

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1: Introduction

Scholars all over the world have largely acknowledged the importance of media in a democracy. Media is not only the architect of public opinion but it also acts as a moulder of the perception of the people towards the governing process. It is the means through which people can ventilate their views on any issue, not necessarily political, but on broader problems which may cover other aspects of social life as well. The significance of the media can hardly be overestimated. They transmit, create and store information and in so doing influence perception, knowledge and memory. They put their seal on politics, economy and culture and are an important part of free-time activity and daily discourse. Exceptional events such as wars and revolutions are bound up with the media, as are long-term developments and interpretive patterns like nationalism, religious and ideological groupings and gender roles. Seen in this light, the media are **not merely a virtual 'mirror' of something 'real', but are themselves part and parcel of social realities.**

Alex de Tocqueville was amongst the first major political thinkers to analyze this new and developing phenomenon - the emergence of the press as a powerful instrument of democracy. Media control to democracy is an old and well-known idea. The news media fulfils their *'Fourth estate'* of democracy. Media encourage self-government by exposing people to different ideas, **increasing people's capacity to exercise** citizenship and judgment as well as scrutinizing the power. Theoretically media is essential to ensure that all voters possess adequate and equals information above the choices confronting them.

Democracy in general terms is understood as a governmental form which is subject to popular sovereignty. It is essentially a rule by the people which is in contrast to absolutism. Democracy extends, through its medium of freedom of speech and expression, ample room for people to participate and express their opinion, however, that materialises only when they are well informed. Therefore, this opportunity is provided to the people by the media.

As Joshua Meyrowitz said "media are themselves social context that foster certain forms of interaction and social identities"¹. Media is not only a medium or a channel for diffusion of information, but it also makes an opinion about the information gathered for various objectives. In democratic politics media is a relatively autonomous institution and journalists, thereby, are social and political actors who creates their self-perception as a mediator.

"Mass media in its different forms have influenced human for decades. They have primarily provided information and entertainment to people across countries. Print media, being the leader over a considerable period of time has, however, now got competition from Television, which has been reshaping many of the social responses. Radio apart from providing news and views has also developed a flair for entertainment, thereby getting a lot of acceptance. There is also the new media with internet being its flag bearer. Internet has indeed made it possible to disseminate information and ideas in real time across the globe" (Chitra, P., Neelamalar, M., May 2013).

However, among all these developments here is a cause of concern whether media really is fulfilling its social responsibility, or is booming global mass media posing threats to the democratic way of thinking, or is it posing challenges to a country like India where media has a greater role to play rather than merely providing information and entertainment? "Mass Media activities have been commendable at any point of time of history in informing, educating or entertaining the people all over the world. Every media have had their share of effects on the society and have been responsible in their own way for changes in socio-economic and cultural aspects"(B, K. Ravi, March, 2012). Presently, the social media apparatus have altered our humanity in a way they express information between individuals. Consequently, this has led to many social movements either starting on social media or being prepared and managed through this medium. Additionally, the influence of the press comes from the cultural

authority and that they have to construct news as public knowledge. Early sociologist who studies the press, such as Robert Park, argued that the news is a form of knowledge that compels people to action.⁵ [D. Peters (1980)] Since then many empirical studies, mostly in the West, have shown us that in modern participatory democracy the press play a majorfunction in knowledge spreading effects and building attitudes that compel people to action and influence political involvement.⁶

Media enables the emergence of public space,² [Calhoun ed. (1992)] expand the “boundaries of dissent”³[Bruce D’Arcus (2006)] and produce” large scale social integration”⁴ [Calhoun (1988)] by overcoming constrains of space and time in social movements. Moreover, the news media are uniquely positioned in the social space to “witness”⁴[Calhoun (1988)] and legitimize the claiming of public space by drawing attention to social protest and influencing the social interaction among all the actors in a social protest, including the state actors. Thus, news media as one of the important constituents of social context in modern days and it must be seen as influential players in populist social mobilizations such as Jan Andolans. (Anup Kumar, 2011)

Todd Gitlin in a most influential studies on interaction among the newsmedia and socialmovement, found that social movements produce meaning; however, the news media through its reporting influence discourse, mobilization, organization, leadership and outcomes of movements⁷[Bandura

(2001)]. Later building on Gitlin's work, William Gamson and Gaddi Wolfsfeld proposed a model of "competitive symbiosis" to understand the press and social movement interaction. Gamson and Wolfsfeld argued that social movements try to influence the news media to validate, mobilize and advance their goals; whereas, the news media influence social movements by framing social protest through the practice of selective emphasis.⁸ In addition, at the same time, the news media also perform the function of social control to ensure stability of the political-economic order and the market (Anup Kumar, 2011). It is widely accepted that social movements is the result of social injustice of any particular the social order. It is outcome of a variety of factors- social, economic, political, cultural, ethnic and the like.

"It is all the more compelling and complex in a colonial political system where there are signs of dissatisfaction among the people at all times. But it is generally stated that in most of the colonial states, the elite class of the society leads the social and political movements" (Farlex, 2006). This has created a situation where the people at of the grass-root level find little or no scope to play effective role in the political process.

Another important consequence of social movements in the society is the restriction of the scope of consensus politics, any study of this phenomenon would show that interested groups want to create such conditions as to make this both organized and institutionalized means of achieving their

ends. It may ultimately subvert the normal democratic channels of communication and decision making process.

There may be a lot of related questions in understanding the perception of **the people**. The word 'people' being a very comprehensive term appears to include all 'people' of a society at a particular time under reference. Does the word really mean "all people" or some 'segment" of the people? It is 'majority' of the population or a 'special section' of the people which matters in the governing process.

Such and other related questions are generally asked when conceptualizing **the term of "people"**. Needless to mention, the primary task for an observer is to suitable the problem of examination in a proper frame- both contextual and operational. In other words, contextualization of a problem becomes the primary task of a researcher. Any study of this nature should take into consideration of the role of media not in general terms but with respect to a specific issue.

1.2: Definition, Rationale and Scope of the Study

Course of the study seeks to explore the role and impact of print media on the course and dimension of regional movement in the Darjeeling Hills. Needless to mention regional movements have been conceptualised and

defined from various perspectives. The basic question is: "What constitutes a region? Is it simply a geographical entity? "If it is taken to mean a geographical entity only, it may fail to include other factors which are not, strictly speaking, geographical in nature. It is suggested that the notion of a region goes far beyond the geographical consideration and includes within it social, psychological, economic and other dimensions. In other words a region does not necessarily mean to be location specific only. From that perspective, regional movements also cannot remain confined within a specific region. But for the purpose of clarity the present study has taken region in a very specific scope and definition but at the same time does not ignore other dimensions which might have their impact on the course of the movement in this region.

Closely following this, comes the issue of print media and its role in such a movement. As stated, media, particularly print media, occupies a very important place in moulding and directing public opinion. This becomes important in a participatory democracy where public opinion acts as the basic foundation of any democratic government.

Regional movement can also be taken to mean the expression of people for attaining certain goals. Such a movement can be directed towards a total change, a partial change or even for maintaining status quo. In the present study relating to hill politics in Darjeeling district, one can find the idea of

change, both in terms of structure and process. The study also seeks to explore the appropriateness of contending theories about regional movement such as relative deprivation theory, strain theory and the like.

This justifies the selection of the problem for further analysis. Seem no work has been done so far in this area it will go a long way not only in understanding the problem but also to provide suitable inputs for policy making in this regard. The study will essentially beyond the nature, extend and trend of movements in the Hill and extend to which print media has presented the movement in its totality which help in shaping of public opinion either for or against the movement.

The present study is an attempt to explore the role of media in the movement for a separate state under the Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha (GJMM) in the hills of Darjeeling. For the purpose of making the study more penetrating, the focus has been restricted only to print media which include, inter alia, national dailies, regional/state level dailies, local publications and the like.

The study was conducted to focus with the issue of the role of the print media in a regional movement. It is easily understandable that in an open society, more specifically in a democratic society, the media has a very important role in moulding and shaping public opinion relating to a national or regional issue. This study was highlighted to understand and locate the

role of the print media in the regional movements in the hill of the Darjeeling district. Considering the huge number of publications on this issue, the study covers only some of these publications from different categories to assess the role of print media in this movement. One may notice divergent views expressed and positions taken by these publications. Whereas a number of these favoured the movement, others opposed it. While some section has **taken a kind of 'neutral' position, neither opposing nor supporting the course of action of the movement.** The overall impact of this movement on the national, state and sub-state level politics has been highlighted in the media. The movement terminating in the formation of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA) officially proves that the movement has somehow reached a stage, though may not be the final stage as declared by the GJMM so far.

Therefore, the present study seeks to examine the role of print media in the Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha movement against the constitutional and operational perspectives, keeping the broad frame of liberal democratic formation and functioning.

1.3: Theoretical/Conceptual Framework

Regionalism is the expression of a common sense of identity and purpose by people within a specific geographical region, united by its unique language, culture, language, etc. Regionalism is a profound sense of identity, which is real, and as dear, to people than their feeling of identity within a state or within a nation or within a religious group, or a linguistic group (Maheshwari, 1973, p.442). Regionalism is a process in which sub-state actors become increasingly powerful and independent of the state: power devolves from the central state to regional governments within it (Gochhayat, 2013).

Marshall E. Dimcock considers regionalism as "a clustering of environmental, economic, social and governmental factors to such an extent that a distinct consciousness of separate identity within the whole, a need for autonomous planning, a manifestation of cultural peculiarities and a desire for administrative freedom are recognized and actually put into effect".

The socio-cultural and economic differences and issues related to identity recognition that have come up therein ever since India attained Independence, have led to several uprisings, ranging from civil protests to demands for secession. Though all of these fall under the broad category called regionalism, yet they are not all the same type of regional movements – some are for the movements for the identity, some to undo decades of economic neglect, and some movements for seceding from the Indian federal structure. India has witnessed all of these, including movements for

a better economic package for a region or the preservation of culture and language or a separate state, which have been means by which communities have expressed their demands to the state (Vinod, 2014).

It has been largely established that regional movement is the result of injustice of any particular region. It is the outcome of a number of factors- social, economic, political, cultural ethnic and the like. What is needed is the exploration of the historical-contextual setting of the society with a view to arriving at a particular and objective explanation of this phenomenon. It is argued that these movements are the consequences of **“frustration-aggression” compound. A good number of theories have been advocated by** scholars for understanding, explaining and then situating such a movement in the proper perspective. Of all these theories, the Relative Deprivation Theory, the Strain Theory and the New-Social Relationship theory deserve special mention. Such movements may change due to many reasons- social, economic, political, ethnic, linguistic and the like. Whatever may be the reasons, it can be held that most of the movements are the results of and response to a number of social issues which if not addressed in a proper way, may lead to social tension and sometimes social disintegration.

Dhirendra Nath Das’s **“Regional Movements, Ethnicity and Politics”** identifies important determinants of regionalism as:

- i. Historical forces,
- ii. Cultural identity,

- iii. Political pulls,
- iv. Linguism and
- v. Differential Socialisation.

Regional movements in India have been considered as the ventilation of discontentment among those sections that develop a sense of deprivation by the mainstream polity and traditions. After independence India witnessed many regional assertions led by issues like linguism and culture centeredness, rising assertions of States rights as divergent to the Union Government powers, ensuing sometimes into sub-national groups increasing disagreement between the Union and the State and between State and States on political and economic issues, to lead inter-regional rivalries there are growth of regional parties with regional programs, a kind of prejudiced of regional ethno centrism like the propagation of son of soil etc.

Regionalism in India has remained a powerful force in the post-independence politics. It has its roots in the history and the geography of India. India is a land of diverse culture, language, tribes, communities and religions. These are concentrated in certain parts of India *i.e*, the identity markers are concentrated in certain regions. The post independence, reorganization of states on the basis of language could not, however, contain all the sub-regions. In spite of reorganising the states on linguistic basis, there remained certain sub-regions which had different cultures or

languages, remained discontented and these issues contributed to the manifestation of their demand of separate statehoods. These have often taken the form of countrywide agitations and campaigns. The scope of the politics of regionalism in India based on some important factors like India is a largest democratic country in the world having marked social and cultural variety that has its necessary collision on the political and economic circumstances. The fact of regional economic disparity enables the leaders of a meticulous region to lift weight for the formation of a separate state. It can also be said that regionalism very much depends on the linguistic issues.

In North Bengal there are some metamorphoses that stems from the background of social and geographical context and which are observed as:

1. Ideologies and organizations exerted continuous influence on the polity. As a result, their reactions and perceptions were radically transformed. This introduced competition in political and economic spheres and had impact on the individual sub-groups perception about itself and those surrounding it;
2. This intensified demands and expectations for man power and other resources. The pressure to extend and expand welfare, education, government jobs and other developmental activities along with increased assistance to non-productive sections had consistently enlarged its scope. The marginal increased in infra-structural facilities had corresponding influence on development, and

3. There has been multiplication of efforts to mobilize the localities, regions and the peripheries against natural centers of power. (Das, Dhirendra Nath (2005) Regional Movements, Ethnicity and Politics, p.17)

A social movement develops in course of time, and it begins with protest or agitation on a particular issue which may not have the 'organization' or 'ideology' for change, the collective action of a section demanding the formation of linguistic states in the 1950s was viewed as an 'agitation' by some and as a 'movement' by others; the same scholars, at a later stage, saw the 'agitation' as a 'movement'. (Shah-2004, pp22)

In B.K.Sharma's point of view the social movements are often defined as "sets of opinions and beliefs "or "sets of actors and activities" aiming at social , political or cultural change, sometimes with as additional criteria that these values actors and activities should display a certain degree of continuity, or that the change sought should be "fundamental".

He also said that social movements are a type of group action. They are large informal grouping of individuals and /or organizations focused on specific political or social issues, in other words, on carrying out, resisting of undoing a social change. Social movements have been and continued to be closely connected with democratic political systems.

Chalmers Johnson in his "Revolutionary Change" argued that social movement can be explained with reference to its duration, intensity and frequency. It is often related with the phenomenon of legitimacy. Thus social unrest may be both legitimate and illegitimate. It is a kind of pattern of behavior that aims to 'orient or disorient the behavior of others'.

As Carl Leiden and K.M. Schemitt in their work "The politics of Violence" categories social unrest or movements in a broader sense, any political violence may occur due to

1. Arise from spontaneous change directed causes,
2. Develop as a process of breakdown of law and order,
3. Be a deliberate result of organization either by the government or by interest groups.

Almost in a similar way, Dahrendar in his book "Class Conflict in Industrial Society" refers to "structurally generated social conflict as one of the major sources of social unrest. It is a "differential access to authority positions and hence the power and prestige that give rise to contemporary class conflict. He has tried to relate political violence and social unrest with the nature and extent of social change. But contrary views have been expressed by scholars like Arendt, Mosca, Stone, and Bendise who do not accept the idea that social change and progress are the results of social unrest or political violence.

1.4: Review of literature

At the outset, it should be mentioned that no systematic and comprehensive study on print media and its significance in the present movement in Darjeeling has been done by any scholar. A good number of works are there on the nature of the movement, its genesis and subsequent consolidation, leadership issues, ethnic and economic dimension and the like. Of course, while analyzing this movement, the scholars have made some passing references to newspaper items but they did not explore deep into this perspective. Neither that was their purpose nor did the nature of studies demand that. So from that perspective, the proposed study, first of its kind, world is a maiden exercise in this respect, although the study is limited both in respect of scope and coverage. The study is context specific in that regard. The review of literature has been designed in three sections firstly, the literature on media, secondly the literature on social/regional movements and thirdly the literature on Gorkhaland movement.

Literature on Media

On mass media and its role, there are significant works but these works are of general nature. The book "**Media Impact: An Introduction to Mass Media**" by **Shirley Biage**(1988) deals with the nature and role of mass media in a

general way. The coverage of the book is wide and no specific reference to any issue or problem has been made.

Another work "Mass Media and Environmental Conflict: America's Green Crusades" by **Mark Neezil and William Kovarik (1996)** is a book of different nature. It is a work on mass-media and environment. However, the most central component of the work is its section on introduction that highlights a number of theoretical propositions.

Anup Kumar's (2011) "The Making of Small State- populist social mobilization and the Hindi press in the **Uttarakhand Movement**" highlight the role of the press in the mobilization of the social movements very precisely.

The work by **N.Ram (2011)**, India's noted editor of a noted national daily in his book "The Changing Role of the News Media Contemporary India" has highlighted issues like place of the press in historical and social context, functions of the press, and the status of media freedom in India and social responsibility of the media. The work forms the foundation of any study on the status and role of the media in India.

Anastasio A. Phyllis, Rose C. Karen and Chapman Judith (1999) in their article "Can the media create public opinion? A social-identity Approach" has explored the possibility that the media may also serve as a powerful creator of the very public opinion it seeks to reflect its news.

Aftab A. Khan (2012) in his article "The Role Social of Media and Modern Technology" reflects that the media plays an important role to formation of national –identity. He also establishes his view by the theory of imagination by Benedict Anderson community.

Dhanshri M. Patil(2011) in the article titled "Recent Trends of Print Media In development Communication" has highlighted the print media as a traditional media playing an important role in the development of communication.

Acaya Consolata and Mnjama Nathan(2004) in their article" The Print Media and Conflict Resolution in Northern Uganda" reflect upon the role of print media as a conflict and conflict resolution source in Northern Uganda.

N. Ram (2011), "The Changing Role of the News Media in Contemporary India" makes an analysis of the predicament of news media across the developed world.

Muthani L.Wanyeki (2000),"The Development of Community Media in East and Southern Africa" reflect the community media as a vital promotion and protection of human rights and the achievement of sustainable development.

Storck Madeline (2011) "The Role of Social media in Political Mobilisation; A case study of the January Egyptian Uprising" has revealed the importance of the media as a tools for organizing and generating awareness of political mobilisation based on the theory of communication.

Sharma Sangita (2002), "Socio-Political Condition of Assam Today and Role of Media in This Regard-A study" reveal that the media should be a strong critique, more vocal and vigilant about the socio-political condition of the state.

Agarwal Vir Bala (2002), "Media and Society: Challenges and Opportunities" deals with different aspect of the media. She highlighted her work in two parts like Contemporary Media Landscape and Media, and development. She also focuses on Media as a tool in different perspective.

Pannalal Dhar(1998), " Ethnic Unrest in India and her neighbors: Also includes Europe, West Asia, The Balkans And Africa" reveals his work in four parts like Ethnic Unrest in India's North East , Some special cases in India, Ethnic Unrest in India's Neighboring Countries, Ethnic Unrest in Europe, In West Asia , In Africa and other places. This work based on ethnic point of view.

Bennett W. Lance and Robert M. Enthan (2000), in their book "Mediated Politics: communication in the future of democracy" highlighted the matter in five parts of chapter where the discussion focused on the matter of democracy and public sphere. Also in this book discussed about the matter of citizens, consumers and media etc.

Baker C. Edwin (2001), "Media, Market and Democracy" discussed the role of media which influence market economy. This work is classified

in three divisions, serving audience, serving citizens, an illustration; international trade and lastly conclusion part.

Burton Graeme (2005), "Media and Society" reflects the issue of media in different perspectives. He argue that media is an institution through which the audience affected. He choose different perspectives of media which influence audience like violence, films, new technology, advertising, television soaps etc.

Jacobs N. Ronald(2000), express his view regarding media in his work "Race, Media and the Crisis" into five different chapters. He highlighted that media as a part of multiple public spheres with special reference to New York, Los Angeles and lastly Chicago.

Curran James (2002), "Media and Power" discussed about media elaborately. He argues his view in three parts which includes media and the relation of history, sociology and lastly politics. He highlighted all the related issues which influence by the media in past and present time whether developed or developing country.

Turner Graeme (2010), the writer of the book entitled "Ordinary People and the Media: The Demotic Turn" highlighted the issue of ordinary people who are focused by the media in different types of increasing opportunities. The author placed the issues in six chapters where the highlighted points are tabloid, culture, reality TV, cultural identities, redefining journalism etc.

Kennedy Eileen and Laura Hills (2009), "Sport, Media and Society" highlighted that sports and media related to each other in the present society. Media also express their views regarding sports in commercialization way. Media and sports gathers audience views in any society.

Moore Shaun (2000), "Media and everyday Life in Modern Society" focused media discernment in every way. In this book writer tinted media in nine different sections to understand the power of media in everyday life. These nine sections are like media and everyday life in modern society, broadcasting as an institution in everyday life, early radio, satellite television, mobile privatization, modernity, identity, mediated interaction etc. The author touches all the related media in present society used by audiences.

The book "Culture, Society and the Media" edited by **Gurevitch Michael, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott (1982)** highlighted the media in three parts. In their book writers precisely pointed out their expression regarding media perspective. In this book authors delightfully highlighted the theories regarding media and also about organization and power of media in modern society.

Hallin C. Daniel and Paolo Mancini (2004), in their book "Comparing Media System: three models of media and politics" argues media concepts in

three different models. In their book they argued media perception in three models.

Carey W. James (1988), "Communication as Culture: Revised Edition" focused on the communication as a culture in today's society. New technology also affected by the communication culture.

Parama Sen (2009), "Media sensitivity to conflict; a comparative study of India and the United States" reflects the role of media in democratic states and in the war-correspondence. In her book she elaborately worked in seven chapter to discuss the role of media in war scenario.

Brock David (2004), "The Republican Noise Machine: Right Wing Media and How it Corrupt Democracy" argued his view point regarding American right wing politics. He highlighted that how the media played an important role to convert the American right wing media in right way through the conversation and national consciousness among the public.

Literature on Social/Regional Movements

Hooghe Lisebet, Gary Marks and Arjan H.Schakel (2010), "The Rise of Regional Authority: A Comparative Study of 42 Democracies" highlighted an outline of the current drift of regional autonomy. The author has explored 42 advanced democracies countries including the 27 EU member states for his

work. The author takes into account four measures like functional pressure, democratization, European integration, and identity to elucidate regionalization over the past fifty years.

Akhtar Majeed (1985), in his book "Regionalism: Developmental Tensions in India" explained regionalism in a precise intricate manner. He discussed regionalism in three types of manifestations; Supra-state regionalism, Intra-state regionalism and Inter-state regionalism and also regionalism as a separate statehood movement. He also points out that the fact of linguistic equality reinforces regionalism in both positive and negative senses, in the former it supports in unity in the later through emotional turmoil. This is a very important book in the preliminary phases to understanding the regionalism in India and the motives overdue the eruption of regional emotions.

C.H Hanumantha Rao (2010), in his work "Regional Disparities, Smaller states and statehood for Telengana" primarily focus on the multifaceted issue of regional discrepancies and regional tension prominent to the demand for creation of separate smaller states. The author also point out the fact that the absence of political whack in decision making process in the retrograde regions regarding share and other problems led to restoration of regional tensions and a unflinching demand for separate states.

G.Ram Reddy and B.A.V.Sharma (1979), in their book "Regionalism in India: A Study of Telengana" highlighted the problem of the Telengana in two parts. In the first part of the book discussed the problems of Telengana in an analytical point of view on regionalism in the framework of national and state politics. Telengana grumbles and their explosion into a massive movement are analyzed in the context of the roles played by the political parties in relation to the nationalist movement and also that of the press and public meetings in political communication. In the second part the authors investigate the data constructed on survey research. In this part they focus on the regionalism as a great matter to evolve around the mass agitation regarding the focused role in commerce with the Telengana delinquent and the list of getting the lessons from the regional movement.

Rup Kumar Barman (2007), in his book entitled "Contested Regionalism: A new dimensions on the history, cultural change, and regionalism of North Bengal and lower Assam" discussed about the journey of ethnic assertion in this region. In his book it is found that multiplicity of regional and sub-national assertions of diverse ethnic groups in post-colonial India is no doubt a serious factor in the Indian nation building process. In respect to understand the regionalism, he highlighted the issues very sensitively. He also discussed that social, economic, communal, political and cultural factors have been treated as the dynamic of the regional and sub-regional movements.

Rudolf Herble (2008), "Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology" Vol.3 tells about the all general information or orientation regarding the social movements and it also highlighted the sociological approach of social movements.

B.K.Sharma (2012), "Social Movements and Political Power" highlighted the problem of social movements in a global perspective. He also reflects the movements in different political approaches. He relates the social movements in international context by reflecting on NGOs, spatial mediation and from power strategy point of view.

Anthony Oberschall (1993), "Social Movements: Ideologies, Interest and Identities" opines that social movements are central to contemporary policies in both Western and Third World Nations. They are not quaint stepchildren to public policy and social change that disappear as nations modernize.

The work by **Jeff Goodwin and James M.Jasper** (2003) in their edited book "Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning and Emotion" has dealt with the some of the titans of social movement theory in a grand reassessment of its status. Also it covers the all dominant paradigms of social movements.

In the book "Social Movements: Contemporary Perspectives" by **Dianne Dentice (2008)** covers the range and depth to ongoing debates about what

constitutes a social movements, what motivates actors to participate in social movements, and how social movements continue to evolve in post-industrial societies. This book also explains that not every social movement bring positive social change.

The work by **Ghanshyam Shah (2004)**, "Social Movements in India" has divided the studies on social movements in India into nine categories; peasants, tribals, dalits, backward caste, women, students, middle class, working class, human rights and environmental groups. This all categories have the major components i.e. issues, ideology, organization and leadership.

M.S.A. Rao (1979), "Social Movements in India: Studies in Peasant, Backward Classes, Sectarian, Tribal and Women's Movements" dealt with the sociological framework to cover the social movements in India. This book is the first of its kind to bring together twelve empirical studies of diverse social movements in different parts of the country.

T.V.Paul (2010), "South Asian's Weak States: Understanding the Regional Insecurity Predicament" which deals with state capacity, state formation, polity, economy and society of the weak states.

Literature on Gorkhaland Movement

Snehamoy Chakladar (2004), "Sub-Regional Movement in India" has dealt with sequence of regional movements for reorganization of state on linguistic basis. This work draws attention to the issues and causes of Gorkhaland Movement in West Bengal and Bodoland Movement in Assam.

D.S.Bomjan's (2008), "Darjeeling-Dooars people and place under Bengal's Neo-Colonial Rule" highlighted the movement in a Marxian perspective. In this book he thoroughly covers the different aspects of Darjeeling like geo-political, socio, economic, administrative. He also develop the expansion of the movement as prejudice perpetuated by the mass group of people of Bengal against the Gorkha community who are struggle for survival and identity and they feel that they are under developed and minority compare to the others.

H.B.Buramanger (1994), "Is Gorkhaland a Reality or Simply Mirage" explained the movement from the perspective of deficiency leading to dissatisfaction and bitterness leading to the demand for a separate state within India.

L.S.S O' Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers Darjeeling* (1907) is a very important book in understanding the historical background of Darjeeling in the early period of 19th Century.

These Official records provide a wealth of information on all aspects of the region, to know the early history of the region before independence one has to refer to this book. It gives detailed information about the early inhabitants of the region, their way of life, habits, customs religious rites and rituals, festivals and indeed everything concerning them.

Dyutish Chakraborty's (1988) work on "Gorkhaland: Evolution of politics of Segregation, Centre for Himalayan Studies, Special Lecture X" emphasize the movement in from a different perspective. He highlighted on the interrelationship between regional movements which assert isolation in the form of separate administrative economy and administrative machinery. He also focused on the pre-independence administrative preparations for Darjeeling hills. He concludes that the main reason behind the Gorkhaland movement was the administrative policies which were taken for the hill regions.

T.B.Subba (2003), "Ethnicity, State and Development: A case Study of the Gorkhaland Movement in Darjeeling" dealt with the multi-dimensional nature of the movement. He covers all the factors related to the movement like socio-political, economic features of the region which were all somehow influence the movement.

Sur Suchit, "Sub-State Regionalism in North Bengal: An Enquiry, North Bengal University Review, Vols. 4-5, Nos.2-1, Pp57-77(1983-84)" highlighted the reason behind the movement of Gorkhaland and

Uttarakhand. He argues that the main reasons for the movement in Darjeeling was the "Steady and calculated migration" by the Nepali community in hills resulting the scarcity of land and employment which made the pave for the development of the Gorkhaland movement in Darjeeling.

Dhirendra Nath Das (2005), "Regional Movements, Ethnicity and Politics" highlighted the issues the regionalism in different perspectives. He explained the theoretical conceptual framework of regionalism and also discussed the different regional movements like Uttarakhand.

Manas Dasgupta (1988), "The Gorkhaland Agitation in Darjeeling: Some Political and Economic Dimensions" highlighted economy as the major cause for the upsurge of the Gorkhaland movement in hills.

Nagendra Gorkha (1992), "Gorkhaland Andolan: Harayeka Afnai Anuhara pailaharu itihasko auta dhukdhuki Vol 1 and Vol. 2" elaborately explain the Gorkhaland movement in the era of Subhash Ghising. He also discussed Ghising's personal interests in art, culture and also in movements.

Amit Mitra (1988), has comprehensively dealt with the movement in his intense work Ethnicity and the Minorities: the case of Gorkhas, Seminar on problems and strategies of development in the Eastern Himalaya (18-19), Centre for Himalayan Studies argues that the negative attitude of Bengalis institutionalized through prejudices over time as a major reason for the rise

of the movement in hills. He also reflected the point that each person may have prejudices against someone as long as this prejudice affects entity only it is not a sociological crisis but only groups , community or classes are pretentious it become a sociological troubles.

Mishra B.P (1986), Behind Gorkhaland Agitation: Mainstream, vol.25, No.7, pp15-20 argues that behind the rise of the Gorkhaland movement in hills was the transferred antagonism as a consequence of situations that led to the overthrowing of the Nepalis from Assam and Meghalaya

Amiya K. Samanta (2002), has comprehensively dealt with the Gorkhaland movement taking into consideration, the historical background of the formation of Darjeeling District, the identity issue of the hill people, nature of political conflict and profile of political violence in his book titled "Gorkhaland Movement in Ethnic Separatism"

Udaya Mani Pradhan's (1995), *A Case for Gorkhaland, the Socio Economic Perspective* lay stress on the identity question of the Indian Gorkhas which according to him is the main reason behind the demand for Gorkhaland. He also points out that the path of self-reliance is self-government which can only be attained by the formation of a separate state called Gorkhaland. He also talks about socio economic issues like education, tea and tourism.

Another book "Gorkhas: The Warrior Race" by Bandana Rai is mainly a sociological study and the focus is on the description of the Gorkha population in their historical perspective.

"Gorkhaland Movement: Quest for an Identity" by **Mahendra P. Lama (1998)** is a significant contribution in this regard. The book deals with the historical background of the movement. The author has analysed the stage of the movement and it is an authoritative work on the movement.

Mention may be made of another work, though not directly on GJMM movement, deals with the geo-political formation and the socio-cultural dimension of the people of Darjeeling. The book "Darjeeling-Dooars People and Place under Bengal's Neo-Colonial Rule" by **D.S.Bomjan (2008)** is an attempt at this direction.

Social and Political Tensions in North Bengal Since 1947 edited by **Sailen Debnath** is a compilation of papers covering a wide range of contemporary aspects of socio political movements tensions and insurgencies including the unleashing of terrorism in different phases of historical evolution in North Bengal since the attainment of independence since 1947.

Romit Bagchi (2012), "Gorkhaland: Crisis of Statehood" reveals the Gorkhaland movement in the theoretical point of view. He also approached the century old tangle from four perspective like the history of the region, the problem of assimilation of the various ethnic groups, the course of the

movement (from Dumber Singh Gurung to Bimal Gurung) and the hurdle in the way of the fulfilments of the statehood dream.

Gautam Kumar Bera (2008), "The Unrest Axel: Ethno-Social Movements in eastern India" highlighted about the ongoing movements in India. He is in his work also specifically reveals the movement of tribal resistance at Jharkhand and Gorkhaland movement.

Karma T. Pempahishey (2013), "Roadmap on the Trail to Gorkhaland" highlighted the constitutional aspect of Darjeeling with its history and also explains the movement with the support of different tables de drew for it. He also fills his works with comments, articles in Darjeeling.com from the respondents of Hillman

Tanka B Subha, A.C.Sinha, G.S.Nepaland D.R.Nepal, (2001), ed."Indian Nepalis:Issues and Perspectives" argues their views on five specific ground like conceptual and theoretical issues, search for Indian National identity, regional identities of Indian nepalis, Nepali sub-cultures (youth, women, food and medicine) and lastly India-Nepali linkage (history, literature and people).

Why Gorkhaland, published by the **Gorkha Jananukti Morcha** Central Committee is an Official document which gives a detailed account of the reasons behind the demand for Gorkhaland state, starting from the history of Darjeeling before independence, bringing into light the distinct socio-

cultural entity of the Gorkhas to the language issue, also the administration issue of depriving the local majority Nepali speaking community.

The review of literatures reveals that many studies have been undertaken on the nature of the movement in the hills of Darjeeling, its genesis and subsequent consolidation, leadership issues, ethnic and economic dimension. However, these studies fail to address the role of print media in the context of the present movement in Darjeeling.

1.5: Research Questions

The review of literatures reveals certain research gaps. The following research questions have been designed to bridge the existing gap.

1. What has been the role of media in the course of regional movement in general? Can there be a general pan-Indian frame in this regard that may be used for understanding a localized kind of movement?
2. Will it be correct to hold that the impartial role of the media gets affected if it support or opposes any movement? Can a line of separation be drawn between the impartiality and biases of the media in such a context?

3. What has been the role of print-media, national and regional/local in the movement under references?
4. What are major issues raised by print media in connection with this movement? Can there be a general classificatory scheme of the views expressed in the print media about this movement.

1.6: Significance of the study

The study had explored the role of the media in agitation politics of the Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha in the hill of Darjeeling. The focus had restricted only to print media which included inter alia, national dailies, regional or state level dailies, local publications and the like. Considering the huge number of publications on this issue but the study covered only some of these publications from different categories to assess the role of print media in this movement. So from this perspective the study covers not exhaustive but illustrative in nature.

The study is a modest attempt in understanding the mutual relationship between the movement and popular understanding of the movement as generated by and expressed through, the print media. The nature and direction (as well as the outcome) of the movement had its profound impact on the nature of Indian Politics in general and those of state and sub-state politics in the region. Commentators had so far explain the movement from

historical, psychological, political, economic, ethnic and other dimensions as well as. But no systematic had made in the role and performance of the media (in this case the print media). Besides, the UGC and ICSSR, in its research priorities, had placed this area as significant from the points of view of democracy as a system and democracy as a value. So to what extent, such a movement could bring about qualitative and over – all change was a subject of debate. The democratic system had, for existence of more than six decades, **witnessed many challenges coming out of peoples’** dissatisfaction and assertion. This brought the problem which Atul Kohli **sought to explain as “Crisis of Governability”**.

It might be pointed out that such a gap arising out of non-functioning or mal-functioning of the political system could bring before the people by the press-the print media and it could play the role of a catalyst in creating public awareness or raising the level of political awareness on any particular issue. That was only, freedom of press was considered as one of the main pillar of a democratic functioning.

The majority of people of Darjeeling district and the people of Gorkha ethnic origin in Dooars in Northern West Bengal demanded a proposed state called **“Gorkhaland”**. **In the 1980s, Subhash Ghising** raised the demand for the creation of a separate state namely Gorkhaland within Indian Territory. This movement took violent turn which resulted in the death of 1200 people. The study while analyzing the attitudes of different news paper and other

publications world seek to assess their role in creating public opinion as a catalyst, a moulder and awareness raiser in connection with this particular movement launched and led by the GJMM in the hills of Darjeeling.

1.7: Research Methodology

Research methodology is a technique in which the research problems solve in scientifically. In every study there are some steps taken by the researcher while studying research problem along with the logic behind the research. Researchers also require perceptive way to assume fundamental various techniques and the researchers also need to know the criteria by which they can make a decision that certain techniques and measures will be appropriate to certain problems and others will not be applicable for that research problems. So it is very necessary for researchers to design a methodology for the research problems. The research methodology has numerous proportions and research methods do comprise a part of the research methodology.

The Fundamentals

The study was primarily exploratory in nature. No comprehensive and systematic study on this aspect has been done so far. Since any social or

political movement gets support, directly or indirectly by an organised public opinion, the role of the media becomes very important in that respect. It is the media which helps create the popular support-base of such movements. That is why the study was based on historical-analytical method. Historical method helped to find the roots of this movement, its contextual setting and course or direction of the movement. Analytical method was useful to understand the nature of the movement and its probable impact on the society, economy and polity of the region.

Sources of data

Both primary and secondary sources was used and examined to collect information. The study has used qualitative methods. The universe of the study was the print media role to the Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha movement in Hills and Dooars region of North Bengal. In some cases oral representations was conducted face to face and in some cases it was conducted by means of email and telephonic interviews. Apart from this, information was collected from newspapers, pamphlets and documents and of intensive library archives. As there was no previous work on this particular research problem so far very few scholarly works were available as primary source material. Therefore, newspaper editorials, news, and the personal views of the leaders formed the major resource for this study.

1.8: Limitations of the study

The study had certain limitations which should be spelt out at the outset. It was a work on the role and impact of print media on the nature and course of GJMM movement in the hills of Darjeeling District. But print media covers a variety of items and not all the coverage is essential for the study.

Basically three types of newspaper or opinion coverage had included:

- a) General/Specific coverage relating to particular developments and the role of the GJMM.
- b) Editorials covering the incidents and developments in the hill in the midst of GJMM movement. Needless to mention, editorial, of print media not only reflects the official policies of the paper but also help formulating public opinion.
- c) **Last but not the least, the section dealing with peoples' opinion as reflected through their 'letter to the editor'. In other word 'VOX POPULI' as it is popularly known; serve as one of the basic source of measuring public opinion on a particular issue.**

Chapterisation

Chapter 1- Introduction

It deals with the problem investigated and the theoretical dimension of the issue.

Chapter 2 - The Hills of Darjeeling – Historical Overview

It analyses the nature of the Hill Politics in Darjeeling. Every political process has got some elements which are society –specific, region-specific or time-specific. Hill regions have their own features and problems. These are addressed from a different perspective.

Chapter 3- Roots of Political Movements in Darjeeling: Role of Political Parties

This chapter traces the origin of the regional movements in Darjeeling. It is an attempt to make an analysis of the historical roots of the movements.

Chapter 4- Organised Movements in Darjeeling Hills- Rise, Consolidation and Decline

The chapter is devoted to the analysis of the roots GJMM movement in details. It discusses the history of the GJMM movement and the objectives of the movement.

Chapter 5- Print Media and the nature of Public Opinion - A detailed study

This chapter has traces up the role and importance of print media in moulding public opinion in general and its role in connection with an organizes movement.

Chapter 6- Summary and Concluding Observation

It is an overall assessment of the issues discussed so far.

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