References

- Aiyar, S. A. (2023, April 23). Western media: Don't shoot the messenger. Retrieved June 30, 2023, from Times of India: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/Swaminomics/western-media-dontshoot-the-messenger/
- Althusser, L. (1970, June). Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. La Pensée(151), pp. 67-125. Retrieved January 20, 2020, from http://classiques.uqac.ca/contemporains/althusser_louis/ideologie_et_AIE/ideologi e_et_AIE_texte.html
- Ambedkar, B. R. (1945). Pakistan or the Partition of India. Kalpaz Publications.
- Anderson, B. (2015). Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- ANI. (2023, June 29). Christianity in Meghalaya: A Catalyst for social change. Retrieved from ANI: https://www.aninews.in/news/world/asia/christianity-in-meghalaya-acatalyst-for-socialchange20230629084622/#:~:text=Today%2C%20Meghalaya%20is%20one%20of, the%20state's%20population%20practising%20Christianity.
- Ankit, R. (2016). The Accession of Junagadh, 1947–48: Colonial Sovereignty,
 StateViolence and Post-Independence India. *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, 53(3), 371-404. doi: 10.1177/0019464616651167
- Arora, B., & Kailash, K. K. (2013). The New Party System: Federalised and Binodal. In A. K. Mehra (Ed.), *Party System in India: Emerging Trajectories* (pp. 235-261). New Delhi: Lancer Publishers. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/607212/The_New_Party_System_Federalised_and_Bin odal
- Balint, B. (2023, November 9). *The Man who Hoped*. Retrieved from Books and Ideas: https://booksandideas.net/The-Man-Who-Hoped
- Banerjee, S. (2005, July 16-22). Civilising the BJP. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(29), 3116-3119. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4416896

- Banerjie, I. (1985, November 15). Birth of AGP leads to Assam being divided into two irreconcilable camps. Retrieved June 20, 2022, from India Today: https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/indiascope/story/19851115-birth-of-agp-leads-to-assam-being-divided-into-two-irreconcilable-camps-802167-2014-01-16
- Barbora, S., & The India Forum. (2020, January 17). NRC debate: How Assam's complicated history has shaped its current predicament. Retrieved from Scroll: https://scroll.in/article/948311/nrc-debate-how-assams-complicated-history-hasshaped-its-current-predicament
- Baruah, A. K. (1991). Social Tensions in Assam: Middle Class Politics. Guwahati: Purbanchal Prakash.
- Baruah, A. K. (2004, January). Ethnic Conflicts and Traditional Self-governing Institutions:. (C. S. Programme, Ed.) London, United Kingdom: London School of Economics. Retrieved from https://www.lse.ac.uk/internationaldevelopment/Assets/Documents/PDFs/csrc-working-papers-phase-one/wp39ethnic-conflicts-and-traditional-self-governing-institutions.pdf
- Baruah, S. (1986, November). Immigration, Ethnic Conflict, and Political Turmoil -Assam, 1979-1985. Asian Survey, 26(11), 1184-1206. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/2644315
- Baruah, S. (1999). Press in Assam: Origin and Development. Guwahati: Lawyers' Book Stall.
- Baruah, S. (2021, October 12). 'To dehumanise, terrorise us': Muslims evicted in India's Assam. Retrieved April 21, 2022, from Al Jazeera: https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/10/12/india-assam-muslims-forciblyevicted-dhalpur-bjp-darrang
- Basu, T., Datta, P., Sarkar, S., Sarkar, T., & Sen, S. (1993). Khaki Shorts and Saffron Flags: A Critique of the Hindu Right. Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan.
- Bauman, Z., & Vecchi, B. (2004). Identity. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Benjamin, W. (2008). Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction. London, United Kingdom: Penguin Books Limited.

- Berelson, B. (1952). Content Analysis in Communications Research. New York: Free Press.
- Bhartiya Janata Party. (1996). BJP Election Manifesto 1996. Retrieved December 12, 2023, from BJP Central Library: https://library.bjp.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/261/1/BJP%20ELECTION%20M ANIFESTO%201996.pdf
- Bhartiya Janata Party. (2023). *Ram Rath Yatra*. Retrieved December 15, 2023, from Bhartiya Janata Party: https://www.bjp.org/ram-rath-yatra
- Bhat, M. M. (2019). The Constitutional Case against. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 12-14.
- Bhattacharjee, M. (2016, April 16). Tracing the Emergence and Consolidation of Hindutva in Assam. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(16), 80-87. Retrieved May 20, 2023, from https://www.jstor.org/stable/44003801
- Bhattacharya, H. (1989). The Emergence of Tripuri Nationalism, 1948-50. *South Asia Research*, 9(1), 54-71. doi:10.1177/026272808900900104
- Bhutia, S. P. (2022, 12 22). SKM celebrates 14th RHOLU Diwas: "Our focus is 2024, 2029 polls" says CM PS Tamang. Retrieved November 24, 2023, from Sikkim Chronicle: https://www.thesikkimchronicle.com/skm-celebrates-14th-rholu-diwasour-focus-is-2024-2029-polls-says-cm-ps-tamang/
- Bhuyan, R. (2017, March 16). BJP's Rising Graph in North East India. Retrieved from Mint: https://www.livemint.com/Politics/nGVaUb9gpYWkb0nBYTMCAN/BJPsrising-graph-in-NorthEast-India.html
- Boland-Crewe, T., & Lea, D. (2003). *The Territories and States of India*. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis.
- Bordoloi, D. K. (2023, March 15). RSS in North East: Nationalist Narrative and silent transformation. Retrieved October 2023, 12, from Organiser: https://organiser.org/2023/03/15/165011/special-report/rss-in-north-eastnationalist-narrative-and-silent-transformation/
- Boyce, C., & Neale, P. (2006). Conducting In-Depth Interviews: A Guide for Designing and Conducting In-Depth Interviews for Evaluation Input. Watertown: Pathfinder

International. Retrieved December 24, 2022, from https://nyhealthfoundation.org/wpcontent/uploads/2019/02/m_e_tool_series_indepth_interviews-1.pdf

- Bromley, J., & Kozlov, V. (1989, July). The Theory of Ethnos and Ethnic Processes in Soviet Social Sciences. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *31*(3), 425-438. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/178765
- Brubaker, R. (2006). Ethnicity without Groups . Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Burn, R. (1908). Imperial Gazetteer of India. His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press. Retrieved from https://dsal.uchicago.edu/reference/gazetteer/pager.html?volume=15&objectid=DS 405.1.I34_V15_077.gif
- Central Bureau of Communication. (2017). *About Us*. Retrieved December 2, 2023, from Central Bureau of Communication: https://cbcindia.gov.in/about-us/
- Central Bureau of Communication. (2021, August 12). *News Media Sikkim*. Retrieved from Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity: https://cbcindia.gov.in/partners_types/sikkim/
- Centre for Policy Studies India. (2016). *Christianity among the Scheduled Tribes of the Northeast:*. Chennai: Centre for Policy Studies. Retrieved from https://cpsindia.org/dl/Blogs/Blog%2030-Northeast%20ST-Megh.pdf
- Chakrabarti, A. (2021, November 18). *Tripura mosque attacks: Ground report on what really happened during those 8 days in October*. Retrieved from The Print: https://theprint.in/india/tripura-mosque-attacks-ground-report-on-what-really-happened-during-those-8-days-in-october/767110/
- Chakrabarty, B., & Jha, B. K. (2020). *Hindu Nationalism in India: Ideology and Politics*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Chakraborty, S., & Chakma, N. (2016). Economy and Social Development of Rural Sikkim. *Space and Culture, India, 4*(2), 61-79. doi:10.20896/saci.v4i2.198
- Chakravarti, R. (2016). Tagore's Take on the Self-Love of the Nation. In Jawaharlal Nehru University Teachers' Association (Ed.), What the Nation Really Needs to Know (pp. 120-134). Noida, Uttar Pradesh, India: Harper Collins.

- Chakravarti, R. (2016). Tagore's Take on the Self-Love of the Nation. In J. N. Association (Ed.), What the Nation Really Needs to Know. Noida, Uttar Pradesh, India: Harper Collins.
- Chatterjee, M. (2018, May 5). *Conquest of Tripura: Big lessons from a small state*. Retrieved May 7, 2022, from The Telegraph: https://www.telegraphindia.com/opinion/conquest-of-tripura/cid/1464104
- Chatterji, A. P., Hansen, T. B., & Jaffrelot, C. (2019). Introduction. In A. P. Chatterji, T.
 B. Hansen, & C. Jaffrelot (Eds.), *Majoritarian State: How Hindu Nationalism is Changing India* (pp. 1-15). Noida, Uttar Pradesh, India: Harper Collins.
- Chaturvedi, S. (2016). *I Am a Troll: Inside the Secret World of the BJP's Digital Army*. New Delhi: Juggernaut.
- Chettri, M., & McDuie-Ra, D. (2018, March 23). Delinquent Borderlands: Disorder and Exception in the Eastern Himalaya. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 1-15. doi:10.1080/08865655.2018.1452166
- Chhibber, P. K., & Verma, R. (2018). *Ideology and Identity: The Changing Party Systems* of India. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chhibber, P., & Verma, R. (2014, September 27). The BJP's 2014 'Modi Wave': An Ideological Consolidation of the Right. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 49(39), 50-56. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/24480734
- Chief Electoral Officer Assam. (2016). *Assembly Elections*. Retrieved January 25, 2023, from Office of the Chief Electoral Officer - Assam: https://ceoassam.nic.in/assembly/pdf/2016/result/details_results.pdf
- Chief Electoral Officer Assam. (2021). *Assembly Elections*. Retrieved January 25, 2023, from Office of the Chief Electoral Officer-Assam: https://ceoassam.nic.in/assembly/2021/assembly-election-2021.html
- Chief Electoral Officer Meghalaya. (2013). General Elections 2013 to the Meghalaya Legislative Assembly. Retrieved from CEO Meghalaya: https://ceomeghalaya.nic.in/electionconducted/mla2013/ac-wise-party-wiseelected-candidates.pdf

Chief Electoral Officer Tripura. (2019). Result in Form-20 of General Election to Lok Sabha-2019. Agartala: Directorate of Information Technology, Government of Tripura. Retrieved January 29, 2022, from https://ceotripura.nic.in/ceotripura/sites/default/files/Result%2520Sheet%2520in% 2520Form%252020_LS%25202019.pdf

- Chiriyankandath, J. (2016). *Parties and Political Change in South Asia*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Chishi, D. S. (2022, September 23). *RSS in hill states in North East India*. Retrieved from Nagaland Post: https://nagalandpost.com/index.php/rss-in-hill-states-in-north-east-india/
- Choudhury, C. (2017). Mr. Modi Wins in Varanasi. In A. K. Thakur (Ed.), *India Now and in Transition* (pp. 23-31). New Delhi: Niyogi.
- Choudhury, R. (2018, April 18). Meghalaya: Bomb Hurled At The Residence Of Patricia Mukhim, Editor Of The Shillong Times. Retrieved from NDTV: https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/meghalaya-bomb-hurled-at-the-residencepatricia-mukhim-editor-of-the-shillong-times-1839117
- Citizenship Amendment Act. (2019, December 12). *Gazette of India*. Retrieved from Foreigners Division, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India: https://indiancitizenshiponline.nic.in/UserGuide/E-gazette_2019_20122019.pdf
- Cohen, S. P. (2004). *The Idea of Pakistan*. United States of America: Brookings Institution Press.
- Colney, K. (2021, June 1). "We want self-rule": Pradyot Debbarma on his party's victory in Tripura tribal council polls. Retrieved from The Caravan : https://caravanmagazine.in/politics/pradyot-debbarma-tripura-tipra-victory-polls
- Committeee to Protect Journalists. (2023, October). *Expore all CPJ Data*. Retrieved from Committeee to Protect Journalists: https://cpj.org/
- Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. London: Sage.
- Daghigh, A. J., Sanatifar, S., & Awang, R. (2018). Modeling van Dijk's Ideological Square in Translation Studies: Investigating Manipulation in Political Discourse

Translation. *inTRAlinea*, 20. Retrieved from http://www.intralinea.org/archive/article/2290

- Dahlgren, P. (2012, December). Public Intellectuals, Online Media, and Public Spheres:
 Current Realignments. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 25(4), 95-110. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/23279950
- Das, S. K. (2004). Ethnicity and the Rise of Religious Radicalism: The Security Scenario in Contemporary Northeastern India. In S. P. Limaye, R. G. Wirsing, & M. Malik (Eds.), *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia* (pp. 245-272). Honolulu, Hawaii, United States of America: Asia Pacific Centre for Security Studies.
- Deccan Herald Web Desk. (2023, May 11). *Explained/ What is 'Horse Trading'?* Retrieved May 23, 2023, from Deccan Herald: https://www.deccanherald.com/elections/karnataka/explained-what-is-horsetrading-1217834.html
- Deepak, J. S. (2023, June 22). *J Sai Deepak writes: 'Majoritarianism' is used to gaslight Hindus*. Retrieved June 30, 2023, from The Indian Express: https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/j-sai-deepak-writes-themajoritarianism-slur-8678370/
- Department of Information and Technology, Government of Sikkim. (2023). *Overview: Sikkim Legislative Assembly*. Retrieved January 26, 2023, from Official Website of the Government of Sikkim, India: https://sikkim.gov.in/departments/sikkimlegislative-assembly/sikkim-legislative-assembly
- Dervin, F. (2011). Cultural identity, representation and othering. In J. Jackson, *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Intercultural Communication* (pp. 181-194).
 New York: Routledge.
- DH Web Desk. (2019, September 17). PM Modi turns 69: A timeline of his political career. Retrieved January 24, 2023, from Deccan Herald: https://www.deccanherald.com/india/pm-modi-turns-69-a-timeline-of-his-politicalcareer-761937.html
- Dijk, T. V. (1998). Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach. London: Sage Publication.

- Dijk, T. V. (2008). *Discourse and Power*. New York, United States of America: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dutta, A. (2018, June 13). *Shillong: Impossible homeland*. Retrieved from Indian Express: https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/shillong-clashes-tribals-khasisikh-xenophobia-violence-impossible-homeland-5214845/
- Dutta, P. K. (2019, December 12). Citizenship Amendment Bill: How Assam protest is different from Opposition's gripe. Retrieved from India Today: https://www.indiatoday.in/news-analysis/story/citizenship-amendment-bill-howassam-protest-is-different-from-opposition-s-gripe-1627681-2019-12-12
- ECI-IT. (2018, August 17). *Meghalaya General Legislative Election 2018*. Retrieved from Election Commission of India: https://www.eci.gov.in/files/file/3694-meghalaya-general-legislative-election-2018/
- Eden, T. (2015, October). *So many kinds of Sikkimese!* Retrieved May 21, 2023, from Sikkim Now: https://sikkimnow.blogspot.com/2015/10/so-many-kinds-ofsikkimese.html
- Election Commission of India . (2019). *Meghalaya General (Lok Sabha) Elections 2019*. Retrieved from Lok Sabha Elections 2019 - Party Wise Election Results: https://www.elections.in/meghalaya/parliamentary-constituencies/
- Election Commission of India. (2018). *General Election 2014 Result*. New Delhi: Election Commission of India. Retrieved January 24, 2022, from https://www.eci.gov.in/files/file/1866-general-election-2014-result-in-xls-format/
- Election Commission of India. (2018). *State Election, 2018 to the Legislative Assembly Of Tripura.* New Delhi: Election Commission of India. Retrieved May 7, 2022, from https://www.eci.gov.in/files/file/3472-tripura-general-legislative-election-2018/
- Election Commission of India. (2021). *Constituency wise detailed result*. New Delhi: Election Commission of India. Retrieved February 4, 2023, from https://www.eci.gov.in/files/file/13539-33-constituency-wise-detailed-result/
- Election Commission of India. (2023, March 2). *General Election to Vidhan Sabha Trends* and Result March 2023 (Tripura). Retrieved March 2, 2023, from ECI Results: https://results.eci.gov.in/ResultAcGenMar2023/partywiseresult-S23.htm?st=S23

- Election Commission of India. (2023, April 10). *Meghalaya General Legislative Election* 2023. Retrieved from ECI: https://eci.gov.in/files/file/14873-meghalayaexcludingac-23/
- Election Department Office of the Chief Electoral Officer Sikkim. (2023). Political Parties. Retrieved November 24, 2023, from Official Website of the Government of Sikkim: https://sikkim.gov.in/departments/election-department/political-parties
- Elections.in. (2022). General (10th Lok Sabha) Election Results India. Retrieved December 15, 2023, from Elections.in: https://www.elections.in/parliamentaryconstituencies/1991-election-results.html
- Embree, A. T. (2013). Religion, communalism, and security in India. In C. Seiple, D. R. Hoover, & P. Otis (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Religion and Security* (pp. 226-237). Oxford.
- Eriksen, T. H. (1991, August). Ethnicity versus Nationalism. *Journal of Peace Research*, 28(3), 263-278. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/424407
- Erschbamer, M. (2021). Book Review of The Royal History of Sikkim: A chronicle of the house of Namgyal, by John A Ardussi, Anna Balikci Denjongpa and Per K Sørensen. *European Bulletin of Himalayan Research*, 57, 100-102. doi:https://doi.org/10.4000/ebhr.423
- Express Web Desk. (2021, March 25). *What is the case against Shillong Times Editor Patricia Mukhim, what did the Supreme Court say.* Retrieved January 24, 2022, from Indian Express: https://indianexpress.com/article/india/what-the-case-againstshillong-times-editor-patricia-mukhim-is-all-about-and-what-does-the-sc-rulingsignify-7245199/
- Fairclough, N. (2003). Introduction. In N. Fairclough, Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research (pp. 1-18). London, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2015). Language and Power. London: Routledge.
- Flick, U. (2022). *Doing Interview Research: The Essential How To Guide*. London, United Kingdom: Sage.
- FP Explainers. (2023, May 8). Jaishankar calls World Press Index 'mind games': Why the ranking is questionable. Retrieved September 9, 2023, from First Post:

https://www.firstpost.com/explainers/jaishankar-world-press-freedom-index-mind-games-ranking-process-controversial-12561312.html

Friedman, J. (1994). Cultural Identity and Global Process. London: Sage.

- Frost, C. (2011). Journalism Ethics and Regulation. Essex: Pearson Education Limited.
- Gallagher, M. (2009). Data Collection and Analysis. In E. K. Tisdall, J. M. Davis, & M.
 Gallagher, *Researching with Children and Young People: Research Design*, *Methods and Analysis* (pp. 65-127). London: Sage.
- Ganguly, S. (2017). Has Modi Truly Changed India's Foreign Policy? *The Washington Quarterly*, 40(2), 131-143. doi:10.1080/0163660X.2017.1328929

Gellner, E. (1964). Thought and Change. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

- Ghai, S. (2010). Telling multiple stories: the BJP's appeal to group-specific interests. In J.Dyck, P. Rowe, & J. Zimmermann (Eds.), *Politics and the Religious Imagination* (pp. 160-175). Oxon: Taylor and Francis.
- Ghosh, B. (2003, September). Ethnicity and Insurgency in Tripura. *Sociological Bulletin*, 52(2), 221-243. doi:10.1177/0038022920030204
- Ghoshal, A. (2010). Survival Question of East Bengal Refugees: The Case of Tripura (1946-71). *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.* 71, pp. 1208-1215. Indian History Congress. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/44147589
- Goffman, E. (1981). Forms of Talk. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gogoi, T. (2019). North East Democratic Alliance (NEDA) and Political Change in Northeast India. *Dialogue*, 20(4), 114–124.
- Gopalakrishnan, R. (2018, April 26). Indian journalists say they intimidated, ostracized if they criticize Modi and the BJP. Retrieved September 20, 2023, from Reuters: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-india-politics-media-analysisidUSKBN1HX1F4
- Gottipati, S., & Singh, K. R. (2014, March 9). India set to challenge U.S. for electionspending record. Retrieved January 19, 2022, from Reuters: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-india-election-spendingidUSBREA280AR20140309/

- Government of India. (2022). *Ministry of Home Affairs*. Retrieved from Padma Awards: https://www.padmaawards.gov.in/AboutAwards.aspx
- Government of Meghalaya. (2023, July 6). *About Meghalaya*. Retrieved from The Official Web Portal of the Government of Meghalaya: https://www.meghalaya.gov.in/about#:~:text=Emergence%20of%20Meghalaya%2 0as%20an,history%20of%20North%20Eastern%20India.

Government of Sikkim. (2023). *Information and Public Relations Department*. Retrieved March 21, 2023, from Government of Sikkim: https://sikkim.gov.in/departments/information-and-public-relationsdepartment/history-of-iprdepartment#:~:text=Rai%2C%20former%20Secretary%20to%20the,events%20of %20the%20Himalayan%20Kingdom.

- Guha, R. (2017). India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy. London, United Kingdom: Pan Macmillan.
- Gupta, J. S. (2019, April 6). Sikkim's Sangha Assembly seat is a perfect example of the state's unique political process to protect minority rights. Retrieved May 12, 2020, from Firstpost: https://www.firstpost.com/politics/sikkims-sangha-assembly-seatis-a-perfect-example-of-the-states-unique-political-process-to-protect-minorityrights-6401101.html
- Gupta, S. (2014, August 2). Jains, Sikhs, Buddhists not different from Hindus: RSS. Retrieved January 25, 2023, from Times of India: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bhopal/jains-sikhs-buddhists-not-different-from-hindus-rss/articleshow/39495560.cms
- Gupta, S. (2018, March 9). How the RSS grew roots in the North-East. Retrieved October 10, 2023, from Businessline: https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/blink/know/how-the-rss-grew-roots-in-thenorth-east/article22991950.ece
- Gupta, S. S. (2004, April-June). Nationalism and Regional Parties of Meghalaya. The Indian Journal of Political Science, 65(2), 199-218. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/41855809

- Gurung, S. (2014). Soumitra De. Department of Political Science. Siliguri: University of North Bengal. Retrieved December 25, 2023, from http://ir.nbu.ac.in/handle/123456789/1518
- Habermas, J., Lennox, S., & Lennox, F. (1974). The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964). *New German Critique*(3), 49-55. doi:10.2307/487737
- Hall, I. (2022). Narendra Modi: Elected Authoritarian. In K. Larres (Ed.), Dictators and Autocrats: Securing power across Global Politics (pp. 191-203). London: Routledge.
- Haokip, J. (2014). *Can God Save My Village?* Carlisle, United Kingdom: Langham Monographs.
- Haokip, T. (2012, March 12). Political Integration of Northeast India: A Historical Analysis. *Strategic Analysis*, *36*(2), 304-314. doi:10.1080/09700161.2012.646508
- Haokip, T. (2014). Inter-ethnic relations in Meghalaya. *Asian Ethnicity*, *15*(3), 302-316. doi:10.1080/14631369.2013.853545
- Haque, M., & Narag, S. (1983). The coverage of two Indian elections by three prestigious Indian dailies. *Media Asia*, 10(1), 35-43. doi:10.1080/01296612.1983.11726106
- Harriss, J. (2022, August). The State, Tradition and Conflict in the North-Eastern States of India. Crisis States Programme - Working Paper Number 13. Retrieved from https://www.lse.ac.uk/international-development/Assets/Documents/PDFs/csrcworking-papers-phase-one/wp13-state-tradition-and-conflict-in-NE-India.pdf
- Hazarika, S. (2018). Insiders, Outsiders and Those in Between. In P. Gill, & Samrat (Eds.), *Insider Outsider: Belonging and Unbelonging in North-East India* (pp. 172-187). New Delhi: Amarllis.
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1994). Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media. London, United Kingdom: Vintage.
- Hibbard, S. W. (2010). Embedding Communalism in Indian Politics. In S. W. Hibbard, *Religious Politics and Secular States: Egypt, India and the United States* (pp. 149-176). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Hindustan Times Correspondents. (2019, August 14). 10 SDF legislators switch over to BJP. Retrieved January 24, 2023, from Hindustan Times: https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/10-sdf-legislators-switch-over-tobjp/story-qKcQJuqMqn2jbnoE1juggK.html
- IGNOU. (2017). *Sarva Dharma Samabhava*. Retrieved from egyankosh: https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/34047/1/Unit-9.pdf
- India Today NE. (2020, March 7). Non-Tribals' Condition in Meghalaya Similar to that of Kashmiri Pandits in 1991, Claims Governor. Retrieved from India Today NE: https://www.indiatodayne.in/breaking-news/story/non-tribals-conditionmeghalaya-similar-kashmiri-pandits-1991-claims-governor-406927-2020-03-07
- India TodayNE. (2020, January 18). Bengalis are Indigenous People of Tripura, Writes Citizens' Organisation to Home Minister Amit Shah. Retrieved 12 24, 2022, from India TodayNE: https://www.indiatodayne.in/breaking-news/story/bengalis-areindigenous-people-tripura-writes-citizens-organisation-home-minister-amit-shah-407969-2020-01-18
- Innis, H. A. (1949, November). The Bias of Communication. *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 15(4), 457-476. doi:https://doi.org/10.2307/138041
- Jacobsen, K. A. (2023, November 26). The ritual of parikramā, Hinduization of space and the case of Ayodhyā. *Contemporary South Asia*. doi:10.1080/09584935.2023.2280988
- Jaffrelot, C. (2009). The Hindu nationalist reinterpretation of pilgrimage in India: the limits of Yatra politics. *Nations and Nationalism*, 15(1), 1-19. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2009.00364.x
- Jaffrelot, C. (2015). The Subordinate Caste Revolution. In A. Ayres, & P. Oldenburg (Eds.), *India Briefing: Quickening the Pace of Change* (Fifth ed., pp. 121-158). London: Routledge.
- Jaffrelot, C. (2016, May 9). Narendra Modi between Hindutva and subnationalism: The Gujarati asmita of a Hindu Hriday Samrat. *India Review*, 15(2), 196-217. doi:10.1080/14736489.2016.1165557

- Jaffrelot, C. (2019). A De Facto Ethnic Democracy? Oblitrerating and Targeting the Other, Hindu Vigilantes, and the Ethno-State. In A. P. Chatterji, T. B. Hansen, & C.
 Jaffrelot (Eds.), *Majoritarian State: How Hindu Nationalism is Changing India* (pp. 41-67). Noida: Harper Collins.
- Jaffrelot, C. (2021). *Modi's Idea: Hindu Nationalism and the Rise of Ethnic Democracy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Jaffrelot, C. (2021, February 10). *Rise of Hindutva has enabled a counter-revolution against Mandal's gains*. Retrieved November 21, 2023, from The New Indian Express: https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/hindu-nationalism-mandal-commission-upper-caste-politics-modi-govt-7181746/
- Jaffrelot, C., & Therwath, I. (2012). The Global Sangh Parivar: A Study of Contemporary International Hinduism. In A. Green, & V. Viaene (Eds.), *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (pp. 343-364). Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9781137031716
- Jaishankar, S. (2020). *The India Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World*. New Delhi: HarperCollins India.
- Jeffrey, R. (1993, September 18). Indian-Language Newspapers and Why They Grow. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28(38), 2004-2011. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4400170
- Jeroen Adam, B. D. (2007). In the Name of the Father? Christian Militantism in Tripura, Northern Uganda, and Ambon. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 30*(11), 963-983. doi:10.1080/10576100701611288
- Johannessen, M. R., Øystein, S., & Flak, L. S. (2016). Social media as public sphere: a stakeholder perspective. *Transforming Government: People, Process and Policy*, 10(2), 212-238. doi:10.1108/TG-01-2015-0003
- Jyrwa, K. (2023, July 14). Catholic church of Meghalaya objects to implementation of UCC in the state. Retrieved from India Today NE: https://www.indiatodayne.in/meghalaya/story/catholic-church-of-meghalayaobjects-to-implementation-of-ucc-in-the-state-614423-2023-07-

14#:~:text=The%20Church%20presents%20its%20objections,on%20others%20thr ough%20the%20UCC.

- Kapur, D., & Vaishnav, M. (2018). Introduction. In D. Kapur, & M. Vaishnav (Eds.), Cost of Democracy: Political Finance in India (pp. 1-14). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Kar, M. L. (1990). Muslims in Assam Politics. Delhi: Omsons.
- Karmakar, S. (2020, March 7). Meghalaya Governor compares non-tribals of state with Kashmiri Pandits. Retrieved from Deccan Herald: https://www.deccanherald.com/national/east-and-northeast/meghalaya-governorcompares-non-tribals-of-state-with-kashmiri-pandits-811348.html
- Khan, K. (2023, February 4). Supreme Court income tax order on Sikkim, and the protests it has triggered. Retrieved May 25, 2023, from Indian Express: https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained-law/supreme-court-incometax-order-on-sikkim-and-the-protests-it-has-triggered-8422930/
- Kharsohnoh, M. (2021, May 30). Meghalaya govt, religious leaders unite in prayer in fight against COVID. Retrieved from The North East Today: https://thenortheasttoday.com/states/meghalaya/meghalaya-govt-religious-leadersunite-in-prayer-in-fight/cid3083710.htm
- Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. New Delhi: New Age International Publishers.
- Krejcie, R. V., & Morgan, D. W. (1970). Determining Sample Size for Research Activities. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 30(3), 607-610. doi:10.1177/001316447003000308
- Kripendorff, K. (2019). Conceptual Foundation. In K. Kripendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Fourth ed., pp. 24-50). New Delhi, India: Sage.
- Krishnan, V. (2019, May 23). *BJP Congress vote share*. Retrieved January 20, 2022, from Flourish:

https://public.flourish.studio/visualisation/375694/?utm_source=showcase&utm_ca mpaign=visualisation/375694

- Kumar, A. (2017). Nation Building in India and its Contemporary Challenges. In Jawaharlal Nehru University Teachers' Association (Ed.), What the Nation Really Needs to Know: The JNU Nationalism Lectures (pp. 308-320). Noida: Harper Collins.
- Kumar, A. (2022). Religion, politics, and the Hinduism/Hindutva debate (review of Why I am a Hindu by Shashi Tharoor and the Ideology of India's Modern Right by Subramanian Swamy). *Media Asia, 49*(3), 274-278. doi:10.1080/01296612.2021.2018104
- Kumar, P. (1991, January-March). Sub-Nationalism in Indian Politics: Formation of a Harayanvi Identity. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 52(1), 109-124.
 Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/41855538
- Kumar, S. (2020). Verdict 2019: The expanded support base of the Bharatiya Janata Party. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*, 5(1), 6-22. doi:10.1177/205789112090769
- Kuo, S.-H., & Nakamura, M. (2005). Translation or Transformation? A Case Study of Language and Ideology in the Taiwanese Press. *Discourse and Society*, *16*(3), 393-417. doi:10.1177/0957926505051172
- Longkumer, A. (2022). *The Greater India Experiment: Hindutva and the Northeast*. New Delhi: Navayana Publishing.
- Ludden, D. (2005). Preface to Second Edition. In Making India Hindu: Religion, Community, and the Politics of Democracy in India (pp. vii-xviii). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Lwin, S. M., & Teo, P. (2013). How Do We Use Language to Make Meaning? In R. E. Silver, & S. M. Lwin, *Language in Education: Social Implications* (pp. 45-65). United Kingdom: Bloomsburry Publishing.
- Lyngdoh, C. R., & Gassah, L. S. (2003). Decades of Inter-Ethnic Tension. *Economic and Political Weekly*, *38*(48), 5024-5026. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4414333
- Madhav, R. (2013, May 2). 2nd ASSE International Conference. Tirana, Albania: Nation, Nationality, Nationhood: What is in the Name? Retrieved from Ram Madhav:

https://www.rammadhav.in/articles/raashtram-spiritual-ethical-concept-of-nationhood/

- Mahanta, N. G. (2021). Citizenship Debate Over NRC and CAA: Assam and the Politics of History. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Mao, Y. (2017). Intercoder Reliability Techniques: Holsti Method. In M. Allen (Ed.), The SAGE Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods (pp. 740-743). New Delhi: Sage.
- Mazumdar, J. (2020, November 7). *Why Meghalaya Is Rattled By Exposure Of Its Shameful Persecution Of Non-Tribals For Decades*. Retrieved from Swarajya: https://swarajyamag.com/politics/why-meghalaya-is-rattled-by-exposure-of-itsshameful-persecution-of-non-tribals-for-decades
- McCully, B. T. (1935). The Origins of Indian Nationalism. *The Journal of Modern History*, 7(3), 295-314. doi:10.1086/236235
- McDuie-Ra, D. (2007). Anti-development or identity crisis? Misreading civil society in Meghalaya. *Asian Ethnicity*, 8(1), 43-59. doi:10.1080/14631360601146182
- Menon, R. (1988, February 15). Nepalis in Meghalaya face tribal wrath amid official apathy. Retrieved from India Today: https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/indiascope/story/19880215-nepalis-inmeghalaya-face-tribal-wrath-amid-official-apathy-796950-1988-02-14
- Mills, C. W. (1959). The Power Elite. London: Verso.
- Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region. (2023, September 22). About MDONER. Retrieved from Ministry of Development of North Eastern Region: https://mdoner.gov.in/about-ministry/about-mdoner
- Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports. (2014). *National Youth Policy*. New Delhi: Government of India. Retrieved from https://www.rgniyd.gov.in/sites/default/files/pdfs/scheme/nyp_2014.pdf
- Mishra, U. (2018, September 24). 'Unlike 2014, RSS won't involve itself in 2019 elections'.
 Retrieved September 10, 2023, from Rediff News: https://www.rediff.com/news/interview/unlike-2014-rss-wont-involve-itself-in-2019-elections/20180924.htm

- Misra, U. (2000, May 13-19). Review: Sub-National Challenges to Indian State: An Assamese Perspective. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 35(2), 1727-1730.
 Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4409292
- Misra, U. (2016). Victory for Identity Politics, Not Hindutva in Assam. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 20-23.
- Mitra, S. K., Schöttli, J., & Pauli, M. (2022). Critical Reallignment and Democratic Deepening: The Parliamentary Elections of 2014 and 2019 in India. In S. K. Mitra, R. Saxena, & P. Mukherjee (Eds.), *The 2019 Parliamentary Elections in India: Democracy at the Crossroads* (pp. 61-86). New York: Routledge.
- Mullen, A. (2017). The Propaganda Model after 20 Years: Interview with Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky. Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture, 6(2), 12-22. doi:https://doi.org/10.16997/wpcc.121
- Narin, T. (1981). *The Break Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism*. Manchester: Verso.
- Narisetti, R. (2021). A Loud Silence. In A. Schiffrin (Ed.), Media Capture: How Money, Digital Platforms and Governments Control the News (pp. 160-187). New York, United States of America: Columbia University Press.
- NEA News Service. (2021, December 21). *Sikkim commemorates Rohlu Day*. Retrieved from The North-East Affairs: https://thenortheastaffairs.com/sikkim-commemorates-rohlu-day/
- Nehal, A. (2022, Sptember 30). How the RSS Has Been Making Inroads Into the Northeast and Kerala. Retrieved October 12, 2023, from The Wire: https://thewire.in/politics/rss-in-kerala-and-northeast
- Nehru, J. (1994). Discovery of India. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Neog, M. (1998). *The contribution of the Sankardeva movement to the culture and civilisationof India*. Guwahati: Forum For Sankardeva Studies.
- Network, T. N. (2015, June 15). Sahitya Sabha for unity of 'greater Assamese society'. Retrieved 07 11, 2021, from Times of India: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/goa/sahitya-sabha-for-unity-of-greaterassamese-society/articleshow/47673924.cms

- NFHS. (2019-20). *IIPS*. Retrieved from National Family Health Survey 5: http://rchiips.org/nfhs/NFHS-5_FCTS/Meghalaya.pdf
- North Eastern Council. (2023, October 5). *Sixth Schedule*. Retrieved October 10, 2023, from North Eastern Council: https://necouncil.gov.in/sites/default/files/uploadfiles/Schedule%20VI.pdf
- Office of the Chief Electoral Officer. (2023). *About 32 Sangha Assembly Constituency*. Retrieved January 21, 2023, from Chief Electoral Officer Sikkim: https://ceosikkim.nic.in/Home/ElectionLinkDesc?EID=10013
- Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner. (2011). *Population Census 2011*. India: Government of India. Retrieved from https://censusindia.gov.in/nada/index.php/catalog/11361
- Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. (2011). *Decadal variation in population 1901-2011, India*. Retrieved from Census India: https://censusindia.gov.in/nada/index.php/catalog/43333
- Pachau, J. (2014). *Being Mizo: Identity and belonging in Northeast India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Pal, F., & Chaudhary, N. (2023, March 15). Leaving the Hindu Far Right. South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies, 46(2), 425-444.
 doi:10.1080/00856401.2023.2179817
- Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., Green, C. A., Wisdom, J. P., Duan , N., & Hoagwood, K. (2013). Purposeful Sampling for Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis in Mixed Method Implementation Research. *Adm Policy Ment Health*, 42(5), 533-544. doi:10.1007/s10488-013-0528-y
- Palshikar, S. (2015). The BJP and Hindu Nationalism: Centrist Politics and Majoritarian Impulses. South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies, 38(4), 719-735. doi:10.1080/00856401.2015.1089460
- Pan Macmilan. (2022). *About the Author*. Retrieved from Pan Macmilan: https://www.panmacmillan.com/authors/sanjoy-hazarika/44379
- Parashar, U. (2023, February 10). *From Tipraland to Greater Tipraland: Tripura's tribal politics sees a churn*. Retrieved May 21, 2023, from Hindustan Times:

https://www.hindustantimes.com/cities/others/from-tipraland-to-greater-tipraland-tripura-s-tribal-politics-sees-a-churn-101676026118903.html

- Parashar, U., & Naqvi, S. (2019, April 21). Voting on religious lines, Bengali speakers may help BJP, Congress win in Assam. Retrieved from Hindustan Times: https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/voting-on-religious-lines-bengalispeakers-may-help-bjp-congress-win-in-assam/storyd0P8ZgQGEZS4G39oWz8TJK.html
- Pathasarathy, M. (2015). Legitimating Majoritarian Chauvinism: The Indian Media and the Hindutva Campaign. In W. Doniger, & M. C. Nussbaum (Eds.), *Pluralism and Democracy in India: Debating the Hindu Right* (pp. 89-104). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Patnaik, A., & Choudhary, B. K. (2016). Acknowledgements. In Jawaharlal Nehru Teachers Association, What the Nation Really Needs to Know: The JNU Nationalism Lectures (pp. vii-viii). Noida: Harper Collins.
- Patricia Mukhim vs State of Meghalaya and ORS, Criminal Appeal No.141 of 2021 (Supreme Court of India March 25, 2021). Retrieved January 25, 2023, from https://main.sci.gov.in/supremecourt/2020/28921/28921_2020_37_1501_27280_Ju dgement_25-Mar-2021.pdf
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods (Vol. 3). London: Sage.
- Paul, S. (2021). India, Pakistan, and the Contest for Kashmir. *Interdisciplinary Civic and Political Studies*, 17(1), 17-28. doi:10.18848/2327-0071/CGP/v17i01/17-28
- Paul, S., & Pegu, U. K. (2021, January). Media Polarization and Assertion of Majoritarianism in Indian News Media. *The Journal of Communication and Media Studies*, 6(2), 1-12. doi:https://doi.org/10.18848/2470-9247/CGP/v06i02/1-12
- Phukan, M. D. (2013, August). Ethnicity, Conflict and Population Displacement in Northeast. Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, 1(2), 91-101.
 Retrieved from https://ajhss.org/pdfs-1/Ethnicity,%20Conflict%20and%20Population....pdf

- Pisharoty, S. B. (2019, August 13). BJP 'Takes' 10 MLAs From Ally SDF, Becomes Main Opposition in Sikkim. Retrieved January 24, 2021, from The Wire: https://thewire.in/government/sikkim-bjp-sdf-defection
- Popp, R. K. (2006, January). Mass Media and the Linguistic Marketplace: Media, Language, and Distinction. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 30(1), 5-20. doi:10.1177/0196859905281888
- Pradhan, K. (2008). Chronology. In K. Pradhan, *History, Culture and Customs of Sikkim* (pp. xix-xxi). New Delhi: Gyan Publishing.
- Prasad, B. D., & Kumar, R. S. (1991). Opinion Moulding by the Press: An Analysis of the Election-related Content of Editorials and Letters to the Editor. *Media Asia*, 18(1), 24-29. doi:10.1080/01296612.1991.11727062
- Press Council of India. (2022). Norms for Journalistic Conduct. New Delhi, India: Press Council of India.
- Press Trust of India. (2016, June 16). *Former Sikkim CM Nar Bahadur Bhandari passes away*. Retrieved November 24, 2023, from Business Standard: https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/former-sikkim-cm-narbahadur-bhandari-passes-away-117071600604_1.html
- Press Trust of India. (2023, April 9). *Sikkimese people feel betrayed as Article 371F 'violation', says former CM Chamling*. Retrieved May 21, 2023, from The Hindu: https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/sikkimese-people-feelbetrayed-as-article-371f-violation-says-former-cm-chamling/article66716395.ece
- Press Trust of India. (2023, January 5). *Violence in Sikkim amid SDF's bandh over 'immigrant' row*. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from The Hindu: https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/violence-in-sikkim-amidsdfs-bandh-over-immigrant-row/article66473913.ece
- Purie, A., Tharoor, S., Govindacharya, K. N., Gandhi, G., Devdutt, P., Agrawal, P., . . . Sattar, A. (2018, January 28). The Great Debate. (A. Purie, Ed.) *India Today*, pp. 33-63.

- R.C. Poudyal And Anr. Etc. Etc vs Union Of India And Ors. Etc. Etc, 1993 AIR 1804 (Supreme Court of India February 10, 1993). Retrieved from https://indiankanoon.org/doc/745161/
- Ragnedda, M., & Muschert, G. W. (2013). Preface. In M. Ragnedda, & G. W. Muschert (Eds.), *The Digital Divide: The Internet and Social Inequality in International Perspective* (pp. xviii-xx). New York: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9780203069769
- Rajagopal, A. (2007). The Gujarat Experiment. In R. S. Anuradha Digwaney Needham (Ed.), *The Crisis of Secularism in India* (pp. 209-224). Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Rajesh, Y. (2023, July 15). *India's Modi sparks political storm with pitch for common civil code*. Retrieved from Reuters: https://www.reuters.com/world/india/indias-modi-sparks-political-storm-with-pitch-civil-code-2023-07-14/
- Rajvanshi, A. (2022, December 1). India's Richest Man Is Buying a Major TV Channel. It's a Blow to Independent Media in the Country. Retrieved February 4, 2023, from TIME: https://time.com/6238075/india-ndtv-gautam-adani-narendramodi/
- Ram, N. (1974, September). Protection to Absorption. Social Scientist, 3(2), 57-71. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/3516252
- Ramachandran, S. (2020, June). Hindutva Violence in India: Trends and Implications. Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses, 12(4), 15-20. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/26918077
- Ramachandran, S. K. (2019, May 24). *Quietly, relentlessly RSS worked behind the scenes to power BJP win*. Retrieved January 24, 2023, from Hindustan Times: https://www.hindustantimes.com/lok-sabha-elections/how-sangh-shaped-bjp-svictory-march/story-ze26WjD949AakvJphY9O8O.html
- Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. (2017). *Basic FAQ on RSS*. Retrieved from Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh: https://www.rss.org/Encyc/2017/6/3/basic-faq-on-rsseng.html
- Raza, D. (2014, January 19). *The Saffron Muslim*. Retrieved January 27, 2023, from Hindustan Times: https://www.hindustantimes.com/india/the-saffron-muslim/storysxdXyHOdasvoBCnV858EWL.html

- Registrar of Newspapers for India. (2020-21). *Press in India 2020-21*. New Delhi: Registrar of Newspapers for India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. Retrieved March 25, 2022, from http://rni.nic.in/all_page/pin202021.html
- Reporters Without Borders. (2023). *World Press Freedom Index*. Retrieved from rsf.org: https://rsf.org/en/index
- Roberts, E. S. (1999). In defence of the survey method: An illustration from a study of user information satisfaction. *Accounting and Finance*, 39(1), 53-77. doi:10.1111/1467-629x.00017
- Routray, B. P. (2016, March 17). Assam People's Council. Retrieved January 20, 2022, from Encyclopedia Britannica: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Assam-Peoples-Council
- Roy, B. (2008, June 13). *Who are the Amra Bangalis?* Retrieved from The Indian Express: https://indianexpress.com/article/news-archive/who-are-the-amra-bangalis/
- Roy, H. (2006, January 14-20). Western Secularism and Colonial Legacy in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41(2), 158-165. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4417675
- Saikia, U. S. (2005). High Fertility in Khasi Tribe of Northeast IndiaA Repercussion of the Fear of Identity Loss? Retrieved from Demoscope: http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/knigi/tours_2005/papers/iussp2005s51588.pdf
- Samrat X. (2021, October 28). Tripura violence: With no Hindu-Muslim riots in decades, what led to the recent attacks in the state? Retrieved from Newslaundry: https://www.newslaundry.com/2021/10/28/tripura-violence-with-no-hindu-muslimriots-in-decades-what-led-to-the-recent-brutality-in-the-state
- Saraswat, R. (2023, August 25). Oppn states largely absentees: Three years on, a report card on National Education Policy. Retrieved September 25, 2023, from Indian Express: https://indianexpress.com/article/political-pulse/three-years-onopposition-states-keep-stonewalling-national-education-policy-8909306/

- Sarma, B. (1992). Sarma Commission of Enquiry for the Disturbences at Shillong in 1992. Shillong: Government of Meghalaya. Retrieved from https://www.scribd.com/document/483243302/Sarma-Commission-Report#
- Sarmah, J. K. (2019, March 23). Shillong Violence in 2018: Subjugation and Struggle of Dalit Sikhs. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 54(12), 15-17. Retrieved from https://www.epw.in/journal/2019/12/commentary/shillong-violence-2018.html?0=ip_login_no_cache%3D84847db4c23714b5c3d982d799d18017
- Schaffner, B. F. (2006, November). Local News Coverage and the Incumbency Advantage in the U.S. House. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 31(4), 491-511. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/40263400
- Schakel, A. H., Sharma, C. K., & Swenden, W. (2019, May 14). India after the 2014 general elections: BJP dominance and the crisis of the third party system. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 29(3), 329-354. doi:10.1080/13597566.2019.1614921
- Schakel, A. H., Sharma, C. K., & Swenden, W. (2022). Party Politics in India since the 2014 General Elections: BJP Dominance and the Making of the Fourth Party System. In S. K. Mitra, R. Saxena, & P. Mukherjee (Eds.), *The 2019 Parliamentary Elections in India: Democracy at the Crossroads?* (pp. 112-138). London: Routledge.
- Schiffrin, A. (2021). Introduction. In A. Schiffrin (Ed.), Media Capture: How Money, Digital Platforms, and Governments Control the News (pp. 3-22). New York, United States of America: Columbia University Press.
- Sen, M. (2018). Chronicles of A Death Untold. In P. Gill, & Samrat (Eds.), *Insider Outsider: Belonging and Unbelonging in North-East India* (pp. 102-114). Bhopal: Thomson Press (India) Ltd.
- Sethi, R., & Shubhrastha. (2017). *The Last Battle of Saraighat: The Story of the BJP's Rise in the North-east.* New Delhi: Penguin Random House India Private Limited.
- Sharma, A. (2001). Ten Misconceptions about India and Indic Traditions. *Education About Asia*, 6(3), pp. 14-16. Retrieved May 24, 2020, from https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/eaa/archives/ten-misconceptions-about-india-and-indic-

traditions/#:~:text=The%20Indic%20religious%20traditions%20are,%2C%20howe ver%2C%20may%20be%20anachronistic.

- Sharma, A. (2020, May 19). Tough on Modi, soft on Mamata: How Telegraph covered Covid responses by two governments. Retrieved December 21, 2022, from Newslaundry: https://www.newslaundry.com/2020/05/19/tough-on-modi-soft-onmamata-how-telegraph-covered-covid-responses-by-two-governments
- Sharma, P. (2020, March 23). 1st phase of Ram temple construction begins in Ayodhya. Retrieved March 20, 2023, from The Week: https://www.theweek.in/news/india/2020/03/23/1st-phase-of-ram-templeconstruction-begins-in-ayodhya.html
- Shojaei, A., & Laheghi, F. (2012, December). A Critical Discourse Analysis of PoliticalIdeology and Control Factors in News Translation. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 2(12), 2535-2540. doi:10.4304/tpls.2.12.2535-2540
- Sijoria, S. (2023, June 28). J Sai Deepak is wrong: Indian democracy is not Hindu will. Retrieved June 30, 2023, from The Indian Express: https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/j-sai-deepak-is-wrong-indiandemocracy-is-not-hindu-will-8690455/
- Sikkim Biodiversity Board. (2015). Sikkim at a Glance. Retrieved May 7, 2022, from Sikkim Biodiversity Board: https://sbbsikkim.nic.in/sikkim.html#:~:text=It%20covers%20an%20area%20of,Ti betan%20Plateau%20in%20the%20north.
- Sikkim Express. (2023, January 30). Sikkim has become the most unpeaceful state in NE: Chamling. Retrieved December 12, 2023, from Sikkim Express: https://www.sikkimexpress.com/news-details/sikkim-has-become-the-mostunpeaceful-state-in-ne-chamling
- Simon, J. A. (1930). Report of the Indian Statutory Commission. London: H.M. Stationery Office. Retrieved from https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/research/groups/conferencing-theinternational/documents/official-documents/pre-conference/report-of-the-indianstatutory-commission.-volume-i-survey.pdf

- Singh, B. (2019, December 17). Citizenship Amendment Bill: Why Assam is protesting? Retrieved from The Economic Times: https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/et-explains/citizenship-bill-why-isassam-protesting/articleshow/72483294.cms
- Singh, D. (2023, March 2). How BJP, a Hindutva-first party, became popular in India's Northeast. Retrieved October 10, 2023, from India Today: https://www.indiatoday.in/news-analysis/story/how-bjp-a-hindutva-first-partybecame-popular-in-indias-northeast-2341663-2023-03-02
- Singh, M. A., & Singha, K. (2016). Democracy and ethnic politics in Sikkim. In M. A. Singh, & K. Singha (Eds.), *Identity, Contestation and Development in Northeast India* (pp. 226-246). New Delhi: Routledge.
- Singh, P. (2015, July). Subnationalism and Social Development: A Comparative Analysis of Indian States. *World Politics*, 67(3), 506-562. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/24578351
- Singha, K., & Nayak, P. (2015). Reconsidering Ethnic-Based-Autonomy Movements in Meghalaya: An Analysis. Munich: Munich Personal RePEc Archive. Retrieved from https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/64745/
- Sirnate, V. (2009, November 21). Students versus the State: The Politics of Uranium Mining in Meghalaya. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(47), 18-23. Retrieved from https://www.epw.in/system/files/pdf/2009_44/47/Students_versus_the_State_The_ Politics_of_Uranium_Mining_in_Meghalaya.pdf
- Sitapati, V. (2020). Jugalbandi. New Delhi: Penguin Random House India.
- Sitlhou, M. (2018, April 19). Attacked Meghalaya editor says she received 'death threat' on Facebook 4-5 months ago. Retrieved from The Print: https://theprint.in/defence/attacked-meghalaya-editor-received-death-threatfacebook/50862/
- South Asian Terrorism Portal. (n.d.). *United Liberation Front of Asom*. Retrieved from South Asian Terrorism Portal:

https://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/assam/terrorist_outfits/ulfa.ht m

- Spodek, H. (2008, August 19). In the Hindutva Laboratory: Pogroms and Politics in Gujarat, 2002. *Modern Asian Studies*, 44(2), 349-399. doi:10.1017/S0026749X08003612
- State Of Sikkim vs Surendra Prasad Sharma, 1994 AIR 2342 (Supreme Court of India April 19, 1994). Retrieved from https://indiankanoon.org/doc/436092/
- Stroll, A. (1967). Identity. In P. Edwards (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (pp. 121-124). New York: Macmillan.
- Swamy, S. (2018). *The Ideology of India's Modern Right*. New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications.
- Syed, J., & Ali, F. (2021, August 13). A Pyramid of Hate Perspective on Religious Bias, Discrimination and Violence. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 43-58. doi: 10.1007/s10551-020-04505-5
- Tanner, K. (2002). Research Methods for Students, Academics and Professionals:Information Management and Systems. In K. Williamson. Wagga Wagga NewSouth Wales, Australia: Centre for Information Studies, Charles Sturt University.
- Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (2010). SAGE Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research. (A. Tashakkori, & C. Teddlie, Eds.) New Delhi: SAGE.
- Team Plain Facts. (2019, May 24). Ten Charts that Explain the 2019 Lok Sabha Verdict. Retrieved January 10, 2020, from The Mint: https://www.livemint.com/news/india/govt-policies-not-for-mps-to-make-posterof-says-pm-modi-11701335599813.html
- Teddlie, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2009). Foundations of Mixed Methods Research: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches in the Social and Behavioral Sciences. New Delhi: Sage.
- Thapa, P., & Inbanathan, A. (2022, December). Religion and State in Sikkim: The Place of the Buddhist Sangha (Working Paper). *Institute for Social and Economic Change*. Retrieved from http://www.isec.ac.in/WP%20548%20-%20Pooja%20Thapa%20and%20Anand%20Inbanathan%20-%20Final.pdf

- Thapa, S. (2022). Ethnicity and protective policies in Sikkim: Consolidation and reconfiguration. *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 56(1), 63-87. doi:10.1177/00699667221091380
- Tharoor, S. (2018). Why I am a Hindu? New Delhi: Aleph Book Company.
- Tharoor, S. (2020). *The Battle of Belonging*. New Delhi: Aleph Book Company.
- The Economist. (2016, May 5). *How green is my valley?* Retrieved January 24, 2022, from The Economist: https://www.economist.com/asia/2016/05/05/how-green-is-myvalley
- The Government of His Highness The Maharaja of Sikkim. (1961). *The Sikkim Subject Rules*. Retrieved from https://www.sikkimlrdm.gov.in/Notifications/SikkimSubject.pdf
- The Hindu Bureau. (2023, July 17). *Niti Aayog report claims decrease in multidimensional poverty*. Retrieved from The Hindu: https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/niti-aayog-report-claims-decrease-in-multidimensional-poverty/article67091078.ece#:~:text=The%20National%20Multidimensional%20P overty%20Index,of%20States%20in%20multidimensional%20poverty
- The Meghalayan Bureau. (2023, September 13). *MSPCB defers MTS interview after large number of candidates turn up*. Retrieved from The Meghalayan: https://themeghalayan.com/mspcb-defers-mts-interview-after-large-number-of-candidates-turn-up/
- The Shillong Times. (2023, July 15). *Church bodies raise voice against UCC implementation*. Retrieved from The Shillong TImes: https://theshillongtimes.com/2023/07/15/church-bodies-raise-voice-against-ucc-implementation/
- The Wire Staff. (2020, September 29). 'Proud of Role, Will Not Seek Bail': Accused Uma Bharti to Nadda Ahead of Babri Verdict. Retrieved December 15, 2023, from The Wire: https://thewire.in/politics/uma-bharti-bjp-jp-nadda-babri-demolition-case
- Thomas, P. N. (2008). Strong Religion, Zealous Media: Christian Fundamentalism and Communication in India. New Delhi: Sage.

- Times News Network. (2022, November 1). Shillong violence: Civil society seeks safety of non-tribals. Retrieved from Times of India: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/guwahati/shillong-violence-civil-societyseeks-safety-of-non-tribals-conrad-says-1-held/articleshow/95218694.cms
- Times of India. (2012, August 26). *Conflict Country*. Retrieved from Times of India: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/sunday-times/deep-focus/conflictcountry/articleshow/15724883.cms
- Tremblay, R. C. (1996-1997). Nation, Identity and the Intervening Role of the State: A Study of the Secessionist Movement in Kashmir. *Pacific Affairs*, 69(4), 471-497. doi: 10.2307/2761183
- Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council. (2023). *Basic Statistics*. Retrieved January 25, 2023, from Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council: https://ttaadc.gov.in/Basic-Statistic
- Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council. (2023, January 25). Power and Functions. Retrieved May 21, 2023, from Official Website of the Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council: https://ttaadc.gov.in/Power-and-Function#:~:text=The%20name%20of%20the%20TTAADC,for%20the%20ideal% 20tourist%20spot.
- Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council. (2023). *TTAADC Map*. Retrieved from Tripura Tribal Areas Autonomous District Council: https://ttaadc.gov.in/ttaadcmap
- Upadhyay, D. (2016). Integral Humanism. India: Prabhat Prakashan Pvt. Ltd.
- Vendekerckhove, N. (2009). We Are Sons of the Soil: The Endless Battle over Indigenous Homelands in Assam, India. *Critical Asian Studies*, 41(4), 523-548. doi: 10.1080/14672710903328013
- Venkatarangaiya, M. (1953). *The General Election in the City of Bombay, 1952.* Bombay: Vora.
- Vicziany, M. (2002). The BJP and the Shiv Sena: A Rocky marriage? *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 25(3), 41-60. doi:10.1080/00856400208723491

- Wang, H.-C. (2009, November). Language and ideology: gender stereotypes of female and male artists in Taiwanese tabloids. *Discourse & Society*, 20(6), 747-774. doi:10.1177/0957926509342379
- Weiner, M. (1983). The Political Demography of Assam's Anti-Immigrant Movement. Population and Development Review, 9(2), 279-292. doi:https://doi.org/10.2307/1973053
- White, D. M. (1950). The "Gate Keeper": A Case Study in the Selection of News. *Journalism Bulletin*, 27(4), 383–390. doi:10.1177/107769905002700403
- White, P. (2017). *Developing Research Questions*. London, United Kingdom: Bloomsburry Publication.
- Zahan, S. A. (2022, May 30). The Bitter-Sweet Hindutva Experiment Deep In Tribal-Dominated Northeast India. Retrieved September 14, 2023, from Outlook: https://www.outlookindia.com/national/the-bitter-sweet-hindutva-experiment-deepin-tribal-dominated-northeast-india--news-199256

Annexure 1

Presentation of Survey Data

This section presents the findings from the survey among informed youth in the research setting, viz the states of Assam, Tripura, Sikkim, and Meghalaya. As the exercise could not lead to any generalisations which the application of the survey method usually necessitates (Tanner, 2002, p. 89), the researcher has decided to present the findings of the survey; sampling, the process and the reasons for the same have been described in section 4.5 Survey under chapter 4: Research Methodology; in the annexure section of this thesis. As the questions in the schedule were designed based on the objectives of the study; being categorised under broad heads that correspond to the research questions; the presentation of the data has been categorised as such.

Demographic Data

This section of the survey deals with the basic demographic profile of the sampled units who were surveyed as part of this investigation in the four states that were selected for the study.

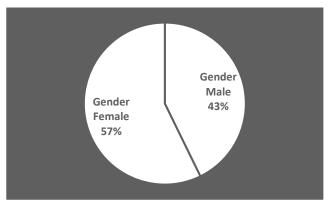


Figure 24: Gender Distribution

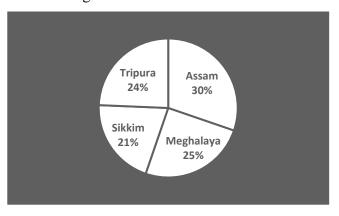
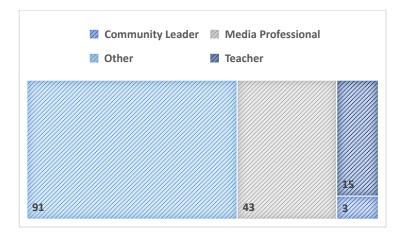


Figure 25: State of Residence

57% of the respondents to the schedule were female and 43% were male.

Of the 152 respondents, 30% were from Assam, 24% from Tripura, 25% from Meghalaya and 21% from Sikkim.



91 of the 152 respondents identified themselves in the 'others' category, in terms of profession. 43 identified as media professionals, 15 as teachers and 3 as community leaders.

Figure 26: Professions to which the respondents identified

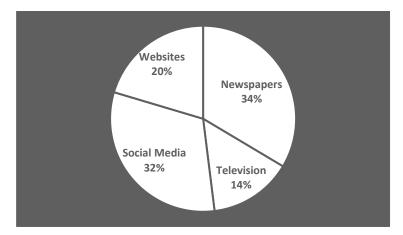


Of the 152 respondents, 119 were graduates and 33 others already held a postgraduation degree.

Figure 27: Educational Qualification

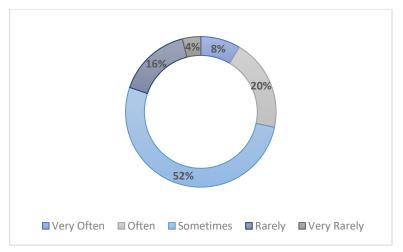
General Information

This section provides general information about the respondents who were sampled for this study. This includes information on their media consumption habits, preference of language etc. which are relevant and provide details about the suitability of the respondents for the study.



Of the 152 respondents, 34% think newspapers are the most reliable source of news; 32% think it is the social media, followed by 20% for websites and 14% for television.

Figure 28: The most reliable sources of News



mentioned that they read newspapers sometimes; 20% said that they did it often; 8% very often; 16% rarely read them and 4% very rarely read newspapers.

On reading habit, 52%

Figure 29: Newspaper readership Data

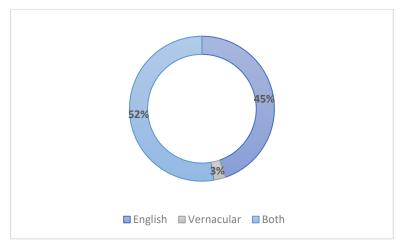
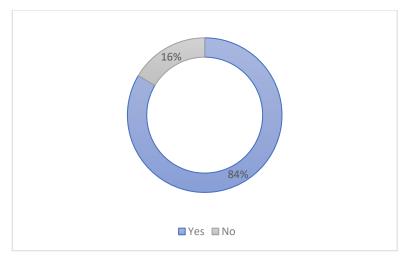


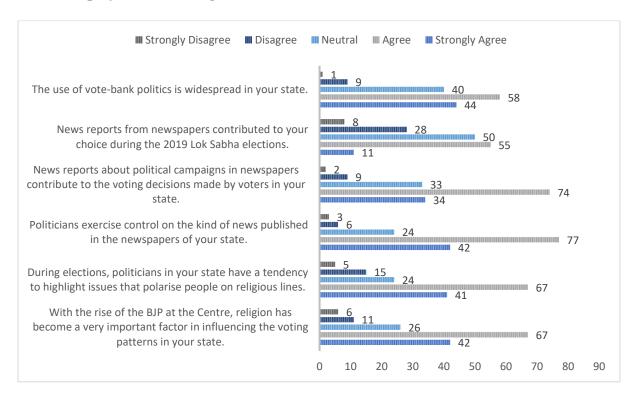
Figure 30: Preferred Language

52% of the respondents prefer reading newspapers in the both English and their local language, while 45% prefer reading exclusively in English. Only 3% preferred reading in their local language.



84% of the respondents, surveyed for the study had voted in the 2019 elections to the lower house of the Indian Parliament.

Figure 31: Voting Percentage among Sample Population



The Interplay between Religion, Elections and the Press

Figure 32: Perceptions on the use of religion by politicians during elections

Source: Primary data, illustrated by researcher

The visual representation above, indicates the perceptions that the surveyed sampled units have on the use of religion by politicians during elections to polarise the discourse which would often leads to the othering of certain groups; in the states selected for the study viz. Assam, Meghalaya, Sikkim, and Tripura. On the five-point scale which ranges from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree,' most respondents seem to be inclined towards the 'strongly agree' part of the scale. With reference to the use of vote-bank politics, most respondents agree that it is used extensively; of the 152 respondents, 58; meaning 38%; agree while 44; meaning 29%; strongly agree. On being asked if newspapers reports contributed to the electoral choice during the 2019 general elections to the lower house of the Indian Parliament, the respondents were mostly in the spectrum of 'neutral' to 'agree'. While 55; viz.36%; agreed, 50; viz. 32%; were neutral to the statement. On being asked if newspapers reportage on political campaigns, in general, contribute to the voting decisions made by voters, of all the respondents 74; viz. 48%; agreed while 34; viz. 22%; strongly agreed. 77; viz. 50%; on being asked if they thought that politicians had a control over the news being published in the newspapers, agreed; 42; viz. 29%; strongly agreed and 41; viz. 26%; strongly agreed.

III Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral III Agree Strongly Agree 9 44 News reports that concern religious groups and are 29 offensive should not be published. 48 22 3 29 Newspapers in your state prioritise the opinions of 48 certain religious groups based on organizational 57 affiliations. 15 | 1 38 Newspapers in your state only document the opinions of 32 privileged groups. 68 13 2 16 Newspapers are obligated to highlight issues of everyone 31 in an inclusive manner. 77 26 50 0 10 20 30 40 60 70 80 90

Minority Opinion and Discourse on Media

Figure 33: Representation of Minority Opinions in Media Discourse

Source: Primary data, illustrated by researcher

The visual representation in Figure 33 indicates the perceptions that the surveyed sampled units have on the representation of the minority opinions on the discourse in the media. On being asked if, the respondents thought that, offensive content on religious groups should

not be published; the opinions were divided. While there were 44; viz. 29%; who disagreed, 48; viz. 31%; agreed but the fact the 22; viz. 14.4%; strongly agreed could indicate that the sampled units believed that offensive content should not be published; meaning a prioritisation of responsibility over freedom of the press. Likewise, on being asked if newspapers only represented opinions of privileged groups, the respondents seemed to be primarily in agreement with 68, viz. 44.7%; of the respondents expressing agreement to the statement. On being queried if newspapers are obligated to inclusively represent the opinions of all, bulk of the respondents: 77; viz. 50%; agreed.

Authenticity of news reports in the Print Media

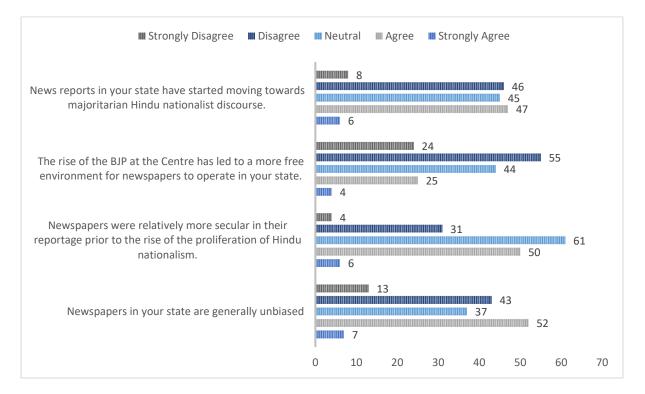
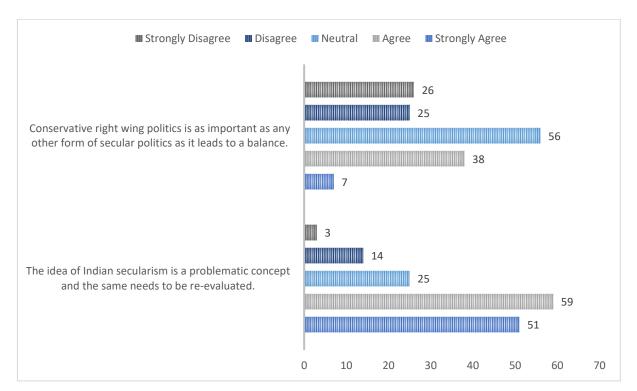


Figure 34: Perception on the authenticity of news reports

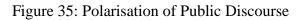
Source: Primary data, illustrated by researcher

A measure of the perceptions on the set of statements on authenticity of news reports in the print media, indicate that there seems to be a confusion among the respondents if news reports in their respective states; viz. Assam, Meghalaya, Sikkim, and Tripura; tend to lean towards party affiliations. The trends from the visual representation of data on the perception of the respondents seem to indicate that there is a polarisation among informed youth on this matter; for instance, while most of the respondents; 52, viz. 34% agree that the newspapers in their respective states are generally unbiased, 7, 4% strongly agree; taking the respondents who are on the agreeable spectrum to 38%, on the other hand 56; viz. 43+13; 37%;

respondents are on the disagreement spectrum; which is quite close to each-other indicating a possible perceived polarisation of discourse on the print media.



Polarisation of Public Discourse



Source: Primary data, illustrated by researcher

Figure 35, which visually represents data on the polarisation of public discourse in the states selected for the study; viz. Assam, Meghalaya, Sikkim and, Tripura; indicates interesting results. While most respondents thought that the idea of secularism in India is problematic and hence requires re-evaluation; 59; viz. 39%; agreed and 51; viz. 33%; strongly agreed. Again, when asked if conservative politics brought a balance to political discourse, most of the respondents were inclined towards disagreement; 25; viz. 16%; disagreed and 26; viz. 17%; strongly disagreed while 56; viz. 37% were neutral. The responses to the two statements are in fact contradictory to each other, while the sampled units believed that secularism; as a concept; must be re-evaluated they still problematised the proliferation of right wing; viz. Hindu nationalistic; political discourse. The proliferation of Hindu nationalist assertion would in fact redefine the idea of secularism, as it exists. The researcher, therefore, thinks that these are arbitrary trends in the data, which could only be attributed to idiopathic tendencies among the respondents who were administered with the schedule of questions.

Majoritarian Discourses and the Press

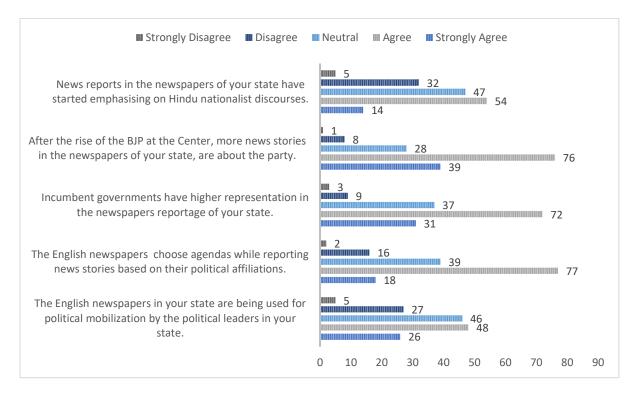


Figure 36: Perceptions on the Proliferation of Majoritarian Discourses in the Media

Source: Primary data, illustrated by researcher

Figure 36, which visually represents data on the perceptions regarding the proliferation of majoritarian discourses in the media, in the respective states; viz. Assam, Meghalaya, Sikkim, and Tripura; indicates that most of the respondents think that there has been an attempt to proliferate majoritarian discourses using the press. Perceptions on the emphasis on Hindu nationalist discourses indicate that, 54 of the 152; viz. 36%; think that news reports have started emphasising on the same. Again, on being asked if the rise of the BJP has had any effect on the discourses in the press; 76 of the 152; viz. 50%; think that the party has received higher coverage in the news reports. 72 of the 152; viz. 47%; think that incumbent governments have higher representation in the press.

On being asked; specifically, about the English press; 77 of the 152; viz. 51%; thought that they chose agendas; for their news reports; based on party affiliation. With reference to the use of the English press, by political leaders, for mobilisation of the public, 48; viz. 32%; agreed and 26; viz. 17%; strongly agreed.

Annexure 2

Interview Protocol for Academicians and Journalists in Assam

- 1. There is ongoing discourse that the media in general and print media is being managed by the state machinery. What according to you has been the observable changes in the English media discourse of Assam with emphasis on 2014 and then 2016 and then again in 2019?
- 2. Do you see a polarisation of opinions and the same being reflected in the print media of Assam? (Both language and English press)
- 3. In general, is political news tilted towards the ruling party?
- 4. In the indigeneity v/s non-indigeneity discourse, what is your opinion the representation of the same in the media discourse? (With reference to the implementation of CAA and the same having little or no impact in the election results)
- 5. Where would you categorise the ideological position of the newspapers in Assam? (With reference to the state assembly elections of 2021 and BJP victory even after passing of CAA which was widely unpopular)

Interview Protocol for Academicians and Journalists in Sikkim

- 1. What are the newspapers that you normally read?
- 2. It has been a general trend in Sikkim a tendency to promote only regional politics and there is limited presence of the national parties here. In August 2019 ten MLAs moved from the SDF to the BJP, why do you think something like that has happened? How did the media cover this moving of the MLAs?
- 3. Would you say that the media in Sikkim and particularly print media is relatively unbiased, in the context of identity assertions?
- 4. There are predominantly three communities in Sikkim, Nepalis, Lepchas and Bhutias. How are the inter-community relations? Is there any inter-community conflict?
- 5. So, corresponding to the representation of the BJP in the state and the BJP at the Centre, does this have any effect on the media scene in Sikkim, print media in particular?
- 6. The print media in Sikkim, is it more rural oriented or urban oriented? Who controls the media scene in Sikkim? What are the ownership patterns?

Interview Protocol for Academicians and Journalists in Tripura

- 1. Tripura has had very ideologically inclined governments in the past. There was the left which was in power and now there is the BJP, so how has the practice of journalism evolved in the state of Tripura, in this context?
- 2. Has there been an attempt to manage the media discourse by the incumbent Governments? Is there an advertising angle to this? Has there been a change in the discourse after the rise of the BJP?
- 3. Are all discourses represented in the newspapers in Tripura- religious and ethnic? Do you have representation of various ethnic and religious groups in your organisation?
- 4. Is there a polarisation in the society in Tripura? Is there a desire to associate with the Hindi heartland, politically?
- 5. Is there a religion versus ethnic assertion discourse in Tripura?

Interview Protocol for Academicians and Journalists in Meghalaya

- Meghalaya has traditionally been a supporter of the Congress Party, ever since statehood. With the rise of the BJP at the Centre and an alliance partner ruling Meghalaya, how has this BJP phenomenon affected the print media discourse in the state? (Emphasis on English Press)
- 2. Do you think that the perceived polarisation of discourse has had an impact in Meghalaya? Does the polarisation of the print media exist in Meghalaya? What about the rest of Northeast India?
- 3. Is political news, in general, tilted to the ruling party (Irrespective of BJP, Congress, etc.)? Is Advertisements a factor for the control of the discourse?
- 4. Is the physical representation of individuals from minority communities necessary for the voices of the respective community to be represented in the media? Is it possible for a journalist, irrespective of their various affiliations, to represent the voices of all? How does this impact discourses?
- 5. Is religious polarisation a factor in Meghalaya or is it a more ethnic discourse? Is religious polarisation making headway into the discourse in Meghalaya?
- 6. What is the ideological position of newspapers in Meghalaya, in general? (Ethnicright, religious-right, economic-left, economic-right etc.)

Annexure 3

List of Interviewees along with their affiliations

- i. Mr. Shibashish Thakur, Journalist with The Assam Tribune, Guwahati.
- ii. Mr. Pranjal Bhuyan, Political Beat Journalist with The Assam Tribune, Guwahati.
- iii. Mr. Sushanta Talukdar, Editor of NEZINE, Guwahati.
- iv. Mr. P.J. Baruah, Executive Editor of The Assam Tribune, Guwahati.
- v. Prof. Ankuran Dutta, Professor, Department of Communication and Journalism, Gauhati University, Guwahati.
- vi. Mr. Daulat Rahman, Journalist with The Sentinel, Guwahati.
- vii. Dr. Chandan Goswami, Department of Communication and Journalism, Gauhati University, Guwahati.
- viii. Dr. Shubhrajeet Konwer, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Gauhati University, Guwahati.
 - ix. Mr. Bhoban Ghimire, Journalist with The Sentinel, Guwahati.
 - x. Mr. Vikash Singh, Journalist with Times of India, Guwahati.
- xi. Prof. Abhijit Bora, Department of Mass Communication and Journalism, Tezpur University, Tezpur.
- xii. Mr. Thomas Lim, Editor of Meghalaya Times, Shillong.
- xiii. Prof. Sushmita Sengupta, Department of Political Science, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong.
- xiv. Dr. Karen L. Donoghue, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong.
- xv. Mr. David Laitphlang, Independent Journalist and President of the Press Club, Shillong.
- xvi. Prof. H. Srikanth, Department of Political Science, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong.
- xvii. Dr. Bharath N., Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong.
- xviii. Prof. Ravindra Kumar Vemula, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, English and Foreign Languages University, Shillong, Shillong.
- xix. Ms. Lynda C., Independent Journalist and founding editor of Meghalaya Guardian, Shillong.

- xx. Mr. Manas Choudhari, Former editor of The Shillong Times, Shillong. Ex Member of Legislative Assembly from Indian National Congress, Recipient of Padmashri for contribution to Journalism.
- xxi. Ms. Patricia Mukhim, Editor of The Shillong Times, Shillong. Recipient of Padmashri for contribution to Journalism.
- xxii. Mr. Shekhar Dutta, Former Special Correspondent for The Telegraph in Tripura, Agartala.
- xxiii. Mr. Manas Paul, Editor of Tripura Times, Agartala.
- xxiv. Dr. Biplob Debnath, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Tripura University, Agartala.
- xxv. Mr. Anindya Sarkar, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Tripura University, Agartala.
- xxvi. Dr. Deepak Upadhyay, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Tripura University, Agartala.
- xxvii. Dr. Sunil Kalai, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Tripura University, Agartala.
- xxviii. Mr. Amit Patro, Editor of Sikkim Express, Gangtok.
- xxix. Mr. Joseph Lepcha, Journalist with Dainik Bhaskar and President of the Press Club, Sikkim, Gangtok.
- xxx. Mr. Pema Wangchuk, Editor of The Summit Times, Gangtok.
- xxxi. Dr. Manoj Das, Department of Mass Communication, Sikkim (Central) University, Gangtok.
- xxxii. Dr. Bidhan Golay, Department of Political Science, Sikkim (Central) University, Gangtok.
- xxxiii. Ms. Asha Kiran, Guest faculty at the Department of Mass Communication, Sikkim (Central) University, Gangtok.

Annexure 4

Policy Document(s) from Assam

Si No.	NAME OF NEWS PAPERS	Language	Revised Rate w.e.f. 01.04.2014 (per Sq. Cm.
1	The Assam Tribune	English	52.13
2	The Sentinel	English	48.75
3	The Eastern Chronicle	English	36.38
4	The Hills Times	English	35.63
5	The North East Times	English	36.38
6	The Assam Post	English	35.63
7	The Bodoland Express	English	35.63
8	The Assam Rising	English	24.00
9	Amar Asom	Assamese	43.88
10	Asomoya Khabar	Assamese	37.13
11	Adinor Sambad	Assamese	35.63
12	Asomiya Pratidin	Assamese	44.65
13	Aami Asomor Janagan	Assamese	30.00
14	Dainik Agradoot	Assamese	43.88
15	Dainik Janambhumi	Assamese	40.13
16	Dainik Batori Kakot	Assamese	35.63
17	Dalnik Asom	Assamese	43.50
18	Gana Adhikar	Assamese	35.63
19	Ganajiwan	Assamese	24.38
20	Salangdo	Assamese	35.63
21	Niyomiya Barta	Assamese	37.50
22	Dainandin Barta	Assamese	24.00
23	News 30	Assamese	24.00
24	Dainik Jugasankha	Bengali	39.38
25	Dainik Samayik Prasanga	Bengali	38.25
	Prantojyoti Dainik	Bengali	37.50
	Dainik Nababarta Prasanga	Bengali	35.63
	Gati		28.88
	Dainik Abichar	Bengali Bengali	30.00

C Rola Conterver broke Person Conter - Contd V2 8 Publi

1		Page	2	
	30	The Sentinel (H)	Hindi	25.13
1	31	Dainik Purvoday	Hindi	28.88
	32	Purvanchal Prahari	Hindi	32.63
	33	Pratah Khabar	Hindi	22.88
	34	Nishpaksh Samachar Jyoti	Hindi	25.13
	35	Prerna Bharati	Hindi	Rate not fix
	36	The Arleng Daily	Karbi	24.38
	37	Thekar	Karbi	21.75
	38	Karbi Anglong	Karbi	24.38
	39	Bodosa	Bodo	28.88
	40	S.B. Engkhong	Bodo	35.63
	- 41	Hayenni Radab	Bodo	26.25
		Hamro Prajashakti	Nepali	24.38

Q B

Deputy Director . Directorate of Information & Public Relations, Assam, Dispur, Guwahati-6

Scanned by CamScanner

÷.,

List of Govi. approved Weekly,Bi-weekly Newspaper Rate

1

4	The Assam Jyoti	English	13.00
5	G Plus	English	22.50
6	Saptahik Jigyas	Assamese	26.25
7	Asom Bani	Assamese	31.13
5	Saptahik Janajiwan	Assamese	20.25
9	Saptahik Mujahid	Assamese	14.63
10	Rongill Barta	Assamese	18.75
11	Saptahik Pragjyotish	Assamese	18.75
17	Saptahik Mangal Batari Louit Iyoti	Assamese	20.63
14	Alos	Assamese	18.75
15	Asom Spandan	Assamese	21.00
16	Satabaran	Assamese	14.63
17	Purbanchal Batori	Astamese	17.63
18	The Janambhumi	Assamese	24.00
19	Sichubani	Assamese	13.13
20	Saptahik Bar Assam	Assamese	18.75
21	Saptahik Morigaon	Assamese	14.63
22	Saptahik Dalit Asom	Assamese	22.50
23	Dapon	Assamese	18.00
24	Asom Pravah	Assamese	18.00
25	Naman'r Asom	Assamese	14.63
26	Arconudai Sangbad	Assamese	18.00
27	Loka Satori	Assamese	14.00
28	Asom Bhumi	Astamese	20.00
23	Iournalists Barta	Assamese	15.00
30	Rajior Khabar	Assamese	13,13
31	Amrit Prabah	Assamese	18.75
32	Sadin	Assamese	
33	Amar Pranam	Multingual	15.00
-34	Barak Kantha	Bengali	18.75
35	Purbashree	Bangali	12.00
36	Saptahik Abichar	Bengali	18.75
37	Bartalipl	Bengali	13.88
38	Elto-Swadesh	Bengali	14.63
39	The Silchar Times	Bengall	12.00
40	Baraker Natun Diganta The Anirban Sikha	Bengali Bengali	19.50
41	Dalim	Bengali	12.38
63	Anandajyoti	Bengali	13.88
44	Sachetan	Bengali	16.50
45	Kampan	Bengali	15.00 20.63
46	Barak Darpan	Bengali	14.63
40	The Dibakar	Bengali	13.88
48	Satya Barta	Bengali	20.63
	Shubheccha	Bengali	Newly approved
50	Akela	Hindi	22.50
51	Prerana Bharati	Hindi	20.63
52	Nua Dristi	Mail ingra (1 Minutory a Manpart E. Ananana)	14.63
53	Arambai	Manipuri	14.00
54	Agradoot (Bi-weekly)	Assamese	41.25
55	Aatok Pravanjyan(Bi-weekly)	Assamese	24.38
		Assamese	20.63
56	Ardha Saptahik (Bi-weekiy)	Assement	20.03
56	Ardha Saptahik (Bi-weekiy) The Pen Power (Bi-weekiy)	English	14.63
57 58			
57 58 59	The Pen Power (Bi-weekly) Cachar Times (Bi-weekly) Simantar Prahari (Bi-weekly)	English Bengali Bengali	14.63
57 58 59 60	The Pen Power (Bi-weekly) Cachar Times (Bi-weekly) Simantar Prahari (Di-weekly) Raijor Sangbad (Bi-weekly)	English Bengali Bengali Multingual	14.63 18.75
57 58 59 60 61	The Pen Power (Bi-weekly) Cachar Times (Bi-weekly) Simantar Prahari (Bi-weekly) Raijor Sangbad (Bi-weekly) New Jugar Sandhan (Bi-weekly)	English Bengali Bengali Multingual Multingual	14.63 18.75 18.75
57 58 59 60	The Pen Power (Bi-weekly) Cachar Times (Bi-weekly) Simantar Prahari (Di-weekly) Raijor Sangbad (Bi-weekly)	English Bengali Bengali Multingual	14.63 18.75 18.75 29.13

Deputy Director i puse polatora Deputy Director i puse polatora Deputy Director i puse Drectase el Internation Generate Masam. Un

GOVERNMENT OF ASSAN

C. INTO. 31/04/32,

Dtd.Dispur, the 30th arty/08.

4,14

From : Smtl R. Das, ACS, Deputy Secy, to the Govt.of Assam I & P.R. Deptt.

70,

The Director of Information & Public Relations, Assam Disour, Guwaheti-6.

SUD : FIXATION OF ADVERTISEMENT RATES FOR THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA.

Ref : Your letter NO.AA(Advt)21/08/5, dtd. 3-5-08.

SIE.

With reference to the above, I am directed to convey the state Govt. approval to the fixation of Advertisement ret: for the Electronic Medias in Assam as shown against each as under with immediate effect 1-

S1 .M	Name of Channel	Advertisement rates per 10 seconds
1.	Private satellite	channels &, 500.00
2.	Private Non-satell channels	ite %, 200/- (maximum)
J.,	F.M. Radio	№. 100/- (maximum)
4.	Govt, owned channe	ls The channels have the Own rates.
		Yours faithfully.
•	~	Deputy Secy to the cove of Assar
Nemo : Capy t	C.IPRJ.31/06/32-A,	DEd.Dispur, the 30th July/05.
	1. P.S. to the Hon'bla Information & Public Assam Dispur, Guwaha	c Relations Deptt.
		By order etc.,
		· ·

Deputy Secy. to the Govt.of As I & P.R. Deput.

MAZZA

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DIRECTORATE OF ADVERTISING AND VISUAL PUBLICITY Ministry of Information & broadcasting

DAVP provides 15% discount (equivalent to agency commission) to Ministries/Departments other client organizations for advertisements published through DAVP. Publications on DAVP Panel as on 12 August 2021 State :ASSAM

S.No. Edition Size Newspaper Code-Name Periodicity Language Circulation Rate Phone/Mobile No. Regularity Status Marking Scheme Empanelled since when RNI/ABC/CA BONGAIGAON ASOMIYA PRATIDIN - 300082 ASSAMESE 14373 12.47 Regular 236501/9864101661 Eligible for ad in Marking 1 Small DAILY(M) cheme 2 DIBRUGARH Small ASOM SPANDAN - 300042 WEEKLY ASSAMESE 8549 13.36 Regular 2324102/9435330121 Eligible for ad in Marking icheme 3 DIPHU Sma SOLANGDO = 300106 DAILY/M ASSAMESE 25000 16.87 Blocked under Regualrity 271207 / 9954007814 Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme Regular Eligible for ad in Marking DIPHU Sma THEKAR • 620003 DAILYM KARB 23610 16.87 273604/9401378308 4 Scheme Regular Eligible for ad in Marking 5 GUWAHAT Small NORTH EAST TIMES - 100442 DAILY(M) ENGLISH 15451 16.87 2544356 / 9864327198 Scheme PURVANCHAL PRAHAR] - 122350 Eligible for ad in Marking GUWAHAT Sma DALY(M) HIND 21743 16.87 Regula 2521465 / 9864327198 Scheme DAINK PURVODAY - 128684 2341223 / 9707023488 Eligible for ad in Marking GUWAHAT Sma DAILY(M) HIND 24020 16.87 Regular 7 Eligible for ad in Marking 8 GUWAHAT Sma CHEMMA • 550016 MONTHLY MANIPURI 22695 23.56 Regular 2520208 / 9864044123 9 GUWAHAT Small AALOK PRAVANIYAN = 300113 BI-WEEKLY ASSAMESE 14914 12.52 Regular 2654456 / 9864029481 Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme 10 GUWAHAT Sma DAINANDIN BARTA-300114 DAILY(M) ASSAMESE 20830 16.87 Regular 2654456 / 9864029481 Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme Eligible for ad in Marking 11 GUWAHAT Small DAINIKIANAMBHUM - 300083 DAILWM ASSAMESE 3053 8.74 Regular 2200966/9864175098 Scheme 12 Sma AMAR ASOM - 300087 DAILYON ASSAMESE 24722 16.87 2370195 / 9864327198 Eligible for ad in Marking JORHAT Regular Scheme Sma ASOMIYA KHABHAR = 300092 Eligible for ad in Marking 13 JORHAT DAILY(M) ASSAMESE 10124 12.47 Regular 2372949 / 9864982959 Schome Eligible for ad in Marking 14 JORHAT Sma THE JANAMBHUM - 300007 WEEKLY ASSAMESE 13949 13.36 2320033 / 9435091771 Regular Scheme KARIMGANJ SACHETAN - 310619 WEEKLY 6000 13.36 268348/9435178530 Eligible for ad in Marking 15 Sma BENGAL Regular LAKHIMPUR ASOMIYA PRATIDIN - 300081 12.47 Eligible for ad in Marking 16 Sma DAILY/M) ASSAMESE 11378 Regular 2324986/9864101661 cheme Eligible for ad in Marking 17 TINSUKIA Sma THE DAINIK JANAMBHUM - 300089 DAILYM ASSAMESE 7458 12,47 Blocked under Regualrity 2351933 / 9435350116 Scheme Eligible for ad in Marking 18 TINSUKIA Small AKELA - 127178 WEEKLY HIND 8645 13.36 Regular 2338403 / 9954226045 Scheme Regular Eligible for ad in Marking 19 GUWAHAT BANGLA MORCHA-132034 DAILYON HIND 2139 8.74 2606534/8299591511 Defined Scheme 20 GUWAHAT SHPAKSH SAMACHAR JYOT DAILY(M) HIND 25000 16.87 Blocked under Regualrity 2462211 / 9810411372 Eligible for ad in Marking Defined 132075 Scheme Eligible for ad in Marking GUWAHAT AMM ASOMOR JANAGAN • 300118 16.87 Blocked under Regualrity 2203079 / 9435101928 21 DAILY(M) ASSAMESE 25000 Defined Scheme 22 GUWAHAT ANDAZ E BAYAN - 161772 DAILY(M) URDU 1964 8.74 Regular 2606534 / 9389460166 Eligible for ad in Marking Defined Scheme 23 JORHAT Not-PURVANCHAL PRAHAR] - 132868 DAILY(M) HIND 11056 12.47 Regular 2370196/9864327198 Eligible for ad in Marking Defined Scheme 24 KAR MGAN CHALLENGER BARTA - 101577 WEEKLY ENGLISH 17737 17.76 Regular 267553/9435075016 Eligible for ad in Marking Not-Defined Scheme Eligible for ad in Marking 25 KOKRAJHAR Not-HAYENN RADAB -610005 DAILY(M) BODO 25000 16.87 Blocked under Regualrity 271069 / 8349181105 Defined Scheme DAILY(M) 26 LAKHIMPUR PURVANCHAL PRAHARI • 132855 HIND 6102 12.47 Blocked under Regualrity 244419 / 9864327198 Eligible for ad in Marking Nobe Defined Scheme NORTH AMAR ASOM - 300121 DAILY(M) ASSAMESE 13929 12.47 Blocked under Regualrity 244419 / 9854327198 Eligible for ad in Marking 27 LAKH MPUR Defined Scheme SILCHAR NORTHEAST EXPRESS - 101763 DAILY(M) 24950 16.87 231397 / 9435627579 Eligible for ad in Marking 28 ENGLISH Regular Defined Eligible for ad in Marking BUN THE BODOLAND EXPRESS - 101307 DALY(M) 16.87 295006 / 7002180464 29 Medium ENGLISH 25000 Regular SANSEYARI BODOLAND ENGKHONG 16.87 Regular 99541997 / 7002180464 Eligible for ad in Marking 30 BUNE Medium DAILY(M) BODO 25000 610004 31 DIBRUGARH Medium ASOMIYA PRATIDIN = 300077 DAILY(M) ASSAMESE 31498 21,41 Regular 2324986/9864101661 Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme 32 DIPHU Medium THE HILLS TIMES - 101206 DAILYIMI ENGLISH 25000 16.87 Regular 272105 / 7086245728 Eligible for ad in Marking

v

										Scheme
33	GUWAHAT	Medium	EASTERN CHRONICLE - 101178	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	25000	16.87	Reguljar	2526670 / 9864079834	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
34	GUWAHAT	Medium	ECLECTIC NORTHEAST = 101532	MONTHLY	ENGLISH	25000	26.06	Regular	0/9402772257	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
35	GUWAHATI	Medium	SENTINEL • 122705	DAILY(M)	HINDI	8550	12,47	Regular	2229330/9435017167	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
36	GUWAHATI	Medium	PRATA KHABAR = 128748	DAILY(M)	HINDI	17720	16.87	Regular	2492131 / 9401369729	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
37	GUWAHAT	Medium	NIYOMIYA BARTA - 300107	DAILY(M)	ASSAMESE	71786	35.55	Regular	2340900 / 9707812299	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
38	GUWAHATI	Medium	GANA ADHIKAR • 300109	DÁILY(M)	ASSAMESE	25000	16.87	Regular	2224466 / 9401114444	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
39	GUWAHAT	Medium	ASOMIYA KHABAR • 300078	DAILY(M)	ASSAMESE	24240	16.87	Regular	2477291 / 9864982959	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
40	GUWAHAT	Medium	DAINIK AGRADOOT • 300069	DAILY(M)	ASSAMESE	25000	16.87	Regular	2261923 / 9864897175	Eligib l e for ad in Marking Scheme
41	GUWAHAT	Medium	AMAR ASOM • 300071	DAILY(M)	ASSAMESE	25000	16.87	Regular	25214465 / 9864327198	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
42	GUWAHAT	Medium	BATORI KAKAT - 300094	DAILY(M)	ASSAMESE	25000	16.87	Regular	2660260 / 9864068747	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
43	GUWAHATI	Medium	DAINIK JUGASANKHA = 310558	DAILY(M)	BENGALI	25000	16.87	Regular	2454058 / 9859235695	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
44	JORHAT	Medium	DAINIKJANAMBHOOMI • 300002	DAILY(M)	ASSAMESE	22974	16.87	Regular	2320033/9435350116	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
45	KAR[MGAN]	Medium	NABABARTA PRASANGA • 310525	DA(LY(M)	BENGAL	25000	16.87	Regular	263300 / 7399075016	Eligib l e for ad in Marking Scheme
46	KOKRAJHAR	Medium	BODOSA-610003	DAILY(M)	BODO	25000	16.87	Regular	276785 / 7086656644	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
47	SILCHAR	Medium	SAMAYIK PRASANGA - 310130	DAILY(M)	BENGALI	25000	16.87	Regular	246422 / 8638724283	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
48	SILCHAR	Medium	JUGASANKHA=310015	DAILY(M)	BENGALI	25000	16.87	Regular	223234 / 9401409638	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
49	SILCHAR	Medium	ABICHAR • 310647	WEEKLY	BENGAL	20075	17.76	Regular	260129 / 9435627579	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
50	SILCHAR	Medium	PRANTAJYOT] DA J NJK - 310659	DAILY(M)	BENGAL	25000	16.87	Regular	221074/9435173769	Eligib l e for ad in Marking Scheme
51	SILCHAR	Medium	SIMANTER PRAHARI-310660	TRHWEEKLY	BENGAL	19975	16.03	Regular	231397 / 9435627579	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
52	SILCHAR	Medium	AMAR UTTAR PURBANCHAL - 310663	FORTNIGHTLY	BENGAL	20090	17.76	Regular	231397 / 9435627579	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
53	SILCHAR	Medium	DAINIK ABICHAR • 310670	DAILY(M)	BENGALI	25000	16.87	Regular	260129 / 7002716018	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
54	SILCHAR	Medium	EASTERN CHRONICLE - 101250	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	25000	16.87	Regular	223232 / 9854079834	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
55	TEZPUR	Medium	HAMRO PRAJASHAKT]- 510030	DAILY(M)	NEPAL	18283	16.87	Blocked under Regualrity	231016/9401138976	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
56	GUWAHAT	Big	ASSAM TRIBUNE - 100050	DAMLY(M)	ENGLISH	72353	35.55	Regular	2661359/9864663038	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
57	GUWAHAT	Big	SENTINEL - 100074	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	25000	16.87	Regular	2229330/9435017167	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
58	GUWAHAT	Big	ASOMIYA PRATIDIN = 300068	DAILY(M)	ASSAMESE	53981	30.04	Regular	2660420/9864101661	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme

Policy Document(s) from Tripura

newsp	apers under I & CA Depar	tment .	
SL NO.	NAME OF NEWSPAPERS	CATEGORY	PER COL.CN
1	Dainik Sambad	"A" (Daily)	Rs.110/-2 + Rs.110/ Rs.110/ Rs.90/-1 Cor
2	Syandan Patrika	"A"	Rs.110/-
3	Daily Desher Katha	" <u>A</u> "	Rs.110/
4	Ajker Fariad	"B" (Daily)	Rs.90/-7_Con
5	Tripura Darpan	B (Dally)	Rs.90/ 75
6	Dainik Ganadoot	B B	
7	Jagaran	B.	Rs.90/ 12 Rs.90/
8	Manush	B B	Rs.90/
9	Vivek	B	Rs.90/
10	Pragati Sambad	B.	Rs.90/
10	Tripura Times	"B"	Rs.90/
12	Tripura Observer	B	Rs.90/
13	Ganasambad	B	Rs.90/
14	Bartaman Tripura	"B"	Rs.90/
15	Promode Barta	"C" (Daily)	
16	Tripura Mukh	"C"	Rs.65/- Rs.65/ Rs.65/ Rs.65/ 30
17	Tripura Sundari	"C"	Rs.65/
18	Uttar Tripura	"C"	Rs.65/ 30
19	Tripura Khabar	"C"	
20	Hachukani Kok	"C"	Rs.65/ 71 Rs.65/
20			Rs.65/
22	Tripura Frontier Anchaluik Khabar	"C" (Weekly)	Rs.65/
23	Sabuj Tripura	"C	Rs.65/
124	Tripura Bhabishyat	"C"	Rs.65/
25	Aman Barta	"C"	Rs.65/
26	Tripura Bani	°C°	Rs.65/
27	Habely	"C"	Rs.65/
28	Kirtiman	"C"	Rs.65/
20	Knowledge Media	"C"	Rs.65/
30	Tripura Prabaha	"C"	Rs.65/
30	Pavel	°C	Rs.65/
32	Tripura Samay	"C"	Rs.65/
33	Kal Prakashika	"C"	Rs.65/
33	Seemanta Prakash	"C	Rs.65/
A second s		°C°	Rs.65/
35	Tripura Barta	"C	Rs.65/
36	Saptahik Kichu Katha	°C	Rs.65/
37	Tripura Sandesh	"C	Rs.65/
38	Ajker Tripura	°C	Rs.65/ -
39	Nabapanji Triouna Kantha	"C"	Rs.65/
40	Tripura Kantha	°C	Rs.65/
41	Yapri	°C	Rs.65/
42	Marup	C	10.00

TRIPURA

~

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DIRECTORATE OF ADVERTISING AND VISUAL PUBLICITY Ministry of Information & broadcasting

DAVP provides 15% discount (equivalent to agency commission) to Ministries/Departments other client organizations for advertisements published through DAVP. Publications on DAVP Panel as on 12 August 2021

State :TRIPURA

SI.No.	Edition	Size	Newspaper Code-Name Empanelled since when	Periodicity	Language	Circulation RNI/ABC/CA	Rate	Phone/Mobile No.	Regularity Status	Marking Scheme
1	AGARTALA	Small	TRIPURA SUNDARI - 310573	DAILY(E)	BENGALI	16600	16.87	Regular	2321537 / 9930982043	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
2	AGARTALA	Small	BARTAMAN TRIPURA • 310391	DAILY(M)	BENGAL	9555	12.47	Blocked under Regualrity	2325122 / 9436459244	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
3	AGARTALA	Not- Defined	ARYAN AGE - 101652	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	16125	16.87	Regular	2436550 / 6393314423	Eligible for ad in Markin, Scheme
4	AGARTALA	Not- Defined	NORTH EAST COLORS - 101737	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	3343	8.74	Regular	2341008 / 9436121834	Eligible for ad in Markin Scheme
5	AGARTALA	Not- Defined	BANGLA MORCHA - 132735	DAILY(M)	HINDI	5200	12.47	Regular	2436550 / 8299591511	Eligible for ad in Markin Scheme
6	AGARTALA	Medium	TRIPURA OBSERVER - 100565	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	25000	16.87	Regular	2323508 / 9436127693	Eligible for ad in Markin Scheme
7	AGARTALA	Medium	TRIPURA TIMES - 100141	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	25000	16.87	Regular	2315907 / 8787736534	Eligible for ad in Markin Scheme
8	AGARTALA	Medium	DAINIK SAMBAD - 310004	DAILY(M)	BENGAL	80877	40.29	Regular	2326676 / 9436121834	Eligible for ad in Markin Scheme
9	AGARTALA	Medium	DAINIK GANADOOT - 310008	DAILY(M)	BENGAL	48250	30.04	Regular	2325018 / 9774703306	Eligible for ad in Markin Scheme
10	AGARTALA	Medium	SYANDAN PATRIKA - 310022	DAILY(M)	BENGAL	21397	16.87	Regular	2386684 / 9436503842	Eligible for ad in Markin Scheme
11	AGARTALA	Medium	TRIPURA DARPAN - 310023	DAILY(M)	BENGAL	25000	16.87	Regular	2306689 / 9436120315	Eligible for ad in Markin Scheme
12	AGARTALA	Medium	AJKER FARIAD - 310624	DAILY(M)	BENGAL	25000	16.87	Regular	2315872 / 9436489797	Eligible for ad in Markin Scheme
13	AGARTALA	Medium	VIVEK - 310406	DAILY(M)	BENGAL	15227	16.87	Regular	2556439 / 9436138109	Eligib le for ad in Markir Scheme
14	AGARTALA	Medium	MANUSH - 310409	DAILY(M)	BENGAL	23199	16.87	Regular	2322583 / 8787518701	Eligible for ad in Markir Scheme
15	AGARTALA	Medium	JAGARAN - 310309	DAILY(M)	BENGAL	23740	16.87	Regular	2384984 / 9436123720	Eligible for ad in Markir Scheme
16	AGARTALA	Medium	PRAGATI SAMBAD = 310117	DAILY(M)	BENGAL	25000	16.87	Regular	2515859 / 9436464601	Eligible for ad in Markin Scheme

Policy Document(s) from Sikkim

ŝ



PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

Gangtok Wednesday, 11th October, 2006 No. 329 GOVERNMENT OF SIKKIM DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS GANGTOK.

No. 24/IPR/06-07

Dated : 10/10/2006

ADVERTISEMENT POLICY

The Department of Information and Public Relations being a nodal agency shoulders the onerous responsibility of disseminating various programmes and policies of the Government among masses through print and electronic media.

The Department is the press and publicity wing of the Government of Sikkim and therefore plays a pivotal role in the promotion of schemes and policies that lead to a greater and better understanding of governance.

Now therefore with a view to secure wider publication, publicity and coverage of all concerned sections of the population through an integrated arrangement for the issue of Government advertisements, the Governor of Sikkim is hereby pleased to specify the following advertisement policy namely :-

1. NODAL AUTHORITY :

The Department of Information and Public Relations will function as Nodal Authority for issue of all State Government advertisements to empanelled local, regional and national newspapers and periodicals.

2. CRITERIA FOR ISSUE OF ADVERTISEMENT :

- (1) All Government Departments and subordinate offices, autonomous bodies and joint ventures shall channelise their advertisements through information and Public Relations Department (hereinatter referred to as "the IPR Department") before releasing any advertisements to newspapers and journals.
- (2) No advertisement will be issued directly to any newspaper or periodical, by any department or their subordinate offices.
- (3) Information & Public Relations Department may scrutinize or modify advertisements for suitable issue.
- (4) Political affiliation will not be taken into account in placing government advertisements. Advertisement will not be issued to newspaper(s); the content(s) of which, in the opinion of State Government, are likely to incite communal passion; motivate violence or otherwise offend socially accepted conventions of

public decency and morals, offend the sovereignty and integrity of India, or carry out malicious, subversive activities against the government established by law.

3. CRITERIA FOR EMPANELMENT :

- (a) To qualify for empanelment for issue of advertisement, a newspaper must have uninterrupted and regular publication for a period of not less than 12 (Twelve) months in the case of a local daily, not less than 14 (Fourteen) months in the case of a local Bi-weekly and not less than 18 (Eighteen) months in the case of a local Weekly Newspaper. Such criteria will equally apply to a newspaper the publication of which has been ceased for a period of 6 (Six) months or more and starts publication again, thereafter:
- (b) Conform with the following conditions namely :-
- (i) all newspapers must carry editorial invariably;
- (ii) the print matter and photographs should be legible, neat, clear and without smudges, overwriting and tampering:
- (iii) there should be no repetition of news items or articles from other issues;
- (iv) there should be no production of news items or articles from other news papers/journals without credit line;
- masthead on its front page should carry the title of the paper, date and day of publication of the newspapers. (v) It should also carry Registrar of Newspaper for India (hereinafter referred to as "RNI") Registration Number, Volume and Issue Number and price of newspaper/journal;
- (vi) inner pages must carry page number, title of the paper and date of publication.
- (vii) Last page must carry print line clearly indicating the name of Editor, Publisher, Place of Printing and name of the printing press as required under Press and Registration of Book Act, 1867;
- (c) have a minimum 'paid-circulation' per issue of not less than :-
- Dailies Minimum paid circulation of 2000 copies;
- Weeklies and Bi-Weeklies Minimum paid circulation of 500 copies;
- (iii) Other periodicals Minimum paid circulation of 500 coples.
- (d) be regular in publication and have at least 25 (Twenty five) issues every month in case of Daily, at least 7-(Seven) issues every month in case of Bi-Weekly and at least 4 (Four) issues every month in case of Weekly;
- furnish an affidavit of the circulation statistics of such newspaper for minimum period as specified in Para 3(a) of this Notification to the Director of Information and Public Relations, Sikkim. The circulation figures as specified in the affidavit, if proved incorrect, will render the newspaper ineligible for advertisement for a minimum period of two years from the date of such disqualification.

4. SPECIFICATION OF ADVERTISEMENT :

All-Government advertisements shall be made according to the following specification namely :-

- (a) Headlines or headings of advertisement shall not exceed 14 points typeface size, except for display advertisement.
- (b) Sub-Headings of an advertisement shall not exceed 12-point type size.
- (c) The contents of an advertisement except the headlines or headings shall not exceed 10 points typeface incosize.
- (d) No spacing or lead insertion can be made between the lines of an advertisement.
- (e) Spacing between the 'heading' or 'headline', and the contents of an advertisement, or between its paragraph(s) or between the paragraph and the designation of the authority issuing the advertisements should not exceed 3 points lead, or as per specifications given by the Department.

5. CERTIFICATE OF PRINTING :



Local newspaper must submit to the Director, Information and Public Relations, Sikkim within the 15th January and the 15th July, each year a statement showing the total number of issues brought out by the <u>newspaper during the preceding 6 (six)</u> months period. Certificate of printing indicating average number of copies printed per issue monthwise in the preceding 6 (six) months to be obtained from the owner of the press from where the paper is printed will also have to be submitted to the Director of Information and Public Relations by the same date duly verified by respective DIOs. In case the editor, printer and publisher happen to be the same person, a competent authority approved by the Government if considered necessary will make a scrutiny of the Certificates. No advertisement will be issued to a newspaper, which fails to comply with such requirement.

6. FAIR AND EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ADVERTISEMENT :

While fair and equitable distribution of Government advertisements amongst local newspapers, commensurate with the disclosed level of circulation of each such newspaper, will be made, such advertisements are not intended to be a source of financial assistance to any newspapers.

7. COPIES OF NEWS PAPERS :

All editors/publishers of local newspapers must sent 10 (Ten) copies of every issue of newspaper which they edit, publish, whether Daily, Bi-Weekly, Weekly or Monthly to the Director, Information and Public Relations, Sikkim free of cost, on the date of issue, failing which they are liable to have their newspaper removed from the panel of local newspaper maintained in the Department of Information and Public Relations for the purpose of issue of Government Advertisements.

8. PRODUCTION STANDARD :

The newspapers and periodicals should have the following minimum print areas respectively to qualify for receiving Government advertisements :-

(i) Dailies	:	4 (Four) pages with print area of not less than 52 cms x 8 standard columns per page or equivalent printed space per issue.
(ii) Bi-Weekly/Weekly		4 (Four) pages with print area of not less than 40 cms x 6 standard
(iii) Fortnightly		columns per page or equivalent printed space per issue. 12 (Twelve) pages with print area of not less than 40 cms x 6 standard columns per page or equivalent printed space per issue.
(Iv) Other periodicals	:	Minimum 32 pages of 14 demy or crown size.

Exceptions may be made in case of newspapers/periodicals published in local languages.

9. ELIGIBILITY FOR RECEIVING GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENTS :

Newspapers and periodicals will have to fulfill the following requirements to become eligible for receiving Government advertisements :

(a) Minimum Circulation :

(i) Dailies (ii) Bi-Weeklies (iii) Weeklies	1	Minimum paid circulation of 2000 copies. Minimum paid circulation of 500 copies.
(iv) Fortnightly		Minimum paid circulation of 500 copies. Minimum paid circulation of 500 copies
(v) Other periodicals		Minimum paid circulation of 500 copies.



(b) Minimum Issues :

The newspapers and journals which have brought out minimum number of issues as per the table below in the preceding year will be eligible for receiving Government advertisement in a particular year :

(i)	Dailies	:	300 issues.
(ii)	Bi-Weeklies		100 issues.
(iii)	Weeklies		70 issues.
(iv)	Monthlies	:	12 issues.
(V)	Bi-Monthlies	:	6 issues.
(vi)	Quarterlies	:	4 issues.

Regularity: (c)

No newspaper or periodical shall be treated as regular for receiving Government advertisements unless it brings out the following number of issues continuously in preceding 6 (six) months after the empanelment:-

(i)	Dailies	:	170 issues.
(ii)	Bi-Weeklies	:	46 issues.
(iii)	Weeklies	:	23 issues.
(iv)	Fortnightly	:	11 issues
(V)	Monthlies	:	5 issues.
(vi)	Bi-Monthlies	• •	3 issues.
(vii)	Quarterlies	:	2 issues.

Newspapers and journals, which do not devote at least 60 percent, printed space in every issue to read and other non-advertisement materials will not be eligible for receiving Government advertisement.

ESSENTIAL FOR ELIGIBILITY :

Compliance with the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867 and registration of the daily newspaper/ periodicals with the Registrar of Newspapers for India (RNI) are essential for being eligible for availing Government advertisement.

year from January to December.

Newspapers/journals already empanelled with IPR shall have to obtain RNI Registration within 8 months from the issue of this Notification to be eligible for availing Government Advertisements.

10. PROCEDURE FOR INCLUSION IN THE APPROVED LIST :

- The Department will prepare a list of newspapers, periodicals etc. for receiving Government advertisements during any particular financial year at the beginning of the year. (1)
- The publisher of any newspaper or periodical which figures in the list of the preceding year will have to submit to the Director of Information and Public Relations by February 28 that is one month ahead of the (2) next financial year a certificate from the Chartered Accountants in the prescribed form (in original) claiming paid circulation of more than 2000 (Two thousand) copies per issue, relating to the preceding calendar

(3) Annual certificates of printing in the prescribed Form - A (in original) indicating average number of copies printed per issue monthwise in the preceding calendar year to be obtained from the owner of the press from where the paper is printed will also have to be submitted to the Director of Information and Public Relations by the same date as mentioned in Para (2) above by all newspapers/journals.

In case the Editor, Publisher and Printer happen to be the same person, a competent authority approved by the Government if considered necessary will make a scrutiny of the certificates. (4)

- The newspapers and journals which figure in the list of newspapers for receiving government advertisements (5)in the preceding year shall be considered for any particular year on submission of the certificates as indicated in para 10 (2 and 3) above.
- National daily newspaper and periodicals with All India circulation in the approved list of Director of (6) Advertisement and Visual Publicity, Government of India may also be eligible for advertisement.

11. APPLICATION FOR FRESH PUBLICATION

- (1) Application forms for fresh publication are to be submitted by the publishers concerned to the Director of Information and Public Relations together with certificates as indicated in Para 5 & 10 (2 and 3) relating to the period since the launching of the publication or the preceding calendar year.
- (2) The Director of Information and Public Relations will scrutinize the applications and the certificates received on or before February 28 and will finalise and publish in March every year the list of approved papers for receiving Government advertisements during the next financial year. No application of certificate received after February 28 will be considered.

12. CLASSIFIED AND DISPLAY ADVERTISEMENTS :

- (1) Display and classified advertisement will be released to only those local newspapers and magazines
- empanelled with Information and Public Relations. However, because of the short duration nature of the Notices, only dailies, bi-weeklies and weeklies that have maintained the regularity of their publications shall be qualified for the classified advertisement. All classified advertisement will however be brought out as per the specification given by IPR Department in release order in accordance with para 4 (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e).
- (2) Release Order Number issued to magazines/journals will remain valid for 6 (six) months only from the date of issue.
- (3) In case of wrong publication or printing mistake, the newspaper will republish the advertisement in the very next issue. Payment shall be made to the correctly published advertisements only.
- (4) The Department of Information and Public Relations shall fix from time to time the rates payable per column centimeter of classified advertisement issued to local newspaper. The department shall likewise fix the rates for display advertisement issued to local newspaper and journals on special occasions.

The Department of Information and Public Relations fixes the following rates for classified and display advertisement:

1. CLASSIFIED :

- (a) Daily local newspaper/ periodicals/journals etc.
- (b) Bi-Weekly/weekly/fornightly local newspaper/periodicals/
- Journals etc. 130 National Newspaper/ (c) periodicals/journals etc.

(d) Foreign Newspaper/

periodicals/journals etc.

and the second and

A. 33 CARLES . C. Rs. 65.00 per column centimeter for Black and White and for colour 1 1/2 times of Black and White or negotiated rates with concession/special rebate whichever is less.

Rs. 55.00 per column centimeter for Black and White and for colour 11/2 times of Black and White or negotiated rates with concession/special rebate whichever is less. (a) As per Directorate of Advertisement and Visual Publicity Govt. of India (hereinafter referred as DAVP) rate card or negotiated rates with concession/special rebate whichever is less.

(b) Without DAVP rate card Rs.100.00 per column centimeter for Black and White and for Colour, 1 1/2 times of Black and White.

(a) As per the rate card or negotiated rates with concession/ special rebate whichever is less.

2. DISPLAY: manual proves and an address of the set of stands which do not a construct of a construction of the construction o

SI.	Size 🗰		Rates		
No.	nici is toll bovergon and re radialed	Black and White	Colour	1. S.M 1 .	
0	^b MacFull Page 11 Diogno Science yr	Rs. 20,000.00	Rs. 30,000.00	149 mile 194.	
ii)	Half Page	Rs. 10,000.00	Rs-16,000.00	C) 1950	
ili).	1 Quarter Pageo atertalidad orli v	Bs. 8.000.00 . notice	duc nBs: 10,000.00	SE Million	

(b) Local Bi-weekly/weekly newspapers :

SI. No.	Size	Ra	tes
10.		Black and White	Colour
2	Full Page	Rs. 5,000.00	Rs. 8,000.00
ii)	Half Page	Rs. 3,000.00	No Constant of the State of the
iii)	Quarter Page		Rs. 5,000.00
	3-	Rs. 2,000.00	Rs. 2,500.00

(c) Literary Magazines/Souvenir of standard size 21 cms x 3 standard column with minimum print area of 228 sq. cm. per page for a magazine having not less than 50 (Fifty) pages and having circulation of 500 to 2500

SI. No.	Size		Rates
i)	Eull Dawn	Black and White	Colour
ii)	Full Page	Rs. 3,500.00	Rs. 6,000.00
	Half Page	Rs. 2,000.00	
iii)	Quarter Page	Rs. 1,200.00	Rs. 3,000.00
		113. 1,200.00	Rs. 2,000.00

(d) Four colour magazines related to Travel, Trade, Journal and Regional News Magazines of standard size 24 cms x 3 standard columns with minimum print area of 420 sq. cm. per page having minimum circulation of 2500-5000 copies per issue.

ii) Cover page (full)	A Company of the second se		Rs. 30,000.00	
iii) Inner page (full)		-	Rs. 15,000.00	
iv) Inner page (half)		201	Rs. 20,000.00	
and the second second		-	Bs 10 000 00	

The Department of IPR has the discretion to justify the standard of the magazines before issuing advertisements at the rates mentioned above.

3. ELECTRONIC MEDIA

(A) Regional Television.

- Telecasting in Detween news w otaden talcough indiscounce (i)
- (ii) Telecasting before and after news (iii) Telecasting in any other programme (iii) Telecasting in any other programme

(B): Local Television and 00.00 - of the part of the contract of () Telecasting between news of the sector and the sector

(ii) Telecasting before and after news we don't any state of the state

Rs.5000.00 (per 30 seconds visual clip) Rs.3000.00 (per 30 seconds visual clip) Rs.2000.00 (per 1 minute visual clip)

· Starting Fr

Rs.300.00 (per 30 seconds visual clip) Rs.200.00 per additional clip. Rs.200.00 (per 30 seconds visual clip) Rs.100.00 per additional clip.

	A MARSHALL AND A
(iii) Running scroll per day in English	106 BS 3.00 per word 11 090099 at
(iv) Running scroll per day in Dethagari	
(v) Production charge of scroll matter	BS 100.00 The statement sciences
(vi) Production charge of logo/picture in scroll	Bs 100 00 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10
and the second	Line Brook of Pulsiva Shine 131, 1990, Book and Salar Alagera
(C) News Website.	e Fraglige Annually qui an illutione chi airi airi
(C) News website. (i) Classified Advertisement (ii) Display Advertisement	: Rs. 20.00 per word.
(ii) Display Advertisement	: Rs.5000.00 Full page as per print media.
	Rs.3000.00 Half page as per Print media
(iii) Top banners advertisement	the second s
(Master page)	: Rs.2000.00 per day.
(Other page)	: Rs.1000.00 per day.
(iv) Pop-up Advertisement	and sector as it
(Master page)	: Rs.2200.00 per day.
(Other page)	: Rs.1100.00 per day.
(v) Scroll Advertisement	
(Master page)	: Rs. 200.00 per day.
(Other page)	: Rs. 100.00 per day.
	the states of th

14. PAYMENTS :

Adequate provisions for payment for all the advertisements shall be made by the Departments and ensure that the payments are made within 120 (One Hundred and Twenty) days from the submission of bills duly certified by the IPR Department. The bills shall be in triplicate alongwith the relevant advertisement in three copies.

The Department of Information and Public Relations shall not be responsible for verification of any bill of advertisement released in contravention of the Advertisement Policy of the State Government.

15. SUSPENSION OF NEWSPAPER AND CESSATION OF GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENTS.

(a) A newspaper will stand suspended with immediate effect if found to have submitted wrong information in his application or rate renewal proforma; or

If found to have discontinued its publication, changed its periodicity or its title or have become irregular or suspected to have been indulging in unethical or anti-national activities as found by the Press Council of India or if convicted by a Court of law for such activities.

- (b) Before suspension of a newspaper for Government advertisements on grounds of unethical practices, anti-national activities, violation of the norms of decency as prescribed by the Press Council of India, such newspapers will be given due hearing by the Government and a final view will be taken by Government.
- (c) If a newspaper refuses to accept and carry an advertisement issued by Government on behalf of the Ministries/Departments of Government of India, Public Sector Undertakings and Autonomous Bodies on persistent basis, the newspaper may be suspended for a period upto six months by Director, IPR Department.
- (d) The department reserves the right not to issue Government advertisements to any newspaper/periodicals without assigning any reason thereof.

16. PROCEDURE FOR SETTLING CIRCULATION OF NEWSPAPERS/PERIODICALS.

The District Information and Public Relations Officer (hereinafter referred to as "DIPRO") duly authorized by Director, Information and Public Relations shall verify the circulation figure and intimate his findings to the concerned newspaper/periodical within his jurisdiction. While verifying the circulation, the verification will be based on capacity of printing press, purchase figures of newsprint used, sales network and other relevant factors.

The District Magistrate will carefully scrutinize and approve the findings of DIPRO before concluding the findings. In case the newspapers concerned do not agree with the finding of the DIPRO they may first appeal to the State Level Circulation Monitoring Committee (hereinafter referred to as "SLCMC") consisting of the following members namely:

1	Secretary, I&PR		
	Secretary, IAPH		Chairman.
2	Special Constant UTA on	+ 2	Chaiman.
free	Special Secretary, IT&CT		Member.
2	Director 19 DD		wenner.
υ.	Director, I&PR		Convener
			Convenor.

Those newspapers, which have certificate of circulation as members of Audit Bureau of Circulation, may be exempted from process of verification referred to above, unless there are valid reasons to workout a verification in the above manner.

17. ANNUAL VERIFICATION :

Annual verification of the circulation and the cessation or otherwise of the newspaper will be made as per procedure prescribed above.

18. POWERS TO ADD, AMEND, ALTER, VARY OR SUBSTITUTE

Notwithstanding anything content in the policy, the Government may, from time to time, as and when deemed necessary add, amend, alter, modify, vary or substitute any of the provisions made herein.

This notification repeal/supersedes all the previous Government Orders, Circulars and Notifications on the subject.

CASE OF THE PARTY OF THE PARTY

8

This shall come into force with effect from the date of its publication in the official Gazette.

By order and in the name of the Governor.

and the substances of the second state of the

where the second second

hadige so ten en

unerstand when an

SS. SSAMONE STATIST

(M.G. KIRAN) I.A.S. SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SIKKIM INFORMATION & PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT GOVERNMENT OF SIKKIM.

A state of the second s

Constantion to and

SIKKIM

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DIRECTORATE OF ADVERTISING AND VISUAL PUBLICITY Ministry of Information & broadcasting

DAVP provides 15% discount (equivalent to agency commission) to Ministries/Departments other client organizations for advertisements published through DAVP. Publications on DAVP Panel as on 12 August 2021

State :SIKKIM

SI.No.	Edition	Size	Newspaper Code-Name Empanelled since when	Periodicity	Language	Circulation RNI/ABC/CA	Rate	Phone/Mobile No.	Regularity Status	Marking Scheme
1	GANGTOK	Small	SANGRILA TIMES - 510025	DAILY(M)	NEPAL	25000	16.87	Regular	232029 / 9434037909	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
2	GANGTOK	Not-Defined	URDU AKASH - 161813	DAILY(M)	URDU	5475	12.47	Regular	204174 / 9718188825	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
3	GANGTOK	Not-Defined	BANGLA MORCHA - 132101	DAILY(M)	HIND	5805	12.47	Regular	4068125 / 8299591511	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
4	GANGTOK	Not-Defined	NITYA SAMAY - 132074	DAILY(M)	HINDI	15407	16.87	Blocked under Regualrity	280940 / 9560088371	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
5	GANGTOK	Not-Defined	SAMPURNA JAGRAN - 132403	DAILY(M)	HINDI	5542	12.47	Regular	204174 / 9868152062	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
6	GANGTOK	Not-Defined	SUMMIT TIMES - 101700	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	25000	16.87	Regular	208698 / 9832556698	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
7	GANGTOK	Not-Defined	THE ECHO OF INDIA - 101749	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	5407	12.47	Regular	202660 / 9433074528	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
8	GANGTOK	Medium	DAINIK MIRMERAY - 510032	DAILY(M)	NEPAL	2500	8.74	Regular	280027 / 9434164672	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
9	GANGTOK	Medium	HAMRO PRAJASAKTI - 510022	DAILY(M)	NEPAL	21425	16.87	Regular	231657 / 9832366113	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
10	GANGTOK	Medium	SAMAY DAINIK - 510023	DAILY(M)	NEPALI	25000	16.87	Blocked under Regualrity	280940 / 9474525617	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
11	GANGTOK	Medium	HMAL BELA - 510029	DAILY(M)	NEPAL	25000	16.87	Regular	231265 / 9733006750	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
12	GANGTOK	Medium	ANUGAMINI - 128915	DAILY(M)	HIND	18778	16.87	Regular	204174 / 9474355832	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
13	GANGTOK	Medium	SIKKIM REPORTER - 101154	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	19770	16.87	Regular	281670 / 9832554072	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
14	GANGTOK	Medium	HİMALAYAN MİRROR - 101155	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	13699	12.47	Blocked under Regualrity	231657 / 9434184274	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
15	GANGTOK	Medium	THE MOUNTAINEER - 101159	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	18342	16.87	Regular	204174 / 9474355832	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
16	GANGTOK	Medium	SIKKIM EXPRESS - 100140	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	25000	16.87	Regular	202286 / 9434022286	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme

~

Policy Document(s) from Meghalaya

Government of Meghalaya Directorate of Information & Public Relations

ML.37/95/Pt.I/84

Dated Shillong the 315 August, 2018

OFFICE ORDER

In pursuance of Government letter No. IPR.39/2004/72 dt. 13th August, 2018, the Advertisement Rate in respect of local Newspapers, Electronic Media, Online Media and Display Advertisement for Magazine is revised as follows:-

SI. No.	Type of Newspapers	Rate for Black & White Advertisement per Single Column Centimetre	Rate for Colour Advertisement per Single Column Centimetre
1.	Daily Newspapers	Rs. 150/-	Rs. 200/-
2.	(a) Weeklies(b) Bi-Weeklies(c) Fortnightly	Rs. 80/-	Rs. 100/-

SI. No.	Magazines		ack & White isement	e Rate for Colour Advertisement		
		Half Page	Full Page	Half Page	Full Page	
1.	Display Advertisements	Rs. 5,000/-	Rs. 10,000/-	Rs. 10,000/-	Rs. 15,000/-	

1. Electronic Media

Rs. 40/- per second Rs. 20/- per second -Weekly -

2. Online Media Rs. 3,000/- per day & Extra 25% for the following days. 2 -

Daily

: -

This order takes effect from 1st September, 2018.

Director of Information & Public Relations, Meghalaya, Shillong Dated Shillong the 3 August, 2018

for information and

necessary action

Memo No. ML.37/95/Pt.I/84-A Copy to:

2.

The Under Secretary to the Government of Meghalaya, Information & Public 1. Relations Department

The President, Meghalaya Editors and Publishers Association, Shillong.

The Editor/Publisher

3. 4. Deputy Commissioner

5. All Heads of Departments.

6. ADIPR/DPRO/SDPRO

Director of Information & Public Relations, (LeMeghalaya, Shillong

MEGHALAYA

~

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DIRECTORATE OF ADVERTISING AND VISUAL PUBLICITY Ministry of Information & broadcasting

DAVP provides 15% discount (equivalent to agency commission) to Ministries/Departments other client organizations for advertisements published through DAVP. Publications on DAVP Panel as on 12 August 2021

State :MEGHALAYA

S <mark>I.No</mark> .	Edition	Size	Newspaper Code-Name Empanelled since when	Periodicity	Language	Circulation RNI/ABC/CA	Rate	Phone/Mobi l e No.	Regularity Status	Marking Scheme
1	SHILLONG	Small	MEGHALAYA GUARD I AN - 100425	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	16155	16.87	Regular	2223143 / 9864327198	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
2	SHILLONG	Small	SHILLONG SAMAY - 130356	DAILY EXCEPT SUNDAY	HINDI	5250	12.47	Regular	2544773 / 9718188825	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
3	SHILLONG	Sma ll	CHOICE TIMES - 131216	DAILY(M)	HIND	5252	12.47	Regular	2300273 / 8853284744	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
4	SHILLONG	Sma ll	U PEITNGOR - 530005	DAILY(M)	KHASI	25000	16.87	Regular	2547845 / 9958705111	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
5	SHILLONG	Small	RUPANG - 530012	DAILY(M)	KHASI	16712	16.87	Regular	2560059 / 9436994891	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
6	TURA	Small	SALANTIN JANERA - 560002	DAILY(M)	GARO	13248	12.47	Regular	222526 / 9891850655	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
7	SHILLONG	Medium	THE SHILLONG TIMES - 100465	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	25000	16.87	Regular	2223488 / 9891850655	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
8	SHILLONG	Medium	MEGHALAYA TIMES - 101236	DAILY(M)	ENGLISH	25000	16.87	Regular	2503886 / 9212257392	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
9	SHILLONG	Medium	MAWPHOR - 530013	DAILY(M)	KHASI	25000	16.87	Regular	2545043 / 9774068588	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme
10	SHILLONG	Medium	U NONGSAIN HIMA - 530014	DAILY(M)	KHASI	25000	16.87	Regular	2544773 / 9612170942	Eligible for ad in Marking Scheme



Digital Receipt

This receipt acknowledges that Turnitin received your paper. Below you will find the receipt information regarding your submission.

The first page of your submissions is displayed below.

Submission author:	Subhajit Paul
Assignment title:	MCJ
Submission title:	MEDIA POLARISATION AND THE ASSERTION OF ETHNO-RELI
File name:	US_IDENTITIES_IN_THE_ENGLISH_PRINT_MEDIA_OF_NORTHE
File size:	2.49M
Page count:	171
Word count:	54,805
Character count:	285,651
Submission date:	27-Dec-2023 04:10PM (UTC+0530)
Submission ID:	2265074005

Abstract

The study strange is explore the phenomenon of the publication of mode shough as interplay between the marriest on i density and the compared referse of it is the English prove of flow starts in the Netchemanne segme of Lafas. This study we conducted a status, in the bistory of balas, moded by the cosmolitation of Hanks nationalisms in against the preference of the asceriston of densities estimated by globalantics. The Nuteron, is a region that has been historically surreyed by violant multication of particle balances, is a region many result in the cosmical heaty who strangestication of particle balances, in the numer result in its toolking history, but who strangestications of density an "uncriticat." The more than the strangestic to the Northeaux, and and by the normalizery of the Etherity is instant Porty, decired multication of Hindo andomalizer, is the regions" pathy, as an maintaining funce, is imagenetic to the already scaling inducement of the short of a strategiest in the strategiest is the Northeaux, in the description and induction, that exposes their own imagenet nations. However, these finded antional infinition, that exposes their own imagenet antions. However, these finded antional imagination excitors in excitations and which is appropriate variants forms of prover, and that opens donts for propagatele, including, is confine in general and the promation is particular.

The many unit Horman and Chamidy's programmal model in the converting framework, along with Dipl's lakeshopical square and Fairlengh's ideas on the use of hangings to appropriate prover. In investigate the phenomenon maine consideration, Bassana's ideas an ideasity have due despit the presentation of the ensurement of neuronal structure data and the second structure of the ensurement of neurons in the ensure of neuron constraints. It is not been based of the lateat Periamena, the analysis of the general decision of 2010, to the lower have of the lateat Periamena, to accurate the presentance of the transmittees and the lateat Periamena, the accurate the presental decision of 2010, to the lower have of the lateat Periamena. These was also been subject using in-depits introviews with experts in this rate, this includes, editors of enveryment, having the histories with experts in this rate, this includes, editors of enveryment, having the histories with experts in this rate, this includes, editors of enveryment, having the histories with experts in this rate, this includes, editors of enveryment, having the histories with experts in this rate, this indicates, editors of enveryment, having the structure of the tensor phenomenation of the effects of the arrow appropring, in increase has the tensor employed in sincequing the many counter with the variant frameworks full three bases and full delinged to the structure frameworks for the transmittee and the structure frameworks for the transmittee and the structure frameworks for the transmittee and the structure frameworks for the transmittee and the structure frameworks for the transmittee and the structure frameworks for the transmittee and the structure frameworks for the transmittee and the structure frameworks for the transmittee and the structure frameworks for the transmittee and the structure frameworks for the transmittee and the structure frameworks for the transmittee and the structure frameworks for them to be apresented and applicable by Horizon & Chemide

Copyright 2023 Turnitin. All rights reserved.

Subhajit Paul

Rie Anna.

MEDIA POLARISATION AND THE ASSERTION OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES IN THE ENGLISH PRINT MEDIA OF NORTHEAST INDIA

by Subhajit Paul

Submission date: 27-Dec-2023 04:10PM (UTC+0530) Submission ID: 2265074005 File name: US_IDENTITIES_IN_THE_ENGLISH_PRINT_MEDIA_OF_NORTHEAST_INDIA.docx (2.49M) Word count: 54805 Character count: 285651

Subhajit Vaul

MEDIA POLARISATION AND THE ASSERTION OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES IN THE ENGLISH PRINT MEDIA OF NORTHEAST INDIA

ORIGINALITY REPORT

ALITY REPORT				
% RITY INDEX	4% INTERNET SOURCES	2% PUBLICATIONS	1% STUDENT F	PAPERS
Y SOURCES				
				<1%
				<1%
				<1%
			•	<1%
	0		7	<1%
				<1,
Assam:	The Case of AIL			<1%
	% RITY INDEX SOURCES ebin.puk Internet Source dokume Internet Source R. Devi I Mouldin Publication B. Devi I Mouldin Publication archive. Internet Source pt.scribo Internet Source Monoj K Assam: Politics,	% RITY INDEX4% INTERNET SOURCESv SOURCESebin.pub Internet Sourcedokumen.pub Internet Sourcedokumen.pub Internet Sourcerni.nic.in Internet SourceB. Devi Prasad, R.D. Sar Moulding by the Press: Publicationarchive.org Internet Sourcept.scribd.com Internet SourceMonoj Kumar Nath. "Massam: The Case of AIL Politics, 2019	% 4% 2% RITY INDEX INTERNET SOURCES PUBLICATIONS Y SOURCES ebin.pub Internet Source dokumen.pub Internet Source Internet Source rni.nic.in Internet Source Internet Source B. Devi Prasad, R.D. Sampat Kumar. " Moulding by the Press: ", Media Asia, Publication archive.org Internet Source pt.scribd.com Internet Source Monoj Kumar Nath. "Muslim Politics i Assam: The Case of AIUDF", Studies i Politics, 2019	% 4% 2% 1% RITY INDEX INTERNET SOURCES PUBLICATIONS STUDENT F YSOURCES ebin.pub Internet Source Internet Source dokumen.pub Internet Source Internet Source Internet Source B. Devi Prasad, R.D. Sampat Kumar. " Opinion Moulding by the Press: ", Media Asia, 2016 Publication archive.org Internet Source Internet Source pt.scribd.com Internet Source Internet Source Monoj Kumar Nath. "Muslim Politics in Assam: The Case of AIUDF", Studies in Indian Politics, 2019 Indian Politics, 2019

Subhajit Paul

Atanny. preu