

## **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The present study was an attempt to understand the dynamics of the polity and media of Jharkhand and the reasons for the political instability in the state. In the study we collected the samples of 228 top politicians of the state including the CM, the Speaker, other Ministers, MLAs and MPs, Leader of opposition, Party Presidents and 310 top journalists of the state including the Chief Editors, Editors, Bureau Chiefs, Channel Heads and other top people of the Print, Electronic and Web media.

The study has tried to find out the role performance of politicians and media persons of Jharkhand towards the development of Jharkhand state.

**On the basis of the review of the literature and a pilot study the following research questions were formulated-**

### **Research questions:**

1. Do media and politicians play equally important role in the development of Jharkhand?
2. Whether politicians are playing a destructive role because they are greedy and self-focused?
3. Is media engaged in a biased and partisan role?
4. Are both media persons and politicians working for their vested interests?
5. Has social fragmentation of the tribal population in Jharkhand contributed to the instability in Jharkhand?
6. Has political instability led to the economic backwardness of the state?
7. Has political instability direct interrelationship with the large number of the political parties in Jharkhand?
8. Has instability in Jharkhand caused vertical division of tribals and non-tribals?
9. Has political instability in Jharkhand a direct link with the less number of Assembly seats in the state?

In order to test the above research questions the methodology selected for the study was survey using questionnaire. We prepared a comprehensive questionnaire in three parts. The first part contained the personal data of the respondents and the second part contained the detailed information on the subject of research. There was also a third part of the questionnaire which included descriptive questions and answers but it was kept limited to a few most important respondents, like the Chief Minister, former CM, Speaker of the Assembly, MPs, MLAs, Party Presidents, Editors and other top journalists.

For an adequate representation a sample size of 538 respondents was selected for collecting data. This included 228 politicians and 310 media personnel from the major media houses from all across the state. We tried to ensure the representation of samples from all parts of the Jharkhand.

The test was developed and standardized with samples of both the politicians and media persons on the basis of a pilot study taken up in the first quarter of 2014. A total of 37 closed ended questions were standardized with four to six options.

**Statistical Tool:** To see the relationship between the independent and dependent variables percentage analysis was applied.

Sources of data Collection:

1. Primary data was collected based on a survey with a comprehensive questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of closed ended questions so that the analysis of the data is more definitive. In most of the cases based on the questionnaire personal interview was conducted.
2. Secondary data was collected from the newspapers, magazines, news channels, websites, other media and literature on the subject.

We tabulated and analyzed the data collected through the survey in the previous chapter and found that-

**Summarizing the results** of all the 182 tables prepared on the basis of the statistical analysis of the data collected through a comprehensive questionnaire containing 26 close ended questions about the topic of study in respect to a total of 07 independent

variables of age, qualification, background, religion, tribal status, political status, political affiliation, constituency and birth place (local or non-local), we can say that-

***Most of the people of Jharkhand, across all the age groups are almost of the same opinion that fractured mandates in Jharkhand have 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 reason of greed for money among politicians was not found to be the most important reason for the fall of the successive governments in Jharkhand. As ***only 6 to 14 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, 14 to 28 percent of the respondents are of this opinion. The 26 to 28 percent respondents of the age group of 15 to 25 and 26 to 35 years have said that lust for power amongst politicians has been one of the biggest reasons, why Jharkhand has seen nine governments in just thirteen years.**

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 more in the favor of this argument as 40 percent of them were of the same view that Jharkhand was separated from Bihar as it was underdeveloped under Bihar regime.

Only 17 to 26 percent people opined that Jharkhand was made because of the reason that smaller states develop properly. ***An important aspect of the analysis is that the generations of 15 to 25 years are more aggressive against the politicians and about 43 percent of the respondents of this age group said that Jharkhand was separated from Bihar just because politicians of Jharkhand had their own political ambition. Contrary to this only about 13 percent people from the age group of 36-45 and 56-***

***65 have agreed that it was the political ambition of politicians of Jharkhand which led to the formation of Jharkhand state.***

The data analysis clearly shows that ***more than 50 percent of the people in all the age groups strongly opine that Jharkhand lacks good leadership. This view is stronger among youths as 85 percent of them falling in age group of 15 to 25 firmly believe that Jharkhand lacks good leadership.*** Whereas only 42.1 percent of respondents in the age group of 46 to 55 do not doubt on the leadership of Jharkhand.

However 40 percent of the people in the age group of 56 to 65 consider Jharkhand to be a developing state. 20 percent of the respondents in the same age group consider Jharkhand to be a failed state.

The data interpretation of the fourth table against the independent variable of age group 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 group who consider this to be an effective reason is between 40 to 45 percent.

Whereas 40 percent of the respondents in the age group of 46 to 55 and 55 to 65 years blamed lack of initiative to be the another strong reason for Jharkhand to be lagging behind in development.

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

Why no political party has been able to get majority in the state Assembly, against the independent variable of age group, has been answered in the fifth table. The data shows that higher number of respondents from the age groups of 36 to 45 to the last age group of 66 and above consider less number of seats in the state assembly to be the main reason for instability in Jharkhand.

The data analysis in the sixth table 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 younger generation of 15 to 25 years, held bureaucrats responsible for non-development of Jharkhand.

Most importantly it has been revealed that against the popular perception that Jharkhand has been suffering with political instability because of the big divide between the Tribals and non-Tribals, it has been found that it is a completely misplaced perception as only 2.2 percent of the respondents consider it to be a reason, wholly responsible for the instability in Jharkhand. Other 20.4 percent respondents do not consider it to be a reason at all for the political instability in Jharkhand. However 38.7 percent of the respondents consider it to be one of the reasons for the instability.

The survey also reveals that more than one-fourth of the respondents, (both politicians themselves and media persons) i.e. 26.4 percent are of the opinion that it is true that politicians have ruined the state of Jharkhand. Moreover 39 percent respondents think that it is true to some extent that politicians have ruined the state.

Overwhelmingly 63.9 percent of the respondents said that sheer number of political parties is one of the reasons responsible for the political instability in Jharkhand.

It has come out that people want media to be free and fair and also free from any type of political nexus. About a quarter of the respondents have said that media should have a self-regulatory system, like internal ombudsman and it should use the power of freedom of expression judiciously as well as maintain strict adherence to professional conduct.

**It is very important to note that the rating of the media performance in Jharkhand is not good and only 6.7 percent people have rated it to be excellent while 10.4 percent of the people feel it to be unsatisfactory. More than this about 8.2 percent people consider the performance of the media unsatisfactory and disturbing while 2.6 percent consider it to be worst, i.e. depressing. Only silver lining for the media in the state is that 53.5 percent of the respondents, which include only media men and politicians, consider the performance of the media in the state to be satisfactory.**

## **Conclusion:**

### **Answers to the research questions:**

1. As regards the research question, do media and politicians play equally important role in the development of Jharkhand, the respondents have said that there has been lack of pro-development policies and lack of initiative in Jharkhand which has resulted in the state lagging behind in development. They have said that politicians and the media can play a very crucial role in the development of Jharkhand but their role in this regard has not been up to the mark till now.
2. As regards the research question, whether politicians are playing a destructive role because they are greedy and self-focused, the respondents have said that lust for power and greed for money among the politicians has led to the fall of several governments in Jharkhand. Even the separate state was created because of the own ambitions of the politicians. A good number of politicians and media people have said that there is lack of good leadership in Jharkhand and lust for power among the political parties which has been inimical to the interest of the state. Even a fourth of the total respondents have said that the politicians have ruined the state.
3. As regards the research question, is media engaged in a biased and partisan role in Jharkhand, the respondents have said that the mass media in the state have not only influenced the political decisions but also have nexus with the politicians. A good number of the respondents have also said that mass media have played spoilsport in the state.
4. As regards the research question, are both media persons and politicians working for their vested interests, the respondents have said that both the politicians and the media persons have been busy with their vested interests. While the politicians have had their ambitions for power and their vested interests are mostly responsible for the instability in Jharkhand the media men, both electronic and print, have been busy with paid news and planting of news. A good number of respondents have also said that media persons are in

the corporate influence and in many cases they are in nexus with the politicians and they should be freed from both of these influences.

5. As regards the research question, has social fragmentation of the tribal population in Jharkhand contributed to the instability in Jharkhand, the respondents have said that it is responsible to some extent but surprisingly only 2.2 percent of the respondents have said that it is the sole cause for the political instability in Jharkhand. **In the research it has been found that against the general perception, linear fragmentation of the tribal population is not an important reason for the political instability in the state. While only 2.2 percent of the respondents clearly said that linear fragmentation of the tribal population in Jharkhand is wholly responsible for the political instability 20.4 percent of the respondents said that it was not at-all a reason for the political instability in the state. This finding clearly suggests that the popular perception that fragmentation of the tribal population was responsible for political instability in Jharkhand was misplaced and further specific studies could be taken up to know the details.**
6. As regards the research question, has political instability led to the economic backwardness of the state, it has been vindicated in the research that the political instability has been detrimental to the economic development of the state. Most of the respondents have said that the instability has led to not only lack of development in the state but it also created absence of employment, inadequate investment, educational backwardness and increased poverty, all the indicators of economic backwardness.
7. As regards the research question, has political instability direct interrelationship with the large number of the political parties in Jharkhand, majority of the respondents have said that it is one of the main reasons.
8. As regards the research question, has instability in Jharkhand caused vertical division of tribals and non-tribals, the respondents have said that the vertical divide is mainly because of the electoral politics and issue of resource distribution and only 18.6 percent of the respondents have said that instability of political administration has caused the divide. This makes it clear that the

political instability has not much to do with the vertical divide between the tribals and the non-tribals.

9. As regards to the research question, has political instability in Jharkhand a direct link with the less number of Assembly seats in the state, the respondents have said that no political party has been able to get majority in the state Assembly mostly because the number of seats in the Assembly are less and as no political party has been able to get majority the political parties had to cobble up alliances after alliances in the state to form governments which eventually did not go long. This clearly shows that less number of seats in the Assembly has also been one of the main reasons for the political instability in Jharkhand.

### **Statement Snippets:**

**Hemant Soren, the Chief Minister of Jharkhand:** “The people of the state are to be blamed for the instability in Jharkhand as they have not given a clear-cut verdict in the elections in the state.”

**Arjun Munda, the former CM of Jharkhand:** “The leaders of the state have not been able to convince the people that they are working in the interest of the state and people have also not voted for a single party rule.”

“Media in the state has to be more sensitive to the interest of the state and should be better trained.”

**Shashank Shekhar Bhokta, the Speaker, Jharkhand Assembly:** “The fractured mandate in the state is the biggest reason for the instability.”

**Sukhdeo Bhagat, Jharkhand PCC Chief:** “In democracy the people will have to give proper verdict. It is only the society which decides for the direction in which the country and the state moves.”

The leaders in the state have become mostly highly self-focused and highly ambitious.”



**Sudesh Mahato, former Deputy CM and President of AJSU:** “Media will have to play better role for the state and the political parties must give stable alliance, based on principles to rule the state.”

**Babulal Marandi, former CM and President, JVM:** “The state is in leadership crisis and all the national political parties have worked against the interests of Jharkhand.”

**Shibu Soren, former CM and President, JMM:** “Janata jimmedar hai aaj ke halat ke liye.” Meaning thereby that it is the people of the state, who themselves are to be blamed for the current situation in the state.”

**Balbir Dutt, Chief Editor, Ranchi Express:** “Fractured mandate has been the main reason for the instability in Jharkhand. Post-election opportunist alliances have been the biggest reason for the present situation.”

Press club in the capital must be institutionalized and there should be better communication between the journalists and the politicians.

**Kamlesh Raghuvanshi, State Editor, Dainik Jagaran:** “Fractured mandate and lack of leadership in Jharkhand has been the biggest reason for the instability.”

“Media should be free and fair in Jharkhand and it should be free from nexus with the politicians.”

**Vijay Pathak, Resident Editor, Prabhat Khabar:** “Media houses should be run by cooperatives/trusts.”

“Fractured mandate has been the biggest reason for the political instability in Jharkhand.”

**Raghvendra, Resident Editor, Dainik Bhaskar:** “The number of seats in Jharkhand Assembly must be increased to have a clear mandate of the people and it could promote stability in the state.”

### **Limitations of the study:-**

Language is a big barrier in Jharkhand for a study in English and most of the people had to be served the questionnaire in Hindi. Secondly the people generally do not understand several of the nitty-gritties of a survey and they have to be told about it cautiously and patiently.

Because of the Jharkhand's former CM Madhu Koda's scandal and then several other scandals involving the top politicians, like the Rajya Sabha note for vote cases, being investigated by the CBI and several sting operations against the politicians and bureaucrats, many of the politicians were not forthcoming or willing to fill-up the questionnaire. They were least willing to give an interview or open up before the media.

The educational level and the general level of understanding of several of the present day politicians is very low so it was tough to get their opinion on such issues.

The other important issue was that the politicians were not ready to generally speak up their mind before a senior journalist. Many of the politicians even refused to take the questionnaire. Several others took the questionnaire but despite being reminded several times they did not bother to fill it up and return the same to the researcher.

Even in the media houses, personal relations helped to get the survey done otherwise it was very difficult to get the survey through the media men in such a large number. It took about three months to complete the survey.

### **Recommendations:**

Our research has revealed that there are several misconceptions and prejudices about the political instability in Jharkhand and the role performances of the media and politicians in the state. We have been successful to get rid of several such prejudices and establish the real reasons but there is lot of scope to such other researches in the state. Mine was the first such work and I hope it will certainly motivate others to take such other projects, which will eventually pave the way to get Jharkhand out of the present conundrum.