is an overall increase in the number of journals in almost all types. Increase is evinced particularly by the journals falling under type number 1 'News and Current Affairs' as also by those coming under type number 2 'Literary and Cultural'. A striking increase is evinced by type number 29'Caste and Community' -journals which have shot up from just 31 in 1956 to 99 in 1960. So is the case with type number 3 'Religion and Philosophy'. Such journals have increased from 19 in 1956 to 49 in 1960. Similarly, 'Market Reports and Bulletins' (type number 22) have increased from 16 in 1956 to 32 in 1960.

For elucidating the nature of the present day Gujarati press we shall describe the common features of the dailies which come under type number 1, 'News and Current Affairs' and which cover almost all the subjects referred to under the --remaining 28 types.

PARTICULARS REGARDING GUJARATI

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DAILIES PUBLISHED DURING 1960.

| Num- ber. | Name. | Place of Publica- tion. | Year of starting publication | Circula- tion per issue. |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | 2. | З. | 4. | 5. |
| 1. | Bombay Samachar. | Bombay. | 1822 | 36,970 |
| 2. | Gujarat Kesari. | Baroda. | 1958 | 5,939 |
| 3. | Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan. | Surat. | 1937 | 13,390 |
| 4. | Guja rat Samachar. | Ahmedabad. | 1932 | 39,191 |
| 5. | Jai Hind. | Rajkot. | 1948 | 25,639 |
| 6. | Jagrut Kutch. | Bhuj (Kutch | n). ? | ? |
| 7. | Jame Jamshed. | Bombay. | 1832 | 8,142 |
| 8. | Jansatta. | Ahmedabad. | 1953 | 37,135 |
| 9. | Janshakti. | Bombay. | 1950 | 10,454 |
| 10. | Janmabhoomi. | Bombay. | 1934 | 21,436 |
| 11. | Jan-Tantra. | Bombay. | 1958 | ? |
| 12. | Jay Kutch. | Bhuj(Kutch) | . ? | 323 |
| 13. | Kutch Mitra. | Bhuj(Kutch) | . 1952 | 2,170 |
| 14. | Loksatta. | Baroda. | 1951 | 11,760 |
| 15. | Loktantra. | Bombay. | 1957 | 10,650 |
| 16. | Lokwani. | Surat. | 1958 | 4,117 |
| 17. | Nagrik Pokar. | Surat. | 1958 | ? |
| 18. | Navbharat. | Baroda. | 1956 | 8,423 |
| 19. | Nav Gujarat. | Ahmedabad. | 1958 | 2 |

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| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
|----|-------------------|------------|-------|--------|
| 0. | Nutan Saurashtra. | Rajkot. | 1948. | 10,960 |
| 1. | Pulchhab. | Rajkot. | 1950 | 13,384 |
| 2. | Prabhat. | Ahmedabad. | ? | 13,513 |
| 3. | Prajatantra. | Bombay. | ? | 25,786 |
| 4. | Pratap. | Surat. | 1926 | 12,016 |
| 5. | Sandesh. | Ahmedabad. | 1923 | 33,248 |
| 6. | Sevak. | Ahmedabad. | 1941 | 4,734 |

These dailies are almost of a uniform size, that is, approximately 20" lengthwise and 16" breadthwise of printed space. That is divided into 8 columns of 2" each. The number of pages in each of the dailies varies — some of the dailies bring out 4 pages while some publish 8 to 12 pages a day. An average Gujarati daily contains, however, 8 pages. These dailies are printed mostly on big rotary machines which can throw out as many as 20,000 copies an hour and some of which have monotype composing devices so that the time generally consumed in manual composing is minimised and the latest news can be included in the day's copy which can go to the press at 2-0 a.m.

The front page of the Gujarati dailies contains the main news of the day. That is given under very big and suggestive banner headings — a practice which the Gujarati press has adopted since 1930 and which is still followed often irrespective

of the importance of the news. The front page news pertains to some event or utterances of some personality, national or international, mostly of a political nature. That is received on the teleprinter through the news agency or, in some instances, from the correspondents posted in the metropolis telegraphically and sometimes over telephone. As the news agency supplies news in English to all the Gujarati dailies, there is uniformity in the types of information printed. But, variety is evinced by all the dailies due to the fragmentation of the first page into -various irregularly shaped news items, headlines and pictures (a cartoon in some cases) interspersed with 'box items'. That robs the front page of quite a number of other news items because the variety of type, pictures, 'boxes' and advertisements consume much of the printed space and often the main page news story has to be carried over to some other page where it has to be accomodated in some corner anyhow.

The news-content of these dailies has facilitated their expansion. We had seen in the previous chapter that the dailies

^{*} Variety, if we may call it so, is visible in the Gujarati translations done by the night staff which views each word in its own way and renders the story even mutilated in Gujarati in a manner and style not always calculated to enhance intelligibility. gent2bility. In fact the journalise in Gujarati calls for a special study from the point of view of style, purity of language and presentation.

during the first world war, and during world war II, the early 1930's and 1940's had increased their circulation as these were giving the latest news and the weeklies had to bring out special supplements every day in addition to their scheduled weekly editions, giving the latest information that people awaited. The growing popular demand for the latest news about current happenings has resulted in quite a large clientele of the Gujarati --dailies. People no longer want to wait for the news and hence weeklies containing 'News and Current Affairs' have lost their appeal.^{*} The dailies are pushing them out and we could not --locate a single Gujarati weekly giving 'News and Current Affairs' having a circulation of more than 5000 cepies during recent years.

The second page in the Gujarati dailies is full of 'Commercial Information' — information that is pertaining to trade, and commerce. This page gives details about the fluctuations in the stock, bullion and commodity exchanges, and in oil, oilseed and grain markets in Gujarat and elsewhere. This is a -special and much attended to feature of the Gujarati press and quite a considerable amount is spent by some newspapers to procure telephonically the closing market rates from different commercial centres. It is significant that the Gujarati press

^{*} The old weeklies Gujarati and Prajabandhu which were giving mainly 'News and Current Affairs' have been defunct now. Similarly, the weeklies like the Kheda Varatman, the Kathiawad Times and the Broach Samachar have a limited circulation now, and, undergone changes in content.

which came into existence for spreading commercial information has continued to do that.

The third page of the popular Gujarati daily is, again, a mosaic of news items. The news on this page is invariably of a political nature and has generally an international bias. This practice was adopted by the Gujarati press since the first world war and has come to stay since the second world war as we had seen in the previous chapter. The third page news is printed a little earlier than the front and the last pages with the news received through the news agency during the noon. Hence there is, at times, a repetition of the same news on the front page. That suggests that the Gujarati press has not yet adopted the technique of integration of news and because of the very early 'locking up' of the inside (third and other) pages, what the reader gets is one story on the inside page and sometimes quite a different story on the front page.

The fourth page in the Gujarati dailies is the 'page of pride' for the newspapermen. It contains the editorial (Tantri Lekh), special features (sections) and usually 'letters to the editor' columns. The editorial pertains to any subject, but, here again, politics takes the lion's share. It is written in an elagant style. We have no data to judge either the popularity or the effect of the editorials. We can not say definately -whether people invariably read newspaper editorials and with the same interest which they evince in going through the news columns. We had long discussions with newspapermen on this point and we

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conclude that the editorial which was the most keenly read part of a newspaper in the past, say, even upto 1947, has lost its special appeal. We have also noticed that some Gujarati dailies have shortened the space allotted to the editorials and some have adopted the practice of accommodating in this straitened space editorials on 2 or even 3 subjects at a time. In addition to the decreasing popular interest in the editorials there is another factor which is contributing to the decline of the editorial -column. The daily newspapers are owned and run mostly by persons who are not journalists by profession as it was in the past. Hence they do not, even as they cannot, bother much about the editorial. As they have invested lakhs of rupees in the press which has turned out to be an industry now, they would judge the success or -otherwise of a daily only in financial terms ---- views would not be countenanced much in that case. It should not come as a surprise if the editorial disappears in the course of time from the dailies in Gujarati.

The letters to the editor (known earlier as <u>Charchapatra</u>, now called 'Vanchako na Vicharo' that is 'the readers' views') which are published (not everyday) on that page appear now under an editorial notice that 'the editors of that newspaper do not necessarily subscribe to the views expressed by their readers'. It may be recalled here that that was not the practice when the Bombay Samachar or the Jame Jamshed or the Gujarati used to --invite in their initial stages letters from their readers. These columns were very popular in the past when controversies

* Refer Ch. Two, page nos 44:45.

used to be raised through such letters or when public grievances used to be redressed because of these letters. We guess that these letters have lost their effect now and they are published as a routine matter.

On the same, that is the fourth, page appear the special features which are named as 'Vibhag that is Section'. These are :

| 1. Women's Section. 7. Ed | lucation Section |
|---------------------------|------------------|
|---------------------------|------------------|

- 2. Children's Section. 8. Section dealing with Social Problems.
- 3. Literary Section. 9. Health and Ayurved Section.
- 4. Astrology Section. 10. Farmers' Section.
- 5. Religious and Philosophy 11. Legal Section.
- 6. Science Section. 12. Miscellaneous.

In addition to these special sections (which, by no means exhaust the wide range of subjects dealt with) some newspapers publish occasionally caricatures of personalities, humovrous verses and some light matter to provide amusement to the reader--s. The sections are generally edited by men and women who are not necessarily members of the staff of the newspapers; but are fairly popular so as to provide an attraction label to the sections. That sustains the interest of the readers in the different newspapers. That has one other effect too. As these sectioneditors do not belong to the newspapers concerned, the matter that goes in their respective sections is often not in keeping with the general policy of the different newspapers. Variety verging on a jumble is the characteristic of the Gujarati press.

We shall proceed to see the broad features of these sections now.

<u>Women's Section</u>: In this section sometimes stories of feminine interest are published, some times the duties of the housewife are catalogued. Sometimes one reads a controversial discussion asto whether women should take up jobs or not. Moreover in this section one reads tips for the housewife on homemanagement, on interior decoration, on new recipes and not we-infrequently one reads instructions about pre-natal and ante-natal care of women and also the care of children. Some newspapers invite questions on demestic issues and even attempt to render advice to their inquisitive women readers.

<u>Children's Section</u>: In this section short fables are published with rhymes, a quizz and tales of wonder. Sometimes pictures and pictorial fiction are also published.

Literary Section : This section carries the name of a literary figure as the 'editor' of the section but not unoften that personality merely lends his name to the page which is made up with a hodge podge of literary information and developments compiled by a member of the staff with little or no extra remuneration. In fact, this practice is true of the several other 'Vibhags' (sections) also. It may be said, however, that in this section literary criticisms, appreciations of poetry and news about the literary activities in Gujarat are included. In addition to this type of material, every newspaper publishes by instalments a novel of some novelist of repute.

Astrology Section : In the astrology section predictions about the happenings during the following week in the life of persons with certain names (which incidentally indicate the zodiacal sign of the moon at the time of their birth) are published with tips about what they should or should not do on what dates. We were told by many an editor that if they did not publish the weekly astrological forecasts, the circulation of their newspaper would be affected.

Religious and Philosophy Section : Anything pious finds a place in this section. One reads a story from the Puranas exhorting one to speak the truth while at times there is a discussion on some ethical problems. This section is full of advice on 'good and pious behaviour'.

Science Section : In the science section is given information about rockets, about surgical and medical feats, about startling scientific things not known to the average men and at times an anecdote or two about some forgetful Western scientist. In some newspapers there is a question and answer column maintained under this section.

Education Section : In this section mostly news about local college activities is given. At times, discussions about the propriety of English as a medium of instruction is published while at times the speech of a local college lecturer somewhere is reported. This section has one special feature. That is, the news about foreign scholarships and travel grants. It may be noted here that the matter published in this section deals mainly with university education.

Section dealing with social problems : In this section social problems such as child-marriage, widow-remarriage, intercaste marriage, divorce and untouchability are discussed. The trend of discussion is progressive i.e. exhorting one to break off with the old-traditional-norms. There is a question and answer column in this section too. Readers ask the editor-incharge of this section (who is mostly a literary figure) to --help them in solving their domestic problems and the persons in-charge do not hesitate to give them free advice which always carries with it a tinge of idealism.

Health and Ayurved Section : This section is a sort of revivalism. The old and forgotton Ayurvedic system of medicine is euglogised in this section. Not only that, tips are given as to how some household spices can be helpful in relieving one of some chronic complaints.

Farmer's Section : This section is not published in all the newspapers. In two newspapers in which this section is maintained, one reads elaborate instructions and advice to the farmers on their special agricultural problems such as selection of seeds, use of fertilizers, menace of pests etc.

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Legal Section : This section too is not the common feature of all the Gujarati newspapers. It is published only in two newspapers. This section includes a discussion about the rights of -tenants, about the rights of landlords, about the legal intricacies of a business contract etc. This is the section wherein reliance on the staff would be unrewarded.

<u>Miscellaneous</u> : Some newspapers engage the services of some local college lecturer to write on the economic trends or the international political trends. While, some newspapers retain special representatives in Delhi to write weekly newsletters.

The fifth page in the popular Gujarati daily is devoted to news obtained from the different districts of Gujarat. It has thus a regional bias and is variegated. It is received by the newspapers from their district correspondents a day or two in advance. We have contacted some of them and have gathered correspondent that a single individuals works as the district for two, three or even five Gujarati newspapers on a part-time retainer basis. That leads to a uniformity of news coverage in several newspapers because the district correspondents despatch carbon copies of the news to their destinations. The news thus sent is invariably biased : it either praises or decries something in the area. That means every news on the district-news page expresses opinions one way or the other. This was the practice that the Gujarati newspapers had adopted during the British regime to keep up popular ferment and it continues even now.

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This has earned a status and power for the district correspondents in their areas. They can euologise one and can run down another according to their own caprice, can brow-beat anyone in their area.

The sixth page in the Gujarati daily is a jumble of matter. Mostly it is filled up with advertisements — those of the local cinemas predominating. Next to that, this page is the rendezvous of the left over of the matter published on the fourth page. It contains, besides, the day's radio programme and -occasionally the local train-timings.

The seventh and the eighth pages contain local information --- each newspaper giving predominance to the news originating from the centre of its publication. The news is variegated : reporting at times the speech of some minister; giving details about the day's engagements and reporting local deaths etc., many times accompanied by topical pictures. Lastly, mention must be made of the New York Cotton opening and closing figures published in the dailies on the eighth page (in some instances on the first, second or the seventh page which goes to the print simultaneously after the figures have been received through the news agency late after 1-30 a.m.). We were told that any Gujarati daily not publishing these figures would suffer in circulation because there is not an inconsiderable section of people in Gujarat which awaits every morning the newspaper copy just to glance through the figures on which they might have staked some money the previous night. The fact that there are several --

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Gujarati dailies and weeklies intended mainly for the benefit of speculators (Type number 22 'Market Reports and Bulletins! in the tables in the Appendix) indicates further the proportion of gambling that this section of the Gujarati people indulges in. It indicates, moreover, the pressure which such a section exerts on the Gujarati press making it obligatory for the latter to publish the New York Cotton figures every morning.

A word about advertisements in the Gujarati press now. We have observed in the previous chapters that the Gujarati press has been publishing advertisements since its emergence (with the well-known example of the Kaudhian journals). We have observed that the space occupied by advertisements in the Gujarati press has been increasing since then. But, the quantum of advertisements in the Gujarati press as a whole and the -revenue accruing therefrom at present will remain undetermined. There are specialised advertising agencies which distribute advertisements to the different journals now. They select their media for advertisement on the basis of the standing and circulation^{*} of a journal. The quantim of advertisements and their rates vary from journal to journal according to these two criteria.

^{*} The circulation figures of a journal can be checked up by the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) if a journal accepts its membership. The ABC issues circulation certificates from time to time. But, all the Gujarati journals are not the members of that organisation. That makes it rather difficult to obtain authentic circulation data and consequently advertisement quanta for the Gujarati press.

Authentic data about advertisements appearing in all the Gujarati journals cannot be obtained, hence, and also because all the -advertisements published in these journals are not received -through the specialised advertising agencies. We have, however, information about some 12 Gujarati morning newspapers. That is given by the Indian Press Commission. According to that authority the average revenue per copy per annum of the Gujarati daily -worked out at Rs. 26-00 nP. which was the highest for any other Indian-language newspapers in 1951.¹¹ Apart from the quanta of advertisements, we have been able to classify advertisements that appear in the Gujarati press as a whole into the following types and sub-types :

CLASSIFICATION OF ADVERTISEMENTS APPEARING IN THE GUJARATI PRESS.

TYPE NUMBER 1:

GENERAL CONSUMER ADVERTISEMENTS.

| 1. | Cosmetics, Soap, Shaving accessories, hair oils etc., |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2. | Drugs, proprietary medicines, medical appliances etc., |
| 3. | Motor tyres and accessories, petroleum products, |
| | automobiles, batteries etc., |
| 4. | Food products, biscuits, chocolate, drinks, preserves etc., |

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¹¹ Report of the Press Commission, Part I, p.59. The data being as old as a decade is out of date now, however, the trend they indicated remains more or less unaltered.

- 5. Fans, radio-sets, cameras, photo films, electric bulbs and batteries etc.,
- 6. Transport, airlines, resorts, travel etc.,
- 7. Watches and clocks, jewellery, typewriters, duplicators, furniture, floor coverings, carpets etc.,
- 8. Insurance and Banking,
- 9. Cigarettes, tabacco etc.,
- 10. Textiles, ready-made clothing, dress auxiliaries, foot-
- we weare etc.,
- 11. Entertainments, films, theatre, sports, gramophone records, playing cards etc.,
- 12. Books, stationery, pens etc.,
- 13. Insecticides and sundry household articles,
- 14. Hotels, restaurents, hair dressers, photographers etc.

TYPE NUMBER 2:

SPECIALISED ADVERTISEMENTS

- 1. Industrial machinery and equipment, trucks, trailers contractors' equipment etc.,
- 2. Agricultural machinery, tractors, oil-engines, pumps and implements,
- 3. Electrical machinery, building material, cement, paints etc.,
- 4. Industrial stores and materials,
- 5. Repairs to machinery etc.,

- 6. Agricultural fertilizers and agricultural seeds and products,
- 7. Stores and railway equipment.

TYPE NUMBER 3:

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

- 1. Advertisements about accommodations to let or sought,
- 2. Situations vacant or sought,
- 3. Personal effects available for sale or loans,
- 4. Cinema house advertisements,
- 5. Advertisements about 'lost' or 'misled',
- 6. Legal notices.

TYPE NUMBER 4 :

GOVERNMENTAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ADVERTISEMENTS.

- 1. Governmental and semi-Governmental notices inviting
 - (a) Tenders,
 - (b) Applications for jobs,
- 2. Governmental advertisements (display) about
 - (a) Five year plans,
 - (b) Family planning, small savings and similar campaigns,
- 3. Institutional hotices.

We should like to mention here that the advertisers select their media with due consideration. The nature of advertisments in a journal varies, therefore, according to the area or according to the section of people to which that journal is addressed. As regards Governmental advertisements, it may be noted that the --Government have to select their advertisement medium according to circulation and/or according to the standing of a journal. But, there being no statutory provision in that regard, the Governmental advertisements do betray discrimination. That leads to a controlling position of the Government because the Government is the biggest individual advertiser while the other advertisers being several are dispersed. The Indian Press Commission has commented that 'though the total volume of Government advertisements is not large, the importance attached to it by the press is great. The appearance of Government advertisements gives a newspaper recognition of its status which helps it not only to get advertisements from other authorities but also to increase its circulation, because a number of readers would purchase such a newspaper for the Government notifications and advertisements. That substantiates our contention that the Government can influence the press through the money that 'they pay to the latter by way of advertisement charges which work into hundreds. It hardly needs to be pointed out, therefore, how the nature of writings in the Gujarati press regarding Governmental policies might change.

12 Ibid., p.86.

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We shall turn now to the different social factors which are related to the present day Gujarati press and which have been affecting its nature as well as effecting its growth.

The foremost factor in this connection is the change of Government in the country. The British left India in August 1947 and power was transferred to Indians. Thence changed the role of the press in India. The nature of writings in the ---Gujarati press which had changed since 1861 and which had been reinforced in 1885, 1905, 1930 and 1942 as we saw earlier, was altered radically after the departure of the British from this country. The press no longer remained a campaigner against the 'foreign rule' since August 1947. And, circumstances were --sufficient in themselves to facilitate a change still more in the nature of writings in the press since a republican constitution which was adopted in January 1950, guaranteed the freedom of expression as a fundamental right.¹³ A secondary, though no

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¹³ That was guaranteed by article 19(1)(a) of the Indian Constitution. That article was amended much against the will of the press in 1951 under the Constitution (First Amendment) Act of 1951, authorising the Parliament to place 'reasonable' restrictions on fundamental rights in 'public interest'. But the amended article does not abrogate the essential freedom of the press.

less potent, factor in this regard is the formation of a separate state of Gujarat which came into being on May 1, 1960. That has given a further impetus to the Gujarati language and consequently to the Gujarati press.

The second factor in this regard is the developmental -changes which are taking place in the country at present. The Government have completed developmental programmes under the First and Second Five Year Plans launched in 1951 and in 1956 respectively and the Government are going further with their targets fixed for the Third Five Year Plan. Apart from the degree of achievement under these plans, they have undoubtedly increased the tempo of trade and commerce, and, as elsewhere they have accelerated the tempo of enterprise in Gujarat. That has brought out more advertisements from those engaged in trade and commerce because they would spend more after the sales promotion of goods by way of -advertisements that we have just referred to. Besides, the scope of Governmental advertisements both display and classified has also increased. That provides an increased revenue to the Gujarati press. As regards the increase in circulation as evinced by the Gujarati press vis-a-vis the increased trade and commerce, we might conjecture that with the rise in per capita income in Gujarat; the status perception of many sections of people would That would goad them to keep up their acquired status change. position by indulging in certain practices. One of these would be to purchase more than one newspapers and journals of repute such as the Akhand Anand (Circulation 35,312 copies per issue)

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and the Jan Kalyan (circulation 30,626 copies per issue). Be that as it may, we should like to repeat that the present -economic activities are influencing the Gujarati press directly as well as indirectly.

The third factor related to the press is the increase in literacy in Gujarat. The literate population in Gujarat (excluding Bombay) was 23.2% of the total population in 1951. It has come to be 30.3% in 1961 and has secured for Gujarat the fourth place as compared with the other states in India (it was the fifth in 1951) in that regard. That means there are more persons capable of reading the newspapers now. But, that is not all. Gujarat has three universities with several institutions attached to them producing thousands of trained persons in various subjects every year. That has a two-fold effect on the Gujarati press. First, the increase in higher education creates an awareness in people to keep themselves in touch with contemporary happenings in different spheres. It is common knowledge that such people start their day with the newspapers. Consequently the circulation of the Gujarati press is augmented. The second effect that higher education is making on the Gujarati press is evinced by the increase in the number of specialised journals catering to the needs of certain sections. As the number of persons who have received higher education is increasing, and, as the number of literates is increasing (the Social Education drive is helping that) the Gujarati press will grow still further.

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We shall now take up the fourth factor, viz., means of transport and communication and see how that affects the contemporary Gujarati press. Among the means of transport, the railway_S come first. Though they have not shown any spectacular increase in route mileage during the past decade, the main contribution of the railways to the growth of the Gujarati press is by way of increased frequency of trains running between -different centres. ^That has made possible now the transmission of newspapers containing the latest information more speedily upto longer distances than it was possible earlier.

More than the railways, the State (road) Transport has contributed to the spatial as well as numerical expansion of the Gujarati press. The State Transport buses are running on 1,557 different roads covering 34,814 miles with an average daily movement of 1,29,943 miles. These buses connect many places situated at long distances. That facilitates the movement of newspaper bundles upto remote willages situated miles away from the centres of newspaper publication and also lying very far from a railway station. Undoubtedly, that contributes to the growth of the Gujarati press.

Mention needs to be made here of the 5950 miles of -metalled (pucca) roads and 9050 miles of non-metalled (kuccha) roads spread throughout Gujarat which was not well-served in this regard before Andependence. The former include highways connecting Bombay, Surat, Breach, Baroda, Kheda, Nadiad and Ahmedabad : Ahmedabad, Rajkot, Bhavnagar : Ahmedabad, Godhra and Dahod etc. All these roads are motorable throughout the year. That facilitates transmission of newspapers, not only through the State Transport buses but also through smaller vehicles that the newspaper managements have engaged for the purpose. It hardly needs to be mentioned that that helps the growth of the Gujarati press.

But, this new arrangement has one other effect too. As well established newspapers from bigger centres rush their copies through their own special vehicles everyday in the early morning to different towns and villages in Gujarat, people living in such places depend upon the bigger-centre newspapers only. They have to do so because their own towns or districts cannot support local journals in competition against the bigger-centre newspapers. For instance, newspapers from Ahmedabad reach Mehemdabad, Kheda, Nadiad and Anand --- towns in the Kheda District --- by about 4-30 a.m. everyday. That may be one of the factors hampering the emergence of a daily paper in the Kheda District for example. Again, now that it is possible to rush newspapers through a fleet of special vehicles to distant places all the year round, some of the biggercentre newspapers even compete with the existing newspapers at such places. For instance, the special vhicles carrying newspaper bundles from Ahmedabad distribute copies on their way upto Baroda and reach Baroda by about 6-0 in the morning. They distribute their copies in Baroda city and catch the trains leaving Pratapnagar (a sub-station of Baroda) for Chhota-Udaipur in the extreme east and for Jambusar in the extreme west. Consequently, the

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morning dailies in Baroda face a competition from the Ahmedabad papers which are well-equipped technically and otherwise.

Now about the means of communication and the Gujarati press. Among them, mention needs to be made first of the post, telegraph and telephone. The postal services have been extended now to almost all the villages in Gujarat. Formerly it took seven days for a letter to reach some of them, now the post is distributed alternately at the latest. That has removed one obstacle in the way of the expansion of the Gujarati journals of different periodicities. Telephone and telegraph lines have also increased now and the plan targets are to increase them still more. That facilitates speedier transmission of messages from the different centres to the newspapers. * Again, due to the increase in the number of telegraph lines, separate teleprinter channels can be provided to different places as also to the newspaper offices. Formerly, even the teleprinter -receivers were not available. The news agency used to send telegrams to their subscriber newspapers several times a day by hand-delivery. That delayed news considerably. Then came the teleprinter receivers, but, with a handicap that they did not work with separate channels. Now it is not so. The news agency can 'flash' news simultaneously through specially installed teleprinter receivers in almost all the Gujarati news-That changes the paper offices, within minutes of an event.

^{*} The telegraph department gives special facilities to newspaper correspondents who can send their press telegrams at special concessional rates, charges for the telegrams being collected annually from the newspapers concerned.

nature of news in the Gujarati press which can sort the latest out of all other news items received. And, that becomes, indirectly a factor in the increasing circulation of the dailies because people select the newspapers giving the last minute information.

Finally a word about the radio. The All India Radio gives, what it calls, 'Cultural Programmes' and news bulletins in Gujarati. The 'Cultural Programmes' barring musical ones include talks, stories, dramas and such other things which can as well form part of the Gujarati periodicals. But, these programmes have not as yet reached a stage to compete with the periodical press. As regards the Gujarati news bulletins, they are put on the air from the Delhi station of the All India Radio and are relayed by the Bombay, Baroda, Ahmedabad and Rajkot stations simultaneously. These news bulletins do not act as competitors to the Gujarati press. The news bulletins are 'spoken' in a period of 15 minutes which prevents the news from being elaborate. Again, the morning news-bulletin is broadcast daily at 8-45 a.m. by which time the newspaper reader has already perused through his morning copy. Finally, the news or the 'Cultural Programmes' over the radio would differ from that given in the press because the former is controlled by Government while the latter is under private ownership. And, it must be mentioned that persons who can afford to invest in a radio set

^{*} In addition to this, in recent years, regional bulletins giving only the news affecting the Gujarat State have been started.

where would be considerably less than those who can afford to spend smaller amounts after periodicals and can partly recover that amount by selling old journals as scrap. We can conclude, therefore, that the radio would not act as a competitor to the Gujarati press. On the other hand, it has to be pointed out that the radio $\operatorname{acts}_{\mu}$ incentive to the press to publish the latest intelligence to satisfy the reader who might be eager to 'read' in greater details the news that he 'hears' over the radio.

We shall now refer to the technical changes in printing and their effect on the Gujarati press. As mentioned earlier, most of the Gujarati newspapers are printed on big rotary machines which throw out as many as 20,000 copies an hour. That has made it possible for the dailies to include the latest news and has also lowered production costs because of automatisation in -printing. But, the bigger printing machines have an implication They fulfil their main function within 2-3 hours and remain t00. unoccupied for the rest of the day. The newspaper owners have to devise means to feed them to get the maximum out of them. They would not prefer to feed them through sundry job-work, now, as that would be uneconomic. Hence, they have taken to bringing out other periodical publications in addition to their main ones. For instance, the management of the Gujarati daily Jansatta publishes besides that newspaper, the Nootan Gujarat (weekly) and the Chandni (monthly); that of the Sandesh brings out in addition the Sevak (evening daily), the Sat Sandesh and the Sansar (monthlies), the Aram (another monthly), the Chitrajyot (film weekly) the Bal Sandesh (Children's magazine) and have started recently, the Stree

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(women's weekly); that of the Gujarat Samachar brings out that daily, the Chitralók (film weekly), the Zag Mag (Children's weekly) and the Shrirang (monthly). Such additional publications become all the more paying to them, not only because they help recovering the interest on capital investment but also because they have not to incur much extra expenditure on staff etc. The same human machinery that works for the daily is employed for the allied publications with a little incentive, if at all.

The publication of side-journals has one other effect too. The different extra journals brought out by the newspapers said above furnish an effective channel for the overflow of advertisements which the managements get due to their standing etc. and which they cannot include in their dailies without further reduction in their news quantum.

We shall conclude this chapter now with some observations.

As mentioned earlier, the Gujarati press, even as the Indian press as a whole, has changed considerably after the -transfer of political power in India. From being, what may be called a 'Colonial press', it has turned out to be one in a free democratic republic. It is no longer an agitator for -independence nor a chronicler of 'evils of a foreign domination'. It has, on the other hand, every scope to emerge as the 'fourth estate' now that India is free.

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To add to that are the developmental programmes that the Government has undertaken. These have resulted in an overall increase in economic activities rendering an indirect help to the press by way of more advertisement revenue. But, increased advertisement revenue implies presently a subtle, though certain, control of the Government over the press because the Government is the largest single advertiser. It will be a point worth --investigating into as regards, (i) advertisement charges that the Government pays annually to the Gujarati press, and (ii) the attitude of the press towards Governmental policies.

Change in the nature of writing in the Gujarati press has been brought about, also, by the formation of a separate state of Gujarat. Though the event is comparatively recent, popular -opinion and the public agitation in that regard are of a much longer standing. They all have contributed to the growing -importance of the Gujarati language as also of the Gujarati press.

Formation of a separate state of Gujarat has shifted now the political and to some extent the economic focii of interest of the different sections in Gujarat from the city of Bombay (which is now in the Maharashtra State) to the other cities of Gujarat. Hence, and may be even otherwise, Gujarati dailies from Ahmedabad (the capital of the Gujarat State) have left behind in circulation the Gujarati dailies published from Bombay. This we have indicated in the table below:

TABLE SHOWING CIRCULATION FIGURES OF THE GUJARATI DAILIES PUBLISHED FROM DIFFERENT CENTRES DURING 1960.

| Centre of publication | : Bombay | Surat | : : Baroda : | : : Ahmedabad : | | : : Bhuj :(Kutch) |
|-----------------------------|----------------|--------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------|-------------------------|
| Number of dailies. | : 7 : : 7 : | 4 | 3 | 6 | 3 | : : 3 : |
| Copies per d ay . | 1,13,438 | 29,523 | 26,122 | 1,27,821 | 49,983 | : 2,493 : |

It will be observed from the above table that the number of copies that the dailies from Ahmedabad bring out per issue are 1,27,321, that is, 14,383 more than of those from Bombay. Again, the total circulation of the Gujarati dailies has touched the figure of three and a half lakhs copies per issue in 1960 as per the above table. This figure is fourteen times more than that of the year 1918 (page number 226 and table number 14 in the Appendix), and, eleven times more than that of the year 1920 (same page in table number 16 in the Appendix). That means that the trend of increase in the number of copies of the Gujarati dailies per issue which commenced in 1920 is continues and that more and more copies of the Gujarati dailies are in demand.

That has certain effects on the Gujarati press viz.,

(i) More copies of the dailies are being printed,

- (ii) Bigger machinery and similar establishments are being employed for that purpose,
- (iii) Latest news is being published in the dailies and their copies are being rushed to distant places through speedier means of transport,
- (iv) The dailies are pushing off other periodical journals and are publishing matter (e.g. the different sections) which otherwise would go into the weeklies and the monthlies.

We saw during the course of our discussion that the **Ca**ste and Community journals (type number 29 in the tables in the --Appendix) are increasing every year. These were 31 in 1956 and have come to be 99 in 1960. That means that the different caste and community interests in Gujarat are fast crystalising into smaller units which are trying to proclaim and to keep up their individuality through their respective journals.

And finally, a word about the technical changes taking place in case of the Gujarati press. When it emerged nearly 140 years back, it worked with manually operated rudimentary printing equipment. It could cope up with the limited demand of the people during those days. The demand has increased, as we have observed above, and, the press has expanded technically and otherwise to meet that demand; it has grown into an inindustry calling for larger investments. And, as such, it sells, any journal containing any matter it (the press) prefers, the --popular expectations notwithstanding.

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