7.1 SUMMARY:

The present study is an attempt to methodologically analyse the role played by the print media in highlighting a social movement. The coverage of the two prominent Hindi dailies, Amar Ujala & Dainik Jagran (Meerut Editions), was critically assessed in propagating Bhartiya Kisan Union's (BKU) movement in Western Uttar Pradesh. The Researcher, himself, was a mainstream journalist during the BKU movement, and got an opportunity to cover the movement, comprehensively, from its inception in 1987 to 1990 which is also a time frame of our study. As required of a proper methodological study, an elaborate Content Analysis of the newspapers was done. Other data collection techniques were also used. The method of observation through in-depth interviews of journalists who covered the movement, farmer leaders, farmers who participated and the self observation of the researcher as a journalist were also made use of.

The study tried to establish a strong linkage between Media and the Farmers' movement by going deep into one of the most important farmer's movement (BKU) in the country. An attempt was made towards ascertaining the impact of the media in educating, enlightening and creating consciousness amongst the farmers in organizing themselves as a potent force to fight for their rights. Since electronic media was still emerging as a powerful media during the period of our study, i.e., 1987-90, the focus was on the print media. The two districts of Western Uttar Pradesh which played an active role in the initiation and spread of the movement - Meerut (now Bagpat) and Muzaffarnagar were selected for an in-depth interviews of the farmer leaders and the farmers. The Meerut Editions of the two most
popular newspapers - Amar Ujala and Dainik Jagran, which provided coverage to the BKU movement on a daily basis were chosen for content analysis and interviews of the journalists.

Social movements have been an area of interest to sociologists, communicators and political scientists since the third decade of independence. The study traced the nature and characteristics of social movements, their emergence and outcomes and their relationship to social structures. The discourse on New Social Movements (NSMs) emerged in the year 1980s, attempting to make conceptual sense of the diverse, at times chaotic and complex movements, struggles and organisations that came up in the post 1960s scenario, in both the First and Third Worlds. The study defined the New social Movements (NSM) and emphasized upon the relevance of these NSMs to the New Farmer's Movement which emerged in different parts of India, recently, in the form of BKU and other farmer's movements.

The study examined the growth and dynamics of the farmer's movements in Uttar Pradesh with special focus on the BKU movement of the 80s and 90s. It explored the political and economic conditions that contributed to the rise of the movement and the ideological and social resources that sustained it. The decades of the 1980s witnessed the emergence of two inter-related changes in Uttar Pradesh. The first represented an unfolding and crystallization of agricultural transformation initiated in the 1980s, and the second was the growing momentum of surplus producing farmers as a major political force in Uttar Pradesh. Both of these developments heightened the growth of the BKU movement in western Uttar Pradesh.

In the study, the farmer's movement in Uttar Pradesh was divided in two broad areas.
The study discussed, in brief, the history of the Press in India. Rural Press is a strong medium for community communication, with its potential for creating awareness of, and articulating, peoples' problems, which serves as a link between the policy-makers, development bureaucracy and farmers and as a second line of conversion of scientific knowledge into information for utilization in the field situation. If we take into consideration, the two newspapers which we have chosen for the present study – Amar Ujala and Dainik Jagran, they were rural newspapers practicing real Community Journalism when they started some 53 years ago. Since then, the communities they were catering to changed drastically and so did the newspapers. The population, literacy, standard of living and the transition phase in the rural areas of the readership groups of these newspapers have witnessed a sea change.
Today, both these newspapers have 10 to 12 edition which caters to almost the entire Uttar Pradesh. Considering these facts and the topic of our research, the role of Rural Press in creating consciousness amongst the rural masses was discussed in detail. The study also discussed the history of the emergence and significance of the Indian Language Press in India and the role it played in creating consciousness amongst the masses in different parts of the country.

Hindi is a language which is read and spoken by large number of people in the country and the topic of research deals with the two Hindi papers. So, the history of Hindi press in the country in general and that of Uttar Pradesh in particular was discussed in detail. The origin and growth of the two newspapers, Amar Ujala and Dainik Jagran was traced and their role in creating consciousness amongst the farmers was discussed. Efforts were made through the demographic profile of the State and the media to establish the growth and increase in circulation of the two newspapers over the years and explain through charts and tables how the growth of infrastructure and literacy helped in increasing the readership of the newspapers. It demonstrated that in the 1980s and 1990s the regional papers of our study grew by leaps and bounds and left the so-called Hindi national newspaper groups like Navbharat Times, Hindustan and Janasatta, far behind in terms of circulation. In fact, of late, the two newspapers have started editions from outside the State i.e, outside Uttar Pradesh from Chandigarh and Jullunder.

After conducting the detailed content analysis of the two newspapers and interviews with farmers, farmer leaders and Journalists who covered the BKU movement, the study reached to some significant and interesting conclusions which we shall be discussing under the head of 'Conclusions' which follows.
7.2 CONCLUSIONS:

The outcome of the content analysis of all the five phases of our study clearly demonstrates that the coverage provided by Amar Ujala in terms of news and photographs was much better in all the phases except in the second phase when Dainik Jagran gave more coverage in terms of photographs.

The qualitative and quantitative analysis of the content analysis of the first phase indicates that both the papers didn't take the BKU agitation seriously in the initial stage, but, the coverage given by Amar Ujala was much more impressive than that of Dainik Jagran. This is more so because Amar Ujala had started its Meerut Edition just three months ago whereas Dainik Jagran was there in the region for more than two years. This is apparent from the news items. Many news items used by the Amar Ujala came from the agencies and limited number of them came from its own Correspondents. Despite this, Amar Ujala showed inclination of highlighting the problems of the farmers, perhaps, sensing that it could find a permanent readership amongst the farmers of the region. The editorial written by the Amar Ujala, supporting the cause of the farmers and criticising the state government and local administration on March 5 clearly shows the stance of the newspaper and the two letters-to-the-editor written to the newspaper by the reader farmers shows that the readers appreciated the coverage of the paper. Except on the first day, i.e. March 3, Dainik Jagran, showed a casual attitude towards the coverage of the farmers agitation.

The second phase of BKU agitation makes an interesting reading because it was the longest agitation of the farmers which lasted for 24 days. By now, both the newspapers had realized the potential of the BKU movement and ensured the best
possible coverage of this phase. There was healthy competition and both the papers gave highest and their best coverage both in terms of news and photographs. This was the only phase amongst all the five phases in which Dainik Jagran gave more overall coverage than Amar Ujala to the BKU activities. But it was highest only in photographs and not in news. Amar Ujala was ahead in coverage of news. Dainik Jagran surged ahead of Amar Ujala by giving more space to photographs.

During all the seven days. Amar Ujala gave news of better quality and their presentation and placement was also appreciable. On all days, it gave main headline stories on the BKU farmers movement with rich reading material and catchy photographs. The layout of the paper was also impressive. The paper gave three editorials on January 29, February 4 and February 18. All these editorials were very stimulating and inspiring to the farmers and were critical of the government, accusing it to ignore the genuine demands of the farmers. However, in case of Dainik Jagran there was not much of planning and research in the presentation of news. The senior Correspondents of Dainik Jagran did give some good stories, but their projection and placement was not proper. The front page coverage of the paper was also weak in comparison to Amar Ujala. Dainik Jagran gave two editorials on January 29 and February 18. Both the editorials lacked depth and punch. First editorial was wavering as if the newspaper was unable to make up its mind whether to adopt the line of supporting the farmers movement or to oppose it. The second editorial was clearly against the farmers, criticizing their action and urging the government to deal with the farmers strictly. The feedback from the farmers in the form of Letters - to - the - Editor was missing. However, Amar Ujala published few letters-to-the-Editor.
The comparative analysis of the third phase of the agitation indicates that the overall coverage of Amar Ujala was much better than that of Dainik Jagran both in news and photographs category. The presentation and projection of the news and photographs of Amar Ujala was also better than that of Dainik Jagran. Amar Ujala increased its space on photographs which was much more than that of Dainik Jagran. However, in this phase of coverage, Dainik Jagran has improved in coverage of news in comparison to other two phases, but, lost to Amar Ujala in space given to photographs. In terms of placement of news also Amar Ujala was better placed than Dainik Jagran, especially in terms of photographs which were of better quality. The paper gave prominent space to news items pertaining to the BKU agitation. For example, the coverage given by Amar Ujala on October 31 highlighting the appeal of Tikait to the farmers to reach Boat Club in large strength was very appealing and the quality of coverage was also good. Overall reporting of the Amar Ujala, covering events related to farmers in the districts was also impressive.

During the fourth phase, Amar Ujala devoted just double the space than that of Dainik Jagran to the BKU agitation. The field reporters of Amar Ujala wrote special articles highlighting the unity amongst the Hindu and Muslim farmers. The paper gave impressive full page coverage of the BKU agitation in the Sunday supplement of the newspaper. Amar Ujala also gave wide coverage to the incidents of atrocities of the police upon the farmers by opening fire and forcing the farmers to dive in the canal which led to the death of few farmers by drowning. Amar Ujala's presentation of stories and their placement was better than Dainik Jagran. The paper used its broad network spread in the rural areas to project the abovementioned issues. However, Dainik Jagran gave more byline stories, but, its coverage was not focused.
During the fifth phase of BKU agitation in July '90, again, the coverage of Amar Ujala was much better than that of Dainik Jagran in terms of news and photographers. The newspaper gave comprehensive coverage to the agitation of the farmers which was to be held at Lucknow, but, could not be organized because of the highhanded attitude of the then, Chief Minister of UP, Mulayam Singh Yadav. The paper highlighted the atrocities committed by the UP government against the farmers and also wrote two editorials against the government, criticizing its repressive attitude against the farmers. Whereas, Dainik Jagran did not give much coverage to the BKU activists on their way to Lucknow. In fact, the paper wrote an editorial criticizing the farmers for creating problems for the government and appreciating the role of the government in curbing the BKU movement. This further gave credence to the point of view of the farmers that Dainik Jagran was a pro-government newspaper.

During the course of this research, interviews with 36 farmers respondents, except two farmers, all others clearly indicated that the coverage of BKU farmers movement provided by Amar Ujala was appreciated by one and all. The respondents felt that the paper made heavy inroads in the farming households of Western U.P. in general and the two districts of our study - Meerut (now Bagpat) and Muzaffarnagar in particular. The goodwill and growth of the newspaper in terms of readership and circulation was unprecedented. This was clear from the interviews we conducted with the group of farmers, four prominent farmer leaders and four journalists who covered the movement. The interviews disclosed that from the initial stage itself i.e. from the first BKU agitation at Shamli in March '87, Amar Ujala attracted the fascination of the rural masses and Dainik Jagran could not take the advantage. In fact, it was considered a ‘Sarkari’ paper and was apparent that the rural masses in our area of research had no choice of reading any other local newspaper, earlier. Only Dainik Jagran had an
edition from Meerut and circulation in these areas. As the interviews with the journalists, farmer leaders and the farmer themselves disclosed, Amar Ujala also took interest in the movement, of course, with an eye on the rural readership. It went out of the way in building up a good team and spreading the network of its Reporters in the rural areas of the two districts.

Dainik Jagran also had an equal choice of building up its readership in the rural areas, but, it did not avail of the opportunity or may be, the management was satisfied with the comfortable readership it enjoyed. However, it was clear from the stance of the coverage and the editorials published in both the newspapers that Amar Ujala was sympathetic towards the farmers and highlighted their point of view. Dainik Jagran remained indecisive during the first phase and tried to make up the loss during the second phase by providing better coverage. But, by that time it was too late because Amar Ujala had already earned its goodwill amongst the farmers and established readership by breaking new grounds in creating new readers in the rural areas.

We noticed a remarkable awareness and intelligence amongst the interviewed farmers leaders who could notice the stance of coverage of news and views in both the newspapers. The interviews with the farmers and farmers leaders indicated that they had been comparing the coverage of both the papers and reading between the lines of their contents. The farmers not only read the editorials, but, also discussed and analyzed them in group discussions. The respondents confided that the credit of introducing the habit of reading newspapers and editorials goes to Amar Ujala because it gave comprehensive and interesting coverage of the BKU agitations. The respondents were intelligent enough to notice the stories of their taste and promote the newspaper, accordingly. Many of them discarded Dainik Jagran which they
read, earlier. The respondents, few of them illiterate and less read, also pointed out that the favourable editorials which appeared in Amar Ujala was the main reason why they liked the coverage of Amar Ujala. They said that they used to ask any educated person or a student to read out news and editorials to them.

It was clear from the content analysis and the interviews with the journalists and farmer leaders that there were some good journalists including Omkar Chaudhary who worked hard and contributed some hard-hitting and analytical stories to Dainik Jagran, but these stories did not find proper projection and placement in the newspaper. It was also clear from the interviews of the journalists that the real strength of Amar Ujala was its strong network of journalists who came from rural backgrounds and took pride in reporting the news concerning their rural brethren and their problems. In fact, the journalists of Amar Ujala and one journalist from Dainik Jagran clearly expressed their affinity towards the rural people and the issues associated with them. In their interviews, the farmer leaders and even some farmers emphasized this point of rural-oriented journalists working for Amar Ujala who gave better coverage to BKU movement.

It is clear from the above observations that Amar Ujala was instrumental in bringing a positive change in the lives of thousands of farmers living in the two districts of our research. The paper broke new grounds by trying new experiment of highlighting the BKU movement and the problems of farmers and motivating the farmers to read the newspaper. The vast readership of Amar Ujala during and after the BKU agitation indicates that there is an ample scope of establishing a new newspaper provided the management possesses the capability and patience to highlight the basic issues confronting a community.

7.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH:

After the BKU agitation, the inhabitants of a rural area in the UP hills, spearheaded an
agitation for a separate State for the hill people. They felt that their interests were not being taken care of in the present set-up of UP. Over a period of time, in the early '90's, the agitations for a separate State of Uttrakhand, became more and more pronounced. Many agitations were held in the National Capital, New Delhi and Dehradun during this period. 

**Amar Ujala**, again, saw an opportunity in this new movement and not only gave comprehensive coverage to the ongoing agitations, but, also highlighted other problems being faced by the people of the hills. The paper adopted the same strategy of recruiting young and committed team of professional journalists. Within a short period, the newspaper got a stronghold in the hills and its circulation and readership increased rapidly. It would be a good exercise in communication research if this topic is taken up for further research and the movement of the hills which was instrumental in getting a separate State of Uttaranchal is studied in depth.