

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The independent variables selected are:

1. Age
2. Educational Qualification
3. Electronic Media/Print Media/Political Party (Name)
4. Tribal/ Nontribal
5. Religion
6. Born in Jharkhand/ outside Jharkhand, i.e. whether a domicile of Jharkhand
7. MLA/MP/Politician/Electronic Media/Print Media

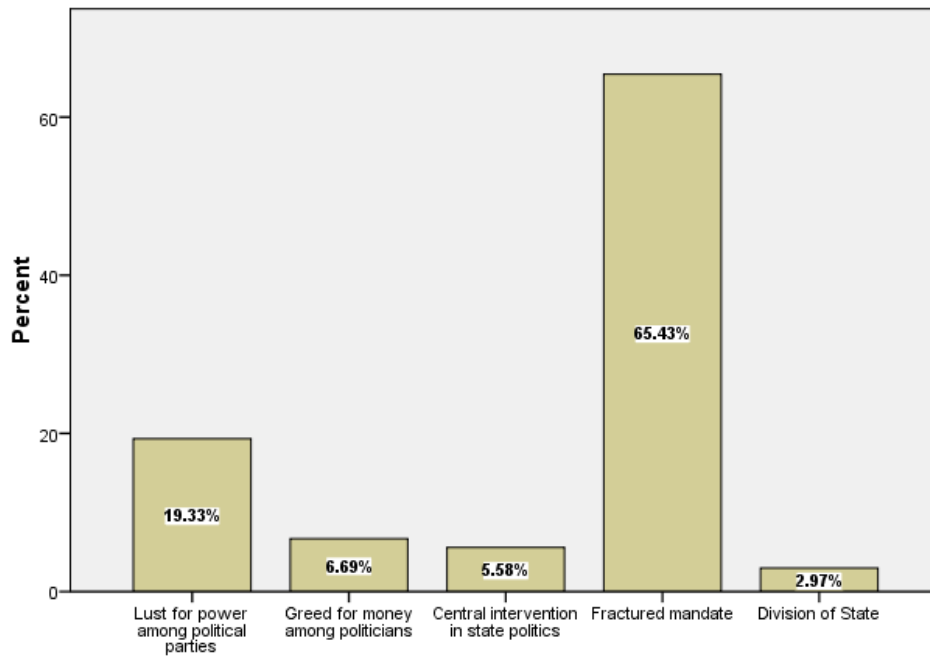
Against all of these independent variables, 26 different questions were examined in detail:

Table:D-1 Profile of the respondents based on age groups

Age groups	Frequency
15 to 25	14
26 to 35	160
36 to 45	210
46 to 55	114
56 to 65	30
66 and above	10
Total	538

TABLE D - 1.1		Reasons for political instability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents				
Age Group Yr.	Lust for power among political parties	Greed for money among politicians	Central intervention in state politics	Fractured mandate	Division of State	Total
15 to 25	28.6%	14.3%		57.1%		100%
6 to 35	26.2%	7.5%	3.8%	58.8%	3.8%	100%
36 to 45	14.3%	6.7%	7.6%	70.5%	1.0%	100%
46 to 55	19.3%	7.0%	1.8%	66.7%	5.3%	100%
56 to 65	20.0%		13.3%	60.0%	6.7%	100%
66 and above			20.0%	80.0%		100%
Total	19.3%	6.7%	5.6%	65.4%	3.0%	100%

Reasons for political instability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents



In the first table against the first independent variable of age, the responses to the first question, **why the state of Jharkhand has seen nine governments in thirteen years**, have been analyzed and most of the people across all the age groups are almost

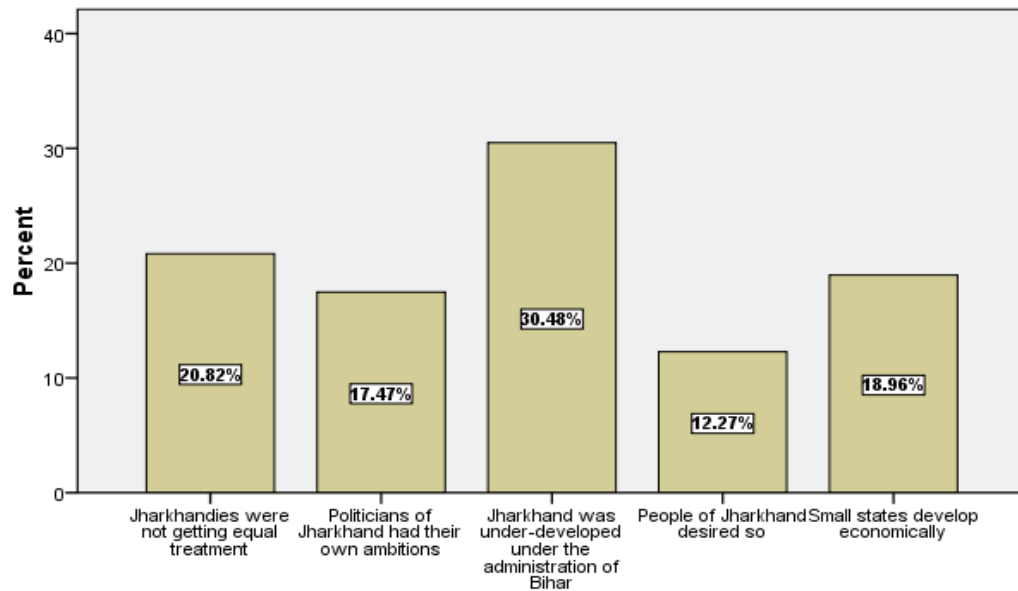
of the same opinion that fractured mandate in Jharkhand has been the most important reason behind the instability of governments in the state.

Most importantly, about 70 percent of the respondents in the mature age group of 36-45 years have clearly opined that fractured mandate has been one of the biggest reasons for the formation of nine governments in just thirteen years. As commonly perceived, greed for money among politicians was not found to be an important reason for the fall of the successive governments in Jharkhand. Only 6.7 percent people said that greed for money among politicians was the reason for the fall of governments in Jharkhand. However, the analysis shows that the lust for power amongst politicians has been the second most important reason for the change of guard in Jharkhand as, 19.3 percent of the respondents are of this opinion. 28.6 percent respondents of the age group of 15 to 25 have said that lust of power amongst politician has been one of the biggest reasons why Jharkhand has seen nine governments in just thirteen.

People across all the age groups have almost agreed that central intervention in the state and the division of state from Bihar was not a big issue vis-a-vis political instability in the state.

TABLE D - 1.2	Reasons for Jharkhand's separation from Bihar and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Age Group Yr.	Jharkhandies were not getting equal treatment	Politicians of Jharkhand had their own ambitions	Jharkhand was under-developed under the administration of Bihar	People of Jharkhand desired so	
15 to 25	28.6%	42.9%		28.6%		100%
26 to 35	17.5%	22.5%	28.8%	12.5%	18.8%	100%
36 to 45	22.9%	13.3%	38.1%	8.6%	17.1%	100%
46 to 55	15.8%	17.5%	28.1%	12.3%	26.3%	100%
56 to 65	40.0%	13.3%	6.7%	20.0%	20.0%	100%
66 and above	20.0%		40.0%	40.0%		100%
Total	20.8%	17.5%	30.5%	12.3%	19.0%	100%

Reasons for Jharkhand's separation from Bihar and age-wise distribution of respondents

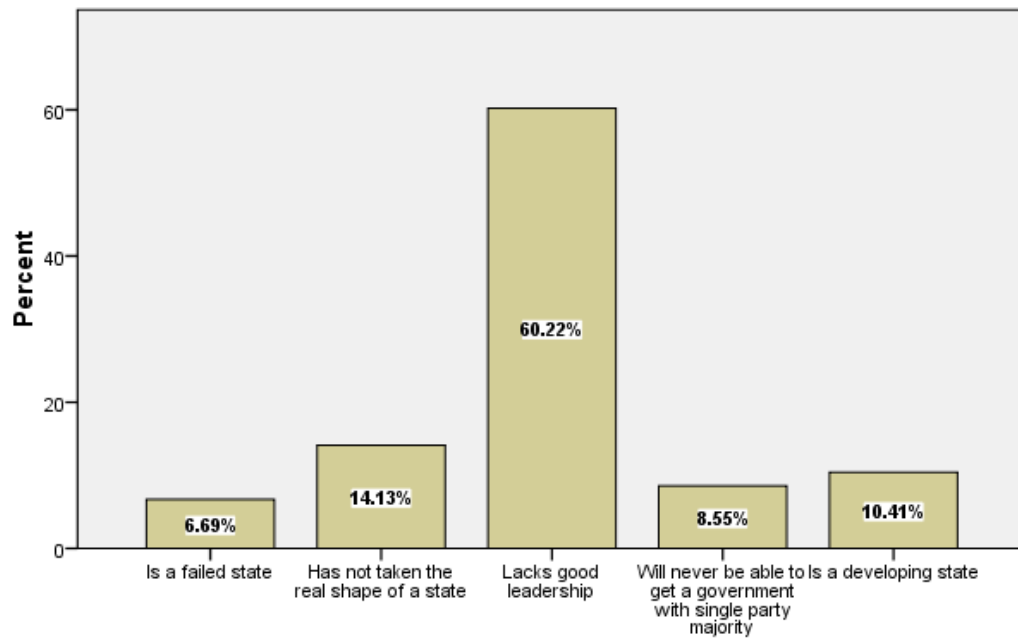


The data analysis clearly shows that **Jharkhand was separated from Bihar because** Jharkhand region under the successive Bihar governments was underdeveloped. 28.8 percent of the respondents of the age group of 26 to 35 years agreed that Jharkhand was created because the region was underdeveloped earlier in Bihar. The respondents in the age group of 66 years and above were pessimistic as 40 percent of them were of the same view that Jharkhand was separated from Bihar as it was underdeveloped under Bihar regime.

Only 26.3 percent people in the age group of 46 to 55 year of age opined that Jharkhand was made because of the reason that smaller state develop economically. An important aspect of the analysis is that the generations of 15 to 25 years are more aggressive against the politicians and 42.9 percent of the respondents said that the Jharkhand was separated from Bihar just because politicians of Jharkhand had their own political ambitions. Contrary to this only 13.3 percent people from the age group of 36-45 years and 13.3 percent of 56- 65years of age have also agreed that it was the political ambitions of politicians of Jharkhand which lead to the formation of Jharkhand state.

TABLE D-1.3		Opinion on state of affairs in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Age Group Yr.	Is a failed state	Has not taken the real shape of a state	Lacks good leadership	Will never be able to get a government with single party majority	Is a developing state		
15 to 25			85.7%	14.3%		100.0%	
26 to 35	3.8%	11.2%	72.5%	6.2%	6.2%	100.0%	
36 to 45	7.6%	14.3%	60.0%	9.5%	8.6%	100.0%	
46 to 55	7.0%	22.8%	42.1%	7.0%	21.1%	100.0%	
56 to 65	20.0%	6.7%	53.3%	20.0%		100.0%	
66 and above			60.0%		40.0%	100.0%	
Total	6.7%	14.1%	60.2%	8.6%	10.4%	100.0%	

Opinion on state of affairs in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents

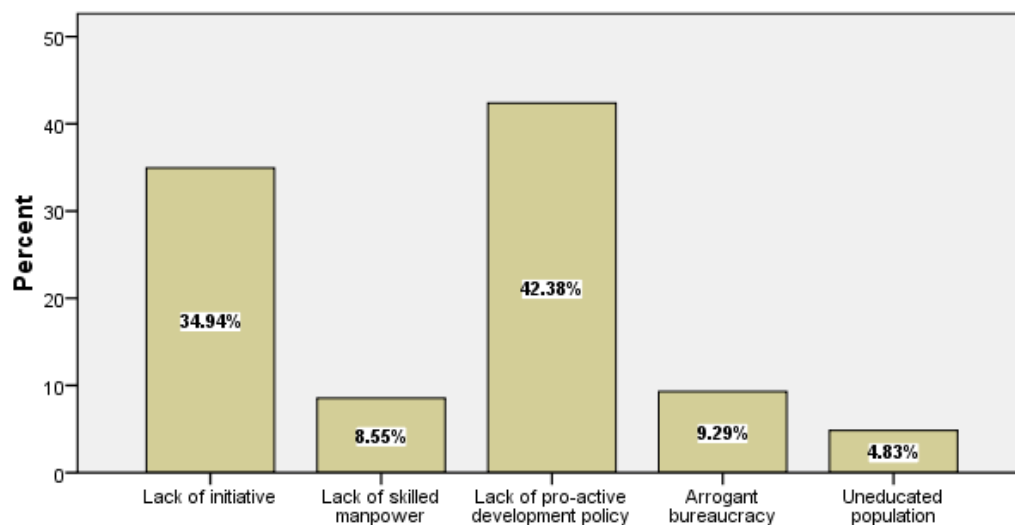


The data here shows that more than 50 percent of the people in all the age groups except in the age group of 46 to 55 strongly opine that Jharkhand lacks good leadership. The 42.1 percent of the respondents of the age group of 46 to 55 years agreed to this suggestion. This view is stronger among youths as 85.7 percent of them falling in age group of 15 to 25 firmly believe that Jharkhand lacks good leadership.

However, 40 percent of the people in the age group of 66 years and above consider Jharkhand to be a developing state while 20 per cent of the respondents in the age group of 56 to 65 years consider Jharkhand as a failed state.

TABLE D - 1.4		Reasons for Jharkhand lagging behind in development and age-wise distribution of respondents				Total
Age Group Yr.	Lack of initiative	Lack of skilled manpower	Lack of pro-active development policy	Arrogant bureaucracy	Uneducated population	
15 to 25	28.6%	14.3%	42.9%	14.3%		100.0%
26 to 35	37.5%	3.8%	43.8%	11.2%	3.8%	100.0%
36 to 45	34.3%	11.4%	44.8%	6.7%	2.9%	100.0%
46 to 55	31.6%	12.3%	36.8%	7.0%	12.3%	100.0%
56 to 65	40.0%		40.0%	20.0%		100.0%
66 and above	40.0%		40.0%	20.0%		100.0%
Total	34.9%	8.6%	42.4%	9.3%	4.8%	100.0%

Reasons for Jharkhand lagging behind in development and age-wise distribution of respondents



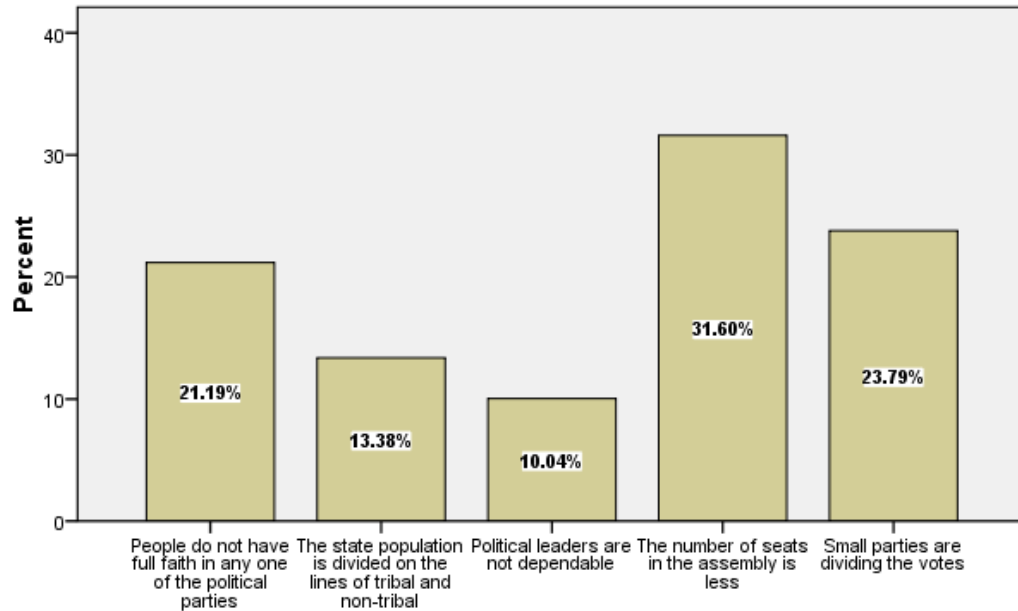
The data above brings out the fact that **Jharkhand lags behind in development because of lack of pro-active development policy**. The percentage of respondents in all the age groups who consider this to be an effective reason is above 36 percent.

40 percent of the respondents in the age group of 56 to 65 years said that lack of initiative is another strong reason for Jharkhand to be lagging behind in development.

However, a small section of youth i.e. 14.3 percent, of the age group of 15 to 25 years, consider lack of skilled manpower and arrogant bureaucracy to be the reasons for Jharkhand lagging behind in development.

TABLE D-1.5		Reasons for no political party getting a majority in the State Assembly and age-wise distribution of respondents					
Age Group Yr.	People do not have full faith in any one of the political parties	The state population is divided on the lines of tribal and non-tribal	Political leaders are not dependable	The number of seats in the assembly is less	Small parties are dividing the votes	Total	
15 to 25	14.3%	28.6%	14.3%	14.3%	28.6%	100.0%	
26 to 35	18.8%	22.5%	8.8%	17.5%	32.5%	100.0%	
36 to 45	25.7%	11.4%	6.7%	36.2%	20.0%	100.0%	
46 to 55	15.8%	5.3%	15.8%	43.9%	19.3%	100.0%	
56 to 65	26.7%	6.7%	13.3%	33.3%	20.0%	100.0%	
66 and above	20.0%		20.0%	40.0%	20.0%	100.0%	
Total	21.2%	13.4%	10.0%	31.6%	23.8%	100.0%	

Reasons for no political party getting a majority in the State Assembly and age-wise distribution of respondents

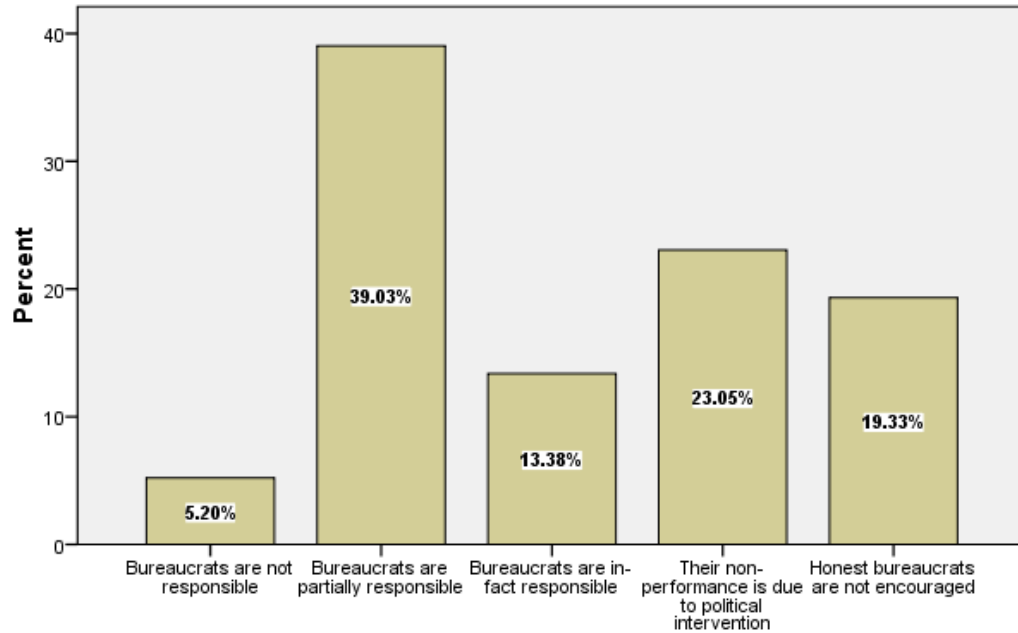


The data reveals that higher number of respondents from the age group of 36 to 45 years to the last age group 66 years and above consider less number of seats to be the most important reason. A total of 31.6 percent respondents are of this view.

The view point of younger generation in the age group of 15 to 25 years is different as 28.6 percent of them give equal weightage to the state population being divided between tribals and non-tribals and also to the fact that small parties divide the vote share. The 22.5 percent of respondents in the age group of 26 to 35 years consider less number of seats and 32.5 percent in the same age group endorse small parties divide the vote share as the reasons of no political party in Jharkhand getting complete majority in Assembly.

TABLE D-1.6		Role of bureaucracy in the non-development of Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents				Total
Age Group Yr.	Bureaucrats are not responsible	Bureaucrats are partially responsible	Bureaucrats are in-fact responsible	Their non-performance is due to political intervention	Honest bureaucrats are not encouraged	
15 to 25		71.4%	28.6%			100.0%
26 to 35	8.8%	36.2%	17.5%	22.5%	15.0%	100.0%
36 to 45	3.8%	39.0%	11.4%	24.8%	21.0%	100.0%
46 to 55	5.3%	40.4%	7.0%	21.1%	26.3%	100.0%
56 to 65		33.3%	20.0%	33.3%	13.3%	100.0%
66 and above		40.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total	5.2%	39.0%	13.4%	23.0%	19.3%	100.0%

Role of bureaucracy in the non-development of Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents



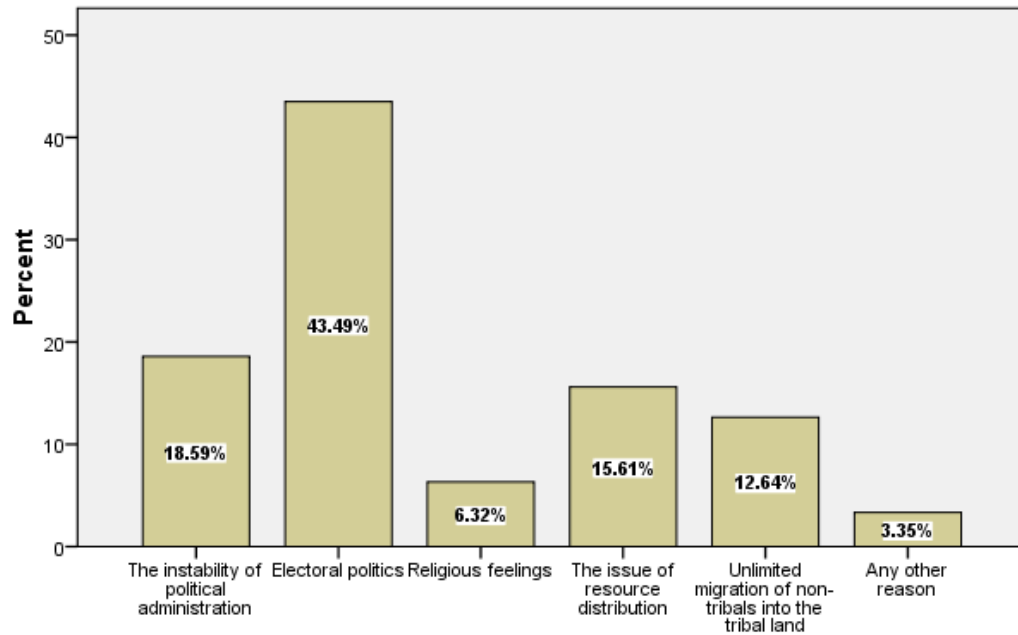
The data analysis in the sixth table against the first independent variable throws light on the role of bureaucrats in the non- development of Jharkhand. The table clearly shows that large number of respondents across all the age groups undoubtedly hold bureaucrats partially responsible for the non-development of Jharkhand. Amongst them 71.4 percent of the youngest generation i.e. of the age group of 15 to 25 years of age endorse the partial responsibility of bureaucrats for non-development.

The 33.3 percent respondents of the elder generation in the age group of 56 to 65 give weightage to partial responsibility of bureaucrats for the non- development of Jharkhand. The same percentage of respondents in the same age group also consider the non-performance of bureaucrats as the reason for non-development of Jharkhand.

Though less in percentage but respondents in all the age groups doubt the integrity of bureaucrats and consider it to be the reason in the non- development of Jharkhand.

TABLE D-1.7		Reasons for the rift between tribals and non-tribals of Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents						
Age Group Yr.	The instability of political administ ration	Electoral politics	Religious feelings	The issue of resource distribution	Unlimited migration of non- tribals into the tribal land	Any other reason	Total	
15 to 25	28.6%	42.9%	14.3%	14.3%			100.00%	
26 to 35	23.8%	55.0%	3.8%	7.5%	10.0%		100.00%	
36 to 45	13.3%	40.0%	6.7%	21.9%	13.3%	4.8%	100.00%	
46 to 55	8.8%	43.9%	8.8%	14.0%	17.5%	7.0%	100.00%	
56 to 65	66.7%	13.3%	6.7%		13.3%		100.00%	
66 and above		20.0%		80.0%			100.00%	
Total	18.6%	43.5%	6.3%	15.6%	12.6%	3.3%	100.00%	

**Reasons for the rift between tribals and non-tribals of Jharkhand and age-wise
distribution of respondents**

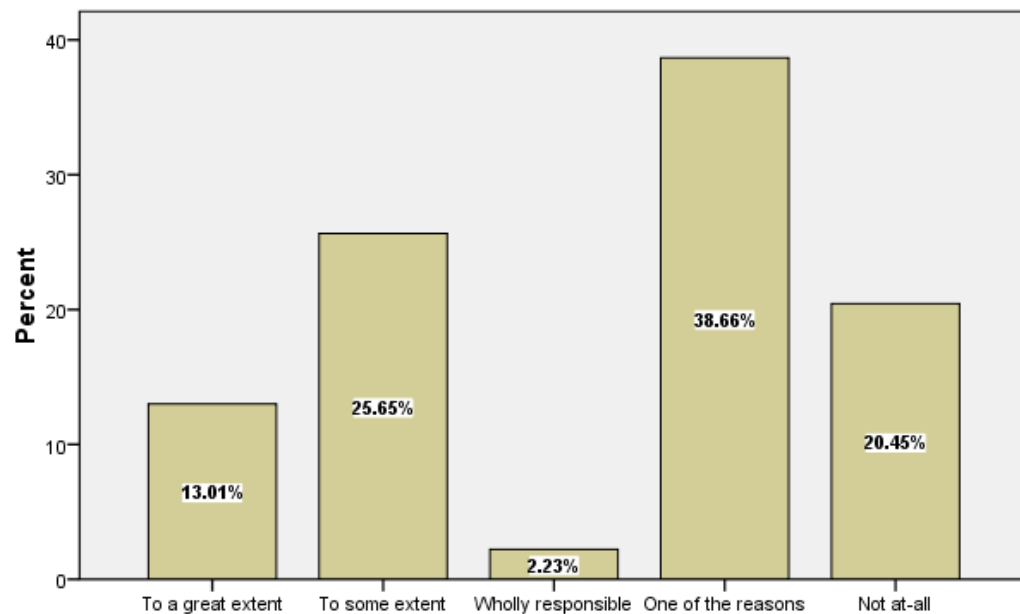


The data interpretation in the seventh table clearly shows that respondents in the age group of **56 to 65 years consider political instability as the major reason for the rift between tribals and non-tribals**. 80 percent of the respondents in the age group 66 years and above hold uneven distribution resources as the major cause of rift between them.

However, unlike the older age respondents the younger respondents think otherwise. Most of the respondents (above 40 percent) consider electoral politics as the main reason for the rift between tribals and non-tribals.

Age Group Yr.	Opinion as to the linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for political instability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	To a great extent	To some extent	Wholly responsible	One of the reasons	Not at all	
15 to 25	28.6%	14.3%	14.3%	28.6%	14.3%	100.0%
26 to 35	20.0%	31.2%	5.0%	30.0%	13.8%	100.0%
36 to 45	9.5%	24.8%		44.8%	21.0%	100.0%
46 to 55	7.0%	22.8%	1.8%	40.4%	28.1%	100.0%
56 to 65	20.0%	26.7%		40.0%	13.3%	100.0%
66 and above				40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
Total	13.0%	25.7%	2.2%	38.7%	20.4%	100.0%

Opinion as to the linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for political instability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents



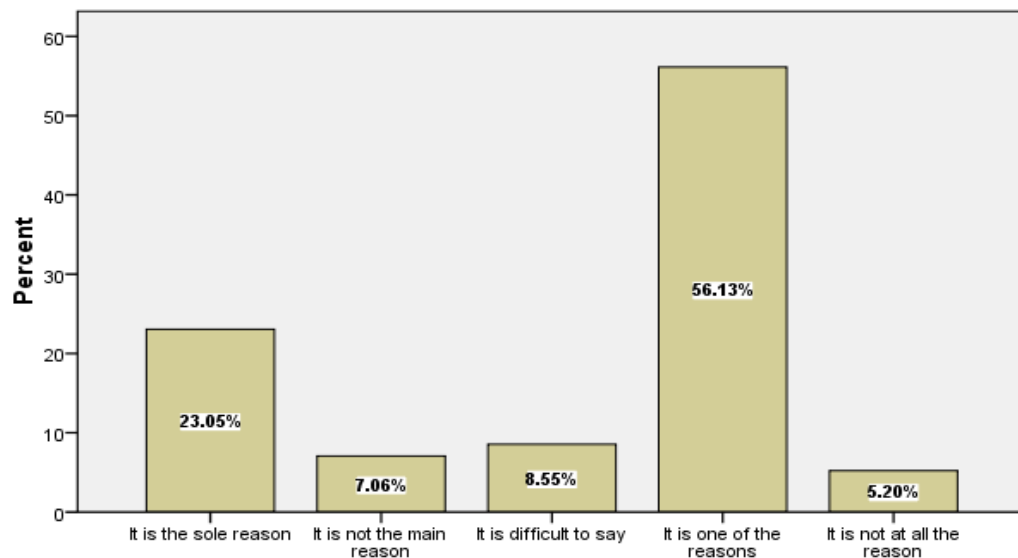
The survey shows that **the linear fragmentation of the tribal population is one of the reasons for the political instability in Jharkhand**. Above 28.6 percent respondents said that this is one of the reasons for political instability in Jharkhand. However, 60 percent of the respondents of the age group of 66 years and above said that fragmentation of tribal and non-tribal population was not at all responsible for the political instability.

25.7 percent of the respondents were of the opinion that this rift was responsible for the instability only to some extent.

It is very important to note that only 2.2 percent of the respondents considered the rift among the tribal population is wholly responsible for the political instability in Jharkhand.

Age Group Yr.	Opinion as to whether vested interests of the politicians responsible for the instability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	It is the sole reason	It is not the main reason	It is difficult to say	It is one of the reasons	It is not at all the reason	
15 to 25	14.3%		28.6%	57.1%		100.0%
26 to 35	32.5%	5.0%	10.0%	48.8%	3.8%	100.0%
36 to 45	21.0%	9.5%	9.5%	54.3%	5.7%	100.0%
46 to 55	15.8%	5.3%	5.3%	64.9%	8.8%	100.0%
56 to 65	26.7%	13.3%		60.0%		100.0%
66 and above				100.0%		100.0%
Total	23.0%	7.1%	8.6%	56.1%	5.2%	100.0%

Opinion as to whether vested interests of the politicians responsible for the instability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents



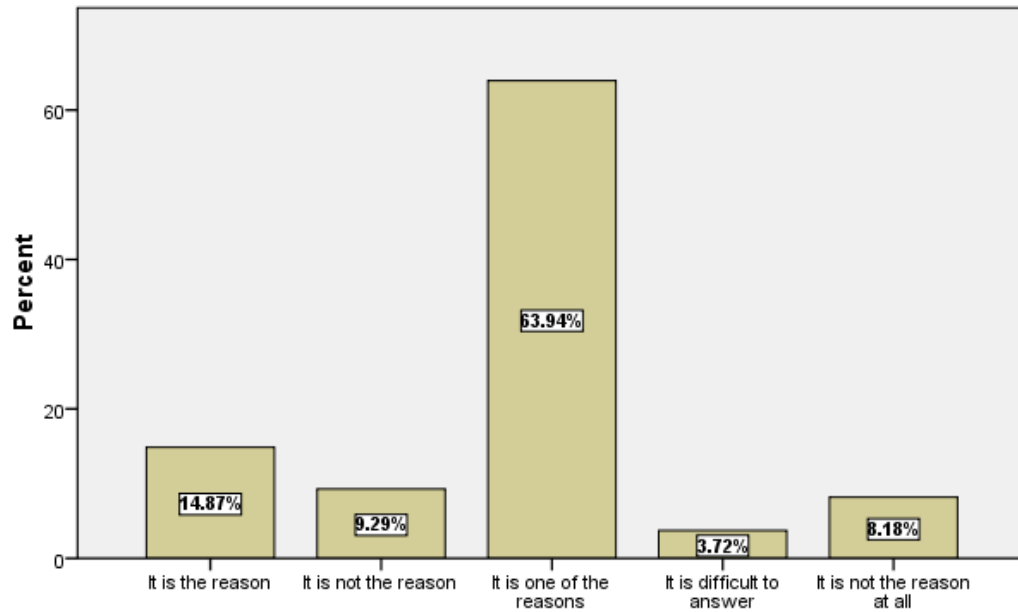
The respondents said that vested interests of the politicians were one of the reasons for the political instability in Jharkhand. Of the total respondents 56.1 percent agreed that this is one of the reasons.

It is interesting to note that all the respondents above the 66 years of age agree to this suggestion that vested interests of the politicians were one of the reasons for the political instability.

Very few of the respondents said that it is not the main reason for instability. As only less than 13.3 percent of the people said that it was not the main reasons, responsible for the political instability in Jharkhand.

TABLE D-1.10		Opinion as to whether, the sheer number of political parties responsible for instability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents				Total
Age Group Yr.	It is the reason	It is not the reason	It is one of the reasons	It is difficult to answer	It is not the reason at all	
15 to 25	14.3%		85.7%			100.0%
26 to 35	16.2%	11.2%	65.0%	1.2%	6.2%	100.0%
36 to 45	15.2%	11.4%	58.1%	4.8%	10.5%	100.0%
46 to 55	10.5%	3.5%	70.2%	7.0%	8.8%	100.0%
56 to 65	26.7%	13.3%	53.3%		6.7%	100.0%
66 and above			100.0%			100.0%
Total	14.9%	9.3%	63.9%	3.7%	8.2%	100.0%

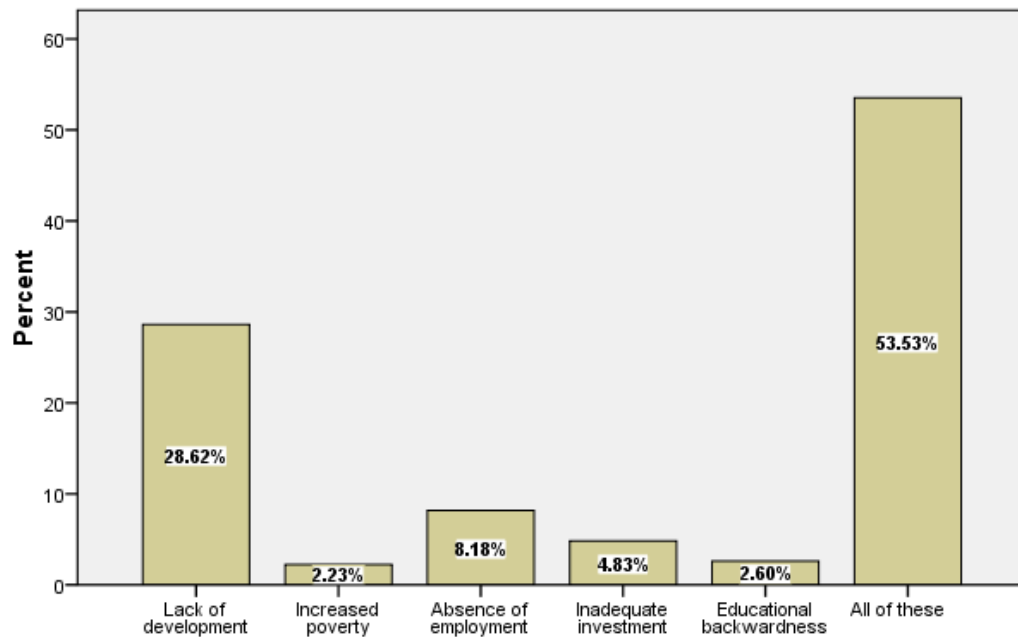
Opinion as to whether, the sheer number of political parties responsible for instability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents



Above 53 percent of the respondents of all the age groups agree that sheer number of political parties was one of the reasons for the political instability in Jharkhand. 9.3 percent of the total respondents said it is not a reason for political instability in Jharkhand. Only 14.9 percent of the people thought it to be the reason for instability. In similar fashion, 8.2 percent of the respondents said that it was not the reason at all.

TABLE D-1.11	Opinion as to the consequences of political instability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents						Total	
	Age Group Yr.	Lack of develop ment	Increased poverty	Absence of employment	Inadequate investment	Educational backwardness		All of these
15 to 25				14.3%			85.7%	100.00%
26 to 35	27.5%			7.5%		3.8%	61.2%	100.00%
36 to 45	25.7%	4.8%		7.6%	8.6%	1.9%	51.4%	100.00%
46 to 55	36.8%			8.8%	5.3%	3.5%	45.6%	100.00%
56 to 65	33.3%	6.7%		6.7%	6.7%		46.7%	100.00%
66 and above	40.0%			20.0%			40.0%	100.00%
Total	28.6%	2.2%		8.2%	4.8%	2.6%	53.5%	100.00%

Opinion as to the consequences of political instability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents

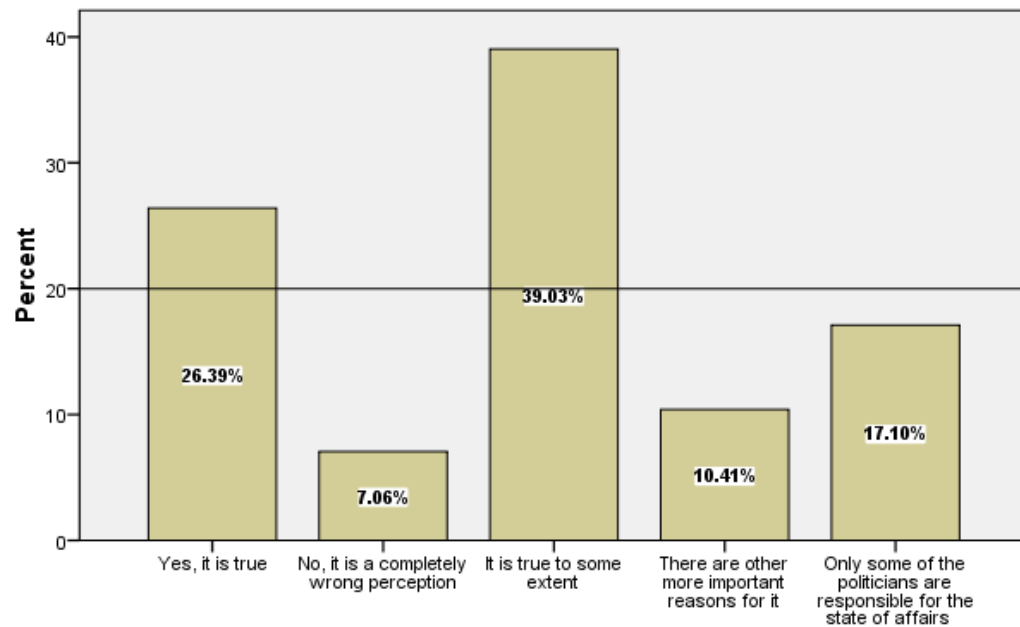


The political instability has given birth to many problems in the state and in response to this question 53.5 percent of the people said that political instability has created lack of development, absence of employment, educational

backwardness. It has also increased poverty, generated absence of employment and brought inadequate investment in Jharkhand. In response to this question about 28.6 percent of the people said lack of development was the result of political instability. While 8.2 percent of the people opined it created absence of employment, 2.2 percent people said it increased poverty and 2.6 percent people said it created educational backwardness. Above 40 percent of the respondents of all the groups said that all these problems were the creations of political instability.

TABLE D-1.12		Opinion as to politicians ruining the state of Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents				Total
Age Group Yr.	Yes, it is true	No, it is a completely wrong perception	It is true to some extent	There are other more important reasons for it	Only some of the politicians are responsible for the state of affairs	
15 to 25	57.1%		14.3%	14.3%	14.3%	100.0%
26 to 35	38.8%	6.2%	31.2%	10.0%	13.8%	100.0%
36 to 45	25.7%	6.7%	41.0%	8.6%	18.1%	100.0%
46 to 55	8.8%	8.8%	54.4%	14.0%	14.0%	100.0%
56 to 65	26.7%		26.7%	13.3%	33.3%	100.0%
66 and above		40.0%	20.0%		40.0%	100.0%
Total	26.4%	7.1%	39.0%	10.4%	17.1%	100.0%

Opinion as to politicians ruining the state of Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents



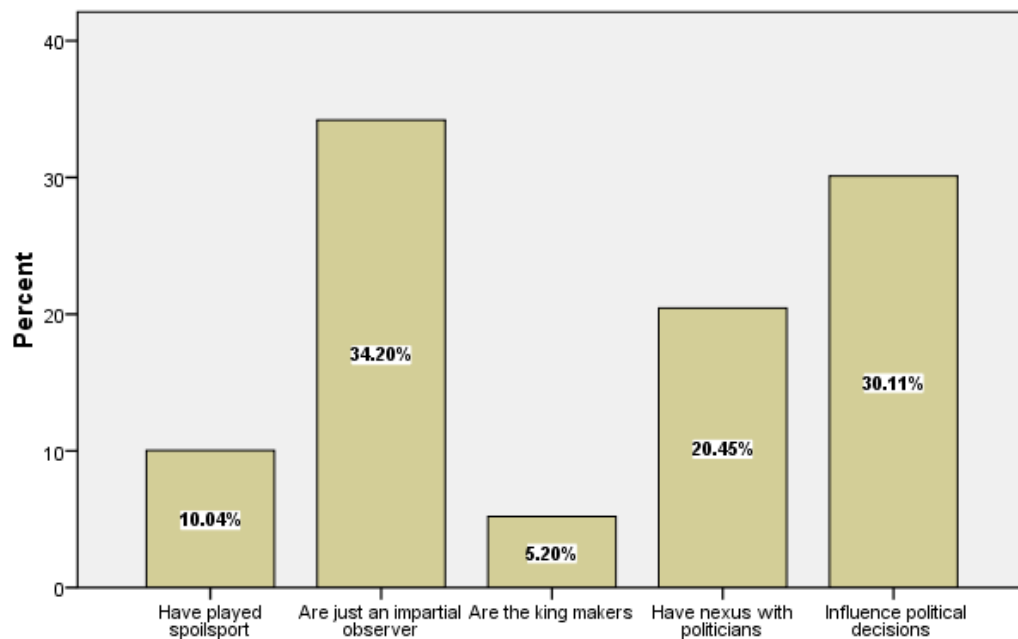
To our question that **politicians have ruined the state of Jharkhand**, **39 percent of the respondents have said that it is true to some extent.**

10.4 percent of the respondents have said that there are other more important reasons for the political instability.

Only 7.1 percent of the respondents said that no, it is a completely wrong perception.

TABLE D-1.13	The role of mass media in the political instability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Age Group Yr.	Have played spoilsport	Are just an impartial observer	Are the king makers	Have nexus with politicians	Influence political decisions	
15 to 25			14.3%	28.6%	57.1%	100.0%
26 to 35	15.0%	40.0%	10.0%	17.5%	17.5%	100.0%
36 to 45	6.7%	32.4%	1.9%	25.7%	33.3%	100.0%
46 to 55	12.3%	38.6%	3.5%	10.5%	35.1%	100.0%
56 to 65	6.7%	13.3%		40.0%	40.0%	100.0%
66 and above		40.0%	20.0%		40.0%	100.0%
Total	10.0%	34.2%	5.2%	20.4%	30.1%	100.0%

The role of mass media in the political instability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents



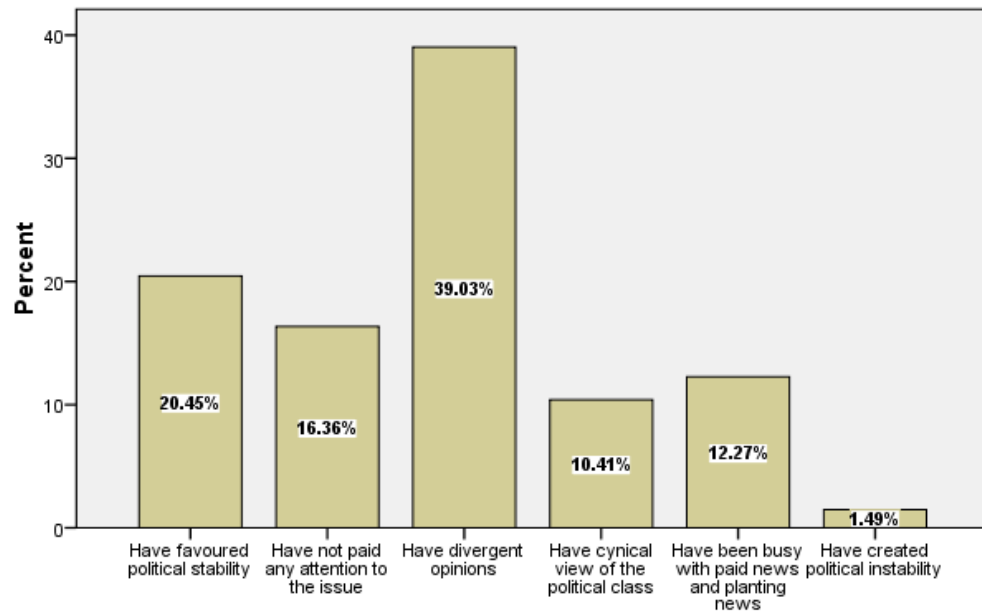
The data interpretation in clearly holds that **respondents across all the age groups, be it younger or senior most generation equally consider that mass media has influenced political decisions and it is responsible for political instability.**

40 percent of the respondents in the age group 56 to 65 years consider the nexus of mass media with politicians to be the reason of political instability.

38.6 respondents in the age group 46 to 55 holds mass media to be just an impartial observer when comes to the question of political instability.

TABLE D-1.14		The approach of newspapers about stability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					
Age Group Yr.	Have favoured political stability	Have not paid any attention to the issue	Have divergent opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been busy with paid news and planting news	Have created political instability	Total
15 to 25	14.3%	14.3%	42.9%		28.6%		100.00%
26 to 35	11.2%	18.8%	48.8%	7.5%	11.2%	2.5%	100.00%
36 to 45	25.7%	12.4%	38.1%	13.3%	9.5%	1.0%	100.00%
46 to 55	21.1%	22.8%	28.1%	7.0%	19.3%	1.8%	100.00%
56 to 65	33.3%	13.3%	26.7%	20.0%	6.7%		100.00%
66 and above	20.0%		60.0%	20.0%			100.00%
Total	20.4%	16.4%	39.0%	10.4%	12.3%	1.5%	100.00%

The approach of newspapers about stability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents

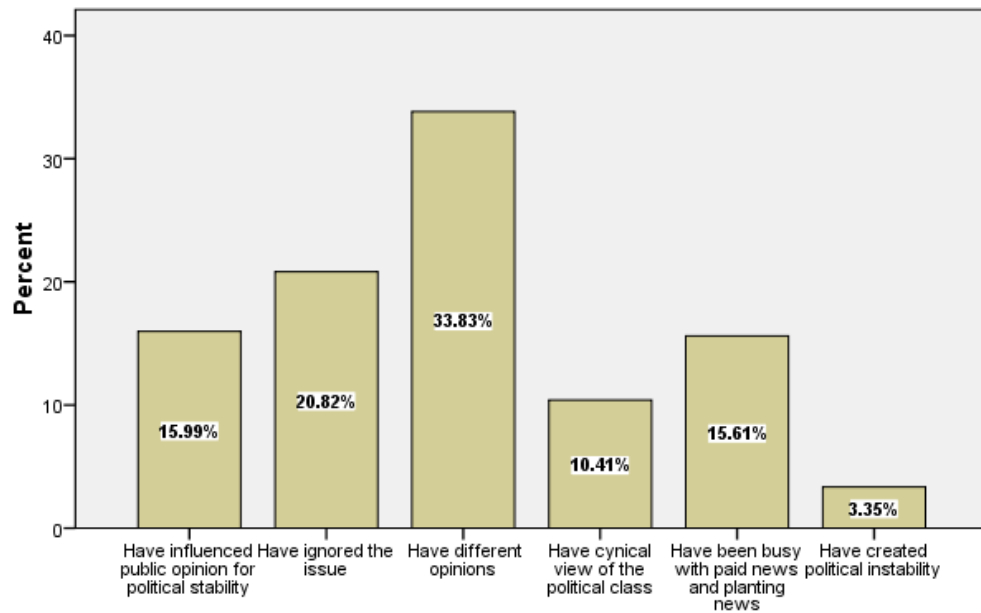


20.4 percent of the respondents said that newspapers in Jharkhnad have supported for the political stability. 39 percent have opined that newspapers have divergent opinions.

A meager 1.5 percent of the respondents also said that newspapers created political instability in Jharkhand.

TABLE D-1.15		The approach of electronic media about stability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Age Group Yr.	Have influenced public opinion for political stability	Have ignored the issue	Have different opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been busy with paid news and planting news	Have created political instability	
15 to 25	14.3%		71.4%		14.3%		100.00%
26 to 35	13.8%	26.2%	32.5%	7.5%	15.0%	5.0%	100.00%
36 to 45	15.2%	21.0%	42.9%	7.6%	12.4%	1.0%	100.00%
46 to 55	12.3%	21.1%	21.1%	21.1%	17.5%	7.0%	100.00%
56 to 65	40.0%		20.0%	13.3%	26.7%		100.00%
66 and above	40.0%	20.0%			40.0%		100.00%
Total	16.0%	20.8%	33.8%	10.4%	15.6%	3.3%	100.00%

The approach of electronic media about stability in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents

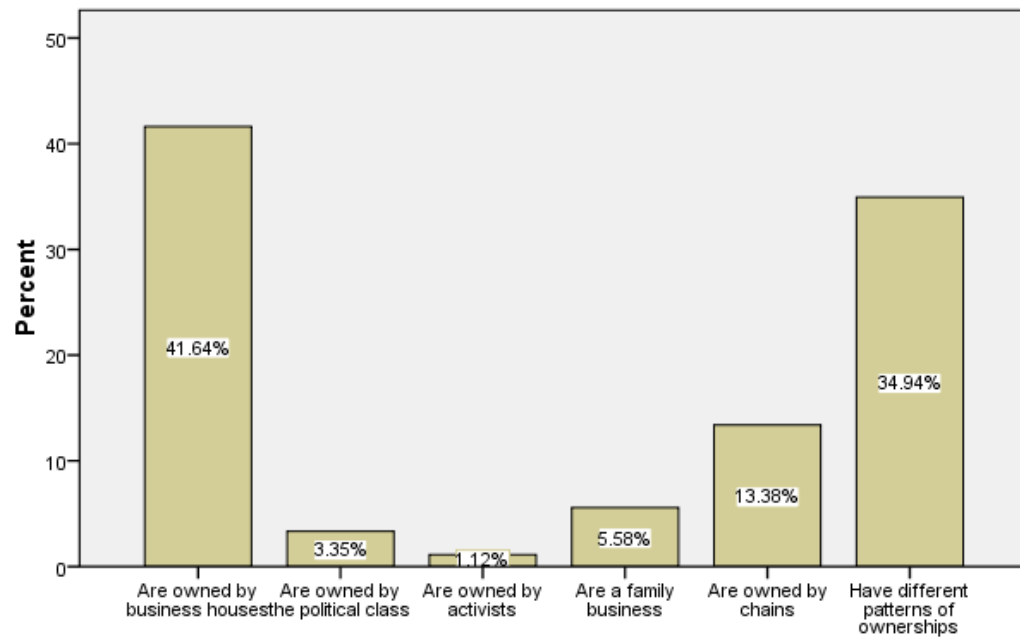


The data interpretation against the same independent variable of age group shows that the 71.4 percent of the respondents in the age group 15 to 25 years view that electronic media had different opinion on the issue. Whereas the 40 percent of the respondents in the age group of 56 to 65 believe that electronic media in Jharkhand have influenced public opinion. In the same age group 40 percent of the respondents consider electronic media to be busy with planting of paid news.

Only 10.4 percent of respondents in all the age group also saw that electronic media in Jharkhand created cynical view of the political class.

TABLE D-1.16		Opinion about the ownership patterns of newspapers in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Age Group Yr.	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by the political class	Are owned by activists	Are a family business	Are owned by chains	Have different patterns of ownerships	
15 to 25	28.6%	14.3%			42.9%	14.3%	100.00%
26 to 35	42.5%	1.2%	3.8%	5.0%	10.0%	37.5%	100.00%
36 to 45	38.1%	2.9%		4.8%	19.0%	35.2%	100.00%
46 to 55	43.9%	5.3%		7.0%	8.8%	35.1%	100.00%
56 to 65	53.3%	6.7%		13.3%		26.7%	100.00%
66 and above	60.0%					40.0%	100.00%
Total	41.6%	3.3%	1.1%	5.6%	13.4%	34.9%	100.00%

Opinion about the ownership patterns of newspapers in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents

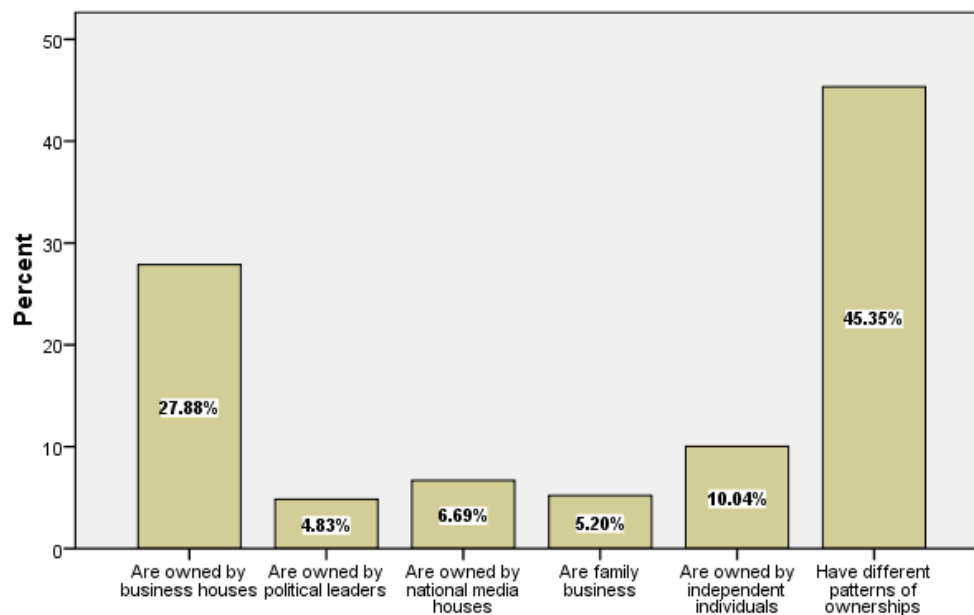


41.6 percent of the respondents said that newspapers in Jharkhand are owned by business houses while only 1.1 percent of the respondents said that they are owned by social activists.

34.9 percent of the respondents also said that newspapers in Jharkhand have different types of ownership patterns.

TABLE D-1.17		Opinion about the ownership patterns of electronic media in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Age Group Yr.	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by political leaders	Are owned by national media houses	Are family business	Are owned by independent individuals	Have different patterns of ownerships	
15 to 25	14.3%	14.3%	28.6%		14.3%	28.6%	100.00%
26 to 35	32.5%	3.8%	5.0%	2.5%	11.2%	45.0%	100.00%
36 to 45	22.9%	3.8%	8.6%	4.8%	12.4%	47.6%	100.00%
46 to 55	31.6%	8.8%		8.8%	3.5%	47.4%	100.00%
56 to 65	40.0%		13.3%	13.3%	13.3%	20.0%	100.00%
66 and above			20.0%			80.0%	100.00%
Total	27.9%	4.8%	6.7%	5.2%	10.0%	45.4%	100.00%

Opinion about the ownership patterns of electronic media in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents

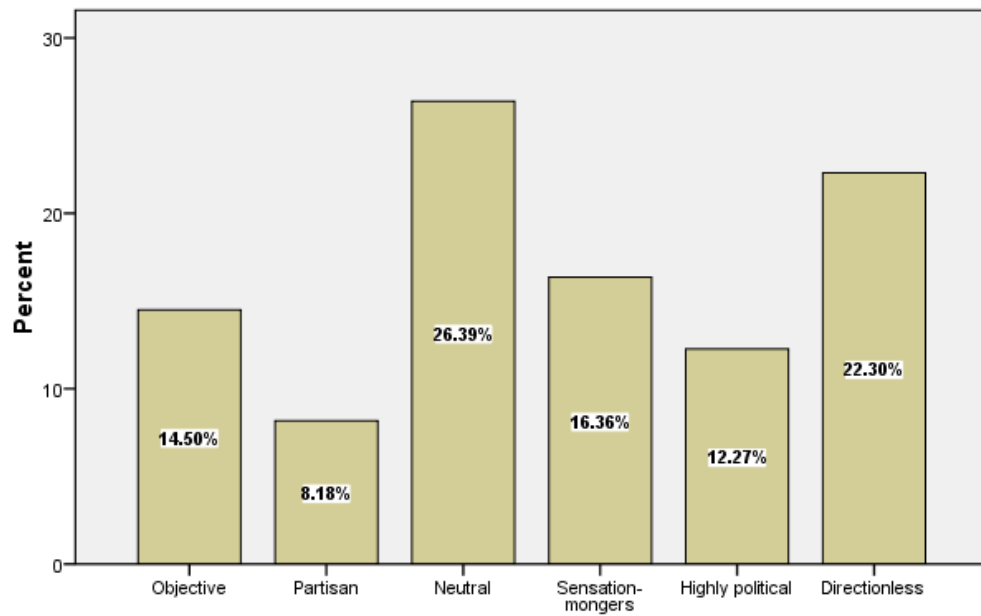


When asked about the ownership pattern of electronic media in Jharkhand, 45.4 percent of the respondents across all the age groups viewed that electronic media in

Jharkhand has different types of ownerships. 27.9 percent also considered that electronic media in Jharkhand was owned by business houses. To political leaders being the owner of electronic media in Jharkhand, only 4.8 percent of the respondents supported this view.

Age Group Yr.	Opinion about the value orientation of media in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Objective	Partisan	Neutral	Sensation-mongers	Highly political	Directionless	
15 to 25	14.3%	14.3%	28.6%	14.3%	14.3%	14.3%	100.00%
26 to 35	11.2%	3.8%	35.0%	12.5%	11.2%	26.2%	100.00%
36 to 45	16.2%	7.6%	25.7%	18.1%	9.5%	22.9%	100.00%
46 to 55	17.5%	12.3%	17.5%	17.5%	17.5%	17.5%	100.00%
56 to 65	6.7%	13.3%	6.7%	26.7%	20.0%	26.7%	100.00%
66 and above	20.0%	20.0%	60.0%				100.00%
Total	14.5%	8.2%	26.4%	16.4%	12.3%	22.3%	100.00%

Opinion about the value orientation of media in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents

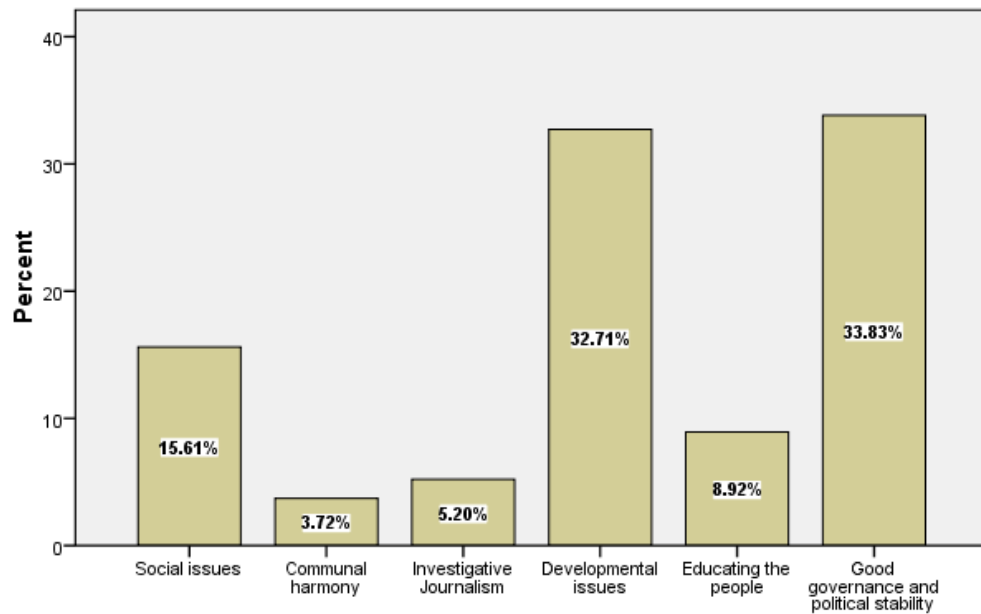


Only 26.4 percent of the respondents said that media in Jharkhand is neutral while equally good number i.e. 22.3 percent of the people said that media in Jharkhand is directionless.

12.3 percent of them also said that media in the state is highly political. Out of these 20 percent of the respondents in the age group of 56 to 65 years , only 9.5 percent of the respondents in the age group of 36 to 45 years and 14.3 percent of the respondents in the age group of 15 to 25 have shown the same response.

TABLE D-1.19		Opinion about the issues that need mass media focus in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Age Group Yr.	Social issues	Communal harmony	Investigative Journalism	Develop mental issues	Educating the people	Good governance and political stability	
15 to 25	14.3%		14.3%	28.6%	28.6%	14.3%	100.00%
26 to 35	17.5%	2.5%	6.2%	36.2%	16.2%	21.2%	100.00%
36 to 45	14.3%		6.7%	33.3%	4.8%	41.0%	100.00%
46 to 55	15.8%	12.3%		29.8%	5.3%	36.8%	100.00%
56 to 65	20.0%		6.7%	13.3%		60.0%	100.00%
66 and above		20.0%		60.0%	20.0%		100.00%
Total	15.6%	3.7%	5.2%	32.7%	8.9%	33.8%	100.00%

Opinion about the issues that need mass media focus in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents



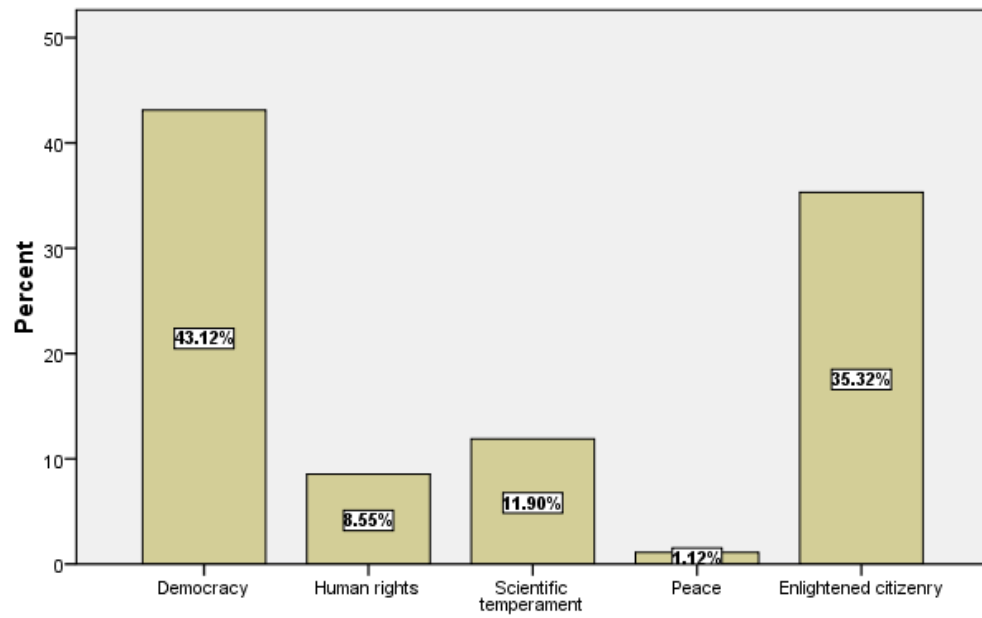
The data analysis in TABLE 19 on the question of **focus of mass media in Jharkhand** clearly shows that respondents across all age groups considered that **their focus should be on good governance and developmental issues.**

Overall 33.8 percent of the respondents opined that media must focus upon good governance and political stability while 32.7 percent of the people said that it should focus upon developmental issues.

60 percent respondents of the higher age group from 56 to 65 consider that mass media in Jharkhand should focus on good governance.

Age Group Yr.	Opinion about the areas in need of media promotion in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Democracy	Human rights	Scientific temperament	Peace	Enlightened citizenry	
15 to 25	57.1%	14.3%	14.3%		14.3%	100.0%
26 to 35	46.2%	11.2%	6.2%		36.2%	100.0%
36 to 45	40.0%	7.6%	13.3%	1.9%	37.1%	100.0%
46 to 55	45.6%	5.3%	15.8%	1.8%	31.6%	100.0%
56 to 65	40.0%	13.3%	13.3%		33.3%	100.0%
66 and above	20.0%		20.0%		60.0%	100.0%
Total	43.1%	8.6%	11.9%	1.1%	35.3%	100.0%

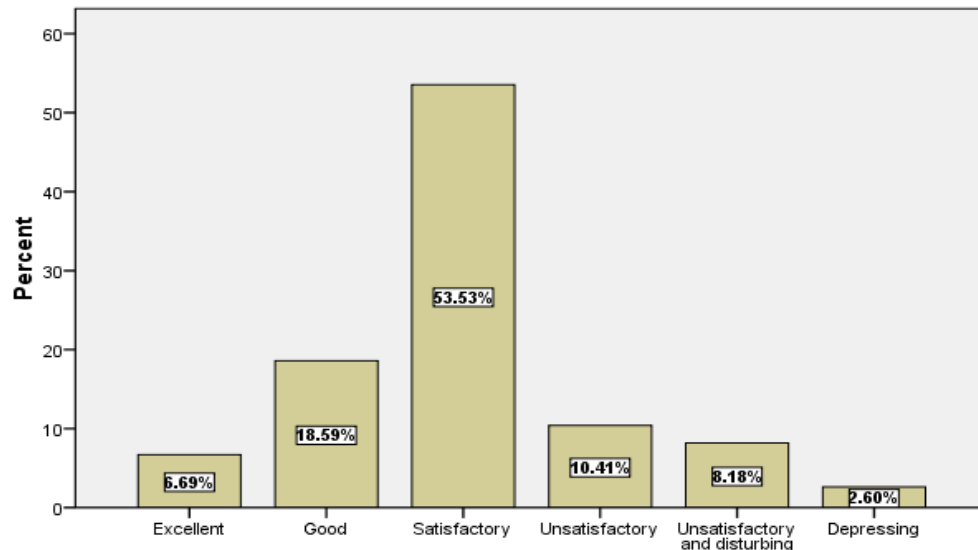
Opinion about the areas in need of media promotion in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents



To our question, what the Mass **Media in the state must promote**, **43.1 percent said that it should promote democracy while 35.3 percent other respondents said it should promote enlightened citizenry**. Interestingly while only 14.3 percent of the respondents of the age group of 15 to 25 supported this view, 36.2 percent of the age group of 26 to 35 years, 37.1 percent of the respondents of the age group of 36 to 45 also supported the view.

TABLE D-1.21		Opinion as to the rating of mass media performance in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Age Group Yr.	Excellent	Good	Satis factory	Unsatis factory	Unsatis factory and disturbing	Depress ing	
15 to 25		57.1%	14.3%		14.3%	14.3%	100.00%
26 to 35	8.8%	21.2%	50.0%	11.2%	6.2%	2.5%	100.00%
36 to 45	7.6%	18.1%	53.3%	11.4%	8.6%	1.0%	100.00%
46 to 55	3.5%	12.3%	61.4%	10.5%	7.0%	5.3%	100.00%
56 to 65	6.7%	20.0%	46.7%	6.7%	20.0%		100.00%
66 and above			100.0%				100.00%
Total	6.7%	18.6%	53.5%	10.4%	8.2%	2.6%	100.00%

Opinion as to the rating of mass media performance in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents



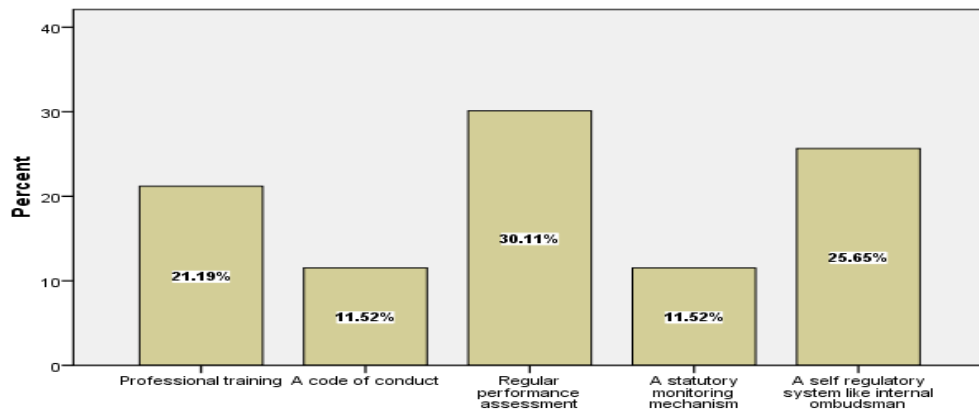
The data analysis shows that **the rating of the media performance in the state is satisfactory. Leaving the respondents of the age group from 15 to 25, where 57.1 percent of the respondents considered the rating of media performance as good,**

rest more than 53.5 percent respondents across all age groups consider the rating of media performance in the state to be satisfactory only.

It is important to note that 10.4 percent of the respondents in all the age group consider the rating of the media performance to be unsatisfactory, 8.2 percent as disturbing and 2.6 percent disturbing as well as depressing.

TABLE D-1.22		Suggestions, as to how to improve the role of media in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Age Group Yr.	Professional training	A code of conduct	Regular performance assessment	A statutory monitoring mechanism	A self regulatory system like internal ombudsman		
15 to 25			57.1%		42.9%	100.0%	
26 to 35	18.8%	6.2%	42.5%	12.5%	20.0%	100.0%	
36 to 45	25.7%	7.6%	33.3%	6.7%	26.7%	100.0%	
46 to 55	17.5%	22.8%	10.5%	21.1%	28.1%	100.0%	
56 to 65	20.0%	20.0%	13.3%	13.3%	33.3%	100.0%	
66 and above	40.0%	40.0%			20.0%	100.0%	
Total	21.2%	11.5%	30.1%	11.5%	25.7%	100.0%	

Suggestions, as to how to improve the role of media in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents

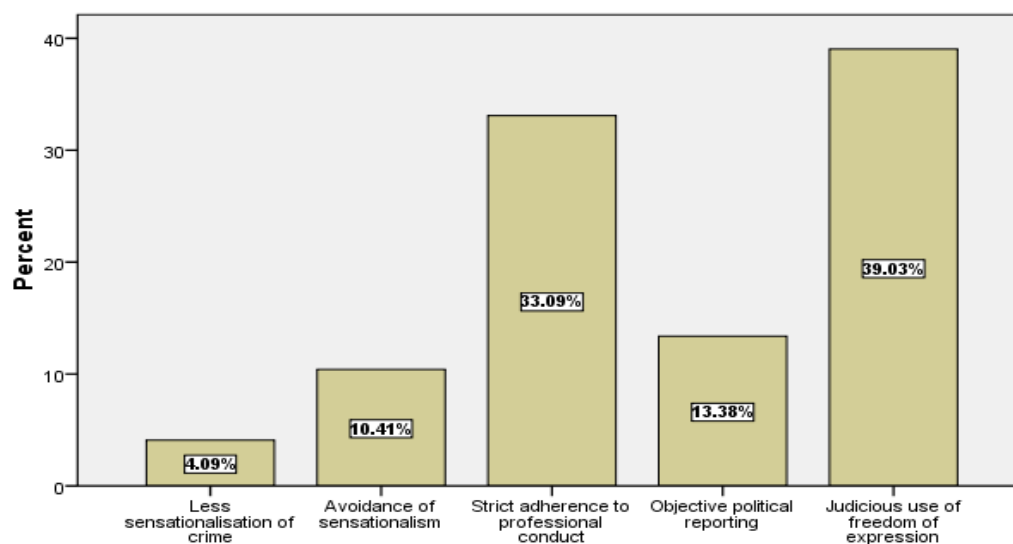


When asked about the **suggestions for the improvement of the media role in Jharkhand**, **39 percent** said that it should engage in **judicious use of freedom of expression**. **33.1 percent** of the respondents expect media to **strictly adhere to professional conduct**.

13.4 percent of the respondents said that media must do objective political reporting.

Age Group Yr.	Suggestions, as to how to improve the professional performance level of media persons in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Less sensationalisation of crime	Avoidance of sensationalism	Strict adherence to professional conduct	Objective political reporting	Judicious use of freedom of expression	
15 to 25		14.3%	14.3%	14.3%	57.1%	100.0%
26 to 35	2.5%	10.0%	33.8%	10.0%	43.8%	100.0%
36 to 45	3.8%	9.5%	37.1%	11.4%	38.1%	100.0%
46 to 55	7.0%	14.0%	31.6%	15.8%	31.6%	100.0%
56 to 65	6.7%		20.0%	40.0%	33.3%	100.0%
66 and above		20.0%	20.0%		60.0%	100.0%
Total	4.1%	10.4%	33.1%	13.4%	39.0%	100.0%

Suggestions, as to how to improve the professional performance level of media persons in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents

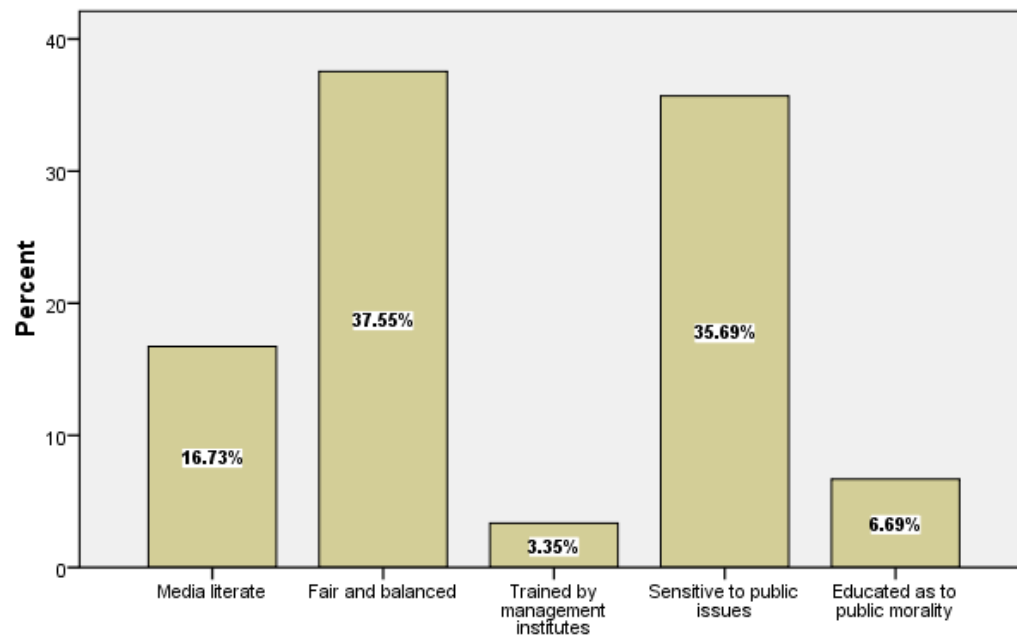


The data analysis in TABLE 23 focuses on two major needs for media persons in Jharkhand. **The 57.1 percent respondents in the age group 15 to 25, 42.5 percent in the group of 26 to 35 and 33.3 percent of the group of 36 to 45 said that the need for media persons in Jharkhand is regular performance assessment.**

25.7 percent of the respondents across all the age groups think that for media persons in Jharkhand there should be a self-regulatory system like Lok Pal. 40 percent of the respondents in the age group 66 and above said that there is a need of both professional training and code of conduct for media persons in Jharkhand. The need of statutory monitoring for media persons in Jharkhand is not given much importance by the respondents across all the age groups.

TABLE D-1.24	Opinion, as to what sort of relationship the politicians should have with media in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Age Group Yr.	Media literate	Fair and balanced	Trained by management institutes	Sensitive to public issues	
15 to 25	28.6%	71.4%				100.0%
26 to 35	16.2%	40.0%	2.5%	35.0%	6.2%	100.0%
36 to 45	15.2%	34.3%	3.8%	37.1%	9.5%	100.0%
46 to 55	22.8%	38.6%	1.8%	33.3%	3.5%	100.0%
56 to 65	6.7%	26.7%	13.3%	46.7%	6.7%	100.0%
66 and above		40.0%		60.0%		100.0%
Total	16.7%	37.5%	3.3%	35.7%	6.7%	100.0%

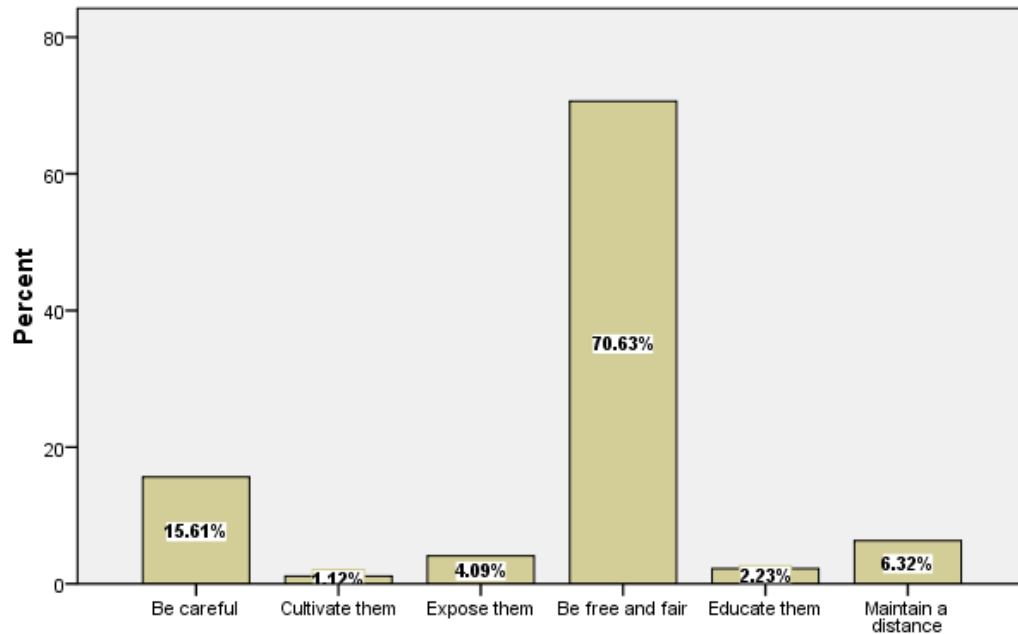
Opinion, as to what sort of relationship the politicians should have with media in Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents



37.5 percent of the respondents said that the politicians should have fair and balanced relationship with media while 35.7 percent said that they should be sensitive to public issues. It included 60 percent of the respondents of the age group of 66 and above, 46.7 percent of the group of 56 to 65, 33.3 percent of 46 to 55, 37.1 percent of 36 to 45 and 35 percent of the age group of 26 to 35 years.

TABLE D-1.25	Opinion, as to the attitude of media persons towards political class and age-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Age Group Yr.	Be careful	Cultivate them	Expose them	Be free and fair	Educate them	
15 to 25	14.3%		14.3%	57.1%		14.3%	100.00%
26 to 35	17.5%	1.2%	5.0%	70.0%	1.2%	5.0%	100.00%
36 to 45	17.1%	1.0%	1.9%	70.5%	2.9%	6.7%	100.00%
46 to 55	14.0%	1.8%	7.0%	68.4%	1.8%	7.0%	100.00%
56 to 65	6.7%			86.7%		6.7%	100.00%
66 and above				80.0%	20.0%		100.00%
Total	15.6%	1.1%	4.1%	70.6%	2.2%	6.3%	100.00%

Opinion, as to the attitude of media persons towards political class and age-wise distribution of respondents

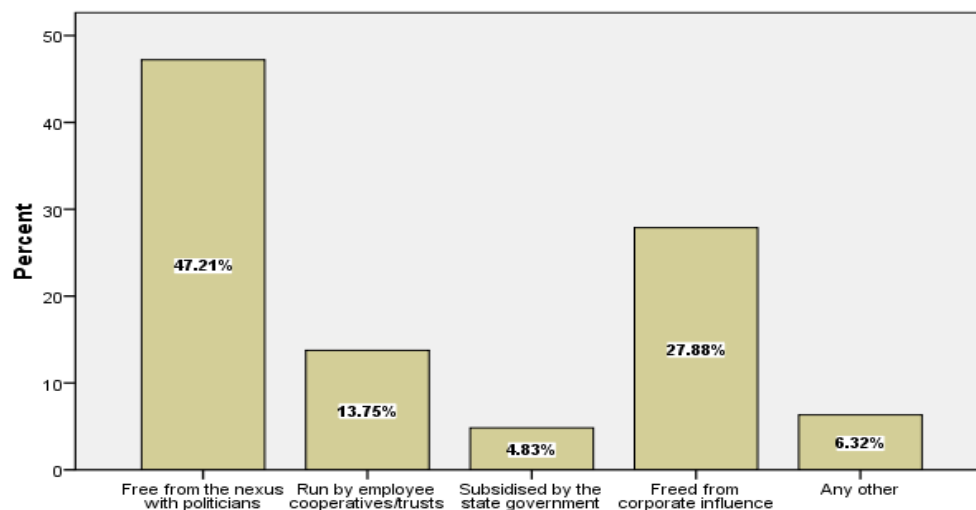


Most of the respondents have said that media persons must be free and fair and it included 70.6 percent of the total respondents, 86.7 percent of the age group of 56 to 65 years, 80 percent of 66 and above, 70 and 70.5 percent of the respondents of the age groups of 26 to 35 and 36 to 45 respectively.

In the survey, people from all the age groups have said that journalists should maintain a distance from the political class; however the number of such respondents is below 14.3 percent across all the groups. But a meager 1.1 percent of the respondents have also suggested that the media person should cultivate relationship with politicians.

TABLE D-1.26		Opinion, as to how media should be like in the state of Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Age wise Yrs	Free from the nexus with politicians	Run by employee cooperatives /trusts	Subsidised by the state government	Freed from corporate influence	Any other		
15 to 25	42.9%	28.6%		14.3%	14.3%	100.0%	
26 to 35	46.2%	13.8%	11.2%	26.2%	2.5%	100.0%	
36 to 45	49.5%	8.6%	2.9%	30.5%	8.6%	100.0%	
46 to 55	43.9%	21.1%		26.3%	8.8%	100.0%	
56 to 65	66.7%	6.7%		26.7%		100.0%	
66 and above		40.0%	20.0%	40.0%		100.0%	
Total	47.2%	13.8%	4.8%	27.9%	6.3%	100.0%	

Opinion, as to how media should be like in the state of Jharkhand and age-wise distribution of respondents



In the survey it has come out that **most of the people wish media to be free from political nexus. Above 42.9 percent, of respondents, across all the groups have favoured this view.**

13.8 percent of the respondents say that media organizations should be run by employee cooperatives/trusts.

A good number of people have said that media should be free from the clutches of corporate houses. Of the total respondents 27.9 percent of the respondents are of this opinion.

Table : D - 2 Profile of the respondents based on educational qualifications

Educational Qualifications	Frequency
Matriculation	10
Under Graduate	34
Graduate	276
Post-Graduate	192
Doctorate	26
Total	538

TABLE D-2.1	Reasons for political instability in Jharkhand and Education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Lust for power among political parties	Greed for money among politicians	Central intervention in state politics	Fractured mandate	Division of State	
Matriculation	20.0%		20.0%	60.0%		100.0%
Under Graduate	41.2%		17.6%	41.2%		100.0%
Graduate	16.8%	6.6%	6.6%	65.0%	5.1%	100.0%
Post- Graduate	17.7%	8.3%	2.1%	70.8%	1.0%	100.0%
Doctorate	30.8%	7.7%		61.5%		100.0%
Total	19.4%	6.7%	5.6%	65.3%	3.0%	100.0%

As to the reasons of political instability in Jharkhand, it is found that across all the groups of the matriculates to doctorates, all the people have blamed fractured mandate as the most important reason. 65.3 percent respondents favoured this opinion. 70.8 percent of the postgraduates, the highest in the category, blamed fractured mandate as the main cause for 9 governments in 13 years in Jharkhand.

Against, the general perception, it has been found that only 6.7 percent of the respondents stated that greed for money among politicians was the reason for political instability in Jharkhand. However, 19.4 percent of the respondents state that lust for power among the political class was an important reason for 9 governments in 13 years in Jharkhand.

One of the most important aspects of this study was that the opinions of a matriculate, undergraduates, graduates, postgraduates or doctorates were almost similar in this regard.

TABLE D-2.2	Reasons for Jharkhand's separation from Bihar and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Jharkhandies were not getting equal treatment	Politicians of Jharkhand had their own ambitions	Jharkhand was under-developed under the administration of Bihar	People of Jharkhand desired so	Small states develop economically	
Matriculation	60.0%			20.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Under Graduate	35.3%	17.6%	29.4%	11.8%	5.9%	100.0%
Graduate	21.2%	16.8%	27.7%	16.1%	18.2%	100.0%
Post-Graduate	14.6%	19.8%	38.5%	6.2%	20.8%	100.0%
Doctorate	30.8%	15.4%	7.7%	15.4%	30.8%	100.0%
Total	20.9%	17.5%	30.2%	12.3%	19.0%	100.0%

Based on educational qualification, the respondents opined that Jharkhandies were not getting equal treatment vis a vis Biharis in erstwhile Bihar and this was one of the main reasons that Jharkhand was separated from Bihar. 60 percent of the matriculates i.e the least educated respondents favored this arguments.

On the other hand only 14.6 percent of the postgraduates favored this logic. 30.2 percent of the respondents opined that since Jharkhand was under-developed under Bihar that is why it was separated. A good number of people also said that politicians of Jharkhand had their own ambitions and that is why it got separated from Bihar. 17.5 percent of the respondents favored this view. 19 percent of the respondents said that Jharkhand was separated because smaller states develop more.

TABLE D-2.3		Opinion on state of affairs in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents				
Education	Is a failed state	Has not taken the real shape of a state	Lacks good leadership	Will never be able to get a government with single party majority	Is a developing state	Total
Matriculation		20.0%	60.0%	20.0%		100.0%
Under Graduate	5.9%	23.5%	52.9%	5.9%	11.8%	100.0%
Graduate	6.6%	16.1%	55.5%	10.2%	11.7%	100.0%
Post-Graduate	5.2%	10.4%	68.8%	6.2%	9.4%	100.0%
Doctorate	23.1%	7.7%	53.8%	7.7%	7.7%	100.0%
Total	6.7%	14.2%	60.1%	8.6%	10.4%	100.0%

On the basis of educational qualifications, when asked about the instability in Jharkhand state, most of the people responded by saying it lacks good leadership. 60.1 percent of the respondents favored this logic. A large number of the respondents who favored this argument were postgraduates and they were 68.8 percent.

Very few people accepted that Jharkhand is a failed state. Only 6.7 percent have favored this logic but remarkably 23.1 percent doctorates accepted this logic.

TABLE D-2.4	Reasons for Jharkhand lagging behind in development and education-wise distribution of respondents					
Education	Lack of initiative	Lack of skilled manpower	Lack of pro- active development policy	Arrogant bureaucracy	Uneducated population	Total
Matriculation	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%		100.0%
Under Graduate	47.1%	11.8%	23.5%	11.8%	5.9%	100.0%
Graduate	35.8%	8.8%	38.7%	10.2%	6.6%	100.0%
Post- Graduate	32.3%	7.3%	52.1%	5.2%	3.1%	100.0%
Doctorate	30.8%	7.7%	38.5%	23.1%		100.0%
Total	35.1%	8.6%	42.2%	9.3%	4.9%	100.0%

When we asked the people, why Jharkhand lags behind in development 52 percent of the postgraduates said it is because of lack of pro-active development policy but 47 percent of the undergraduates and 40 percent of the matriculate said that Jharkhand has not developed because of lack of initiatives. **20 percent of the matriculate and 23 percent of the doctorate have blamed arrogant bureaucracy for under development in Jharkhand.** 9.3 percent of the respondents have blamed bureaucracy. Only 4.9 percent of the respondents have blamed uneducated population for the lack of development.

TABLE D-2.5	Reasons for no political party getting a majority in the State Assembly and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	People do not have full faith in any one of the political parties	The state population is divided on the lines of tribal and non-tribal	Political leaders are not dependable	The number of seats in the assembly is less	Small parties are dividing the votes	
Matriculation	40.0%	40.0%		20.0%		100.0%
Under Graduate	29.4%	5.9%	5.9%	52.9%	5.9%	100.0%
Graduate	19.0%	12.4%	12.4%	32.1%	24.1%	100.0%
Post-Graduate	21.9%	15.6%	8.3%	27.1%	27.1%	100.0%
Doctorate	15.4%	7.7%	7.7%	38.5%	30.8%	100.0%
Total	20.9%	13.4%	10.1%	31.7%	23.9%	100.0%

When asked about why no political party getting majority in the state assembly, 40 percent of the matriculates said that people do not have full faith in any political party while 40 percent of the matriculates also opined that the people of this state are divided in to tribals and non-tribals and this is one of the most important reasons for no party getting majority.

31.7 percent of the respondents said that less number of assembly seats was one of the most important reasons for no political party getting majority. 52.9 percent of the undergraduates and 38.5 percent doctorates accepted this logic.

23.9 percent of the respondents said that small regional parties of the states are dividing the seats

Education	Role of bureaucracy in the non-development of Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Bureaucrats are not responsible	Bureaucrats are partially responsible	Bureaucrats are in-fact responsible	Their non-performance is due to political intervention	Honest bureaucrats are not encouraged	
Matriculation		40.0%	20.0%		40.0%	100.0%
Under Graduate		47.1%	17.6%	29.4%	5.9%	100.0%
Graduate	6.6%	40.9%	15.3%	16.1%	21.2%	100.0%
Post-Graduate	3.1%	36.5%	8.3%	33.3%	18.8%	100.0%
Doctorate	15.4%	30.8%	23.1%	23.1%	7.7%	100.0%
Total	5.2%	39.2%	13.4%	23.1%	19.0%	100.0%

When asked about the role of bureaucracy in the non-development of Jharkhand, 40 percent of matriculates and 47 percent of the undergraduates held bureaucracy partially responsible. Overall 39.2 percent of the respondents held bureaucrats partially responsible for non-development of Jharkhand.

40 percent of the matriculates said that honest bureaucrats are not encouraged. While only 7.7 percent of the doctorates accepted this logic. 23.1 percent of the respondents also said that political intervention was responsible for non -performance of the bureaucrats.

Only 5.2 percent of the respondents have said that bureaucrats are not at all responsible for the non-development of Jharkhand.

TABLE D-2.7	Reasons for the rift between tribals and non-tribals of Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents						
Education	The instability of political administra Tion	Electoral politics	Religious feelings	The issue of resource distribution	Unlimited migration of non- tribals into the tribal land	Any other reason	Total
Matriculation		40.0%		40.0%	20.0%		100.00%
Under Graduate	5.9%	29.4%	23.5%	17.6%	23.5%		100.00%
Graduate	21.2%	42.3%	7.3%	13.1%	13.1%	2.9%	100.00%
Post- Graduate	14.6%	52.1%	2.1%	16.7%	9.4%	5.2%	100.00%
Doctorate	38.5%	15.4%	7.7%	23.1%	15.4%		100.00%
Total	18.3%	43.7%	6.3%	15.7%	12.7%	3.4%	100.00%

Responding to the question of rift between tribals and non-tribals, 40 percent of the matriculates have said that it is a result of electoral politics while 40 percent of other matriculates have said that it is because of unequal distribution of resources. Overall 43.7 percent of the people have said that the rift between tribals and non-tribals is caused by electoral politics. Only 6.3 percent opined that it is because of religious feelings.

TABLE D-2.8	Opinion as to the linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for political instability in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	To a great extent	To some extent	Wholly responsible	One of the reasons	Not at all	
Matriculation		40.0%		40.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Under Graduate	17.6%	41.2%		29.4%	11.8%	100.0%
Graduate	13.1%	24.8%	1.5%	37.2%	23.4%	100.0%
Post-Graduate	11.5%	24.0%	4.2%	41.7%	18.8%	100.0%
Doctorate	15.4%	23.1%		46.2%	15.4%	100.0%
Total	12.7%	25.7%	2.2%	38.8%	20.5%	100.0%

When asked about the opinion as to the linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for political instability in Jharkhand overall 38.8 percent of the respondents said it is one of the main reasons. Amongst these 40 percent of the matriculates, 46 percent of the doctorate, 41 percent of the postgraduates and 37 percent of the graduates supported this logic. On the other hand 25.7 percent of the respondents said that linear fragmentations of the tribal population were responsible for political instability in Jharkhand to only some extent. Against the widely known perception only 12.7 percent of the respondents said that this fragmentation was responsible for political instability in Jharkhand to a great extent.

It is very important to note that only 2.2 percent of the respondents, which included 1.5 percent of the graduates and 4.2 percent of the postgraduates held the linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for the political instability.

TABLE D-2.9	Opinion as to whether vested interests of the politicians responsible for the instability in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	It is the sole reason	It is not the main reason	It is difficult to say	It is one of the reasons	It is not at all the reason	
Matriculation				100.0%		100.0%
Under Graduate	23.5%		5.9%	58.8%	11.8%	100.0%
Graduate	23.4%	8.0%	13.9%	46.7%	8.0%	100.0%
Post-Graduate	24.0%	5.2%	3.1%	66.7%	1.0%	100.0%
Doctorate	15.4%	23.1%		61.5%		100.0%
Total	22.8%	7.1%	8.6%	56.3%	5.2%	100.0%

To the whether vested interests of the politicians are responsible for the instability in Jharkhand, most of the respondents across the all educational groups said that it was one of the reasons. Amongst these, hundred percent of the matriculates 66.7 percent of the postgraduates 61.5 percent of the doctorates and 58.8 percent of the undergraduates supported this logic.

Only 22.8 percent of the respondents said it was the sole reason.

Against the accepted perception, only 7.1 percent said it is not the main reason that vested interests of the politicians are responsible for the political instability in Jharkhand.

On the other hand, meager 5.2 percent including 1 percent of the postgraduates said it was not at all the reason.

TABLE D-2.10	Opinion as to whether, the sheer number of political parties responsible for instability in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Education	It is the reason	It is not the reason	It is one of the reasons	It is difficult to answer	
Matriculation			80.0%	20.0%		100.0%
Under Graduate	23.5%		70.6%		5.9%	100.0%
Graduate	16.8%	10.2%	57.7%	4.4%	10.9%	100.0%
Post-Graduate	12.5%	10.4%	70.8%	1.0%	5.2%	100.0%
Doctorate	7.7%	7.7%	61.5%	15.4%	7.7%	100.0%
Total	14.9%	9.3%	63.8%	3.7%	8.2%	100.0%

To the question, do you think the sheer number of political parties responsible for the political instability of Jharkhand, 80 percent of the matriculates 70.6 percent of the undergraduates, 70.8 percent of the postgraduates 61.5 doctorates 54.7 percent of the graduates said that it was one of the reasons .Overall, 63.8 percent of the respondents agreed with this logic, while for 8.2 percent of the respondents across the different educational backgrounds it was not at all a reason.

Only 14.9 percent of respondents said only it is the sole reason. Out of this, 23.5 percent were undergraduates, 16.8 percent were graduates 12.5 percent where post graduates and 7.7 percent where doctorates.

TABLE D-2.11	Opinion as to the consequences of political instability in Jharkhand and Education-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Lack of development	Increased poverty	Absence of employment	Inadequate investment	Educational backwardness	All of these	
Matriculation	20.0%					80.0%	100.00%
Under Graduate	29.4%		11.8%	5.9%	5.9%	47.1%	100.00%
Graduate	27.0%	4.4%	9.5%	5.8%	4.4%	48.9%	100.00%
Post- Graduate	28.1%		6.2%	3.1%		62.5%	100.00%
Doctorate	53.8%		7.7%	7.7%		30.8%	100.00%
Total	28.7%	2.2%	8.2%	4.9%	2.6%	53.4%	100.00%

On the question what, political instability has created, most of the respondents said lack of development, increased poverty, absence of employment, inadequate investments and educational backwardness were all the result of political instability .

Overall 53.4 percent of the respondents that included 80 percent of the matriculates 62.5 percent of the postgraduates, 48.9 percent of the graduates and 47.1 percent of the undergraduates supported these arguments.

28.7 percent of the respondents said that political instability has created lack of development in the state while very few (2.2 percent) said that it increased poverty.

Only 8.2 percent said it created absence of employment, 4.9 percent opined is created inadequate investment and 2.6 percent blamed it for educational backwardness.

TABLE D-2.12	Opinion as to politicians ruining the state of Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Yes, it is true	No, it is a completely wrong perception	It is true to some extent	There are other more important reasons for it	Only some of the politicians are responsible for the state of affairs	
Matriculation			60.0%		40.0%	100.0%
Under Graduate	23.5%	5.9%	35.3%	17.6%	17.6%	100.0%
Graduate	24.8%	13.1%	38.7%	8.0%	15.3%	100.0%
Post- Graduate	32.3%		38.5%	12.5%	16.7%	100.0%
Doctorate	15.4%		46.2%	15.4%	23.1%	100.0%
Total	26.5%	7.1%	39.2%	10.4%	16.8%	100.0%

When asked whether politicians have ruined the state of Jharkhand, 39.2 percent accepted it to be true to some extent while 26.5 percent of the respondents said it was absolutely. Sixty percent of the matriculates said it was true to some extent, while 40 percent of the remaining matriculates said that only some of the politicians were responsible for ruining the state.

Overall 16.8 percent of the respondents said that only some of the politicians were responsible for the ruin of the state while only 7.1 percent said it was completely a wrong perception.

Overall 26.5 percent of the respondents said yes it was true and this number constituted 32.3 percent of postgraduates, 24.8 percent of graduates, 23.5 of undergraduates and 15.4 percent of doctorates.

TABLE D-2.13	The role of mass media in the political instability in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Have played spoilsport	Are just an impartial observer	Are the king makers	Have nexus with politicians	Influence political decisions	
Matriculation	20.0%	20.0%		20.0%	40.0%	100.0%
Under Graduate		52.9%	11.8%	17.6%	17.6%	100.0%
Graduate	9.5%	32.1%	5.8%	20.4%	32.1%	100.0%
Post- Graduate	10.4%	35.4%	3.1%	20.8%	30.2%	100.0%
Doctorate	23.1%	30.8%	7.7%	15.4%	23.1%	100.0%
Total	10.1%	34.3%	5.2%	20.1%	30.2%	100.0%

Responding to the question, when it comes to political instability whether the mass media has influenced political decisions, 40 percent matriculates agreed to the suggestion. Overall 30.2 percent of the respondents accepted this logic.

20 percent of the matriculate respondents said that mass media has nexus with politicians. 34.3 percent said media has been impartial observers to the situation. Overall, 10.1 percent of the people said media played spoilsport. 11.8 percent undergraduates, 5.8 percent graduates, 3.1 percent postgraduates, 7.7 percent doctorates said that the media are king makers. Over all 5.2 percent were of this opinion.

TABLE D-2.14		The approach of newspapers about stability in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents					
Education	Have favoured political stability	Have not paid any attention to the issue	Have divergent opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been busy with paid news and planting news	Have created political instability	Total
Matriculation		40.0%	40.0%		20.0%		100.00%
Under Graduate		52.9%	23.5%	11.8%	11.8%		100.00%
Graduate	24.8%	14.6%	37.2%	8.0%	13.1%	2.2%	100.00%
Post-Graduate	18.8%	10.4%	43.8%	14.6%	11.5%	1.0%	100.00%
Doctorate	23.1%	23.1%	38.5%	7.7%	7.7%		100.00%
Total	20.5%	16.4%	38.8%	10.4%	12.3%	1.5%	100.00%

38.8 percent of the respondents to the question about the role of newspapers said that the newspapers in Jharkhand have divergent opinions. Overall, 20.5 percent have said that newspaper favored political stability.

10.4 percent of the respondents said that newspapers have created cynical view about the politicians while 12.3 percent said that newspapers have been busy with paid news. Meager 1.5 percent have said that the newspapers themselves created political instability in Jharkhand.

TABLE D-2.15	The approach of electronic media about stability in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents						
Education	Have influenced public opinion for political stability	Have ignored the issue	Have different opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been busy with paid news and planting news	Have created political instability	Total
Matriculation		20.0%	40.0%		40.0%		100.00%
Under Graduate	5.9%	17.6%	23.5%	17.6%	23.5%	11.8%	100.00%
Graduate	19.0%	18.2%	32.1%	15.3%	12.4%	2.9%	100.00%
Post- Graduate	14.6%	25.0%	39.6%	3.1%	14.6%	3.1%	100.00%
Doctorate	15.4%	23.1%	23.1%	7.7%	30.8%		100.00%
Total	16.0%	20.9%	34.0%	10.4%	15.3%	3.4%	100.00%

To the question about the electronic media in Jharkhand, 34 percent of the respondents have said that electronic media in the state have different opinions.

40 percent of the matriculates are of the opinion that electronic media in the state has been busy with paid news. Overall 15.3 percent are of this opinion. 20.9 percent of the respondents have said that electronic media has ignored the issue of political instability while 16 percent of the respondents have said that the electronic media has influenced public opinion for political stability.

TABLE D-2.16	Opinion about the ownership patterns of newspapers in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by the political class	Are owned by activists	Are a family business	Are owned by chains	Have different patterns of ownerships	
Matriculation	80.0%					20.0%	100.00%
Under Graduate	17.6%			5.9%	11.8%	64.7%	100.00%
Graduate	40.1%	3.6%	0.7%	8.8%	14.6%	32.1%	100.00%
Post- Graduate	46.9%	4.2%	1.0%	2.1%	11.5%	34.4%	100.00%
Doctorate	38.5%		7.7%		15.4%	38.5%	100.00%
Total	41.8%	3.4%	1.1%	5.6%	13.1%	35.1%	100.00%

When asked about the ownership pattern of the newspapers in Jharkhand, overall 41.8 percent said they were owned business houses while 35.1 percent have said they have different types of ownership. Only 5.6 percent of the newspapers are family business while 3.4 percent are owned by the political class and 1.1 percent by social activists.

TABLE D-2.17	Opinion about the ownership patterns of electronic media in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by political leaders	Are owned by national media houses	Are family business	Are owned by independent individuals	Have different patterns of ownerships	
Matriculation	60.0%		20.0%			20.0%	100.00%
Under Graduate	23.5%	5.9%	5.9%	11.8%	5.9%	47.1%	100.00%
Graduate	25.5%	4.4%	7.3%	7.3%	8.0%	47.4%	100.00%
Post-Graduate	31.2%	5.2%	6.2%	2.1%	13.5%	41.7%	100.00%
Doctorate	23.1%	7.7%			15.4%	53.8%	100.00%
Total	28.0%	4.9%	6.7%	5.2%	10.1%	45.1%	100.00%

When asked about the ownership pattern of electronic media in Jharkhand 45.1 percent of all the respondents said that they have different types of ownership, while 28 percent said they are owned by business houses. Only 6.7 percent said they were owned by national media houses while 4.9 percent said electronic media is owned by political leaders

TABLE D-2.18	Opinion about the value orientation of media in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Education	Objective	Partisan	Neutral	Sensation- mongers	Highly political	
Matriculation	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%		20.0%		100.00%
Under Graduate	5.9%	5.9%	11.8%	64.7%	11.8%		100.00%
Graduate	10.9%	7.3%	29.9%	14.6%	13.1%	24.1%	100.00%
Post- Graduate	19.8%	8.3%	22.9%	12.5%	10.4%	26.0%	100.00%
Doctorate	15.4%	15.4%	38.5%	7.7%	7.7%	15.4%	100.00%
Total	14.6%	8.2%	26.5%	16.4%	11.9%	22.4%	100.00%

On media's objectivity, overall 26.5 percent said, media is neutral in Jharkhand while surprisingly 22.4 percent of the people said that media is directionless in the state.

It is important to note that 11.9 percent of the respondents have blamed media to be highly political and 16.4 percent blamed them to be sensation-mongers. 64.7 percent undergraduates blamed media for sensationalism.

Only 8.2 percent blamed media to be partial while 14.6 percent also praised it as objective.

TABLE D-2.19	Opinion about the issues that need mass media focus in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Education	Social issues	Communal harmony	Investigative Journalism	Developmental issues	Educating the people	
Matriculation	20.0%	20.0%		20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100.00%
Under Graduate	5.9%	5.9%	5.9%	41.2%	11.8%	29.4%	100.00%
Graduate	13.9%	4.4%	6.6%	32.8%	9.5%	32.8%	100.00%
Post-Graduate	16.7%	2.1%	4.2%	34.4%	6.2%	36.5%	100.00%
Doctorate	38.5%			15.4%	15.4%	30.8%	100.00%
Total	15.7%	3.7%	5.2%	32.8%	9.0%	33.6%	100.00%

To the question on the focus of mass media in Jharkhand, 33.6 percent of all the educational groups supported good governance while 32.8 percent wanted it to play an important role on developmental issues.

About 16 percent of the respondents urged media to work on social issues while only 5.2 percent expected it to do investigative journalism and a meager 3.7 percent supported its role for communal harmony.

TABLE D-2.20	Opinion about the areas in need of media promotion in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total	
	Education	Democracy	Human rights	Scientific temperament	Peace		Enlightened citizenry
Matriculation	60.0%					40.0%	100.0%
Under Graduate	47.1%	11.8%	11.8%			29.4%	100.0%
Graduate	44.5%	8.0%	13.9%	0.7%		32.8%	100.0%
Post- Graduate	39.6%	9.4%	10.4%	2.1%		38.5%	100.0%
Doctorate	38.5%	7.7%	7.7%			46.2%	100.0%
Total	42.9%	8.6%	11.9%	1.1%		35.4%	100.0%

To the question on ‘media in this state must promote? Most of the respondents expected it to work for democracy and enlightened citizenry. Total of 42.9 percent of the respondents expected it to work for democracy while 35.4 percent expected it to work for enlightened citizenry.

TABLE D-2.21		Opinion as to the rating of mass media performance in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Education	Excellent	Good	Satis factory	Unsatis factory	Unsatis factory and disturbing	Depressing	
Matriculation	20.0%		60.0%	20.0%			100.00%
Under Graduate		5.9%	76.5%	17.6%			100.00%
Graduate	9.5%	19.7%	44.5%	12.4%	10.2%	3.6%	100.00%
Post-Graduate	4.2%	19.8%	61.5%	6.2%	6.2%	2.1%	100.00%
Doctorate		23.1%	53.8%	7.7%	15.4%		100.00%
Total	6.7%	18.7%	53.4%	10.4%	8.2%	2.6%	100.00%

Asked about ‘the rating of the media performance in the state’, most of the respondents have said it is satisfactory. 53.4 percent of the respondents including 60 percent of the matriculate, 76.5 percent undergraduates, 61.5 of the postgraduates, 53.8 of the doctorates and 44.5 percent of the graduates accepted this perception. Only 18.7 percent said it is good while 6.7 percent said it is excellent.

10.4 percent of the respondents said performance of the media was unsatisfactory and 8.2 percent said it was unsatisfactory as well as disturbing. A few of the respondents (2.6 percent) also said that the performance of the media was disappointing and depressive.

TABLE D-2.22	Suggestions, as to how to improve the role of media in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Less sensationalisation of crime	Avoidance of sensationalism	Strict adherence to professional conduct	Objective political reporting	Judicious use of freedom of expression	
Matriculation				40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
Under Graduate	11.8%	5.9%	29.4%	17.6%	35.3%	100.0%
Graduate	3.6%	12.4%	33.6%	13.1%	37.2%	100.0%
Post- Graduate	4.2%	10.4%	31.2%	10.4%	43.8%	100.0%
Doctorate			53.8%	23.1%	23.1%	100.0%
Total	4.1%	10.4%	32.8%	13.4%	39.2%	100.0%

To the question, ‘suggestion for the improvement of media role in the state’ most of the respondents (39.2 percent) asked for judicious use of freedom of expression while 32.8 percent have sought strict adherence of professional conduct.

4.1 percent of the people asked media to be less sensational in crime reporting while 10.4 percent suggested it to completely avoid sensationalism. 13.4 percent including 40 percent of the matriculates and 23.1 percent of the doctorates wanted media to do objective political reporting.

TABLE D-2.23	Suggestions, as to how to improve the professional performance level of media persons in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Education	Professional training	A code of conduct	Regular performance assessment	A statutory monitoring mechanism	
Matriculation		20.0%	40.0%		40.0%	100.0%
Under Graduate	23.5%	11.8%	23.5%	17.6%	23.5%	100.0%
Graduate	18.2%	13.9%	30.7%	10.2%	27.0%	100.0%
Post-Graduate	26.0%	9.4%	31.2%	12.5%	20.8%	100.0%
Doctorate	23.1%		15.4%	15.4%	46.2%	100.0%
Total	21.3%	11.6%	29.9%	11.6%	25.7%	100.0%

On media men, overall 29.9 percent of the respondents said there should be regular performance appraisal of the media persons. A quarter of the respondents i.e. 25.7 percent said a self-regulatory system like internal Lok Pal should be instituted in the media organization.

21.3 percent required media men to have professional training while 11.6 percent asked them to follow a code of conduct.

TABLE D-2.24	Opinion, as to what sort of relationship the politicians should have with media in Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Media literate	Fair and balanced	Trained by management institutes	Sensitive to public issues	Educated as to public morality	
Matriculation		20.0%		80.0%		100.0%
Under Graduate	35.3%	29.4%	11.8%	23.5%		100.0%
Graduate	18.2%	36.5%	3.6%	32.8%	8.8%	100.0%
Post-Graduate	11.5%	41.7%	1.0%	40.6%	5.2%	100.0%
Doctorate	23.1%	30.8%	7.7%	30.8%	7.7%	100.0%
Total	16.8%	37.3%	3.4%	35.8%	6.7%	100.0%

As to the relation of politicians with the media, 35.8 percent of the respondents have said that politicians must be sensitive to the public issues while 37.3 percent of the people asked them to be fair and balanced. It is important to note that 16.8 percent of the respondents have also asked politicians to be media literate, while only 3.4 percent wanted to be trained by management institutions.

TABLE D-2.25	Opinion, as to the attitude of media persons towards political class and education-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Be careful	Cultivate them	Expose them	Be free and fair	Educate them	Maintain a distance	
Matriculation				100.0%			100.00%
Under Graduate	5.9%		11.8%	41.2%	5.9%	35.3%	100.00%
Graduate	17.5%		5.1%	70.8%	2.2%	4.4%	100.00%
Post- Graduate	16.7%	1.0%	1.0%	75.0%	2.1%	4.2%	100.00%
Doctorate	7.7%	15.4%	7.7%	61.5%		7.7%	100.00%
Total	15.7%	1.1%	4.1%	70.5%	2.2%	6.3%	100.00%

On media persons having relationship with political class, 70.5 percent have said that media men should be free and fair. Hundred percent of the matriculates, 75 percent of the postgraduates, 70 percent of the graduates, 61.5 percent of the doctorates and 41 percent of the undergraduates favored this stance.

4.1 percent of the respondents wanted media to expose the political class while 15.7 percent asked them to be careful and only 1.1 percent wanted them to cultivate relationship with politicians.

TABLE D-2.26	Opinion, as to how media should be like in the state of Jharkhand and education-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Free from the nexus with politicians	Run by employee cooperatives/trusts	Subsidised by the state government	Freed from corporate influence	Any other	
Matriculation	40.0%			60.0%		100.0%
Under Graduate	47.1%	17.6%		35.3%		100.0%
Graduate	48.2%	16.8%	5.1%	23.4%	6.6%	100.0%
Post- Graduate	45.8%	10.4%	6.2%	29.2%	8.3%	100.0%
Doctorate	46.2%	7.7%		46.2%		100.0%
Total	47.0%	13.8%	4.9%	28.0%	6.3%	100.0%

47 percent of the respondents asked media to be free from having nexus with politicians in response to the question, 'media in the state should be? 28 percent of the respondents wanted media free from corporate clutches while 13.8 percent wanted it to be run by employee cooperative/trust.

Table: D-3 Profile of the respondents based on their employment in electronic media/ print media / party affiliations

Employment in electronic media/ print media / party affiliations	Frequency
Journalist(Electronic Media)	66
Journalist(Print Media)	244
Politician (CPI-ML)	6
Politician (AJSU)	2
Politician (BJP)	116
Politician (INC)	40
Politician (JDU)	2
Politician (JMM)	26
Politician (JVM)	24
Politician (MCC)	4
Politician (RJD)	8
Total	538

TABLE D-3.1	Reasons for political instability in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Lust for power among political parties	Greed for money among politicians	Central intervention in state politics	Fractured mandate	Division of State	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	21.2%	6.1%	3.0%	63.6%	6.1%	100.0%
Journalist Print Media)	18.9%	6.6%	0.8%	71.3%	2.5%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)	33.3%			33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
Politician (AJSU)				100.0%		100.0%
Politician (BJP)	13.8%	8.6%	12.1%	63.8%	1.7%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	15.0%	5.0%	5.0%	70.0%	5.0%	100.0%
Politician (JDU)	100.0%					100.0%
Politician (JMM)	46.2%	7.7%		46.2%		100.0%
Politician (JVM)	25.0%	8.3%	33.3%	33.3%		100.0%
Politician (MCC)				100.0%		100.0%
Politician (RJD)			25.0%	75.0%		100.0%
Total	19.3%	6.7%	5.6%	65.4%	3.0%	100.0%

Independent variable of political party and media was also taken for analysis. About the formation of nine governments in 13 years in Jharkhand 65.4 percent of the total respondents said that it happened because of fractured mandate. Of the other respondents, 19.3 percent said the political instability was because of the lust of power among political parties. In the option of fractured mandate it is important to note that 100 percent i.e. all the All Jharkhand Students Union (AJSU) politicians approved this statement, while 75 percent of the RJD (Rastriya Janta Dal) favored this logic. 70 percent of Congress', 63.8 percent of the BJP's, 42.2 of JMM (Jharkhand Mukti Morcha), thirty three percent of the CPI-ML, 33.3 percent of the JVM (Jharkhand Vikas Morcha) respondents also said that fractured mandate was the main reason for political instability in Jharkhand. It is very important that all the (100 percent) of the (JDU) politicians said that lust of power among political parties was the only reason for the instability in Jharkhand. Like wise 46.2 percent of the JMM politicians, 25 percent of the JVM, 13.8 percent of the BJP and 15 percent of the Congress politicians supported this opinion.

Among the journalists of electronic media and print media, 71.3 percent of print media and 63.6 percent of electronic media said that fractured mandate was the main reason for instability in Jharkhand.

TABLE D-3.2		Reasons for Jharkhand's separation from Bihar and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents				Total
Political party/ Media	Jharkhandies were not getting equal treatment	Politicians of Jharkhand had their own ambitions	Jharkhand was under-developed under the administration of Bihar	People of Jharkhand desired so	Small states develop economically	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	27.3%	18.2%	30.3%	12.1%	12.1%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	13.9%	19.7%	35.2%	14.8%	16.4%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)		33.3%	33.3%		33.3%	100.0%
Politician (AJSU)				100.0%		100.0%
Politician (BJP)	19.0%	10.3%	37.9%	8.6%	24.1%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	50.0%	15.0%	10.0%	10.0%	15.0%	100.0%
Politician (JDU)					100.0%	100.0%
Politician (JMM)	15.4%	30.8%	23.1%	7.7%	23.1%	100.0%
Politician (JVM)	41.7%	25.0%	8.3%	8.3%	16.7%	100.0%
Politician (MCC)				50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Politician (RJD)	50.0%				50.0%	100.0%
Total	20.8%	17.5%	30.5%	12.3%	19.0%	100.0%

To the question, why Jharkhand was separated from Bihar, 30.5 percent of the respondents said it was because of the reason that Jharkhand was under-developed under Bihar administration. 20.8 percent of the politicians and journalist said the Jharkhand was not getting equal treatment in the administration of Bihar. 17.5 percent of the respondents said that politicians of Jharkhand had their own ambitions. Only 12.3 percent of the respondents said that in fact people wanted separation of Jharkhand.

TABLE D-3.3		Opinion on state of affairs in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents				Total
Political party/ Media	Is a failed state	Has not taken the real shape of a state	Lacks good leadership	Will never be able to get a government with single party majority	Is a developing state	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	9.1%	12.1%	66.7%	6.1%	6.1%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	7.4%	11.5%	65.6%	4.9%	10.7%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)		33.3%	33.3%		33.3%	100.0%
Politician (AJSU)				100.0%		100.0%
Politician (BJP)	6.9%	19.0%	39.7%	19.0%	15.5%	100.0%
Politician (INC)		20.0%	70.0%	10.0%		100.0%
Politician (JDU)			100.0%			100.0%
Politician (JMM)	7.7%	30.8%	46.2%		15.4%	100.0%
Politician (JVM)	8.3%		75.0%	8.3%	8.3%	100.0%
Politician (MCC)			100.0%			100.0%
Politician (RJD)			100.0%			100.0%
Total	6.7%	14.1%	60.2%	8.6%	10.4%	100.0%

As for the opinion to the state of affairs in Jharkhand because of the instability, majority of the people (60.2 percent) said that Jharkhand lacks good leadership.

Amongst these people 100 percent of JDU leaders, 100 percent of MCC and 100percent of RJD were of the same view. Besides these 75 percent of JVM, 70 percent of congress, 65 percent of the print media journalist and 66.7 percent of the electronic media journalists said that Jharkhand lacks good leadership. Of all the respondents 8.6 percent said that Jharkhand will never have a one party majority government. 6.7 percent of the respondents also accepted that Jharkhand is failed state.

TABLE D-3.4	Reasons for Jharkhand lagging behind in development and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Political party/ Media	Lack of initiative	Lack of skilled manpower	Lack of pro-active development policy	Arrogant bureaucracy	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	27.3%	6.1%	57.6%	6.1%	3.0%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	37.7%	4.1%	47.5%	7.4%	3.3%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)	66.7%				33.3%	100.0%
Politician (AJSU)				100.0%		100.0%
Politician (BJP)	32.8%	15.5%	25.9%	17.2%	8.6%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	50.0%	15.0%	30.0%	5.0%		100.0%
Politician (JDU)	100.0%					100.0%
Politician (JMM)	23.1%	23.1%	53.8%			100.0%
Politician (JVM)	16.7%	8.3%	41.7%	16.7%	16.7%	100.0%
Politician (MCC)	50.0%		50.0%			100.0%
Politician (RJD)	25.0%		75.0%			100.0%
Total	34.9%	8.6%	42.4%	9.3%	4.8%	100.0%

To the question that Jharkhand lags behind in development because of? 42.4 percent have said that Jharkhand lacks proactive development policy. Similarly 34.9 percent respondents have said that Jharkhand lacks initiative

TABLE D-3.5	Reasons for no political party getting a majority in the State Assembly and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Political party/ Media	People do not have full faith in any one of the political parties	The state population is divided on the lines of tribal and non-tribal	Political leaders are not dependable	The number of seats in the assembly is less	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	18.2%	21.2%	12.1%	21.2%	27.3%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	24.6%	14.8%	12.3%	22.1%	26.2%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)	66.7%				33.3%	100.0%
Politician (AJSU)	100.0%					100.0%
Politician (BJP)	17.2%	8.6%	6.9%	46.6%	20.7%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	5.0%	15.0%	5.0%	50.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Politician (JDU)				100.0%		100.0%
Politician (JMM)	23.1%		15.4%	38.5%	23.1%	100.0%
Politician (JVM)	25.0%	8.3%	8.3%	50.0%	8.3%	100.0%
Politician (MCC)		50.0%			50.0%	100.0%
Politician (RJD)	25.0%	25.0%		50.0%		100.0%
Total	21.2%	13.4%	10.0%	31.6%	23.8%	100.0%

In the survey 31.6 percent of the respondents have said that the number of seats in the assembly is less in Jharkhand and that is why no political party has been able to get majority in this state assembly. Likewise 23.8 percent people have opined that small parties are dividing the votes. It is important to note than 10 percent of the people have said that political leaders are not dependable.

TABLE D-3.6		Role of bureaucracy in the non-development of Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents				Total
Political party/ Media	Bureaucrats are not responsible	Bureaucrats are partially responsible	Bureaucrats are in-fact responsible	Their non-performance is due to political intervention	Honest bureaucrats are not encouraged	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	6.1%	36.4%	18.2%	15.2%	24.2%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	3.3%	40.2%	8.2%	25.4%	23.0%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)	33.3%	33.3%		33.3%		100.0%
Politician (AJSU)					100.0%	100.0%
Politician (BJP)	5.2%	41.4%	20.7%	22.4%	10.3%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	10.0%	55.0%	10.0%	5.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Politician (JDU)			100.0%			100.0%
Politician (JMM)	15.4%	38.5%	15.4%	23.1%	7.7%	100.0%
Politician (JVM)		16.7%	16.7%	41.7%	25.0%	100.0%
Politician (MCC)		50.0%		50.0%		100.0%
Politician (RJD)			25.0%	50.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Total	5.2%	39.0%	13.4%	23.0%	19.3%	100.0%

As to the role of bureaucrats in the non-development of Jharkhand 39 percent of the respondents said that bureaucrats are in fact partially responsible for the non-development of Jharkhand. Out of these 39 percent respondents the biggest chunk belong to congress. Fifty five percent of the congress politicians believed in this theory. While 41.4 percent of BJP politician 50 percent of MCC, 38.5 percent of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha and 33 percent of CPI ML also favored this logic. In the journalists category 40.2 percent of print media journalists 36.4 percent of the electronic media journalists also said that bureaucrats are partially responsible for the current situation of the Jharkhand.

23 percent of the overall respondents said that the not performance of the bureaucrats was due to political intervention.

TABLE D-3.7	Reasons for the rift between tribals and non-tribals of Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents						Total	
	Political party/ Media	The instability of political administration	Electoral politics	Religious feelings	The issue of resource distribution	Unlimited migration of non-tribals into the tribal land		Any other reason
Journalist (Electronic Media)	15.2%	60.6%			9.1%	9.1%	6.1%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	17.2%	48.4%	1.6%		17.2%	13.9%	1.6%	100.00%
Politician (CPI-ML)	33.3%		33.3%			33.3%		100.00%
Politician (AJSU)				100.0%				100.00%
Politician (BJP)	27.6%	27.6%	17.2%		15.5%	6.9%	5.2%	100.00%
Politician (INC)	25.0%	45.0%	10.0%		5.0%	15.0%		100.00%
Politician (JDU)		100.0%						100.00%
Politician (JMM)	7.7%	38.5%	15.4%		23.1%	15.4%		100.00%
Politician (JVM)	8.3%	33.3%			16.7%	25.0%	16.7%	100.00%
Politician (MCC)		50.0%			50.0%			100.00%
Politician (RJD)		50.0%			25.0%	25.0%		100.00%
Total	18.6%	43.5%	6.3%		15.6%	12.6%	3.3%	100.00%

On the issue of rift between tribal and non-tribal 43.5 percent of the respondents said it is because of electoral politics. Out of these again 100 percent of JDU politician said that only electoral politics was responsible for the rift between tribal and non-tribal. While 50 percent of RJD and 50 percent of MCC politicians also opined the same. On the other hand only 45 percent Congress politicians and 27.6 percent of BJP politicians favored this logic. Among the journalists 60.6 percent of the electronic media and 48.4 percent respondents of the print media also said that it was electoral politics which creates rift between tribals and non-tribals. Only 15.6 percent of the respondents said that rift between tribal and non-tribal was because of the issue of resource distribution.

TABLE D-3.8	Opinion as to the linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for political instability in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Political party/ Media	To a great extent	To some extent	Wholly responsible	One of the reasons	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	6.1%	45.5%	3.0%	39.4%	6.1%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	17.2%	20.5%	2.5%	33.6%	26.2%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)				33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
Politician (AJSU)				100.0%		100.0%
Politician (BJP)	10.3%	32.8%	3.4%	39.7%	13.8%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	15.0%	20.0%		55.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Politician (JDU)					100.0%	100.0%
Politician (JMM)	23.1%	30.8%		23.1%	23.1%	100.0%
Politician (JVM)		8.3%		58.3%	33.3%	100.0%
Politician (MCC)		50.0%		50.0%		100.0%
Politician (RJD)				75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Total	13.0%	25.7%	2.2%	38.7%	20.4%	100.0%

As to the linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for political instability in Jharkhand, 38.7 percent of the respondents said it was one of the reasons for the political instability in Jharkhand. However 20.4 percent respondents opined that linear fragmentation was not at all reasons for the instability in Jharkhand.

Only 2.2 percent of the respondents held linear fragmentations of the tribal as the sole reasons for the political instability in Jharkhand. Overall 25.7 percent of the respondents said linear fragmentation of the tribal population was responsible for the instability only to some extent while 13 percent said that it was responsible to great extent.

TABLE D-3.9	. Opinion as to whether vested interests of the politicians responsible for the instability in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Political party/ Media	It is the sole reason	It is not the main reason	It is difficult to say	It is one of the reasons	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	27.3%	9.1%	18.2%	42.4%	3.0%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	25.4%	4.9%	5.7%	59.8%	4.1%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)		33.3%		66.7%		100.0%
Politician (AJSU)				100.0%		100.0%
Politician (BJP)	19.0%	5.2%	8.6%	56.9%	10.3%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	30.0%	15.0%	10.0%	45.0%		100.0%
Politician (JDU)				100.0%		100.0%
Politician (JMM)	23.1%	15.4%		53.8%	7.7%	100.0%
Politician (JVM)	8.3%	8.3%	25.0%	50.0%	8.3%	100.0%
Politician (MCC)				100.0%		100.0%
Politician (RJD)	25.0%			75.0%		100.0%
Total	23.0%	7.1%	8.6%	56.1%	5.2%	100.0%

On opinion as to whether vested interests of the politicians responsible for the instability in Jharkhand, 56 percent of the respondents said that it is one of the reasons. Out of these 100 percent of the AJSU and 100 percent of MCC politicians said it was only one of the reasons. However 7.1 percent of the respondents said it is not the main reasons and 23 percent said it was the sole reason.

TABLE D-3.10		Opinion as to whether, the sheer number of political parties responsible for instability in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents				
Political party/ Media	It is the reason	It is not the reason	It is one of the reasons	It is difficult to answer	It is not the reason at all	Total
Journalist (Electronic Media)	3.0%	9.1%	81.8%	3.0%	3.0%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	14.8%	12.3%	59.8%	3.3%	9.8%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)	33.3%		66.7%			100.0%
Politician (AJSU)			100.0%			100.0%
Politician (BJP)	17.2%	3.4%	65.5%	3.4%	10.3%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	30.0%		65.0%	5.0%		100.0%
Politician (JDU)			100.0%			100.0%
Politician (JMM)	15.4%		61.5%	15.4%	7.7%	100.0%
Politician (JVM)	8.3%	33.3%	41.7%		16.7%	100.0%
Politician (MCC)	50.0%	50.0%				100.0%
Politician (RJD)			100.0%			100.0%
Total	14.9%	9.3%	63.9%	3.7%	8.2%	100.0%

As to the sheer number of political parties responsible for the political instability in Jharkhand, 63.9 percent of the respondents said that it was one of the reasons.

Interestingly all the JDU, AJSU and RJD politicians said that it was the only reason responsible for the political instability of Jharkhand.

65.5 percent of the BJP politicians, 65 p of the congress politicians and 61.5 percent of JMM politicians favored this logic. However 81.8 percent of the electronic media journalists and 59.8 percent of the print media journalists said that sheer number of political parties was one of the reasons responsible for the political instability of Jharkhand.

Of all the respondents 8.2 percent said sheer number of political parties is not at all reason for the political instability. **However 40.9 p of the politician including 30 percent of the congress 50 percent of MCC and 17.2 percent of BJP said that it is the only reason.**

TABLE D-3.11	Opinion as to the consequences of political instability in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Political party/ Media	Lack of development	Increased poverty	Absence of employment	Inadequate investment	Educational backwardness	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	21.2%	3.0%	6.1%	3.0%	3.0%	63.6%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	23.8%		8.2%	4.9%	0.8%	62.3%	100.00%
Politician (CPI-ML)					33.3%	66.7%	100.00%
Politician (AJSU)						100.0%	100.00%
Politician (BJP)	36.2%	3.4%	12.1%	3.4%	3.4%	41.4%	100.00%
Politician (INC)	45.0%	10.0%	5.0%		10.0%	30.0%	100.00%
Politician (JDU)						100.0%	100.00%
Politician (JMM)	15.4%	7.7%	15.4%	15.4%		46.2%	100.00%
Politician (JVM)	41.7%			16.7%		41.7%	100.00%
Politician (MCC)	50.0%					50.0%	100.00%
Politician (RJD)	75.0%					25.0%	100.00%
Total	28.6%	2.2%	8.2%	4.8%	2.6%	53.5%	100.00%

As to the question about what the political instability has created in Jharkhand, most of the respondents said that it has created lack of development, increased poverty, and absence of employment, inadequate investment and educational backwardness.

Overall 53.5 percent of the respondents said this. Amongst these all the politicians of AJSU and JDU opined this while only 41.4 percent of BJP and 46.2 percent of JMM have favored this logic.

TABLE D-3.12		Opinion as to politicians ruining the state of Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents				Total
Political party/ Media	Yes, it is true	No, it is a completely wrong perception	It is true to some extent	There are other more important reasons for it	Only some of the politicians are responsible for the state of affairs	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	24.2%		57.6%	15.2%	3.0%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	34.4%	5.7%	36.1%	8.2%	15.6%	100.0%
Politician (CPIML)	33.3%	33.3%			33.3%	100.0%
Politician (AJSU)			100.0%			100.0%
Politician (BJP)	19.0%	10.3%	34.5%	8.6%	27.6%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	20.0%	10.0%	45.0%	15.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Politician (JDU)				100.0%		100.0%
Politician (JMM)	30.8%	15.4%	30.8%	15.4%	7.7%	100.0%
Politician (JVM)	8.3%	8.3%	25.0%	8.3%	50.0%	100.0%
Politician (MCC)			100.0%			100.0%
Politician (RJD)			75.0%	25.0%		100.0%
Total	26.4%	7.1%	39.0%	10.4%	17.1%	100.0%

On the question whether politicians have ruined the state of Jharkhand, 39 % of the respondents said that it was true to some extent. Out of these all the politician of AJSU and MCC favored this logic while three fourth of the RJD politicians and 45 percent of the congress politicians favored this theory. 26.4 percent responded by saying ‘yes it is true’. **A total of 7.1 percent respondents said it was a completely wrong perception.**

TABLE D-3.13	The role of mass media in the political instability in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Political party/ Media	Have played spoilsport	Are just an impartial observer	Are the king makers	Have nexus with politicians	
Journalist(Electronic Media)	6.1%	21.2%	9.1%	30.3%	33.3%	100.0%
Journalist(Print Media)	9.8%	32.8%	4.9%	17.2%	35.2%	100.0%
Politician (CPIML)				66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Politician (AJSU)					100.0%	100.0%
Politician (BJP)	12.1%	44.8%	3.4%	17.2%	22.4%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	10.0%	30.0%	5.0%	35.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Politician (JDU)		100.0%				100.0%
Politician (JMM)	15.4%	61.5%		15.4%	7.7%	100.0%
Politician (JVM)	16.7%	8.3%	16.7%	16.7%	41.7%	100.0%
Politician (MCC)		100.0%				100.0%
Politician (RJD)		25.0%		25.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total	10.0%	34.2%	5.2%	20.4%	30.1%	100.0%

When it comes to political instability the mass media? 30.1 percent of the respondents said that mass media influenced political decisions. **While 20.4 percent of the respondents said that mass media had nexus with politician. Out of these 30 percent of the electronic media journalists and 17.2 percent of the print media journalists also themselves accepted that media had nexus with politicians.**

34.2 percent of the respondents have observed that mass media have been just an impartial observer.

TABLE D-3.14		The approach of newspapers about stability in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents					
Political party/ Media	Have favoured political stability	Have not paid any attention to the issue	Have divergent opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been busy with paid news and planting news	Have created political instability	Total
Journalist (Electronic Media)	21.2%	18.2%	36.4%	6.1%	15.2%	3.0%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	28.7%	9.0%	42.6%	8.2%	10.7%	0.8%	100.00%
Politician (CPIML)			66.7%	33.3%			100.00%
Politician (AJSU)		100.0%					100.00%
Politician (BJP)	12.1%	34.5%	31.0%	6.9%	13.8%	1.7%	100.00%
Politician (INC)	10.0%	10.0%	35.0%	25.0%	20.0%		100.00%
Politician (JDU)			100.0%				100.00%
Politician (JMM)	7.7%	15.4%	38.5%	38.5%			100.00%
Politician (JVM)	8.3%	16.7%	41.7%	8.3%	16.7%	8.3%	100.00%
Politician (MCC)	50.0%		50.0%				100.00%
Politician (RJD)	25.0%		50.0%		25.0%		100.00%
Total	20.4%	16.4%	39.0%	10.4%	12.3%	1.5%	100.00%

Responding to the question whether the newspapers in Jharkhand ...39 percent of the respondents have said that the newspapers have divergent opinions, while 20.4 percent of the respondents said that news papers have favoured political stability.

TABLE D-3.15		The approach of electronic media about stability in Jharkhand and political party/ media-wise distribution of respondents:					
Political party/ Media	Have influenced public opinion for political stability	Have ignored the issue	Have different opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been busy with paid news and planting news	Have created political instability	Total
Journalist (Electronic Media)	18.2%	15.2%	39.4%	3.0%	18.2%	6.1%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	18.9%	22.1%	36.1%	5.7%	13.9%	3.3%	100.00%
Politician (CPIML)		33.3%	33.3%	33.3%			100.00%
Politician (AJSU)		100.0%					100.00%
Politician (BJP)	12.1%	17.2%	31.0%	19.0%	17.2%	3.4%	100.00%
Politician (INC)	15.0%	15.0%	25.0%	25.0%	15.0%	5.0%	100.00%
Politician (JDU)		100.0%					100.00%
Politician (JMM)	15.4%	23.1%	23.1%	23.1%	15.4%		100.00%
Politician (JVM)	16.7%	41.7%	25.0%		16.7%		100.00%
Politician (MCC)			100.0%				100.00%
Politician (RJD)			50.0%		50.0%		100.00%
Total	16.0%	20.8%	33.8%	10.4%	15.6%	3.3%	100.00%

The electronic media in Jharkhand? 33.8 percent of the respondents said that electronic media had different opinion while 20.8 percent of the respondents said the electronic media has ignored the issue of stability in Jharkhand.

10.4 percent of the respondents have opined that electronic media has created cynical view of the political class.

TABLE D-3.16	Opinion about the ownership patterns of newspapers in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Political party/ Media	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by the political class	Are owned by activists	Are a family business	Are owned by chains	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	51.5%	3.0%		9.1%	6.1%	30.3%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	41.0%	3.3%	0.8%	0.8%	18.9%	35.2%	100.00%
Politician (CPIML)	33.3%		33.3%			33.3%	100.00%
Politician (AJSU)					100.0%		100.00%
Politician (BJP)	32.8%	1.7%	1.7%	12.1%	10.3%	41.4%	100.00%
Politician (INC)	50.0%			10.0%	5.0%	35.0%	100.00%
Politician (JDU)						100.0%	100.00%
Politician (JMM)	46.2%	15.4%		7.7%	15.4%	15.4%	100.00%
Politician (JVM)	41.7%	8.3%		8.3%		41.7%	100.00%
Politician (MCC)	50.0%					50.0%	100.00%
Politician (RJD)	75.0%				25.0%		100.00%
Total	41.6%	3.3%	1.1%	5.6%	13.4%	34.9%	100.00%

To the question about the ownership patterns of newspapers in Jharkhand, 41.6 percent of all the politicians and media men said that newspapers in Jharkhand were owned by business houses while 34.9 percent said that newspapers had different patterns of ownerships. Only 1.1 percent said that newspapers in Jharkhand are owned by social activists.

TABLE D-3.17	Opinion about the ownership patterns of electronic media in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Political party/ Media	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by political leaders	Are owned by national media houses	Are family business	Are owned by independent individuals	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	39.4%	6.1%		3.0%	3.0%	48.5%	100.00%
Journalist Print Media)	27.0%	4.1%	7.4%	2.5%	8.2%	50.8%	100.00%
Politician (CPIML)	33.3%				66.7%		100.00%
Politician (AJSU)						100.0%	100.00%
Politician (BJP)	22.4%		12.1%	6.9%	8.6%	50.0%	100.00%
Politician (INC)	40.0%	5.0%		15.0%	25.0%	15.0%	100.00%
Politician (JDU)						100.0%	100.00%
Politician (JMM)	15.4%	30.8%		7.7%	30.8%	15.4%	100.00%
Politician (JVM)	25.0%	8.3%	16.7%	8.3%		41.7%	100.00%
Politician (MCC)				50.0%		50.0%	100.00%
Politician (RJD)	50.0%					50.0%	100.00%
Total	27.9%	4.8%	6.7%	5.2%	10.0%	45.4%	100.00%

To the question about ownership pattern in electronic media in Jharkhand 45.4 percent have said that they have different patterns of ownership. 27.9 percent of the respondents have said that electronic media are owned by business houses.

TABLE D-3.18	Opinion about the value orientation of media in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Objective	Partisan	Neutral	Sensation- mongers	Highly political	Direction less	
Political party/ Media							
Journalist (Electronic Media)	12.1%	6.1%	15.2%	15.2%	12.1%	39.4%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	23.0%	6.6%	32.8%	9.8%	8.2%	19.7%	100.00%
Politician (CPIML)		33.3%		33.3%	33.3%		100.00%
Politician (AJSU)						100.0%	100.00%
Politician (BJP)	3.4%	8.6%	34.5%	17.2%	13.8%	22.4%	100.00%
Politician (INC)	5.0%	10.0%	15.0%	30.0%	25.0%	15.0%	100.00%
Politician (JDU)			100.0%				100.00%
Politician (JMM)	7.7%	15.4%	15.4%	38.5%	15.4%	7.7%	100.00%
Politician (JVM)	16.7%	16.7%		33.3%	8.3%	25.0%	100.00%
Politician (MCC)	50.0%				50.0%		100.00%
Politician (RJD)				25.0%	25.0%	50.0%	100.00%
Total	14.5%	8.2%	26.4%	16.4%	12.3%	22.3%	100.00%

As to the objectivity of media in Jharkhand, 26.4 percent respondents said that it is neutral. **While 22.3 percent opined media is directionless. Interestingly all the AJSU politicians and the 39.4 of the electronic media journalists said that media is directionless in Jharkhand.**

TABLE D-3.19	Opinion about the issues that need mass media focus in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Political party/ Media	Social issues	Communal harmony	Investi gative Journalism	Develop mental issues	Educating the people	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	24.2%		6.1%	36.4%	12.1%	21.2%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	16.4%	3.3%	4.9%	33.6%	6.6%	35.2%	100.00%
Politician (CPIML)	33.3%	33.3%			33.3%		100.00%
Politician (AJSU)						100.0%	100.00%
Politician (BJP)	12.1%	1.7%	5.2%	37.9%	13.8%	29.3%	100.00%
Politician (INC)	25.0%		5.0%	25.0%		45.0%	100.00%
Politician (JDU)				100.0%			100.00%
Politician (JMM)	7.7%	15.4%	7.7%	30.8%	7.7%	30.8%	100.00%
Politician (JVM)		16.7%	8.3%	16.7%	16.7%	41.7%	100.00%
Politician (MCC)						100.0%	100.00%
Politician (RJD)				25.0%		75.0%	100.00%
Total	15.6%	3.7%	5.2%	32.7%	8.9%	33.8%	100.00%

As to the role of mass media in Jharkhand, **most of the respondents favored good governance and political stability and developmental issues as the primary responsibility of mass media.** Out of 33.8 percent of the respondents who supported the cause of good governance 100 percent of MCC, 75 percent of RJD and 100 percent of AJSU politicians supported this logic. The media men themselves were not very much in favor of focusing on good governance as only 21.2 percent of electronic media persons and 35.2 percent of the print media journalists supported this logic. 15.6 percent of the total respondents supported the cause of social issues and 32.7 percent supported developmental issues

TABLE D-3.20	Opinion about the areas in need of media promotion in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Political party/ Media	Democracy	Human rights	Scientific tempera ment	Peace	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	54.5%	9.1%	6.1%		30.3%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	36.9%	8.2%	9.0%	1.6%	44.3%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)	33.3%		66.7%			100.0%
Politician (AJSU)			100.0%			100.0%
Politician (BJP)	58.6%	1.7%	13.8%		25.9%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	40.0%	15.0%	20.0%	5.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Politician (JDU)					100.0%	100.0%
Politician (JMM)	30.8%	23.1%	23.1%		23.1%	100.0%
Politician (JVM)	33.3%	16.7%	8.3%		41.7%	100.0%
Politician (MCC)		50.0%			50.0%	100.0%
Politician (RJD)	50.0%				50.0%	100.0%
Total	43.1%	8.6%	11.9%	1.1%	35.3%	100.0%

To the question, what media should promote in the state, 35.3 percent of the respondents said that mass media should promote enlightened citizenry. 8.6 percent of the respondent favored human rights while 43.1 percent of the respondents favored democracy to be promoted by media. Only a few political parties favored media to promote scientific temperament and they are CPI ML (66.7 percent) AJSU (100 percent) and congress (27 percent).

TABLE D-3.21	Opinion as to the rating of mass media performance in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Political party/ Media	Excellent	Good	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Unsatisfactory and disturbing	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	9.1%	18.2%	33.3%	18.2%	21.2%		100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	8.2%	23.0%	53.3%	4.1%	7.4%	4.1%	100.00%
Politician (CPI-ML)	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%				100.00%
Politician (AJSU)			100.0%				100.00%
Politician (BJP)	3.4%	15.5%	60.3%	15.5%	5.2%		100.00%
Politician (INC)	5.0%	15.0%	60.0%	15.0%	5.0%		100.00%
Politician (JDU)		100.0%					100.00%
Politician (JMM)		15.4%	61.5%	15.4%	7.7%		100.00%
Politician (JVM)	8.3%		58.3%	16.7%	8.3%	8.3%	100.00%
Politician (MCC)			100.0%				100.00%
Politician (RJD)			50.0%	25.0%		25.0%	100.00%
Total	6.7%	18.6%	53.5%	10.4%	8.2%	2.6%	100.00%

As to the rating of the media performance in the state 53.5 percent said that it was satisfactory while 10.4 percent said it was unsatisfactory. Interestingly 8.2 percent of the respondents said the performance level of the media was not only unsatisfactory but also disturbing.

2.6 percent of the respondents also said that the role of media was depressing.

Only 6.7 percent of the respondents including 9.1 percent of the electronic media persons and 8.2 percent of the print media persons said that the performance of media was excellent while 18.6 percent of the respondents said it was good.

TABLE D-3.22	Suggestions, as to how to improve the role of media in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Political party/ Media	Less sensationa lisation of crime	Avoidance of sensationa lism	Strict adherence to professional conduct	Objective political reporting	Judicious use of freedom of expression	
Journalist (Electronic Media)		15.2%	30.3%	15.2%	39.4%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	4.1%	13.9%	36.1%	6.6%	39.3%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)			33.3%		66.7%	100.0%
Politician (AJSU)			100.0%			100.0%
Politician (BJP)	6.9%	3.4%	24.1%	25.9%	39.7%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	5.0%	10.0%	35.0%	15.0%	35.0%	100.0%
Politician (JDU)			100.0%			100.0%
Politician (JMM)	7.7%	7.7%	46.2%	7.7%	30.8%	100.0%
Politician (JVM)		8.3%	16.7%	25.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Politician (MCC)			50.0%		50.0%	100.0%
Politician (RJD)			50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Total	4.1%	10.4%	33.1%	13.4%	39.0%	100.0%

On the suggestion for the improvement of media role in the state, 39 percent of the respondents said it should be judicious use of freedom of expression .13.4 percent of the respondents said that objective political reporting should be adopted by the media. Overall 33.1 percent of the respondents asked media to adhere to professional conduct. Out of these 33.1 percent respondents, 30.3 percent belong to the electronic media and 36.1 percent belong to the print media.

TABLE D-3.23	Suggestions, as to how to improve the professional performance level of media persons in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Political party/ Media	Professional training	A code of conduct	Regular performance assessment	A statutory monitoring mechanism	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	21.2%	6.1%	42.4%	6.1%	24.2%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	24.6%	13.9%	31.1%	10.7%	19.7%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)			33.3%		66.7%	100.0%
Politician (AJSU)	100.0%					100.0%
Politician (BJP)	24.1%	8.6%	32.8%	10.3%	24.1%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	10.0%	15.0%	20.0%	5.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Politician (JDU)					100.0%	100.0%
Politician (JMM)	7.7%	15.4%	15.4%	30.8%	30.8%	100.0%
Politician (JVM)	8.3%	8.3%	25.0%	41.7%	16.7%	100.0%
Politician (MCC)		50.0%			50.0%	100.0%
Politician (RJD)	25.0%				75.0%	100.0%
Total	21.2%	11.5%	30.1%	11.5%	25.7%	100.0%

About the media persons in Jharkhand need ..., 25.7 percent of the respondents favored a self-regulatory system like internal ombudsman. Of these 75 percent of the RJD politicians, 50 percent of MCC, 50 percent of congress and 100 percent of JDU politicians favored this logic.

21.2 percent of the respondents said professional training was required for the media persons in Jharkhand.

TABLE D-3.24	Opinion, as to what sort of relationship the politicians should have with media in Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Political party/ Media	Media literate	Fair and balanced	Trained by management institutes	Sensitive to public issues	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	15.2%	36.4%	3.0%	42.4%	3.0%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	13.9%	44.3%	1.6%	34.4%	5.7%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)		33.3%		33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
Politician (AJSU)	100.0%					100.0%
Politician (BJP)	24.1%	27.6%	5.2%	36.2%	6.9%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	15.0%	25.0%	10.0%	40.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Politician (JDU)		100.0%				100.0%
Politician (JMM)	7.7%	61.5%	7.7%	7.7%	15.4%	100.0%
Politician (JVM)	25.0%	16.7%		58.3%		100.0%
Politician (MCC)		50.0%			50.0%	100.0%
Politician (RJD)	25.0%	25.0%		50.0%		100.0%
Total	16.7%	37.5%	3.3%	35.7%	6.7%	100.0%

On the question of the politician-media relation, 37.5 percent of the respondents said that politicians should be fair and balanced with media. About 16.7 percent of the respondents said that politicians should be media literate in Jharkhand while 35.7 percent of the respondents expected the politicians to be sensitive to public issues.

TABLE D-3.25	Opinion, as to the attitude of media persons towards political class and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Political party/ Media	Be careful	Cultivate them	Expose them	Be free and fair	Educate them	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	9.1%		3.0%	75.8%		12.1%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	16.4%	0.8%	3.3%	74.6%	2.5%	2.5%	100.00%
Politician (CPI-ML)			33.3%		33.3%	33.3%	100.00%
Politician (AJSU)	100.0%						100.00%
Politician (BJP)	17.2%	1.7%	3.4%	69.0%	1.7%	6.9%	100.00%
Politician (INC)	10.0%	5.0%	5.0%	65.0%		15.0%	100.00%
Politician (JDU)				100.0%			100.00%
Politician (JMM)	23.1%		15.4%	38.5%	7.7%	15.4%	100.00%
Politician (JVM)	16.7%			83.3%			100.00%
Politician (MCC)	50.0%			50.0%			100.00%
Politician (RJD)				100.0%			100.00%
Total	15.6%	1.1%	4.1%	70.6%	2.2%	6.3%	100.00%

To the question in terms of relation media should have with the political class, overwhelmingly 70.6 percent of the respondents expected media persons to be free and fair. Among others 15.6 percent respondents expected media persons to be careful while dealing with political class.

Only 4.1 p of the respondents expected media persons to expose the political class.

TABLE D-3.26	Opinion, as to how media should be like in the state of Jharkhand and political party/media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Political party/ Media	Free from the nexus with politicians	Run by employee cooperatives /trusts	Subsidised by the state government	Freed from corporate influence	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	36.4%	24.2%	6.1%	30.3%	3.0%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	57.4%	8.2%	3.3%	19.7%	11.5%	100.0%
Politician (CPI-ML)			66.7%	33.3%		100.0%
Politician (AJSU)	100.0%					100.0%
Politician (BJP)	46.6%	17.2%	3.4%	31.0%	1.7%	100.0%
Politician (INC)	20.0%	20.0%	5.0%	50.0%	5.0%	100.0%
Politician (JDU)		100.0%				100.0%
Politician (JMM)	53.8%	15.4%	7.7%	23.1%		100.0%
Politician (JVM)	25.0%	8.3%	8.3%	58.3%		100.0%
Politician (MCC)	100.0%					100.0%
Politician (RJD)	25.0%	25.0%		50.0%		100.0%
Total	47.2%	13.8%	4.8%	27.9%	6.3%	100.0%

On the issue of how media in the state should be, 47.2 percent of the respondents said it should be free from the nexus with politicians. While 27.9 percent of the respondents said, media should be free from the corporate influenced.

Table: D - 4 Profile of the respondents based on their Tribal / non-tribal origin

Tribal / non-tribal	Frequency
Tribals	36
Non-Tribals	502
Total	538

TABLE D-4.1	Reasons for political instability in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Lust for power among political parties	Greed for money among politicians	Central intervention in state politics	Fractured mandate	Division of State	
Tribal's	11.1%	5.6%	16.7%	61.1%	5.6%	100.0%
Non-Tribal's	19.9%	6.8%	4.8%	65.7%	2.8%	100.0%
Total	19.3%	6.7%	5.6%	65.4%	3.0%	100.0%

On the issue why Jharkhand has seen nine governments in 13 years both tribals and non tribals responded in a similar fashion as 61.1 percent of the tribals said that fractured mandate was the main reason while 65.7 percent of the non-tribals respondents also said the same.

In total, 19.3 percent of the respondents said that lust for power among political parties was the reason for political instability in Jharkhand. **Against the known perception that greed for money among politicians was one of the major reasons for the political instability in Jharkhand, it has been proved that greed for money among politicians was not a major reason for the fall of governments in Jharkhand as only 6.7 percent of the respondents opined that greed for money among politicians was the reason for political instability.** Among these, only 5.6 percent of the tribal respondents favoured this view while it was 6.8 percent among non tribals.

TABLE D-4.2		Reasons for Jharkhand's separation from Bihar and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents				
Tribals/ Non-Tribals	Jharkhandies were not getting equal treatment	Politicians of Jharkhand had their own ambitions	Jharkhand was under-developed under the administration of Bihar	People of Jharkhand desired so	Small states develop economically	Total
Tribal's	38.9%	22.2%	16.7%		22.2%	100.0%
Non-Tribal's	19.5%	17.1%	31.5%	13.1%	18.7%	100.0%
Total	20.8%	17.5%	30.5%	12.3%	19.0%	100.0%

To the question why Jharkhand was separated from Bihar 30.5 percent of the total respondents said that it was separated because Jharkhand was under developed under the administration of Bihar. Out of these, tribals and non-tribals thought about this issue differently as only 16.7 percent of the tribals favoured this view while 31.5 percent of the non tribals were of the same view. While 38.9 percent of the tribals thought that Jharkhandies were not getting equal treatment under Bihar administration, only 19.5 non-tribal respondents endorsed the statement. **None of the tribals in-fact said that people of Jharkhand desired to separate from Bihar while 13.1 percent of the non tribals said that people of Jharkhand desired so.**

TABLE D-4.3		Opinion on state of affairs in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents				Total
Tribals/ Non-Tribals	Is a failed state	Has not taken the real shape of a state	Lacks good leadership	Will never be able to get a government with single party majority	Is a developing state	
Tribal's	5.6%	27.8%	33.3%	27.8%	5.6%	100.0%
Non-Tribal's	6.8%	13.1%	62.2%	7.2%	10.8%	100.0%
Total	6.7%	14.1%	60.2%	8.6%	10.4%	100.0%

In the survey when it was asked, what was the opinion of respondents on Jharkhand, 60.2 percent thought that Jharkhand lacked good leadership. **It is interesting to note that on this issue tribals and non tribals thought differently as only 33.3 percent of the tribals said that the state lacked good leadership while just double the number of the non-tribal respondents, 62.2 percent said that Jharkhand lacked good leadership.** Interestingly the thought of tribals and non tribals on several aspects this question differed a lot but the opinion about Jharkhand being a failed state , 5.6 percent tribals said 'yes' while 6.8 percent of the non tribals endorsed it. On the issue of Jharkhand will never be able to get government with single party majority, 27.8 percent of the tribals said 'yes' but only 7.2 percent of the non tribals were of this opinion.

TABLE D-4.4		Reasons for Jharkhand lagging behind in development and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Lack of initiative	Lack of skilled manpower	Lack of pro- active development policy	Arrogant bureaucracy	Uneducated population		
Tribal's	16.7%	16.7%	38.9%	27.8%		100.0%	
Non- Tribal's	36.3%	8.0%	42.6%	8.0%	5.2%	100.0%	
Total	34.9%	8.6%	42.4%	9.3%	4.8%	100.0%	

On the issue, why Jharkhand lags behind in development, 42.2 percent of the respondents said that it lacks pro-active development policy. Out of these respondents, 38.9 percent were tribals and 42.6 percent were non tribals. **Only 9.3 percent of the respondents thought that arrogant bureaucracy was responsible for the non-development of Jharkhand. One can see that the tribal population is hard affected by the bureaucratic setup and that is why 27.8 percent of them blamed arrogant bureaucracy for it while only 8 percent of the non tribals favoured this view.**

Overall, 34.9 percent of the tribal and non-tribal population said that lack of initiative was the main reason behind the non-development of Jharkhand. In total 4.8 percent of the respondent said that uneducated population of the Jharkhand was responsible for the under development of the state.

TABLE D-4.5		Reasons for no political party getting a majority in the State Assembly and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents					
Tribals/ Non- Tribals	People do not have full faith in any one of the political parties	The state population is divided on the lines of tribal and non-tribal	Political leaders are not dependable	The number of seats in the assembly is less	Small parties are dividing the votes	Total	
Tribal's	27.8%	11.1%	11.1%	50.0%		100.0%	
Non- Tribal's	20.7%	13.5%	10.0%	30.3%	25.5%	100.0%	
Total	21.2%	13.4%	10.0%	31.6%	23.8%	100.0%	

As to why no political party has been able to get majority in the state assembly during the last 13 years, 31.6 percent of the respondents said the number of seats in the assembly was less and it was the main reason for none of the political parties getting majority.

Only 10 percent of the respondents said that political leaders are not dependable that is why political parties have not been able to get a majority in the assembly.

It is important to note that while 50 percent of the tribals think that number of seats in the assembly is less, only 30.3 percent non tribals have accepted the view.

TABLE D-4.6		Role of bureaucracy in the non-development of Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents.					
Tribals /Non-Tribals	Bureaucrats are not responsible	Bureaucrats are partially responsible	Bureaucrats are in-fact responsible	Their non-performance is due to political intervention	Honest bureaucrats are not encouraged	Total	
Tribal's		38.9%	16.7%	22.2%	22.2%	100.0%	
Non-Tribal's	5.6%	39.0%	13.1%	23.1%	19.1%	100.0%	
Total	5.2%	39.0%	13.4%	23.0%	19.3%	100.0%	

On the role of bureaucrats in the non-development of Jharkhand, 39 percent of the respondents said bureaucrats are partially responsible for this situation. While 38.9 percent of the tribals thought this way, exactly the same 39 percent of the non tribals also thought so.

5.2 percent of the respondents also said that bureaucrats are not responsible for the non-development of Jharkhand while 13.4 percent of the respondents think bureaucrats are in fact responsible for the present situation.

23 percent of the respondents said nonperformance of the bureaucrats is due to political intervention and 19.3 percent say bureaucrats could not work because honest bureaucrats are not encouraged.

Tribals /Non- Tribals	Reasons for the rift between tribals and non-tribals of Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	The instability of political administration	Electoral politics	Religious feelings	The issue of resource distribution	Unlimited migration of non- tribals into the tribal land	Any other reason	
Tribal's	11.1%	11.1%	27.8%	5.6%	27.8%	16.7%	10%
Non- Tribal's	19.1%	45.8%	4.8%	16.3%	11.6%	2.4%	10%
Total	18.6%	43.5%	6.3%	15.6%	12.6%	3.3%	100%

As to the reasons for the rift between tribals and non tribals, 43.5 percent thought that electoral politics was the main reason behind this. Interestingly while 45.8 percent of the non tribals thought it to be the main reason, only 11.1 percent of the tribals thought this way. This analysis reflects that the electoral politics has affected more the non tribals rather than the tribals.

About 15.6 percent of the total respondents said that the issue of resource distribution was the main reason for the rift. Out of these, 16.3 percent were non tribals and 5.6 percent were tribals.

Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Opinion as to the linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for political instability in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents.					Total
	To a great extent	To some extent	Wholly responsible	One of the reasons	Not at all	
Tribal's	11.1%	55.6%		27.8%	5.6%	100.0%
Non-Tribal's	13.1%	23.5%	2.4%	39.4%	21.5%	100.0%
Total	13.0%	25.7%	2.2%	38.7%	20.4%	100.0%

As to whether the linear fragmentation of the tribal population responsible for political instability in Jharkhand, 38.7 percent of the respondents said this was one of the reasons. 20.4 percent of the respondents said it was not at all the reason. **Only 2.2 percent of the respondents said linear fragmentation of the tribal population was wholly responsible.**

TABLE D-4.9	Opinion as to whether vested interests of the politicians responsible for the instability in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Tribals/ Non- Tribals	It is the sole reason	It is not the main reason	It is difficult to say	It is one of the reasons	
Tribal's	22.2%		11.1%	50.0%	16.7%	100.0%
Non- Tribal's	23.1%	7.6%	8.4%	56.6%	4.4%	100.0%
Total	23.0%	7.1%	8.6%	56.1%	5.2%	100.0%

In relation to opinion whether vested interest of the politicians is responsible for the instability in Jharkhand, 56.1 percent said it is one of the reasons. Out of this 50 percent were tribals and 56.6 percent of the non tribals. 16.7 percent of the tribals and 4.4 percent of the non tribals did not consider as the reason at all.

Overall, 23 percent of the respondents said that it was the sole reason and tribals and non tribals almost agreed on this point with 22.2 percent of the tribals and 23.1 percent non tribals.

TABLE D-4.10	Opinion as to whether, the sheer number of political parties responsible for instability in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Tribals/ Non- Tribals	It is the reason	It is not the reason	It is one of the reasons	It is difficult to answer	
Tribal's	5.6%	11.1%	66.7%	5.6%	11.1%	100.0%
Non- Tribal's	15.5%	9.2%	63.7%	3.6%	8.0%	100.0%
Total	14.9%	9.3%	63.9%	3.7%	8.2%	100.0%

In the question, do you think the sheer number of political parties responsible for the political instability of Jharkhand, overwhelmingly 63.9 percent of the respondents considered it to be one of the reasons. Out of this, 66.7 percent were the tribals and 63.7 percent were non tribals. 8.2 percent of the respondents said it was not at all the reason.

TABLE D-4.11	Opinion as to the consequences of political instability in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents						
Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Lack of develop ment	Increased poverty	Absence of employment	Inadequate investment	Educational backwar dness	All of these	Total
Tribal's	38.9%	11.1%	5.6%		5.6%	38.9%	100.00%
Non- Tribal's	27.9%	1.6%	8.4%	5.2%	2.4%	54.6%	100.00%
Total	28.6%	2.2%	8.2%	4.8%	2.6%	53.5%	100.00%

As to the consequences of political instability in Jharkhand, 28.6 percent of the population said it created lack of development while overall 53.5 percent thought political instability has created all the bad things for Jharkhand including lack of development, increase poverty, absence of employment, inadequate investment and educational backwardness.

Tribals and non tribals think differently when they were asked about increase in poverty, as while only 1.6 percent of the non tribals thought that political instability increased poverty, 11.1 percent of the tribal population said that political instability increased poverty.

TABLE D-4.12		Opinion as to politicians ruining the state of Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents				Total
Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Yes, it is true	No, it is a completely wrong perception	It is true to some extent	There are other more important reasons for it	Only some of the politicians are responsible for the state of affairs	
Tribal's	22.2%	11.1%	33.3%	11.1%	22.2%	100.0%
Non- Tribal's	26.7%	6.8%	39.4%	10.4%	16.7%	100.0%
Total	26.4%	7.1%	39.0%	10.4%	17.1%	100.0%

To the question whether politicians have ruined the state of Jharkhand, 39 percent of the respondents said it was true to some extent. Out of this, 39.4 percent non tribals and 33.3 percent of the tribals agreed with this view. Overall, 17.1 percent of the respondents said only some of the politicians are responsible for the state of affairs. 11.1 percent of tribals and 6.8 percent of the non tribals said that it was a completely wrong perception. Overall, 26.4 percent of the respondents said ‘yes’ it is ‘true’ that politicians have ruined the state of Jharkhand.

TABLE D-4.13	The role of mass media in the political instability in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Have played spoilsport	Are just an impartial observer	Are the king makers	Have nexus with politicians	
Tribal's	11.1%	38.9%		16.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Non- Tribal's	10.0%	33.9%	5.6%	20.7%	29.9%	100.0%
Total	10.0%	34.2%	5.2%	20.4%	30.1%	100.0%

To the question, when it comes to political instability, then what should be the role of mass media, 34.2 percent of the respondents have said mass media has been just an impartial observer. 10 percent of the respondents have said that mass media has played spoilsport. In this regard, tribals and non tribals have no variance of thought. 30.1 percent of the respondents have said that mass media have influenced political decisions in Jharkhand.

TABLE D-4.14		The approach of newspapers about stability in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents					
Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Have favoured political stability	Have not paid any attention to the issue	Have divergent opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been busy with paid news and planting news	Have created political instability	Total
Tribal's	16.7%	16.7%	44.4%	16.7%	5.6%		100.00%
Non- Tribal's	20.7%	16.3%	38.6%	10.0%	12.7%	1.6%	100.00%
Total	20.4%	16.4%	39.0%	10.4%	12.3%	1.5%	100.00%

As to the role of newspapers in Jharkhand, 39 percent of the respondents have said that newspapers have divergent opinions. Out of these, 44.4 percent of the tribals and 38.6 percent of the non tribals are of this opinion. Only 1.5 percent of the respondents have said that newspapers have themselves created political instability in Jharkhand.

TABLE D-4.15	The approach of electronic media about stability in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals- wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Have influenced public opinion for political stability	Have ignored the issue	Have different opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been busy with paid news and planting news	Have created political instability	
Tribal's		27.8%	50.0%	22.2%			100.00%
Non- Tribal's	17.1%	20.3%	32.7%	9.6%	16.7%	3.6%	100.00%
Total	16.0%	20.8%	33.8%	10.4%	15.6%	3.3%	100.00%

On the role of electronic media, 33.8 percent respondents have said that electronic media have different opinions about the stability in Jharkhand. Out of these, 50 percent of the tribals and 32.7 percent of the non tribals have supported this view. 20.8 percent of the respondents have said that electronic media has ignored the issue. 16 percent of the total respondents have said that electronic media have influenced public opinion for political stability.

TABLE D-4.16	Opinion about the ownership patterns of newspapers in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents:						Total
	Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by the political class	Are owned by activists	Are a family business	Are owned by chains	
Tribal's	38.9%	5.6%		11.1%		44.4%	100.00%
Non- Tribal's	41.8%	3.2%	1.2%	5.2%	14.3%	34.3%	100.00%
Total	41.6%	3.3%	1.1%	5.6%	13.4%	34.9%	100.00%

To the question about the ownership of the newspapers in Jharkhand, 41.6 percent of the respondents have said that these are owned by business houses. Out of these, 38.9 percent tribals and 41.8 percent non tribals have supported the view. Only 1.1 percent has said that newspapers are owned by social activists and 34.9 percent say that newspapers in Jharkhand have different patterns of ownership.

TABLE D-4.17	Opinion about the ownership patterns of electronic media in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by political leaders	Are owned by national media houses	Are family business	Are owned by independent individuals	
Tribal's	27.8%			5.6%	16.7%	50.0%	100.00%
Non- Tribal's	27.9%	5.2%	7.2%	5.2%	9.6%	45.0%	100.00%
Total	27.9%	4.8%	6.7%	5.2%	10.0%	45.4%	100.00%

Regarding the ownership of electronic media in Jharkhand, 45.4 percent of the respondents have said that electronic media in Jharkhand have different patterns of ownership. Tribals and non tribals almost agree on this count. Interestingly, 27.9 percent of both the groups agree to say that electronic media is owned by business houses in Jharkhand.

TABLE D-4.18	Opinion about the value orientation of media in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Objective	Partisan	Neutral	Sensation- mongers	Highly political	
Tribal's	5.6%	16.7%	22.2%	16.7%	5.6%	33.3%	100.00%
Non- Tribal's	15.1%	7.6%	26.7%	16.3%	12.7%	21.5%	100.00%
Total	14.5%	8.2%	26.4%	16.4%	12.3%	22.3%	100.00%

In response to the question on the role of media in Jharkhand, 26.4 percent of the respondents said media is neutral in Jharkhand. Out of these, 26.7 percent were non tribals and 22.2 percent were tribals. It is important to note that only 5.6 percent of the tribals think that media is objective while a large number i.e. 33.3 percent of the tribals think media in Jharkhand as directionless and 5.6 percent of them consider it highly political while 16.7 percent say that media is sensation-monger and even 16.7 percent consider it partisan. Interestingly, amongst non-tribals 21.5 percent considered media directionless, 12.7 percent think it highly political, 16.3 percent take it as sensation-monger and only 7.6 percent say that it is partial.

It is very important to note that while 5.6 percent tribals think that media is objective, almost three times the tribals i.e. 15.1 percent of the non tribals consider media as objective. This table clearly shows that tribals of Jharkhand do not have faith in media while non tribals have a little bit of faith in media.

TABLE D-4.19		Opinion about the issues that need mass media focus in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Tribals/ Non-Tribals	Social issues	Communal harmony	Investigative Journalism	Developmental issues	Educating the people	Good governance and political stability	
Tribal's	5.6%	5.6%	11.1%	38.9%	5.6%	33.3%	100.00%
Non-Tribal's	16.3%	3.6%	4.8%	32.3%	9.2%	33.9%	100.00%
Total	15.6%	3.7%	5.2%	32.7%	8.9%	33.8%	100.00%

As to the objectives of mass media in Jharkhand, 33.8 percent of the total respondents have said that good governance and political stability should be the main focus of media in Jharkhand while 32.7 percent of the respondents said it should focus upon developmental issues. Tribal and non-tribal population almost agree on the role of mass media in Jharkhand

TABLE D-4.20	Opinion about the areas in need of media promotion in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Democracy	Human rights	Scientific temperament	Peace	
Tribal's	50.0%	5.6%	16.7%		27.8%	100.0%
Non- Tribal's	42.6%	8.8%	11.6%	1.2%	35.9%	100.0%
Total	43.1%	8.6%	11.9%	1.1%	35.3%	100.0%

As to what, media in the state should promote, 43.1 percent of the respondents said that it should promote democracy. Out of these, 50 percent were tribals and 42.6 percent were non tribals.

35.3 percent of the respondents said that media should promote enlightened citizenry.

TABLE D-4.21	Opinion as to the rating of mass media performance in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Excellent	Good	Satis factory	Unsatis factory	Unsatis factory and disturbing	
Tribal's	5.6%	5.6%	72.2%	11.1%	5.6%		100.00%
Non- Tribal's	6.8%	19.5%	52.2%	10.4%	8.4%	2.8%	100.00%
Total	6.7%	18.6%	53.5%	10.4%	8.2%	2.6%	100.00%

As far the rating of the media performance in this state, 53.5 percent of the respondents said that it was satisfactory. Out of these interestingly 72.2 percent of the tribals said it was satisfactory while only 52.2 percent of the non tribals supported the view.

Of the total respondents, 10.4 percent said media performance was unsatisfactory, 8.2 percent said it was unsatisfactory and disturbing and 2.6 percent said it was depressing.

When it was asked to the respondents whether the rating was good, only 5.6 percent of the tribals said it as good and 19.5 percent of the non tribals said the same, while 5.6 percent of the tribals considered it as excellent. Only 6.8 percent of the non-tribals endorsed this statement.

TABLE D-4.22	Suggestions, as to how to improve the role of media in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Less sensationalisation of crime	Avoidance of sensationalism	Strict adherence to professional conduct	Objective political reporting	
Tribal's	5.6%		27.8%	22.2%	44.4%	100.0%
Non- Tribal's	4.0%	11.2%	33.5%	12.7%	38.6%	100.0%
Total	4.1%	10.4%	33.1%	13.4%	39.0%	100.0%

Regarding suggestions for the improvement of media role in the state, 39 percent of the respondents prodded media for judicious use of freedom of expression which included 44.4 percent of the tribals and 38.6 percent of the non-tribal respondents.

4.1 percent of the respondents expected media to be less sensational in reporting crime while 10.4 percent asked it to avoid sensationalism.

Of the total respondents, 33.1 percent asked media to strictly adhere to professional conduct and 13.4 percent of the respondents said media should objectively report political stories. Out of these, tribals were more suspicious and 22.2 percent of them asked for objective political reporting while only 12.7 percent of the non tribals supported this view.

TABLE D-4.23		Suggestions, as to how to improve the professional performance level of media persons in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents					
Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Professional training	A code of conduct	Regular performance assessment	A statutory monitoring mechanism	A self regulatory system like internal ombudsman	Total	
Tribal's	5.6%		22.2%	22.2%	50.0%	100.0%	
Non- Tribal's	22.3%	12.4%	30.7%	10.8%	23.9%	100.0%	
Total	21.2%	11.5%	30.1%	11.5%	25.7%	100.0%	

Regarding the quality of media persons in Jharkhand, 30.1 percent of the respondents said that there should be a regular performance assessment of the media persons in Jharkhand. Out of these, 22.2 percent tribals and 30.7 percent non tribals supported this proposition. 25.7 percent of the respondents supported self-regulatory system like internal ombudsman in media houses. Interestingly 50 percent of the tribals and 23.9 percent of the non tribals supported this view. In contrast only 5.6 percent tribals asked for professional training for media persons in Jharkhand while 22.3 percent non-tribals asked for the same.

TABLE D-4.24	Opinion, as to what sort of relationship the politicians should have with media in Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Tribals/ Non-Tribals	Media literate	Fair and balanced	Trained by management institutes	Sensitive to public issues	
Tribal's	22.2%	16.7%	5.6%	44.4%	11.1%	100.0%
Non- Tribal's	16.3%	39.0%	3.2%	35.1%	6.4%	100.0%
Total	16.7%	37.5%	3.3%	35.7%	6.7%	100.0%

As far the politicians having relationship with the media, 37.5 percent of the respondents said it should be fair and balanced and 35.7 percent said it should be sensitive to public issues. Interestingly while only 16.7 percent tribals asked politicians to be fair and balanced, 39 per cent of the non tribals asked politicians to be fair and balanced while having relationship with media.

TABLE D-4.25	Opinion, as to the attitude of media persons towards political class and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Be careful	Cultivate them	Expose them	Be free and fair	Educate them	
Tribal's	16.7%			72.2%		11.1%	100.00%
Non- Tribal's	15.5%	1.2%	4.4%	70.5%	2.4%	6.0%	100.00%
Total	15.6%	1.1%	4.1%	70.6%	2.2%	6.3%	100.00%

Regarding the media persons having relationship with the political class, 70.6 percent in the respondents said it should be free and fair. It consisted of 72.2 percent of the tribals and 70.5 percent of the non tribals.

15.6 percent of the respondents said media persons should be careful while having relationship with politicians and only a meager 1.1 percent of the respondents also said media persons must cultivate politicians. 4.1 percent of the respondents said that media persons must expose the politicians.

TABLE D-4.26	Opinion, as to how media should be like in the state of Jharkhand and tribals/non-tribals-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Tribals/ Non- Tribals	Free from the nexus with politicians	Run by employee cooperatives/trust	Subsidised by the state government	Freed from corporate influence	
Tribal's	27.8%	27.8%	5.6%	38.9%		100.0%
Non- Tribal's	48.6%	12.7%	4.8%	27.1%	6.8%	100.0%
Total	47.2%	13.8%	4.8%	27.9%	6.3%	100.0%

On what should be the status of the media, 47.2 percent of the respondents said that the media in Jharkhand should be free from the nexus with politician. Out of these 48.6 percent were non-tribal while 27.8 percent were tribals. Overall, 27.9 percent of the respondents said that the media should be free from corporate influence. This included 38.9 percent tribals and 27.1 percent non-tribals.

Table: D - 5 Profile of the respondents based on their religion

Religion	Frequency
Hinduism	498
Christianity	10
Islam	20
Sikhism	6
Others	4
Total	538

TABLE D-5.1	Reasons for political instability in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents					
<i>Religions</i>	Lust for power among political parties	Greed for money among politicians	Central intervention in state politics	Fractured mandate	Division of State	Total
Hinduism	19.7%	4.8%	5.6%	66.7%	3.2%	100.0%
Christianity		40.0%	20.0%	40.0%		100.0%
Islam	20.0%	20.0%		60.0%		100.0%
Sikhism		66.7%		33.3%		100.0%
Others	50.0%			50.0%		100.0%
Total	19.3%	6.7%	5.6%	65.4%	3.0%	100.0%

As to why Jharkhand has seen nine governments in 13 years, 65.4 percent of the respondents said that it was because of fractured mandate. Out of these, 66.7 percent Hindus, 60 percent muslims, 50 percent others, 40 percent Christians and 33.3 percent Sikhs supported this arguments. Only 3 percent of the respondents said that instability in Jharkhand has been because of its division from Bihar.

It is very important to note that 66.7 percent Sikhs and 40 percent of the Christians said the greed for money among politicians was responsible for the fall of government in Jharkhand but the Hindus did not agree with them on this account and only 4.8 percent of the Hindus said that greed for money amongst politicians was responsible for political instability. Only 20 percent of muslims supported this view. Over all 6.7 percent of the respondents had this opinion

TABLE D-5.2	Reasons for Jharkhand's separation from Bihar and religion-wise distribution of respondents					
<i>Religions</i>	Jharkhandies were not getting equal treatment	Politicians of Jharkhand had their own ambitions	Jharkhand was underdeveloped under the administration of Bihar	People of Jharkhand desired so	Small states develop economically	Total
Hinduism	19.7%	16.9%	31.7%	12.9%	18.9%	100.0%
Christianity	60.0%		20.0%	20.0%		100.0%
Islam	30.0%	50.0%	10.0%		10.0%	100.0%
Sikhism	33.3%				66.7%	100.0%
Others			50.0%		50.0%	100.0%
Total	20.8%	17.5%	30.5%	12.3%	19.0%	100.0%

As to why Jharkhand was separated from Bihar, 30.5 percent of the respondents said Jharkhand was underdeveloped under the administration of Bihar. Out of these 31.7 percent Hindus, 20 percent Christians and 10 percent Muslims supported this view. In all, 12.3 percent opined that people of Jharkhand desired Jharkhand to be separated from Bihar.

50 percent of the Muslims and 16.9 percent of the Hindus thought that Jharkhand was separated because politicians of Jharkhand had their own ambitions. Over all, 17.5 percent of the respondents supported this opinion while 20.8 percent of the respondents said Jharkhandies were not getting equal treatment. Out of these 60 percent of Christians, 30 percent Muslims, 33.3 percent Sikhs and 19.7 percent Hindus supported the view.

TABLE D-5.3		Opinion on state of affairs in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents				
<i>Religions</i>	Is a failed state	Has not taken the real shape of a state	Lacks good leadership	Will never be able to get a government with single party majority	Is a developing state	Total
Hinduism	7.2%	14.1%	61.4%	7.6%	9.6%	100.0%
Christianity			60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Islam		10.0%	50.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Sikhism		66.7%		33.3%		100.0%
Others			50.0%		50.0%	100.0%
Total	6.7%	14.1%	60.2%	8.6%	10.4%	100.0%

As to the character of Jharkhand, 60.2 percent of the respondents said that it lacks good leaderships. All the communities across unanimously agreed to with this perception. 6.7 percent of the respondents said that Jharkhand is a failed state. 7.2 percent respondents were Hindus out of these respondents.

TABLE D-5.4	Reasons for Jharkhand lagging behind in development and religion-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	<i>Religions</i>	Lack of initiative	Lack of skilled manpower	Lack of pro-active development policy	Arrogant bureaucracy	
Hinduism	34.5%	8.8%	43.0%	9.6%	4.0%	100.0%
Christianity			80.0%	20.0%		100.0%
Islam	60.0%		30.0%		10.0%	100.0%
Sikhism	33.3%				66.7%	100.0%
Others	50.0%	50.0%				100.0%
Total	34.9%	8.6%	42.4%	9.3%	4.8%	100.0%

In response to the question why Jharkhand lags behind in development, 42.4 percent of the respondents said that it lacks a pro-active development policy. Out of these, 80 percent Christians, 43 percent Hindus and 30 percent Islamists supported this observation. Across all the religions, 9.3 percent respondents blamed the under development upon the arrogant bureaucracy while 4.8 percent said un-educated population was responsible for the non-development. Overall, 34.9 percent of the respondents said lack of initiative was responsible for the under development. This included 60 percent Muslims 33.3 percent Sikhs and 34.5 percent Hindus

TABLE D-5.5	Reasons for no political party getting a majority in the State Assembly and religion-wise distribution of respondents					
<i>Religions</i>	People do not have full faith in any one of the political parties	The state population is divided on the lines of tribal and non-tribal	Political leaders are not dependable	The number of seats in the assembly is less	Small parties are dividing the votes	Total
Hinduism	21.7%	14.1%	10.4%	30.5%	23.3%	100.0%
Christianity	20.0%	20.0%		40.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Islam	10.0%		10.0%	50.0%	30.0%	100.0%
Sikhism				33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
Others	50.0%			50.0%		100.0%
Total	21.2%	13.4%	10.0%	31.6%	23.8%	100.0%

As to why no political party has been able to get majority in the state assembly, 31.6 percent of the respondents blamed it on the less number of seats in the assembly. They included 50 percent Muslims, 40 percent Christians, 33.3 percent Sikhs and 30.5 percent Hindus.

Total of 23.8 percent respondents said small parties are dividing the votes. This included 66.7 percent Sikhs, 30 percent Muslims, 23.3 percent Hindus and 20 percent Christians.

Overall, 21.2 percent of the respondents said public does not have full faith in any one of the political parties.

TABLE D-5.6		Role of bureaucracy in the non-development of Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents				
<i>Religions</i>	Bureaucrats are not responsible	Bureaucrats are partially responsible	Bureaucrats are in-fact responsible	Their non- performance is due to political intervention	Honest bureaucrats are not encouraged	Total
Hinduism	5.6%	36.9%	13.3%	24.9%	19.3%	100.0%
Christianity		40.0%	20.0%		40.0%	100.0%
Islam		80.0%	10.0%		10.0%	100.0%
Sikhism		66.7%			33.3%	100.0%
Others		50.0%	50.0%			100.0%
Total	5.2%	39.0%	13.4%	23.0%	19.3%	100.0%

To the question, what is the role of bureaucrats in the non-development of Jharkhand, 39 percent of the respondents said bureaucrats are partially responsible. This number included 80 percent Muslims, 66.7 percent Sikhs, 40 percent Christians and 36.9 percent Hindu. Overall, 13.4 percent respondents said bureaucrats are in fact responsible for the situation. 19.3 percent respondents also said that honest bureaucrats are not encouraged while 23 percent of the respondents said that bureaucrats' nonperformance is due to political intervention.

TABLE D-5.7	Reasons for the rift between tribals and non-tribals of Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents						
<i>Religions</i>	The instability of political administration	Electoral politics	Religious feelings	The issue of resource distribution	Unlimited migration of non-tribals into the tribal land	Any other reason	Total
Hinduism	18.5%	44.6%	6.4%	15.7%	11.6%	3.2%	100.00%
Christianity		20.0%		20.0%	40.0%	20.0%	100.00%
Islam	40.0%	30.0%		20.0%	10.0%		100.00%
Sikhism		66.7%			33.3%		100.00%
Others			50.0%		50.0%		100.00%
Total	18.6%	43.5%	6.3%	15.6%	12.6%	3.3%	100.00%

In response to the question about the rift between tribals and non-tribals, 43.5 percent of the respondents blamed it to the electoral politics, out of which 66.7 percent were Sikhs, 44.6 percent Hindus, 30 percent Muslims and 20 percent Christians. 18.6 percent of the respondents said the political instability has caused the rift between tribals and non tribals.

Interestingly, 40 percent of the Christians and 33.3 percent of the Sikhs think that unlimited migration of non-tribals into the tribal land has caused rift between the tribals and non-tribals. Only 11.6 percent of the Hindus were of this opinion. 6.3 percent of the respondents said that religious feelings were responsible for the rift between the tribal and non-tribals.

TABLE D-5.8	Opinion as to the linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for political instability in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	To great extent	To some extent	Wholly responsible	One of the reasons	Not at all	
Hinduism	13.3%	25.7%	2.0%	38.6%	20.5%	100.0%
Christianity	20.0%	40.0%			40.0%	100.0%
Islam	10.0%	20.0%	10.0%	50.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Sikhism		33.3%		66.7%		100.0%
Others				50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total	13.0%	25.7%	2.2%	38.7%	20.4%	100.0%

Regarding opinion as to the linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for political instability in Jharkhand, 38.7 percent of the total respondents said that it was one of the reasons. Out of these, 66.7 percent belonged to Sikhs 50 percent to Islam, and 38.6 percent to Hinduism. Interestingly 2.2 percent among the respondents said that the fragmentation of the tribal population was wholly responsible and out of these, only 2 percent were Hindus while 10 percent were Muslims. 25.7 percent of the respondent believed that this was responsible to some extent only. However, 20.4 percent of the respondents including 40 percent of the Christians, 20.5 percent of Hindus and 10 percent of the Muslims said that it was not at all a reason.

TABLE D-5.9	Opinion as to whether vested interests of the politicians responsible for the instability in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents?					Total
	It is the sole reason	It is not the main reason	It is difficult to say	It is one of the reasons	It is not at all the reason	
Hinduism	24.1%	7.2%	9.2%	54.2%	5.2%	100.0%
Christianity				80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Islam	20.0%	10.0%		70.0%		100.0%
Sikhism				100.0%		100.0%
Others				100.0%		100.0%
Total	23.0%	7.1%	8.6%	56.1%	5.2%	100.0%

On opinion as to whether vested interests of politicians was responsible for the instability in Jharkhand, 56.1 percent of the respondents said it is one of the reasons. This included all the Sikhs, 80 percent of the Christians, 70 percent Muslims and only 54.2 percent Hindus. 23 percent of the respondents said that it is the sole reason while 5.2 percent of the total respondents said it was not at all the reason. Interestingly, this number included only 5.2 percent of the Hindus while 20 percent of the Christians supported this view.

TABLE D-5.10	Opinion as to whether, the sheer number of political parties responsible for instability in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	<i>Religions</i>	It is the reason	It is not the reason	It is one of the reasons	It is difficult to answer	
Hinduism	14.9%	8.8%	63.9%	4.0%	8.4%	100.0%
Christianity		40.0%	60.0%			100.0%
Islam	20.0%	10.0%	60.0%		10.0%	100.0%
Sikhism			100.0%			100.0%
Others	50.0%		50.0%			100.0%
Total	14.9%	9.3%	63.9%	3.7%	8.2%	100.0%

Regarding the sheer number of political parties being responsible for the political instability of Jharkhand, 63.9 percent of the respondents said it was one of the reasons. This number included all the Sikhs, 60 percent each of Muslims and Christians and 63.9 percent of the Hindus. This shows that number of political parties is an important factor for the political instability in the state and almost all the respondents from all the religion are unanimous about it.

TABLE D-5.11		Opinion as to the consequences of political instability in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents					Total
<i>Religions</i>	Lack of development	Increased poverty	Absence of employment	Inadequate investment	Educational backwardness	All of these	
Hinduism	28.9%	2.4%	8.4%	4.0%	2.8%	53.4%	100.00%
Christianity	20.0%		20.0%			60.0%	100.00%
Islam	40.0%			10.0%		50.0%	100.00%
Sikhism				66.7%		33.3%	100.00%
Others						100 %	100.00%
Total	28.6%	2.2%	8.2%	4.8%	2.6%	53.5%	100.00%

To the question, what has been effect of political instability in Jharkhand, 53.5 percent of all the religions said that political instability created lack of development, increased poverty, absence of employment, inadequate investment and educational backwardness. 28.6 percent of the respondents said political instability has given birth to lack of development. This included 40 percent of the Muslims, 28.9 percent of the Hindus and 20 percent of the Christians.

TABLE D-5.12		Opinion as to politicians ruining the state of Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents				
:						
<i>Religions</i>	Yes, it is true	No, it is a completely wrong perception	It is true to some extent	There are other more important reasons for it	Only some of the politicians are responsible for the state of affairs	Total
Hinduism	27.3%	7.2%	38.2%	10.8%	16.5%	100.0%
Christianity			60.0%		40.0%	100.0%
Islam	30.0%	10.0%	30.0%	10.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Sikhism			100.0%			100.0%
Others			50.0%		50.0%	100.0%
Total	26.4%	7.1%	39.0%	10.4%	17.1%	100.0%

On the issue whether, politicians have ruined the state of Jharkhand, 39 percent of the respondents said it is true to some extent. This included all the Sikhs, 60 percent of Christians, 38.2 percent of Hindus and 30 percent of Muslims. 7.1 percent of the respondents also said that, it is was completely a wrong perception.

26.4 percent of the respondents said it is true and this included 30 percent of the Muslims and 27.3 percent of Hindus.

Overall, 17.1 percent of the respondents said that only some of the politicians are responsible for the sad state of affairs. This included 40 percent of Christians, 20 percent of Muslims and 16.5 percent of Hindus.

TABLE D-5.13		The role of mass media in the political instability in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents:				
<i>Religions</i>	Have played spoilsport	Are just an impartial observer	Are the king makers	Have nexus with politicians	Influence political decisions	Total
Hinduism	10.0%	34.1%	5.6%	20.5%	29.7%	100.0%
Christianity		20.0%			80.0%	100.0%
Islam	20.0%	30.0%		30.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Sikhism		100.0%				100.0%
Others				50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total	10.0%	34.2%	5.2%	20.4%	30.1%	100.0%

As to the role of mass media in political instability in Jharkhand, 34.2 percent said that mass media are just an impartial observer. The respondents included all the Sikhs, 30 percent of the Muslims, 34.1 percent of Hindus and 20 percent of Christians. 30.1 percent of respondents also said that mass media influenced political decisions. They included 80 percent of Christians while it is very important to note that only 20 percent of Muslims and 29.7 percent of Hindus supported this view. This analysis very interestingly shows that the thinking of Christians is entirely different from the respondents of other religions.

TABLE D-5.14	The approach of newspapers about stability in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents						
<i>Religions</i>	Have favoured political stability	Have not paid any attention to the issue	Have divergent opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been busy with paid news and planting news	Have created political instability	Total
Hinduism	22.1%	16.1%	38.2%	9.6%	12.4%	1.6%	100.00%
Christianity		20.0%	60.0%	20.0%			100.00%
Islam		20.0%	40.0%	20.0%	20.0%		100.00%
Sikhism		33.3%	66.7%				100.00%
Others			50.0%	50.0%			100.00%
Total	20.4%	16.4%	39.0%	10.4%	12.3%	1.5%	100.00%

Regarding the role of newspapers in Jharkhand, 39 percent said that they have divergent opinions. This included 60 percent Christians, 66.7 percent Sikhs, 40 percent Muslims and 38.2 percent of Hindus. 50 percent of the other believers also had the same opinion. 20.4 percent of the respondents said newspapers have favoured political stability.

TABLE D-5.15		The approach of electronic media about stability in Jharkhand and religion- wise distribution of respondents					
<i>Religions</i>	Have influenced public opinion for political stability	Have ignored the issue	Have different opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been busy with paid news and planting news	Have created political instability	Total
Hinduism	16.9%	21.7%	32.1%	9.6%	16.1%	3.6%	100.00%
Christianity			80.0%	20.0%			100.00%
Islam	10.0%	10.0%	50.0%	10.0%	20.0%		100.00%
Sikhism		33.3%		66.7%			100.00%
Others			100.0%				100.00%
Total	16.0%	20.8%	33.8%	10.4%	15.6%	3.3%	100.00%

As far as the role of electronic media in Jharkhand regarding political instability, 33.8 percent of the respondents said that different electronic media had different opinions. Out of these, the largest number of Christians i.e. 80 percent favoured this view besides 50 percent of the Muslims and 32.1 percent of Hindus.

20.8 percent of the respondents said electronic media has ignored the issue. **It is important to note that 15.6 percent of the respondents including 20 percent of Muslims and 16.1 percent of the Hindus said that electronic media in Jharkhand has been busy with paid news and planting news while 3.3 percent also said that it was electronic media which has created political instability.**

TABLE D-5.16	Opinion about the ownership patterns of newspapers in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents						
<i>Religions</i>	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by the political class	Are owned by activists	Are a family business	Are owned by chains	Have different patterns of ownerships	Total
Hinduism	42.6%	3.2%	0.8%	5.6%	12.9%	34.9%	100.00%
Christianity	20.0%	20.0%		20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	100.00%
Islam	30.0%		10.0%		30.0%	30.0%	100.00%
Sikhism	33.3%					66.7%	100.00%
Others	50.0%					50.0%	100.00%
Total	41.6%	3.3%	1.1%	5.6%	13.4%	34.9%	100.00%

On the ownership of newspaper in Jharkhand, 41.6 percent of the respondents said that they are owned by business houses while 34.9 percent said newspapers had different patterns of the ownership. It is important to note that even regarding ownership patterns of the newspaper different believers had different opinion. While 66.7 percent of the Sikhs said that newspaper of Jharkhand had different patterns of the ownership only 30 percent of Muslims, 20 percent of the Christians and 34.9 percent of Hindus supported this statement.

It is important to note that 20 percent of Christians think that newspaper in Jharkhand were owned by the political class while only 3.2 percent of the Hindus think on this line. Over all, also only 3.3 percent respondents thought that political class owns newspaper in Jharkhand.

TABLE D-5.17		Opinion about the ownership patterns of electronic media in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents					
<i>Religions</i>	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by political leaders	Are owned by national media houses	Are family business	Are owned by independent individuals	Have different patterns of ownerships	Total
Hinduism	27.3%	5.2%	6.8%	4.8%	9.2%	46.6%	100.00%
Christianity	20.0%		20.0%	20.0%		40.0%	100.00%
Islam	40.0%			10.0%	40.0%	10.0%	100.00%
Sikhism	33.3%					66.7%	100.00%
Others	50.0%					50.0%	100.00%
Total	27.9%	4.8%	6.7%	5.2%	10.0%	45.4%	100.00%

As regards the ownership pattern of electronic media in Jharkhand, 45.4 percent of the respondents said they have different patterns of ownership. This included 66.7 percent of the Sikhs, 46.6 percent of the Hindus, 40 percent of the Christians and only 10 percent of the Muslims.

Overall, 27.9 percent respondents said electronic media in Jharkhand were owned by business houses.

TABLE D-5.18	Opinion about the value orientation of media in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Objective	Partisan	Neutral	Sensation- mongers	Highly political	Direction less	
<i>Religions</i>							
Hinduism	14.9%	8.0%	26.5%	16.9%	11.2%	22.5%	100.00%
Christianity	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%			40.0%	100.00%
Islam	10.0%		20.0%	20.0%	30.0%	20.0%	100.00%
Sikhism			33.3%		66.7%		100.00%
Others		50.0%	50.0%				100.00%
Total	14.5%	8.2%	26.4%	16.4%	12.3%	22.3%	100.00%

On the question of the working of media in Jharkhand, it is very important to note that 22.3 percent said that it was directionless. This number included 40 percent of Christians, 22.5 percent of Hindus and 20 percent of Muslims. Not only this, 12.3 percent of the respondents also said that media in Jharkhand is highly political while 16.4 percent said they were sensation mongers. Only 26.4 percent said media was neutral and 14.5 percent said it was objective.

Interestingly 20 percent of the Christians thought media was partisan while only 8 percent of the Hindus thought accordingly.

TABLE D-5.19	Opinion about the issues that need mass media focus in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents:						Total
	Religions	Social issues	Communal harmony	Investigative Journalism	Develop mental issues	Educating the people	
Hinduism	14.9%	3.6%	5.6%	33.3%	8.4%	34.1%	100.00 %
Christianity	20.0%			20.0%	40.0%	20.0%	100.00 %
Islam	10.0%			30.0%	10.0%	50.0%	100.00 %
Sikhism	66.7%	33.3%					100.00 %
Others	50.0%			50.0%			100.00 %
Total	15.6%	3.7%	5.2%	32.7%	8.9%	33.8%	100.00 %

To a questions on the focus area of the mass media, 33.8 percent of the respondents said it should focus on good governance and political stability. This included 50 percent of Muslims, 34.1 percent of Hindus and 20 percent of Christians.

TABLE D-5.20	Opinion about the areas in need of media promotion in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	<i>Religions</i>	Democracy	Human rights	Scientific temperament	Peace	
Hinduism	43.8%	8.8%	11.2%	1.2%	34.9%	100.0%
Christianity	20.0%	20.0%			60.0%	100.0%
Islam	40.0%		10.0%		50.0%	100.0%
Sikhism	33.3%		66.7%			100.0%
Others	50.0%		50.0%			100.0%
Total	43.1%	8.6%	11.9%	1.1%	35.3%	100.0%

On the sector of media promotion, 43.1 percent said it should promote democracy. Interestingly it included 40 percent of the Muslims, 43.8 percent of Hindus and 33.3 percent of Sikhs, but only 20 percent of the Christians favoured this proposition. Overall, 35.3 percent of the respondents said media must promote enlightened citizenry

Religions	Opinion as to the rating of mass media performance in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents:						Total
	Excellent	Good	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Unsatisfactory and disturbing	Depressing	
Hinduism	6.8%	18.9%	53.4%	10.0%	8.0%	2.8%	100.00%
Christianity	20.0%	20.0%	40.0%	20.0%			100.00%
Islam		10.0%	50.0%	20.0%	20.0%		100.00%
Sikhism			100.0%				100.00%
Others		50.0%	50.0%				100.00%
Total	6.7%	18.6%	53.5%	10.4%	8.2%	2.6%	100.00%

With regard to the rating of the media performance in the state, 53.5 percent of the respondents said it was satisfactory which included all the Sikhs, 50 percent of the Muslims and 53.4 percent of the Hindus while 40 percent of the Christians.

10.4 percent of the respondents held media performance unsatisfactory, 8.2 percent unsatisfactory and disturbing and 2.6 percent even said it was depressing.

It is interesting to note that only 6.7 percent of the respondents said that performance of the media in Jharkhand was excellent and it included 20 percent of Christians and 6.8 percent of the Hindus. Only 18.6 percent of the respondents said the performance of media was good. This included 10 percent of the Muslims, 20 percent of the Christians and 18.9 percent of the Hindus.

TABLE D-5.22		Suggestions, as to how to improve the role of media in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents				
<i>Religions</i>	Less sensationalisation of crime	Avoidance of sensationalism	Strict adherence to professional conduct	Objective political reporting	Judicious use of freedom of expression	Total
Hinduism	4.4%	11.2%	32.5%	13.3%	38.6%	100.0%
Christianity			40.0%		60.0%	100.0%
Islam			40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	100.0%
Sikhism			66.7%	33.3%		100.0%
Others					100.0%	100.0%
Total	4.1%	10.4%	33.1%	13.4%	39.0%	100.0%

As regards suggestions for the improvement of media role in the state, 39 percent of the respondents suggested it should make judicious use of freedom of expression. This number included 60 percent of Christians, 40 percent of Muslims and 38.6 percent of Hindus.

Overall, 33.1 percent of the respondents said media must strictly adhere to professional conduct.

TABLE D-5.23	23. Suggestions, as to how to improve the professional performance level of media persons in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Professionals training	A code of conduct	Regular performance assessment	A statutory monitoring mechanism	A self regulatory system like internal ombudsman	
Hinduism	22.1%	11.6%	30.1%	12.0%	24.1%	100.0%
Christianity			20.0%	20.0%	60.0%	100.0%
Islam		10.0%	50.0%		40.0%	100.0%
Sikhism	66.7%	33.3%				100.0%
Others					100.0%	100.0%
Total	21.2%	11.5%	30.1%	11.5%	25.7%	100.0%

As regards media persons in Jharkhand, 25.7 percent said that a self-regulatory system like internal ombudsman should be created. This included 60 percent of Christians, 40 percent of Muslims and 24.1 percent of Hindus. Other 30.1 percent respondents said there should be a regular performance assessment of the media people. This included 50 percent of Muslims, 30.1 percent of Hindus and 20 percent of Christians.

TABLE D-5.24		Opinion, as to what sort of relationship the politicians should have with media in Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents:				
<i>Religions</i>	Media literate	Fair and balanced	Trained by management institutes	Sensitive to public issues	Educated as to public morality	Total
Hinduism	16.1%	37.8%	3.2%	36.5%	6.4%	100.0%
Christianity	20.0%	40.0%		40.0%		100.0%
Islam	20.0%	40.0%	10.0%	10.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Sikhism	66.7%	33.3%				100.0%
Others				100.0%		100.0%
Total	16.7%	37.5%	3.3%	35.7%	6.7%	100.0%

On the issue of politicians having relation with media, 37.5 percent said that it should be fair and balanced while 35.7 percent said it should be sensitive to public issues. This included 40 percent of Christians, 36.5 percent of Hindus and 10 percent of Muslims.

TABLE D-5.25	Opinion, as to the attitude of media persons towards political class and religion-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	<i>Religions</i>	Be careful	Cultivate them	Expose them	Be free and fair	Educate them	
Hinduism	16.5%	0.8%	3.6%	71.1%	2.0%	6.0%	100.00%
Christianity				80.0%		20.0%	100.00%
Islam	10.0%	10.0%		70.0%	10.0%		100.00%
Sikhism			66.7%	33.3%			100.00%
Others				50.0%		50.0%	100.00%
Total	15.6%	1.1%	4.1%	70.6%	2.2%	6.3%	100.00%

As regards relations with the political class, 70.6 percent of respondents said that it should be free and fair. This included 80 percent of Christians, 71.1 percent of Hindus and 70 percent of Muslims.

TABLE D-5.26	Opinion, as to how media should be like in the state of Jharkhand and religion-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	<i>Religions</i>	Free from the nexus with politicians	Run by employee cooperatives/trusts	Subsidised by the state government	Freed from corporate influence	
Hinduism	48.2%	12.9%	4.8%	27.7%	6.4%	100.0%
Christianity	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%			100.0%
Islam	30.0%	20.0%		40.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Sikhism		66.7%		33.3%		100.0%
Others	50.0%			50.0%		100.0%
Total	47.2%	13.8%	4.8%	27.9%	6.3%	100.0%

As far the structure of media in Jharkhand, 47.2 percent said it should be free from the nexus with politicians. This included 48.2 percent of Hindus, 60 percent of Christians, 30 percent of Muslims and 50 percent of rest of the people. 27.9 percent of the respondents said that media should be free from corporate influence. This included 40 percent of Muslims, 33.3 percent of the Sikhs and 27.7 percent of Hindus.

Table: D - 6 Profile of the respondents based on their origin from Jharkhand / outside Jharkhand

Origin from Jharkhand / outside Jharkhand	Frequency
Yes	346
No	192
Total	538

TABLE D-6.1 Birth Place Jharkhand / Outside Jharkhand	Reasons for political instability in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Lust for power among political parties	Greed for money among politicians	Central intervention in state politics	Fractured mandate	Division of State	
Yes	20.2%	8.1%	7.5%	61.8%	2.3%	100.0%
No	17.7%	4.2%	2.1%	71.9%	4.2%	100.0%
Total	19.3%	6.7%	5.6%	65.4%	3.0%	100.0%

To the question against the independent variable of place of birth (Jharkhandi or non Jharkhandi) in response to the question why Jharkhand has seen nine governments in 13 years, **65.4 percent of the respondents said it was because of fractured mandate. This included 61.8 percent of Jharkhandies and 71.9 percent of the non Jharkhandies.** Interestingly only 5.6 percent thought that instability in Jharkhand was because of Central intervention. Out of these 7.5 percent were Jharkhandi why 2.1 percent belong to non Jharkhandies. Overall 19.3 percent said that it was because of lust for power among political parties.

TABLE D-6.2		Reasons for Jharkhand's separation from Bihar and birth place-wise distribution of respondents					Total
Birth Place	Jharkhandies were not getting equal treatment	Politicians of Jharkhand had their own ambitions	Jharkhand was under-developed under the administration of Bihar	People of Jharkhand desired so	Small states develop economically		
Jharkhand / Outside Jharkhand	26.0%	13.9%	26.0%	9.8%	24.3%	100.0%	
Yes	11.5%	24.0%	38.5%	16.7%	9.4%	100.0%	
No	20.8%	17.5%	30.5%	12.3%	19.0%	100.0%	
Total							

In response to a question regarding why Jharkhand separated from Bihar, 30.5 percent said that it happened because Jharkhand was under developed under the administration of Bihar. This included 26 percent of people born in Jharkhand while 38.5 percent belonging to outsiders.

20.8 percent of the respondents said that Jharkhandies were not getting equal treatment. It is important to note that while 26 percent of Jharkhandies believed this only 11.5 percent of the non Jharkhandies believed this. This clearly indicates that the people born in Jharkhand region felt beleaguered in Bihar before the separation.

TABLE D-6.3 Birth Place Jharkhand / Outside Jharkhand	Opinion on state of affairs in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Is a failed state	Has not taken the real shape of a state	Lacks good leadership	Will never be able to get a government with single party majority	Is a developing state		
Yes	5.8%	13.3%	61.8%	7.5%	11.6%	100.0%	
No	8.3%	15.6%	57.3%	10.4%	8.3%	100.0%	
Total	6.7%	14.1%	60.2%	8.6%	10.4%	100.0%	

Responding to a question about the opinion regarding success of Jharkhand states, 60.2 percent respondents unanimously said that Jharkhand lacked good leadership. On this account there seems to be unanimity between the Jharkhandies and non Jharkhandies as 61.8 percent of the Jharkhandies and 57.3 percent of the non Jharkhandies agreed to this logic.

TABLE D-6.4	Reasons for Jharkhand lagging behind in development and birth place-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Birth Place / Jharkhand / Outside Jharkhand	Lack of initiative	Lack of skilled manpower	Lack of pro-active development policy	Arrogant bureaucracy	Uneducated population	
Yes	34.7%	11.0%	39.9%	8.1%	6.4%	100.0%	
No	35.4%	4.2%	46.9%	11.5%	2.1%	100.0%	
Total	34.9%	8.6%	42.4%	9.3%	4.8%	100.0%	

To question about why Jharkhand lags behind in development, 42.4 percent said that lack of pro-active development policy was the main reason. They included 39.9 percent locals while 46.9 percent outsiders also agreed to this proposition.

34.9 percent of the respondents said lack of initiative was responsible. This also included 34.7 percent of the Jharkhandies and 35.4 percent of the outsiders.

TABLE D-6.5	Reasons for no political party getting a majority in the State Assembly and birth place-wise distribution of respondents						Total	
	Birth Jharkhand / Outside Jharkhand	Place	People do not have full faith in any one of the political parties	The state population is divided on the lines of tribal and non-tribal	Political leaders are not dependable	The number of seats in the assembly is less		Small parties are dividing the votes
Yes			19.7%	13.3%	9.8%	34.1%	23.1%	100.0%
No			24.0%	13.5%	10.4%	27.1%	25.0%	100.0%
Total			21.2%	13.4%	10.0%	31.6%	23.8%	100.0%

To the question about no political parties getting majority in the state assembly, 31.6 percent said that the number of seats in Jharkhand assembly was less. This thought was supported by 34.1 percent of the Jharkhandies and 27.1 percent of the non Jharkhandies.

23.8 percent of the respondents said small parties are dividing the votes. This included 25 percent outsiders and 23.1 percent insiders.

Interestingly outsiders and insiders of the state agreed that people generally do not have full faith in any one of the political parties. As 19.7 percent of the Jharkhandies and 24 percent of the non-residents of Jharkhand supported this logic. Overall 21.2 percent of the people agreed to this proposition.

TABLE D-6.6 Birth Place Jharkhand / Outside Jharkhand	Role of bureaucracy in the non-development of Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Bureaucrats are not responsible	Bureaucrats are partially responsible	Bureaucrats are in-fact responsible	Their performance is due to non-political intervention	Honest bureaucrats are not encouraged	
Yes	6.9%	40.5%	12.1%	21.4%	19.1%	100.0%
No	2.1%	36.5%	15.6%	26.0%	19.8%	100.0%
Total	5.2%	39.0%	13.4%	23.0%	19.3%	100.0%

As to what is the role of bureaucrats in the non-development of Jharkhand, 39 percent agreed that bureaucrats are partially responsible. Out of these 40.5 percent were Jharkhandies and 36.8 percent were non-Jharkhandies. It is interesting to note that on this issue mostly Jharkhandies and non-Jharkhandies agreed on other point as well.

TABLE D-6.7 Birth Place Jharkhand / Outside Jharkhand	Reasons for the rift between tribals and non-tribals of Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents							Total
	The instability of political administration	Electoral politics	Religious feelings	The issue of resource distribution	Unlimited migration of non-tribals into the tribal land	Any other reason		
Yes	14.5%	44.5%	9.2%	16.8%	11.0%	4.0%	100.00%	
No	26.0%	41.7%	1.0%	13.5%	15.6%	2.1%	100.00%	
Total	18.6%	43.5%	6.3%	15.6%	12.6%	3.3%	100.00%	

In response to the question about the rift between tribals and non tribals, 43.5 percent of the respondents said that it was because of electoral politics. This included 44.5 percent Jharkhandies and 41.7 percent outsiders.

TABLE D-6.8		Opinion as to the linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for political instability in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents					Total
		Birth Jharkhand / Jharkhand	Place Outside	To a great extent	To some extent	Wholly responsible	
Yes		10.4%	26.6%	2.3%	40.5%	20.2%	100.0%
No		17.7%	24.0%	2.1%	35.4%	20.8%	100.0%
Total		13.0%	25.7%	2.2%	38.7%	20.4%	100.0%

To a question about the opinion as to the linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for political instability in Jharkhand, 38.7 percent said that it was one of the reasons. This included 40.5 percent Jharkhandies and 35.4 percent others. Only 2.2 percent thought linear fragmentation as wholly responsible. Interestingly Jharkhandies and outsiders almost totally agreed on this issue as 2.3 percent of Jharkhandies and 2.1 percent of the outsiders agreed to this logic. Overall 25.7 percent said this divide was responsible to some extent.

TABLE D-6.9	Opinion as to whether vested interests of the politicians responsible for the instability in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Birth Place Jharkhand / Outside Jharkhand	It is the sole reason	It is not the main reason	It is difficult to say	It is one of the reasons	
Yes	22.5%	8.1%	6.9%	58.4%	4.0%	100.0%
No	24.0%	5.2%	11.5%	52.1%	7.3%	100.0%
Total	23.0%	7.1%	8.6%	56.1%	5.2%	100.0%

To a question about, opinion as to whether vested interests of the politicians responsible for the instability in Jharkhand, 56.1 percent said it was one of the reason and Jharkhandies and outsiders were almost agreed on this issue as 58.4 percent of the Jharkhandies and 52.1 percent of the outsiders supported this logic.

23 percent respondents said it was the sole reason and they included 22.5 percent of the Jharkhandies and 24 percent outsiders.

TABLE D-6.10 Birth Place Jharkhand / Outside Jharkhand	Opinion as to whether, the sheer number of political parties responsible for instability in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	It is the reason	It is not the reason	It is one of the reasons	It is difficult to answer	It is not the reason at all	
Yes	16.2%	8.1%	65.9%	5.2%	4.6%	100.0%
No	12.5%	11.5%	60.4%	1.0%	14.6%	100.0%
Total	14.9%	9.3%	63.9%	3.7%	8.2%	100.0%

To a question about the sheer number of political parties responsible for the political instability of Jharkhand, 63.9 percent said it was one of the reasons, while 8.2 percent said that it was not at all a reason. On this issue Jharkhandies and outsiders almost went in tandem. As 65.9 percent of the Jharkhandies and 60.4

TABLE D-6.11 Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Opinion as to the consequences of political instability in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents								Total
	Lack of development	Increased poverty	Absence of employment	Inadequate investment	Educational backwardness	All of these			
Yes	26.6%	2.9%	6.9%	5.2%	4.0%	54.3%	100.00%		
No	32.3%	1.0%	10.4%	4.2%		52.1%	100.00%		
Total	28.6%	2.2%	8.2%	4.8%	2.6%	53.5%	100.00%		

To a question about the result of political instability in Jharkhand, 28.6 percent of the respondents said it was lack of development. This included 26.6 percent of the Jharkhandies and 32.3 percent of the outsiders. Overall 53.5 percent of the respondents said that lack of development, increased poverty, absence of employment, inadequate investment and educational backwardness all of them were the result of political instability.

TABLE D-6.12	Opinion as to politicians ruining the state of Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Yes, it is true	No, it is completely wrong perception	It is true to some extent	There are other more important reasons for it	Only some of the politicians are responsible for the state of affairs	
Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand						
Yes	27.7%	5.2%	38.2%	11.6%	17.3%	100.0%
No	24.0%	10.4%	40.6%	8.3%	16.7%	100.0%
Total	26.4%	7.1%	39.0%	10.4%	17.1%	100.0%

When asked about have politicians ruined the state of Jharkhand, 39 percent said it is true to some extent and interestingly 38.2 percent of the Jharkhandies and 40.6 percent of the outsiders agreed on this issue. 7.1 percent of the respondents said it is completely wrong perception. This included 10.4 percent outsiders and 5.2 percent of Jharkhandies. 26.4 percent of the respondents agreed to the suggestion that politicians have ruined Jharkhand. Interestingly Jharkhandies and non Jharkhandies almost agreed on the issue, as 27.7 percent of the Jharkhandies and 24 percent of the outsiders supported of this view.

TABLE D-6.13	The role of mass media in the political instability in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Have played spoilsport	Are just an impartial observer	Are the king makers	Have nexus with politicians	Influence political decisions	
Yes		12.1%	30.6%	5.2%	22.0%	30.1%	100.0%
No		6.2%	40.6%	5.2%	17.7%	30.2%	100.0%
Total		10.0%	34.2%	5.2%	20.4%	30.1%	100.0%

To our question, when it comes to political instability, the mass media ..., 34.2 percent of the respondents said are just an impartial observer. This included 40.6 percent outsiders and 30.6 percent Jharkhandies.

10 percent of the respondent also said that mass media have played spoilsport it included 12.1 percent of the Jharkhandies while only 6.2 percent of the outsiders agreed to the suggestion.

30.1 percent of the respondents said that mass media influence the political decision.

TABLE D-6.14	The approach of newspapers about stability in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents							Total	
	Birth Jharkhand Jharkhand	Place /Outside Jharkhand	Have favoured political stability	Have not paid any attention to the issue	Have divergent opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been with news and planting news		Have created political instability
Yes			20.8%	18.5%	36.4%	12.1%	11.6%	0.6%	100.00%
No			19.8%	12.5%	43.8%	7.3%	13.5%	3.1%	100.00%
Total			20.4%	16.4%	39.0%	10.4%	12.3%	1.5%	100.00%

To our question about the opinion of newspaper in Jharkhand regarding stability, 39 percent people have said newspapers had divergent opinion on this issue and 36.4 percent of the Jharkhandies and 43.8 percent of the outsiders agreed to this suggestion.

20.4 percent of the respondents said that newspapers in Jharkhand have favoured political stability.

TABLE D-6.15	The approach of electronic media about stability in Jharkhand and birth place- wise distribution of respondents							Total
	Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Have influenced public opinion for political stability	Have ignored the issue	Have different opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been with news and planting news	Have created political instability	
Yes		14.5%	20.8%	34.1%	12.7%	14.5%	3.5%	100.00%
No		18.8%	20.8%	33.3%	6.2%	17.7%	3.1%	100.00%
Total		16.0%	20.8%	33.8%	10.4%	15.6%	3.3%	100.00%

In response to our question about the attitude of electronic media in Jharkhand about stability, 33.8 percent of the respondents said it had different opinions and this included 34.1 percent of Jharkhandies and 33.3 percent of the outsiders.

TABLE D-6.16 Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Opinion about the ownership patterns of newspapers in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents							Total
	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by the political class	Are owned by activists	Are a family business	Are owned by chains	Have different patterns of ownerships		
Yes	43.9%	3.5%	1.7%	8.1%	11.0%	31.8%	100.00%	
No	37.5%	3.1%		1.0%	17.7%	40.6%	100.00%	
Total	41.6%	3.3%	1.1%	5.6%	13.4%	34.9%	100.00%	

To a question, about the ownership of the newspapers in Jharkhand, 41.6 percent said they were owned by business houses and more or less Jharkhandies and outsiders agreed on this issue.

34.9 percent of the respondents said newspapers had different patterns of ownership.

TABLE D-6.17	Opinion about the ownership patterns of electronic media in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents							Total
	Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by political leaders	Are owned by national media houses	Are family business	Are owned by independent individuals	Have different patterns of ownership	
Yes	30.6%	3.5%	5.2%	5.8%	11.6%	43.4%	100.00%	
No	22.9%	7.3%	9.4%	4.2%	7.3%	49.0%	100.00%	
Total	27.9%	4.8%	6.7%	5.2%	10.0%	45.4%	100.00%	

To our question on the same issue about electronic media, 45.4 percent of the respondents said that electronic media in Jharkhand had different patterns of ownership. This number included 49 percent of the outsider and 43.4 percent of the Jharkhandies.

TABLE D-6.18	Opinion about the value orientation of media in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents							Total
	Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Objective	Partisan	Neutral	Sensation- mongers	Highly political	Directionless	
Yes		12.1%	8.7%	24.3%	17.9%	15.6%	21.4%	100.00%
No		18.8%	7.3%	30.2%	13.5%	6.2%	24.0%	100.00%
Total		14.5%	8.2%	26.4%	16.4%	12.3%	22.3%	100.00%

In response to the question about the approach of media in Jharkhand, importantly 22.3 percent said it was directionless and it included 24 percent of the outsiders and 21.4 percent of the Jharkhandi respondents. Only 26.4 percent of the respondents said media was neutral in Jharkhand and 14.5 percent said it was objective while 8.2 percent blamed it to be partisan. On this issue Jharkhandies and outsiders agreed on almost all the points except that 15.6 percent of the Jharkhandies considered media to be highly political while only 6.2 percent of the outsiders said like that.

TABLE D-6.19	Opinion about the issues that need mass media focus in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents							Total
	Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Social issues	Communal harmony	Investigative Journalism	Developmental issues	Educating the people	Good governance and political stability	
Yes		11.6%	4.6%	6.4%	28.9%	9.2%	39.3%	100.00%
No		22.9%	2.1%	3.1%	39.6%	8.3%	24.0%	100.00%
Total		15.6%	3.7%	5.2%	32.7%	8.9%	33.8%	100.00%

To the question about mass media in Jharkhand should focus more on ..., 33.8 percent of the respondents said, good governance and political stability. It included 39.3 percent of Jharkhandies and 24 percent of outsiders. 32.7 percent of the respondents said media must focus on developmental issues.

TABLE D-6.20 Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Opinion about the areas in need of media promotion in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Democracy	Human rights	Scientific temperament	Peace	Enlightened citizenry	
Yes	41.6%	10.4%	11.0%	0.6%	36.4%	100.0%
No	45.8%	5.2%	13.5%	2.1%	33.3%	100.0%
Total	43.1%	8.6%	11.9%	1.1%	35.3%	100.0%

On the question of mass media in the state must promote..., 43.1 percent said, democracy. This included 45.8 percent outsiders and 41.6 percent of Jharkhandies.

35.3 percent of the respondents said media must promote enlightened citizenry.

TABLE D-6.21	Opinion as to the rating of mass media performance in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Excellent	Good	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Unsatisfactory and disturbing	
Yes		6.4%	19.1%	52.0%	13.3%	7.5%	1.7%
No		7.3%	17.7%	56.2%	5.2%	9.4%	4.2%
Total		6.7%	18.6%	53.5%	10.4%	8.2%	2.6%
							100.00%
							100.00%
							100.00%

To our question about rating of the media performance in Jharkhand 53.5 percent said that it was satisfactory. Out of these 56.2 percent were outsiders and 52 percent were Jharkhandies.

TABLE D-6.22	Suggestions, as to how to improve the role of media in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Less sensationalisation of crime	Avoidance of sensationalism	Strict adherence to professional conduct	Objective political reporting	Judicious use of freedom of expression	
Yes		4.0%	11.6%	32.4%	14.5%	37.6%	100.0%
No		4.2%	8.3%	34.4%	11.5%	41.7%	100.0%
Total		4.1%	10.4%	33.1%	13.4%	39.0%	100.0%

As to the suggestion for the improvement of media role in Jharkhand include...., 39 percent respondents said, judicious use of freedom of expression. It included 41.7 percent outsiders and 37.6 percent of Jharkhandies. 33.1 percent said media must adhere to professional conduct. This included 34.4 percent outsiders and 32.4 percent of Jharkhandies.

TABLE D-6.23	Suggestions, as to how to improve the professional performance level of media persons in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Professional training	A code of conduct	Regular performance assessment	A statutory monitoring mechanism	A regulatory system like internal ombudsman	
Yes		19.7%	11.0%	26.6%	11.6%	31.2%	100.0%
No		24.0%	12.5%	36.5%	11.5%	15.6%	100.0%
Total		21.2%	11.5%	30.1%	11.5%	25.7%	100.0%

To a question about media persons in Jharkhand need..., 30.1 percent of the respondents said, regular performance assessments. This included 36.5 percent of outsiders and 26.6 percent of Jharkhandies.

Interestingly 25.7 percent of the respondents said media required self-regulatory system like internal ombudsman. This included 31.2 percent of the Jharkhandies while only 15.6 percent of the outsiders agreed to this suggestion.

TABLE D-6.24		Opinion, as to what sort of relationship the politicians should have with media in Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents						Total
Birth Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Place	Media literate	Fair and balanced	Trained by management institutes	Sensitive to public issues	Educated as to public morality		
Yes		18.5%	37.0%	5.2%	32.4%	6.9%	100.0%	
No		13.5%	38.5%		41.7%	6.2%	100.0%	
Total		16.7%	37.5%	3.3%	35.7%	6.7%	100.0%	

To the question about politicians having relationship, with media, 37.5 percent of the respondents said it should be fair and balanced. It included 37 percent Jharkhandies and 38.5 percent non Jharkhandies. 35.7 percent of the respondents said politicians should be sensitive to public issues.

TABLE D-6.25		Opinion, as to the attitude of media persons towards political class and birth place-wise distribution of respondents						Total
		Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Be careful	Cultivate them	Expose them	Be free and fair	Educate them	
Yes		13.3%	1.7%	4.6%	70.5%	2.9%	6.9%	100.00%
No		19.8%	1.1%	3.1%	70.8%	1.0%	5.2%	100.00%
Total		15.6%	1.1%	4.1%	70.6%	2.2%	6.3%	100.00%

In responseto a question about media persons having relation with political class, 70.6 percent of the respondents said it should be free and fair. This included almost the similar response from locals and outsiders as 70.5 percent of Jharkhandies and 70.8 percent outsiders supported this view.

TABLE D-6.26	Opinion, as to how media should be like in the state of Jharkhand and birth place-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Birth Place Jharkhand /Outside Jharkhand	Free from the nexus with politicians	Run by employee cooperatives/trusts	Subsidised by the state government	Freed from corporate influence	
Yes	42.8%	16.8%	4.6%	30.6%	5.2%	100.0%
No	55.2%	8.3%	5.2%	22.9%	8.3%	100.0%
Total	47.2%	13.8%	4.8%	27.9%	6.3%	100.0%

In response to a question regarding media in state should be ..., 47.2 percent of the respondents said, it should be free from the nexus with politicians. This included 55.2 percent of the outsiders and 42.8 percent of Jharkhandies. 27.9 percent of the respondents said that media should be freed from corporate influence. It included 30.6 percent of Jharkhandies and non Jharkhandies.

Table: D - 7 Profile of the respondents based on MLA/MP/Politician/Electronic Media/Print Media

MLA / MP / Politician /Electronic Media / Print Media	Frequency
Journalist(Electronic Media)	66
Journalist(Print Media)	244
MLA	58
MP	2
Politician	168
Total	538

TABLE D-7.1	Reasons for political instability in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Lust for power among political parties	Greed for money among politicians	Central intervention in state politics	Fractured mandate	Division of State	
MP/MLA/Politician/ Media						
Journalist(Electronic Media)	21.2%	6.1%	3.0%	63.6%	6.1%	100.0%
Journalist(Print Media)	18.9%	6.6%	0.8%	71.3%	2.5%	100.0%
MLA	17.2%	3.4%	3.4%	69.0%	6.9%	100.0%
MP			100.0%			100.0%
Politician	20.2%	8.3%	13.1%	57.1%	1.2%	100.0%
Total	19.3%	6.7%	5.6%	65.4%	3.0%	100.0%

MLAs/MPs/Politicians and journalists from electronic and print media were evaluated against responses of 26 questions. **As regards, why Jharkhand has seen nine governments in 13 years, 65.4 percent of the respondents said that it was because of fractured mandate.** This included 57.1 percent of the overall politicians, 69 percent MLAs, 71.3 percent journalists of print and 63.6 percent of electronic media. 5.6 percent of the total respondents said that central intervention in the state politics was the main reason for the fall of governments in Jharkhand. They included 13.1 percent politicians including all the MPs, 3.4 percent MLAs, 0.8 percent print journalists and 3 percent electronic media journalists.

Overall, 19.3 percent of the respondents said that political instability in Jharkhand was caused because of lust for power among political parties and 6.7 percent of the people said it was because of greed for money among politicians. 20.2 percent of the politicians, 17.2 percent of MLAs, 18.9 percent of print media and 21.2 percent of electronic media journalists supported this view.

TABLE D-7.2	Reasons for Jharkhand's separation from Bihar and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Jharkhandies were not getting equal treatment	Politicians of Jharkhand had their own ambitions	Jharkhand was under- developed under the administration of Bihar	People of Jharkhand desired so	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	27.3%	18.2%	30.3%	12.1%	12.1%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	13.9%	19.7%	35.2%	14.8%	16.4%	100.0%
MLA	37.9%	10.3%	10.3%	13.8%	27.6%	100.0%
MP			100.0%			100.0%
Politician	22.6%	16.7%	29.8%	8.3%	22.6%	100.0%
Total	20.8%	17.5%	30.5%	12.3%	19.0%	100.0%

In response to the question, why Jharkhand was separated from Bihar, overall 30.5 percent of the respondents said that it was because of the reason that Jharkhand was under developed under the administration of Bihar. This included 29.8 percent politicians, all the MPs, 10.3 percent MLAs, 35.2 percent print media journalists and 30.3 percent electronic media journalists.

Overall, 19 percent of the respondents said that small states develop economically and that is why Jharkhand was separated from Bihar. This included 22.6 percent of the politicians and 27.6 percent of the MLAs.

TABLE D-7.3	Opinion on state of affairs in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	Is a failed state	Has not taken the real shape of a state	Lacks good leadership	Will never be able to get a government with single party majority	Is a developing state	
MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media						
Journalist (Electronic Media)	9.1%	12.1%	66.7%	6.1%	6.1%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	7.4%	11.5%	65.6%	4.9%	10.7%	100.0%
MLA	3.4%	20.7%	58.6%	3.4%	13.8%	100.0%
MP				100.0%		100.0%
Politician	6.0%	16.7%	51.2%	15.5%	10.7%	100.0%
Total	6.7%	14.1%	60.2%	8.6%	10.4%	100.0%

As regards the opinion on the state, 60.2 percent of the respondents said that the state lacked good leadership. Out of these, 51.2 percent respondents were politicians, 58.6 percent of MLAs, 65.6 percent print media and 66.7 percent electronic media journalists.

6.7 percent of the respondents said Jharkhand is a failed state. Out of these, 6 percent were politicians, 3.4 percent were MLAs and 7.4 percent were print media and 9.1 percent electronic media journalists.

TABLE D-7.4	Reasons for Jharkhand lagging behind in development and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					
MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Lack of initiative	Lack of skilled manpower	Lack of pro- active development policy	Arrogant bureaucracy	Uneducated population	Total
Journalist (Electronic Media)	27.3%	6.1%	57.6%	6.1%	3.0%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	37.7%	4.1%	47.5%	7.4%	3.3%	100.0%
MLA	27.6%	24.1%	27.6%	10.3%	10.3%	100.0%
MP			100.0%			100.0%
Politician	36.9%	10.7%	33.3%	13.1%	6.0%	100.0%
Total	34.9%	8.6%	42.4%	9.3%	4.8%	100.0%

On the question, why Jharkhand lags behind in development, 42.4 percent respondents said that it is because of lack of pro-active development policy while 34.9 percent said it is because of lack of initiative. 33.3 percent of the politicians, 100 percent of MPs, 27.6 percent MLAs, 47.5 percent print media journalists and 57.6 percent electronic media journalists supported the view of lack of pro-active development policy. 9.3 percent of overall respondents blamed the arrogant bureaucracy. Out of these, 13.1 percent were politicians and 10.3 percent were MLAs.

TABLE D-7.5	Reasons for no political party getting a majority in the State Assembly and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	People do not have full faith in any one of the political parties	The state population is divided on the lines of tribal and non-tribal	Political leaders are not dependable	The number of seats in the assembly is less	Small parties are dividing the votes	
MP/MLA /Politician/ Media						
Journalist (Electronic Media)	18.2%	21.2%	12.1%	21.2%	27.3%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	24.6%	14.8%	12.3%	22.1%	26.2%	100.0%
MLA	20.7%		6.9%	58.6%	13.8%	100.0%
MP				100.0%		100.0%
Politician	17.9%	13.1%	7.1%	39.3%	22.6%	100.0%
Total	21.2%	13.4%	10.0%	31.6%	23.8%	100.0%

As regards why no political party has been able to get majority in the Jharkhand assembly, 31.6 percent of the total respondents said that it was because of the reason that the number of assembly seats is less. This included 39.3 percent politicians, all the MPs, 58.6 percent MLAs, 22.1 percent print media and 21.2 percent of electronic media journalists.

13.4 percent of the overall respondents said that no political party got majority in Jharkhand assembly because this state population was divided on the lines of tribals and non tribals. This included 13.1 percent politicians none of the MLAs and MPs, 14.8 percent of the print media and 21.2 percent of the electronic media journalists.

TABLE D-7.6	Role of bureaucracy in the non-development of Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					
MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Bureaucrats are not responsible	Bureaucrats are partially responsible	Bureaucrats are in-fact responsible	Their non-performance is due to political intervention	Honest bureaucrats are not encouraged	Total
Journalist (Electronic Media)	6.1%	36.4%	18.2%	15.2%	24.2%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	3.3%	40.2%	8.2%	25.4%	23.0%	100.0%
MLA	3.4%	51.7%	13.8%	20.7%	10.3%	100.0%
MP		100.0%				100.0%
Politician	8.3%	33.3%	19.0%	23.8%	15.5%	100.0%
Total	5.2%	39.0%	13.4%	23.0%	19.3%	100.0%

With regard to the role of bureaucrats in the non-development of Jharkhand, overall 39 percent said that bureaucrats were partially responsible and 13.4 percent said that bureaucrats were in fact responsible. Overall 19 percent of politicians and 13.8 percent of the MLAs held bureaucrats as responsible for the non-development of Jharkhand. Most importantly, 33.3 percent politicians all the MPs 51.7 percent of the MLAs, 40.2 per cent of the print media journalists and 36.4 percent of the electronic media also held bureaucrats partially responsible for the non-development of Jharkhand.

TABLE D-7.7	Reasons for the rift between tribals and non-tribals of Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents						
MP/MLA /Politician/ Media	The instability of political administration	Electoral politics	Religious feelings	The issue of resource distribution	Unlimited migration of non-tribals into the tribal land	Any other reason	Total
Journalist (Electronic Media)	15.2%	60.6%		9.1%	9.1%	6.1%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	17.2%	48.4%	1.6%	17.2%	13.9%	1.6%	100.00%
MLA	10.3%	41.4%	20.7%	13.8%	10.3%	3.4%	100.00%
MP				100.0%			100.00%
Politician	25.0%	31.0%	10.7%	15.5%	13.1%	4.8%	100.00%
Total	18.6%	43.5%	6.3%	15.6%	12.6%	3.3%	100.00%

Overall, 43.5 percent of the respondents said that the rift between tribals and non tribals is caused by electoral politics. This included 31 percent of the politicians, 41.4 percent of MLAs, 48.4 percent of the print media and 60.6 percent of the electronic media journalists.

Only 6.3 percent of the respondents said that the rift between the tribals and non-tribals was because of religious feelings. This included 10.7 percent of the politicians, 20.7 percent of the MLAs and interestingly only 1.6 percent of the print media journalists.

TABLE D-7.8	Opinion as to the linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for political instability in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	MP/MLA /Politician/ Media	To a great extent	To some extent	Wholly responsible	One of the reasons	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	6.1%	45.5%	3.0%	39.4%	6.1%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	17.2%	20.5%	2.5%	33.6%	26.2%	100.0%
MLA	3.4%	20.7%		55.2%	20.7%	100.0%
MP				100.0%		100.0%
Politician	13.1%	27.4%	2.4%	39.3%	17.9%	100.0%
Total	13.0%	25.7%	2.2%	38.7%	20.4%	100.0%

With regard to the, opinion on linear fragmentation of the tribal population as responsible for political instability in Jharkhand, 38.7 percent of the respondents said that it was one of the reasons. This included 39.3 percent of the politicians, all the MPs, 55.2 percent of the MLAs, 33.6 percent of print media and 39.4 percent of electronic media journalists. 20.4 percent of the respondents said that fragmentation of tribal population was not at all responsible for the political instability. This included 17.9 percent of politicians, 20.7 percent MLAs, 26.2 percent of print media journalists and only 6.1 percent of electronic media journalists. **Only 2.2 of the respondents considered fragmentation of tribal population wholly responsible for the political instability in Jharkhand. It included was 2.4 percent politicians and none of the MLAs and MPs.**

TABLE D-7.9	Opinion as to whether vested interests of the politicians responsible for the instability in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	MP/MLA /Politician/ Media	It is the sole reason	It is not the main reason	It is difficult to say	It is one of the reasons	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	27.3%	9.1%	18.2%	42.4%	3.0%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	25.4%	4.9%	5.7%	59.8%	4.1%	100.0%
MLA	10.3%	10.3%	10.3%	58.6%	10.3%	100.0%
MP			100.0%			100.0%
Politician	22.6%	8.3%	7.1%	56.0%	6.0%	100.0%
Total	23.0%	7.1%	8.6%	56.1%	5.2%	100.0%

As regards opinion as to whether vested interest of the politicians responsible for the instability in Jharkhand, 56.1 percent of the respondents considered it as one of the reasons. This included 56 percent politicians, 58.6 percent of the MLAs, 59.8 percent print media journalists and 42.4 percent of the electronic media journalists. This clearly shows that even the politicians and MLAs considered vested interest of politicians as an important reason for the instability in Jharkhand.

TABLE D-7.10	Opinion as to whether, the sheer number of political parties responsible for instability in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	MP/MLA/Politician/Media	It is the reason	It is not the reason	It is one of the reasons	It is difficult to answer	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	3.0%	9.1%	81.8%	3.0%	3.0%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	14.8%	12.3%	59.8%	3.3%	9.8%	100.0%
MLA	13.8%	3.4%	72.4%	6.9%	3.4%	100.0%
MP			100.0%			100.0%
Politician	20.2%	7.1%	59.5%	3.6%	9.5%	100.0%
Total	14.9%	9.3%	63.9%	3.7%	8.2%	100.0%

In response to the question, do you think the sheer number of political parties is responsible for the political instability of Jharkhand, 63.9 percent of the respondents said that it was one of the reasons. They included 59.5 percent of the politicians, all the MPs, 72.4 percent of the MLAs, 59.8 percent of print media and 81.8 percent of electronic media journalists.

9.3 percent of the respondents said that it is not the reason. Likewise 8.2 percent of the respondents said that it is not the reason at all. They included 9.5 percent of the politicians, only 3.4 percent of the MLAs, 9.8 percent of print media journalists and only 3 percent of the electronic media journalists. **This analysis clearly shows that most of the politicians and MLAs/MPs consider the sheer number of political parties as the main reason for the political instability in Jharkhand.**

TABLE D-7.11	Opinion as to the consequences of political instability in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents							Total
	MP/MLA /Politician/ Media	Lack of development	Increased poverty	Absence of employment	Inadequate investment	Educational backwardness	All of these	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	21.2%	3.0%	6.1%	3.0%	3.0%	63.6%	100.00%	
Journalist (Print Media)	23.8%		8.2%	4.9%	0.8%	62.3%	100.00%	
MLA	24.1%	10.3%	6.9%	6.9%	3.4%	48.3%	100.00%	
MP			100.0%				100.00%	
Politician	40.5%	2.4%	8.3%	4.8%	4.8%	39.3%	100.00%	
Total	28.6%	2.2%	8.2%	4.8%	2.6%	53.5%	100.00%	

Regarding the fallout of the political instability in Jharkhand, 28.6 percent of the total respondents opined that lack of development was the result of political instability in Jharkhand. They included 40.5 percent of politicians and 24.1 percent of MLAs. However, it is important to note that very few people consider that political instability has caused poverty in the state. Only 10.3 percent of the MLAs and 2.4 percent of the politicians endorsed this proposition.

TABLE D-7.12	Opinion as to politicians ruining the state of Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					Total	
	MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Yes, it is true	No, it is a completely wrong perception	It is true to some extent	There are other more important reasons for it		Only some of the politicians are responsible for the state of affairs
Journalist (Electronic Media)	24.2%			57.6%	15.2%	3.0%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	34.4%	5.7%		36.1%	8.2%	15.6%	100.0%
MLA		10.3%		48.3%	13.8%	27.6%	100.0%
MP		100.0%					100.0%
Politician	25.0%	9.5%		33.3%	10.7%	21.4%	100.0%
Total	26.4%	7.1%		39.0%	10.4%	17.1%	100.0%

In regard to whether politicians had ruined the state of Jharkhand, 26.4 percent of the respondents said, yes it is true. Interestingly 25 percent of the politicians supported this version but none of the MPs and MLAs supported this view. However, 34.4 percent of the print media and 24.4 percent electronic media journalists supported this view. On the other hand, 7.1 percent of the respondents held this view to be completely wrong. They included 9.5 percent of politicians, all the MPs, 10.3 percent of MLAs and 5.7 percent of print media journalists. It is important to note here that 48 percent of MLAs and 33.3 percent of the politicians also said that this proposition was true to some extent that politicians have ruined the state of Jharkhand.

TABLE D-7.13	The role of mass media in the political instability in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Have played spoilsport	Are just an impartial observer	Are the king makers	Have nexus with politicians	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	6.1%	21.2%	9.1%	30.3%	33.3%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	9.8%	32.8%	4.9%	17.2%	35.2%	100.0%
MLA	10.3%	34.5%	3.4%	27.6%	24.1%	100.0%
MP					100.0%	100.0%
Politician	11.9%	41.7%	4.8%	19.0%	22.6%	100.0%
Total	10.0%	34.2%	5.2%	20.4%	30.1%	100.0%

On the role of mass media in regard to political instability in Jharkhand, 34.2 percent of the respondents said that mass media were just an impartial observer. This included 41.7 percent of politicians, 34.5 percent of MLAs, 32.8 percent of print media and 21.2 percent electronic media journalists.

30.1 percent of the respondents said that mass media influence the political decision and 22.6 percent of the politicians, all the MPs, 24.1 of the MLAs, agreed with this view.

TABLE D-7.14	The approach of newspapers about stability in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Have favoured political stability	Have not paid any attention to the issue	Have divergent opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been busy with paid news and planting news	Have created political instability	
MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media							
Journalist (Electronic Media)	21.2%	18.2%	36.4%	6.1%	15.2%	3.0%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	28.7%	9.0%	42.6%	8.2%	10.7%	0.8%	100.00%
MLA	6.9%	27.6%	34.5%	20.7%	10.3%		100.00%
MP				100.0%			100.00%
Politician	13.1%	22.6%	36.9%	10.7%	14.3%	2.4%	100.00%
Total	20.4%	16.4%	39.0%	10.4%	12.3%	1.5%	100.00%

As far the role of newspapers in Jharkhand, 36.9 percent of the politicians, 34.5 percent of MLAs, 42.6 percent of print media and 36.4 percent of the electronic media journalists said that newspapers had divergent opinion. 10.4 percent of the total respondents said that media has created cynical view of the political class which included 10.7 percent of the politicians, all the MPs, 20.7 percent of the MLAs. Only 8.2 percent of the print media and 6.1 percent of the electronic media journalists extended support to this view.

TABLE D-7.15	The approach of electronic media about stability in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media- wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Have influenced public opinion for political stability	Have ignored the issue	Have different opinions	Have cynical view of the political class	Have been busy with paid news and planting news	Have created political instability	
MP/MLA /Politician/ Media							
Journalist (Electronic Media)	18.2%	15.2%	39.4%	3.0%	18.2%	6.1%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	18.9%	22.1%	36.1%	5.7%	13.9%	3.3%	100.00%
MLA	6.9%	17.2%	34.5%	17.2%	20.7%	3.4%	100.00%
MP				100.0%			100.00%
Politician	14.3%	22.6%	28.6%	16.7%	15.5%	2.4%	100.00%
Total	16.0%	20.8%	33.8%	10.4%	15.6%	3.3%	100.00%

As regards the electronic media in Jharkhand, 33.8 percent of the respondents said that it had different opinions about the political stability in Jharkhand. This included 28.6 percent of politicians, 34.5 percent of the MLAs and 36.1 percent of the print media journalists.

It is important to note that 15.6 percent of the respondents said that electronic media in Jharkhand has been busy with paid news and planting news. Out of these, 15.5 percent were politicians and 20.7 percent were MLAs.

TABLE D-7.16	Opinion about the ownership patterns of newspapers in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents						Total	
	MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by the political class	Are owned by activists	Are a family business	Are owned by chains		Have different patterns of ownerships
Journalist (Electronic Media)	51.5%	3.0%			9.1%	6.1%	30.3%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	41.0%	3.3%	0.8%	0.8%	18.9%	35.2%		100.00%
MLA	37.9%	6.9%			20.7%	6.9%	27.6%	100.00%
MP					100.0%			100.00%
Politician	40.5%	2.4%	2.4%	4.8%	10.7%	39.3%		100.00%
Total	41.6%	3.3%	1.1%	5.6%	13.4%	34.9%		100.00%

Regarding the ownership pattern of newspapers in Jharkhand, 41.6 percent of the respondents said that they were owned by business houses. They included 40.5 percent of the politicians and 37.9 percent of the MLAs.

Interestingly while only 5.6 percent of the respondents said that newspapers in Jharkhand were family business, all the MPs, 20.7 percent of MLAs and 4.8 percent of politicians considered newspaper a family business in Jharkhand.

TABLE D-7.17	Opinion about the ownership patterns of electronic media in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	Are owned by business houses	Are owned by political leaders	Are owned by national media houses	Are family business	Are owned by independent individuals	Have different patterns of ownerships	
MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media							
Journalist (Electronic Media)	39.4%	6.1%		3.0%	3.0%	48.5%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	27.0%	4.1%	7.4%	2.5%	8.2%	50.8%	100.00%
MLA	31.0%	10.3%	3.4%	13.8%	6.9%	34.5%	100.00%
MP				100.0%			100.00%
Politician	23.8%	3.6%	9.5%	6.0%	16.7%	40.5%	100.00%
Total	27.9%	4.8%	6.7%	5.2%	10.0%	45.4%	100.00%

With regard to the ownership pattern of electronic media in Jharkhand, 45.4 percent of the total respondents said that it had different patterns of ownership. Out of these 40.5 percent were politicians, 34.5 percent were MLAs, 50.8 percent were print media journalists and 48.5 percent were electronic media journalists.

TABLE D-7.18	Opinion about the value orientation of media in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents						Total
MP/MLA/Politician/Media	Objective	Partisan	Neutral	Sensation-mongers	Highly political	Directionless	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	12.1%	6.1%	15.2%	15.2%	12.1%	39.4%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	23.0%	6.6%	32.8%	9.8%	8.2%	19.7%	100.00%
MLA	3.4%	13.8%	6.9%	31.0%	20.7%	24.1%	100.00%
MP				100.0%			100.00%
Politician	7.1%	9.5%	28.6%	20.2%	15.5%	19.0%	100.00%
Total	14.5%	8.2%	26.4%	16.4%	12.3%	22.3%	100.00%

In response to the question as to the approach of media in Jharkhand, 26.4 percent of the respondents said that it was neutral. **It is important to note that 28.6 percent of the politicians considered media as neutral but only 6.9 percent of the MLAs considered it as neutral while 13.8 percent of the MLAs considered media as partial, 31 percent of the MLAs considered it sensation mongering, 20.7 percent of the MLAs thought it as highly political and what more, 24.1 percent of MLAs said media is directionless in Jharkhand.**

TABLE D-7.19		Opinion about the issues that need mass media focus in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					
MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Social issues	Communal harmony	Investigative Journalism	Develop mental issues	Educating the people	Good governance and political stability	Total
Journalist (Electronic Media)	24.2%		6.1%	36.4%	12.1%	21.2%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	16.4%	3.3%	4.9%	33.6%	6.6%	35.2%	100.00%
MLA	6.9%	13.8%	3.4%	6.9%	6.9%	62.1%	100.00%
MP						100.0%	100.00%
Politician	14.3%	2.4%	6.0%	39.3%	11.9%	26.2%	100.00%
Total	15.6%	3.7%	5.2%	32.7%	8.9%	33.8%	100.00%

As to what should be the focus of mass media in Jharkhand, 62.1 percent of the MLAs, 100 percent of the MPs and 26.2 percent of the politicians said that it should be good governance and political stability while overall, only 33.8 percent of the respondents supported this cause. It is interesting to observe that while media persons think that the role of mass media in Jharkhand should be to focus on development issue, MLAs think otherwise. Out of these, total 39.3 percent of the politicians thought mass media must focus more on developmental issues, while only 6.9 percent of MLAs thought that way. Overall 5.2 percent of the respondents said that mass media must focus more on investigative journalism. Out of these, 6 percent were politicians and 3.4 percent were MLAs.

TABLE D-7.20	Opinion about the areas in need of media promotion in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents:					Total	
	MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Democracy	Human rights	Scientific temp erament	Peace		Enlightened citizenry
Journalist (Electronic Media)	54.5%	9.1%	6.1%			30.3%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	36.9%	8.2%	9.0%	1.6%		44.3%	100.0%
MLA	41.4%	13.8%	20.7%			24.1%	100.0%
MP	100.0%						100.0%
Politician	47.6%	7.1%	15.5%	1.2%		28.6%	100.0%
Total	43.1%	8.6%	11.9%	1.1%		35.3%	100.0%

As to the issue of what media in the state must promote, 41.4 percent MLAs, all the MPs and 47.6 percent of the politicians said that it should promote democracy. Overall, 43.1 percent of the respondents supported this idea.

TABLE D-7.21	Opinion as to the rating of mass media performance in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Excellent	Good	Satis factory	Unsatis factory	Unsatis factory and disturbing	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	9.1%	18.2%	33.3%	18.2%	21.2%		100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	8.2%	23.0%	53.3%	4.1%	7.4%	4.1%	100.00%
MLA	3.4%	6.9%	65.5%	17.2%	6.9%		100.00%
MP			100.0%				100.00%
Politician	4.8%	16.7%	57.1%	14.3%	4.8%	2.4%	100.00%
Total	6.7%	18.6%	53.5%	10.4%	8.2%	2.6%	100.00%

Regarding the rating of media performance in Jharkhand, all the MPs and 65.5 percent of the MLAs with 57.1 percent of the politicians said that it was satisfactory while 14.3 percent of the politicians and 17.2 percent of the MLAs also said that it was unsatisfactory. However, only 3.4 percent of the MLAs said it to be excellent and only 6.9 percent of the MLAs said it to be good.

TABLE D-7.22	Suggestions, as to how to improve the role of media in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Less sensational isation of crime	Avoidance of sensationalism	Strict adherence to professional conduct	Objective political reporting	
Journalist (Electronic Media)		15.2%	30.3%	15.2%	39.4%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	4.1%	13.9%	36.1%	6.6%	39.3%	100.0%
MLA	6.9%	10.3%	34.5%	13.8%	34.5%	100.0%
MP			100.0%			100.0%
Politician	4.8%	3.6%	28.6%	22.6%	40.5%	100.0%
Total	4.1%	10.4%	33.1%	13.4%	39.0%	100.0%

Regarding suggestions for the improvement of media role in Jharkhand, 22.6 percent of the politicians, 13.8 percent of MLAs, only 6.6 percent of print media and 15.2 percent of the electronic media journalists said that media must do objective political reporting.

Overall, 33.1 percent of the respondents said that media in Jharkhand must strictly adhere to professional conduct this included 28.6 percent politicians, all the MPs and 34.5 percent of the MLAs. It is interesting to find out that 34.5 percent of the MLAs also said that media should judiciously use freedom of expression. 40.5 percent of the other politicians also supported this view.

TABLE D-7.23	Suggestions, as to how to improve the professional performance level of media persons in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Professional training	A code of conduct	Regular performance assessment	A statutory monitoring mechanism	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	21.2%	6.1%	42.4%	6.1%	24.2%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	24.6%	13.9%	31.1%	10.7%	19.7%	100.0%
MLA	13.8%	13.8%	10.3%	13.8%	48.3%	100.0%
MP			100.0%			100.0%
Politician	19.0%	9.5%	29.8%	14.3%	27.4%	100.0%
Total	21.2%	11.5%	30.1%	11.5%	25.7%	100.0%

With regard to the working of media persons in Jharkhand, 48.3 percent of the MLAs said that there should be self-regulatory system like internal ombudsman in media houses. 27.4 percent, other politicians also supported this view. 13.8 percent of the MLAs also said that media persons should get professional training and the same number of MLAs also said that media should have a code of conduct. 10.3 percent of the MLAs and all the MPs said that there should be a regular performance assessment of the media persons in Jharkhand.

TABLE D-7.24	Opinion, as to what sort of relationship the politicians should have with media in Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Media literate	Fair and balanced	Trained by management institutes	Sensitive to public issues	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	15.2%	36.4%	3.0%	42.4%	3.0%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	13.9%	44.3%	1.6%	34.4%	5.7%	100.0%
MLA	17.2%	17.2%	10.3%	44.8%	10.3%	100.0%
MP				100.0%		100.0%
Politician	21.4%	35.7%	3.6%	31.0%	8.3%	100.0%
Total	16.7%	37.5%	3.3%	35.7%	6.7%	100.0%

On the question of politicians having relation with media, 44.8 percent of the MLAs said that they should be sensitive to public issues. All the MPs, 31 percent of the politicians, 34.4 percent of the print media and 42.4 percent of the electronic media journalists said that politicians should be sensitive to the public issues.

TABLE D-7.25	Opinion, as to the attitude of media persons towards political class and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents						Total
	MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Be careful	Cultivate them	Expose them	Be free and fair	Educate them	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	9.1%		3.0%	75.8%		12.1%	100.00%
Journalist (Print Media)	16.4%	0.8%	3.3%	74.6%	2.5%	2.5%	100.00%
MLA	13.8%			69.0%	3.4%	13.8%	100.00%
MP				100.0%			100.00%
Politician	17.9%	2.4%	7.1%	63.1%	2.4%	7.1%	100.00%
Total	15.6%	1.1%	4.1%	70.6%	2.2%	6.3%	100.00%

As regards, the media persons having relation with the political class, 70.6 percent of all the respondents said that it should be free and fair. This included 63.1 percent of the politicians and all the MPs, 69 percent of the MLAs, 74.6 percent of the print media and 75.8 percent of the electronic media journalists.

It is important to observe that 13.8 percent of MLAs and 7.1 percent of the politicians said that media persons must maintain a distance from the political class.

TABLE D-7.26	Opinion, as to how media should be like in the state of Jharkhand and MLA/MP/Politician/Media-wise distribution of respondents					Total
	MP/MLA/ Politician/ Media	Free from the nexus with politicians	Run by employee cooperatives /trusts	Subsidized by the state government	Freed from corporate influence	
Journalist (Electronic Media)	36.4%	24.2%	6.1%	30.3%	3.0%	100.0%
Journalist (Print Media)	57.4%	8.2%	3.3%	19.7%	11.5%	100.0%
MLA	31.0%	17.2%		51.7%		100.0%
MP				100.0%		100.0%
Politician	42.9%	16.7%	8.3%	29.8%	2.4%	100.0%
Total	47.2%	13.8%	4.8%	27.9%	6.3%	100.0%

Responding to the approach of media in Jharkhand, 51.7 percent of the MLAs said that it should be freed from corporate influence. All the MPs and 29.8 percent other politicians also supported this view. Interestingly 31 percent of the MLAs and 42.9 percent of other politicians also said that media in Jharkhand should be free from the nexus with politicians.