IT IS APPROPRIATE NOW that we draw together the threads of the discussion pursued through the previous chapters.

We have been concerned with a study of the press and society. But, we had no analytical model before us to start with for such a sociological study; the model had to be constructed for the purposes of this study. For doing that we undertook a preliminary exploration of the Gujarati press as also of the social conditions prevailing in Western India since the first Gujarati newspaper, the Bombay Samachar, emerged in 1822. That suggested the possibility of correlating some social factors with the Gujarati press. These social factors include Technology, Education, Trade and Commerce, Government, certain groups with diverse life-patterns and similar interests, and, certain Ideas and Ideologies. What we have been able to demonstrate in this study is the relation of these social factors with the nature and growth of the Gujarati press.
Technology for instance. That includes the technique of printing. We have shown that the emergence of the Gujarati press was due to the introduction of the technique of printing in India by the Westerners. Prior to that, the different sections in this part of the country, even as in India as a whole, carried on their activities with the indigenous methods of communication which were oral, and, in some instances handwritten. After the technique of printing was known it was harnessed for the publication of a newspaper. We have shown further that the quantum of matter published in the Gujarati journals, the sizes of these journals, the number of pages in these journals, the number of copies of these journals as also the number of places of publication of the journals — that is, the growth of the Gujarati press — are all related to the employment and improvement in the technique of printing. As the latter changed from lithography to type-setting, and, as that changed from hand-cut types to machine-made ones, and, that again from manual setting to the automatic one, the growth of the Gujarati press was facilitated. We have shown, moreover, that the improvements in the technique of printing affected the nature — in particular, the nature of news-reporting — of the Gujarati press. When, in the earlier stages, the Gujarati journals were printed with manually operated smaller-sized — printing equipment, it was not possible to use bigger types for giving headings to the news etc. After the bigger machines (operated manually and later power-driven) were used for —
printing, bold type could be used for giving crisp and suggestive headings to the news etc. which the newspaper reader is attracted to go through in further details. We have shown that the employment of bold type for printing purposes facilitated a wider popular appeal of the news during the nationalist movement, and, that helped keeping up the tempo of mass-awakening. We have also shown that the recent developments in the technique of printing have augmented enormously the cost of running the press. That prevents those sections of society which could launch journals during the 19th century from running the press now. That means, certain smaller sections of society which can own and run the press (the Gujarati press being a proprietary concern throughout its existence) can influence larger areas and a vaster population. To put it again, larger machinery and consequently greater investments in running the press have changed the nature of the Gujarati press. It has been converted into an industry owned by fewer individuals who look more to the financial aspects of their journals rather than to anything else. Again, larger machinery etc. has led to the emergence of side-journals from the same establishments so as to 'feed' that machinery which would be economically unviable otherwise. That affects the growth of the Gujarati press as more journals are published; that affects, also, the nature of the Gujarati press as different specialised journals (cinema magazines, women's journals, children's journals etc.) are put into circulation. Finally, the fact that the technique of printing and the press are intimately related is substantiated further as the
limitations in the former result in limitations in the press too. We have shown that the Gujarati dailies have not adopted as yet the technique of 'locking-up' all the pages together at a time. Hence, there is one news story on the inside page and sometimes a different version of the same news story on the front page, and, so on.

Technological factors related to the press include, secondly, employment of methods as well as means of getting and transmitting news and other matter used for publication purposes. They include, again, the emergence and employment of auxiliary media of communication such as the post, telegraph, telephone and teleprinter. We have shown that in the initial stages the Gujarati newspapers published matter gleaned from English journals. Later, the Gujarati newspapers procured news through the post and the sea-mail. That proved sufficient enough to cover the space in smaller sized weeklies or fortnightlies. But, when the frequency of the Gujarati journals increased, they needed more news, more speedily and continuously than before. That could be provided after telegraph lines were opened in India in 1855 for general use, and, after the completion of submarine telegraph lines between India and England, and, the land telegraph lines between the two countries, in 1860.

We have shown that the increase in the number of places of circulation of the Gujarati press as also the increase in the quantum of news and other matter in the Gujarati press
were both facilitated after the postal services in India were rationalised and after uniform postal rates were introduced in 1855. The above aspects of the growth and nature respectively of the Gujarati press were facilitated more, particularly when the post was carried through the Railway Mail Service and when the postal rates were lowered still further. We have shown as regards the nature of news-reporting in the Gujarati dailies that after telegraph lines have spread more extensively in India, the daily newspapers get variegated news from all parts of the country, more speedily than before. After the introduction of the telephone, the dailies have been helped still more in this regard. And, the introduction of the teleprinter has facilitated a still speedier and constant supply of news on a global level to the Gujarati dailies. But, here again, the Gujarati dailies have to experience one limitation. The news that they (the Gujarati dailies) get over the teleprinter or even telegraphically is in the English language, there being no arrangements for transmitting news in the Gujarati language through these channels. The news so received is being translated and recast into Gujarati for publication purposes in the different newspaper offices. During that process, the news stands chances of being misinterpreted and misconstrued. The fact that news conveyed by correspondents over the telephone (obviously in Gujarati) is not subjected to the above limitation is sufficient enough to show that the nature of news in the Gujarati newspapers can change if there are teleprinters or at least telegraphs operating in the
Gujarati language.

Technological factors related to the Gujarati press include, thirdly, the means of transport such as the railways and motor vehicles. We have shown that after the potential readership of the Gujarati press was created by the increase in literacy (a factor we shall consider shortly), the railways contributed to actualise that (that is, the railways assisted the spatial expansion of the press) by carrying the journals far and wide through the Railway Mail Service and the parcel service. Or again, when more copies of the journals could be printed after the improvement in the technique of printing, these copies could be carried to and distributed at distant places after the provision for adequate transport was made. We have shown in this connection that the recent expansion of the Gujarati press has been facilitated by the introduction of vehicular means of transport such as the State (Road) Transport buses and the fleets of motor cars engaged by newspaper establishments. It has been shown that the State (Road) Transport buses and the specially engaged fleets of motor cars carry journals far and wide into areas inaccessible through the railways. It is evident that these arrangements have helped the growth of the Gujarati press. If, in future, the State (Road) Transport bus-routes increase, if newer roads are constructed for vehicular traffic, and, if in addition, bigger journals engage helicopters to distribute their copies, the growth of the Gujarati press can be effected still more.
Next to these technological factors, we have taken for consideration the spread of literacy and increase in higher education as factors affecting the Gujarati press. We have shown that the introduction of formal education in Western India augmented the circulation of the different Gujarati journals by providing more persons to read these journals. Again, education created a need for more printing presses (for publication of school books etc.) and facilitated indirectly the publication of more journals from different places. To put it again, education helped the growth of the Gujarati press. Education also changed the nature of the Gujarati press. It was the newly introduced 'modern education' that created a section of persons with some 'views'. That section started journals for spreading their 'views' and changed thereby the nature of the Gujarati press. Education is helping the growth of the Gujarati press presently as well. The literate population in Gujarat (excluding Bombay) has come to be 30.31% of the total population now, and, along with that the number of Gujarati journals has increased upto 513 and the number of their copies per issue has been more than 12 lakhs. We have shown that the establishment of three universities (four if the Bombay University be considered) with several institutions attached to them in Gujarat, leads to an increase in the number of persons trained and interested in a variety of subjects, leading also, to an increase in the number of journals catering to the various interests. As such persons — both literate and trained in various subjects — will
increase, the growth of the Gujarati press will be still more, and, a change in its nature will be effected further.

As part of education as a factor helping the growth of the Gujarati press, we have included a subtle though very potent factor affecting the latter. That is, the establishment of libraries and reading rooms in Gujarat. We have shown that the libraries and reading rooms provided the Gujarati press with a stable clientele and a multiple readership since 1880, and, especially after the library movement in Gujarat received a fillip due to the setting up of the Mitra Mandal Libraries in 1905—1906 and the Gokhale Libraries in 1915 - 1916.

Next to education, trade and commerce is another factor that we have taken into consideration. It is shown that the emergence of the Gujarati press was related to trade and commerce in Western India as a periodical journal was needed for spreading commercial intelligence. We have shown that as trade and commerce increased, the demand for information pertaining to that also increased. Consequently, the quantum of such information published in the Gujarati journals also increased, leading to the increase in the number of pages in the different journals, leading as well, to the increase in the number of journals meant exclusively for trade and commerce. We have shown, moreover, that the growth of trade and commerce in Western India necessitates methods for sales promotion of goods: articles produced have to be advertised in the press. That leads to the increase in the number of advertisements in
the Gujarati press and consequently in the number of pages in different Gujarati journals. Now, increase in the number of advertisements implies more revenue to the press and consequently availability of more funds for spending after its growth so as to eke out more advertisement revenue and so on.

We have shown that Government and the press are very intimately related. When the first Gujarati newspaper was out, the Government granted permission for its publication. The Government also sanctioned financial aid to it directly as well as indirectly by giving advertisements, and, permitted the use of its coat of arms on the front page, lending thereby a prestige to the first Gujarati newspaper. But, as we have shown, Government can as well control the nature of the press and can similarly check its growth. We have shown that when the Gujarati press began to express the needs and grievances of the people, or, when it began to spread political views of the leaders, or again, when it started publishing news pertaining to the nationalist movement with bold type headings (all being indications of the change in the nature of the — Gujarati press) the Government put restrictions on the press. We have shown that Government was controlling the nature of writings in the press through laws such as the Vernacular Press Act — 1878, the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act — 1908, the Indian Press Act — 1910, the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act — 1931, the Defence of India Acts of 1914 and 1939, and through rules and ordinances from time to
time. We have shown that the Government can control the nature of the press through various sections of the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code, though, many an older restriction is obsolete now, since the adoption of the republican constitution guaranteeing a freedom of expression to some extent. Again, as regards Government and the growth of the press we have shown that the former can check the latter by imposing restrictions on import of newsprint and other printing equipment.

But, these are direct and open methods Government can adopt to control the nature or to check the growth of the press. Government has a still more commanding position over the press, indirect and subtle though it is. As the Government is the largest single advertiser in the press, the latter is very cautious in writing anything pertaining to the Government. We might mention here that the post, telegraph, telephone and teleprinter channels are under Governmental control. Hence, the Government can, at any time, take away the facilities and concessions granted to the press — it can as well introduce a system of pre-censorship as the news and other matter, mostly through these channels.

And lastly, one more factor shown to have been related to the Gujarati press is the emergence in Western India of certain groups with diverse life-patterns and similar interests, and, certain ideas and ideologies. We have shown that the commercial interests in Western India needed media to keep in touch with one another so as to carry on their trade and commerce. Hence,
they supported the Bombay Samachar as also other journals in course of time, to keep themselves well informed about commodity 'price current'. These interests have continued to be influential till today and we find that one full page in the Gujarati dailies is devoted to details about the fluctuations in the stock, bullion and commodity exchanges and in oil, oil seed and grain markets in Gujarat and elsewhere. The other group that emerged in Western India was that of the social reformists. The foremost urge of this group of persons was to 'reinterpret' and 'reform' some of the traditional beliefs and practices of the people in Gujarat. Hence, that group associated itself with the modern medium of communication viz. the Gujarati press. The nature of the Gujarati press changed since then. Along with being a communicator of information, it became also, a campaigner for the social reformists' views. And then it turned out to be a carrier of political views. Such a change in the nature of the Gujarati press was brought about since the emergence in Western India of a group of persons which crystalised the unformulated popular grievances against the Government into well-worded slogans and tidy arguments. As that group of persons was enlarged and as it became more and more vocal, the nature of the Gujarati press went on changing. It became not only a carrier of political views but also a campaigner for the nationalist movement.

Among the groups affecting the nature of the Gujarati press are the different castes and communities. We have shown
that these groups are becoming more and more conscious of their existence and are trying to proclaim and keep up their individuality by starting their own journals. These journals were 31 in 1956 and have come to be 99 in 1960. It may be suggested here that the circumstances in which these caste and community journals emerge, their circulations, their contents and contributors—all demand a separate inquiry so as to assess their function at present.

The present study of the press and society with special reference to the nature and growth of the Gujarati press comes to an end now. After all that is said and done so far, what we have achieved is a tentative model for a Sociology of Press. Indeed, the press can be studied from other points of view as well. But, the Sociology of Press will view the press as a social fact closely interrelated to other social factors. These factors would include technology, education, trade and commerce, certain groups with diverse life-patterns and similar interests, as well as certain ideas and ideologies. What our study suggests is, that these social factors are universal and have more or less identical effects on the press. If a series of studies is undertaken with reference to the press in different societies, the significance of these social factors as regards the press can be further established and the analytical model that we have constructed can be finalised so as to evolve ultimately, a theory of the Sociology of Press.