

Social Media, Civil Society and Naga Reconciliation Process

Shonreiphy Longvah

Department of Political Science, North-Eastern Hill University (NEHU), Shillong, 793022, Meghalaya, India

***Corresponding Author:**

Shonreiphy Longvah

Email: shonreilongvah@gmail.com

Abstract: Not very long ago in Nagaland, when there was limited or censored media, and when there was no such thing as “social media”, the function of the civil society organizations was greatly limited. Social media and other means of communication were extremely “biased”, not reporting the grievances of the victims factually. Many times, media acted as an important tool of the Government of India, revealing and broadcasting the events and issues that India wanted other people to know on the Naga political struggle. However, with the passing of time, today, in the era of Information and Technology, the Naga civil society organizations have come to occupy a fundamental position in quickly disseminating the cause of the Nagas. In fact, the Naga civil society organisations with the help of social media has been vocalising that the common Naga people cannot tolerate atrocities of the Indian security forces any longer. Today, social media and other electronic communications empower them to expose any violent inhuman action, committed either by the Indian armed forces or by the Naga revolutionaries themselves. This research article analyses on how the information provided by the Naga civil society organisations as well as the social media concerning the issue of Naga peace and reconciliation process influence the viewpoints of the Naga masses.

Keywords: Communication, Information, Naga Civil Society, Reconciliation, Social Media

INTRODUCTION

The Nagas have been fighting a silent but violent war with the Indian Government for “complete independence” for many decades now. They have been voicing that their struggle started prior to India’s independence when the Naga Club was formed in 1918 for advancing the aspiration of the Nagas. Their endeavour for freedom was branded as one of the oldest of its kind not only in the Indian continent but also in the whole of South Asia. In the period following the independence of India, when the print media was playing an active role in promulgating and circulating information to the masses, Nagaland was denied from enjoying the various advantages provided by such medium. Print media especially the newspapers was highly censored. In fact, journalists were barred from entering the areas inhabited by the Nagas to report and represent the plight of the people. This form one of the primary factors in keeping the so called “mainland India” dark and ignorant about the problem faced by the Nagas. Till today, many do not fully understand how the areas inhabited by the Nagas became a part and parcel of the Indian Union; they still do not fully grasp the underlying factors of the “Indo-Naga” political conflict. Such poor knowledge of one’s backyard is mainly because of the absence of media to report the ground reality of the Nagas’ struggle for political solution.

It has been commonly held that instead of the local and national media, it was the international media which was responsible for internationalising the Naga movement [1]. Sajal Nag indicated that a number of foreign journalists secretly entered into the turbulent region of the Naga Hills, which not only reported the situations but also internationalised the Naga cause and garner support for the movement by highlighting the cases of Human Rights abuse by the Indian armed forces [2]. Of late, the media report on the Naga political movement has become more prominent especially after the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN) and the Indian Government signed a peace agreement in 1997. The peace accord was subsequently followed by a peace negotiation, which has dragged on for more than seventeen years. It can be inferred that the protracted Naga peace negotiation, which only seem to promise an unending journey in the wilderness with no ends at near sight is partly responsible for the outbreak of factional infightings among the various Naga revolutionary groups. As such, today, factional killings and the reconciliation process to end such factionalism have come to occupy a limelight position in both print media and social media.

The waves of media reach the shore of Nagaland only in the 1990s. It has been recorded that

though some local news were published sporadically yet regular publication of newspapers began only in 1990 when the *Nagaland Post* was instituted and started running on a regular basis [3]. As mentioned earlier, in the era of print media, the Naga political cause received only a minimal or limited coverage, but highly biased too. In essence, many times, the factual representation of the movement was a far cry. Further, the Naga civil society organisations during those years were ineffective. In fact, their free existence was also found to be a very rare substance. Thus, it is understandable that the civil society organisations did not obtain a prominent space in the media world to make their voices heard. However, in today's digital generation, the Naga social organisations through the mechanism of social media are tirelessly expanding their tentacles in rapidly publicising the Naga political cause. Today, the Naga civil society organisations with the aid of the various social networking sites like Facebook, WhatsApp, My Space, and Twitter among others, have come to widely emphasise the Naga political issue including the contemporary peace and reconciliation process. Facebook is widely in use among the Nagas. Some prominent Naga blogs or groups on Facebook such as the *Naga by Blood*, *Global-Naga Initiative*, *Connect to Reconnect: Nagas (India & Myanmar)*, *United Naga Council*, and *Tangkhul Times* among others disseminated their political issue to the people through this medium.

Internet and other electronic means of communication can speedily make known any event at the click of a button. In today's era, any sensible individual with the basic knowledge of Internet acts as an "independent journalist", in the sense that they can publish, report and represent any unfortunate issues by uploading the ground reality on the Internet. In the light of this, it may be surmised that in the Naga society, social media and social organisations act as a vigilante in promoting and protecting the interests or viewpoints of the Nagas. Having pointed out the potentiality of the Naga civil society organisations and the social media in disseminating information, this paper analyses on how public opinion are shaped at the availability of such numerous knowledge and information.

A NOTE ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Many seem to agree on the notion that it is in the habit of humankind to interact or socialise or stay connected with others. In fact, the instinct of human being to associate or relate with others is the foundation of human civilisation. The primary objectives of media of any forms or types including social media are to communicate with others and to provide information. In other words, all communication has in common a primary set of goals and those are information dissemination, persuasion and entertainment [4]. Media is about creating a network of people. It is to create "social networking" which "is as old as humans have

been around. Just as in nearly every other species, humans have an instinctual need to be with, communicate with, and share thoughts, ideas, and feelings about their daily lives. Only the tools in which we communicate have changed over the millennium" [5]. "Humans have an intrinsic need to share ideas, thoughts, and experiences. We also have a need to express those thoughts creatively and artistically using the tools and technologies available to each of us, from ochre and charcoal to the Internet" [6]. In today's generation of information and technology, social networking aims to build relationship and trust within the specific milieu of community. In fact, it provides a method for members in a given community to comment on what they are doing, for example, by providing status updates, lists of activities, or walls to write on [7].

Though the term "social media" originated in the 1990s, it was only after 2000, with the birth of Facebook in 2004, YouTube in 2005 and Twitter in 2006 that its accessibility became widespread with global reach. There is no universally agreed single definition of social media. However, Scott and Jacka provide a workable definition. According to them, "social media is the set of Web-based broadcast technologies that enable the democratisation of content, giving people the ability to emerge from consumers of content to publishers" [8]. They observe that the most significant outcome of applying social media technologies is to help foster relationships with people [9]. Brogan [10] while drawing our attention to social media as a tool to reach out and connect individual voices to a community, also stresses that the purpose of social media is to empower and enable conversations digitally. It is "the two-way Web" that includes everything from blogging to video to podcasting to photo sharing, and the use of social networks like Twitter and Facebook, for instance [11]. The fundamental objectives of social media include making "people feel heard", giving a voice to the people, giving individual user an audience, enabling the user to have flexibility in expressing their ideas, and also giving the user a world audience [12].

Social media, which is simply the newest way of communication, is most popularly used in the realm of market and business as a mode of expanding one's profession or line of work or merchandising a firm, company or an enterprise. However, of late, a "political man" has also come to extensively make use of social media as a tool to promote and broadcast their political views. Social media, thus, is dynamic in the sense that it is "constantly reinventing itself". It is also expressed as a "user-generated media" which is a key part of the social media revolution mainly because it has the ability to create and share content [13]. It is a "two-way communication" that provided a space for participation in "conversation" and become a part of the like-minded

groups [14]. The main objective of social media is to socialise the users [15]. People in the 21st century socialise themselves not only through words but also more fervently through photo and video sharing which carry within it memories. As such, photo sharing is often expressed as “a picture is worth a thousand words/texts”.

The term social media is also associated with the term “Web 2.0” that was first coined in 2004. Kaplan and Haenlein define social media as “a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content”. Poynter [16] describes the concept of Web 2.0 as embracing of mainly two elements: the first is the emergence, growth, and popularity of social media; the second is a change in the paradigm of how control is shared between providers and users. He further elaborated, “The adoption of the idea of Web 2.0 reflected the evidence that users were taking more control of their interactions with media, with organisations, and with each other”.

Safko [17], who considered social media as a new set of tools and a new technology that allows user to more efficiently connect and build relationships with others, identified fifteen social media categories – social networking; publish; photo sharing; audio; video; microblogging; livecasting; virtual worlds; gaming; productivity applications; aggregators; RSS (Really Simple Syndication); Search; mobile; and interpersonal. Out of these, the three most commonly emphasised categories are blogging, microblogging and social networks. The term “blog” which is a shortened version of the term “weblog” has no two exactly similar definitions, but the essential element of a blog is that it is a website organised as set of chronological posts by an author or authors [18]. Microblogging, often interchangeably understood as “tweeting”, is the epitome of social media two-way communication, wherein, the character limitations force the user to communicate in a more succinct manner often conveying a complete thought in 140 characters or less [19]. Facebook is the most popularly known and used social networking site. It provides a platform for users to quickly connect with friends, family, co-workers, and acquaintances of the various social network groups.

All sort of media profess a duty to truth telling; the ideal of truthful information is at the heart of all communication and is assumed as the normal default in our everyday exchanges with each other [20]. Bivins further emphasises that media share a need for credibility, for without credibility, their messages are less effective, even unbelievable (regardless of how “truthful” they may be). However, can social media be ethical regarding the issue of truth telling? Are the information shared via social media tools trustworthy or

reliable? Kanter and Fine [21] make a point that millions of people use social media to connect with one another around causes, but exactly what differences does it make? Does it help more people in need? Does it pass better laws? The highlighted questions are some of the debates that indicate the negative side of social media. It has been observed by many that today’s generation has a growing obsession and dependency with social media, which directly gave rise to a problem of information overloading [22]. For instance, the most common criticism of social media in general and microblogging in particular is the “trivial nature of most posts..... The ease of use and the lack of cost encourage people to become tweeting maniacs, and people tend to lose a sense of responsibility by continuously tweeting about the most mundane occurrences in their day-to-day lives” [23]. Some other common criticisms of social media include its exclusiveness as most sites do not allow the transfer of information from one to another, disparity of information available, concentration, ownership of media content, and the meaning of interactions created by social media, all of which are directly or indirectly related with the issue of “trustworthiness and reliability of information” broadcasted in social media [24].

NAGA RECONCILIATION

The Naga reconciliation is a process of building peace after the “Indo-Naga” conflict has been brought to a manageable level with the signing of the peace agreement in 1997. It is a technique adopted with the belief that it can find ways to end any kind of disagreement among the conflicting Naga revolutionary groups, paving the way for a good relationship to start off again. Reconciliation process is most successful in the atmosphere build up with the spirit of trust, understanding and compromising spirit, and the acceptance of other’s distinct identity and rights of others’ entities. As such, the current Naga unity move is based on the notion that “reconciliation presupposes conflict resolution of the development of working trust; the transformation of the relationship toward a partnership based on reciprocity and mutual responsiveness; an agreement that addresses both parties’ basic needs” [25]. Many recommended that in order to construct a new relationship on the basis of trust, justice and mutual understanding, the past injustice and cruel histories should not be used as the motives for any reconciliation process. However, such is too utopian and ideal! In reality, it is not easy to forget the past humiliation and injustice, even at the price of a promising good relationship. “Forgive and forget” in a caption often used in the Naga reconciliation process. Perhaps, the victimised group will be able to “forgive” the perpetrator for all the hurts and violence inflicted upon them; however, it is near to impossible to “forget” the unpleasant memories.

The Forum for Naga Reconciliation (FNR) was formed in 2008 in order to prevent fratricidal killings among the Naga revolutionary groups and to unify them. This Forum has the support of all the political parties (Naga People's Front, Congress Party, and BJP of the state among others), all the major civil society groups (the Naga Hoho, NSF, NMA, NPMHR, and NBCC), and almost all the Naga revolutionary groups, functioning in and around the state of Nagaland. In fact, the FNR, endorsed by 29 Naga organisations, since its formation launched the "Naga Reconciliation: A Journey of Common Hope" with the intention of bringing the various Naga revolutionary groups to a dialogue so that they will come to a mutual understanding and stop the internal fighting.

Generally, the Naga reconciliation has two important objectives: (a) to make the ongoing "Indo-Naga" peace process successful and (b) to prepare a ground for conflicting Naga revolutionary groups to co-exist in harmony so that true peace can prevail in Nagaland. Transformation and harmonisation of one's attitudes and perceptions towards others are required for the process of reconciliation to become a reality. In it, an active involvement of the Naga masses is a necessity. In fact, to sustain any peace-negotiated agreement, reconciliation is inevitable.

Since the late 1990s, a new twist of event seemed to have captivated the Naga society. Initially, for a very long time, the Nagas projected the Indian Government as their "sole enemy", who inhibited the freedom of the Naga people to decide their political life as they please. New Delhi meted out a cruel and ruthless methods in order to subdue the Nagas' aspiration for political independence or sovereignty. This constructed a strong "anti-Indian feeling" among the Nagas. Declarations among the Naga civil society organisations like the "Nagas are not Indians in any sense" are sought in many occasions. Further, the Naga civilians are made the scapegoat after every armed conflict between the Naga revolutionary groups and the Indian Army. The Indian security forces made no distinction between the Naga revolutionaries and the civilians. All the Nagas including women and children were considered hostile and thus resorted to various inhumane treatments and human rights violations. All along, the Nagas experienced a silent suffering. No media was there to cover their side of the stories. On the one hand, no outside observers were permitted to observe the situation. On the other hand, the Nagas had none to confide their miseries and sufferings under the free hands of the Indian army. One of the captions of the Indian armed forces read "Assam Rifle, Friends of the Hill People" was nothing but an illusionary caption, as most of the human rights violations against the Nagas were committed by the Assam Rifles. Such was the time when the Nagas were undivided and united for their political cause. However, today, the whole

scenario is changing. Some influential human rights groups like the Naga People's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR), and other Naga civil society groups like the Naga Hoho, the Naga Student's Federation (NSF), the Naga Mothers Association (NMA), and the United Naga Council (UNC) among others began to fight against the blatant atrocities of the Indian armed forces.

Factionalism is a significant factor that sabotages any condition of peace and harmony. It leads to a sense of insecurity among the Nagas - old and young, poor and rich, literate or illiterate, men or women, etc. In fact, it directly or indirectly affects the life of every Nagas. It is also responsible for various setbacks in social, political and economical progress. Thus, for the healthy progress and development in all the spheres of life, the Nagas need to restore a peaceful environment through the process of sincere reconciliation. In the context of the Nagas, reconciliation simply means the "re-establishment of the already fractured relationship" among the various Naga revolutionary groups, which has directly led to the growth of tribe-ism and factionalism in the Naga society. It is a process of reuniting or bringing together of all the Naga revolutionary groups for the early resolution or settlement of the long drawn Naga political conflict. Therefore, to find ways to unfreeze the tense prevalent situation of factional rivalry in the Naga society is the focal point of the ongoing Naga peace and reconciliation process.

Many made an inference that the struggle for reconciliation among the Nagas came into being because somewhere along the line of their struggle for political independence, a tribal identity was placed before the Naga identity. Goswami observed that the Naga civil society groups "while fighting for a unified Naga identity has been fighting a losing battle to bring about reconciliation among the several factions of Naga militias divided along tribal lines or factional loyalties that override ethnicity" [26].

The FNR aspires for a peaceful society. Together with the Naga public, the FNR strongly believes that reconciliation is feasible because every sane person has a moral substance of humanity in them. Reconciliation, in short, is for peace and vice-versa. Peace is a cherished human value that will automatically improve the living condition of humankind. Peace has a social dimension in which equity and consideration of others' well being are crucial for a harmonious and congenial co-existence. The need for reconciliation is felt because somewhere along the line, peace has been disturbed by the involvement of either one or all of the following kinds of violence, i.e., social, economic and political violence.

In this research work, we have collected the opinions of 150 respondents on whether the FNR has been successful or not in the reconciliation process of the warring Naga revolutionary groups (See Table 1). Some of the major Naga revolutionary groups are the

National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN), the National Socialist Council of Nagaland – Khaplang (NSCN-K), the National Socialist Council of Nagaland – Kholi-Kitovi (NSCN-KK), and the Naga National Council – Singnya (NNC-S).

Table 1: Is the FNR successful in the reconciliation of the Naga revolutionary groups?

	Options	No. of Respondent	Percentage
Below 30 Years	Yes	6	12 %
	No	20	41 %
	Probably	11	22 %
	Cannot Say	12	25 %
31 – 40 Years	Yes	8	15.5 %
	No	24	48 %
	Probably	12	23 %
	Cannot Say	7	13.5 %
41 – 50 years	Yes	6	26 %
	No	7	31 %
	Probably	6	26 %
	Cannot Say	4	17 %
51 – 60 Years	Yes	6	37 %
	No	5	31 %
	Probably	3	19 %
	Cannot Say	2	13 %
Above 61 Years	Yes	5	46 %
	No	1	9 %
	Probably	4	36 %
	Cannot Say	1	9 %
Net Result	Yes	31	21 %
	No	57	38 %
	Probably	36	24 %
	Cannot Say	26	17 %

The above table shows that the FNR is not successful in bringing together all the Naga revolutionary groups under one united group. The reconciliation process of the Forum is yet to come up to the expectation of the Naga masses. However, we cannot deny the fact that the initiative of the FNR has laid the foundation for reconciliation process of the Naga people in general and the Naga revolutionary groups in particular. After the formation of the FNR, the fratricidal killings and the factional clashes have gone down substantially. Further, the FNR managed to bring together the three major Naga Revolutionary groups namely NSCN, NSCN-KK and NNC-S under one table, which resulted to the signing of the agreements like the *Lenten Agreement* (March, 2014) among these three groups.

SOCIAL MEDIA AND NAGA CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

Social media is an important mechanism of the Naga civil organisations in disseminating the knowledge or information of the ongoing Naga peace and the reconciliation process to the Naga masses. In

the present juncture, social media has been widely utilised by the Naga civil groups as a fundamental tool for garnering support of the Naga masses concerning their peace and reconciliation process. It empowers the FNR and the other Naga social organisations to give a clarion call about the need of reconciliation in the Naga society in order to give peace a chance. The availability of Internet facility helps the Naga civil society groups to inform the Naga masses on their plans and initiations concerning the Naga political issue and the reconciliation process. E-Newspapers and Facebook are the two sites where the Naga civil society groups received feedbacks and inputs the most from the Naga masses. Through the medium of electronic communications, the Naga civil society groups are shaping the belief system of the Nagas. The Naga civil society groups like the FNR use social media to propagandise the cause of the Nagas and to highlight the need for reconciliation among the Naga revolutionary groups.

Social media connects people instantaneously as well as progressively. It is a network where people

can join freely and leave freely as well. In order to foster relationship with diverse group of people, various Naga blogs on Facebook has been created with sizeable number of members and followers. For instance, as of November 2014, the *Nagalim Times* has 19, 234 members; *Naga by Blood* has 21,233 people who likes the blog; *Tangkhuls on Facebook* has 17, 331 members; *Naga Scholars Association* has 997 members; *Connect to Reconnect: The Nagas (India & Myanmar)* has 5, 159 members; *Global-Naga Initiative* (Australia – New Zealand based group) has 296 members; *Global Nagas on Facebook* has 3,823 members; *Npmhr Naga* has 460 members, *Nagayouth Burma* has 1,841 members; *Naga Reconciliation* has 185 members; and the *NagalimVoice* has 634 followers. All these blogs publish or update information concerning the various spheres of activities of the Naga people. Despite their specific areas of interests, all the above-mentioned groups support the notion that reconciliation is needed for a meaningful peace to prevail in Nagaland.

Social media plays a multi-dimensional role, impacting in various ways to the hues of Naga masses. It definitely influences the thought process of the users, whether the influences are good or bad is another question. In Nagaland, many have come to opine that “opinions manufactured” through the social media could change the mindsets of their leaders and the use of social media in the rights perspective could also change the mindsets of the youth too [27], especially on the contemporary issue of peace and reconciliation. Figuring out that the social media is a pull factor in disseminating the Nagas endeavour for reconciliation, the Naga civil society groups extensively strive to influence not only the Naga populace but also the non-Nagas who uphold the values of peace and harmony. It is found that efforts of civil organisations for meaningful reconciliation largely influence the religious bodies like the “Baptist World Alliance” (BWA) and the “United Nation of Baptists”. For instance, the Baptist member bodies from 120 nations of the world resolved to support the Naga reconciliation process at the historic event that took place at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, on July 9, 2011 [28]. The BWA along with the “United Nation of Baptists” sincerely responded to the call of the FNR for reconciliation by declaring that they supported to strengthen the Naga reconciliation process [29]. In the line of FNR and Nagaland Baptist Churches Council (NBCC) and in league with the Christian ethics of peace, the BWA invoked that the Nagas must adopt the principle of “non-violent methods” to make reconciliation lasting and permanent.

Recognition of the uniqueness of the Naga history and their political cause by the then Prime Minister of India, Atal Bihari Vajpayee in 2003 has become a capstone of the ongoing Naga reconciliation process. Vajpayee stated, “For too long this fair land has been scarred and seared by violence. It has been

bled by the orgy of the killings of human beings by human beings. ... My government has been doing everything possible to stop this bloodshed, so that we can together inaugurate a new era of peace, development and prosperity in Nagaland. ... This is the time for reconciliation and peace-making. It is true that, of all the states in India, Nagaland has a unique history” [30]. Hazarika rightly observed that the phrase like “peace with dignity and honour” is the Nagas’ most believed values, which is shown much appreciation at all times and in all seasons [31]. However, even after the recognition of the “unique history” of the Nagas by the Indian Government, the commitment of New Delhi to resolve the Naga political issue through political and peaceful means continue to remain in paper. In fact, this shows the weakness of the Indian Government or the inability to resolve the Naga political issue by the world largest democratic country.

Two of the most discussed issues among the Nagas through social media are the political talk between the NSCN and the Government of India, and the reconciliation process under the aegis of the FNR. Opinions, remarks, suggestions, criticisms etc. of the Naga masses on the two above-mentioned issues are made available on the Internet. Further, from such availability, we can infer that the need of the hour is the reconciliation process in order to mend the torn relationships among the Naga leaders. One of the recent developments in the reconciliation process is the *Lenten Agreement* of March 2014 signed by the NSCN, NSCN-KK and NNC (S). This agreement upholds that “having reconciled on the basis of the historical and political rights of the Nagas, we recognize that all Nagas must unite in the common purpose towards achieving our Naga political aspirations” [32]. Through various social networking sites especially the Facebook, this agreement was publicised and have received support from various sections of the Naga society. The social media provides a space to express or formulate ideas and viewpoints on the process of reconciliation. In other words, the Naga civil society groups by using social networking sites make an effort to gain maximum attention as well as to reach out to the maximum audience. Taking the cue that the “chaotic situation” in Nagaland has been created because of the disunity and discord among the Naga revolutionary leaders, the FNR indicated that “in today’s degenerating circumstances, reconciliation provides the most realistic way out of the spiraling crisis faced both from within and without....reconciliation offers the possibility of bringing everyone into relationships of mutual trust and respect by acknowledging the responsibility for past hurt and wrongs, while also uniting through consensus for a shared future” [33].

The FNR initiated the Naga Peace Summit for the first time in June 2008, and the second time in August 2008 at Chiangmai, Thailand. These were

widely publicised in print media as well as in social media with the intention of reaching out to the diverse sections of the Naga society. Further, the commitments of the participants to work towards strengthening the reconciliation process based on the spirit of “forgiveness and mutual acceptance” based on the historical and political rights of the Nagas were extensively circulated through print media and social media.

The vibe of social media provides an opportunity to a technologically literate Nagas to democratise their viewpoints on the current political issues apart from the other social-economic and cultural issues like corruption, maladministration, religion, etc. The Naga populace especially the younger generations has come to increasingly associate themselves with social media. Therefore, the *Morung Express*, a daily running news agency in the State of Nagaland conducted a weekly poll on whether the “use of social media in the state of Nagaland has been abused or not”. According to their findings, 67% of the respondents observed that the facilities of social media has been misused, 25% of the respondents held that social media has not been misused, and 8% of the total respondents were not sure of the usage [34]. The first group among the respondents (above mentioned) asserted that it has been using as a channel of propagating “rumours” that create more divisions, spreading the evil of “isms” (especially factionalism and tribe-ism). Many of the Naga leaders lamented that the youth of the Naga society gave destructive criticisms through the various social networking sites on the Naga political issue and the reconciliation process without proper understanding of the ground reality. The use of social media is not without limitation. It generates anti-social elements. Many users of the social networking sites like Facebook use fake identity. Many among the users while addressing some important issues often use “hates messages” and “abusive words”. At times, the uses of fake identity disturbed the healthy discussion and deliberation on the ongoing reconciliation process.

CONCLUDING NOTE

In the age of Information and global village, more and more people are making use of social media. In actuality, print media has come to be largely considered as a “secondary mode” of communication in comparison with that of social media. However, in the context of Nagaland, such trend is yet to actualise. The “traditional mode” of communication continues to occupy an integral part in the Naga society. Print media continues occupying an integral position in disseminating news on what is happening in and around the state of Nagaland. In fact, social media is considered as a medium that “complements” the print media. Reconciliation among the Nagas is of utmost importance, as it possesses the key to unlock their political impasse and their peace process. The process

of Naga reconciliation is a necessity in order to free from the scourge of the long-drawn political conflict, and to bring development, prosperity and harmonious co-existence in the Naga areas. To advance the process of Naga reconciliation, the FNR with the constant support of other Naga civil society groups convene meetings, conferences, seminars, summits etc. in India and abroad. Those events are made known to the Naga hoi polloi through the medium of both print media and social media. For instance, in its effort to familiarise the whole Naga populace with the “ins and outs” of the reconciliation process, the FNR circulated the Naga Peace Summit in both print media and social media. It is worthwhile to note here that most of the information available in the various social networking sites like Facebook on the “Naga political issue” and the “Naga reconciliation” are largely the “reproduction of information” of some of the regional newspapers like the *Morung Express*, *Nagaland Post*, *Nagaland Page*, *Sangai Express* etc.

Social media enables the masses or an individual to generate their own ideas rationally and freely without any fear. It helps the people to be more conscious of their rights and responsibilities. It also enormously encourages sharing of one’s ideas or visions to the masses. However, social media serves little or no purpose for the technologically illiterate people and for those who have no access to Internet facility. Inference can be drawn that unlike the younger generations among the Nagas, the older generations are benefited the least from social media, largely because of their lack of computer knowledge and the unavailability of Internet facility in most sections of the Naga society. Mention may be made here that some of the more advance towns in the Naga areas like Dimapur, Kohima, Mokokchung, and Ukhrul among others have problems of irregular power supply, and internet facilities among others. In such a situation, smooth operation of social media is not possible. Further, vast majority of the Naga populations continue to live in villages with no internet facility or proper power supply. In this globalised world, some of the Naga villages have neither electricity nor proper road. For them, it is a bit early to discuss the importance of social media in generating the opinions of the people on the reconciliation process. In essence, the use of social media by the Naga civil society organisations in spreading and mobilising their movement for Naga reconciliation is a successful one especially for the Nagas living in towns and cities. Contrariwise, the employment of social media by the civil society organisations as a means to influence the opinion of the Nagas living in sub-towns and villages on the reconciliation process is yet to actualise as an effective tool.

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