

Media's Role in Shaping Gorkha Political Identity in Darjeeling, West Bengal

NEHA TAMANG

Ph.D Research Scholar Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Annamalai University nehatamang7@gmail.com Co- Author **Dr. S. PRABHAKARAN** Assistant Professor Department of Political Science and Public Administration Annamalai University selvarajprabhakaren1975@gmail.com

Abstract

The media significantly shapes political identity through agenda setting, bias, and framing, influencing what issues are deemed important and how they're perceived. Selective exposure further reinforces existing beliefs, while social media creates echo chambers, exacerbating polarization. Political advertising, entertainment, and crisis coverage also mold perceptions, affecting public opinion and ideological alignment. The study examines the role of mass media in shaping Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling, West Bengal. It examines the historical context, portrayal in local media, impact on public perceptions, influence of social media, and challenges faced by media organizations. Through analysis of media narratives and community perspectives, it elucidates how media representations construct and negotiate Gorkha political identity in a multiethnic context. Results underscore the interplay between media coverage, historical legacies, and contemporary politics, offering insights into fostering inclusive governance and social cohesion in Darjeeling. The highlights the critical need for media literacy and critical thinking in navigating diverse media landscapes for informed political identities. **Keywords:** Political Identity, Mass media, Mobilization, Representation

Mass media refers to various forms of communication channels, such as television, radio, newspapers, and the internet, which reach a large audience simultaneously. These channels play a crucial role in disseminating information, shaping public opinion, and influencing societal norms and values. Political identity, on the other hand, encompasses the beliefs, affiliations, and sense of belonging that individuals or groups hold regarding their political community. It is shaped by historical, cultural, and socio-economic factors, as well as by media representation and discourse. In the context of Darjeeling, West Bengal, the Gorkha community has a distinct political identity shaped by its historical struggle for recognition and autonomy. Dating back to the colonial era, Gorkhas have fought for their rights and representation within the broader Indian political landscape. The Gorkhaland movement, initiated in the 1980s, stands as a significant milestone in this struggle, reflecting the community's aspirations for self-governance and cultural preservation. Over the years, various political parties and organizations, such as the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) and the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GJM), have emerged as key actors in advocating for Gorkha political rights. Against this backdrop, media



plays a pivotal role in shaping the Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling. Local newspapers, radio stations, and online platforms serve as essential channels for disseminating information and mobilizing public opinion. Through news coverage, opinion pieces, and social media activism, media outlets contribute to framing Gorkha political issues, highlighting grievances, aspirations, and demands. Media coverage often reflects and reinforces existing narratives and stereotypes about the Gorkha community, influencing public perceptions and policy responses.

In recent years, social media platforms have emerged as powerful tools for political mobilization and community organizing within the Gorkha Diaspora. Facebook groups, Twitter hashtags, and online petitions have facilitated dialogue, activism, and solidarity among Gorkha individuals and organizations worldwide. Digital media campaigns and citizen journalism initiatives have provided alternative narratives and platforms for marginalized voices within the Gorkha community. The relationship between mass media and Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling is multifaceted and dynamic, with media acting as both a catalyst for political mobilization and a reflection of societal norms and values. Understanding the role of media in shaping Gorkha political identity is essential for comprehending the broader socio-political dynamics of the region and promoting inclusive governance and representation for marginalized communities.

Objectives

The main objectives of the study are to investigate the historical context of Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling, analyze the portrayal of Gorkha political issues in local media outlets, assess the impact of media coverage on shaping public perceptions of Gorkha political identity, identify the role of social media platforms in influencing Gorkha political discourse in Darjeeling, explore the challenges and opportunities faced by media organizations in covering Gorkha political issues, and propose recommendations for enhancing the constructive role of media in shaping Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for studying the role of mass media in shaping Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling can be built upon several theoretical perspectives. Agenda Setting Theory suggests that media organizations have the power to influence public opinion by selectively highlighting certain issues and neglecting others. Framing Theory posits that media messages are constructed using specific frames or perspectives that influence how audiences interpret information. Social Identity Theory explores how individuals define themselves and others based on group memberships, such as ethnicity or nationality. Dependency Theory emphasizes the unequal power dynamics between media organizations and their audiences, particularly in developing countries like India. Critical Discourse Analysis examines the language and rhetoric used in media texts to uncover underlying power dynamics and ideologies. By drawing upon these theoretical frameworks, researchers can gain insights into the complex interplay between mass media, political identity, and social dynamics in Darjeeling's Gorkha community, informing the study's methodology, analysis, and interpretation of findings.

Significance of the study

The role of mass media in shaping Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling, West Bengal, is significant for several reasons. Darjeeling has a unique socio-political landscape characterized by the presence of diverse ethnic communities, including the Gorkhas, who have long-standing grievances and aspirations for political recognition and autonomy. Understanding how media coverage influences the formation of Gorkha political identity is crucial for comprehending the complexities of ethnic politics in the region and addressing historical grievances effectively.



Secondly, media plays a pivotal role in shaping public perceptions and framing political discourse, thus influencing the dynamics of democracy and governance. By examining the portrayal of Gorkha political issues in local media outlets, this study can shed light on the biases, stereotypes, and narratives that may impact Gorkha political identity and contribute to marginalization or empowerment. Thirdly, the study can provide insights into the challenges and opportunities faced by media organizations in covering Gorkha political issues, thereby informing strategies for improving media professionalism, transparency, and accountability. By proposing recommendations for enhancing the constructive role of media in shaping Gorkha political identity, the study can contribute to fostering inclusive governance, promoting social cohesion, and advancing the political empowerment of marginalized communities in Darjeeling and beyond. Investigating media's role in shaping Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling is significant for its potential to inform evidence-based interventions that strengthen democracy, promote social inclusion, and address the aspirations of diverse ethnic communities in the region. **MATERIAL AND METHOD**

The study utilized document analysis and an empirical method, opting for a survey to gather responses from the public. Interviews were also conducted with journalists, newspaper editors, and media channel representatives, incorporating closed and open-ended questions on a three and five-point Likert scale. Confidentiality was maintained for all respondents. A total of 210 participants, including editors and journalists, were interviewed. Employing thematic analysis, the study qualitatively examined trends and patterns. Secondary sources like books, articles, and reports supplemented the research. Purposive and snowball sampling methods were used to select interview respondents, ensuring relevance and diverse perspectives. These methods provided a comprehensive understanding of the media's impact on political identity formation.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Historical context of Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling.

The historical context of Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling is deeply intertwined with the region's colonial past and its diverse ethnic composition. Darjeeling, located in the Indian state of West Bengal, has been home to various ethnic communities, including Gorkhas, Bengalis, Lepchas, and Bhutias. However, the Gorkhas, primarily of Nepali descent, have been a significant demographic in the region for centuries.

The pivotal event in the historical context of Gorkha political identity is the annexation of Darjeeling by the British East India Company in 1835, following the signing of the Sugauli Treaty in 1815 between the British and the Kingdom of Nepal. This annexation led to the incorporation of Darjeeling into British India, marking the beginning of the region's colonial history. The British administration in Darjeeling brought about significant socio-economic changes, including the establishment of tea plantations and the development of infrastructure, which attracted migrants from various parts of India and Nepal, further shaping the demographic composition of the region. Over the years, the Gorkhas in Darjeeling began to assert their distinct cultural and political identity. The notable development was the formation of the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) in the 1980s, under the leadership of Subhash Ghising. The GNLF advocated for the creation of a separate state called Gorkhaland, comprising the Darjeeling Hills and parts of neighboring areas with a significant Gorkha population. This movement gained momentum, leading to violent agitations and political unrest in Darjeeling during the late 1980s and early 1990s.



In response to the GNLF's demands, the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) was established in 1988, granting limited autonomy to the region. However, dissatisfaction with the DGHC's functioning and the failure to achieve the goal of a separate state persisted among certain sections of the Gorkha population. Subsequently, other political parties and movements emerged, such as the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GJM), led by Bimal Gurung, which renewed the demand for Gorkhaland and intensified the agitation for separate statehood.

The historical context of Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling is complex and multifaceted, shaped by colonial legacies, demographic changes, socio-economic dynamics, and the aspirations of the Gorkha community. The quest for political recognition and autonomy continues to be a significant aspect of the region's socio-political landscape, with the media playing a crucial role in shaping public discourse and perceptions surrounding Gorkha identity and aspirations.

Portrayal of Gorkha political issues in local media outlets

The portrayal of Gorkha political issues in local media outlets has been a significant aspect of the socio-political landscape in Darjeeling, West Bengal. Over the years, media coverage has played a crucial role in shaping public perceptions and influencing the discourse surrounding Gorkha political identity. Historically, local media outlets in Darjeeling have been instrumental in highlighting the aspirations and grievances of the Gorkha community. For instance, newspapers like "Darjeeling Chronicle" and "Himalaya Darpan" have provided platforms for Gorkha leaders to voice their concerns regarding issues such as cultural identity, language rights, and regional autonomy. These outlets have often served as important channels for Gorkha political issues in local media has not been without controversy. In some instances, media coverage has been accused of sensationalism and bias, particularly during periods of political unrest. For example, during the Gorkhaland agitation of the 1980s and subsequent movements, there were allegations of certain media outlets exaggerating violence or misrepresenting the motives of Gorkha activists. Such coverage has sometimes contributed to exacerbating tensions and deepening divisions within the community.

In recent years, the advent of digital media platforms has further transformed the landscape of Gorkha political discourse in Darjeeling. Social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter have provided Gorkha activists with new avenues to mobilize support and disseminate information about their political agenda. These platforms have enabled grassroots movements to gain momentum and amplify their voices beyond traditional media channels. Despite these advancements, challenges remain in the portraval of Gorkha political issues in local media outlets. Limited resources, political pressures, and the dominance of mainstream narratives can sometimes hinder balanced and nuanced coverage of Gorkha aspirations. The proliferation of fake news and misinformation on social media poses risks to the credibility of media coverage on Gorkha political issues. The portrayal of Gorkha political issues in local media outlets in Darjeeling has been dynamic and influential. While media coverage has played a crucial role in highlighting the aspirations and grievances of the Gorkha community, it has also faced challenges such as bias and sensationalism. Moving forward, there is a need for media organizations to uphold journalistic ethics and provide accurate, balanced coverage of Gorkha political issues to foster constructive dialogue and understanding within the community and beyond.

Legal Framework Governing Media and Political Discourse



In India, a comprehensive legal framework governs the role of media in shaping political identity and discourse, ensuring adherence to democratic principles and upholding journalistic ethics. The Constitution of India guarantees freedom of speech and expression, including press freedom, subject to reasonable restrictions in the interest of sovereignty, public order, and morality. The Press Council Act, 1978, establishes the Press Council of India to maintain standards of journalistic ethics. The Cable Television Networks (Regulation) Act, 1995, regulates cable television networks to prevent the transmission of objectionable content. The Information Technology (Intermediaries Guidelines and Digital Media Ethics Code) Rules, 2021, govern digital media platforms to promote responsible journalism and combat misinformation. The Representation of the People Act, 1951, regulates media coverage of elections to ensure fairness and transparency. The Contempt of Courts Act, 1971, addresses contemptuous behavior towards the judiciary, emphasizing responsible reporting on legal matters. Together, these laws form the legal framework within which media organizations operate, balancing freedom of expression with the need for accountability and ethical journalism in shaping political discourse in India.

Efficacy of media coverage on shaping public perceptions of Gorkha political identity

Media coverage plays a significant role in shaping public perceptions of Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling, West Bengal. The portrayal of Gorkha political issues in local media outlets can influence how the broader population perceives and understands the aspirations and grievances of the Gorkha community. One way media coverage impacts public perception is through framing. The framing of Gorkha political issues in news reports, articles, and opinion pieces can influence how the audience interprets and understands these issues. For example, if media outlets consistently frame Gorkha political movements as agitations for autonomy and identity recognition, the public may perceive the Gorkha community as marginalized and struggling for their rights.

Media coverage can amplify the voices and concerns of Gorkha political leaders and activists. Interviews, quotes, and statements from Gorkha leaders featured in news articles or television broadcasts can shape public understanding of the community's political goals and aspirations. For instance, if media coverage highlights the demands of Gorkha leaders for statehood or greater autonomy, it can garner public support for their cause. Social media platforms also play a crucial role in shaping public perceptions of Gorkha political identity. With the rise of platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, individuals have greater access to information and can participate in online discussions about Gorkha political issues. However, social media can also be a double-edged sword, as it allows for the spread of misinformation and the proliferation of divisive narratives. The bias or editorial stance of media outlets can influence public perceptions of Gorkha political identity. If certain media organizations have a particular political leaning or agenda, their coverage of Gorkha issues may be skewed or selective, leading to polarized opinions among the public.

Media coverage plays a crucial role in shaping public perceptions of Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling. Through framing, amplification of voices, social media engagement, and editorial bias, media outlets contribute to how the broader population understands and interprets Gorkha political movements and aspirations. Understanding the impact of media coverage on public perception is essential for fostering informed discussions and promoting constructive dialogue about Gorkha political identity and issues.

Role of social media platforms in influencing Gorkha political discourse



The role of social media platforms in influencing Gorkha political discourse in Darjeeling is significant, given their widespread usage and reach among the local population. Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp play a crucial role in shaping public opinion, facilitating communication, and mobilizing support for various political causes. One aspect of social media's influence on Gorkha political discourse is its ability to provide a platform for individuals to express their opinions, share information, and engage in discussions about political issues affecting the Gorkha community in Darjeeling. Social media platforms allow for the rapid dissemination of news, opinions, and updates, enabling Gorkha residents to stay informed and participate actively in political debates.

For example, during the Gorkhaland agitation in 2017, social media platforms served as a primary tool for organizers to mobilize support, coordinate protests, and disseminate information about the movement. Hashtags such as #Gorkhaland and #DarjeelingUnrest trended on Twitter, amplifying the voices of Gorkha activists and garnering national and international attention to their demands. Social media platforms enable Gorkha political leaders, activists, and organizations to bypass traditional media channels and directly communicate with their constituents. Through Facebook pages, Twitter accounts, and WhatsApp groups, political leaders can share updates, statements, and appeals, fostering a sense of community and solidarity among Gorkha residents. The influence of social media on Gorkha political discourse is not without challenges. The spread of misinformation, fake news, and propaganda on social media platforms can exacerbate tensions and polarize communities. During times of political unrest, misinformation campaigns and inflammatory posts can fuel violence and unrest, undermining efforts to resolve conflicts peacefully.

Social media algorithms and echo chambers may contribute to the polarization of political discourse, as individuals are often exposed to content that reinforces their existing beliefs and biases. This can hinder constructive dialogue and compromise efforts to find common ground on contentious issues. Social media platforms play a crucial role in influencing Gorkha political discourse in Darjeeling, providing a platform for expression, mobilization, and communication. While social media offers opportunities for civic engagement and empowerment, it also presents challenges such as misinformation and polarization that need to be addressed to ensure a healthy and inclusive political environment.

Challenges and opportunities faced by media organizations in covering political issues

Exploring the challenges and opportunities faced by media organizations in covering Gorkha political issues in Darjeeling, West Bengal, presents a multifaceted landscape shaped by historical, social, and political factors.

The prominent challenge is the volatile nature of Gorkha political issues, often characterized by complex historical grievances and conflicting interests. The Gorkhaland movement, for instance, has been a recurring theme, marked by periods of intense agitation and sporadic violence. Media organizations must navigate these sensitive issues while adhering to journalistic ethics and maintaining impartiality. Media censorship and government pressure pose significant hurdles for journalists covering Gorkha political issues. The region's geopolitical significance and the Indian government's vested interests in maintaining stability can lead to censorship and biased reporting, hindering the media's ability to provide accurate and balanced coverage. The linguistic and cultural diversity within the Gorkha community adds another layer of complexity for media organizations. Reporting on Gorkha political issues requires sensitivity to linguistic nuances and cultural sensitivities, which may pose challenges for non-local media outlets.



Despite the challenges, media organizations also have opportunities to play a constructive role in covering Gorkha political issues. With advancements in technology and the rise of digital media platforms, journalists can reach a wider audience and amplify Gorkha voices, providing a platform for diverse perspectives and grassroots movements.

The growing demand for transparency and accountability in governance presents an opportunity for investigative journalism to uncover underlying issues and shed light on the realities faced by Gorkha communities. By conducting in-depth investigations and exposing corruption or injustices, media organizations can catalyze positive change and mobilize public opinion in support of Gorkha political aspirations. Collaboration and networking among media organizations, civil society groups, and advocacy organizations can enhance the impact of media coverage on Gorkha political issues. By forming alliances and sharing resources, journalists can amplify their voices and advocate for meaningful reforms that address the root causes of Gorkha grievances. While covering Gorkha political issues in Darjeeling poses numerous challenges, media organizations also have opportunities to make a meaningful impact by providing accurate, balanced, and transparent coverage, amplifying Gorkha voices, and advocating for social justice and political empowerment.

Major findings

- 1) Media coverage in Darjeeling predominantly focuses on Gorkha political issues, highlighting grievances related to autonomy, cultural identity, and historical marginalization
- 2) Local media outlets often frame Gorkha political identity in terms of ethnic pride, resistance against external domination, and aspirations for self-determination
- **3**) Social media platforms play a significant role in amplifying Gorkha voices and fostering solidarity among community members, particularly during political protests and movements
- 4) Media coverage tends to perpetuate stereotypes and biases about Gorkha communities, reinforcing dominant narratives of exoticism, backwardness, or militancy
- 5) Journalists and media professionals face challenges in covering Gorkha political issues, including limited access to reliable sources, threats to personal safety, and pressure from political actors
- 6) Gorkha political activists and community leaders utilize media platforms to mobilize support, disseminate information, and counter mainstream narratives that marginalize their political aspirations.
- 7) Media discourse on Gorkha political identity intersects with broader debates on multiculturalism, identity politics, and nationalism, shaping public perceptions and influencing policy decisions
- 8) Alternative media initiatives, such as community radio stations and online news portals, provide platforms for marginalized voices within the Gorkha community to articulate their political demands and experiences
- **9)** Media coverage of Gorkha political issues often reflects underlying power dynamics and political agendas, highlighting tensions between mainstream narratives and grassroots movements
- **10)** The portrayal of Gorkha political identity in media texts is influenced by historical legacies of colonialism, post-colonial state formation, and ongoing struggles for recognition and representation
- **11**) Despite challenges, media organizations have the potential to play a constructive role in shaping Gorkha political identity by promoting dialogue, fostering empathy, and challenging stereotypes



- **12**) Media representations of Gorkha political identity vary across different linguistic, cultural, and political contexts within Darjeeling, reflecting the diversity and complexity of Gorkha communities
- **13**) Media coverage of Gorkha political issues can influence public opinion, policy agendas, and electoral outcomes, underscoring the importance of ethical and responsible journalism practices
- 14) Gorkha communities engage with media texts in diverse ways, from passive consumption to active interpretation and critique, highlighting the agency and resilience of marginalized voices.

Conclusion

The influence of media on shaping political identity is a subject of increasing significance in contemporary society. Media plays a pivotal role in molding perceptions and driving political discourse. Understanding how media portrays and influences political identity formation within marginalized communities is crucial for comprehending broader socio-political dynamics and promoting inclusive governance. The study aims to explore the multifaceted relationship between media and political identity, shedding light on the mechanisms through which media shapes public perceptions and impacts political discourse. As we draw the curtains on this comprehensive exploration, it becomes abundantly clear that the intricate relationship between media and Gorkha political identity in Darjeeling, West Bengal, is a tale of complexity and significance. From unraveling the historical context of Gorkha political consciousness to scrutinizing media portrayal and its influence on public perceptions, this study has traversed diverse terrains. Through its findings, it has underscored the profound impact of media coverage on shaping political discourse and community mobilization, while also illuminating the challenges and opportunities encountered by media organizations in navigating this terrain. Ultimately, the narrative woven through this research speaks to the vital importance of ethical journalism practices in fostering inclusivity, dialogue, and empowerment within Darjeeling's diverse Gorkha communities, signaling a call to action for fostering a more informed, engaged, and equitable socio-political landscape.

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