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6.1 Introduction

The objective of this thesis was set out to explore the relationship of media and Politics with respect to the State of Mizoram. Since this is a descriptive as well as exploratory research after studying the nature of the relationship in other parts of the country, we have identified the nature of its relationship. The role it played and the impact of media not only has been in politics but also in the society. The media and politics are deeply linked with each other. They will always have a love-hate relationship depending on the type of government a state has. Media has always paid special attention to politics everywhere. India is a democratic country and therefore it is very much reflected in the nature of Media. Like political parties we find that there are many print media which support the policy of the government and there are times when they are opposed to it. To study the present state of Media in Mizoram it is also important to know the past. Mizoram is a young State and has come a long way. Its existence was not known to the world till the 1870s. Therefore, the existence of the very language and the alphabet is very recent. To study media one has to go through the history of the State of Mizoram. The birth of media was simultaneous with the birth of Print media. Good literature is not available on the nature of the media in recent times; therefore, Primary source had to be sought. It is interesting to note that, in Mizoram the Church acts as a watchdog and stands strong as a moral police for our government. The link between the Church and media has also been interesting.
Mizoram has three big pillars in the social structure of the State; they are the Government, Church and the NGOs. The Media in Mizoram has always been affected by these three organizations. Always known as the fourth estate whether it is really the fourth estate in the society today is not important but its importance is felt wherever democracy is the order of the day. The media has always been a very important tool in mediating between all the important pillars of the society. The common man, the Government and the Church has always had an issue and it is the media which emerged as an important medium in the society. Be it any form of media, print media or electronic media, it is important and its existence is very crucial in the society. In this thesis we have looked into the working of the various media. Like any other country even in India, the importance of media began to be noticed after the Second World War. After the Second World War the importance of communication media like newspaper, radio, cinema and television began to be recognized as accelerators in spreading ideas about progress and development all over the world. It is through this mass media that ideas and opinion were distributed amongst the people. It proved that people could be mobilized through the media. Almost every country worked on developing their means of communication and mass media though it differed from one regime to another. Initially, media was in the hands of the government and slowly infiltrated down to the hands of the people in a democratic country. It became an

235 As quoted in Thomas Carlyle's book, Heroes and Hero Worship in History (1841): Burke said that there were three Estates in Parliament, but in the Reporters Gallery yonder, there sat a fourth Estate more important far than they all. It can be explained, 'In May 1789, Louis XVI summoned to Versailles a full meeting of the 'Estates General'. The First Estate consisted of three hundred clergy. The Second Estate, three hundred nobles. The Third Estate, six hundred commoners. Some years later, after the French Revolution, Edmund Burke, looking up at the Press Gallery of the House of Commons, said, 'yonder sits the Fourth Estate, and they are more important than them all.'
important means of participation and public participation also an important ingredient of democracy.

The first chapter dealt with the various problems that media faces. It has been seen that hardly any study has been conducted in this field. The second chapter of the thesis is the conceptual framework, studying the relationship between media and other institutions of the State. The third chapter looks into the history of media at the national level and how it has worked over the period of time after independence and its functions and role after the liberalization policy of 1991. Further in chapter four we enter the Mizoram history of how the various institutions and how the very historical and political events of Mizoram helped in shaping the institutions and the media of Mizoram. The fifth chapter studies the working of Mass media in Mizoram. The introduction of media from the print media to electronic media, it’s social and political impact is also being discussed. The growth of information and communication technology and the function of e-governance are also discussed. A survey is taken on how media effect the social and political and it is being analyzed. This survey shows that the media is now an integral part of the peoples’ lives. In 1986 Mizoram State came into being as a unit of Indian Federation after 20 years of insurgency. The growth of media has been simultaneous with the growth of Mizoram as a State. The emergence of local cable television like LPS Vision (1994), Zonet (2004), etc has facilitated the production of music videos, films and programs in the local language. Presently in Mizoram, there are 91 newspapers, 14 periodicals and 15 cable network television apart from the State owned media like All India Radio, Doordarshan, Press information Bureau and others.236 The mention of internet and its impact cannot be ignored because today information are uploaded and downloaded with the help of internet and

236 Latest report of journalist Association (2011)
the means of communication is also being overtaken by the social networks. There is a tremendous growth and this has influenced the Mizos in various aspects of their lives.

6.2 Testing of Hypotheses

This section will examine and summarize the tentative assumptions which were drawn while formulating the Research Proposal in the first chapter. We will also discuss the various hypotheses that we adopted in this thesis. It has been seen that the entire hypothesis came out true. In the following paragraphs we will have a detailed discussion of them.

It is evident from the study that there is a high degree of government control over the media of the state. The Media houses have many problems and the biggest being financial problem. Though there are some newspaper and media houses which are doing well without the sponsorship of the Government, there are many newspapers which cannot survive without the advertisements that they receive from the Government. There are many newspapers in the state which are not in proportion to the number of population in Mizoram. The circulation of these papers is not wide and therefore, the subscriptions can never be sufficient enough for the survival of such newspapers. Looking into the history of print media specifically, we find that most of the newspapers in Mizoram were the mouth piece of one or the other political party. Initially, all the newspapers in Mizoram were political party affiliated newspapers and as for those who were not, were established to promote the Mizo literature. Therefore neutral and unbiased view could not be found in the newspapers. But now, though there are some newspapers with political party base, many of them appear to be independent. Unfortunately, many independent newspapers are not financially independent and therefore, they had to depend on the Government
advertisements for their survival. Comparing the government media agency with the private owned media, the Government agencies are far better established. Which is why, the government will always have an upper hand in regard to media. Though there is a visibility that the media is starting to play an independent role but in many ways especially in the areas of creating rules and regulation the Government is always a step ahead in implementation of this rule. The State owned Media agencies are well established and has always served the public better. It is decent and reliable. This may be so because government has better establishment and has the real authority on what to air therefore, we can say that Government has control over the media in many ways. But it is interesting to note that the private media has also been doing very well in reporting independent news. In Mizoram, the private cable networks have their own news slots where they report the news that they collected on their own. They are emerging as an independent body. Their only handicap is often financial problem. Other than that we find that the media is moving towards independence from the government control.

It has been observed that media shapes public opinion about the Government policy in democratic State. With the passage of time the role of the media has become very prominent and they are now able to hit at the heart of the society in shaping the public opinion and views. In Mizoram as we have discussed and have found that initially, with the print media coming to existence the people of Mizoram became more aware of politics. Therefore, it was the main instrument of spreading the ideologies of many political parties at the time. In 1965 it was the the idea of independence that Laldenga, the founder of MNF heralded among the youth of Mizoram which was also through the medium of newspaper. With the passage of time and a full grown political system in Mizoram, the media is even more important today than it ever was.
Mizoram is a democratic state; it respects opinion of the public. The Government media, as discussed in chapter 5 has provided the people with many facilities in respect to growth and have well established media agencies. The private media, on the other hand, had provided the people with a platform to voice their opinion. Though there were times when the public voice were mute due to political unrest but now the situation has changed and media along with the growth of technology has come a long way. Today, not everyone in the state has a political leaning as compare to the late 1960s - early 1970s. Today, there is a large section of the younger generation who are not serious about of the political situation of the State. They mostly get their information from the media. In a democratic state it is a pre-requisite that the public opinion be rightly guided by the independent media. When the media highlights the works of the government, the public automatically lean in favour of the presiding Government but when there are too many criticism of the Government highlighted in the media, the public opinion is formed against them. Because of this the public started paying attention to the media persons; and journalists are now starting to gain respect of many political leaders as well. The journalists have also improved a lot in their mode of reporting, though it is not entirely satisfactory. There are hardly any qualified reporters in the field of journalism which often do not give a satisfactory report and journalism ethics is not followed. For instance, regarding the Government flagship programmes – The New Land Use Policy has received its publicity though the private media. The journalist may have only portrayed the positive effect that this program will have on the economical development of the State and the public automatically have a positive opinion about it. This reporting in a positive tone may only be because around 50% of the journalists and the media persons also received the amount of money which was distributed under to the scheme of
In this way the reporting of the media persons can alter the opinion of the people.

It is seen that the development of information and communication technology (ICT) affects the future trend of politics and the society. There has been a lot of change and growth in the ICT and this has changed the mind-set of the people in many ways. Not only in the field of politics but also in the society, culture and the general outlook of the people. Not all of the changed that ICT brought in the society is positive but it has nevertheless ushered in change in many ways especially in the lifestyle of the Mizo people. ICT refers primarily to digital tools and includes the Internet, mobile phones, and social media. These are unique since they facilitate distributed creation and dissemination of information. Unlike traditional mass media - TV, radio, and newspapers - these ICT bypass choke points and traditional gatekeepers to increase information production, distribution, and access. This change is transformational as it alters the balance of power between citizens and governments which have previously controlled the means of mass communication. Understanding communication is now central to understanding political contention, and subsequently power. Instant and interactive communication flows through social networks and websites make commodity producers and service providers, including Government, more responsive to complaints, facilitating progressive product iterations and improvements to policy and outcomes. The media practice today aim more at the participatory development to improve the quality of the citizen’s life. With the development of the ICT we have witnessed that there is a growing participation rate of the public in Mizoram. The ICT provides a platform for the people of Mizoram to participate in the policy making

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237 This information is mentioned by Lianthangpuii IPRO, Department of Information and Public Relation in an interview and by Laltlzanova, an accredited journalist in an interview.
process. It has also widened the public sphere. The views and opinions of the masses are valued in a democratic state. Information travels faster with the growth of technology. Many educators foresee a future in which digital books, hybrid mobile computers and touch-screen writing tablets will replace the text book, chalk and blackboard. The digitalized world is so convenient that change in this field is evident. Whether it affects the future is not our choice because no matter what our thoughts and opinion about this change is, it will eventually change the future of politics and society no doubt. The mobile phone has also brought about change in our lives; it has made communication with our peers more convenient. Sending text messages and receiving it has made our lives very easy. It has become an important tool in spreading information quickly. This has also caught the attention if the political parties and therefore it is used as a means of spreading political ideologies. For election campaign also it has become very handy and it is used mostly to influence the younger generation who is yet to form a strong political opinion about the State.

In Mizoram, the development of ICT has brought in many change in our lives. We find that there is more interaction amongst the people through these technologies. The people are more connected with the outside world as they have opened the window to the world. This has changed the way they view the political scenario of the state, we now compare it with not only other part of the country but also with other part of the world. The Mizo people being very social, it may not be wrong to say that today the social life have extended to the social networking sites and other applications that are found in PCs and mobile phones. The communication technologies are all linked with the help of internet that it has become an important tool to mobilize public opinion and mass participation. Many political parties and individual politicians and other social activists have also used information
technology to reach the masses. The growth of technology has also changed the mode of governance in a lot of ways. In Mizoram e-governance is also becoming more applicable and even in the rural areas it is being set up. Citizens no longer need to travel to district headquarters or stand in line for hours, to obtain a simple form, check examination results or to pay water bill or electricity and telephone bills. With training, operators of internet community centers can offer these public services to citizens at affordable rates.

The media of Mizoram is highly influenced and affected by other institutions like the Church and the NGOs of the state. It is true that in a State like Mizoram other institutions besides the Church affect the media. The effect of social institution in Mizoram is very strong. The NGOs affect the information that the media gives to the people. The source to get the information and to spread awareness across to the people is through the printing and electronic media. In Mizoram the print media has been around for a long time. They are the keepers of the reporting ethics. Many incidents and events in the society have shaped the media of Mizoram. The existence of many organisations is important for a healthy civil society. These NGOs work for the public and do positive work for them and they want to publicise their works and their achievements. Sometimes organisations like YMA also deals with issues which need media attention and at times like these the media also work in accordance with other institutions but there are also times when the media and these institutions do not see eye to eye. The issue of drugs and narcotics is the main issue that the YMA takes up and are being supported by the media. Another major issue that the YMA involves itself with is the illegal Non-Mizo immigrants in Mizoram. Pressure groups also influence the media and use it to spread certain types of awareness that they need for their cause. There are times that the media persons are also sceptical about what these
organisations want to publicise. They filter the ones that they find will not be suitable for the public to know. They are very important and this is the very reason why we need media persons who are well aware of the media ethics. Though many changes have not been brought about in the set up of the Church but it might be wrong to say that the Church in Mizoram is totally free from the impact of media. As already mentioned in chapter 5, the impact of media on the Church is more as compared to the impact of the Church on the media. In Mizoram the synod is considered as the biggest Church body which belongs to the denomination of the Presbyterian Church of India. The media is very respectful of the Church and they hardly broadcast the activities of the Church as news. At times they do broadcast the news of the Church activities but they do not go in depth with the internal business of the Churches in Mizoram. But the impact of the media on issues and activities on the Church are undeniable.

6.3 Suggestions

Impact of Mass Media and growth of Information and Communication Technology is phenomenon which has changed the world. It has changed the society and the very nature of politics is altered. Mizoram being a small State in the north-eastern part of the country has proven how dynamic media can be. It has grown so much and the people of the country have witnessed its growth and have identified it as a very important institution. Not only that, they have realised the power that it possess and the power that it can give to the people. Because of this, the need for the independence of media is very important. The growth of media has aroused the curiosity of the people and at the same time it has opened a new channel for interacting with one another. It has educated and has created well informed masses. As we have witnessed in the preceding chapters the evolution of media is still in the process. The relationship between media and all other
elements of the state including the society and politics have been surviving; therefore, some suggestions can be made in creating a more effective media and at the same time a more responsible media which will have more positive impact on the society and politics of the State. In the analysis of the field survey the respondents have made certain suggestions for the better working of the media in Mizoram. In the light of the suggestions on the basis of our research it is relevant here to mention a few suggestions in the following paragraphs.

6.3.1 Independence of the Media

Though it is usually due to the economic problem of the media that the media is often run in the shadow of the government, it is suggested that the media should be more independent from the government. The government has provided the media owners with financial aid that very often the reportage of the media tends to be biased. As discussed in the earlier chapters, media was in a dilemma during the time of insurgency but with the passage of time the people now expect a more independent media which they can trust. Before, the political leaning of the newspaper were very obvious but now it cannot be so. The people want a media to give the truth. In many parts of the country, media is used and abused by the politicians. At this stage unlike other countries and other parts of the country, the people in Mizoram expect media to play the role of the middleman. The politicians of the State may not have manipulated the media much as compared to the other parts of the country and the world.

The media persons of Mizoram still play the role of the mediator. It is true that if the relationship between the media and the political parties or the government becomes too comfortable, the media may not be able to play its role of being the fourth estate. Therefore steps have to be taken by the people and the media owners to stay
independent from the control of the government. The media should also stay away from the intrusion of the government in its investigation of a case. It may be crime or may be just a controversy in the political area but no matter what it is, the government should stay away from the media investigation. To gain the trust of the people the media should also be fair in its reporting. They should be free of fear from the political influences and at the same time they should not be biased in their reporting. This independence of media is important for the growth of democracy in the state. This freedom and independence of a media will automatically result in doing away with corruption as it will promote transparency, it is important for spreading the awareness of human rights and most importantly, it will keep a check on the mal-governance of the state and also for the better welfare of the masses economically.238

6.3.2 Working towards professionalism in journalism and Media ethics

Journalism is very important for the proper and effective working of the media. Most of the youth who jumped into this area and pursuing it as their career are usually due to their passion for writing or due to the lack of other option in their career. It was said in that in the 1960s the youth in Mizoram, would first opt for technical line such as engineering or doctor as their career, the next would be to opt for civil services exams and other government jobs and lastly, those who did not enter into politics would automatically write articles and publish it in newspaper eventually owning their own press. Though this trend has changed a lot with the passage of time yet, most journalists do not have formal training in the field of journalism. Most of the prominent

journalists are the ones who had been in the field for a long time, the experienced ones and the ones who are good with words. In today’s world, the means of communication is very well-developed and information is circulated at a fast speed and the area is also very wide. News become viral very quickly because of this there is a call for professionalism on the part of journalism. The media in its reporting should try to be more truthful and more investigation should take place before publishing it. Journalists need to make a commitment to telling the truth. This includes not giving false or made-up reports, and telling true stories that are not intended to deceive the audience. This may require reporters to provide not only the facts but also the context surrounding them. Truthfulness requires a commitment not only from the journalist but also from the organization he or she works for.

Following certain media ethics is very important for the journalists. Sometime the media persons might emphasize news that is interesting but not very important so that it attracts and please the viewers and readers. This can happen because of the increased pace of the news business brought about by cable television, the Internet and the company’s desire for profit and to gain more viewers or subscribers. This is un-called for. The graphics which are shown in the media should be authenticated. Photos can be among the most controversial media materials, both because of their disturbing content and because they can be altered with digital editing tools. For instance, in the case of 9/11 the bombing of the world trade centers, though there was huge media coverage, there was not a single image which should showed any ghastly image of the attack. This only proves that it is the big media corporations like BBC and CNN which maintain the media ethics and the Mizoram media have a lot to learn from these media corporations. When it comes to advertisements it can be suggested that the publishers may apply taste and not shock the audience to get attention.
No doubt that media is a broad term which describes the proper modes of behaviors to which all branches of the modern media should attempt to adhere. These branches of media such as television, print communication and the internet often face complications as their ethics tend to conflict with one another. It is difficult to simplify media ethics. All media companies and creators should be more concerned to serve the public and stay morally focuses. Many parents don’t want children to be exposed to many malcontents. This is where the media ethics should be maintained. In Mizoram, many English and Hindi Movies are being translated. These programs are very popular and are watched not only by house wives but people of different age groups including the children. It is very important that the media owners and the broadcaster are aware of its impact and that they hold a very important place in influencing the society. These are only some examples of how media ethics has to be given importance in the growth of media to move towards professionalism.

6.3.3 Creation of IT mindset and Development of Human resources for Informatization

In the IT sector, there is a need to increase awareness and understanding amongst the people of Mizoram. As mentioned in chapter 5 we find that the government of Mizoram has also taken many steps in improving the IT sector. Though the infrastructure is set up, there is a lack of IT culture within the State. With the expansion of public access to television, cable network, telephone and the internet yet the people are not making use of the facilities that the government has tried to provide through e-governance. E-governance will only be successful if the people can make use of the various information technologies that is laid out by the government of Mizoram. Awareness and development of human resources in the field of information technology is very important. Even if the idea is good and the vision of
e-governance is purposeful yet, if it not used by the citizen then it is a lost cause.

Informatization is a process through which new means of communication technologies are used for furthering socio-economic development. It is important that training and education be given to the citizen at every level, from the leaders to the people at the remotest area of the village and even the illiterates. For informatization to take place in Mizoram everyone needs to be involved, the teachers need to be trained in all the education institutions of towns and even villages, internet base education method also needs to be provided, and internet operator at the internet community centres also need to be provided so that they can serve the people’s information needs. IT culture may not be created overnight in Mizoram, it may take time but efforts have to be taken in doing so. In many ways IT culture can set in and can make use of the new means of communication technologies for example, booking of flight tickets and railway reservations, banking are also made easier we even use electronic cash, distance education, community centres and even businesses are done by the internet. Marketing is done through internet, the buying and selling of good is also done through the websites. The Mizo people are becoming more aware of these activities and internet shopping is becoming a fast growing trend in Mizoram. Websites like Jabong.com, flipcart.com etc are all upcoming shopping sites which are attracting the people and this has also increased the growth of companies which are transporting these goods to Mizoram. Companies such as Blue-Dart, Fed-Ex, Safe Express etc are coming up in the State. These companies provide delivery services. The goods items which are ordered via the internet are delivered to Mizoram through these companies. It is a fast growing company as the demand for their service is growing.
6.3.4 Scope for Future Research:

This research has explored the various workings of media and it has even studied the genesis of its existence in the context of Mizoram. As much as there is a scope for growth of media, the area with regard to media also broadens. It is practically a part of our daily lives and its influence on us can be studied in depth. This study has generalised the media. Each role of media has a scope for extensive study in the future. The government media and its departments have a potential for in depth study as well.

Further, as extensive and in depth study can be made on the interrelationship between media and civil society in Mizoram. Although in this thesis we have dealt with this aspect, our analysis has been holistic. This being the first work of its kind in the context of Mizoram, we tried to deal with the various dimension of media with its relation with the political institutions A Mizo focussed study on media’s relations with other civil society groups like YMA, MZP, MSU, MHIP, MUP as well as the trade union groups can be studied to understand the larger picture of the media in Mizoram. This is for the future researchers to undertake such study.