**NEPALI MEDIA IN POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION**

**IN NEPAL**

**A Dissertation**

**Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences**

**Tribhuvan University in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the**

**Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)**

**in**

**Journalism and Mass Communication**

**Submitted by:**

**Umakanta Bhoortel**

**PhD Roll No.: 23 / 071 (2014 A.D)**

**2024 July**

# APPROVAL LETTER

This dissertation entitled **Nepali Media in Political Transformation in Nepal** was submitted by Mr. Umakanta Bhoortelfor final examination to the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Journalism and Mass Communication. I, hereby, certify that the Research Committee of the Faculty has found this dissertation satisfactory in scope and quality and has, therefore, accepted it for the degree.

# ……………………

# Dean and Chairman

# Research Committee

# Date: July 28, 2024

# 

# LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

We certify that this dissertation entitled **“Nepali Media in Political Transformation in Nepal”** has prepared by Umakanta Bhoortel under our supervision and guidance. We, hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination to the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Journalism and Mass Communication.

Dissertation Committee

Prof. Dr. Raj Kumar Pokharel

(Supervisor)

Dr. Madhu Sudan Neupane

(Co-Supervisor)

Date: July 28, 2024

# DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Ph.D. dissertation entitled **Nepali Media in Political Transformation in Nepal** submitted to the office of the Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, is an entirely original work prepared under the supervision of Prof. Raj Kumar Pokharel and Co-supervisor Dr. Madhu Sudan Neupane. While writing my dissertation, I have duly acknowledged all concepts and data that I have borrowed and gathered from other sources. This dissertation's summary, conclusions, and findings have never been submitted or presented elsewhere in order to apply for a degree or for any other purpose. This dissertation's content has never before been published in any form. If anything is discovered to contradict my statement, I will be held completely accountable.

# ……………………….

Umakanta Bhoortel

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to sincerely thank the Dean Office of Tribhuvan University's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences for giving me the chance to conduct research for my doctorate. I would like to sincerely thank my team of supervisors, which includes supervisor Prof. Dr. Raj Kumar Pokharel and Co-supervisor Dr. Madhu Sudan Neupane, for motivating and encouraging me to go deeply into the dissertation's subject matter. I owe them a great deal for their academic contributions, cordial demeanour, and ongoing advice in keeping the dissertation cohesive and up to date, as well as for fulfilling the specifications I set out when investigating the media's role in Nepal's political revolution. Their kind assistance enabled the study and made possible the composition of this dissertation. They were friendly academics who were always willing to help. I would like to thank them once more.

I consider it an honour to have spoken with several academics about the dissertation's topic. Their help was essential to finishing this dissertation. I am really appreciative of the helpful feedback and encouragement I received from Asst. Prof. Dr. Kundan Aryal, Head of TU's Central Department of Journalism, Prof. Chiranjivi Khanal, Prof. P. Kharel, Associate Professor Lal Deusa Rai, and Dr. Shudansu Dahal. Thank you so much to my friends and co-workers, Mr. Shashi Marasini and Dr. Devraj Aryal, for motivating me to finish the research on time.

Numerous media academics, human rights activists, members of civil society, and advocates helped me throughout the lengthy dissertation writing process by offering their insider knowledge. Among them are, to mention a few, Dr. Mahendra Bista, Dharmendra Jha, Taranath Dahal, Babita Basnet, Kishore Nepal, Ram Krishna Regmi, Malla K Sundar, Shyam Shrestha, and Govinda Acharya, to whom I am privileged to express my personal gratitude.

My special thanks are extended to Mr. Rajiv Timilsina, Chief Administrator of Kantipur City College, Putalisadak, and Mr. C. N. Kafle, Director of Himalayan White House College, Tinkune, who gave me a place to meet with a number of eminent academics for the focus group discussion. Their prompt support and assistance gave my effort momentum. I have space in my heart to always remember them. I feel fortunate to have this opportunity to sincerely thank my co-workers, friends, family, and well-wishers for their encouragement and inspiration to work tirelessly on the project.

My profound gratitude goes out to IT engineers Mr. Khem Raj Pokhrel and Mr. Yubraj Bhusal for their technical guidance and assistance with the survey and data processing. I appreciate everyone who helped me get information from the archives and from Kathmandu's newspaper vendors. I also want to express my gratitude to the librarians at Kantipur, Naya Patrika, and The Rising Nepal dailies, who graciously provided me old copies of their respective publications. I am appreciative of the TU Central Library and the Kathmandu University Library for lending me the relevant books. I would also like to thank all the participants of Focus Group Discussions, to all nine key informant interviewees, and to all 440 respondents for their valuable time and responses.

I owe my better half, Mrs. Kamala Bhoortel, and I don't know how to express my gratitude. She had been important in helping me prepare mentally, increase my enthusiasm, and find the motivation I needed to finish the dissertation. She is the only one who has seized every chance and difficulty. She is entirely entitled to partake in my delights and receive my gratitude. Dr. Samana Bhoortel, my daughter, is also deserving of my gratitude because she constantly motivated and inspired me and gave me all the help I needed to finish the interview transcription on time. I owe my son, Mr. Sansar Bhoortel, a debt of gratitude as well for his transcription of the many interviews and his handling of computer setup, design, printing, and binding. And at last, I am grateful to all who have supported me in any respect to complete this dissertation but are not mentioned here. Any omission in this brief acknowledgement does not mean the lack of gratitude.

Umakanta Bhoortel

## 

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CA : Constituent Assembly

CHHE : The Caste High Hindu Elite

CHHEM : The Caste High Hindu Hill Elite Males

CMPP : Common Minimum Policy and Program

CPA : Comprehensive Peace Accord

CPN : Communist Party of Nepal

CPN(M) : Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

CPN(UML) : Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist and Leninist)

DMI : Department of Military Instruction

EC : Election Commission

FPTP : First Past the Post

GDP : Gross Domestic Product

ICG : International Crisis Group

IIDS : Institute for Integrated Development Studies

INGO : International Non-Governmental Organization

INSEC : Informal Sector Service Centre

IPDC : International Program for Development of Communication

KMG : Kantipur Media Group

MFN : Media Foundation Nepal

MNLF : Madhesi National Liberation Front

NA : Nepal Army

NBC : Nuclear, Biological and Chemical

NC : Nepali Congress

NGO : Non-Governmental Organization

FNJ : Federation of Nepali Journalist

PACSM : Professional Academicians and Civil Society Members

PLA : Peoples’ Liberation Army

PR : Proportional Representatives

RBI : Research Bureau of Investigation

RNA : Royal Nepal Army

SALW : Small and Light Weapons

SPA : Seven Party Alliance

SRSG : Special Representative of United Nation’s Secretary General

TPU : Twelve Points Understanding

UML : Unified Marxist - Leninist

UN : United Nations

UNESCO : United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNPM : United National Peoples’ Movement

UPFN : United Peoples’ Front Nepal

URPC : United Revolutionary People’s Council

USA : United States of America

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

# Letter of Recommendation i

# Approval Letter ii

# Declaration iii

## Acknowledgement iv

## List of Abbreviations vii

## Table of Contents ix

**List of Tables xiv**

**List of Figures xvi**

[Abstract 2](#_Toc173764874)

[Chapter: I 6](#_Toc173764875)

[Introduction 6](#_Toc173764876)

[1.1 Background 6](#_Toc173764877)

[1.2 Statement of the Problem 14](#_Toc173764878)

[1.3 Research Questions 15](#_Toc173764879)

[1.4 Objectives 16](#_Toc173764880)

[1.5 Rationale of the Study 16](#_Toc173764881)

[1.6 Limitations of the Study 18](#_Toc173764882)

[1.7 Conceptual Framework 19](#_Toc173764883)

[1.8 Organization of the Study 21](#_Toc173764884)

[Chapter: II 23](#_Toc173764885)

[Review of literatures 23](#_Toc173764886)

[2.1 Universal Concept of Political Transformation 23](#_Toc173764887)

[2.2 Politics and Political Transformation 25](#_Toc173764891)

[2.3 Nepali Media in Political Transformation 26](#_Toc173764892)

[2.4 Maoists in Political Transformation 33](#_Toc173764893)

[2.5 External Actors in Political Transformation 38](#_Toc173764894)

[2.6 Identity Politics as a Major issue of Transformation 41](#_Toc173764895)

[2.7 PLA and RNA in Political Transformation in Nepal 43](#_Toc173764896)

[2.8 Role of Media to Bring Transformation in Society 45](#_Toc173764897)

[2.9 Theoretical Approach 46](#_Toc173764898)

[2.10 Political System Theory 47](#_Toc173764899)

[2.11 Agenda Setting and Social Responsibility Theories 49](#_Toc173764900)

[2.12 Conflict: Theory and its Causes 52](#_Toc173764901)

[2.13 Conflict Transformation as the conclusion 55](#_Toc173764902)

[2.14 Media as Agenda Setter to settle Conflict in the Society 57](#_Toc173764903)

[2.15 Causes of Maoist insurgency and its rapid growth 59](#_Toc173764904)

[2.16 Maoist Insurgency and Madhes 78](#_Toc173764905)

[2.17 12-Points Understanding & Aftermath 79](#_Toc173764906)

[2.18 The Royal Regime as a Power Center and Downfall 80](#_Toc173764907)

[2.19 Consequences of Armed Rebellion and the April Movement of 2006 81](#_Toc173764908)

[2.20 Causes of tremendous victory of Maoists in the election of first CA 85](#_Toc173764909)

[2.21 Ideological Stand, Strategies and Tactics of the Political Parties and Maoists 85](#_Toc173764910)

[2.22 The Election Result and the Failure of First Constituent Assembly 88](#_Toc173764911)

[2.23 Conclusion 91](#_Toc173764912)

[2.24 Research Gap 92](#_Toc173764913)

[Chapter: III 96](#_Toc173764914)

[Research Methodology 96](#_Toc173764915)

[3.1 Research Philosophy 96](#_Toc173764916)

[3.2 Research Design 97](#_Toc173764917)

[3.3 Nature and Source of Data 99](#_Toc173764918)

[3.3.1 The Primary Data: 99](#_Toc173764919)

[3.3.2 The Secondary Data: 99](#_Toc173764920)

[3.4 Universes and Sampling 100](#_Toc173764921)

[3.5 Techniques and Major tools of Data Collection 100](#_Toc173764922)

[3.5.1 Questionnaire Survey 100](#_Toc173764923)

[3.5.2 Key Informants Interviews 101](#_Toc173764924)

[3.5.3 Content Analysis 101](#_Toc173764925)

[3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation 102](#_Toc173764926)

[Chapter: IV 103](#_Toc173764927)

[Nepali media in the country's ten-year war and political unrest 103](#_Toc173764928)

[4.1 Demographic Analysis 103](#_Toc173764929)

[4.2 Media Practices and Ethics in Journalism 107](#_Toc173764930)

[4.3 Impact of Media on Politics, Conflict, and Governance 131](#_Toc173764931)

[4.4 Nepali Print Media’s Expected Role in Country's State of War and Political Instability 153](#_Toc173764932)

[4.5 Nepali Media’s Role to Transform Conflict to Peace 158](#_Toc173764933)

[4.6 Contribution of Press in Peace Process to move Towards the Logical Conclusions 162](#_Toc173764934)

[4.7 Conclusion 165](#_Toc173764935)

[Chapter: V 168](#_Toc173764936)

[Media Contents with their Consistency from 12-Point Understandings 168](#_Toc173764937)

[5.1 News Coverage Schemes and Media Bias 168](#_Toc173764938)

[5.2 Print Media as Main Version 171](#_Toc173764939)

[5.3 Opinion Pages and Editorials in Print Media 176](#_Toc173764940)

[5.4 Content Analysis 177](#_Toc173764941)

[5.5 Kantipur Daily News 177](#_Toc173764942)

[5.6 The Rising Nepal Daily News 179](#_Toc173764943)

[5.7 Naya Patrika Daily News 181](#_Toc173764944)

[5.8 Newspapers’ Contents related to Political Transformation 193](#_Toc173764945)

[5.9 Accountabilities of media and Journalists to their respective societies 196](#_Toc173764946)

[5.10 Conclusion 201](#_Toc173764947)

[Chapter: VI 204](#_Toc173764948)

[Perceptions about Country's Peace Process 204](#_Toc173764949)

[6.1 Media & Civil Society 204](#_Toc173764950)

[6.2 Partisanship vs Professionalism of Media 206](#_Toc173764951)

[6.3 Press Censorship and Government Control 208](#_Toc173764952)

[6.4 Media Dynamics and Socio-Political Influence 211](#_Toc173764953)

[6.5 Statistical Analysis 220](#_Toc173764954)

[6.5.1 Correlation between Journalists, Political Activists, Civil Society Members, Professional Intellectuals 221](#_Toc173764955)

[6.5.2 Correlation of Demographic Parameters 223](#_Toc173764956)

[6.6 State’s Black Eye on the Press 230](#_Toc173764957)

[6.7 The Mindset and Standpoint of the Nepali State, Political Parties, and Political Leaders towards the Press 232](#_Toc173764958)

[6.8 Nepali Media and Political Leaders in Consolidating and Strengthening the Nepali Peace Process 237](#_Toc173764959)

[6.9 Key findings of KII 244](#_Toc173764960)

[6.10 Conclusions 246](#_Toc173764961)

[Chapter: VII 248](#_Toc173764962)

[Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations 248](#_Toc173764963)

[7.1 Findings 248](#_Toc173764964)

[7.1.1 Major findings according to the objectives 256](#_Toc173764965)

[7.2 Conclusion 262](#_Toc173764966)

[7.3 Recommendation for further Research 267](#_Toc173764967)

[REFERENCES 270](#_Toc173764968)

# APPENDIX-I ……………………………………………………………………...299

# APPENDIX-II ……………………………………………………………………..301

# APPENDIX-III ……………………………………………………………………313

# APPENDIX-IV ……………………………………………………………………317

[Annex- I 291](#_Toc173764969)

[Annex-II 304](#_Toc173764970)

[Annex-III 305](#_Toc173764971)

[Annex- IV 312](#_Toc173764972)

[**ANNEX-V 318**](#_Toc173764973)

[Annex-VI 323](#_Toc173764974)

[Annex-VIII 341](#_Toc173764976)

**LIST OF TABLES**

Table 4.1: [Gender of Respondents 103](#_Toc173494369)

Table 4.2: [Age of Respondents 104](#_Toc173494370)

Table 4.3: [Academic Qualification of Respondents 105](#_Toc173494371)

Table 4.4: [Profession of Respondents 106](#_Toc173494372)

Table 4.5: [Journalist's View on Media Accountability and State Influence 108](#_Toc173494373)

Table 4.6: [Journalist Views on Ethical Standards and Editorial Independence 111](#_Toc173494374)

Table 4.7: [Pressure to Media Activists from Authorities 114](#_Toc173494375)

Table 4.8: [Journalist's Views Regarding the Circumstance During Insurgency 116](#_Toc173494376)

Table 4.9: [Journalist's Views on Media's Impact and Role During Conflict 119](#_Toc173494377)

Table 4.10: [Ruling of Nation’s Privately held Broadsheets during Insurgency 122](#_Toc173494378)

Table 4.11: [Journalist's Views on Civil Society and Media Influence 123](#_Toc173494379)

Table 4.12: [Journalist's Views on Link Between Media Professionals and Political Activists 125](#_Toc173494380)

Table 4.13: [Journalist's View on Media's Contribution to Peace Process 127](#_Toc173494381)

Table 4.14: [Public Sensitivity and Accountability 129](#_Toc173494382)

Table 4.15: [Responses Regarding Media Landscape from the Professional Intellectuals 132](#_Toc173494383)

Table 4.16: [Priorities of news in Nepali Media 134](#_Toc173494384)

Table 4.17: [Response of Professional Intellectuals Regarding Conflict and Political Instability 137](#_Toc173494385)

Table 4.18: [Cause of Conflict in mid-1990 in Nepal 141](#_Toc173494386)

Table 4.19: [Response of Professional Intellectuals Regarding Public Grievances 142](#_Toc173494387)

Table 4.20: [Government-Media Relationship 144](#_Toc173494388)

Table 4.21: [Media and Informed Citizenship 146](#_Toc173494389)

Table 4.22: [Reasons for the Maoists' Electoral victory in Constituent Assembly-I 149](#_Toc173494390)

Table 4.23: [Reasons for electoral defeat of Maoists in Constituent Assembly-II 151](#_Toc173494391)

Table 5.1: [Reasons of Media's Declining Impact on Public 182](#_Toc173494392)

Table 5.2: [Responses of PACSMs Regarding Media Coverage and Bias 185](#_Toc173494393)

Table 5.3: [The Reasons of Important and Noteworthy News Ignored in Nepali Media 188](#_Toc173494394)

Table 5.4: [Regional Focus and Coverage Disparities 190](#_Toc173494395)

Table 5.5: [Responses of Professional Intellectuals Regarding the contents since 12-points Understanding 192](#_Toc173494396)

Table 6.1: [Responses on Media and Civil Society in Political Transformation 212](#_Toc173494397)

Table 6.2: [Degree of connectivity between political leaders and general public 214](#_Toc173494398)

Table 6.3: [Response of PACSM's Regarding Media Freedom and State Interference 216](#_Toc173494399)

Table 6.4: [Responses of PACSM regarding Media's Influences on Political Agendas 219](#_Toc173494400)

Table 6.5: [Correlation between Journalists, Political Activists, Civil Society Members and Professional Intellectuals 222](#_Toc173494401)

Table 6.6: [Correlation with Gender 223](#_Toc173494402)

Table 6.7: [Correlation with Academic Qualification 225](#_Toc173494403)

Table 6.8: [Correlation with Profession 227](#_Toc173494404)

Table 6.9: [Correlation with Age 229](#_Toc173494405)

**LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework ………………………………………………… ....21

**NEPALI MEDIA IN POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION**

**IN NEPAL**

**A Dissertation**

**Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences**

**Tribhuvan University in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the**

**Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)**

**in**

**Journalism and Mass Communication**

**Submitted by:**

**Umakanta Bhoortel**

**PhD Roll No.: 23 / 071 (2014 A.D)**

**July 2024**

# ABSTRACT

Political transformation is a complex process often driven by media’s influence in shaping public opinion and setting agendas for political discourse. In Nepal, the transition from a monarchy to a federal democratic republic involved significant media engagement, which played a crucial role in the political upheaval. Media acts as both a reflector of political tensions and a catalyst for change, impacting the transformation by mobilizing public support and fostering democratic dialogue. This study examines the role of Nepali media in this transformative period, focusing on its impact, challenges, and contributions to political transformation and the peace process.

Over recent decades, Nepal has undergone profound political changes, transitioning from monarchy to a federal democratic republic. Despite the essential role of media in these democratic processes, its effectiveness has been questioned due to issues such as media bias, ownership concentration, and political influence. This research seeks to explore how Nepali media influenced the political transformation, the challenges it faced, and the interactions among journalists, civil society members, and political parties.

The main objective of this study is to analyze the role of Nepali media in the country's political transformation. To achieve this, the research employs a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, including semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders, content analysis of media coverage, and surveys to gauge public perceptions. The study uses an exploratory descriptive design to provide an in-depth understanding of media’s impact on political transformation. Data collection involves reviewing existing literature, conducting primary interviews, and analyzing media content of broadsheet dailies from various periods. The research also assesses the validity and reliability of findings through triangulation and member checking.

The findings reveal that Nepali media played a pivotal role in shaping political discourse and public opinion during the conflict and subsequent transition. Media coverage of political unrest was prominent, significantly influencing public perception and political priorities. The Nepali press demonstrated a serious commitment to aiding the peace process, particularly during times of conflict and political upheaval. Media outlets served as mediators by disseminating information from all sides of disputes and facilitating dialogue among conflicting parties. Despite challenges and marginalization by other participants in the peace process, journalists actively engaged in civil society-led movements and played a significant role in advocating for political changes necessary for media freedom and peace. Despite challenges such as censorship and pressure from authorities, Nepali media, particularly dailies and weeklies, contributed significantly to shaping public opinion, advocating for democracy, and fostering a conducive environment for political transformation, albeit with varying degrees of objectivity and alignment with different political ideologies. The study highlights that while media coverage often emphasized conflict stories, it also facilitated dialogue and advocated for democratic values, impacting the peace process and democratic engagement. The study also focuses that if the media were to play a pro-democratic and pro-transformative role effectively, the components of society and nation would play the role of agents in change.

However, media bias and ownership concentration emerged as significant barriers to the media’s effectiveness. Concentrated ownership often resulted in limited diversity of perspectives and increased susceptibility to political and economic influences. These issues compromised the impartiality of media coverage and undermined its role in promoting democratic values and political stability.

Stakeholder perceptions revealed a complex interplay between media, civil society, and political actors. Journalists and activists faced numerous challenges, including political pressures and safety concerns, yet they remained crucial in advocating for democratic values and supporting the peace process. Political parties exhibited mixed reactions to media coverage, utilizing it to advance their agendas while critiquing perceived biases.

The study concludes that Nepali media's role in political transformation was multifaceted, influencing public opinion and democratic engagement while facing significant challenges. Media coverage played a dual role, reflecting political tensions and catalyzing change, but was often undermined by biases and ownership issues. To enhance the media's contribution to democratic processes and peace-building, it is essential to address media bias, diversify ownership, and support journalistic integrity. Recommendations include improving media independence, strengthening media advocacy, and fostering collaboration among media, civil society, and political actors. Further research should address gaps such as longitudinal studies on media impact, in-depth analysis of media bias, and comparative studies with other countries in transition.

# Key words: Political Transformation, Nepali Media, Democratic republic, Media Bias, Peace-Building

# 

# CHAPTER-I

# INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background

Political transformation is the process undertaken to build a new democratic and equitable regime free from the legacy of discrimination, economic exploitation, and political authoritarianism (Bhattarai, 2014). Media have an effective responsibility to educate people, to shape their attitude on a particular issue so that the public may launch forward towards progressive change. “Information media have an important role in education, social and economic progress”, (Schramm, 1978). He further explains that it is a collective effort to consolidate urban and rural policies, with an emphasis on institutionalizing civil society and state institutions.

Huntington (1991) says political change occurs when the rulers in a country lose power or the type of governance in the country changes. Governance is the type of system used to rule a country. “This bears three sub-stages while a nation is in transitional stage; transformation, substitution, and trans placement (p. 114).” Each country has its own way in terms of political transformation. In this matter, Hayoz & Dafflon (2014) say that twenty-five years have passed since the breakdown of the Soviet Union, and each of the three south Caucasian republics has gone its own way in terms of political transformation (p.195).

In transitional societies, Pye (1966) forewarns that there may be a severe crisis of authority since every attempt at rule is contested by many individuals for various reasons, and no leader is able to fully control lawful authority (p. 64). Hayoz & Dafflon (2014) argue that issues such as the influence of religion on political behavior, the development of civil society or the role of kinship networks matter more in political transformation (p. 196-198).

In some cases, political transformation is a process and means for changing society and in others it implies an end. So, the terminology is relative. In world phenomena, it is never ending process as it runs from the Stone Age to this highly capitalized materialist age, but it can be considered as an end in the case of a particular country (Bhattarai, 2014). Political transformation means overall transformation. It is a collective of social, cultural, and economic transformation. The State itself with its powerful organs and constitutional bodies try to maintain the status quo by its nature. But there are different changing agents, among which the media is prominent one, which always want to break the condition of status quo and seek a new environment so that they play a vital role in political transformation (Bhattarai, 2014).

Mostly the non-state actors like civil society, institutions like NGOs, INGOs, economic corporations, people themselves as political parties, in terms of ethnic and religious groups can play significant roles in political transformation. Among the others, the media is considered a vigorous means in political transformation. Media is an agenda setter of public interests, watchdog of democracy, change seeker, forum for people's discourse, source of information, public informer, and voice of voiceless (Kharel, 2012). Media is an awareness creator too. The wakefulness, in the short interval of time, of the Nepali people has increased tremendously because of the developed mass media and communication system compared to the past.

In the case of Nepal, as the nation engaged in a decade-long violent Maoist conflict, the latest political transformation has hugely accompanied conflict transformation. Therefore, conflict management in this underdeveloped country was heavily demanded for political transformation.

Bhattarai (2014) says,

The rule of science is where there is exploitation-the rebellion is eminent; where there is rebellion-the counter rebellion is confirmed; where there is counter rebellion-the explosion is guaranteed; where there is explosion-the destruction is expected; where there is destruction-the re-construction should definitely take place. These are the cycles of nature.

If there is any kind of exploitation in any type of society or nation, it creates insurgency. Insurgency advances into counter insurgency that brings destruction accompanied with reconstruction. It means even exploitation serves the society for its development. The conflict, security and development are interrelated to each other for political stability of a country.

The role of the media became further crucial in such a critical rebellious situation. Non-governmental institutions and agencies of the nation such as political parties, civil society and the media have a cooperative and suggestive role to settle the dispute between the two warring parties. In addition to its co-operative role in the peace process, there was some debatable and commercial media role that hampered the process's dynamism and speed. If the media were to play a pro-democratic and pro-transformative role effectively, the components of society and nation would play the role of agents in change.

While conveying news and views, the media’s awareness could serve to settle the wrangles rather than energize them. When media play a positive role in disseminating information as a way of mediating between the state and the insurgents, fruitful result will be in hand. Constructive criticism of the media can be expected, unless the blind support. While the nation is in a transitional phase, the necessity of media is like water in dearth (Kharel, 2012).

The media have an inherent obligation to carry out the responsibility of consolidating democracy while it is in the transitional phase, with the prospect of a fourth estate, watchdog of democracy and public informer (Pal, 2008). He further adds that in this regard, the fair attempt of the media should be free from the domain of government, politics, and media owners. The editorial independence has separate significance in print journalism.

Media exaggerated the facts and figures of incidents in some events and diminished in others. The public has been misguided by these two tricks. It is widely accepted that "selective information is misinformation". This is not journalistic ethics. The first and foremost principle of journalistic ethics is to discover the truth, report it as objectively as possible and safeguard the sources used to gather facts (Puri, 2007).

According to G.K. Puri in Puri (2007), all that journalistic ethics expect from journalists is that they should be fair and impartial. A journalist should not be tilted to a dispute at any side. If both sides criticize a story, a journalist can take it that he did both sides justice. Neutrality is an important media attribute to putting the expected role into practice. But in Nepali journalism practice, news matters or the product of the journalist openly tilted to one side just like a mouthpiece of any political party or like a particular person 's parental property (Kharel, 2012). A journalist's primary duty is to collect the facts, discover and develop the news and impartially disseminate the news. When the media became partisan and politically motivated, then the media's role and responsibility would become questionable.

As in the rest of the world, big media houses, corporate media in Nepal control, direct and manage the information flood and manipulate media contents for their strategic and other commercial interests. This is the fact most scholars fail to reveal. In many cases and regions, the media is monopolizing itself. There are some media conglomerates in every major world market such as Rupert Murdoch in UK and Australia, Jeff Bezos in USA, Carlos Slim in Latin America, Leonardo Del Vecchio in Italy and so on who own newspapers, book publishers, radio stations, cable companies, or television licenses, trying to control the dissemination of news, views, and information. Kantipur Media Group (KMG) is the best examples of this type in Nepal as it operates broadsheet daily, monthly magazine, Television and Radio.

In the same way, the political domain, mainly the government, tries to operate the media as per their wish and interests. (Pal, 2008) explains, “If the government is by the men who have ignored public participation, and preferred to remain with the privileged few, it gives the message that democracy is in the hands of so-called elites, and not by people in general. In this situation, the media have to provide space for diverse opinion to portray flaws of democracy and empower the public with important information in order to eliminate the imperfections and prove that they are the backbone of democracy.”

When the consciousness of Nepali people was raised, their aspirations went up to the sky.  Media should rightly address such aspirations and pay sincere responsibility towards their society. Mahatma Gandhi once said, “The restoration of free speech, free associations and free press is almost the whole of Sworaj (Gandhi & Dalton, 1996). Journalistic work, since it is highly valuable and sensible too, is for the prosperity of the people and the nation.

There are certain principles of journalism. Without obeying and applying such principles properly, one cannot pay the responsibility towards the society. When summarized numerous principles of journalism, they can be confined as ‘ABC’, that is, accuracy, balance and credibility. Mahatma Gandhi as above emphasized on the service of spirit, which is directed towards social responsibility and public welfare.

Today's society or people have become 'newspaper or media addicts.' Even a day's strike by the newspaper or media industry upsets the readers or consumers' daily routines. They feel like they've lost or missed something. And they miss a lot, no doubt (Lane, 2007). So, media's attention and contribution to such crazy consumers, in response is to be analyzed. The media’s service and journalists’ duty towards the respective society should be discussed (Kharel, 2012).

Politics is an ongoing and never-ending process. But political process and political activities are merely for the nation and people and not for the particular individual and certain political party. Just like media conglomerates and advertisers, government and political parties also try to impose their vested interests.

Nepali people have participated in different kinds of political movements thinking that the country's situation would change in a positive direction. Positive change for which they have struggled over the past many years has proved to be distrustful and inconsistent in terms that are beginning to fail before they can consolidate. The reasons that the situation of the nation is stagnant should be analyzed. After a decade long armed struggle and nineteen days long massive people’s movement 2062-2063 BS, there seemed to be some hopes and results in Nepali political arena. But the transitional period was becoming too long. Political instability was still very strong. Then it was necessitous to discuss the role of the media to settle down this instability in politics and to shorten this transitional period. Any coordination and cooperation between the media industry and political domain to resolve such turmoil should be expounded. There should be trust of citizens to media and politics to overcome such uproar in the nation. The sincereness and honesty of all concerned authorities, organizations, political parties, and media practitioners should be scrutinized.

The perception of the people that certain publications are biased may have a negative effect on the whole of journalism. While the public demands that the press question the politicians, there is public dissatisfaction when bad news is reported due to public distrust of news and as a "kill the messenger syndrome” (Lane, 2007). The public will sometimes assume that all media are the same and when one publication is guilty of inaccurate or biased news it can hurt all media. But any political coverage cannot be wholly free of opinion or objectivity. When it comes to covering politics, the media is forced to make decisions about who to interview, what quotes and facts to select and how to interpret information.  By running articles with "colorful, value-laden adjectives and adverbs" (Lane, 2007) and calling the piece an analysis, media outlets use the selection process to adopt their own policies. While it is difficult to assess whether some publications consistently have the same political positions and how they maintain those positions, it is a mixture of selective recruitment and internal expectations.

All journalists are the product of corresponding societies, they have their own political and societal visions, attitudes and views so that journalists today have an agenda and are influenced by their publications. But every journalist shouldn't forget social responsibility at this junction (Bhattacharya, 2000). So, if a journalist discovers any truth while reporting facts, surely, he should refer to it. In that fact, every journalist should be careful that no journalist has the right to presume events will turn out exactly as he wishes.

In another sense, there are certain political agendas for media publications. Political leaders, media practitioners and other associated individuals and organizations should try to maintain a harmonious relationship among themselves. This academic research would have produced some demanding and fruitful results to play a powerful and enthusiastic role in the fields of media and politics in settling down political instability and ending the peace process in the logical end. The role that the media play in transferring politics in has been assessed here. The study has been focused on scanning media industry and political sector merits and demerits, benefits and disadvantages while applying their efforts to solve existing nation-wide problems.

Because of their relationship the study explores the causes. This study analyzes the trend, practice, interest and constraint of the Nepali print media regarding the political transformation of the particular period. Here, the period selected from 12-points Understanding to the election of the second Constituent Assembly is mostly the period of conflict, political instability, dispute within and among the political parties and various ethnic groups. So, the political transformation of that time is a transformation of conflict, debate, quarrel, disagreement or struggle. So, it is exactly the ‘Conflict Transformation’.

“The freedom of the press was expressed as institutional control throughout the nineteenth century. It was dubbed ‘Watchdog of democracy' as a joke (Thomas, 2006).” The media sector will prosper in a transparent and democratic climate. Democracy and the press have an integral partnership here. Creating friendly environments, the free press and 'true' democracy move together. “You can’t have real newspapers without democracy, and you can’t have democracy without newspapers (Potter, 2006).”

If the media is to fulfill its job as a watchdog and evaluate official performances fairly, it must obviously be free from governmental control and interference. The media also abuses its authority if freedom is interpreted as the ability to pursue commercial gains at the expense of supporting wealthy interests and while neglecting the plight of the underprivileged and destitute. Since the impoverished make up the majority of the population in a Third World country, the tension between profit and social duty is particularly acute (Bhattacharya, 2000). Klapper (1960) emphasizes that investigative reporting on government actions is necessary. To maintain public trust and amplify public concerns, they should perform their duties. The mass media are crucial in these contemporary countries for advancing democracy and aiding in the process of political transformation.

The English scholars explain that there is strong relationship between the media and democracy. A true democracy requires freedom, participation, information and responsibility (Christian D. & Armstrong, 2004). The media must display their freedom with accountability and responsibility through following truth to empower public. They inform public on diverse topics like economy, corruption, social justice and malfeasance perpetrated by elected officials and power elite. The public always expects and accredits this job of media (Baran & Davis, 2002). A free press has long been described as the "oxygen" of democracy, according to Potter (2006), because the one cannot exist without other.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Over the past few decades, Nepal has seen a profound political upheaval, characterized by the country's move from a monarchy to a federal democratic republic. The Nepali media has played a crucial role in influencing political discourse, forming public opinion, and promoting democratic engagement in this dynamic political context. Nonetheless, the influence of Nepali media on the process of political transformation continues to be a complicated and diverse matter.

Even though the media is essential to democratic processes, there are a number of issues and doubts regarding how well it works to influence political transformation in Nepal. Concerns over media bias, media ownership concentration, the power of political parties and other special interests, and the general independence and trustworthiness of media organizations are a few of these. Furthermore, how appropriately media play the role in the political transformation process through addressing and shaping the people’s aspirations, and perceptions, informing and advocating the public about the necessity of changes, mediating the warring parties, and assisting in settling down the disputes in an agreeable way. How effectively media perform the duty in favor of public. If we ask questions what journalism is for and what politics is for. The answer is the same for both the questions; that is “for the people” (Wright, 2008).

The following issues are the focus of this investigation: What impact has the media in Nepal had on the country's political transformation? What are the main obstacles that the media must overcome in order to perform its function in a democracy? What impact do media contents have on the Nepali political landscape? What was the interrelationship among working journalists, civil society members and political parties on the line in reinforcing the nation’s peace process? Through examining these issues, the research hopes to offer a thorough grasp of how the media and politics interact in Nepal and pinpoint possible areas for development in order to maximize the media's contribution to democratic processes and political transformation.

## 1.3 Research Questions

The following research questions are designed to study, examine and analyze the role of media in political transformation in Nepal:

1. What part did Nepali media play in the political turmoil and 10-year struggle that the nation experienced?
2. Why did conflict stories feature as top stories and banner news in Nepali daily media during the period of political unrest as an effort to foster the peace process?
3. How did the Nepali journalists, social activists, and political parties play the role to reinforce the country’s peace process?

To dig out above queries and questions, there is strong need to analyze the Nepali media system, their role as watchdogs, independent Fourth Estate, voice of voiceless, source of public information, service towards the society and nation. So, this study has tried to find out the answers on the above research questions.

## 1.4 Objectives

The general objective of the study is to find out the role of media in political transformation in Nepal. However, other specific objectives are as follows:

1. To study the role of Nepali media in the country's ten-year war and political unrest.
2. To examine the media contents in banner news and top stories about political issues and their consistency from 12-point Understandings to election of second constituent assembly.
3. To analyze perceptions of Nepali journalists, members of civil society, and political parties to fortify and reinforce the country's peace process.

The objectives, here, are set to examine proportional and reciprocal relationship between media and politics in terms of solving existing political instability of the country carrying the peace process into meaningful end.

## 1.5 Rationale of the Study

The rationale for this study on the role of Nepali media in political transformation is multifaceted, grounded in the need to understand and enhance the media's contribution to democratic processes, political transformation and peace-building in Nepal. Below are the key reasons for conducting this research.

The Nepali media has played a pivotal role in the country’s transition from a monarchy to a federal democratic republic. This transition involved a decade-long conflict and subsequent political upheavals, making it crucial to understand how media influenced public opinion, political discourse, and democratic engagement. Examining this role provides insights into the media’s effectiveness in fostering democratic values and stabilizing the political environment.

Previous research has highlighted the importance of media in political processes but has often lacked longitudinal analyses, detailed examinations of media bias and ownership, and in-depth stakeholder perspectives. This study aims to fill these gaps by exploring the media's role across different phases of Nepal's political transformation, analyzing the impact of media bias and ownership concentration, and incorporating the experiences and perceptions of journalists, civil society members, and political actors.

Media bias and ownership concentration are critical issues that can affect the impartiality and effectiveness of media. Understanding these factors is essential for ensuring that media can fulfill its democratic role without undue influence from political or economic elites. This study addresses these concerns by investigating how bias and ownership issues have impacted media coverage and political stability in Nepal.

Media advocacy for democratic values and peace-building is recognized, but its effectiveness in achieving tangible political outcomes has not been thoroughly assessed. This study evaluates how media campaigns have impacted public awareness and engagement, and whether they have translated into concrete political changes. This evaluation is important for developing more effective media strategies and policies.

The media’s role in peace-building during and after the conflict is a critical area of study. Understanding how media coverage has influenced reconciliation efforts and long-term stability can provide valuable insights into how media can support peace processes. This research aims to explore both the successes and limitations of media in facilitating dialogue and reconciliation.

By identifying the challenges and opportunities faced by Nepali media, this study offers practical recommendations for enhancing media independence, promoting journalistic integrity, and supporting effective media advocacy. These recommendations are intended to guide policymakers, media professionals, and civil society in improving media practices and strengthening democratic processes.

This study contributes to the broader understanding of media's role in political transformation, particularly in contexts of significant political change. By examining Nepal’s experience, the research provides insights that can inform media strategies and policies in other countries undergoing similar transitions.

The rationale for this study is grounded in the need to comprehensively understand the role of media in political transformation, address existing research gaps, and provide practical recommendations for enhancing media effectiveness in promoting democracy and peace. By exploring these aspects, the study aims to contribute valuable knowledge and insights to the field of media and political science.

## 1.6 Limitations of the Study

There are mainly two types of media: Print media and electronic media. Print media basically comprise Books, Newspapers and Magazines. Electronic media can be studied by dividing into three types: Broadcasting, Film and Online. Under the class of broadcasting media, there are two types: Radio and Television.

The vast genres of mass media and extensive publications and broadcasts are beyond the capacity of an academic researcher to evaluate in depth in terms of time, manpower, and budget. So, this situation has forced the researcher to utilize limited time and sources.  To make the research successful and fruitful, a small but important size of newspapers has chosen hoping that this sample size will ideally represent the rest of the media. Among the heap of media, this research paper has focused on only two broadsheets Nepali ‘Kantipur’ and ‘Naya Patrika’ and one English- ‘The Rising Nepal’ dailies. There is a wide accepted perception that Kantipur represents democratic wing and Naya Patrika stands for leftists’ whereas The Rising Nepal is government owned paper in English language. So, these three papers are purposively chosen for this study. The study has conducted only in the selected and pre-determined time especially from 12-points understandings to election of second constituent assembly.

There are numerous aspects such as political, economic, educational, health, and sports, scientific, filmy and so on to cover by the media. But due to limitation of time and resource factors, anticipation of the research, the study has concentrated on the coverage in political domain of specific time covered by chosen media. Only some political parties and leaders, media practitioners and social activists as per the requirements of the study, has taken under consideration due to resource constraint.

Also, due to the vast number of population and intermingled study areas, the research has surveyed in limited domain especially media field and political domain with certain persons mostly of capital city.

## 1.7 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework simply defines the parameters under which the concept is designed and projected to strengthen the complete range of the subject matter. Bhattarai (2014) says that the framework incorporates significant variables to be tested by logical reasoning so as to develop a theory for future reference (p. 3).

Any structure consists of blocks. Likewise, conceptual framework is also a structure for the research directed towards developed roadmap based on the experience of others. The structural framing may be different depending upon the type of research as such. For example, concepts may be symbolized as ends plus, ways plus, means plus and balance/law of nature plus (Khand, 2010).

The ends mean objectives, which should be set at the beginning of the any research work that is accompanied by the ways. The Ways denote process or methodology to be adopted for the research development. The ways should be followed by means. The means mean the resources. The resources like time; money; physical fitness; literatures like books, journals, newspapers; manpower and others are necessary to complete the research. Over to these, the balance among the ends, ways, and means are necessary to implement the research successfully. In different words, once the ends are concluded, the ways to achieve such ends in the form of means need to be specified. The ends and ways are to be supported by the means in the form of various resources.

The conceptual framework for this study revolves around the interaction between media and political transformation, particularly in the context of Nepal's transition from a monarchy to a federal democratic republic. This framework is designed to explore how media can influence political transformation and how various factors impact this influence. This conceptual framework for the research on the role of Nepali media in political transformation can be designed to address the complex interplay between media, politics, and societal change. Here's a structured conceptual framework based on the provided details.

**Media Influence on Political Transformation**

This area focuses on how media reporting, framing, and content affected the political environment during the conflict and transformation period. **Role of Media in political unrest** investigates how media coverage shaped public perception and influenced the political landscape during the 10-year conflict. It assesses the impact of media in mobilizing public opinion, providing a platform for various voices, and potentially escalating or de-escalating conflicts.

**Media content analysis** examines the portrayal of conflict stories in Nepali media, particularly focusing on how these stories were framed, the frequency of coverage, and their role in the peace process. It Evaluates the consistency and impact of these narratives on public opinion and political discourse. **Media as a democratic tool** assesses the role of media in fostering democratic engagement by informing the public, encouraging political participation, and advocating for necessary changes. It analyzes how media coverage contributed to shaping the democratic framework and the public’s expectations from the political system.

**Barriers and Challenges for Media**

This examines internal and external challenges faced by media in fulfilling its role in the transformation process, including bias, ownership concentration, and credibility issues. **Media bias and ownership** explore issues related to media bias, ownership concentration, and the influence of political parties and special interests. Investigate how these factors affected the impartiality and effectiveness of media in contributing to political transformation. **Independence and credibility** evaluate the level of independence and trustworthiness of Nepali media organizations. Assess how perceived or real biases impact their role in democratic processes and the overall political transformation.

**Interaction Among Key Stakeholders**

This part analyses the collaborative and conflicting roles of journalists, civil society members, and political parties in advancing or hindering the peace process and political stability. **Role of Journalists, social activists, and political parties** analyzes the interactions among journalists, civil society members, and political parties. It assesses how these groups collaborated or conflicted in their efforts to support the peace process and political stability.

**Impact on peace process** investigates how media coverage and stakeholder interactions influenced the peace process and the formation of democratic institutions. It evaluates the effectiveness of media in mediating conflicts and promoting a peaceful resolution.

**Outcome of Media's Role**

This assesses the effectiveness and impact of media efforts on achieving peace and a democratic governance structure in Nepal. **Contribution to peace and democracy** determines the overall impact of media on the political transformation, peace process, and democratization of Nepal. Assess whether media efforts aligned with or diverged from the goals of achieving a stable and democratic governance system.

By using this framework, the research has explored how media contributed to or hindered political transformation and identified areas for improvement to enhance its role in democratic processes.

**Diagram of Conceptual Framework**

Here’s a visual representation of the conceptual framework. The following figure has presented the conceptual framework of this study:

Discrimination

Poverty

Injustice

Inequity

Landlessness

States Exclusionary Character

Unemployment

Corruption

Media

Civil Society

Political Parties

General Public

Social Justice

Good Governance

Democracy

Development

Causes

Means Means

Outputs

Peace

Prosperity

## 

## 1.8 Organization of the Study

The study has organized and designed in following seven chapters:

Chapter I: The first chapter has comprised the introduction to the research area. Background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives, limitations and conceptual framework of the study has presented in this chapter.

Chapter II: Literature review of past works has presented and explained in this chapter.

Chapter III: The methodology of the study has presented in details in this chapter.

Chapter IV: Analysis of data and their presentation about the role of media in political transformation has organized in this chapter.

Chapter V: Analysis and presentation of collected data about media contents and their consistency has presented in this chapter.

Chapter VI: Perceptions of Nepali journalists, social activists and political parties have discussed and analyzed in this chapter using the distinct methodological tools.

Chapter VII: In this chapter, summery, conclusions and recommendations for future research have presented.

# CHAPTER-II

# REVIEW OF LITERATURES

There are many research works about media and politics. This chapter has reviewed many valuable works, literatures, concepts, and theories advocated by the scholars, authors and theorists in the past. The important elements and facts related to media and communication, politics, politicized media, mediated politics, democracy, political transformation, conflict transformation, social responsibility, and social justice are intensively studied and discussed here. It had been collected and gone through some books, articles, journals, Webpages, and newsletters etc. available nationally and internationally as well.

A review of selected literatures on media and political transformation has presented below.

## 2.1 Universal Concept of Political Transformation

Political transformation means overall transformation. It is a collective of social, cultural, and economic transformation. The State itself with its powerful organs and constitutional bodies try to maintain the status quo by its nature. But there are different changing agents, among which the media is prominent one, which always want to break the condition of status quo and seek a new environment so that they play a vital role in political transformation.

Mostly the non-state actors like civil society, institutions like NGOs, INGOs, economic corporations, people themselves as political parties, in terms of ethnic and religious groups can play significant roles in political transformation.

**Four Principles of Political Transformation**

Many scholars forwarded principles of political transformation differently putting the political change component and democracy in forefront. Scholar Marianne Williamson (2019) puts the principles of political transformation as below:

**Anything is Possible**

Even a single burning matchstick can destroy the large forests. If an opinion created by few is appropriate for the society and nation, it will alter in inevitable ideology. Williamson (2019) adds, “Hardly, social change emerges from a small group of people. Only later does the manifestation of their ideas seem to have been inevitable.” Even though conservative establishment or the status-quoists are well equipped financially and materially than those who put forward the revolutionary ideas, eventually revolutionaries win because of their conviction. Williamson (2019) further argues, “Their winning edge is conviction. Conviction is a force multiplier creates greater power than any amount of money or institutional authority.” Whole-hearted insurgents were a force multiplier during a decade long people’s war.

**Democr**acy-more than a political system

Williamson (2019) says democracy as more than a political system: it’s an evolutionary step forward for the human race. It isn’t just our right, but also our responsibility, to protect our democracy when it’s threatened and expand it where its scope is limited.

Williamson (2019) adds Generally, politics has been an ongoing contest between those seeking to expand the practice of democracy and those seeking to diminish to come. In the course of democratization, the political transformation of a society or a country becomes completed. Nurturing the democracy means transforming the society.

## Self-discipline- a key factor

Self-criticism is an apparatus to maintain self-discipline. One can find the alternative ways and ideas exercising emotional self-discipline. Williamson (2019) says, “Personal negativity expressed towards individuals carrying the banner of the corporatocracy diminishes our power to create the alternative. Many of the people we must disagree with are using the role of democracy no differently we are and have a right to do so.”

## Reject the Propaganda that Someone else’s Wins is Inevitable

Every system of governance is changeable. There is not anything that is immortal. If anyone thinks he/she is absolute and inevitable, that’s wrong. Williamson (2019) says, “There were many who said we could never abolish slavery, that women would never get the right to vote and gays would never be allowed to marry.”

## 2.2 Politics and Political Transformation

Politics is the science or art of government or governing of an entity. The best-known example of this entity is a nation of people. It means we can say that politics is for the people and for the nation. It should command every walk of life as per the need of nation and people. By politics we understand any human interaction that involves power transactions, the ranking and distribution of significant goods, the mobilization of support, the organization of stability as well as instability, and decision-making for collectivities that includes the construction of—or resistance to—political plans and visions (Freeden, 2006).

Political change occurs when the rulers in a country lose power or the type of governance in the country changes. Governance is the type of system used to rule a country. “This bears three sub-stages while a nation is in transitional stage; transformation, substitution, and transplacement (Huntington, 1991, p. 114).” Each country has its own way in terms of political transformation. In this matter, Hayoz & Dafflon (2014) says that twenty-five years have passed since the breakdown of the Soviet Union, and each of the three south Caucasian republics has gone its own way in terms of political transformation (p.195).

In transitional societies, Pye (1966) forewarns that there may be a severe crisis of authority since every attempt at rule is contested by many individuals for various reasons, and no leader is able to fully control lawful authority (Pye, 1966, p. 64). Hayoz & Dafflon (2014) argue that issues such as the influence of religion on political behavior, the development of civil society or the role of kinship networks matter more in political transformation (p.196-198).  In transitional societies, the struggle for authority and control is intensified due to contested rule and weak lawful authority, while factors like religion, civil society development, and kinship networks play a crucial role in shaping political transformation.

## 2.3 Nepali Media in Political Transformation

After the introduction of democracy in 1951 and until 1958, about 200 newspapers and periodicals initiated, registered and came into the market. Within or outside country (Press Council, 2049). Relatively competitive climate provides favorable conditions for media proliferation. Devkota (1988) observes that political uncertainty and unfair rivalry among the numerous political parties were the cause of this development. During this time, newspapers had come to represent the slogan of different political parties. The rise and fall of a political figure had led to the birth and death of a newspaper.

Most of the country's newspapers publishing activities during the 1951 to 1960 period were closely related to political parties. Publications had started to be viewed as the mouthpieces of some political parties. Most of the newspapers began propagating Nepali Congress politics and some of them worked for Communist parties. Although the partisan inclination during the period from 1951 to 1960 was clearly seen in Nepali newspapers, that was the period of free press (Regmi & Khanal, 2002).

Arayl (2016) states that in 1960, when King Mahendra dissolved the parliament and assured affirmative power, growth in the number of newspapers came to a sudden halt (p. 43). The abolition of the multiparty system in 1960 and the advent of the party less Panchayat system had a significant influence on the polarized political culture of the 1950s and on the media that followed (Ghimire S. , 2000).

Nepali press has started to assume a part of legitimate opposition after the royal takeover in 1960. Journalists and students filled up the void by protesting and condemning government wrongdoings. In Nepal, the press played a unique role as an agent of change and social consciousness (Pandey, 1998).

Baral (1975) states,

That a lot of newspapers had dared fight for change and democracy. Nepali press played an opposition role during the three decades-long Panchayat period, while all political parties had been outlawed. Although the political climate was not compatible with public recognition of the citizens and free expression did not exist during the Panchayat regime, by struggling hard, newspapers, especially the weeklies, were able to raise the opposition 's voice (p.178).

Pandey (1998) argues even in the hard days Nepali journalists actively engaged and fulfilled their duties of informing people from rural villages as well as living in the capital. Public’s heartfelt support for the position of the media and appreciation of pen power, media workers worked hardly with enthusiasm. Nepali journalism was in a distinct mission of political freedom during the politically banned era, and they did the mission journalism well. Aryal (2016) states that media, in Nepal before 1990, was practically coursed with the ambition to bring change to society. It wasn't a professional move but a mission for the journalists.

Kharel (2012) explains that whereas the Nepali media justified ‘mission journalism’ during the 30 years of the panchayat regime as a means to defeat the party less rule, it continues to persist on the same path also after 1990 that marked the restoration of multiparty democracy.

Ghimire (2000) argues that the papers registered in 1970 played an important role in setting the framework for the 1979 political upheaval. They were exerting momentum to increase people's awareness of democratic rights (p. 58). Aryal (2016) explains that the media again retained the ability to start and sustain dialogs and discourses during the referendum on the option of political system (p. 45). In the wake of these upheavals of 1975, the government put a ban on 11 dailies and some weeklies which were in favor of democratic reform (Nepal, 2014).

It clarifies the dangers connected to political system collapse or "instabilities relevant for possible innovation" (Deutsch, 1970, p. 217, as cited in Dahal, 2014).

“First time, the then king called a referendum to choose either the multi-party democracy or the 'Panchayat' non-party structure that existed in the country. This is the very critical role of the press in developing the confidence of the public for multi-party structure (Nepal, 2000).” He further adds the multi-party group obtained fewer votes against the Panchayat system. The media continued its attempts to get people primed for democracy. The media recorded key speeches by political figures, endorsed the democracy protests of students, and promoted public debate with pluralistic expression. Aryal (2016) states that following the declaration of the referendum, the Nepali media were legally empowered to offer varying perspectives and observations on current politics till polling day (p. 56). He adds the newspapers created an environment with the introduction and analysis of various points of view on socio-political matters that would encourage discussion between factions of pro-establishment and anti-establishment.

According to Aryal (2013), ‘Chhalphal’ carried a news story related to the state-sponsored attack on Girija Prasad Koirala, then General Secretary of Nepali Congress (p.108). Pandey (1998) states that for the first time in Nepal, 'Deshantar' weekly began a 12-page edition in a large scale (p. 74). The newspaper not only founded pro-democracy movement but also formed a connection between international activities and the political movement of Nepal.

Partisan newspapers, supported by many political parties, played the role of organizer and political promoter during the Panchayat system, in particular after the referendum. Nepal (2070) states that 'Deshantar' used to print news highlighting the government's irregularities under Panchayat rule and reporting even a very small news favorable to NC and the Communists. He adds it overtly supported the People’s movement of 1989-90.

Particularly in the absence of a legislative and legal protection of freedom of speech, newspapers published and edited between 1960 and 1990 by people loyal to NC and the Communist Parties established a kind of public domain on their pages and freely served the interests of political parties (Aryal, 2013). As there was only one broadsheet newspaper 'Gorkhapatra', one radio service 'Radio Nepal, and one Television service ‘Nepal Television’ all owned and operated by the government, the weeklies before 1990 were the only source of alternative-voice carriers. Ghimire (2000) senses that during this time, weeklies assumed their historic position by disseminating knowledge and ideas for restoring multiparty democracy and building an atmosphere that guarantees freedom of the press (p. 53).

Many weeklies developed strategic tactics to ventilate the barred parties' political practices and ideologies through news reporting. Nepal (2014) states that 'Samikshya' and 'Matribhumi' were both on the left stream between the famous weeklies (p. 147). According to Aryal (2016), Matribhumi weekly openly supported the pro-democratic movement in 1990. In a sense, the political weeklies were primarily a forum for dissenting voices and a motivator for democratic growth (p. 58). In reality they've done anti-status-quo support. ‘Deshantar’ and ‘Bimarsha’ along with ‘Drishti’ and many weeklies did their absolute best in the 1990 people 's campaign. Agitators used the newspapers as a powerful tool in this pro-democratic campaign (Dhakal, 2052 BS).

Pal (2008) argues,

The media continued their efforts to prepare people for democracy. The media reported on important speeches of democratic leaders, supported student’s democratic movements, and initiated mass debate with pluralistic voice. Nepali media performed two roles-firstly, convincing the public to fight against non-democratic regime; and secondly, accompanying them till democracy was reinstated (p.22).

Nepali journalists working for party organs in the post-1990 scenario either belong to the official state-run media institutions or are mouthpieces for political parties (Dixit, 1997). But when Nepali media move toward professionalism, they have promoted the tendency of informing and educating people. This is generally a positive sign because it helps raise awareness about different national and foreign issues among the masses (Khanal, 2001). IIDS (1996) expresses although the necessity for objectivity is always stressed theoretically, the Nepali press hardly matches that expectation (p. 137). There are more aligned papers than those which are non-aligned or independent.

Several anti-autocratic political movements were well backed and supported by Nepali media. Journalists were openly participated at the political rally, and Nepali media commanded rallies even in some cases. “The press had led many of the protests. Today, the press has had to bear the blame for it. If impunity is to be examined minutely, the press is also in the category of those who stimulated the people to defy the law of the State” (Gaunle, 2011).

Nepal 's Constitution, 1990 first recognized in the country the professional rights of media practitioners (Birahi, 2060 BS, p. 152). The 1990s witnessed print media booms and the communication network expanded rapidly; telephone connection per thousand increased from 3.1 in 1990 to 13.1 in 2001 (World Bank 2006, as cited in Khanal S., 2007; Lawoti & Pahari, 2010).

The relationship between politics and media in Nepal changed after 1990, owing to the political changes. Newspapers with an overt partisan leaning thus began to lose their earlier position as the mainstream press (Aryal, 2016, p. 75).

According to Parajulee (2000), political transformation in the decade of the 90s is multiphase. Phase one includes the 1990-1992 period. It includes the end of the party less Panchayat regime and absolute monarchy, the establishment of a multiparty democratic regime, the formulating of a new democratic constitution with two pillars of parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy, and the carrying of national and local elections (Parajulee, 2000, p. 15). He further adds that the second phase covers the 1992-1998 period, which includes Nepal 's efforts to consolidate the democracy.

Parajulee (2000) summarizes the 1990 political transformation as a struggle between the traditional forces represented by ruling elites and the modern forces represented by political parties and the middle class resulting in the successful shift from autocratic dictatorship to democratic politics (p. 120).

The process of the formation of social capital was the increasing media exposure in Nepal after 2007. This process ensures the country's democracy is sustained and consolidated. Political awareness and participation by the people are on the rise. People are more exposed to the media, and more involved with formal organizations. It is the media that informs people about recent political development and makes them participate in political discussions and political activities (Hachhethu, 2008).

Nepali media’s advocacy role continuously highlights this contradiction and supports the social struggle of people for justice, reconciliation and peace. Communication constructs ethical discourse as democratic principles are applied in their articulation in the process of shaping universal citizenship and human being and facilitates the transformation of nations into the nation-states (Dahal, 2014).

Lawoti (2012) maintains,

Traditionalists elite male academics who label themselves "democracy," "social," or "progressive," monitor and exploit their power to disseminate broadly conservative views and support the status quo agenda. Indeed, a host of high-powered media figures from that elite are among the leaders of the opposition to attempt to encourage greater state and social inclusiveness. By incomplete and selective distribution of news, such persons control popular opinion (p. 147).

The evolution of Nepali media from 1951 to the present reflects its critical role in political transformation and public discourse. Initially, newspapers proliferated as partisan tools, mirroring the political turbulence of the 1950s and 1960s. Despite the restrictive Panchayat regime (1960-1990), the media emerged as a key agent of opposition, advocating for democratic reforms and mobilizing public support. This period saw the media transitioning from being party mouthpieces to playing a pivotal role in the pro-democracy movement, especially during the 1990 referendum. Post-1990, the media's role shifted towards professional journalism and broader political education, though partisan influences persisted. Media exposure increased, enhancing political awareness and participation among citizens. Despite ongoing challenges, Nepali media continues to navigate between advocacy and professionalism, contributing to the consolidation of democracy and social change.

## 2.4 Maoists in Political Transformation

Prerequisites for the transformation of a rebel group into a legitimate political party find the parameters of Maoists in political transformation. A rebel group is most likely to transform into a political party when it has high levels of popular support, a high degree of internal cohesion, and its resource situation is such that transformation constitutes a rational economic choice (Klapdor, 2009, p. 9).

The reason why some rebel groups succeed in this endeavor and others do not, is contingent upon the presence or absence of three explanatory factors: first, the group’s degree of internal cohesion during the peace process; second, its level of popular support among the population at the time of the transition, and third, the degree of legitimacy the international community is willing to grant the rebels throughout the transition period (Soderberg 2007, 8, as cited in Klapdor, 2009, p. 18).

According to Hachhethu (2008), there were no calls for republic, federalism, state restructuring, secularism and much more in Nepal's political system before the people's war was launched by the Maoists. He continues that those were not the focus of national conversation. But those were mainstreamed right now. The political cycle, over a decade and more, has revolved around the demands which the Maoists have posed. Lawoti and Pahari (2010) say that the Maoists' dedication to these reforms was significant since they had mainstreamed the nation's federalism policies and proportional election system in addition to accepting the demands (p. 113). They explain that game rules were altered by these structural changes. The Maoist movement thus occupies a central position when discussing the nation's most recent political changes.

The latest political transformation in a sense was the consequences of the Maoists people’s war. The Maoists had envisaged nothing less than a complete transformation of the state and society in Nepal. Adhikari (2014) argues that thousands of Nepalis had participated the rebels, attracted by their declared goals.

Adhikari (2014) says that when the Nepali Congress and United Left Front (ULF) immediately agreed to accept the offer of King Birendra to lift the ban on political parties and drop the word 'party-less' from the Panchayat constitution, UNPM firmly rejected the offer accusing the NC and ULF of surrendering to the King in 1990 mass movement. Adhikari (2014) explains that those early years of democracy confirmed that parliamentary democracy was a hoax to the Unified Communist Party called CPN (Unity Center) forming after combining five tiny Maoist parties. They believed it could never bring about the necessary transformation of Nepali society, making it necessary to wage war against the state and seize state power.

The Unified People’s Front Nepal (UPFN), led by Baburam Bhattarai, according to Lawoti (2010), submitted a list of 40 demands on nationalism, people's democracy and wellbeing on 4 February 1996 with an ultimatum to launch insurgency if they were not fulfilled which were similar to the demands raised by UNPM during the 1990 people’s uprising. The demands included a range from genuine concerns (land rights to tenants, secular state) to wishful issues (employment guarantee to all). A majority of nine demands on nationalism related to Nepal’s relations to India. People’s democracy subsection included demands concerning indigenous nationalities, woman, and Dalit. Some other points were ideological and questionable in terms of democratic credentials, such as restricting the activities of NGOs. One demand called for the abolishment of royal privileges but did not call for a republican state, which became a major issue during different phases of insurgency. The list included a demand for a new constitution to be drawn by people’s representatives (Lawoti, 2010, p. 7). Four days before the expiry date of ultimatum, the Maoists declared the people’s war on 13 February 1996.

Sharma (2010) explains that the initiation of ‘people’s war’ was under the circumference of impediment of social and economic development (p.51). After the then-government rejected the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN) - (Maoist)’s for 40 points, the CPN began an armed insurgency in 1996. Lack of social and economic advancement was a major driving force behind the Maoists' "People's War."

There were many contradictory circumstances at the time the Maoists started the fight for the people. First, since the re-establishment of multi-party democracy, country has just started enjoying a democratic environment.

Lawoti (2010) expresses views citing Ward and Gleditsch (1998),

By translating those impulses into non-violent struggles by electoral politics and non-violent demonstrations, democracy is expected to defuse violence. Second, in the early 1990s, the Maoists themselves participated actively in gathering signatures campaign and nonviolent street demonstrations. They participated in general elections in 1991 and local elections in 1992 emerging as the third largest political party after the 1991 election. The emergence and rapid growth of the rebellion questioned the idea that democracy could peacefully solve disputes and was the only appropriate game in town. Third, this was like swimming against the conventional current. As the communist revolutions and governments around the world failed and collapsed, Nepali Maoists initiated and effectively developed communist rebellion. Quoting Fukuyama (1993) he says the emergence of a violent communist uprising in the 21st century was very daunting, particularly though communist regimes around the world collapsed one after another. The communist insurgency in Nepal grew rapidly even after the announcement of an end to communism at the end of the Cold War and despite the lack of sufficient outside support. Fourth, although the growth indices were in good directions and Nepal 's economic horizon had impressive silver lines, Maoists received great support internally (p. 1).

Sharma (2006) presents the data of economic growth as the average real GDP (gross domestic product) for 1987-88 to 1994-95 was 4.1 percent compared to 3 percent during 1976-77 to 1986-87 (p.1242).

Nepal faced extreme ten-year armed conflict (1996-2006), which witnessed the deaths of more than 17 thousand people and the destruction of property and infrastructure by billions of rupees. This has not created fear, mistrust, insecurity, and socio-political as well as developmental instability but also it has created tremendous opportunities for fundamental political transformation in Nepal (Upreti, 2009). Adhikari (2014) explains that in the course of complete transformation, the Maoists had not only destroyed many physical infrastructures but also destroyed unfair and sinful social structures. When they punished those who perpetuated discriminatory customs, the rebels earned gratitude and support.

The Maoists, according to Adhikari (2014), have completed a cycle of political transformation along with the political transformation of the nation from participating in the parliament in 1991, heading the government after the first election of constituent assembly in 2008 to reducing to the opposition in 2013. Various scholars through different angles and many perspectives have interpreted the Maoist rebellion, as it is a violent form of frustration of the people from conflict perspectives whereas it is a threat to society from the security perspective too. From political perspective- it is an ideologically based political power struggle to control the state. Likewise, from the sociological perspective- it is a violent form of social change and transformation evolved to dismantle the centuries old poverty, discrimination and injustice. Bhattarai (2014) writes that from all perspectives, it is an opportunity to dismantle feudalism and socio-economic transformation as well as political change in Nepal. The product of unemployment, poverty, and repression is political radicalization.

Bhattarai (2014) explains that the Maoist uprising that lasted ten years was explicitly aimed at completely replacing the old system with the new one rather than just temporarily resolving the conflict to the satisfaction of one side (p. 23). The grievances that the Maoists had brought up were only related to the people who had endured an elite governing class since Nepal's incorporation 240 years prior.

It means Maoists insurgency was not only the problem of conflict transformation as transformation from war to peace, but, Adhikari (2014) says, it vehemently carried the weight of total transformation of Nepali state-transformation of war to peace, more than two and half century long entrenched autocracy to democracy, and much more exclusive and centralized state to inclusive and federal one accompanied with economic transformation.

Nepal is struggling with multiple interlocking transitions: from war to peace, from autocracy to democracy, and from an exclusionary and centralized state to a more inclusive and federal one. As elsewhere, Nepal this post conflict transition, which is embedded in broader state transformation, has not been linear, has suffered setbacks, is likely to see future reversals, and is unlikely any time soon to be “completed.” To be sustainable, these multiple transitions will need to be underpinned by another transformation: … (Einsiedel, Malone, & Pradhan, 2012, p. 361).

Even though the state was transformed, it priced comprehensively such as huge loss of lives, massive destruction of infrastructures, high mental damage of social synchronization, etc. According to Einsiedel, Malone &Pradhan (2012), the failure of the democratic government to resolve the Maoist rebellion and bring peace and security led King Gyanendra to dismiss the government in October 2002 and eventually to suspend democracy altogether in February of 2005. He assumed autocratic power, and this led the parliamentary parties to join the CPN-M in a series of mass demonstration, which forced King Gyanendra to restore parliament in April 2006.

The Maoist insurgency in Nepal, which began in 1996, was driven by deep-seated frustrations over social and economic inequalities and aimed at a radical overhaul of the state. The Maoists capitalized on their strong popular support, internal cohesion, and the failure of the political establishment to address their demands, leading to a decade of armed conflict that profoundly reshaped Nepal’s political landscape. Their rebellion not only challenged the existing autocratic regime but also contributed to significant political transformations, including the end of the monarchial system, the establishment of a federal democratic republic, and the incorporation of previously marginalized demands into mainstream politics. Despite the severe consequences of the conflict, such as widespread destruction and loss of life, the Maoist movement catalyzed a transition from autocracy to a more inclusive democracy, though this process has been complex and fraught with setbacks, highlighting the ongoing struggle to consolidate peace and democratic reforms in Nepal.

## 2.5 External Actors in Political Transformation

India has maintained a strong power position in Nepal since before its independence because of its advantageous position as the country's nearest neighbor and largest cultural and economic dependent. Following the first Popular Movement in 2050–1951, Indian professionals penetrated the Nepali bureaucracy under the guise of administrative reforms. They even used to attend cabinet meetings (Rawal, 2011).

Adhikari (2014) describes that that the Maoists became the swimmer against a gigantic tide. It was generally thought that no Nepali government could survive without Indian support. A political group that was openly hostile towards India was not expected to go far. Both Nepali and foreign observers saw the Maoists as an irrelevant and faction-ridden group obsessed with an obsolete ideology. But the Maoists remained undeterred.

Pyakuryal & Ghimire (2010) warn about the involvement of outsiders in domestic affairs of the nation such as at different time periods, different individuals (political elites) have been supported by international actors (countries and/or multi-nationals) and instituted in powerful positions (p. 10). The legitimating of this idea of international interventions for peace and democracy opens up new territories for international intervention and the creation of autonomous spaces of international administration.

In the most recent phases, Nepal's reliance on India for peacekeeping operations was nearly total. The Terai uprisings, the failure to hold the Constituent Assembly elections on two separate occasions, the blatant competition between coalition partners to control state power and resources (such as constant bargaining and ensuing lingering delays in the appointment of vice chancellors of universities and ambassadors, tussles while allocating Home, Defense, and Finance ministries, to name but a few cases), have shown that politicians were largely ineffective to effective (Upreti, 2010, p. 234).

Upreti (2010) notes over the outsider's interference that powerful external forces were actively collaborating with Nepali social activists. One of their top priorities was providing support for the media.

According to Upreti (2010), certain significant international players in the armed war in Nepal served as a major motivator for violence (p. 220). In dealing with the situation in Nepal, the USA primarily adopted very extreme views while acting inside a framework of confrontation. Due to their adamant public hostility to the CPN-M, the Maoists did not recognize the diplomats and envoys of strong countries like India and the USA as neutral third parties.

On the subject of outsiders, Bhattarai (2014) writes,

"The external powers often look after their interest first. The country that is prone to conflict has a tendency to seek assistance blindly without considering the repercussions. Where the dignity and sensitivity of the nation are not threatened, it is advised that the help be granted (p. 309)”.

According to Upreti (2010),

Neutral nations like Switzerland and Norway served as ad hoc mediators. Their special advisors and diplomats maintained a neutral stance, engaged the warring sides in dialogue, helped them discover shared problems, and created suggestions for negotiations. European Union and the United Nations have continuously offered Nepal their assistance in ending the violence. The state, on the other hand, paid no attention, whereas Maoists were generally supportive. India wasn't prepared to enable any of them to personally interact and mediate (p. 220).

Dual role was observed from India. On the one hand, India supplied the large number of arms and weapons and arrested some of the Maoist leaders and cadres. On the other hand, the Maoists used Indian Territory freely for managing their insurgency in Nepal (Adhikari, 2014). Even after the popular mass movement-2, India continuously tried to demoralize the Maoists (Adhikari, 2014). Upreti (2010), in this issue, believes that India did not want to see Maoists being established as the largest force in Nepal, but wanted to bring them into the mainstream as a week player to keep in check (p. 233). Regarding politicians' perceptions of outsiders, Bhattarai (2014) claims that rather than strengthening national institutions, Nepali politics' tendency to view foreign powers decisive has weakened domestic authorities. As a result, the capacity for managing conflicts at the national level has been greatly diminished (p. 309).

According to Upreti (2010),

International players who backed a cooperative strategy put a strong emphasis on state reform and campaigned for a change in Nepal's feudal, centralized, unitary, and exclusionary state. These parties, which included numerous European nations, placed an emphasis on negotiations, making concessions, and sharing responsibility (p.235).

Strong donor contribution to justice for human rights has secured the thriving civil rights and media campaigns from complete repression. The ongoing dialog with the progressive political parties gave them authority and voice, even during times of authoritarian rule (Frieden, 2012, p. 108). He further stresses that in April 2006, the civil rights movement and the media were influential in organizing the People's Rebellion and leading the popular rhododendron revolt against the autocratic rule of the King.

The involvement of external actors in Nepal’s political transformation has been complex and multifaceted, reflecting a mix of strategic interests and varying degrees of influence. India’s significant presence, both supportive and obstructive, has shaped Nepal's political landscape by supporting certain factions while also attempting to control or undermine others, particularly the Maoists. While India’s dual role included supplying arms and facilitating insurgency management, it also sought to limit the Maoists' power. Conversely, neutral international mediators like Norway and Switzerland, alongside entities such as the European Union and the UN, promoted dialogue and state reform, advocating for an inclusive and decentralized governance model. However, the excessive reliance on external support has often undermined domestic authority and conflict resolution capabilities, demonstrating the challenges of balancing international intervention with national sovereignty and effective self-governance.

## 2.6 Identity Politics as a Major issue of Transformation

National identity is a collective identity held by the citizens of a specific political-geographical territory, or nation (Higson, 1998, pp. 354-362). He elaborates; National identity is cultural rather than biological; therefore, it must be learnt, frequently unconsciously. Hachhethu, Kumar & Subedi (2008) argue that the growing rising awareness of the people would doubtless help to ensure some sort of a culture of accountability among the political parties and the rising trends of regionalism, ethnicity and other elements of identity would force the political parties to address the legitimate demands of regional and ethnic groups. They explain that ethnic identities and national identity, which people are proud of, means that ethnicity's growth would not jeopardize national integration.

The Maoists drastically shifted and broadened ideological stand. According to Pyakuryal & Ghimire (2010), despite being a primarily a class-based insurgency, the Maoists recognized the salience of identity issues in Nepal. It may have come from the recognition that the Dalit, indigenous nationalities, and woman-at a later phase the Madhesi- offered potential recruitment and mobilization opportunities owing to the groups’ marginalization by the state controlled by the dominant group.

Military intervention justifies military involvement in maintaining peace and/or single sovereign approach. It relates to the territorial integrity of a state and assumes multiple nation-states as mutually exclusive to the single sovereign approach, whereas the multiplicity of sovereign approach realizes the presence of nation-states with the presence of diverse human groups and actors aspiring for autonomous governing units with only a loose federation. The multiplicity of sovereign approach is much closer to nation-building. It is only after the April Movement-2006 that there was a greater realization of frustration and need for recognizing and respecting pluralism and diversity in Nepal (Pyakuryal & Ghimire, 2010, p. 8).

Lawoti (2010) argues,

If the state remains unresponsive and insensitive to indigenous issues and grievances, as in Nepal, ethnic groups may support the class-based insurgencies if the rebels pursue a policy of mobilizing them. This support of ethnic groups for class-based insurgencies could transfer the nature of the insurgency itself, making it more formidable than a purely class/ideology-based insurgency (p.151).

Lawoti (2010) says that nevertheless, because the major political parties were either indifferent to or hostile towards identity concerns, this was a big intellectual leap, and the mobilization brought about enormous dividends (p.14). He continues that to mobilize the Dalit and indigenous nationalities, the Maoists developed numerous ethnic fronts, created autonomous ethnic zones, and emphasized caste and ethnic issues.

In many cases media’s content didn’t help for political transformation. The dynamics of ethnic and national identity are key concerns in current Nepali politics, as is the new phenomena of the development in ethnic consciousness among Nepalis, a phenomenon that necessitates monitoring and skillful social engineering from the major political actors in the transition process. Only favored caste and class groups have possessed power and access to resources due to the discriminatory nature that the Nepali state has had from the state's formation (Hachhethu, Kumar, & Subedi, 2008) . Nepal is a multi-ethnic country. There should be a harmonious relationship among the various castes and ethnic groups and should be a proportional representation of such groups in each rank and file of the government. Frequent media focus on majority rule in multiethnic cultures instead of proportional representation and consensus procedure in government causes persistent fault lines and uncooperative passions.

Identity politics has been a central issue in Nepal’s political transformation, profoundly influencing the trajectory of the Maoist insurgency and the broader national discourse. The Maoists, originally focused on class-based struggles, adapted their approach to embrace identity politics, recognizing the marginalization of Dalits, indigenous groups, and later Madhesi communities as a source of recruitment and mobilization. This shift highlighted the need to address regional and ethnic grievances to foster national integration and stability. The neglect of identity concerns by major political parties often exacerbated tensions, leading to the rise of insurgencies that incorporated ethnic and caste issues, complicating the transition to a more inclusive and representative state. Media portrayal and political narratives further strained relations among diverse groups, underscoring the need for skilful management of ethnic diversity and proportional representation in governance to achieve a more cohesive and equitable society.Top of Form

Bottom of Form

## 2.7 PLA and RNA in Political Transformation in Nepal

The new revolutionary transition is the product of a decade-long Maoist Peoples' War coupled with widespread April mass revolution in 2006. Maoist army generally referred to as the People's Liberation Army (PLA) was proven the definitive force to maintain the country's long war. Despite its overwhelming scale, better weapons and preparation and external support, the RNA's mostly symbolic nature prevented it from controlling the Maoists (Mehta & Lawoti, 2010, p. 184). They (2010) mentioning Leo Tolstoy, in War and Peace (1869), reason that armies' success depends on their spirits, too. Spirit and determination were the reasons why the badly armed and outnumbered Russian forces beat the Germans in the War of 1812 (p.186). The Russian winter that caused difficulties for the Germans, but the Russians also conquered the winter by spirited defense of their land. They, again quoting Lecomte-Tilouine (2006), argue that the PLA contended for a reason. The CPN (M) regularly indoctrinated and held commemorations after death to establish a sacrificial cult that attracted soldiers seeking martyrdom. As a result, successful and dedicated early birds early make the most of themselves.

Chalmers (2012) explains the structure of PLA that the party should control the weaponry, according to the main Maoist thought regarding the PLA (p. 72). A system of dual leadership, with a political commissar stationed next to each military commander and the commissar elevated higher in the party, established the order and political influence of the burgeoning battle formations. Mehta & Lawoti (2010) say that senior army officers were fiercely loyal to the King (p. 189). The RNA had historical contempt for the political establishment and was reluctant to accept the civilian political control. Any challenge to monarchy was regarded as a threat to the RNA. King Mahendra gave the Royal title to the RNA in 1965 after it helped him quash democracy. In this regard, the civilian government did not want to strengthen the RNA, whose loyalty is suspected (Nepali and Subba 2005; Gordon 2005; as cited in Mehta & Lawoti, 2010). NA, successfully, blocked the aspects of the peace accords relating to its downsizing and democratization (p. 189). The restored parliament, in September 2006, adopted the Army Act, providing a legal framework for civil oversight, accountability and political neutrality of the army. NA, for a long time, remained unchanged not adopting the new political environment. It meaningfully denied functioning under the control of elected civilian government. Its vibrant example was “Katuwal Episode” in 2009 where the Army Chief of Staffs organized opposition to his dismissal by Prime Minister. Then Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal resigned from the post on 4 May 2009, after his attempt to sack then army chief, Rukmagat Katuwal, when opposed by then President Ram Baran Yadav.

The People's Liberation Army (PLA) demonstrated crucial effectiveness in the Maoist insurgency through its strong ideological commitment and dual leadership structure, contrasting sharply with the Royal Nepalese Army's (RNA) reluctance to embrace civilian control and political change. The RNA's historical loyalty to the monarchy and resistance to reforms, exemplified by the "Katuwal Episode," underscored the army's deep-seated opposition to democratic oversight and its significant role in shaping Nepal's political transition.Top of Form

Bottom of Form

## 2.8 Role of Media to Bring Transformation in Society

Describing the role of media and press, Mahatma Gandhi once says, “The sole aim of journalism should be service. The press is a great power, but just as an unchanged torrent of water submerges whole countryside and devastates crops, even so an uncontrolled pen serves but to destroy (Puri, 2007, p. 9).” According to Anokwa et al. (2003), the press must be truly free and operate like "an open institution that, if for practical reasons most citizens cannot own a mass media, allows them appropriate access to voice their opinions." This is how the press may fulfill its duty and responsibilities (Anokwa, 2003, pp. 13-17).

The traditional man is exposed to new ways of living, new standards of enjoyment, and new opportunities for fulfillment as a result of urbanization, literacy, education, and mass media. These encounters dismantle conventional cultural barriers in cognition and attitude, fostering higher levels of aspirations and desires. (Huntington, 1968, p. 53).

Media companies have a lot of influence over how diversity is seen in a society. Every group in society can have its issues covered by the media, which also provides access to information and enjoyment for various groups. Every group in society can be heard and seen through the use of the media (UNESCO-IPDC, 2010). The negative effects of the media are also highlighted by UNESCO, since they can also lead to distrust, fear, prejudice, and violence through promoting stereotypes, inciting conflict between groups, and excluding some groups from public debate.

There was no shortage of qualified and capable journalists, the media could make a significant contribution to the country's political transition, political affiliation among journalists was less common than it once was, journalism content was improving, and journalists were playing a crucial role in exposing corruption (MFN, 2012, p. 125) . The media job is big, challenging, and vital. It is not the media's responsibility to only report on local events. However, the events must be planned, embellished, and made accessible to the general public. "This has made the press's work more difficult since they now need to focus more on analyzing the political landscape rather than just reporting what the candidates are saying (Leubsdorf, 1976, pp. 1-2).”

According to Media Foundation Nepal’ research, more than two-thirds of participants concur that there is no shortage of competent and qualified journalists in Nepal. According to the poll, more than three-quarters of respondents felt it was somewhat true that Nepali media played a role in the country's political shift and about the same percentage said it was true. (Aryal, 2016, p. 92).

But in practice there is a strong political bias in the media and while that may be true to some extent, in terms of influencing public opinion, moderating conflicts, and aiding in dispute resolution, it has little impact. Various media outlets take distinctive stands everywhere in the world, which can remain consistent over a period. But their sincerity, responsibility towards the society and accountability towards the nation and citizen is always questionable (Bhattacharjea, 1987).  The function of the media in political transition has to be illustrated well.

The media plays a crucial yet complex role in political transformation by both reflecting and shaping societal dynamics. It has the power to dismantle traditional barriers and foster diverse voices, but also risks perpetuating biases and exclusion. In Nepal, while media has contributed significantly to political change by exposing corruption and providing diverse viewpoints, it also faces challenges such as political bias and questionable accountability. Effective media involvement in political transitions requires not only competence but also a commitment to responsible, unbiased reporting that fosters constructive dialogue and informed public opinion.

Top of Form

Bottom of Form

**Theoretical Review**

## 2.9 Theoretical Approach

Theory is a description of a phenomenon and the interactions of its variables that are used to attempt to explain or predict (Thomas, 2017). A theory is some form of explanation of a class of observed phenomena. (Karl Popper, as cited in Debanjan, 2010) describes theory as the net, which we throw out in order to catch the world, to rationalize, explain and dominate it.

The theoretical approach is designed to justify the rationality of research. Mass media have a very significant role in political transformation even more in the countries where political instability, debate, quarrel and conflict were presence in full-fledge. All the state and non-state institutions-media, civil society, NGOs, political parties and general public are amalgamated and inter-dependence to each other. If these institutions are accountable and aware in their social responsibility, they may adoptable and acceptable.

Around the world, numerous media practitioners and politicians are involved in their duties. Products of media are for the people and activities of politicians are also for the same. So, the study has been framed with the aim of creating consensus settling dispute, conflict and instability under the perspective of social justice.

Some facts collected and presented in this study has exposed that it needs strong effort to establish media friendly politics and policy friendly media products. This study has been also helped to pay serious concern to social activists and human right activists because the question of social justice is related to people’s rights. This study may help to those who are positioned in policy making and decision-making status. The study has been framed under the consideration of social change and social justice.

In this theoretical approach, conceptual framework has been designed with the identification of the role of media in conflict transformation and eventually the political transformation. This study draws on several theoretical perspectives to analyze the role of media in political transformation.

## 2.10 Political System Theory

Influenced by cybernetics, systems theory in political science offers a highly abstract and partially holistic perspective on politics. David Easton came up with the idea to apply system theory to political science in 1953. Using this approach, David Easton's 1953 book The Political System conceptualized the political system as the process of formulating and carrying out social policy; in other words, the political system is the policy-making process (Easton, 1953).

"That structure of relations in each society through which binding or authoritative allocations are formed and executed," is how Easton defined the political system. This phrase highlights the fact that one of the social systems is the political system. It distributes using policies. Furthermore, binding are its allocations (Hanumanthappa, 2023).

He adds that moreover, its authoritative decisions have binding effects on the entire community. Among the several social system kinds is the political system. It indicates that certain political systems function within predetermined parameters. But pinpointing its exact limits is a difficult task. Any activity that is somewhat directly related to making decisions that have legal force for a community defines the boundaries of a political system.

A political system, in Easton's view, is a complex cyclical activity where a set of procedures regularly transforms inputs into outputs. Public policies are set by authorities in a political system, according to Easton. Making decisions and creating policies are closely related processes. But not every decision is equivalent to a policy. The process of reaching a decision involves determining the issue, thoroughly examining several approaches, and deciding on a course of action. Administrative actions are given a sense of direction by policy decisions.

By using highly abstract models to explain the regularities of patterns and processes in political life as a whole, Easton sought to reduce politics to a science. He contends that the highest degree of abstraction permits scientific political generalisations. In conclusion, politics should not be seen as a collection of discrete issues that need to be resolved, but rather as a whole.

A straightforward method to see a political system is through the lens of Easton's systems theory, which begins with how policymakers develop policies and how they will affect the community.

System theory is a term used in the sciences to describe a variety of methods used to comprehend subjects like society and technology. It necessitates viewing the subjects being researched as systems composed of constituent pieces.

Political system theory, developed by David Easton, focuses on how political systems function and adapt to internal and external pressures. It considers how inputs (demands and supports) from the environment are processed through the political system to produce outputs (policies and decisions).

**Application to the Study**

**Media Influence on Political Transformation**: This theory can be used to understand how media serves as a conduit for societal inputs (public demands and political opinions) into the political system. The media’s role in shaping public perception and influencing political decision-making processes during Nepal’s transition from monarchy to a federal democratic republic aligns with how inputs are processed in a political system.

**Barriers and Challenges for Media**: The theory helps explain how media biases and ownership concentration might affect the processing of societal inputs, influencing the political outputs and stability.

## 2.11 Agenda Setting Theory and Social Responsibility Theory

### Agenda Setting Theory

The agenda-setting theory says that the media (especially the news media) are not always successful at telling us what to think, but they are quite successful at telling us what to think about (McCombs, 1972; Shaw, 1973, as cited in Debanjan, 2010, p. 120). According to agenda-setting theory, the communications media have a crucial role in defining the topics that draw the attention of governments and international organizations and steer public opinion towards particular issues by identifying and publicizing them.

As a result, it is possible to argue that the media actively influences people and their ideologies through the manipulation of information, news, ideas, and cultures.

It can be claimed that the media can set the political agenda in certain cases by reporting topics the government doesn't want to report on. Media could be counter-government in favor of the public who have nothing but media to raise their troubles. “The mass media can be seen not only as a driving force behind cultural and social change but also as an index for political mobilization, both domestically and internationally (Gerges, 1999).”

News should encourage participation in civic activities at social gatherings so that people might develop various attitudes on a certain situation. News should be timely, insightful, and useful in informing important societal and political decisions (Curran, 1991).

Agenda-setting theory, primarily associated with Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, posits that media do not tell people what to think, but rather what to think about. It focuses on how media priorities shape public perception and political discourse by highlighting certain issues over others.

**Application to the Study**

**Media Content Analysis**: This theory is crucial for analyzing how the Nepali media's coverage of conflict stories and political issues influenced public attention and political discourse. By examining which issues were highlighted as top stories and banner news, the research can assess how the media's agenda-setting function impacted public opinion and the peace process.

**Media as a Democratic Tool**: It also relates to how media prioritize democratic engagement issues and encourage political participation, thereby shaping the public’s agenda and expectations from the political system.

### Social Responsibility Theory

As contents of media have great power to shape attitude and behavior of people, media should be very sensitive and responsible while raising the issues. Responsible media should raise social and democratic issues that influence freedom and constitutional rights of citizens and that serves for the welfare of people. Baran (1999) says that’s why social responsibility theory of the mass media assumes that media have certain obligations to society which can be met by setting high standard of professionalism, truth, accuracy and objectivity (p. 389).

A journalist is responsible for interpreting and commenting on the news and events. It means a journalist mainly performs two functions, firstly reporting the news and secondly, offering interpretations and opinions based on the news (Adhikary, 2006). Thus, a journalist’s main function is to give out “News and Views”. Puri (2007) elucidates that the views to be expressed need not be those of his own. He can elicit and report the views of the knowledgeable cross-sections of people.

Unfortunately, some newspapers indulge in “Yellow Journalism”. They give highly colored, biased and sensational news just to create some commotion or stir. They spread rumors. They even play the dirty game of mudslinging (Zaidi & Ray, 2007). They spread communal violence and other, which harm social harmony. They don’t fulfill the responsibility upon their society and nation. According to Dahal (2014), self-control in the media in Nepal is also necessary in order to uphold public morals, professional ethics, constitutional requirements, and international humanitarian commitments. It is crucial to do a content analysis of Nepal's traditional and digital media to determine how much its news, views, opinions, and editorials contribute to nation-building or, to varied degrees, cause Nepali society to fragment under the exogenous influence of social engineering.

Media’s responsibility is enormous and effective in molding politics of a country (Graber, 1994). McQuail (2005) explains that they should be cautious while interviewing people, covering newsbeats, photographing events, writing editorials, disclosing privacy, and disseminating news stories. But in the name of media, one cannot carve or report partially and in a biased manner. The media’s role to investigate truth and publish it free of personal bias and political influence is strictly an ethical one. A legal expert Justice Hugo expressed his view as, “The press was to serve the governed, not the governors.” Its foremost responsibility becomes to empower public with true and accurate information. Baran & Davis (2002) say that media give light and people will find their way**.**

According to Ajit Bhattacharjea (1987), the state bears a far bigger share of the burden than the press when it comes to ensuring a free flow of information in a democracy. He continues by saying that it is entirely the state's job to make information available, whether it is favorable to it or not (Bhattacharjea, 1987, p. 118). Media practitioners are strictly required to follow codes of conducts and codes of ethics to maintain professionalism and objectivity keeping in mind the duty of watchdogs and voice of voiceless. The strength of professionalism has been discussed as a fundamental element to justify the culpability of the media. They should be watchful about whether social norms and values might be damaged.

The notion of watchdogs and crown of fourth estate are taken as independent status and mandatory to expose wrongdoings and keep eyes on elected officials, politicians and government. When their works in exposing wrongdoings and corruption are obligatory, their voice may be heard and the government may become responsive. When the political course tends to head in a negative way, the press can warn and correct it easily. On similarity, politics, which in veracity commands the life of the nation, should be friendly with the media world. When the media and politics do not have antagonistic character, the nation will lead in the right direction. Media owners and practitioners are ethically required to enjoy freedom for the benefit of citizens and nation, not for personal gain. Likewise, politicians should be friendly in creating favorable conditions for the media.

Social responsibility theory asserts that media have an obligation to serve the public interest, promote democracy, and provide accurate and comprehensive information. It emphasizes the media’s role in upholding democratic values and fostering an informed citizenry.

**Application to the Study**

**Media as a Democratic Tool**: This theory underpins the media's role in fostering democratic engagement and public participation by ensuring that the public is well-informed and able to engage in political discourse.

**Independence and Credibility**: It also addresses the media’s duty to maintain independence and credibility to effectively contribute to democratic processes and political transformation. The theory can be used to evaluate whether Nepali media fulfilled its social responsibilities during the transition and what barriers might have impeded this role.

## 2.12 Conflict Theory

According to Bhattarai (2014), conflict is not always negative; depending on how it is handled and seen for the sake of humanity, it may result in beneficial changes for society (p. 308). Conflict does not have merely the negative outputs, but it may contribute positively. Left alone, conflict can have destructive consequences but that the consequences can be modified or transformed so that self-images relationships and social structures improve as a result of conflict instead of being harmed by it (Pyakuryal, March, & Acharya, 2007).

There are various types of conflicts among these destructive conflict and constructive conflict are major ones. Destructive conflict is a type of violent confrontation and often has largely negative results. It pushes people apart, destroys relationships, and leads to a host of negative personal and social changes including an escalation of violence, fear, and distrust. It is contrasted with constructive conflict, which has more benefits than costs, which pulls people together, strengthens and/or improves their relationship, by redefining it in a more appropriate or useful way and one that leads to positive change in all of the parties involved (Upreti, 2007).

Pyakuryal & Ghimire elucidates about conflict as necessary agent for change, the machine of positive rejuvenation rather than means of mere destruction uttering one cannot think of change without conflict and conflict is a necessary condition for change in social relations and hence is useful. Conflict as an inevitable societal phenomenon to bring about change and the necessity of its transformation too. Upreti (2007) defines conflicts as motivators and movers to social change. He explains inequality as the root cause of conflict. Inequality is a complex part of the whole society which is multi-dimensional and a central part of the total social structure.

Conflict is an inevitable and universal phenomenon, it can be managed, reduced or transformed through negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement and other means. Pyakuryal & Ghimire (2010) define conflict as a kinetic term (p. 3). The terms pre-conflict, during conflict and post-conflict assume conflict more as a static concept rather than a continuous process. Whatever the assumption be, one cannot think of change without conflict and conflict is a necessary condition for change in social relations and hence is useful. They continue that as Nepali society suffered from human killings and destruction of infrastructures, the conflict also helped change previously held outdated views and human attitude. It also resulted in the change of the social and political positions. Common people do not any longer think themselves as powerless and disconnected. They are more politically organized and empowered. Ethnic groups, Dalits, women and other marginalized and disadvantaged communities are more visible and powerful at present than before.

Poverty and inequality, and how they are perceived-relative deprivation or the gap between expected and achieved well-being- can increase alienation and push groups towards violent conflict (Muller & Seligson, 1987). Upreti (2007) utters the cause of conflict in Nepal as the manifestation of the poverty and deprivation faced by the majority of the Nepali people. He explains the power of the narratives and symbols used by the warring forces that makes the ongoing conflict significant, intense and violent. He says that present conflict in Nepal is a result of unequal distribution of resources, caste-based discrimination and the social relations between dominant Hindu caste people and subjugated ethnic communities.

According to (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004b, Fearon & Laitin, 2003 as cited in Tiwari, 2010), poorer countries face a greater chance of violence which is a 'greed' approach to conflict. The scholars who concentrate on ‘greed’ approach found that economic factors such as poverty or lack of economic opportunity were significantly correlated with intensity of conflict, and that the relationship of conflict intensity with measure of social diversity was much less significant and robust. On the opposite, the assessment of (Easterly, 2001, Easterly & Levine, 1997, as cited in Tiwari, 2010) describe racial aspects where various castes and ethnic groups are battling each other is the main cause of conflict. This is grievance approach.

Tiwari (2010) concludes that inequalities in the level of development and poverty increase the likelihood of conflict, and once the conflict is initiated with political leaders or conflict entrepreneurs, the intensity of conflict is guided more by the social variables than by the economic variables.

Brown M., 2000, as cited in Einsiedel. Malone & Pradhan (2012) analyzes that contributing factors to the outbreak of violent conflict in Nepal as long-term structural factors that make countries more conflict prone, and short or mid-term proximate causes that serve as catalytic factors helping to trigger violent conflict. Einsiedel, Malone & Pradhan (2012) explain that two of the most important structural causes of violent conflict in Nepal are endemic poverty and group inequality (p. 14). Chief among the proximate causes are the dysfunctional features of the fledgling democracy and its inability to bring about meaningful change for much of the population, particularly with respect to poverty and exclusion.

The deep-rooted differences within the Nepali society surfaced at the spontaneous process of development have later transformed into the conflict. The scarcity of the resources, illiteracy, poverty and unequal distribution of opportunity have created a catastrophic effect to burn conflict. Subedi (2010) critiques that at the state-level discrimination based on tribe, language and the religion were distinct in all sectors of social life (Subedi, 2010, p. 72).

Conflict theory, rooted in the works of Karl Marx, emphasizes the role of conflict and competition between different social groups, particularly concerning economic and political power. It views society as being in a state of perpetual conflict due to competition for limited resources.

**Application to the Study**

**Role of Media in Political Unrest**: This theory can help analyze how media coverage during the 10-year conflict might have either exacerbated or mitigated social and political conflicts. By framing and reporting on the conflict, the media played a role in either escalating tensions or promoting peace.

**Interaction Among Key Stakeholders**: Conflict theory is relevant for understanding the interactions between journalists, civil society, and political parties, and how these groups may have conflicting interests or agendas that impact the peace process.

## 2.13 Conflict Transformation as the conclusion

Upreti (2007) explains that offering merely technical solutions to solve the problems that are political, economic, social and cultural in nature will not sufficient. He stresses that if conflict managed properly, it might bring positive output. Conflict transformation is directly related to handling the post-conflict situation. Post-conflict reconstruction is not any benign and neutral activity, but a highly political endeavor (Rubin 2006, p 184, as cited in Pyakuryal & Ghimire, 2010).

Krause and Jutersonke 2005, p 448, as cited in Pyakuryal & Ghimire, (2010) rightly assert that "post-conflict operations are not minor 'insertions' of another actor into a complicated field of forces, but represent major breaks in state formation, often attempting to redistribute political, economic or social power and reshape the institutional terrain on which political competition occurs". 'Post-conflict' is, of course, a misleading term. Gerd Junne and Willemijn Verkoren understand it as 'shorthand for conflict situations, in which open warfare has come to an end' (Junne and Verkoren 2005, p 1, as cited in Pyakuryal & Ghimire, 2010, p. 6). From this, it should be eminently clear that a 'post-conflict' society will have no shortage of conflicts or violence.

In the politically transformed stage, media are used as proxies in the battle between rival political groups sowing divisiveness rather than consensus, hate speech instead of sober debate, and suspicion rather social trust. In these cases, the media are required to check public cynicism and prevent democratic decay (Coronel, 2003, as cited in Pal, 2008, p. 21). The reoccurring of conflict will exist when failed to handle properly.” The risk of war is substantially higher during the first five years after the end of a conflict than it is in comparable countries” (The World Bank, 2003, as cited in Pyakuryal & Ghimire, 2010, p. 7). Although the Seven-Point Agreement of November 1, 2011, provided some hope in completing the remaining task of writing the constitution and implementing the provisions of the CPA, the serious differences observed between the signatories of this agreement again posed serious doubt about the implementation (Upreti, 2012).

Concerning state building, Pyakuryal & Ghimire (2010) elucidates that this phase of transition is also seeing an increase in statelessness accusations. Credibility in the government and state system is deteriorating with the shaky delivery of state services like security and basic necessities (p. 12). In the case of the immediate aftermath of conflict in Nepal, it can be specific. However, we haven't yet made enough of an effort to address these challenges, which have long-lasting effects. State formation has thus been a passionately contested and widely discussed topic lately. The rejuvenation of the state institutions remains a must in post-conflict state building. It has to do with the formation of new government institutions and the strengthening of the existing ones (Fukuyama, 2009, as cited in Pyakuryal & Ghimire, 2010, p. 13).

According to Bhattarai (2014), rebuilding of the physical infrastructure and the restoration of crucial government operations that provide basic social services must occur simultaneously with the end of violent conflict (p. 89). Long-term stability cannot be attained without the involvement of erstwhile rivals in socio-economic change and a democratic political process. Otherwise, de-democratization remains a possibility anywhere in the world because transitions from democratic to undemocratic regimes have frequently happened historically and continue to do so.

Conflict transformation involves more than just technical fixes; it requires addressing deep-rooted political, economic, social, and cultural issues. Effective post-conflict reconstruction is a politically charged process, often involving major shifts in state formation and power distribution. Despite the cessation of open warfare, conflict dynamics persist, necessitating vigilant media oversight to foster social trust and prevent democratic erosion. The early years post-conflict are particularly volatile, with high risks of renewed violence. Successful state-building demands both the restoration of essential services and the genuine inclusion of former adversaries in governance, underscoring the need for comprehensive and inclusive approaches to achieve long-term stability and prevent regression into undemocratic practices.

## 2.14 Media as Agenda Setter to settle Conflict in the Society

An agenda is a list of items, usually in descending order of importance that gives the participants some power to decide what will or will not be discussed (Watson, 2003). The significance-based hierarchy of issues is established by the media. The agendas for civic discourse are set by the media. The media is not just a recorder of occurrences; it also invents problems and fabricates stories. Just as the media can help shape the political agenda, so can government influence reporting of the media similarly. To some point, the government will control political media coverage, as the media frequently use officials as outlets of news reports, and they are able to express their opinions and constantly set their agenda. (Wood & Edwards, 1999).

One of the most important works of media is agenda setting. Additionally, it encourages an open culture and cautions democratically elected governments to uphold the law. It shouldn't be a fervent demonstrator and a blind fan. Media may not tell us what to think, but media certainly tell us what to think about (Baran S. , 1999). The media informs the public on the major issues of the day, but its effects are reflected in what the public believes to be the major issue. The evidence, according to McQuail (2005, p. 512), strongly implies that people consider what they are told, but they never actually believe what they are told (p. 512).

People are conscious of what they are seeing in the media. However, they don't take into account the breadth and impact of the news coverage. The narrative's complexity is assessed through ongoing follow-up and continual repetition. According to Huntington (1968), such actions make people's minds powerful recipients of the plan. People take the story to be the only true reality. He adds that as a result, media construct the narrative, embellish it, develop it, and disseminate it in a way that makes it incredibly intriguing for people to think about. In conclusion, media are, generally, drivers of transition. They set agendas for discourse. They raise public issues to aware the government.

**Media as the Fourth Estate of State**

The press is referred to as the fourth estate both in terms of its stated advocacy role and its implicit potential to define political issues. According to McQuail (2005), Thomas Carlyle, a Scottish essayist and historian, used the phrase at least as early as the first half of the 19th century. He adds that a typical description of the "fourth estate" encompasses the press's functions as a policy advocate, a watchdog of democracy, a critic of the executive branch, and a representative of the general public. Many academics hold the view that the Fourth Estate is more important than other governmental agencies. According to McQuail (2005), the early conception of fourth estate is attributed to a British politician, Edmund Burke. In Pal (2008), Edmund asserted that the power of the press was at least equal to that of the other three estates of the realm- lords, commons, and clergy (p. 41). Edmund Burke said, “Yonder sits the fourth estate, and they are more important than them all (Schultz, 1998).

Baran & Davis (2002) articulates the importance of media as, the existence of fourth estate is necessary for media as an independent social institution that ensures that other institutions serve the public. Freedom of expression is one of the important instruments of liberty, an independent fourth estate, and the vital defender of public interests (Curran & Seaton, 2003). Although, it is difficult to remain uninfluenced in politically inspired circumstances, but in general, the credibility of media is lost in such circumstances. At present, the Nepali media have understood the value of being fourth estate. They have empowered themselves to raise questions or expose any corruption that has undergone in the state departments. At the same time, the media often provide forum to discuss people’s problems (Nepal, 2004).

As the fourth estate, the media is expected to serve the public interest. The media must be more sincere and committed to upholding public issues related to public credibility. (Klapper, 1960). According to Kharel (2012), when a journalist doubles as a political activist, society suffers a major setback as a result of the Fourth Estate's professional reputation being harmed. Instead of creating a public forum for diverse opinions, this fosters a toxic media environment. The government, the legislature, or the judiciary sleeping with a member of the Fourth Estate is an incestuous connection, according to the author, because it fosters theoretical and political intimacy that jeopardizes the integrity of the profession.

The media plays a crucial role in shaping societal discourse by setting agendas, which influences public perception and prioritization of issues. Through its agenda-setting function, the media not only highlights significant topics but also constructs narratives that frame how these issues are understood by the public. As the "fourth estate," the media serves as a critical watchdog, advocate, and representative of public interests, holding other institutions accountable and ensuring democratic governance. However, the integrity of this role can be compromised when media professionals align too closely with political agendas or when their independence is undermined by political or institutional pressures. Maintaining a sincere and unbiased media is essential for fostering an informed and engaged public, which is vital for democratic health and effective conflict resolution.

**Empirical Review**

## 2.15 Causes of Maoist insurgency and its rapid growth

According to (Subedi, 2010, p. 72, as cited in Bhattarai, 2014, p. 17), the root cause of the Maoist rebellion can be traced as the state’s discriminatory policy, inability in service delivery, exploitation, injustice and atrocities of the elites to the poor (Subedi, 2010). Some studies have suggested that Maoist conflict has found support from oppressed lower castes, portraying the insurgency as stemming from rage against a long legacy of oppression based on caste and ethnicity. Other studies report economic factors, such as inequality, landlessness, and a general lack of opportunity reinforced by complex systems of caste and related discriminatory patterns, which have provided sufficient motivation and support for the Maoist cause” (Tiwari B. N., 2010).

According to Bhattarai (2014),

Politics being considered as an easy money-making profession which can be grabbed without proving any qualifications have frustrated and angered young generations; such emotions were exploited by the Maoists to fuel the rebellion in Nepal. Until recently, the Nepal Army fought civil war against the 'People's Liberation Army' of the then Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). This was an armed resistance movement that had its roots in local grievances, landlessness, human rights abuses, feudalism, extreme poverty, income inequality and lack of people's democracy, which still show no signs of abating (p. 38).

This country is still being threatened by a long-term economic and social neglect and hopelessness. This has forced our youths to become economic immigrants all around the world” (Pyakuryal & Ghimire, 2010).

A bitter truth is, as Bhattarai (2014) explains "Even if the Maoists did not launch the uprising, there might be other movements to capture the discontent of the nation and challenge the status quo in Kathmandu." Most researchers suggest that the motives for the uprising are of a social and economic rather than political type. Shakya (2012) explains five key reasons that help clarify the insurgency's outbreak: the first three are socioeconomic in nature and the last two are political in nature (p. 122). He explains that pervasive exclusion of vast population is the first and most fundamental factor. The second reason is that Nepal has no middle class. The third element is development focused on Kathmandu. The fourth element, political in nature and more urgent, was linked to the enhanced-and inevitably unrealized-aspirations of the people for better living standards following the return of multiparty democracy in 1990. Mal governance is last but not least, and intrinsically related to other causes.

Adhikari (2014) argues that there was no immediate improvement in the lives of the people in the countryside and as economic growth failed to match the expectations aroused by the arrival of democracy, there was the inevitable disappointment among the people. At the right time, Maoists communists in the Unity Centre believed the parliamentary democracy could never bring about the necessary transformation of Nepali society, making it necessary to wage war against the state and seize state power.

Non-recognition UPFN by election commission is a virtual cause for the initiation of people’s war. Stung by non-recognition, the UPFN led by Baburam Bhattarai boycotted the 1994 mid-term election. Would the Maoists have launched the insurgency if they had won seats in the parliament in 1994? It is hard to know whether electoral victory could have worked against launching the insurgency. Perhaps they would have continued to utilize the electoral opportunities if the political environment had not been turned against them (Thapa & Sijapati, 2003).

The non-recognition by election commission was not the sufficient reason for the initiation of the Maoist insurgency, strategic reasons were quite different. Inequality in Nepal existed among different sectors; geographic regions (mountains and hills and Terai, and east to west), rural and urban areas, and gender, ethnic and caste groups (Murshed & Gates, 2005).

Shakya (2012) portrays Nepal 's underdeveloped disease as contrasted with Malaysia (p. 123). Malaysia had 2.5 times Nepal 's GDP in 1950 but Malaysia's GDP became 36 times higher by 2008. The growth in urban areas and stagnation in the rural areas widened the perception of inequality further among rural residents.

Deraniyagala (2005) describes that poverty is also more widespread in the mountains, where its incidence is 56 percent, compared with around 40 percent in the hills and plains. The incidence of poverty in the central (67 percent) and mid- and far western (72 percent) hills/mountains also far outstrips that in eastern (28 percent) and western (40 percent) regions. Sharma (2006) puts facts as economic and demographic indicators demonstrate the continued neglect of rural regions. This neglect contributed to the rising inequality (pp.1241-42). Poverty levels were 33 percent in 1976-77 but rose to 42 percent by 1995-96. The income shares of the top 10 percent of the people increased from 21 percent in the mid-1980s to 35 percent by the mid-1990s, while the share of the bottom 40 percent shrank from 24 percent to 15 percent by the mid-1990s.

Lawoti (2010) explains that poverty and economic stagnation had a detrimental impact on the rural residents (87 percent in 2001) because they were dependent upon the stagnating agriculture (p. 9). Sharma (2006) describes that agriculture, the major source of employment and income for 80 percent of the people, “has not received more than 26 percent of development expenditure in any development plan since the mid-1950s. … Nepal, which had the highest agriculture yield (per hectare) in south Asia in the early 1960s fell significantly behind other countries by early1990s (pp. 1241-42).

Socio-cultural inequality or social exclusion is another major cause of conflict. Over the years, monarchy in Nepal had firmly rooted in the name of a nationalist figure head who promoted Hindu as an unavoidable religion with Nepali language the must. King Mahendra and his successors had promoted three-pillared nationalist model as monarch, Nepali language and Hindu religion respectively (Sharma S. , 2010, p. 72).

The Maoists insurgency must be understood in the context of centuries of ethnic and caste-based discrimination and the exclusion of most of the population from participation in government (Rawski & Sharma, 2012, p. 176). They further explain that for most of the history, government of Nepal has been an authoritarian affair dominated by a small upper caste elite and hereditary kings.

The level of deprivation felt by the majority of the Nepali population contrasted sharply with the advantages enjoyed by others (Thapa, 2012, p. 43). He further adds that state sanction of the caste system ended with the promulgation of the new Muluki Ain of 1963, but the hierarchical social structure was still deeply rooted in Nepali society, not only in people-to-people relations but also in differential access to the state. Traditional elite groups continued to monopolize power.

Lawoti (2010) explains vividly that Nepal not only faced class inequality, but extreme socio-cultural inequality also existed among numerous linguistic, ethnic, religious, racial, caste and regional groups (p. 10). The Caste High Hindu Hill Elite Males (CHHEM) monopolized the political, economic, social and cultural power. Not only are groups like Dalit, indigenous nationalities and Muslim poorer, but even the decrease in the incidence of poverty among them is slower compared to Bahun, Chhetri and Newar. Within all groups, woman generally face discrimination, but the incidence is higher among Muslims and ‘high caste’ Hindus.

Mistry (2020) argues,

“Ethnic politics is, thus, not exclusively a struggle to rectify the grievances of minority groups, but it is fundamentally about the distribution of state power along ethnic lines. The traits of general ethnic upsurge have, therefore, been to attain power in order to modify their position in the “power binary”. But what is unique in Nepal’s case is the existence of multiple “power binaries” grounded on different contexts like in the region wise, Pahadi (Dominant) versus Madheshi (Subaltern); in the milieu of Religion, Hindus (Dominant) versus Non-Hindus including Buddhists and Muslims (Subaltern); in the perspective of Hindu Caste hierarchy in the Hills and Mountains, Bahun- Chhetri (Dominant) versus indigenous ethnic groups and Dalits (Subaltern); in the background of Hindu Caste hierarchy in Tarai, higher caste Hindus including Brahmins and Kshatriyas (Dominant) versus indigenous nationalities like Tharus and Dalits (Subaltern); and so on.

The Brahmans and Kshatriyas are dominant groups in the power binary of Madhesh based on the Hindu caste hierarchy, but these groups become subaltern in relation to the Bahuns and Chhetris of the Hill. Muslims of the Tarai region, in a different example, Madheshis are subaltern vis-a-vis the Pahadis, however, they are placed in the subaltern position within the Madhesh. Therefore, a “relative subalternity” or multiple subalternity is found within such broad ethnic constructions. The conflict between ethnic groups in Nepal are, therefore, self- explanatory of the existing uneven power distribution in the society and polity” (Mistry, 2020, p. 2).”

CHHE domination in the mainstream civil society sector was/is overwhelming as well. The CHHE and Newar dominated around 90 percent of the top positions in prominent Nepali NGOs and human rights groups in 1999 (Neupane, 2000).

Lawoti (2010) explains that in addition to this political, social and economic domination, the marginalized groups face cultural discrimination; perhaps the most important feature because it was the foundation of discrimination in other realms (p. 11).

On the context of socio-cultural inequality and social exclusion, the Maoists focused their efforts to include the most marginalized groups in the rebellion. In the mid-1990s, the Maoists began to successfully recruit disenfranchised groups to join the rebellion, initially focusing on Dalits, indigenous nationalities, and women and later extending their efforts to the Madhesi community (Lawoti, 2012, p. 136). Caste Hierarchy and Warrior nature of Indigenous People; specially the Magars fuels the insurgency and grows rapidly. In 1854, through Muluki Ain (Nation Code), the Hindu state elite in Kathmandu tried to assimilate all populations of Nepal into a formalized hierarchy of castes. The Magars were classified as ‘non-enslaveable alcohol drinkers’ that inferior to the Brahmins, Chhetries and Thakuries but superior to the ‘enslaveable alcohol drinkers’ the ‘impure but touchable castes’ and the ‘untouchable castes’ (Hofer, 2004).

The State’s incompetency and exclusionary character negatively contribute to escalate the insurgency. The fertile environment and committed insurgents are important and necessary conditions but not sufficient for the success of rebellions. Rebellions are launched against a state and their success and failure are dependent to a considerable extent on the capability, coherence and responsiveness of the state (Skocpol, 1979). On the other hand, (Goodwin & Skocpol, 1989) argue that narrow, incompetent and corrupt regimes are vulnerable to revolutionary takeover: “Revolutionary coalitions have formed and expanded in countries in which one finds. Political exclusion and severe and indiscriminate (while not overwhelming) repression.” Nepal’s state institutions and democracy were exclusionary.

Policemen along with Congress activists ransacked entire settlements, harassed women, and confiscated goats and chickens. The Maoist supporters in detention were frequently badly beaten and pushed into the blood of a slaughtered goat to dip their hands and pledge allegiance to the Nepali Congress. Aggressive conflicts between the political parties occurred and in some cases individuals from the Nepali Congress as well as Maoists were beaten to deaths (INSEC, 1994).

Adhikari (2014) on the issue of coercive action from the state side to suppress the rebellion says that the Nepali Congress was all powerful at the center and through the early 1990s it infiltrated the entire bureaucracy and police force with its supporters (p. 33). As the conflict between the congress and the Maoists intensified, the administration detained the Maoists supporters at the behest of Congress activists. State violence wasn't a new trend for people in these areas, but it was unparalleled the scope of Operation Romeo-the name of the government for this police action (INSEC, 1995).

During the initial counter-insurgency operations in the Maoist heartland of the mid-western hill districts, police burned houses of alleged Maoists and peasants, confiscated cash and other items, raped women and detained hundreds of civilians, and thrashed common citizens and sympathizers of Maoist governance. Operation Romeo, launched in 1995 before the uprising, and Operation Kilo Siera-2, launched in 1998, were cited as very harsh and oppressive steps that pulled the poor people into the Maoist fold (INSEC, 1999).

One the one hand, RNA became incapable of suppressing the Maoists insurgency; its deployment simultaneously did lead to massive escalation of the conflict and a skyrocketing number of battle deaths. Given its inexperience in counter insurgency, then Royal Nepal Army was only able to deliver the bodies rather than strategic gains (International Crisis Group, 2010). Instead of cubing the insurgency, it helped to further enhance the emotion to the rebellion in Nepal.

Mostly the leaders became power centric and their greed over the regime has ruined the popular aspirations. Thapa (2012) stresses that the squandering of the promise of the immediate post-1990 period, reflected by its incremental transformation into power politics without concern for the well-being of the people and the continuing disregard of the aspirations of the excluded, gave the Maoists a suitable excuse for launching an armed struggle for the liberation of those classes (p. 58).

Thapa (2012) describes that the see-saw battle for political supremacy between the Nepali Congress and Communist Party of Nepal (UML) led to the political instability that has plagued Nepal ever since (p. 48). Public faith in democracy itself eroded while governance lay in shambles, with the major political parties engaging in an all-out scramble for power. Such was the political environment in which the CPN (M) launched its people’s war.

Corruption and unemployment break the record in recent years. Power abuse, corruption and culture of impunity became widespread, and administration was politicized for partisan purposes. Absence of effective accountability mechanism further fueled power abuse and corruption. Lawoti (2010) describes that the crises increased dissatisfaction among common citizens (p. 22). As the political parties, especially the ruling party, abused state power and administration to influence electoral outcomes, elections in particular and democracy in general began to lose legitimacy, the more so because the open polity allowed the articulation of dissatisfaction.

The elected governments lacked the will for radical reform and the ruling class did not represent the poor people (Karki, 2003). Bad Governance in service delivery is one of the negative indicators for raising insurgency. Huntington (1968) argues that when the executive failed to deliver, the overall state failed because other branches and agencies lacked authority to deliver. The democratic government failed to address the grievances of Nepal’s rural/village population.

Literacy empowers the people and public try to search for better options of livings. Lawoti (2010) explains the values of education as while much of the inequalities have long existed, even unequal systems can be stable, as was the case in Nepal before the 1990s (p. 11). Media play a pivotal role in the intersection. He further adds the revolution in globalization and communication allowed educated but unemployed young people to be conscious of opportunities in other communities through television, cable, radio and internet while being deprived of local opportunities.

The expansion of education questioned conventional values and traditions, and diminished reverence for the older order based on upholding ethnicity, race, caste, gender and age hierarchies. Education has helped disgruntled groups to develop alternative collective imaginations including one that was revolutionary (Fujikura, 2003). Lack of opportunities and unemployment conditions compel the educated and jobless people towards the street to forward the movement to solve the existing problems.

Landlessness and Spatial inequality are another cause of uprising. Mid and far Western development regions had significantly low levels of human development and have a larger proportion of landlessness compared to other development regions of the country. The 2001 National Population Census found that 58.97 percent of total households in Nepal owned less than 0.5 hectares of land each, rendering them practically landless in agriculture terms. In addition, 75 percent of rural households owned less than one hectare of land, the size required to provide basic subsistence, and the limited surplus needed to meet other needs (Wily, Chapagain, & Sharma, 2009, pp. 44-46).

Necessity of federalism is the boomerang of over centralization of resources in the capital. Mistry (2020) explains that in fact, the federal restructuring of the state has been the core demand of ethnic groups in post-Madhesh uprising politics in Nepal (p. 2).

Joshi (2010) explains that Nepal has always had a centralized state presiding over an agrarian economy. State-society relation has been largely extractive, with a coalition at the center composed of royals, Ranas and their supporters among the military and state bureaucracy presiding over an economically and politically marginalized peasantry at the periphery. The highly majoritarian and centralized democracy excluded more than two thirds of the marginalized Dalit, indigenous nationalities and Madhesi from governance. The increase in awareness of inequality, exclusion, and discrimination among the marginalized groups, on the other hand, made the Maoist task easier.

The centralized but ineffective and unresponsive state contributed to governance crises in the 1990s and eroded the performance legitimacy of the state (Riaz & Basu, 2007). Favorable Democratic Situation assisted the Maoists to expand and expose their political agendas nationwide peacefully. Lawoti (2010) elucidates that while the majoritarian democracy excluded and pushed the Maoists towards the insurgency, it also provided the Maoists with basic rights that allowed them to organize and prepare for the people’s war (p. 20). Thapa (2012) says that the democratic space provided by the 1990 political change gave the CPN (M) the opportunity to operate openly and mobilize public support for its cause, while highlighting the failure of successive governments to deliver (p.49).

In addition, once the Maoists launched the people’s war, the government could not repress it as brutally as in pre-1990 years. Thapa (2012) adds that the government was constrained to some degree by the free press, human rights groups and norms of the democratic regime (p. 49). The multi-party system provides more opportunities to intensify the class struggle than the Panchayat regime (Prachanda, 2012). Maoists had excessively utilized a Free press, Freedom of Expression to disseminate their political ideology and messages. Adhikari (2014) argues that the political sphere had become open and chaotic, resulting in the Maoists being able to set up secret fronts and find allies to protest against state excesses.

Intensity of War is directly proportional to the lack of economic opportunities. Tiwari (2010, p. 245) found that the economic factors such as poverty or lack of economic opportunity were significantly correlated with intensity of conflict, and that the relationship of conflict intensity with measure of social diversity was much less significant and robust. Reasons for conflict are diverse, mutually interacting and interdependent, and are related to all the four dimensions of people’s life- political, economic, social and cultural- rather than only one dimension as some studies have found (Tiwari B. N., 2010, p. 246). Tackling the insurgency is not mere the questions of tactics but is vague strategic procedure accompanied with the multiple series of sincere tasks.

In many cases, Nepali media and prominent civil society members failed to decrease the intensity of war rather help to escalate the circumstances. Chalmers (2012, p. 69) mentioning Dixit (2001) expresses his view as “As reported often, the killing of Nepalis by Nepalis cannot be a victory for anyone. But that is exactly what the Maoists were doing these past years, and now the tables may turn. The Royal Nepal Army, which has held its fire for so long, now has the difficult job of bringing this campaign to a swift, effective and conclusive end with the least amount of Nepali bloodshed.”

State’s pre mindset of denial of potential and large scaled armed conflict in Nepal was one of crucial reasons for failure. Lawoti (2007) argues that the government’s projection of Nepal as a peaceful society and its attempts to declare Nepal as zone of peace, despite many small-scale conflicts may have created a ‘mental block’.

Divided establishment such as mistrust between king and the political parties, suspicion between the political parties and RNA made favorable environment to fuel in the fire of insurgency. The divisions and factionalism in the establishment side contributed to the whole polity’s ineffectiveness. On the one hand, Maoists were ideologically, organizationally, and politically united, whereas at the same time infighting among and within mainstream political parties was flourished. They were badly engaged in inter-party and intra-party struggle. Lawoti (2010, p. 22) explains that the divisions among the establishment finally dropped victory into the Maoists’ lap. With king Gyanendra’s February 2005 coup, the division sharpened, and the state became isolated. The parliamentary political parties reached an understanding with the Maoists while most international actors opposed the move and suspended aid to the government. India, the main arms and ammunition supplier to the RNA, conducted a volte-face and facilitated the understanding between the parliamentary parties and the Maoists. This new development resulted in the successful mass movement of April 2006 that forced the royal regime into capitulation and facilitated the Maoists’ ascension to state power.

Exploiting contradictions inherent inside the opponents by the insurgents plays successful role in increasing and spreading power and strength of Maoists. The Nepali Maoists brilliantly exploited the contradictions at all levels-at the family, household, local, national and international levels to their benefit. The Maoists often used binary oppositions such as oppressed-oppressor, proletariat-feudal, reactionary-revolutionary, just and unjust wars to exploit the contradictions for recruiting and mobilizing people (Lecomte-Tilouine, 2006).

If there was conflict in the family, they would take one side. Likewise, Maoists often took sides in village disputes. Taking sides in a conflict allowed them to gain a foothold in villages and provided access of information about villagers and local political dynamics (Pettigrew, 2003a). Adhikari (2014) argues that in the early years of the rebellion, the Maoists scrupulously avoided antagonizing the palace and the army and only directed their attack to the parliamentary parties and the police. The Maoists would fan the friction between the palace and the parties whenever the occasion arose to their advantage.

The Royal Palace Massacre of 2001 and the Role of King Gyanendra negatively helped Maoists to get support and to prove the rationale of their insurgency. Adhikari (2014, p. 242) explains that the 2001 Royal Palace massacre badly damaged the monarchy and Gyanendra, the new king, made the grave mistake of usurping executive authority. This deprived the monarchy of the last legacy vestige and pushed political parties to mobilize against its rule.

Maoists launch their peaceful agitation and armed rebellion side by side. They sit on the negotiation table at the time of intense war. Fusion of War and Negotiations was a astonishing technique of Maoists. Adhikari (2014) writes that the Maoist rebellion had failed in various parts of the world, such as Peru and other nations, due to the rebel's excessive dependence on military power, political dogmatism, and a lack of understanding of the value of negotiations.

Forging of Joint alliances was urgency for Maoists to make the rebellion powerful and to get the legitimacy from international arena. Adhikari (2014) states that to become a powerful and decisive political party, the Maoists had to earnestly employed with all the political forces in the country. They, so, had tried frequently dialogue with small and large political forces aiming to forge tactical alliances. Famous Silguri dialogue was one of the best examples on this path applied by the Maoists even though they couldn’t make it success. Later, they had made alliances with many ethnic and spatial groups.

Seven Party Alliance (SPA) and the Maoists reached at an understanding popularly referred as “12- point understanding’ in New Delhi on 22 November 2005 to end the insurgency, fight against royal absolutism and begin the peace process. Nepali politics began to set in the current motion and paved the way for the Maoists to transform into a legitimate mainstream political force peacefully.

The rule of science is where there is exploitation-the rebellion is eminent; where there is rebellion-the counter rebellion is confirmed; where there is counter rebellion-the explosion is guaranteed; where there is explosion-the destruction is expected; where there is destruction-the re-construction should definitely take place. These are the cycle of nature (Miall, 2004, p. 4, as cited in Bhattarai, 2014, p, 3). The conflict in Nepal was no exceptional to this cycle; hence it must be tackled and considered in the similar line.

The Maoist insurgency in Nepal emerged from a complex interplay of socio-economic, political, and cultural factors. Root causes included deep-seated discrimination by the state, pervasive socio-economic inequalities, and systemic exclusion of marginalized groups, such as lower castes, indigenous communities, and the rural poor. The state's inability to address these grievances, coupled with political corruption and ineffective governance, exacerbated the situation. The Maoists capitalized on widespread discontent, leveraging failures of the parliamentary democracy, socio-cultural inequalities, and economic stagnation to galvanize support. Additionally, the state's harsh counter-insurgency measures and the political instability following the Royal Palace massacre further fueled the rebellion. The Maoists' strategic alliances and dual approach of negotiation and armed struggle ultimately allowed them to gain significant political leverage, leading to their integration into the mainstream political arena and the eventual transformation of the Nepalese state.

**People’s Participation in Governance**

People were optimistic that the democratic change would give them a central role in the political process by providing them economic opportunities and a social justice. Even after its transition to democracy, Nepali state remained an extractive patrimonial state that institutionally neglected vast majority of people living in rural Nepal. The Maoist insurgency challenged the status quo and rendered the Kathmandu-centric government machinery dysfunctional. The Maoists governed the areas under their control with some level of “consensus”. In many instances, they listened to the common people, who had rarely been asked for opinions before by “big people” (Schneiderman & Turin, 2004).

The Maoists attempted to win support in villages by providing different “public goods”. They confiscated property of their opponents and local elites and distributed it among their supporters and the poor in some regions.

Adhikari (2014) explains,

The Maoists accompanied public in governance and prohibited public sale of liquor in many areas and punished men engaged in domestic violence. The action against untouchability, ethnic prejudice and sexism created a pro-people image for the Maoists and attracted committed cadres to the Maoists fold. The Maoists insurgency gained support for their promise to enact radical land reforms, redress grievances and establish equitable society where people in rural villages have more equitable access to state and economic opportunities irrespective to caste and ethnicity.

**Agrarian Reform and Tussle with Landed Elites**

The restoration of parliamentary democracy in 1990 did not alter the concentration of economic resources in the hands of a small elite coalition. The political parties contesting the parliamentary elections gave peasants hope for agrarian reform and for the improvement of their living conditions but turned to landed elites for support in parliamentary election. Therefore, it can say that the Maoist insurgency in Nepal is the outburst of the grievances among rural people (Cockburn, 2002 as cited in Joshi, 2010). After the people’s movement in 1990, peasants were highly optimistic that the democratic government would carry out land reform and social welfare programs as most of the political parties prioritize these issues in their election manifestos.

Even existing Economic opportunities were not distributed equally. The economic prosperity did not diffuse evenly, with the rural poor peasants being left behind. In line with privatization priorities, the subsidies given to farmers in seeds and fertilizers were cut off (Deraniyagala, 2005). Therefore, the distributive effect of subsidy cut is disastrous for the rural households compared to urban households because of urban households’ lesser dependency on income from land and unskilled labor.

Adhikari (2014, p. 20) says that an elected government led by the CPN (UML) did establish a land reform commission in 1994, which in 1995 recommended abolishing tenancy and lowering the ceiling on landholdings. This was a praiseworthy work. But landowning classes when became the friends of dominant political parties, it hampered in policy implementation.

One of the mechanisms that forces elected leaders in democracy to come up with a broad redistributive policy is pre-election policy promise that candidates make to voters (Keefer, 2007).

Joshi (2010) argues that the dependence of most of the population on land for their economic well-being, control over land constitutes the main source of political power in Nepal. Major political parties contesting parliamentary seats in 1991 had radical electoral agendas such as ending a dual ownership of the land and land reform. But substantial legislative initiatives were not taken to fulfill electoral promises in the post-1990 Nepali politics, which could alter the existing socio-political structure. In time, it was this population that came to provide all the moral and physical necessities, the secure support bases that are necessary for revolutionary insurgency.

A negative relationship between liberalization and bank credits to the poor. The impact of the market economy in Nepal highlights the fact that people living in urban and rural areas have shared the fruits of liberalization very unevenly (Shrestha & Chowdhury, 2007).

On the other hand, after launching the insurgency, a Common Minimum Policy and Program (CMPP) of the United Revolutionary People’s Council (URPC), which was the Maoist Party-Commissioned parallel government (also called Jana Sarkar) stated that:

The main policy of agrarian revolution shall be to abolish the feudal, semi-feudal and bureaucratic capitalist production relations in the land and develop national capitalist relations, of which “land to the tiller” shall be the main policy tenet. In other words, the land owned by feudal, bureaucratic capitalists and various Guthis (a type of feudal ownership by social and religious institutions) in the places where the old reactionary power structure have been smashed, shall be seized without any compensation and distributed to landless and poor peasants, and the tillers shall be made the owners of the land (URPC 2001, as cited in Joshi, 2010).

The CMPP of URPC further elaborates the policy of land and property distribution as:

Land and property shall be distributed to the office-bearers of the People’s Army, People’s Government and Mass organizations and their families who come from the villages like other common peasants (CMPP of URPC 2001, as cited in Joshi, 2010).

With the arrival of Maoists in the villages, previous local elites lost their power base substantially, especially with threat of elimination and other actions. They distributed lands belonged to the local elites among supporters of insurgency, destroyed bondage papers, cancelled debts, and constituted ‘People’s Government’ and ‘People’s Courts’ in the villages (Joshi, 2010, p. 106).

The persistence of traditional clientelist networks in the countryside enabled rural elites to mobilize peasants to vote for parties other than the Maoist party, even though peasants would have benefited from that party’s advocacy for land reform. When that same party used insurgent violence against rural elites, peasants were willing and able to support the insurgency and abstain from voting in the 1999 election in locales where the insurgency succeeded in disrupting clientelist ties” (Joshi & Mason, 2008, p. 765). They (2008, p. 767) explain patron–client politics to explain how peasant cultivators can be persuaded to vote for parties other than those that advocate agrarian reform when such reform would benefit them directly.

The tendency of the rulers remains same even after the success of massive mass movement 2006. After April movement 2006, the Maoists rebels and government agreed to a ceasefire and a series of power-sharing deals. Many agreements, including the Comprehensive Peace Accords (CPA), signed between the Maoist party the Seven Party Alliance (SPA), as well as common minimum program of the government unveiled on April 10, 2007, includes provisions for extensive land reform and investments in rural development projects. Joshi & Mason (2008, p. 773) presents that where land-tenure patterns create stronger ties of dependency between landlord and tenant, turnout should be higher, and the insurgents should have more difficulty mobilizing peasants against the state; where those ties are weaker, turnout should be lower, and the insurgents should be more successful.

Despite the democratic transition in Nepal, the central role of rural people in governance remained limited, and their economic and social grievances persisted, fueling the Maoist insurgency. The Maoists capitalized on widespread dissatisfaction by implementing agrarian reforms, distributing land, and addressing issues like domestic violence and untouchability. However, after the restoration of parliamentary democracy in 1990, promised land reforms and social welfare programs were largely stymied by political elites who maintained their power through clientelist networks. The insurgents successfully challenged the status quo by redistributing land and disrupting traditional power structures, but post-conflict agreements, such as the Comprehensive Peace Accords, fell short in implementing comprehensive reforms, leaving rural areas with continued inequities. Thus, while the insurgency highlighted deep-seated issues and attempted reforms, substantial progress in achieving social justice and equitable economic opportunities remained elusive.

## 2.16 Maoist Insurgency and Madhes

International Crisis Group (2007) explains that Established as a political party in 1990 by the late Gajendra Narayan Singh, a long-term Nepali Congress activist, the Sadvbhavana Party raised many of the Madhesi grievances such as amendment of citizenship law to allow citizenship to more Madhesis, official recognition of Hindi, reorganization of the state into federal system, and the greater representation of Madhesis in the civil service and security forces (ICG, 2007, as cited in Kantha, 2010, p. 159).

The ethnic groups known as Madhesis, who dominate the Tarai, fear they will be cheated. Nepal’s censuses have always underestimated Madhesi numbers. Ethnically and culturally, they are indistinguishable from the Indians across the border. They probably make up 40 percent of the population but are barely represented in the bureaucracy, army or police and their ‘Nepaliness’ is constantly questioned. Ahead of the elections there is a drive to give millions of Madhesis the citizenship they lack, allowing them to vote (Economist, January 25, 2007, as cited in Kantha, 2010, p. 163). It is common Madhesi perception that not only are the Madhesi people treated as “second-class citizens” but their “Nepali Identity” is often questioned because of the cultural and geographical proximity to India (Kantha, 2010).

Kantha (2010, p. 161) explains that in the year 2000, the Maoists established a Madhesi Rastriya Mukti Morcha (Madhesi National Liberation Front, MNLF) in Silguri, India, under the leadership of Jaya Krishna Goit. This was part of their strategy to use identity politics to win the support of excluded communities. MNLF’s demands were quite comprehensive and included proportional Madhesi representation in state institutions; full distribution of citizenship certificates; use of Maithali, Bhojpuri and Awadhi as local official languages, protection of other cultural rights, reinvestment of Madhesi revenues in the region; revolutionary land reform; and an end to dwory, woman’s exploitation, untouchability, and social discrimination. Doubts of Madhesis to Maoists exist as even after presenting comprehensive and expressive demands and policies by the Maoists about Madhes, Madhesis seemed very doubtful to Maoists. The Maoists’s emphasis on the land reform reinforces Landowner’s fears about losing their land and property; they also see land reform as a further attempt to transfer land from Madhesis to the Pahadi population.

Another factor limiting the Maoists influence in the Tarai is their anti-Indian stance. Instead of being a threat, many Madhesis expect India to use its power and influence to support Madhesi demands for greater equality in Nepal; many also express dismays at hitherto Indian indifference to the Madhesi cause. The Pahadi Maoists leaders saw Tarai problems as resulting from both “pahadi ruling class policies and Madhesis’ own exploitative feudal and cast structure”. The Maoists division of the Tarai into Tharuwan (region of indigenous Tharus) in the west and Madhesi in the east also infuriated the Madhesi Maoists (ICG 2007, as cited in Kantha, 2010, p. 160).

The Maoist insurgency in Nepal, while aiming to address the grievances of marginalized communities, struggled to gain the full support of the Madhesis, who inhabit the Tarai region. Despite the Maoists' formation of the Madhesi Rastriya Mukti Morcha (MNLF) and their comprehensive demands for Madhesi rights and representation, skepticism remained among the Madhesi due to fears of land reform favoring non-Madhesi populations and a broader distrust of Maoist motives. The Maoists' anti-Indian stance also conflicted with the Madhesis' expectation that India would support their cause for greater equality. Furthermore, the Maoists' internal divisions and perceived threats to Madhesi land and cultural identity further alienated this group, limiting the insurgency’s effectiveness in rallying Madhesi support.

## 2.17 12-Points Understanding & Aftermath

On November 22, 2005, the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) and the Maoists signed the 12-Point Understanding (TPU) after secret negotiation in New Delhi, the crux of which was an agreement to resist and fight royal rule in Nepal, and end the armed conflict (Lawoti & Pahari, 2010, p. 306). According to Bhattarai (2014), Maoist’s transformation in political mainstream is crucial example of latest political transformation in Nepal. He continues that on 22 November 2005 in New Delhi, Seven Party Alliance (SPA) and the Maoists reached an agreement that popularly meant "12-point understanding" to end the rebellion, combat against royal totalitarianism and begin the peace process. Nepali politics started to set in current motion and paved the way for the Maoists to peacefully transform themselves into a legitimate mainstream political power. But at the time of crucial political junctions, Nepali media dared to disseminate pro-public news and views through top stories, editorials and article. Immediate before the 12-points understanding and at the period of monarch direct autocratic rule, Kantipur writes in favor of understanding. “Both the powers emerged from the people, responsible for the people, and reached a consensus on key ideological issues, there was no need to choose for the struggle to continue on two fronts. The combination of the two powers was seen as the only way to end the tyranny, leading them to come together. In this context, the '12-points understanding' is neither sudden, unnatural, nor unholy” (Rokka, 2005). on page 2 of issue of November 24, 2005, Kantipur widely cover the news in which civil society and various business organizations welcomed the 12-points Understanding. In front page of issue of November 23, 2005, the day after the 12-points Understanding, Kantipur titled “Seven parties-Maoists Understanding: both accepted democracy and constituent assembly”. On the same issue it wrote special editorial titling “Historic Understanding” and disclosed all the 12- points of understanding on its 7nth page.

On the contrary, government owned English daily “The Rising Nepal” stood against 12-points understanding covering the opposing news and views against the understanding. The day after the understanding, it published an article of Deep Raj Sanyal which tried to much confuse the public about understanding. “Even at the time of writing, no word regarding the details and agenda of the meetings held in India between the Nepali leaders and the Maoists have come out. The Maoists are yet to respond to the recent talks held between them and the two powerful leaders of the so-called seven party alliance and what transpired between them in the talks. While the details of the dialogue and the Maoists’ commitment to multi-party democracy, the rule of law and constitution are eagerly awaited, it is the general expectation of the common man that the outcome of these parleys has to be in the interest of the nation, and it should not be at the cost of Nepal’s sovereignty and national integrity” (Sanyal, 2005). On November 24, 2005, it published an article of M. R. Joshi which condemned the understanding. “Basically, the unholy 12-point Alliance-Maoist compact frames an agreement to abolish the Monarchy through elections to a constituent assembly, with a view to the establishment of a ‘total democracy’. That they hope to achieve via intensification of the Alliance’s anti-monarchy agitation and ‘active boycott’ of the impending municipal polls” (Josse, 2005). It covered the news and views in the line of government perspectives.

## 2.18 The Royal Regime as a Power Center and Downfall

The royal regime did nothing but fueled Maoists rebellion through excessive abuse of state power. (Einsiedel, Malone, & Pradhan, 2012, p. 21) insist that ‘King Gyanendra complemented the Maoists’ work by beheading democracy through his twin coups in October 2002 and February 2005, which forced a return to absolute monarchy. They further add that Gyanendra’s attack on democracy was encouraged by the RNA, whose senior officer corps, staunchly royal in orientation, promised him-unrealistically, as it turned out- to swiftly put down the Maoists insurgency once freed from the shackles of democratic oversight. During royal regime, the palace was the Centre of gravity for power politics and the elites used to resolve in and around the palace for power. These elites misused the royalty and exploited the poor Nepali in all possible means. Bhattarai (2014, p. 13) elucidates that the Maoist rebellion could gear up so fast that 242 years old royal regime and its structure trembled due to the popular support. Prithivi Narayan Shaha united the nation geographically but failed to integrate the country on the basis of ethnicity, religion, language, class, and culture.

Bhattarai (2014) firmly explains about the abolition of the monarchy, as:

“The very reason for this downfall was nothing other than the inability to meet the popular aspiration of the people, lack of willingness of the old structure to reform the outdated feudalistic mode of society and suffocation of normal people from elite ruling system. In addition, the inequality in access to resources and opportunities, inadequate service delivery, injustice to the identities and political ideological beliefs, ineffective governance, inept transparency and accountability, intolerance bureaucracy and technocracy as well as insipid diplomacy can be blamed for instability in Nepal”.

CPN-M won tremendous positions in CA refusing all pre-poll predictions. The Maoists emerged surprise to many as the largest party in the Constituent Assembly holding more than one-third of all seats. The electoral victory of the Maoists verified the tectonic shift in Nepali politics. Lawoti & Pahari (2010, p. 307) presents the data of election as for the first time in Nepal’s electoral history, the communist parties collectively polled a majority of popular votes and seats: more than 57 percent of popular votes and 61 percent of seats in the Constituent Assembly. Nepal transformed into a country where a majority voted for the communist parties in the twenty-first century, perhaps the only one of its kind.

The signing of the 12-Point Understanding (TPU) between the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) and the Maoists in November 2005 marked a pivotal moment in Nepal's political transformation. This agreement, aimed at ending the royalist autocracy and initiating a peace process, was met with mixed reactions from the media and political spheres. While some, like Kantipur, celebrated the TPU as a historic step towards democracy and peace, others, such as The Rising Nepal, criticized it for its potential threats to national sovereignty and questioned the Maoists' commitment to democracy. The royal regime's failure to address popular grievances and its attempts to suppress democratic movements only fueled the Maoists' rise. Ultimately, the royal regime's downfall and the subsequent Maoist electoral success in the Constituent Assembly underscored a dramatic shift in Nepali politics, leading to the establishment of a communist-majority government and a redefined political landscape.

## 2.19 Consequences of Armed Rebellion and the April Movement of 2006

The consequences of the insurgency, including the 2006 political transformation and the Constituent Assembly election have been profound, positively as well as negatively, heralding perhaps the most rapid political, social, and cultural transformation affecting a large proportion of citizens after the conquest of Nepal (Lawoti & Pahari, 2010, p. 311). Loss of lives, properties and infrastructures was the major cost of the civil war. From February 13, 1996, to the end of 2006, the state was responsible for 63 percent of those killed in the insurgency while the Maoists killed 37 percent (INSEC 2007, as cited in Lawoti & Pahari, p. 309).

Another major cost of the civil war was the gross Human rights violations by both state and insurgents. Adhikari (2014) explains that Maoists applied various kinds of intimidation, harassment and cultural torture. They smeared the black soot on political opponents' faces, and shaved their heads, garlanded them with shoes, and marched them around the towns and villages. They utilized terror of public shaming. They had blown the opponents with stick naming the stick actions (Bhate karbahi). Disappearances of opponents was the one of the infamous actions during the civil war. The state and the Maoists disappeared as well. According to INSEC, as cited in Lawoti & Pahari, 2010, p. 310, the state disappeared 828 and the Maoists disappeared 105 persons during the insurgency,

Hachhethu, Kumar & Subedi (2008) elucidate the nature of the state as the discriminatory character that the Nepali state has had, ever since the state was formed, encouraged the politics of exclusion, and only privileged caste and class groups have enjoyed power and access to resources. The creation of a modern Nepali state in which three main changes have occurred: the kingdom has become a republic, the armed struggle has become a stable political environment, and the non-inclusive state governed by the high castes has become an inclusively egalitarian.

Lawoti & Pahari (2010, p. 311) explains that large scale socio-political transformation has resulted directly and indirectly from the Maoist movement. The two-and-half-century-old monarchy was uprooted. The state has been declared secular in place of a Hindu state. Federal system in place of unitary state machinery has introduced. Mixed electoral method in place of only first-past-the-post has initiated. Maoists’ contribution towards these changes was significant because they not only backed these demands but had mainstreamed the agendas of federalism and proportional electoral method in the country.

ICG (2008, p. 15) reports that the CA is far more representative than past parliaments. In the words of Ian Martin, the special representative of the UN Secretary-General (SRSG), it is “the most inclusive body Nepal has yet known”. The 575 elected members of the CA include 50 Dalits, 204 Madhesis and 192 *janajatis.* Only 29 women were elected from the 240 FPTP constituencies (23 of them Maoists), but the 50 percent quota from the PR race brought their total representation in the CA up to one third. Sunil Babu Pant, a well-known campaigner for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender rights, became the first openly gay representative, when he was selected from the CPN (United)’s PR list. The electoral system also ensured a great diversity of parties. Where the purely FPTP contests of the past had made it nearly impossible for small parties to break into the system, the PR element greatly assisted the election of representatives from 25 parties.

Following the 12-point understanding between SPA and the Maoists, both sides have worked actively independently to plan a definitive campaign against King's autocratic rule. Chalmers (2012, p. 75) says while the Maoists collaborated with other political parties to organize the peaceful protests which led to the decisive People's Movement in April 2006, the PLA carried out parallel military preparations. If non-violent action failed or state repression led to ample chaos to use them, the PLA was able to enforce its own capital blockade (a tried and tested tactic) and also, under the aegis of the special central command, to engineer an urban insurrection.

In addition to ending the conflict, there were other achievements as well. Following the reinstatement of the parliament, the government enacted the most dramatic Act of 18 May 2006 which was passed unanimously by the parliament. This Act did away with all royal privileges and powers of the monarchy, including removing the king as commander-in-chief of the army and putting the 90 thousand troops under parliamentary control; imposing taxes on the royal family and its assets; conferring only ceremonial authority to the monarchy; dissolving the Raj Parishad, the royal advisory council; removing references to royalty from the army and government titles; and declaring Nepal a secular state instead of its previous status as a Hindu kingdom. The Act, which was drafted in the spirit of the Jana Andolan II, superseded the 1990 Constitution and has been hailed as the “Nepali Magna Carta,” which, according to Prime Minister Koirala, “represents the feelings of all the people.” (Sijapati, 2009, p. 41).

Following the People's Movement II, several academics cautioned that they must partner with members of civil society and the media to make the transition a success and create a 'Modern Nepal.' Frieden (2012, p. 112) describing the role of donors in transition period says that donors should stay steadfast in the protection of human rights, equality and integration in favour of the move to a "new" Nepal. He adds that they should maintain their conversation with trustworthy civil society leaders, cooperate with the media and support partner groups, while strengthening their own transparency and accountability to the government and to the general public.

In the years after the signing of the peace agreement in 2006 has made the transition period and peace process more complex and challenging. Lawoti (2012, p. 137) enhances that If multi-class arguments and community identities are approached with a view to eliminating discrimination and alienation, militant movements can achieve greater traction within the oppressed community and the peace process will not be permanent.

Quoting the political analyst C. K. Lal, Adhikari (2014, p. 245) explains,

There should be no hesitation in giving credit where it is due: the Maoists changed the way nationality had been defined for centuries in Nepal. Nonetheless, there were also setbacks to this process of transformation. The Maoists’ demand for a ‘radical restructuring of the state’ may have stood at the heart of the Constituent Assembly debates. But the assembly’s demise in May 2012 represented a failure to institutionalize this demand. The Maoists’ electoral defeat in 2013 further pushed back the agenda.

However, the state transformation in April 2006 has influenced ethnic politics even more than it had before, and the language of integration is common among political leaders. In the course of the peace process two foundations of sociocultural isolation, the Hindu empire and the Hindu state, were officially abolished.

At the time of people’s movement 2006, most of dailies covered the news of movement and incidents massively and disseminated the views in favor of the movement. Mostly, Kantipur daily intensively covered the news of movement as banner news and top stories and wrote special editorials in the support of movement. It published many photographs and pictures parading millions of people in the streets and brutal actions imposed by security forces upon the public. In April 18, 2006, it published an article of Pradip Giri, a leader of Nepali Congress party that valued more at that crucial period. "Nepali people no longer desire any form of monarchy. They do not wish for any type of special monarchy. Therefore, seeking any special role for the king or for royal ceremonial leadership, whether constitutional, prestigious, or ceremonial, is futile. Nepal has firmly moved forward on the path of republicanism” (Giri, 2006). Many Nepali newspapers along with Kantipur daily wrote a banner news after restoration of parliament. They had openly seemed pro-public. Government owned media were crawling in the line of government.

The armed rebellion and the subsequent April Movement of 2006 led to profound and rapid changes in Nepal's political and social landscape, culminating in significant transformations that both addressed and exacerbated various issues. The insurgency, which caused extensive loss of life and property and was marked by severe human rights violations by both the state and the Maoists, eventually contributed to the downfall of the long-standing monarchy and the establishment of a secular, federal republic. The People's Movement (Jana Andolan II) was pivotal in reinstating democracy and enacting landmark reforms, including the abolition of royal privileges and the introduction of a more inclusive Constituent Assembly. Despite these advancements, challenges persisted in institutionalizing these changes, with the Maoists’ failure to fully realize their agenda and the continued complexities of ethnic and social integration. Media coverage during and after these events reflected strong public support for democratic reforms, though government-controlled outlets often remained aligned with official perspectives. The transition has underscored the need for ongoing vigilance in protecting human rights and ensuring that the gains of the revolution lead to lasting and equitable development.

## 2.20 Causes of tremendous victory of Maoists in the election of first CA

Lawoti (2010, p. 301) presents the causes of Maoists victory in CA First because of various reasons as public mentality of supporting of winning side, fear of returning the Maoists into insurgency again, vote for change, vote for peace and stability, violence and intimidation, innovative strategies and mobilization, power, privilege and organizational decay. Lawoti & Pahari (2010, p. 307) picture the election’s report as,

The electoral victory of the Maoists verified the tectonic shift in Nepali politics. For the first time in Nepal’s electoral history, communist parties collectively polled a majority of popular votes and seats: more than 57 percent of popular votes and 61 percent of seats in the Constituent Assembly. Nepal transformed into a country where a majority voted for the communist parties in the twenty-first century, perhaps the only one of this kind.

“The landslide victory of the CPN (Maoist) is a clear sign of greater change in Nepali politics. The Maoists have emerged not only in some pockets but throughout the country, from the Terai to the snowy mountains. It has surged ahead, claiming almost a majority of the Constituent Assembly seats, leaving the Nepali Congress (NC) and Communist Party of Nepal (UML) far behind. While voting unambiguously for change, the Nepalese people have shattered all pre-poll predictions and delivered a verdict that will change the country’s power balance, make way for the abolition of monarchy and herald a federal republican parliamentary democracy” (Chalise, 2006).

The Maoists' overwhelming victory in the first Constituent Assembly (CA) election can be attributed to a combination of factors, including the public's desire for significant change and stability, fear of a return to insurgency, and effective mobilization strategies. Their victory, marking a historic shift in Nepali politics, reflected widespread support for their promise of transformation and peace, as well as dissatisfaction with the existing political parties. The Maoists’ ability to capitalize on their innovative strategies and address the population’s call for a new direction in governance led to their dominance in the CA, reshaping Nepal’s political landscape by significantly challenging traditional power structures and advocating for a federal republican system.

## 2.21 Ideological Stand, Strategies and Tactics of the Political Parties and Maoists

The rise of the Maoist Party as a major new political player has boosted prospects of significant change (Panday, 2012, p. 91). Particularly after the constitutional transition, the old scheme of growth plans is still followed by the political leaders by co-opting new trends. Panday (2012, p. 91) argues that when the first post-Panchayat government was elected in 1991, it followed the key elements of the departing regime's development strategy such that the ‘seventh plan’ in the Panchayat period was routinely followed by the ‘eighth plan’ in the democratic period.

New leadership has been drawn as before caste and class historically dominant in Nepal. Continuity rather than transition is the comfortable position where long-term strategic analysis overshadowed short-term needs. Fresh leaders have also followed the dress code, traditional customs, social mannerisms and habits of the government officials they were struggling against (Panday, 2012, p. 91). It means cultural stance of leadership drawn after people’s movement-1990 were also same as of old regime which helped to strengthen the status-quo.

In the initial process, parliamentary parties were totally reluctant about Maoists' demands, especially on round-table conferences, the formation of Interim Government and the election of the Constituent Assembly. They were not even aware of the multicultural demands and integration. They were only forced to change their philosophy and attitudes following royal takeover in 2002. Lawoti (2012, p. 136) articulates that having not achieved mainstream traction since their initial call for resistance against the royal takeover in 2002, the parliamentary political parties understood the need to integrate ethnic demands into their platforms. They also felt the need to pledge significant political changes to address the concerns of the oppressed classes, lest they lose their allegiance to the rebels or the leader. He further adds that the political parties thus decided to make the state inclusive, to include affirmative action measures for marginalized communities and to provide citizenship certificates to those without them, as sought by the Madhesh Movement.

Einsiedel, Malone, & Pradhan (2012, p. 364) argues that the political parties -first and foremost the Nepali Congress (NC) and the Communist Party of Nepal (UML) which is quite bourgeois and traditionalist in outlook, contrary to what its name might suggest quietly prefer conservative ideas and activities rather than adopting game changing progressive attitudes.

Mainstream political parties were not far from multi-party democracy and constitutional monarchy at the time when Maoist raised the issues of the round table meeting, the formation of provisional government and the election of the Constituent Assembly for the Republic. Girija Prasad Koirala says, 'When the solution is found by Parliament, the King's presence would also take place, since Parliament is His Majesty, the National Assembly and the House of Representatives. That the King and the people should unitedly seek a solution to the Maoist problem was the stance that I held yesterday and hold today (Dixit 2007, p. v). In a Press Conference held at the Nepali Congress Central Office, B P Smriti Bhawan, Sanepa on 2 April 2004, with journalists after release from house arrest, Koirala says ‘what is important is that if there is an understanding between the King and the parties, the Maoist problem will be addressed.’

Lawoti (2010, p. 12) evaluates that the role of Maoist leadership in developing and refining a ‘correct’ ideology, building and expanding organization, mobilizing people, exploiting available conditions and developing strategy to outsmart a more resourceful enemy was very significant in the growth of the rebellion. The party followed Mao’s strategy of guerrilla warfare and mass political mobilization in pursuit of a communist republic (Spence 1999, as cited in Lawoti, 2010, p. 13). Initially they adopted Mao’s three stages strategy for people’s revolution that had worked in China: strategic defense, strategic balance and strategic offence. Accordingly, they first mobilized the peasants and the poor in the rural areas. Lawoti (2010, p. 13) adds that the goal was to surround the center with the rural people mobilization in the classic Mao mold. It was a good strategy because it allowed the Maoists to expand organization and build support away from the center’s reach in early and weaker years.

Chalmers (2012, p. 58) explains that one thing that both the Maoists and their opponents concur on is that the army is the main source of state authority. Since it would be difficult to implement significant social and political reform on other fronts without reforming the army, any peace agreement that leaves the NA untouched is worthless and unacceptable to the Maoists. The army is the last line of defense for Nepal against potential Maoist tyranny, disintegration, or a collapse in social unity and national sovereignty, according to the NA and other political parties that are afraid of the Maoists and their radical program of state reform.

The ideological stances and strategies of Nepal’s political parties and the Maoists reveal a complex landscape of continuity and change. While traditional parties like the Nepali Congress (NC) and the Communist Party of Nepal (UML) largely adhered to conservative and status-quo approaches, the Maoists employed a radical strategy of guerrilla warfare and mass mobilization, inspired by Mao’s three-stage revolution model. The Maoists’ success stemmed from their ability to adapt their strategies to exploit existing conditions and effectively challenge the entrenched political order. In contrast, the mainstream parties were initially resistant to the Maoists’ demands but gradually integrated some of their revolutionary ideas, particularly after the 2002 royal takeover, leading to more inclusive and democratic reforms. However, the central role of the army and its resistance to reform highlighted the ongoing tension between the need for significant political change and the preservation of existing power structures.

## 2.22 The Election Result and the Failure of First Constituent Assembly

Although falling short of an outright majority, the Maoists won a decisive victory at the 10 April 2008 polls, securing a mandate for peace and change. Other parties, still struggling to accept their defeat, have set new conditions for supporting a Maoist-led administration (ICG, 2008, p. i).

ICG (2008) about election describes that the election's results are affected by the Nepali people's perception of Maoists as the architects of the most recent political upheaval. It continues that voters acknowledged that the Maoists were the designers of the federal republican agenda and were willing to give them credit for their fight and sacrifice.

Explaining the energetic election campaigning of the Maoists, ICG (2008) clarifies that no new observer would have thought the Maoists had open election experience because they surpassed the other parties in all facets of traditional campaigning by adopting and perfecting the trade's techniques.

ICG (2008) says that EC programs were reinforced by civil society initiatives, extensive media coverage, and the parties' own communication with voters when describing the validity of the election. Given that majority of the national observers were associated with the UML and NC and ready to condemn any Maoist wrongdoing, the verdict of national and foreign election monitors was unexpectedly favorable. The most well-known observer, former American President Jimmy Carter, dubbed the election "revolutionary" just a few hours after the votes opened. ICG (2008) notes that despite the numerous anomalies and acts of violence, including the murders of Maoist dissidents, the elections were unusually free and fair considering the conditions.

Talking about the misjudgment by the media upon Maoists, ICG (2008) explains that because of their deeply ingrained ideological impression about the objectives and tactics of the Maoists, mainstream media could not be objective. Major media organizations, analysts, and diplomats kept a firm emphasis on Kathmandu. It continues that local journalists maintain that their reports accurately depict this reality, while editors in Kathmandu disregarded their reporting in favor of sticking with their own interpretation of the country's reality. The mainstream media's flaws all came into play. Overt bias coexisted with a disregard for the truth. The notion that the Maoists couldn't possible enjoy genuine widespread support was one that journalists and observers were unwilling to give up. Journalists, academics, and analysts are to fault, according to ICG (2008), for failing to use science to fully comprehend the Maoist dilemma. "Nearly no one understands the Maoists or feels the need to," it claims. There are a pitifully small number of non-Maoist journalists, scholars, and analysts who have made an effort to comprehend Maoist thought.

ICG (2008) elaborates that in terms of their behavior, the Maoist win was remarkably clean, but it wasn't so clean in terms of pure numbers: with little over one third of the new CA under their control, they have the power to obstruct anything, but they can't do anything without cooperation from other parties.

Kharel (2012) says that the political parties, which abolished monarchy in Nepal root and branch, have not been able to construct a better political culture they promised during the 2005-6 movement. Pilfering and profiteering, favoritism and nepotism have tarnished the image of those at power play since 2006. He continues that it was likely to repeat same history as first constituent assembly because neither the modalities nor the parameters had been changed and the qualification of the candidates is fixed. One of the Maoist candidates for the new constituent assembly election indicated that as there was no ‘two third majority’ of their party in the last constituent assembly-they could not deliver the new constituent, but this time they would have ‘two third majority’ and definitely deliver the new constitution.

Maoist’s led coalition government had dissolve untimely; the very reason of its downfall was “Katuwal Episode” where India was a catalyst and armor. The Indian security establishment’s distrustful expression was a key factor of instability of Maoist-controlled government in Kathmandu. Adhikari (2014, p. 246) argues that because of the demise of first Constituent Assembly, the two dreams of the Maoists - establishing a more equal and just society and achieving national autonomy – seemed increasingly incompatible.

At least in part, the conflict between ideas and ideologies about ethnic grievances illuminates how the Maoists failed to translate the demands of their movement into the actions of their party in power. Ideas and ideologies supported the Maoists in their early years in Nepal. Resolving ethnic conflicts in Nepal is an issue of continual urgency in the country's democratization, which is the lesson for the remaining parties (Adhikari S. K., 2015).

Gyawali (2010) makes the case that Nepal's status quo is due to the fact that democratic leaders aren't actually democratic, socialists (and Communists) aren't really socialists, and politicians aren't in politics to serve the public but rather as dishonest careerists out to make money (Gyawali, 2010, p. 6).

Though the prediction of most of the Nepali media about result of first constituent assembly went wrong, but they covered the result well. Kantipur daily covered the news of election of first constituent assembly as top story on front page on election day putting the heading as ‘Today Historic Election’. It wrote its special editorial on election day on front page giving topic ‘One Day of History’. It covered election result very well even though Maoist party is going to be a largest legal party of Nepal. It published many more important articles of various scholars in the line of consensus, cooperation and understanding. “The Constituent Assembly should not be entangled into the traditional division of establishment and opposition. There should be no entanglement in the traditional partisan division. It should work as a national forum for consensus and partnership. The constitution should not be created by one or two parties alone; it must be a comprehensive document representing the entire nation” (Khanal K. , 2008).

The Rising Nepal daily had also well covered the news of election process, procedures and results. It wrote banner news on the election day putting heading ‘Nation goes to historic CA polls today’ with sub-heading ‘Dawn of A New Era’. It also covered the election result without bias as Maoists were leading others writing news on front page as ‘Maoists set for landslide win’. Naya Patrika daily, on the election day of first constitutional assembly also wrote a special editorial on its front page with a title ‘May the public not defeat’. It also wrote a banner news with a title ‘Today Epochal Day’. About the election result of first constituent assembly, Naya Patrika, wrote ‘Advance of Maoist, Setback of Congress-UML’ while about the result of election of second constituent assembly it wrote, ‘A big blow to the Maoists, with the Congress in the lead.’Top of Form

The first Constituent Assembly (CA) election in Nepal marked a significant shift in the political landscape, with the Maoists securing a decisive victory that underscored their role as the architects of change. Despite their victory, the Maoists faced challenges due to the need for coalition politics and cooperation with other parties, which limited their ability to unilaterally implement their agenda. The failure of the first CA to deliver a new constitution was influenced by a combination of internal party weaknesses, external pressures, and the ongoing complexities of ethnic and political grievances. The media coverage of the election, though initially focused on the Maoists’ success, reflected broader disillusionments with the political elite’s failure to address the promised reforms, resulting in a perceived continuity of the status quo. The CA's inability to meet its objectives highlighted the persistent challenges in translating revolutionary goals into effective governance and constitutional change.

Bottom of Form

## 2.23 Conclusion

There are many research works about media and politics. This chapter has reviewed many valuable works, literatures, concepts, and theories advocated by the scholars, authors and theorists in the past. The important elements and facts related to media and communication, politics, political system, politicized media, mediated politics, democracy, political transformation, conflict transformation, agenda setting process, social responsibility, and social justice are intensively studied and discussed here. It has collected and gone through some books, articles, journals, Webpages, newspapers and newsletters etc. available nationally and internationally as well.

The subject "Nepali Media in Political Transformation in Nepal" is directly linked to the media's roles, obligations, and functions in a proper way during the latest political transformation phase in Nepal. The time period, from 12-point Understanding (November 22, 2005) to Constituent Assembly’s Second Election (November 19, 2013), that has been allotted for the study work was the era of political debates and disputes, chaos, and instability.

The literature review on Nepal's political transformation reveals a complex interplay of historical, social, and political dynamics that have shaped the nation's journey from autocracy to democracy. The insights gathered from various sources highlight the multifaceted nature of political change and the critical role of media and external actors in this process.

Political transformation in Nepal has been marked by a significant shift from autocratic rule to a more democratic framework. Huntington’s concept of transformation, substitution, and transplacement underscores the stages of political change that countries like Nepal have navigated. The fall of the Soviet Union and the subsequent paths taken by the South Caucasian republics illustrate the varied trajectories of political evolution. In Nepal, the Maoist insurgency catalyzed this transformation by challenging the existing power structures and advocating for substantial reforms, including federalism and secularism.

Media has played a pivotal role in Nepal’s political transformation. Initially, under the Panchayat regime, media outlets were critical in mobilizing support against the autocratic rule. Post-1990, Nepali media continued to play a dual role—supporting democratic movements while also striving for professionalization and objectivity. Media’s involvement in political activism, despite occasional biases, contributed significantly to raising political awareness and fostering democratic engagement among the populace.

The Maoist insurgency was a crucial force in Nepal’s political shift. Their successful transition from a rebel group to a legitimate political party was facilitated by their popular support, internal cohesion, and the evolving international dynamics. The Maoists’ emphasis on identity politics and their focus on marginalized groups such as Dalits and indigenous peoples reshaped Nepal’s political landscape. Their demands for federalism and proportional representation became central to national discourse, highlighting their influence on shaping contemporary political reforms.

International actors played a significant role in Nepal’s political transition. While major powers like India and the USA were initially antagonistic towards the Maoists, neutral nations such as Switzerland and Norway facilitated dialogue and negotiations. The involvement of the European Union and the United Nations further exemplifies the international community's efforts to support Nepal's peace process. However, the varying degrees of support and intervention underscore the complexities of external influence in domestic political transformations.

Identity politics has been a major factor in Nepal’s political transformation. The Maoists’ recognition of identity issues and their mobilization of marginalized groups addressed long-standing grievances and contributed to their political success. However, the challenge remains in balancing these identity-driven demands with broader national interests, ensuring that political changes do not exacerbate existing divisions but rather promote inclusivity and equity.

The post-conflict period in Nepal has been marked by ongoing challenges in conflict transformation. Media’s role in either exacerbating or mitigating conflict is critical. While media can serve as a platform for dialogue and democratic engagement, it can also contribute to divisiveness and unrest if not managed responsibly. The media's capacity to set agendas and promote ethical discourse remains essential in fostering reconciliation and sustaining democratic values.

The empirical evidence suggests that while significant progress has been made in Nepal’s democratic transition, challenges remain. Issues of corruption, governance, and political fragmentation continue to impact the nation’s ability to consolidate democracy. The lessons learned from the Maoist insurgency, media involvement, and international mediation provide valuable insights into addressing these challenges and ensuring a stable and inclusive democratic process.

In conclusion, Nepal's political transformation is a testament to the complex interplay of internal and external factors, where media, political movements, and international actors have each played critical roles. Understanding these dynamics offers important lessons for other nations undergoing similar transitions and underscores the need for a balanced approach to conflict resolution, democratic consolidation, and societal transformation.

## 2.24 Research Gap

Many literatures contributed by some Nepali writers and some foreigners has been analyzed. As it has been tried to find the solution within above literatures but could not get success. In some literatures like “Mass Communication: Trends, Traits and Theories; by Banerjee Debanjan”, and “Media Policy, Democracy and Theories of the press” by Ogbebor B., it has been got theories, trends and traits of communication and media, some others like “Nepal in Conflict; edited by Kailash Pyakuryal, Kathryn March and Bipin Acharya” debated about the conflict transformation and state-building parameters. Some literatures like “Media’s Role in Nation-Building in Nepal” by Dev Raj Dahal defined the role of media only in development prospective ignoring the media’s role in political transition. Though some research works like “Conflict to Peace: Transition in Nepal” by Umesh K. Bhattarai and “Nepal in Transition: From People’s War to Fragile Peace” by Sebastian Von Einsiedel, David M. Malone and Suman Pradhan discoursed about the political transition, but they did not utter the media’s role in that process. Some literature elucidated about media’s role on the topics other than the political transformation whereas some others explained about political transformation without addressing the role of media.

While searching the literatures related to latest political transformation of Nepal, most of them are focused on conflicts, Maoists war and its impacts on transition, conflict transformation and so on. Many of the literatures reviewed are focused on transition from conflict to peace, from bullet to ballot, from insurgents to legitimate political force and from rebels to party transformation and so on. Almost all the literatures about politics and transition are revolving around Maoists people’s war, its causes and consequences. But these literatures have not discussed the media’s positions, their contributions in the political procedures and their involvement for transformation.

Some literatures like “Quest for Identity: Re-examining the process of Federal Restructuring of the Nepali State” by Asis Mistry, Post-Conflict State Building: Issues and Challenges” by Kailash Nath Pyakuryal and Safal Ghimire, and “The Private-Sector and Post-Conflict State Building” by Sagar Raj Sharma extensively explained federalism and restructuring of the Nepali state, Nation-Building process and Post-Conflict situation. Key component and concern of latest political change is state-restructuring and issue of federalism. But these literatures too ignore the role of media in transformation. Some literatures are concentrated on transition of media itself but seemed reluctance on their role for political transformation. In contrast to another works, some literatures bear some worthful theories and facts of political transformation.

Some literatures vehemently discussed about the outsider’s role in political transformation of Nepal. International player’s hidden interests while intervening on the internal affairs of a particular nation has been discussed in some works. Honest efforts of Scandinavian countries and UN and total antagonistic characters of USA and India in peace keeping process has described in few literatures.

Some literatures titled “the role of media in consolidating the democratization process in Nepal” and “the media’s role in nation-building in Nepal” adequately chatted about the media’s role but could not tackle the issue of political transformation. The first is a Ph.D. dissertation by Narendra Bahadur Pal which specially advocates the media’s activities related to democratization process while second literature talked merely the media’s role on the issue of nation-building procedure. The media’s role in decision-making process, changing general public to well-informed citizens, and political socialization is splendidly illustrated in some articles. They have discussed the transformation of nations to nation-states but the position of media in this process is not clearly defined. Some articles extensively positioned the role of communication and effect of concentration of communication clearly but could not specialize the Nepali media’s role in the total change of the nation. Though some literatures have focused on the role of media but could not take the reference during the time of 12-points understanding to second election of Constituent Assembly. The analysis of literature reviewed identified no literature defining the function of the media in political transition at the allotted time. As review of many above literatures became unable to solve the gap in studied literatures, this is the very reason which compelled jump into primary data.

The research on Nepali media in political transformation, especially within the context of Nepal, reveals several gaps that need to be addressed to deepen our understanding of this complex interaction.

**Longitudinal Analysis of Media Impact:** Previous studies have not analyzed media's role during specific periods of Nepal's political transformation. There is also a gap in longitudinal studies that track media influence over the entire span of the transition from monarchy to federal democratic republic. This research gap includes understanding how media's role evolved over time and how its influence varied across different phases of the political upheaval.

**In-Depth Examination of Media Bias and Ownership:** Existing research often touches upon media bias and ownership concentration, but there is a lack of detailed analysis on how these factors specifically influenced the political landscape in Nepal. There is a need for more granular studies that explore the connections between media ownership structures, bias in reporting, and their implications for political stability and democratic engagement.

**Perceptions and Experiences of Media Stakeholders:** Although there are studies on media coverage, less attention has been given to the perceptions and experiences of Nepali journalists, civil society members, and political actors regarding media's role in political transformation. Research that incorporates these stakeholders' perspectives could offer insights into the practical challenges and opportunities faced by media during the transition.

**Effectiveness of Media Advocacy:** While media advocacy for democratic values is recognized, there is limited research on the effectiveness of media campaigns in achieving tangible political outcomes. There is a need to assess how well media advocacy translated into actual political change and the mechanisms through which media can effectively mobilize public support for democratic processes.

**Role of Media in Peace-Building:** There is a gap in understanding the specific role that media played in the peace-building process during and after the conflict. Research should focus on how media coverage influenced reconciliation efforts, peace negotiations, and the long-term stability of the political system.

By addressing these research gaps, future studies can provide a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the role of media in Nepal's political transformation, contributing to more effective media strategies and policies that support democratic development and stability.

# CHAPTER-III

# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Although scholars have different concepts regarding what research methodology is, there are some commonalities in everyone's opinion. Research methodology is a systematic process of producing knowledge (Anderson, 2012). According to Dale T. Griffey (2012), a research method is an overall strategy for studying any topic. That is, the research framework is the master plan or main framework for conducting the research project (Griffey, 2012). Various parties are involved in such methods. Likewise, Babbie (2016) states research methodology involves many decisions, including how many subjects to study, what research methods to use for what purposes, and so on (Babbie, 2016).

In this study, data have been mostly collected in Kathmandu valley via questionnaire survey as the most of the politicians, media professionals, civil society members, and professional intellectuals have been resided within or near Kathmandu valley.

## 3.1 Research Philosophy

First of all, it is necessary to determine the philosophical basis for the research work. Only knowledge gained through social research based on a certain scientific philosophy can bear validity and reliability. Social reality, ontological and epistemological approaches completely influence the research concept, methodology and even the interpretation of facts. Therefore, it is important to be clear about this at the beginning of the research.

**Ontology**

Ontology is the branch of philosophy concerned with the nature of reality and what exists. It addresses questions about what entities exist, how they can be categorized, and how they relate to one another. Ontological considerations in research involve questions about the nature of the phenomena being studied (Searle, 1995). Ontology is the starting point of research and it is logically followed by epistemology and research methodology (Grix, 2002). The belief in Ontology relates to our beliefs about what constitutes social reality (Brewer & Hunter, 1989). Ontology influences how researchers view the nature of the entities or phenomena they are studying, affecting their approach to data collection and interpretation. For instance, a realist ontology assumes that there are objective realities to be discovered, while a constructivist ontology views realities as subjective and constructed. Constructivism and realism are two main approaches under ontology.

**Epistemology**

Epistemology is the theory of knowledge that deals with how we know what exists (Grix, 2002). There are also two approaches to epistemology: positivist and interpretive (Hanson & Grimmer, 2007). Epistemology basically focuses on the process of gathering knowledge. In short, epistemology deals with the nature of knowledge. While accepting the fact that objective reality exists to gain knowledge about the subject of research, the reality that some uncertain understandings about the subject of research are also maintained has also been accepted. This has led to the adoption of a flexible interpretive epistemology for research (Hanson & Grimmer, 2007). Epistemology is the branch of philosophy concerned with the nature and scope of knowledge. It deals with questions about how knowledge is acquired, validated, and what counts as knowledge. Epistemological considerations in research involve understanding how knowledge about the world can be obtained and justified (Flick, 2018). Epistemology impacts how researchers believe knowledge can be obtained and validated. For example, a positivist epistemology relies on objective, empirical data, while an interpretivist epistemology values subjective understanding and the meaning-making processes of individuals. Positivism and interpretivism are two main philosophies under epistemology.

For this study, following philosophies have adopted and followed:

**Interpretivism**

Interpretivism focuses on understanding the subjective meanings and social phenomena through the perspectives of the participants. It emphasizes the importance of context and the meanings that individuals attach to their experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018).

This philosophy is suitable for studying the role of media in political transformation as it allows for an in-depth exploration of how media narratives are constructed, perceived, and influenced political transformation. It facilitates understanding the complexities of media influence on public opinion, political discourse, and democratic engagement within the unique socio-political context of Nepal.

**Critical Realism**

Critical realism acknowledges the existence of an objective reality but recognizes that our understanding of this reality is mediated through social and cultural lenses. It focuses on uncovering the underlying structures and power dynamics that influence social phenomena (Archer, 1995).

This approach helps in examining the power relations and structural factors that impact media operations and political transformation. It is useful for exploring media biases, ownership concentration, and the interaction between media, politics, and society.

## 3.2 Research Design

Research design refers to the framework or plan for conducting a research study. It outlines the procedures for collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data to address specific research questions or hypotheses. The design encompasses the methodological approach, sampling methods, data collection techniques, and analytical strategies that will be employed to ensure that the study produces valid and reliable results.

Research design refers to a "blueprint for collecting, measuring, and analyzing data" which is essential for addressing the research questions and ensuring that the study is methodologically sound (Babbie, 2016). In this context, research design provides the structures and procedures needed to conduct a study systematically and rigorously, making it possible to draw meaningful conclusions from the research findings. According to W. L. Numen (2014), the biggest challenge of research design is to create a plan in a rational way to be able to measure and define all the variables (observational), select a representative sample, collect data and analyze the data (Neuman W. , 2014).

This study employs descriptive approach since it is associated with identifying the various characteristics of factors contributing or motivating in the settlement of political instability and providing shape for peace process of Nepal. There is still discourse about peace process and becoming a burning question to bring the peace process in logical end. Also, the research holds by conducting inquiries such as using questionnaires to agglomerate the invaluable experience of the respondents. The description of the various factors such as media, politics, and mediated politics, politicized of media and their roles have entitled. The informal interviews have conducted to know the interconnection of these above factors and phenomena.

As argued by Smith (2009), interpretation analysis has been based on the three concepts of philosophy of knowledge phenomenology, Hermeneutics and Ideography. The descriptive method has been used to analyze the qualitative and quantitative facts obtained from research. Generally speaking, both the quantitative and qualitative research traditions that have been brought into vogue have been used in this study. The method used for this research is Quantitative-Qualitative exploratory method (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In the course of this research, a sequential mixed method has been used for the study of communicative work. From the initial stage, as mentioned by Babbie (Babbie, 2016), the research has been accepted as a sub-field of the science of finding facts and the science of knowledge extraction. According to the W. L. Newman (2014) for this study, quantitative method has used to collect data in the form of numbers and qualitative method was used to collect data in the form of words and pictures.

All in all, for this study, exploratory descriptive design has adopted. An exploratory descriptive design seeks to explore and describe phenomena as they naturally occur, often using qualitative methods to gain in-depth insights.

This design is appropriate for the study as it allows for a comprehensive exploration of the media's role in Nepal's political transformation. It facilitates the examination of media contents, biases, stakeholder perceptions, and the interaction between media and political processes.

## 3.3 Nature and Source of Data

The study has been conducted by using both the primary as well as secondary data.

### 3.3.1 The Primary Data:

The intensive field work has done to collect primary data in the Kathmandu valley and outside of the valley by visiting professional intellectuals, political leaders, Civil Society members and media practitioners. The sources of primary data were from the sampled respondents, key informant interviews and content analysis.

### 3.3.2 The Secondary Data:

The secondary data have been gathered from many literatures and books, Internet, Webpages and Central library of Tribhuvan University. The data have also been agglomerated from published and unpublished journals, books, articles and research reports for the study.

Depending upon the nature of the study, both qualitative and quantitative data have been taken in the research. The qualitative data collected for the study have been based on the attitude and perception of intellectual professionals, media practitioners, civil society members, and political activists towards their society and nation gathered via content analysis and Key Informant Interviews. However, quantitative data have been agglomerated from the sources such as questionnaire survey, political events and some others. Most of the qualitative data collected by various means have been quantified using different methods of analysis.

## 3.4 Universes and Sampling

The universe of the study is the total genres of media, various professional intellectuals and all the political parties of Nepal. The media inside and outside the Kathmandu valley have been compared. Since the media are scattered in different parts of the country, in different forms and levels, only assumed representatives such as two broadsheet dailies: Kantipur and Naya Patrika, one English daily: The Rising Nepal, and some prominent media practitioners, academicians, human rights activists, civil society members and political leaders of the country have been chosen for the study. Kantipur is popularly known as pro-democratic while Naya Patrika represents as pro-left wings. These two dailies are privately owned newspapers. So, these two Nepali dailies have chosen for study. But to give justice to English readers and to know the voice of government, government owned English daily has chosen for the study. Media practitioners, academicians, human right activists and professional intellectuals possess huge knowledge in the related field and have critical analysis about the society. So, they have chosen for the study.

For the ease, the media have selected purposively. Hence purposive sampling has been performed for the study.

## 3.5 Techniques and Major tools of Data Collection

Researchers have used both quantitative and qualitative methods for practical research in the field of sociology. Both methods have their own strengths and weaknesses.

In this study, the data have been collected by using different techniques such as questionnaire survey, key informant interviews and content analysis and recorded interviews. Both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection have applied in this study.

### Quantitative Methods

About Quantitative Methods as Griffey (2012) suggests, one is to collect data using the popular questionnaire method to conduct classroom-based research. This method is relatively easy, measurable and less expensive than other methods of data collection. Questionnaires can be used to study almost all aspects of teaching and learning, and questionnaires can easily be used to know the exact political transformation situation in a country (Nunan, 1992). Quantitative methods have the merits of being able to replicate the findings of the research in other contexts and to be easily applied to large samples.

### Questionnaire Survey

### Surveys have done to a larger sample of media consumers, journalists, political analysts, and academics to measure perceptions of media effectiveness, bias, and impact on political engagement and transformation.

Questionnaire survey among 440 respondents was conducted in order to obtain a reasonable and scientific result about the role of media in the political transformation in Nepal. Among 440 respondents, 154 were female and 286 were male. Age wise, respondents of below 30 years age were 93, between 30-50 years were 288 and above 50 years were 59.

32 of respondents were undergraduate while 176 were graduate. Majority of respondents, 232 in numbers were postgraduate. There were 30 respondents related to business sector especially in media business whereas 71 were journalists mostly involved in print media and 135 were involved in teaching profession in various schools, colleges and universities within Nepal. In Nepal, teachers are those who directly or indirectly hold and lead the society. They were the decisive in every political movement of the nation to energize, influence the common people. So, they are chosen in remarkable numbers. Political activists were only 22, social workers were 73 and others were 109. Among others, there were Doctors, Engineers, IT professionals and mostly the common people.

Statistical analysis of survey data has done to identify patterns and correlations between media professionals, journalists, political activists and civil society members, perceived biases, and political outcomes.

### 3.5.2 Qualitative Methods

Qualitative research is the concept of understanding and exploring the meaning of how individuals and groups interpret social and human problems (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Qualitative methods basically address the questions of what and how. Qualitative methods include knowledge of the context of the researched topic, its implications and consequences, and its significance to the wider world (Wertz, et al., 2011). Qualitative methods involve detailed examination of people's lived experiences and explore social realities and cultural meanings about the researched topic (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009).

**Key Informants Interviews**

Semi-structured interviews have conducted with Nepali journalists, media professionals, civil society members, and political actors to gather personal perspectives on media influence, political transformation and challenges.

Key Informants interviews were conducted with 9 prominent personalities from different walks of life mostly including media experts and civil society members. In-depth interviews were conducted with those personalities from where most important facts and figures were excavated out. Diversified opinions were collected through the interviews from different walks of life.

**Content Analysis**

Qualitative content analysis of media coverage on banner news and top stories of broadsheet dailies have done including news articles, editorials, news on front pages, to identify themes, biases, and agenda-setting strategies.

Selected issues from chosen newspapers were subjected to content analysis. This study delves into key political events spanning specific timeframes, with a focus on the headlines and coverage in prominent newspapers. The selected periods include November 17-29, 2005 (before and after 12-points understandings), April 5-24, 2006 (People's Movement II), November 17-30, 2006 (before and after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement - CPA), April 5-19, 2008 (First Election of Constituent Assembly), and November 13-28, 2013 (Second Election of Constituent Assembly).

Two broadsheet Nepali dailies; Kantipur daily and Naya Patrika daily and one broadsheet English daily, The Rising Nepal have been taken under consideration. This content analysis has become very fruitful during the triangulation of data acquired from different sources applying different methodologies.

## 3.6 Research Procedures

### 3.6.1 Data Collection

**Literature Review:** A comprehensive review of existing literature on media’s role in political transformation, with a focus on Nepal has conducted.

**Primary Data Collection:** Implement Key Informant Interviews and surveys as outlined in the research methods have carried out.

**Media Contents Collection:** A range of media contents from different periods and outlets to ensure a representative analysis has gathered.

### 3.6.2 Data Analysis and Presentation

**Qualitative Analysis:** Thematic analysis to identify patterns and themes in interview transcripts, and media content has used.

**Quantitative Analysis:** Statistical techniques to analyze survey data and assess relationships between media exposure, bias perceptions, and political engagement have applied.

The study employed a comprehensive approach to gather primary data, aiming to gain a profound understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. The primary data have been presented through various visual representations such as tabulations, and percentages.

Data derived from interviews, observations, and sections of the questionnaires have been meticulously processed manually. Qualitative descriptions have been provided to elucidate their context and content, facilitating a thorough examination of the subject matter. These qualitative insights have then been interpreted in alignment with the study's defined objectives.

Scientific data obtained from the questionnaires survey have been underwent analysis using computer software, including MS-Excel and SPSS, ensuring a systematic examination of the data.

### 3.6.3 Validation and Reliability

**Triangulation:** Multiple data sources and methods to cross-verify findings and ensure reliability have been used.

**Member Checking:** Preliminary findings with some interview participants to validate interpretations and ensure accuracy have been shared. The interpretation of results has been elucidated with meticulous attention to their relevance, validity, reliability, and overall significance.

## 3.7 Limits of Analysis

### 3.7.1 Temporal Constraints

**Scope:** The study has focused on specific periods of Nepal's political transformation, which might limit the ability to generalize findings across all phases of the transition.

### 3.7.2 Media Bias and Ownership

**Bias:** The analysis may be influenced by inherent biases in media coverage and ownership, which could affect the objectivity of findings.

### 3.7.3 Stakeholder Access

**Participation:** Accessing and engaging with key stakeholders, such as high-profile journalists and political figures, may be challenging and could affect the comprehensiveness of the data.

### 3.7.4 Perception Variability

**Subjectivity:** The study’s findings have been based on subjective perceptions and interpretations of media roles, which might vary among different stakeholders.

By addressing these aspects, the study aims to provide a nuanced understanding of the role of media in Nepal's political transformation while acknowledging the inherent limitations and potential biases in the research process.

# 

# CHAPTER-IV

# NEPALI MEDIA IN THE COUNTRY'S TEN-YEAR WAR AND POLITICAL UNREST

This chapter comprises presentation and analysis of qualitative and quantitative data collected from questionnaire survey and other tools to study the role of Nepali media in the country’s ten-year long civil war and political unrest.

## 4.1 Demographic Analysis

The demographic analysis has been conducted on a sample population comprising 440 individuals, examining four fundamental aspects: gender distribution, age groups, academic qualifications, and professions. Each segment presents a detailed breakdown, featuring frequencies and percentages that offer crucial insights into the composition and distinctive attributes of the surveyed population. This comprehensive examination provides valuable information on the gender balance, age demographics, educational backgrounds, and professional diversity within the studied group.

**Gender of Respondents**

The presented table 1 outlines the gender distribution within a sample of 440 individuals, revealing the frequencies and percentages for each gender category. The two genders considered are "Female" and "Male." Examining the data, it is evident that males dominate the population under study, constituting a significant majority.

**Table 4.1**

#### Gender of Respondents

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Gender | Frequency | Percent |
| 1 | Female | 154 | 35 |
| 2 | Male | 286 | 65 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

Specifically, the "Male" category comprises 65 percent of the total sample, with a frequency of 286. This suggests a notable gender imbalance, with a substantial representation of males in comparison to females. Conversely, the "Female" category accounts for 35 percent of the total sample, with a frequency of 154. While females constitute a minority in this particular population, it is essential to consider that this distribution is specific to the studied sample and may not necessarily reflect broader demographic trends.

**Age of Respondents**

The provided table 4.2 illustrates the distribution of age groups within a given population, with a total sample size of 440 individuals. The age groups are categorized as "Below 30 years", "30-50 years" and "Above 50 years.

**Table 4.2**

#### Age of Respondents

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Age | Frequency | Percent |
| 1 | Below 30 years | 93 | 21.1 |
| 2 | 30-50 years | 288 | 65.45 |
| 3 | Above 50 years | 59 | 13.4 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

Each age group is associated with a corresponding frequency and percentage. Starting with the youngest age category, individuals below the age of 30 constitute 21.1 percent of the total sample, with a frequency of 93. This indicates a notable presence of younger individuals in the population under consideration. Moving to the next category, those aged between 30 and 50 years' account for the largest portion, comprising 65.45 percent of the total sample, with a frequency of 288. This suggests a significant representation of individuals in the prime of their adulthood.

Moreover, respondents aged above 50 years make up 13.4 percent of the total, indicating a minority but suggests a notable presence of individuals in their senior years.

**Academic qualification**

The table 4.3 presented outlines the distribution of academic qualifications within a sample of 440 individuals. The academic qualifications are categorized into three groups: "Graduate," "Postgraduate," and "Undergraduate." The frequencies and percentages for each category provide insights into the educational composition of the population under consideration.

**Table 4.3**

#### Academic Qualification of Respondents

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Qualification | Frequency | Percent |
| 1 | Graduate | 176 | 40.0 |
| 2 | Post graduate | 232 | 52.7 |
| 3 | Undergraduate | 32 | 7.3 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

Starting with the largest group, individuals with a "Postgraduate" qualification constitute the majority, representing 52.7 percent of the total sample with a frequency of 232. This suggests a significant presence of individuals who have pursued advanced studies beyond the undergraduate level, indicating a relatively high level of educational attainment within the population.

The "Graduate" category follows closely, comprising 40.0 percent of the total sample with a frequency of 176. This indicates a substantial representation of individuals who have completed their undergraduate studies but may not have pursued further academic qualifications at the postgraduate level.

Lastly, the "Undergraduate" category represents a smaller proportion, accounting for 7.3 percent of the total sample with a frequency of 32. While this group is the smallest in terms of percentage, it still contributes to the overall educational diversity within the studied population.

**Professions**

The provided Table 4.4 delineates the distribution of professions within a sample of 440 individuals, categorizing them into six distinct groups: "Business," "Journalism," "Others," "Politics," "Social Works," and "Teaching."

**Table 4.4**

#### Profession of Respondents

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Profession | Frequency | Percent |
| 1 | Business | 30 | 6.8 |
| 2 | Journalism | 71 | 16.1 |
| 3 | Others (common people) | 109 | 24.8 |
| 4 | Politics | 22 | 5.0 |
| 5 | Social Works | 73 | 16.6 |
| 6 | Teaching | 135 | 30.7 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

The frequencies and percentages for each profession offer insights into the occupational diversity within the examined population. Examining the data, the "Teaching" profession stands out as the most prevalent, constituting 30.7 percent of the total sample with a frequency of 135. This suggests a substantial representation of individuals engaged in educational roles, indicating the importance of the education sector within the population.

The second-largest professional group is "Journalism," comprising 16.1 percent of the total sample with a frequency of 71. This significant presence in the field of journalism suggests a noteworthy involvement of individuals in media-related activities, contributing to the dissemination of information and public discourse. "Social Works" also emerges as a significant profession, representing 16.6 percent of the total sample with a frequency of 73. This indicates a notable engagement of individuals in social welfare activities, emphasizing a commitment to community and societal well-being.

"Business," "Politics," and "Others" make up the remaining professional categories. The "Business" category represents 6.8 percent, "Politics" accounts for 5.0 percent, and "Others" contribute 24.8 percent of the total sample. These categories collectively highlight a diverse range of professional engagements within the population, including business-related activities, political involvement, and a variety of other unspecified professions.

## 4.2 Media Practices and Ethics in Journalism

The close-ended questions ("Yes," "No," and "Maybe") posed to journalists in primarily focus on various aspects of media practices, ethics, and the role of journalism in the context of Nepal, particularly during the period of the ten-year civil war. The inquiries address a range of topics, including editorial independence, ethical standards, media coverage of specific issues, and the impact of media on societal and political dynamics.

**Media Accountability and State Influence**

The questions on Table 4.5 draw the information on potential influence of the state and the media's coverage patterns, particularly during the civil war. These questions seek to understand whether biased news was prevalent, if ruling classes received disproportionate coverage, and the politics-centric nature of media content.

**Table 4.5**

#### Journalist's View on Media Accountability and State Influence

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **Maybe** |
| 1 | If the media do not honestly carry out their duty, the state will establish a monopoly. Do you concur with this assertion? | 8.9 | 77.3 | 13.9 |
| 2 | Do you believe that country sides or villages are frequently ignored on the coverage of Nepal's broadsheet dailies? | 11.4 | 72.0 | 16.6 |
| 3 | Do you think that Nepal's media frequently give the ruling class a lot of coverage? | 13.4 | 73 | 13.6 |
| 4 | Do you agree that during the ten-year civil war, biased news has delivered by Nepali media? | 12.5 | 66.4 | 21.1 |
| 5 | Did you observe that broadsheet dailies of Nepal frequently published political news as top stories on their front pages after the period of 12-points understanding? | 15.7 | 65.2 | 19.1 |
| 6 | Do you agree that contents on the banner news and top stories of broadsheet dailies during the time of domestic conflict in Nepal are politics centric?  **Number of respondents=440** | 15.9 | 62 | 22 |

Source: Survey, 2023

In Table 4.5, the respondents' views on the assertion that "If the media do not honestly carry out their duty, the state will establish a monopoly" reflect diverse opinions. Among those surveyed, 8.9 percent firmly reject this proposition, emphasizing a skepticism toward state intervention. On the contrary, a significant majority, comprising 77.3 percent, express concurrence with the statement, suggesting a prevailing belief that the state might step in if media organizations fail in their duty. Notably, 13.9 percent remain uncertain, offering a middle-ground perspective, potentially acknowledging the complexity of the relationship between media accountability and state influence.

Analyzing the responses to the question "Do you believe that country sides or villages are frequently ignored on the coverage of Nepal's broadsheet dailies?" reveals a notable perspective. Approximately 72.0 percent of respondents affirm the belief that rural areas are indeed overlooked in the coverage of Nepal's broadsheet dailies. In contrast, 11.4 percent hold the opposing view, suggesting a minority perspective that disputes the notion of frequent neglect. Additionally, 16.6 percent remain undecided, potentially recognizing the nuanced considerations involved in evaluating media coverage disparities.

The assessment of whether "Nepal's media frequently give the ruling class a lot of coverage" elicits distinct responses. A substantial proportion, 73.0 percent, agrees with the statement, suggesting a perception that the ruling class receives a considerable share of media attention. In contrast, 13.4 percent reject this assertion, reflecting a segment that believes the media's focus on the ruling class is not as pronounced. Additionally, 13.6 percent remain ambivalent, possibly reflecting the nuanced nature of media coverage and the challenges in forming a decisive stance on this matter.

Examining the perception of biased news delivery during the ten-year civil war, respondents exhibit varied viewpoints. Approximately 66.4 percent acknowledge the presence of biased news during this tumultuous period, underscoring concerns about the objectivity of media reporting. Conversely, 12.5 percent reject the notion of biased news, suggesting a subset of respondents who perceive the media's coverage during the civil war as more impartial. Meanwhile, 21.1 percent adopt a middle-ground stance, indicating uncertainty or acknowledgment of the complexity surrounding the issue.

The evaluation of whether "contents on the banner news and top stories of broadsheet dailies during the time of domestic conflict in Nepal are politics-centric" reveals diverse opinions. A notable 62.0 percent agree with this assertion, implying a consensus that media coverage during domestic conflict had a pronounced political focus. On the contrary, 15.9 percent disagree, suggesting a subgroup that perceives a more diversified content landscape. Another 22.0 percent express ambivalence, potentially reflecting the challenge in categorizing the multifaceted nature of media content during times of internal conflict.

**Ethical Standards and Editorial Independence**

Table 4.6 delves into the ethical standards, editorial independence, and the mission orientation of Nepali media. They aim to evaluate whether the media upheld professional standards during the conflict, transitioned responsibly from war to peace, and if there has been a shift from mission-driven journalism to profit-oriented business models.

**Table 4.6**

#### Journalist Views on Ethical Standards and Editorial Independence

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **May be** |
| 1 | Is there editorial independence in Nepali print media? | 50.2 | 33.4 | 16.4 |
| 2 | Do you think that Nepal's existing daily newspapers uphold the ethical and professional standards of journalism? | 57.7 | 21.4 | 20.9 |
| 3 | Do you believe that the current Nepali media has deep rooted self-interests that erode news values? | 16.4 | 63.9 | 19.8 |
| 4 | Did the media outlets take special care while reporting news and opinions so that the nation's already unstable condition wouldn't get worse as a result of their coverage? | 36.4 | 36.1 | 27.5 |
| 5 | To reveal the wrongdoings and misuse of authority by public servants, the media must play an objective and independent role. Do you agree with this statement? | 7.3 | 81.6 | 11.1 |
| 6 | Do you believe that the Nepali media has changed from being mission-driven for political change to becoming a business that makes money from selling audiences to advertisers?  **Number of respondents=440** | 12.5 | 67.0 | 20.5 |

Source: Survey, 2023

The data regarding the question "Is there editorial independence in Nepali print media?" Table 4.6 demonstrates a mixed perception among respondents. Approximately 50.2 percent express a lack of confidence in the existence of editorial independence, indicating a significant portion of respondents who perceive limitations or external influences on editorial decision-making. On the contrary, 33.4 percent affirm the presence of editorial independence, suggesting a subset that perceives a degree of autonomy in Nepali print media. A notable 16.4 percent remain uncertain, possibly reflecting the nuanced and complex nature of editorial dynamics within the media landscape.

Table 4.6 inquiring about the adherence of Nepal's existing daily newspapers to ethical and professional standards, the data indicates a predominant skepticism. A substantial 57.7 percent express doubts regarding the upholding of these standards, pointing to a prevailing concern within the surveyed population. Conversely, 21.4 percent affirm the newspapers' commitment to ethical and professional standards, indicating a noteworthy but minority perspective. Additionally, 20.9 percent remain undecided, suggesting a recognition of the intricacies involved in evaluating the ethical landscape of daily newspapers.

Regarding the belief that the current Nepali media has deep-rooted self-interests eroding news values, the responses (Table 4.6) showcase a decisive inclination. A considerable 63.9 percent agree with this assertion, emphasizing a widespread perception that self-interests play a role in compromising the integrity of news values. Conversely, 16.4 percent reject this idea, suggesting a segment that perceives a more principled approach within the media. Another 19.8 percent remain undecided, reflecting potential complexities in gauging the interplay between self-interest and news values.

The inquiry into whether media outlets took special care while reporting news and opinions to prevent worsening the nation's unstable condition yields varied responses. Approximately 36.4 percent acknowledge such efforts, implying a recognition of the media's responsibility in maintaining stability. An equivalent 36.1 percent remain skeptical, suggesting a segment that questions the effectiveness of media caution in unstable conditions. Furthermore, 27.5 percent express uncertainty, indicating a nuanced understanding of the challenges involved in navigating media responsibilities during precarious situations (Table 4.6).

Assessing the agreement with the statement that "To reveal the wrongdoings and misuse of authority by public servants, the media must play an objective and independent role," Table 4.6 data showcases a robust consensus. An overwhelming 81.6 percent agree with the importance of an objective and independent media role in exposing wrongdoings. Conversely, 7.3 percent express disagreement, suggesting a minority perspective that may emphasize alternative approaches. Additionally, 11.1 percent remain undecided, possibly reflecting the nuanced considerations associated with media's role in exposing misconduct (Table 4.6).

Inquiring about the belief that "Nepali media has changed from being mission-driven for political change to becoming a business that makes money from selling audiences to advertisers," the data reflects a predominant viewpoint. A significant 67.0 percent agree with this assertion, indicating a consensus that media priorities have shifted toward commercial considerations. Conversely, 12.5 percent reject this idea, suggesting a subgroup that perceives a continued commitment to mission-driven journalism. Another 20.5 percent remain undecided, potentially acknowledging the multifaceted nature of media (Table 4.6).

**Pressure to Media Activists from Authorities**

Table 4.7, A modest 4.8 percent of respondents identified accuracy as a key basis for media activists to withstand pressure from various external entities such as media owners, advertisers, the government, or outsiders. This suggests that a minority perceives the importance of adhering to factual precision as a primary strategy for resisting external pressures. While accuracy is undoubtedly crucial in maintaining journalistic integrity, the relatively low percentage implies that respondents may see other factors as equally or more vital in navigating external influences.

**Table 4.7**

#### Pressure to Media Activists from Authorities

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | What basis do Media activists have to withstand pressure from the media owners, advertisers, the government, or outsiders? | | |
| **SN** | **Response options** | **Frequency** | **Percent** |
| 1 | Accuracy | 21 | 4.8 |
| 2 | Balance | 116 | 26.4 |
| 3 | Credibility | 64 | 14.5 |
| 4 | Judicial Backing | 6 | 1.4 |
| 5 | All of the above | 233 | 53.0 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

A substantial 26.4 percent of respondents emphasized the significance of balance as a crucial factor for media activists facing pressure. This suggests a prevailing belief in the importance of presenting information in a fair and unbiased manner to resist undue influence. The recognition of balance as a key strategy implies that maintaining objectivity and impartiality is seen as a powerful tool for media activists to navigate the complex landscape of external pressures (Table 4.7).

Approximately 14.5 percent of respondents identified credibility as a foundational aspect for media activists to withstand external pressures. This highlights the recognition that a media activist's reputation and trustworthiness play a pivotal role in resisting pressures from various stakeholders. Credibility, in this context, serves as a shield against attempts to compromise the integrity of journalistic practices.

A minimal 1.4 percent of respondents perceived judicial backing as a basis for media activists to withstand pressure. This indicates that the reliance on legal support is not widely acknowledged or prioritized by respondents in the context of media activism facing external pressures. The low percentage suggests that legal recourse might be considered a less common or less effective strategy compared to other factors (Table 4.7).

A substantial majority, comprising 53.0 percent of respondents, asserted that media activists rely on a combination of accuracy, balance, credibility, and, to some extent, judicial backing to withstand pressure from media owners, advertisers, the government, or outsiders. This holistic approach indicates a comprehensive strategy, recognizing the interplay of various factors to fortify media activists against external influences. The emphasis on "All of the Above" underscores the complexity of the challenges faced and the need for a multifaceted approach to navigate external pressures effectively (Table 4.7).

**Circumstances of Newspapers During Insurgency**

The data from Table 4.8 provides insights into the evaluation of the circumstances of newspapers in Nepal during the decade-long insurgency. Respondents were given multiple options to characterize these circumstances, and their choices reveal a complex landscape.

**Table 4.8**

#### Journalist's Views Regarding the Circumstance During Insurgency

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Question and Response Options | Response Limit | |
| **How do you evaluate the circumstance of newspapers in Nepal during the period of decade long insurgency?** | **Frequency** | **Percent** |
| 1 | Dominated by the state machinery | 73 | 16.6 |
| 2 | Feared with rebels and government armed forces | 88 | 20.0 |
| 3 | Independence | 29 | 6.6 |
| 4 | Politically influenced | 186 | 42.3 |
| 5 | All of the above | 49 | 11.1 |
| 6 | None of the above | 15 | 3.4 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

Starting with the response "All of the above," in Table 4.8 chosen by 11.1 percent of participants, it suggests that a portion of journalists perceived newspapers in Nepal during the insurgency as facing a combination of challenges. This response indicates a belief that newspapers contended with various factors, including state dominance, fear from rebels and government armed forces, political influence, and potentially a struggle for independence. This diverse selection underscores the multifaceted challenges that newspapers navigated during this turbulent period. The option "Dominated by the state machinery" was selected by 16.6 percent of respondents, indicating a significant portion of journalists who perceived newspapers as being under the influence or control of the state during the insurgency. This perception raises questions about media independence and the potential impact of government interference on journalistic autonomy and the ability to provide unbiased information.

"Feared with rebels and government armed forces," chosen by 20.0 percent of participants, highlights the challenging environment in which newspapers operated. The fear factor suggests that journalists faced risks and potential threats from both rebel groups and government forces, creating a precarious situation that likely impacted the nature and scope of their reporting. The response "Independence," chosen by 6.6 percent, together represent a small but notable percentage of respondents who believed that newspapers maintained some degree of independence during the insurgency (Table 4.8). This suggests an optimistic view among a minority of journalists regarding the ability of newspapers to operate with a certain level of autonomy despite the challenging circumstances.

"Politically influenced," chosen by 42.3 percent of respondents, emerges as the dominant perception. This response (Table 4.8) indicates a widespread belief that newspapers during the insurgency were significantly influenced by political forces. The high percentage underscores concern about the potential bias in reporting and the impact of political agendas on the media's role in informing the public during a critical period. Finally, "None of the above" was selected by 3.4 percent of respondents, suggesting a segment of journalists who did not feel that any of the provided options accurately captured the circumstances of newspapers during the insurgency. This response underscores the complexity and diversity of perspectives within the journalistic community regarding the challenges faced by newspapers in Nepal during that tumultuous period.

**Media's role and impact During Conflict**

The newspapers played a crucial role in supporting or rejecting elected politicians as nations moved from being monarchies to aristocracies, and then to open democracies (Parry, 2011). He states that they became the early battlefield for moral and political censorship issues as the first mass media with huge influence and faced the challenge of balancing editorial independence with commercial considerations. But some scholars criticize the incompetence of Nepali media. For changing the wrong attitudes of journalists, they should first understand their responsibility and be more professional (Pradhan, 2011). He views that Nepali journalism had not played any prominent role in social transformation because the profession was guided by the personal interests of certain groups and powers.

Data on Table 4.9 explore the perceived impact of media during the war, its role in shaping public opinion, and the factors contributing to a potential decline in influence. These questions aim to assess whether the media acted responsibly to avoid worsening the nation's unstable condition and if their declining impact had specific reasons.

**Table 4.9**

#### Journalist's Views on Media's Impact and Role During Conflict

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **May be** |
| 1 | Did journalists worry that the rebels during the time of civil war would retaliate against journalists for their journalistic actions? | 15.2 | 58.0 | 26.8 |
| 2 | Were journalists compelled to report stories or events even though they were unimportant or unworthy of news during the period of ten year long conflict? | 20.7 | 53.6 | 25.7 |
| 3 | Did journalists worry that the government during the time of civil war would retaliate against journalists for their journalistic actions? | 15.5 | 61.1 | 23.4 |
| 4 | Do you agree that there was media's declining impact on general public during the war time? | 16.6 | 63.2 | 20.2 |
| 5 | Did the media outlets take special care while reporting news and opinions so that the nation's already unstable condition wouldn't get worse as a result of their coverage? | 36.4 | 36.1 | 27.5 |

Source: Survey, 2023

The data in Table 4.9 pertaining to the question "Were journalists compelled to report stories or events even though they were unimportant or unworthy of news during the period of the ten-year long conflict?" reveals varied perspectives. A significant 53.6 percent affirm that journalists were compelled to report stories deemed unimportant or unworthy, highlighting a perceived compromise in journalistic priorities during the conflict. Conversely, 20.7 percent reject this assertion, suggesting a segment that perceives a degree of editorial autonomy. Additionally, 25.7 percent remain undecided, reflecting the complexity of navigating journalistic obligations in challenging circumstances.

"Did journalists worry that the rebels during the time of civil war would retaliate against journalists for their journalistic actions?' Table 4.9, the data indicates that 58.0 percent of respondents affirm the concern that journalists during the civil war were apprehensive about potential retaliation from rebels for their journalistic actions. This suggests a significant portion of respondents acknowledging the challenging and potentially perilous environment in which journalists operated during the conflict. The concern reflects the real threats faced by journalists who sought to report objectively, possibly facing resistance or hostility from rebel factions.

"Did journalists worry that the government during the time of civil war would retaliate against journalists for their journalistic actions?" In Table 4.9, the responses to the question regarding concerns about government retaliation reveal that 61.1 percent of respondents believe journalists had valid worries about government reprisals for their journalistic actions during the civil war. This indicates a prevailing perception that journalists faced the risk of backlash or punitive measures from the government, highlighting the complex dynamics between media and state authorities during conflict. The acknowledgment of such concerns underscores the challenges journalists encountered in maintaining independence and reporting unbiased information in politically charged environments.

Examining the belief that "there was media's declining impact on the general public during the war time," the data underscores a prevailing sentiment. A substantial 63.2 percent agree with this assertion, indicating a consensus that the media's influence on the public diminished during the period of conflict. In contrast, 16.6 percent reject this idea, suggesting a subgroup that perceives a sustained impact or perhaps even an enhanced role for the media during the war. Another 20.2 percent remain undecided, reflecting potential complexities in evaluating the multifaceted dynamics of media impact during conflict (Table 4.9).

Regarding whether media outlets took special care while reporting news and opinions to prevent worsening the nation's already unstable condition, the responses exhibit diverse perspectives. Approximately 36.4 percent acknowledge such efforts, implying an understanding of the media's responsibility in maintaining stability. An equivalent 36.1 percent remain skeptical, suggesting a segment that questions the efficacy of media caution in unstable conditions. Furthermore, 27.5 percent express uncertainty, indicating a nuanced understanding of the challenges involved in navigating media responsibilities during precarious situations (Table 4.9).

**Nation’s Privately held Broadsheets during Insurgency**

There's a vibrant spectrum of unwarranted investor influence over media content in many cases. Media manipulated the readers whilst presenting news about any episode that they came up with. Prajapati (2013) pictures Kantipur publication’s news coverage over the issue of Maoist Labor Union. With the rise in private news media ownership in Nepal, news content is heavily influenced by private media owners and this impacts on public perception.

The responses to the question "During Nepal's conflict, what ruled and shaped the nation's privately held broadsheet newspapers?", Table 4.10 shed light on the influential factors dictating the trajectory of media outlets during a turbulent period.

**Table 4.10**

#### Ruling of Nation’s Privately held Broadsheets during Insurgency

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | During Nepal's conflict, what ruled and shaped the nation's privately held broadsheet newspapers? | | |
| **Response Options** | **Frequency** | **Percent** |
| 1 | Commercial interests of business groups | 34 | 7.7 |
| 2 | Interests of Outsiders | 17 | 3.9 |
| 3 | Political interests of government | 71 | 16.1 |
| 4 | Political interests of rebels and political parties | 191 | 43.4 |
| 5 | All of the above | 127 | 28.9 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

A minority of 7.7 percent of respondents identified commercial interests of business groups as a shaping force for privately held broadsheet newspapers. This suggests that while economic considerations played a role, they were not the predominant factor influencing editorial decisions during the conflict. An even smaller proportion, 3.9 percent, attributed the shaping of broadsheet newspapers to the interests of outsiders(Table 4.10). This minority perspective implies that external influences, not directly associated with the conflict, had a limited impact on the editorial direction of these newspapers.

A notable 16.1 percent of respondents identified the political interests of the government as a significant factor shaping privately held broadsheet newspapers. This suggests a recognition that government influence played a role in determining the editorial stance and content priorities during the conflict. The majority, comprising 43.4 percent of respondents, emphasized that the political interests of rebels and political parties were the primary shaping forces on broadsheet newspapers during Nepal's conflict. This indicates a prevailing perception that the editorial decisions were significantly influenced by the dynamics within the political landscape, including the activities of rebels and political parties (Table 4.10). In All of the aboveoption**,** a substantial portion, 28.9 percent, acknowledged a combination of factors, including commercial interests, interests of outsiders, and political interests of both the government and rebels. This suggests a complex interplay of various influences on privately held broadsheet newspapers during the conflict.

**Civil Society and Media Influence**

Table 4.11 inquire about the relationship between civil society, media, and their role in political change. They assess whether civil society and the media serve as pressure groups or counterbalances to the state's power, and if the media plays a significant role in influencing political transformation.

**Table 4.11**

#### Journalist's Views on Civil Society and Media Influence

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **May be** |
| 1 | Do you agree that civil society and the media are the pressure groups to warn the authorities for good deeds? | 13.6 | 74.1 | 12.3 |
| 2 | Do you agree that civil society and the media are self-regulating non-profitable organizations which work as a counterbalance to the state's power? | 20.9 | 61.1 | 18.0 |
| 3 | Do you agree that there is a significant role for the media in influencing political transformation?  **Total number of respondents=440** | 6.4 | 79.5 | 14.1 |

Source: Survey, 2023

Analyzing the data related to the question "Do you agree that civil society and the media are the pressure groups to warn the authorities for good deeds?", Table 4.11 reveals a strong consensus. A notable 74.1 percent agree that civil society and the media serve as pressure groups, emphasizing their role in urging authorities to engage in positive actions. Conversely, 13.6 percent disagree with this notion, suggesting a minority perspective that questions the effectiveness of these entities as pressure groups. Additionally, 12.3 percent remain undecided, possibly acknowledging the multifaceted nature of their influence on authorities.

Regarding the belief that "civil society and the media are self-regulating non-profitable organizations which work as a counterbalance to the state's power," the data (Table 4.11) demonstrates diverse opinions. Approximately 61.1 percent agree with this assertion, indicating a prevailing perception that civil society and media organizations play a self-regulating role as counterbalances to state power. Conversely, 20.9 percent express disagreement, suggesting a segment that may question the extent of self-regulation and counterbalancing capabilities. Another 18.0 percent remain undecided, reflecting potential complexities in assessing the multifaceted roles of civil society and the media in relation to the state.

The data pertaining to the belief that "there is a significant role for the media in influencing political transformation" reveals a robust consensus. A substantial 79.5 percent agree with this assertion, underscoring a widespread recognition of the media's significant influence on political transformation. In contrast, 6.4 percent disagree, indicating a minority perspective that may downplay the media's role in political dynamics. Additionally, 14.1 percent remain undecided, potentially acknowledging the nuanced considerations involved in assessing the media's impact on political transformation (Table 4.11).

**Link Between Media Professionals and Political Activists**

The data of Table 4.12 explores the perceived importance of the link between media professionals and political activists for political change. The respondents were provided with several options to express their views, and the results are presented in terms of frequency and percentage.

**Table 4.12**

#### Journalist's Views on Link Between Media Professionals and Political Activists

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| How crucial is the link between media professionals and political activists for political change? | | | |
| **SN** | **Response Options** | **Frequency** | **Percent** |
| 1 | Crucial | 197 | 44.8 |
| 2 | Least Crucial | 32 | 7.3 |
| 3 | Most Crucial | 180 | 40.9 |
| 4 | Not at all | 31 | 7.0 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

Firstly, 44.8 percent of the respondents (Table 4.12) consider this link to be "Crucial." This indicates that a significant portion of the surveyed population acknowledges the vital role that collaboration between media professionals and political activists plays in effecting political change. The substantial frequency in this category suggests a prevailing belief in the impact of their joint efforts. On the other hand, 7.3 percent of respondents believe that the link is "Least Crucial." This minority viewpoint suggests that there is a segment of the surveyed population that does not consider the collaboration between media professionals and political activists as highly significant for political change. The lower frequency in this category indicates a divergence of opinion within the surveyed population.

Another noteworthy finding is that 40.9 percent of respondents find the link "Most Crucial." This is a substantial percentage, almost on par with those who consider it merely "Crucial." This suggests a prevalent belief among respondents that the collaboration between media professionals and political activists is not just important but, for a significant portion, the most critical factor in influencing political change. Furthermore, 7.0 percent of respondents believe the link is "Not at all" crucial (Table 4.12). This minority perspective suggests a segment of the surveyed population that does not see a significant connection between media professionals and political activists as a catalyst for political change. The relatively lower frequency in this category indicates that this viewpoint is less prevalent.

**Media's Contribution to Peace Process**

Table 4.13 focus on the media's role in helping Nepal transition from war to peace and their contribution to consolidating the peace process. These questions aim to evaluate the satisfaction with the role played by media practitioners and political leaders during this critical period.

**Table 4.13**

#### Journalist's View on Media's Contribution to Peace Process

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **May be** |
| 1 | Has the media played its part in helping Nepal transition from war to peace? | 16.1 | 58.9 | 25.0 |
| 2 | Was there a satisfactory role of media practitioners and political leaders to consolidate and strengthen the Nepali peace process? | 34.5 | 44.3 | 21.1 |
| 3 | Millions of people have no alternative source of information except media so that the media must be sensitive to the public and answerable to them. Do you agree with this assertion?  **Total number of respondents=440** | 12.3 | 78.6 | 9.1 |

Source: Survey, 2023

Analyzing responses to the question "Has the media played its part in helping Nepal transition from war to peace?" reveals diverse perspectives. A significant 58.9 percent affirm the media's positive role in aiding the transition from war to peace, suggesting a prevailing belief in its constructive contribution. Conversely, 16.1 percent express doubt regarding the media's role in this transition, indicating a subset that questions the effectiveness of media involvement. Additionally, 25.0 percent remain undecided, potentially acknowledging the complex and multifaceted nature of the peace process and media's role within it (Table 4.13).

Regarding the perceived role of media practitioners and political leaders in consolidating and strengthening the Nepali peace process, the data exhibits varied opinions. Approximately 44.3 percent believe in a satisfactory role played by these stakeholders, suggesting a recognition of their positive contributions. In contrast, 34.5 percent express dissatisfaction, indicating a substantial segment that perceives shortcomings in the efforts of media practitioners and political leaders. Another 21.1 percent remain undecided, reflecting potential complexities in assessing the multifaceted dynamics of peace consolidation (Table 4.13).

The data pertaining to the assertion "Millions of people have no alternative source of information except media, so the media must be sensitive to the public and answerable to them" Table 4.13 reflects a strong consensus. A significant 78.6 percent agree with this assertion, emphasizing the importance of media sensitivity and accountability due to its role as a primary information source for millions. Conversely, 12.3 percent disagree, suggesting a minority perspective that may question the level of responsibility placed on the media. Additionally, 9.1 percent remain undecided, possibly acknowledging the nuanced considerations associated with media's accountability to the public.

**Public Sensitivity and Accountability**

Analyzing responses to questions pertaining to public sensitivity and media accountability provides insights into the perceived orientation and responsibilities of broadsheet dailies in Nepal. In question, "Do you agree that broadsheets dailies in Nepal now are not mission-oriented?" The data indicates that 59.3 percent of respondents agree with the statement that broadsheet dailies in Nepal are currently not mission-oriented (Table 4.14).

**Table 4.14**

#### Public Sensitivity and Accountability

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **May be** |
| 1 | Do you agree that broadsheets dailies in Nepal now are not mission oriented? | 22.0 | 59.3 | 18.6 |
| 2 | Do you agree that Nepal's broadsheet newspapers foster discussion on pressing societal issues? | 20.5 | 56.8 | 22.7 |
| 3 | Do you concur that it is essential for media to be attentive to society and answerable for their actions?  **Total number of respondents=440** | 6.8 | 85.5 | 7.7 |

Source: Survey, 2023

This suggests a prevailing perception that these newspapers might have shifted away from a defined mission or purpose, potentially becoming more diverse or commercially oriented. The acknowledgment of this shift raises questions about the evolving role and priorities of broadsheet dailies in Nepal.

Similarly, analyzing the response of "Do you agree that Nepal's broadsheet newspapers foster discussion on pressing societal issues? Approximately 56.8 percent of respondents agree that Nepal's broadsheet newspapers foster discussion on pressing societal issues. This implies a recognition of these newspapers as platforms for engaging with and addressing important societal concerns. However, the data also indicates that a notable portion, 20.5 percent, holds the opposing view, suggesting a diversity of perspectives on the role of broadsheet newspapers in societal discourse (Table 4.14).

The data related to the assertion "Do you concur that it is essential for media to be attentive to society and answerable for their actions?" indicates a strong consensus. An overwhelming 85.5 percent agree with the assertion, underscoring the widely held belief in the necessity for media to be attentive to societal needs and accountable for their actions. In contrast, 6.8 percent disagree, representing a minority perspective that may question the degree of responsibility assigned to the media. Additionally, 7.7 percent remain undecided, recognizing potential complexities in evaluating the nuanced dynamics of media attention and accountability to society (Table 4.14).

The survey responses provide a nuanced understanding of perceptions surrounding the Nepali media's role across various dimensions. In terms of media accountability and state influence, respondents exhibit a mixed view, with a significant majority acknowledging concerns about state intervention if the media fails in its duty. Assessing ethical standards and editorial independence, skepticism prevails regarding the upholding of professional standards by Nepali daily newspapers, accompanied by a belief that the media has shifted from mission-driven journalism to a profit-oriented business model. Regarding the media's impact and role during the ten-year conflict, opinions diverge on journalistic compulsion and the perceived decline in media influence on the general public during wartime. Concerns about biased news and politics-centric content during the conflict period also arise. The responses related to civil society and media influence indicate a general consensus on their role as pressure groups and self-regulating entities counterbalancing state power, with a recognized significant role for the media in influencing political transformation. Regarding the media's contribution to the peace process, opinions vary on its effectiveness, the roles of media practitioners and political leaders, and the media's responsibility as a primary information source. Overall, the survey captures a complex landscape reflecting diverse perspectives on the Nepali media's performance and influence in critical socio-political contexts.

## 4.3 Impact of Media on Politics, Conflict, and Governance

The role of media in any society is integral, serving as a crucial source of information and a facilitator of public discourse. In the context of Nepal, the broadsheet dailies play a pivotal role in shaping public opinion and disseminating news and views on various issues. The 30 queries posed to the media professionals and intellectuals and get responded reflecting the importance of media consumption habits and purpose of media and emphasizing its responsibility to inform the public about matters of significance. Similarly, the responses shed the light on nature of media ownership, particularly focusing on the independence of media outlets and their ability to provide content that serves the public interest, and set the stage for an in-depth analysis of the Nepali media landscape, its priorities, and its impact on the broader socio-political context.

**Media Landscape in Nepal**

The Nepali media landscape serves as a significant channel for information dissemination and public engagement, with broadsheet dailies standing as leading contributors to this discourse. The inquiry to the professional intellectuals regarding media landscape begins by addressing individual media consumption habits, examining the extent to which individuals engage with the broadsheet dailies of Nepal. Similarly, the query and responses in this section is directed towards discerning whose interests currently dominate the priorities of the Nepali media and assessing the perceived fairness of privately owned broadsheet dailies.

The data for the first question in Table 4.15 indicates that a substantial 79.3 percent of respondents claim to frequently read the broadsheet dailies of Nepal, while only 12.0 percent do not. This suggests a noteworthy level of engagement with print media, underscoring its significance as a source of information for a considerable majority of the participants.

**Table 4.15**

#### Responses Regarding Media Landscape from the Professional Intellectuals

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **Maybe** |
| 1 | Do you frequently read the broadsheet dailies of Nepal? | 12.0 | 79.3 | 8.6 |
| 2 | Do you agree that a primary purpose of media is to inform the public on the issues of importance? | 3.0 | 93.2 | 3.9 |
| 3 | Editors seem to write for advertisers and politicians, not for their own readers. Do you agree with this assertion? | 16.4 | 61.6 | 22.0 |
| 4 | Do you agree that only the independent media can provide public friendly contents? | 7.7 | 85.2 | 7.0 |
| 5 | Are the current, privately owned broadsheet dailies in Nepal fair, in your opinion?  **Total number of respondents=440** | 68.4 | 18.0 | 13.6 |

Source: Survey, 2023

Moving to the second question of Table 4.15, an overwhelming 93.2 percent of respondents agree that a primary purpose of media is to inform the public on issues of importance. This high agreement percentage underscores a shared understanding among participants regarding the essential role of media in disseminating relevant and crucial information to the public, aligning with the traditional notion of media as an informative institution.

Concerning the assertion that editors prioritize writing for advertisers and politicians rather than their readers, the data reveals a relatively even distribution of responses. Notably, 61.6 percent agree with the assertion, indicating a substantial level of skepticism towards the editorial motivations within the Nepali media landscape. This sentiment is complemented by 22.0 percent expressing uncertainty, emphasizing the nuanced nature of perceptions on editorial priorities.

The fourth question explores the belief in whether only independent media can provide public-friendly content. A notable 85.2 percent of respondents agree with this statement, highlighting a prevalent belief in the necessity of media independence for ensuring content that caters to the interests and needs of the public. This strong agreement underscores the perceived importance of an autonomous media landscape in delivering content that serves the public interest.

The data on the fairness of current privately owned broadsheet dailies in Nepal presents a stark divide, with 68.4 percent of respondents expressing the view that these dailies are not fair (Table 4.15). This signifies a considerable lack of confidence in the fairness of privately owned publications. Meanwhile, 18.0 percent believe they are fair, and 13.6 percent remain uncertain, suggesting a complex and perhaps contentious perception of media fairness among the respondents.

**Journalist's View on Media's Contribution to Peace Process**

The response regarding the question " Whose interests are the primary priorities in the Nepali media currently in existence?" in frequency and percentage of response from the professional intellectuals is presented in Table 4.16.

**Table 4.16**

#### Priorities of news in Nepali Media

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Response options | Frequency | Percent |
| 1 | Advertisers | 37 | 8.4 |
| 2 | General public | 75 | 17.0 |
| 3 | Government | 42 | 9.5 |
| 4 | Media owners | 270 | 61.4 |
| 5 | Outsiders | 16 | 3.6 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

The presented data in Table 4.16 reflects respondents' perceptions regarding whose interests are considered as primary priorities in the current Nepali media landscape. Notably, the highest frequency of responses, constituting 61.4 percent, indicates that a significant majority believe media owners to be the primary focus of interest. This suggests a prevailing perception that media entities prioritize the interests of their proprietors, possibly influenced by factors such as ownership structures, financial considerations, and editorial decisions shaped by ownership preferences.

Moving to the second category, 17.0 percent of respondents identified the general public as the primary priority in the Nepali media. While this constitutes a substantial portion of respondents, it is noteworthy that it falls behind media owners in perceived priority. The recognition of the general public as a priority aligns with the conventional expectation that media should serve the broader interests and informational needs of the society it serves.

The data indicates that advertisers are perceived as the primary interest by only 8.4 percent of respondents. This relatively low percentage suggests a limited belief among participants that media outlets primarily cater to the preferences and demands of advertisers. This finding could be indicative of a perceived editorial independence from direct advertiser influence in the Nepali media landscape.

Governmental interests emerge as a concern for 9.5 percent of respondents, with this group attributing the primary priorities to government entities. This figure is notably higher than the emphasis on advertisers but remains lower than the prioritization of media owners. This may reflect a perception that, while government interests are present, they do not eclipse the influence of media owners in shaping the priorities of Nepali media. Lastly, the response indicating outsiders as the primary interest is the lowest, accounting for only 3.6percent of participants. This implies that a minimal portion of respondents consider external entities, not directly associated with media ownership, as the primary focus in the current media landscape.

**Media's Role in Conflict and Political Instability**

Yet media played a dual role in the process of democratic transition in Nepal, and in many cases saw binary norm. Lawoti (2012, p. 146) elucidates that the media, which has been a radical agent of transformation in many countries, are gradually mobilizing public opinion toward democratic changes in Nepal. Instead of making verifiable information accessible and providing diverse viewpoints and opinions to allow people to take informed decisions, the mass media have become an arm of the political interests trying to preserve status-quo. He clarifies that reporting by the media on ethnic movements has been largely negative and has helped undermine public support for social justice issues within the marginalized group. He reasons presenting the data as this prejudice is unsurprising considering that the print media in Nepal are dominated by traditional elites: in 2008, of the 40 daily, weekly and bimonthly print publications that the Nepal Press Council ranked highest in circulation and influence, not a single one had a member of the Dalit, Muslim or non-new indigenous nationalities as editor.

The series of questions asked to the professional intellectuals regarding conflict and political instability and the multifaceted role of the media in Nepal, particularly in relation to historical events and societal dynamics. As the discourse with them, many views unfold, that encompasses the root causes of conflict, the media's handling of critical junctures like the 12-points understanding, and the perceived impact of Nepali media during times of insurgency and civil conflict. Additionally, the extent of responses provides the media's influence on public opinion, its potential role as an agent of political reform and economic development in transitional states, and its contribution to mass mobilization and movements within civil society.

The data concerning the first question of Table 4.17 on whether respondents agree that inequality is the root cause of conflict reflects a strong consensus, with 82.0 percent expressing agreement. This suggests a prevailing belief among participants that societal inequalities play a pivotal role in the genesis of conflicts. Conversely, the 7.5 percent who disagreed and the 10.5 percent who remained uncertain indicate a minority perspective challenging this widely held notion.

**Table 4.17**

#### Response of Professional Intellectuals Regarding Conflict and Political Instability

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **Maybe** |
| 1 | Do you agree that inequality is the root cause of conflict? | 7.5 | 82.0 | 10.5 |
| 2 | Is there consistency in delivering the news and views by Nepali broadsheets dailies prior and after 12-points understanding? | 52.3 | 26.6 | 21.1 |
| 3 | Whether media in Nepal has played expected role in the situation of conflict and political instability? | 38.2 | 39.5 | 22.3 |
| 4 | Do you agree that media should work as agents of political reform and economic development in transitional states? | 9.3 | 78.0 | 12.7 |
| 5 | Do you agree that the Nepali media has played a key role to bring the two warring parties, then the rebels and the government, to the negotiation table? | 34.1 | 37.5 | 28.4 |
| 6 | During the time of the insurgency in Nepal, were media reports consistent in their message that the conflict could be resolved by turning it into peace? | 32.0 | 40.7 | 27.3 |
| 7 | Do you agree that the mainstream media served as a neutral ground on which both parties to a conflict can meet to negotiate? | 45.9 | 30.5 | 23.6 |
| 8 | Do you agree that media in Nepal influenced ordinary citizens against authoritarian regime who were not part of any political organizations? | 16.1 | 59.1 | 24.8 |
| 9 | Do you believe that throughout the civil conflict, Nepal's broadsheet dailies frequently published dubious and doubtful information? | 13.2 | 63.9 | 23.0 |
| 10 | Do you believe that Nepali media throughout the civil war contributed to and interacted with social groups and political oppositions, laying the framework for mass mobilization in the sphere of civil society? | 19.5 | 55.7 | 24.8 |
| 11 | Do you agree that Nepali media contributed to build the base for mass movement?  **Total number of respondents=440** | 12.3 | 69.1 | 18.6 |

Source: Survey, 2023

Moving to the second question, which explores the consistency in delivering news and views by Nepali broadsheet dailies before and after the 12-points understanding, a substantial 52.3 percent of respondents asserted inconsistency. This may imply a perceived shift in media coverage during this critical period. Notably, 26.6 percent acknowledged consistency, while 21.1 percent expressed uncertainty, underscoring the complexity of evaluating media continuity during transformative events.

The data related to the expected role of the media during conflicts and political instability in question 3 of Table 4.17 reveals a divided perspective. With 39.5 percent in agreement, 38.2 percent in disagreement, and 22.3 percent uncertain, it suggests a nuanced view on the media's efficacy in such situations. The plurality of respondents expressing uncertainty indicates the complexity of evaluating media performance in these contexts. On the question 4, media as agents of political reform and economic development in transitional states, a significant 78.0 percent agree, emphasizing a prevailing belief in the constructive potential of media in times of transition. Meanwhile, 9.3 percent disagree and 12.7 percent remain uncertain, reflecting a consensus on the transformative role envisaged for the media.

Regarding the Nepali media's role in bringing conflicting parties to the negotiation table (question 5), the data portrays a relatively balanced perception. While 37.5 percent agree, 34.1 percent disagree, and 28.4 percent remain uncertain. This suggests a divergence in opinions on the media's efficacy in conflict resolution, underscoring the complexity of its impact on negotiation processes. In examining the consistency of media reports during the insurgency (question 6), the data illustrates a fragmented outlook. While 40.7 percent agree that media reports were consistent in advocating for peace, 32.0 percent disagree, and 27.3 percent remain uncertain. This divergence in opinions indicates varying interpretations of media messaging during a tumultuous period.

The perception of mainstream media as a neutral ground for conflict negotiation (question 7) yields a mixed response. While 45.9 percent agree, 30.5 percent disagree, and 23.6 percent express uncertainty, reflecting a nuanced view on the media's role in facilitating neutral dialogue between conflicting parties. On the question of media influencing ordinary citizens against authoritarian regimes (question 8), a substantial 59.1 percent agree, indicating a perceived power of the media in shaping public opinion against authoritarianism. The 16.1 percent who disagree and 24.8 percent who remain uncertain underscore the complexity of media's impact on political attitudes.

Regarding the credibility of Nepal's broadsheet dailies during the civil conflict (question 9), a notable 63.9 percent believe they frequently published dubious information. This skepticism is contrasted by 13.2 percent who disagreed, and 23.0 percent who expressed uncertainty. The data suggests a prevalent lack of trust in the accuracy of media reporting during a tumultuous period. The question on the media's contribution to mass mobilization during the civil war (question 10) yields diverse responses. While 55.7 percent agree, 19.5 percent disagree, and 24.8 percent express uncertainty, indicating a spectrum of opinions on the extent of media influence on societal mobilization.

On the broader role of Nepali media in contributing to a mass movement (question 11), 69.1 percent agree, showcasing a predominant belief in media's role in shaping and fueling societal movements. Meanwhile, 12.3 percent disagree, and 18.6 percent express uncertainty, underscoring the varied perspectives on media's contributions to mass mobilization (Table 4.17).

**Cause of Conflict in mid-1990 in Nepal**

The data of Table 4.18 pertaining to the causes of conflict in mid-1990s Nepal reveals a notable consensus among respondents, with a majority of 80.5 percent attributing the conflict to "All of the above." This suggests a holistic understanding among participants, acknowledging the multifaceted nature of the factors that contributed to the conflict during that period. The broad categorization of "All of the above" encompasses various dimensions of discrimination, regional disparities, and resource distribution issues, reflecting a comprehensive perspective on the root causes of the conflict.

**Table 4.18**

#### Cause of Conflict in mid-1990 in Nepal

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Causes of conflict in mid-1990 in Nepal | | | | |
| **SN** | **Response Options** | **Frequency** | **Percentage** |
| 1 | Caste-based discrimination | 3 | 0.7 |
| 2 | Class discrimination | 22 | 5.0 |
| 3 | Gender discrimination | 8 | 1.8 |
| 4 | Regional discrimination | 15 | 3.4 |
| 5 | Unequal distribution of resources | 38 | 8.6 |
| 6 | All of the above | 354 | 80.5 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

Despite the comprehensive response indicating a convergence of views on various contributing factors, a marginal portion of respondents provided specific attributions. Caste-based discrimination was identified by only 0.7 percent of participants, emphasizing that a negligible number considered caste dynamics as the singular cause. Similarly, gender discrimination, cited by 1.8 percent, and regional discrimination, noted by 3.4 percent, represent smaller percentages, indicating a limited perception among respondents that these specific forms of discrimination were the primary causes.

Classdiscrimination, identified by 5.0 percent of respondents, and the unequal distribution of resources, cited by 8.6 percent, also represent distinct factors recognized by a relatively modest portion of participants. While not as predominant as the "All of the above" response, these specific attributions underscore a recognition among some respondents that class dynamics and resource disparities played discernible roles in fueling the conflict.

**Response of Professional Intellectuals Regarding Public Grievances**

The data on the reasons cited for the failure of then governments in Nepal to address public grievances provides valuable insights into the perceived barriers to effective governance and reform (Table 4.19).

**Table 4.19**

#### Response of Professional Intellectuals Regarding Public Grievances

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Why did then governments in Nepal fail to address the public grievances? | | | |
| **SN** | **Response Options** | **Frequency** | **Percent** |
| 1 | Because of Impunity | 92 | 20.9 |
| 2 | Because of Lack of intra and inter party consensus on the major issues of reform | 45 | 10.2 |
| 3 | Because of lack of will power of politicians for radical reform | 56 | 12.7 |
| 4 | Because of the centralization of administration | 17 | 3.9 |
| 5 | All of the above | 230 | 52.3 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

The majority response, with 52.3 percent, selected "All of the above," indicating a prevailing belief among respondents that a combination of factors, including impunity, lack of intra and inter-party consensus, lack of willpower among politicians for radical reform, and the centralization of administration, collectively contributed to the government's failure in addressing public grievances. This comprehensive response reflects a nuanced understanding of the complex challenges that hindered effective governance during the period in question.

Impunity emerged as a prominent factor, identified by 20.9 percent of respondents. This suggests a widespread perception among participants that a culture of impunity, where officials escape accountability for their actions, played a significant role in the government's inability to address public grievances. The emphasis on impunity underscores a perceived lack of consequences for actions that may have led to public dissatisfaction (Table 4.19).

The second most selected option was "Because of lack of intra and inter-party consensus on the major issues of reform," chosen by 10.2 percent of respondents. This indicates recognition among some participants that political divisions and disagreements within and between parties hindered the formulation and implementation of effective reform measures. The acknowledgment of the challenges related to consensus-building underscores the intricate nature of political dynamics in addressing public grievances.

The response attributing government failure to the "lack of willpower of politicians for radical reform" garnered 12.7 percent of participants. This suggests a segment of respondents perceived a deficiency in the determination among political figures to pursue substantial and transformative changes. The emphasis on the need for radical reform highlights a desire for more decisive and impactful policy measures to address public concerns (Table 4.19).

The option "Because of the centralization of administration" was selected by 3.9 percent of respondents. This indicates a minority perspective recognizing the negative impact of a centralized administrative structure on the government's ability to address public grievances. The emphasis on decentralization reflects awareness among some participants that a more distributed governance model may have been conducive to better addressing local concerns (Table 4.19).

**Government-Media Relationship**

The series of questions presented in Table 4.20 delves into the nuanced relationship between the Nepali government, mainstream media, and their impact on public discourse and societal responsibility. These questions offer insights into public perceptions regarding the government's interest in media feedback, the role of mainstream media as a public forum, the perceived fairness of media coverage toward political parties, and the responsibility of broadsheet dailies in presenting news materials. The responses to these questions shed light on the intricate dynamics shaping public opinion, media credibility, and the government's engagement with the information ecosystems.

**Table 4.20**

#### Government-Media Relationship

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response (percent) | | |
|  |  | **No** | **Yes** | **Maybe** |
| 1 | The government is interested mainly in political feedback from media which is much more a matter for the intelligence set-up than the information set-up. Do you agree with this statement? | 14.8 | 64.8 | 20.5 |
| 2 | Do you agree that the mainstream media provides a public forum where the average person can share their concerns and be heard? | 23.6 | 59.3 | 17.0 |
| 3 | Do you agree that the Nepali media are fair to all political parties while covering their news and views? | 63.0 | 25.2 | 11.8 |
| 4 | Do you agree that broadsheet dailies in Nepal present the news materials that are responsible for society?  **Total number of respondents=440** | 36.8 | 39.5 | 23.6 |

Source: Survey, 2023

Beginning with question 1, which posits that the government is primarily interested in political feedback from the media, the data shows a notable agreement among respondents, with 64.8 percent. This majority suggests a shared belief that the government's interest in media is more aligned with political considerations, possibly emphasizing intelligence needs over the broader informational requirements. The responses indicate a degree of skepticism regarding the government's motivations in engaging with the media.

This reflects a prevailing sentiment that mainstream media serves as a platform for the average person to voice concerns and be heard, underscoring the perceived importance of media in facilitating public dialogue and engagement. Moving to the question 3 that delves into the perceived fairness of the Nepali media in covering news and views from different political parties. The data indicates a noteworthy divergence of opinions, with 63.0 percent of respondents expressing disagreement with the statement. This suggests a prevalent skepticism regarding the fairness of media coverage, indicating that a substantial portion of respondents believes that media outlets may not treat all political parties impartially (Table 4.20).

Regarding the responsibility of broadsheet dailies in presenting news materials, as posed in question 4, the responses show a relatively balanced perspective. While 39.5 percent agree that broadsheets are responsible for society, 36.8 percent disagree, and 23.6 percent express uncertainty. This suggests a nuanced view on the societal responsibility of broadsheet dailies, highlighting varying opinions on their role in shaping public discourse and societal values (Table 4.20).

**Media and Informed Citizenship**

The questions presented center around the critical roles of an informed populace, the military approach to insurrection, the media's role in holding the government accountable, and the necessity of continuous access to information for meaningful citizen participation (Table 4.21). These inquiries aim to gauge public perspectives on the intersections of information, governance, and societal engagement. The responses offer valuable insights into the perceived impact of an informed citizenry on political processes, reflections on military strategies, the media's role in accountability, and the significance of continuous access to information in decision-making.

**Table 4.21**

#### Media and Informed Citizenship

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **Maybe** |
| 1 | An informed populace participates in decision-making and holds the government responsible. These citizens also hasten the process of political transformation. Do you agree with this assertion? | 9.3 | 70.2 | 20.5 |
| 2 | The idea of militarily crushing the insurrection was a grave error; if not, the rebellion might have been put down in a matter of years rather than a protracted decade. Are you in agreement with this assertion? | 18.4 | 56.1 | 25.5 |
| 3 | Do you think that if the media do not provide the general public with truthful, accurate, and factual news about the government, individuals may lose the ability to hold the government accountable for its wrongdoings? | 8.9 | 75.5 | 15.7 |
| 4 | Only if citizens have continuous access to information to update their awareness of current concerns does their role in the decision-making process become meaningful. Are you in agreement with this assertion?  **Total number of respondents=440** | 4.5 | 79.5 | 15.9 |

Source: Survey, 2023

Beginning with question 1, which posits that an informed populace accelerates political transformation and holds the government accountable, the data underscores a strong agreement among respondents, with 70.2percent. This majority perspective suggests a widely held belief in the pivotal role of an informed citizenry in shaping political processes and ensuring government accountability. The responses reflect a recognition of the transformative power vested in a well-informed public (Table 4.21).

Question 2 delves into opinions on the military approach to insurrection. The data indicates a nuanced stance, with 56.1percent expressing agreement that militarily crushing the insurrection was a grave error. This suggests a prevailing sentiment among respondents that alternative strategies might have been more effective, contributing to a shorter resolution of the conflict. The relatively high percentage of uncertainty at 25.5percent indicates a complex and multifaceted perspective on the military response to insurrection.

Moving to question 3, which explores the media's role in holding the government accountable, the data reveals a notable agreement among respondents, with 75.5percent. This suggests a widespread belief that truthful, accurate, and factual news from the media is essential for individuals to effectively hold the government accountable for its actions. The high agreement percentage underscores the perceived importance of the media as a watchdog in ensuring governmental transparency and accountability.

Finally, question 4 investigates the necessity of continuous access to information for meaningful citizen participation. The data showcases a robust agreement among respondents, with 79.5percent. This indicates a strong belief that ongoing access to information is crucial for citizens to meaningfully engage in decision-making processes. The responses highlight the perceived correlation between continuous information access and an empowered citizenry capable of informed participation in governance.

Overall, Table 4.21 responses to these questions offer valuable insights into public perceptions on the roles of an informed populace, military strategies, media accountability, and the importance of continuous information access in shaping decision-making processes. These perspectives contribute to a nuanced understanding of the dynamics between information, governance, and citizen engagement within the context of Nepal.

**Reasons of Maoist's Victory and Defeat in Constituent Assembly Elections**

The electoral dynamics in Nepal are profoundly shaped by a complex interplay of socio-political factors, where media influence plays a pivotal role in shaping public opinion and political outcomes. The questions asked to the professional intellectuals that what would be the reasons of Maoists' electoral victory in Constituent Assembly-I and electoral defeat of them in Constituent Assembly-II. The responses provide valuable insights into the multifaceted dynamics that influenced voter choices and the electoral fortunes of the Maoist party during these crucial political milestones in Nepal.

**The Prominent Reasons for the Maoists' Electoral Victory in Constituent Assembly-I:**

The data on the prominent reason for the Maoists' electoral victory in Constituent Assembly-I unveils a multifaceted set of perceptions among respondents, providing insights into the dynamics that contributed to this political milestone in Nepal (Table 4.22).

**Table 4.22**

#### Reasons for the Maoists' Electoral victory in Constituent Assembly-I

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| The prominent reason for the Maoists' electoral victory in Constituent Assembly-I | | | | |
| **SN** | **Response Options** | **Frequency** | **Percent** |
| 1 | Credit for struggle and sacrifice | 17 | 3.9 |
| 2 | Due to incompetency of competing parties | 2 | 0.5 |
| 3 | Due to transformational agendas of Maoists | 207 | 47.0 |
| 4 | Due to violence and intimidation from Maoists side | 17 | 3.9 |
| 5 | Vote for change | 51 | 11.6 |
| 6 | Vote for peace and stability | 39 | 8.9 |
| 7 | All of above | 107 | 24.3 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

One significant response is the attribution of the victory to the transformative agendas of the Maoists, selected by 47.0percent of respondents. This indicates that a substantial portion of participants believed that the Maoist party's articulated vision and proposed changes played a pivotal role in garnering electoral support. This response suggests that voters were influenced by the promises and transformative narratives presented by the Maoists, underscoring the importance of political messaging in shaping public perception during elections.

Another noteworthy perspective emerges from the 24.3percent of respondents who chose the option "All of the above." This suggests recognition among participants that multiple factors contributed to the Maoists' electoral success. The factors encompassed in this choice include credit for struggle and sacrifice, incompetency of competing parties, transformational agendas, violence, and intimidation from the Maoists' side, as well as the broader appeal of voting for change and peace and stability. The acknowledgment of various elements influencing the electoral outcome indicates a nuanced understanding among respondents, recognizing the interplay of different factors in shaping the political landscape during Constituent Assembly-I.

Furthermore, the response indicating that the victory was due to the vote for change, chosen by 11.6percent, and the vote for peace and stability, selected by 8.9percent, shed light on specific thematic considerations influencing voters. These responses suggest that elements of change and a desire for peace and stability were salient factors that contributed to the electoral success of the Maoists, reflecting voter priorities during that period.

To sum up the data of Table 4.22, underscores the importance of transformative agendas, a multifaceted set of factors, and thematic considerations such as the desire for change and peace in shaping the Maoists' electoral victory in Constituent Assembly-I.

**The Prominent Reasons for Electoral Defeat of Maoists in Constituent Assembly-II:**

The data on the prominent reasons for the electoral defeat of the Maoists in Constituent Assembly-II reveals a nuanced set of perspectives among respondents, shedding light on the complex factors that contributed to this significant political setback in Nepal (Table 4.23).

**Table 4.23**

#### Reasons for electoral defeat of Maoists in Constituent Assembly-II

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| The prominent reason for electoral defeat of Maoists in Constituent Assembly-II | | | |
| **SN** | **Response Options** | **Frequency** | **Percent** |
| 1 | Due to the multiple divisions of party itself | 147 | 33.4 |
| 2 | Incompetency in service delivery while leading in government | 103 | 23.4 |
| 3 | Nomination of tourist candidates in large number by the Maoists | 1 | 0.2 |
| 4 | Outsiders’ open interference against Maoists | 6 | 1.4 |
| 5 | People's disagreement on ethnic and identity politics raised by Maoists | 12 | 2.7 |
| 6 | People's perception of similarity with establishment parties | 34 | 7.7 |
| 7 | Punishment to difference in Maoists doing and talking | 18 | 4.1 |
| 8 | Punishment to secularism whose pioneer were Maoists | 3 | 0.7 |
| 9 | All of the above | 116 | 26.4 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

A substantial proportion of respondents, 33.4percent, identified the multiple divisions within the Maoist party itself as the leading reason for their electoral defeat. This response highlights internal challenges and factionalism within the Maoist party, indicating that divisions and internal disputes played a pivotal role in diminishing voter support. The acknowledgment of internal party dynamics as a dominant factor emphasizes the significance of party cohesion and unity in influencing electoral outcomes.

Incompetency in service delivery while leading in government, selected by 23.4 percent, emerged as another significant factor contributing to the Maoists' defeat. This response suggests that voters perceived a lack of effectiveness in service delivery during the Maoists' governance, potentially leading to dissatisfaction among the electorate. The emphasis on governance performance as a determinant of electoral success underscores the importance of tangible outcomes in shaping public opinion.

The response indicating that outsiders' open interference against the Maoists, chosen by 1.4percent, suggests a minority perspective acknowledging external influences in the electoral defeat. This may point to concerns or perceptions among some respondents that external actors played a role in shaping the electoral narrative against the Maoists.

The option "All of the above," selected by 26.4percent, indicates a recognition among respondents that a combination of factors contributed to the Maoists' electoral setback. This inclusive response encompasses multiple reasons, including internal divisions, governance incompetency, nomination of candidates, outsiders' interference, disagreements on ethnic and identity politics, perceived similarity with establishment parties, and responses to Maoists' actions and talk. The acknowledgment of a comprehensive set of factors underlines the complexity of influences shaping electoral outcomes.

Summing up the data of Table 4.23, responses highlight the intricate dynamics contributing to the Maoists' electoral defeat in Constituent Assembly-II. Internal divisions, governance performance, perceptions of external interference, and a combination of factors collectively influenced voter decisions.

## 4.4 Nepali Print Media’s Expected Role in Country's State of War and Political Instability

M. Bista (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that Nepali print media played expected role from 2007 B.S. but after 2046, print media’s role is connected to the political sector. He adds that the 12-point understanding didn’t happen due to the media, but the media easily accepted that event. D. Jha (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that media played appreciative role. Media contents depend upon the context. But Nepali media played a very crucial role in the context of political transformation. Media tried to make a common platform among various ideologies, contexts, and attitudes at the state of war. Media contributed its basic working activities.

T. N. Dahal (personal communication, December 13, 2023) says that in transitional time, no system works. In all dimensions, instability prevails. In transition, no rules and laws work. Consensus, understanding, and sentiment become prominent on those days. Two things ended after 12-points understanding: one is absolute monarchy, and another is civil war. Two transitions happened: one is that the armed rebellion has ended and another one is that the time of active monarchy has ended and democratic era has erupted. He adds that during the time of active monarchy, Nepal’s mainstream media has created a new position. Media made an agenda of political transformation for the survival of the media itself. Two parties of conflict have been blaming the media. Rebels thought the media as spies of the establishment and the establishment thought the media provoked the rebels.

K. Nepal (personal communication, December 14, 2023) says that status of Nepali media was confused and is still confused. Leader of each media is always the chief editor. Peace process was initiated and Nepal’s Maoists were in search of safe landing and Girija Prasad became a good figure for that. Some important events behind the scenes have played decisive role to delay the peace process.

R. K. Regmee (personal communication, December 16, 2023) says that defining expected role of media is very difficult. There were some lapses in media role as they were not focused on informative sides. But on reporting sides its fine. There was very promising reporting on the war and political instability. Media has expressed worry about instability. He adds that that is the lack of information. There is a gap in the contents of Nepali media. Media has reported even without the sources also. Maoist's conflict was best reported. Media has duty to educate the people. That role marks a gap. Nepali media do not play praiseworthy role in preparing the people for transformation. Maoist conflict brought about the transformation from monarchy to republican era.

B. Basnet (personal communication December 16, 2023) says that media played proactive role at that time in two ways. one with writing and another with involving in person. Nepal Press Federation called to involve in movement and Radio journalists, TV Journalists, and other media activists even me too involved directly for democracy. Media set the agenda for movement.

M. K. Sundar (personal communication, December 18, 2023) Says that media has played two types of roles. Based on classical society, media also has divided on the contexts of Maoists war. Even though broader media world in Nepal were suppressed due to the measures applied by active monarchy, they have favored the political transformation. Media communities were in a common palace on that point. Media thought that political status-quo should be changed. Consensus was there in media on that point. After changing this political situation, democratic transformation is the must, media have analyzed. Some other media directly related to the palace were against the agenda of transformation. Differences line between civil society and media was slim at that time. He elucidates that civil society and media have common attitudes on that issue. Majorities of the society have common standpoint on not to lengthen the conflict. But on the way of settlement, media have different attitudes among themselves. Media who supposed themselves the democratic or liberal democratic exposed the view of unconditional surrender of weapons by the Maoists. The activities of Maoists should be stopped unconditionally, they viewed. But progressive media or people’s sided media were in the line of dialogue to mainstream the Maoists in politics. Most effective daily of that time, Kantipur had played good role to disseminate Maoists demands to public. Many other media personals too did so. BBC also was not negative on the issue of conflict resolution. Maoists too have conducted FM radios to disseminate their voices. Other FMs also did well to carry news and information to the public.

S. Shrestha (personal communication, December 18, 2023) says that when there was armed conflict in Nepal, Nepali media covered the conflict very well. Some covered positively, others covered negatively and some neither positively nor negatively. It was compared with India and Indian Maoists conflict, Nepali media covered well. Coverage of mass movement by Nepali media was very praising. Media played role of decisive stakeholder in April movement 2006. Because of the well coverage, elites and rulers were afraid of that. Coverage was nationwide and very broad. Media became a part of civil movement.

G. Acharya (personal communication, December 20, 2023) says that two types of print media did job of journalism in Nepal. One is dailies and other are weeklies. Most of the weeklies did mission journalism. Dailies are commercial. They reported facts and figures mostly. Media activists thought that after restoring the democracy, we can enjoy the media freedom. The role of media was not a bit less than the any of the existing political parties. So, the minister of then government of Nepal, Kamal Thapa blamed media as the eighth party as seven political parties were involved in mass movement. Medial played effective role in the state of war and political instability. Media made the favorable environment of movement for republic and compel the parties to move accordingly. He adds that under the banner of Federation of Nepali Journalists, journalists chanted the slogan of republic in New Baneshwor whereas political parties were still undecided in this matter.

## 4.5 Nepali Media’s Role to Transform Conflict to Peace

M. Bista (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that the media aggressively supported the shift. In the nation, there were two main types of conflicts: the state-rebel conflict and the autocratic-democratic conflict that resulted from the monarchy seizing total authority; the two main resolutions to these conflicts were the arms and ammunition settlement and the establishment of democratic institutions, which the king had already seized. He elucidates that media professionals demonstrated a proper comprehension of their job by actively participating in the people's movement and disseminating information in accordance with their duties.

D. Jha (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that the media took its work seriously. The media is still very important nowadays. The peace process in Nepal is still ongoing. It is one of the main parties involved in the peace process in Nepal. However, not all stakeholders have fully embraced the media as the most powerful player. The media has taken initiative. The media spreads opinions in addition to news.

K. Nepal (personal communication, December 14, 2023) says that not in my opinion. Large media organizations and well-known individuals developed the idea without going to the communities. They were ignorant of the nation's true circumstances. Outsiders like the US, UK, EU, and UN also showed a strong interest in the peace process. Ian Martin performed admirably. This nation was and still is ruled by Bhardars, or palace delegates. After 2007, a small number of families' members dominated the ranks of bureaucrats and officials. The administrative pattern has not evolved and changed to reflect political shifts. Girija and Prachand failed to succeed in administration after 2048 and 2064, respectively, mostly because they adhered to the outdated bureaucratic pattern. Only Tribhuwan and Mahendra were proactive kings after Prithivi Narayan.

R. K. Regmee (personal communication, December 16, 2023) says that Nepali media failed to grasp the transition from war to peace. In 1951, the Nepali media emerged as a protest against the Rana government. A legacy exists. Nepali media took up a role of opposition. The media was unable to comprehend how conflicts work. The media could not comprehend conflict and peace in their true sense. What the media did was report on the agreement, but they were unable to create the necessary conditions for it to be implemented. They talked about peace, but it's not clear how to actually achieve it. There is no landing method. Peace should prevail after a conflict. The peace process shouldn't be disregarded or ignored. Words are understood, but Nepali media has lost sight of the path to peace.

B. Basnet (personal communication, December 16, 2023) Says that media only became involved in the fight for democracy or media freedom once the monarchy seized the public domain and the right to information. The media takes its responsibility seriously. For media freedom, political changes were necessary.

M. K. Sundar (personal communication, December 18, 2023) says that to carry the conflicting parties on the table of dialogue, many personalities have played seen and unseen role seriously. They played positive role in contacting both sides and creating the favorable environment for dialogue.

S. Shrestha (personal communication, December 18, 2023) says that at the period, the media was extremely important in getting the agendas out to the general people. There used to be media platforms and media spheres where discussion and debate regarding transformation took place. The same topics that were debated in newspapers were also considered by parliamentarians. During the conflict in Nepal, the media was essential in garnering popular support for agenda items. The role of media is incomparable in South Asia. The public's views and perceptions were altered by the media. Prior to the mass movement and during the active monarchy, the media took a proactive and risk-taking stance against absolutism. The media visited the conflict area and conducted interviews with rebel commanders. That carried a great deal of risk. A few National TV journalists have conducted in-person interviews with insurgents.

G. Acharya (personal communication December 20, 2023) says that we must examine this holistically. While there was diversity in the media in terms of ideologies, the primary tendency in the media was the transformation of conflict into peace. The media presented many approaches to resolve the dispute through well-known individuals like Padam Ratna Tuladhar and Daman Nath Dhungana, among others. They passed forward the notion of a constituent assembly election. Leaders such as Narhari Acharya emphasized the republic phrase out loud. Experiences gleaned and shared by Nepali media from nations prone to violence. The media lobbied for peace by offering opposing groups a variety of options. FM radios were also very important in bringing about peace in place of war. The media created a forum for dialogue, led discussions, and looked for places where the opposing sides may come together.

## 4.6 Contribution of Press in Peace Process to move Towards the Logical Conclusions

M. Bista (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that the media genuinely and sincerely wanted to bring about peace in the country, not by putting down the rebels but by looking for a diplomatic solution. During the armed rebellion, the media acted as a mediator. The media fostered a discussion environment by disseminating news and viewpoints from all sides of disputes and by facilitating mutual understanding. Rebel’s demands were made public through the media, along with the government's answer.

D. Jha (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that the media takes itself very seriously. It has also incorporated content from outside the box to establish it as a shared platform. However, it is insufficient. The Nepali media has been marginalized by other peace process participants. Even if media activists were qualified for the position, politicians refused to offer opportunities to them, acknowledge the media, or engage with the media.

R. K. Regmee (personal communication, December 16, 2023) says that Journalists carry a pen, a microphone, and a camera. Every tool they need is with them. They ought to educate individuals with these resources. A movement tool isn't one used by journalists. It is an instrument of politics. He adds that media understand its role seriously. Political changes were must for media freedom.

M. K. Sundar (personal communication, December 18, 2023) Says that the media was genuinely assisting in the peace process. However, what does the phrase "logical ends of conflict" mean? Did it refer to the Maoist rebels' admission in the national army or to their complete surrender of their weapons to the state? There was no agreement on this subject. Regarding what the logical ends are, they each had their own methods.

S. Shrestha (personal communication, December 18, 2023) says that media activists actively took part in the civil society-led movement. They had a physical relationship. Media activists also went to the places where members of civil society had gone to report on the news. The movement was given primacy by the media over the government. There was the uniqueness of the media coverage of the April Movement of 2006 was in the South Asian setting. The public and media are always together. It was really close to the folks. The voice of the people and the voiceless is the media. One day when the army surrounded Kantipur, we social activists were contacted there. A week prior to the civil society initiating the movement, media personnel were on the streets.

The Nepali peace process is really a multi-faceted process. During the initial stages of the conflict, the two opposing political forces, the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), were the main antagonists; the third major actor in Nepal’s polity, the monarchy, did not engage in this tussle because the Maoists were opposing the government then led by the political parties, whom the monarchy did not view kindly. As the insurgency continued, and new political developments took place, however, the monarchy turned into the common foe of both the political parties and the Maoists. Soon, the political parties and the Maoists came together, after much backroom deliberation, to bring about the epochal transformation of the Nepali polity: from a monarchy to a republic and from a unitary system to a federal one (Mishra, 2009). He adds that the alliance was able to oust the king, the monarchy collapsed like a house of cards, and the army’s loyalty to the palace vanished too, when it virtually refused to defend the centuries-old monarchy that had outlived its utility. On one hand, there is the need to deal with those accused of past human rights abuses and wrongdoers and thus seek justice for the victims. On the other, overcoming or transforming the enmities and building bridges among the victims and the perpetrators is needed. G. Acharya (personal communication December 20, 2023) says that media put various alternatives to conflicting parties and did lobbying for peace.

## 4.7 Conclusion

This chapter explores the multifaceted role of Nepali media during the country’s ten-year civil war and subsequent political unrest through a detailed analysis of survey data. The survey gathered responses from 440 individuals, including journalists, professionals, and the general public, to understand media performance and influence during this tumultuous period.

**Demographics and Professional Insights**

The respondents comprised 65% males and 35% females, with a significant majority (65.45%) aged between 30 and 50 years. Educationally, 52.7% held postgraduate degrees, reflecting a high level of academic qualification among the participants. Professionally, 30.7% were involved in teaching, 16.6% in social work, and 16.1% in journalism, indicating a diverse professional background.

**Journalistic Perspectives**

Journalists' views reveal substantial concerns about media accountability and state influence. A large majority (77.3%) concurred that media neglect could lead to state monopolization, and 72% believed that rural areas were often overlooked by major dailies. Additionally, 73% felt that media coverage frequently favored the ruling class. During the civil war, 66.4% agreed that media often presented biased news, and 65.2% noted a tendency for political news to dominate front pages post the 12-point understanding. These insights suggest a significant degree of political and state influence over media content.

**Media Pressure and Integrity**

When it comes to withstanding external pressures, a majority (53%) of media activists relied on a combination of accuracy, balance, credibility, and judicial backing. Notably, 42.3% of journalists viewed the media as politically influenced during the insurgency, and 20% felt intimidated by both rebels and government forces.

**Impact on Peace and Political Change**

Regarding the role of media in peacebuilding and political transformation, 58.9% of journalists acknowledged the media's contribution to Nepal’s transition from war to peace. However, 44.3% were critical of the satisfactory role of media practitioners and political leaders in consolidating the peace process. Furthermore, 69.1% of professional intellectuals believed the media contributed significantly to mass movements, reflecting its role in mobilizing public opinion and influencing political change.

**Public Sensitivity and Media Priorities**

The survey highlights that a significant portion of the public (85.5%) views media accountability as crucial, with 59.3% believing that broadsheets still foster discussions on pressing societal issues. However, 61.4% of respondents noted that media owners' interests often overshadow public or advertiser priorities.

**Professional Opinions on Conflict and Governance**

Professional intellectuals largely agreed (82%) that inequality was a root cause of the conflict. However, 63.9% believed that the media frequently published dubious information during the civil war, and 59.1% felt media influenced ordinary citizens against authoritarian regimes.

**Election Outcomes and Media Influence**

In the political arena, 47% of respondents attributed the Maoists' electoral victory in Constituent Assembly-I to their transformational agendas. Conversely, the defeat in Constituent Assembly-II was seen as resulting primarily from internal divisions within the Maoist party and poor service delivery (33.4% and 23.4%, respectively).

The role of Nepali media during the ten-year civil war and political unrest was complex and multifaceted. The media faced significant challenges, including political pressure and state influence, which impacted its role in shaping public opinion and reporting. Despite these challenges, the media played a crucial role in both reflecting and influencing the political landscape, contributing to the transition from conflict to peace and shaping political discourse in Nepal.

# 

# 

# CHAPTER-V

# MEDIA CONTENTS WITH THEIR CONSISTENCY FROM 12-POINT UNDERSTANDINGS

This chapter comprises the presentation of qualitative and quantitative data gathered from questionnaire survey, key informant interviews and contents analysis to examine the media contents in banner news and top stories about political issues and their consistency from twelve-points understanding to election of second Constituent Assembly.

## 5.1 News Coverage Schemes and Media Bias

There is one form of actual media bias. Almost all media outlets need audiences in order to exist. Some can’t survive financially without an audience; others want the prestige that comes from attracting a big audience (Hershey, 2020). Thus, the media define as “news” the kinds of stories that will attract an audience: those that feature drama, conflict, engaging pictures and immediacy. Hershey (2020) adds that that’s what most people find interesting. They don’t want to read a story headlined “Dog bites man.” They want “Man bites dog.”

Every journalist or a media practitioner should be aware about the importance of the news he produced. Everyone while preparing and disseminating news should keep its effects in mind. News and information are not a subject to listen or read and sweep away from memory. Some news has societal values directly related with freedom and democracy (Chapagain, 2005, as cited in Kharel, 2012). Once the media reported the news. Now it makes it. But some journalists forget their duties and responsibilities. They take ransom from various organizations and companies. They sometimes coincide with and work for government instead of scrutinizing the governors’ activities. Many of the journalists are on the payroll of corporations, government agencies, corporate families, companies and others so that they cannot be attacked and opposed by their media products. “Daily paper reporters have managed to become official press advisers at associations-organizations in the capital. On account of that power, negative news of these organizations cannot be published (Shrestha S. , 2011).”

“The richest 1 percent of households in the U.S. earned as much as the bottom 60 percent per annum and they held as much wealth as the bottom 90 percent of the population…. The annual income of the richest 12000 households is greater than that of the bottom 90 percent (Prashad, 2011).” This is the great inequality and bitter reality of American society. For equality and equity, there should be moral intervention from all over the world. And media should play the decisive role to aware the public. Kharel (2012) criticizes the media, whether in the U.S. or other western countries, do not raise these concerns widely while they devote a great deal of time and space to poverty in North Korea and inequalities in income in China. Capitalist world is trying to deconstruct and destroy the communist system in the same way that communists are doing for capitalists. Media are being weapons for this act. But when newspapers, pretending to be free and equal, reveal their political prejudices, the situation demands more critical media watchdogs.

Political bias understood in this way, according to American researchers, means the inclination of the media message in such a way that it becomes left-wing or right-wing and consequently favors one of the political parties (Groseclose & Milyo, 2005b, p. 306). They continue that political bias, therefore, allows to talk about the division into liberal and conservative media or pro- and anti-, with the given prefix being a given political value or an important theme from the current political agenda.

Political bias involves presenting political phenomena in such a way as to favor the selected side of a political conflict, a political party or supporters of a particular solution while at the same time negatively evaluating the opposite party or omitting information about its existence altogether (Toggle, 1998, p. 6). Effectiveness of media is the most extreme on the political field. Press goods play a very important role in policy construction and deconstruction. Each fall and rise of governments is due mostly to the perception of the people in the creation of media.

The manner in which the media presents its recipients with political content has a strong impact on knowledge, attitudes, opinions and electoral behavior. The content of the media cannot be a full reflection of political reality, but the way in which the reality presents it may be closer or more distant from the idea of objectivity and neutrality (Klepka, 2019). This is said, however, that media items are unbiased, but it does not happen that way in reality. Governments funded the media because they directly or indirectly forced the news and opinions to be produced and disseminated according to the wishes of the government. Politicians who are pleased with a particular news story will sometimes praise the reporter for fairness and objectivity. When the story's not so positive, claims of media bias will usually pour out from the campaign. This is double standard about media by the politicians.

In 1975-77, when Indira Gandhi instituted a state of emergency in India, the gagging of the press was unanimously condemned. Four years before the Emergency in March 1971, in a letter to a foreign friend, Mrs. Gandhi expressed her perception about Indian press as, “Our own press has done everything possible to mislead the public about me personally and about my aims and objectives. Even though everything they said about my father earlier and then about me is being proved wrong all the time, the columnists continue with their supercilious analyses (Parthasarathy, 2005 ).” A good reporter should present the facts without fear or favor and not seek out praise or shy away from criticism.

Most of the world's broadsheets hold the tales of metropolitan areas leaving much of the countryside empty or badly handled. More than 60 per cent of national dailies stories in Nepal have Kathmandu-datelined pieces as if the rest of the country were to be confined to a backyard. This is another type of media bias (Kharel, 2012).

Media coverage of politics varies with regard to countries and the political system. Mass media fascination is the product of a news reporting system in the minute details of political strategies or in a political leader's private life. It is shaped by factors such as commercial, political, professional or other (Street, 2001, p. 58).

Kharel (2012) highlights most of the total front-page news items in national broadsheet dailies in Nepal are political news. The political reports touch the surface slightly, and never go below and beyond the obvious. Media coverage of political affairs is strongly and implacably capital-centric.

## 5.2 Print Media as Main Version

In a long run of media history, print media was dominant as it was absolutely pioneer one. Newspapers have been the prime movers of journalism. They were generally considered to be synonymous because journalism originated with the print media. Being a forerunner, it definitely played the satisfactory role. Because of its characteristics like affordability, easy to store, portable and handy; public preferred it among the pile of media varieties developed in latest years. But historically, the emperor in Rome showed 'Acta Diurna,' a handwritten material on trees leaves in 59 BC on the public domain to provide information specifically about the war message of victory. Though not published in paper, it was recognized worldwide as a rudimentary and symbolic representation of modern newspapers. “It was a newspaper version (Lewis, 2003)”. In 1650 the first daily newspaper called 'Einkommende Zeitung' was also published in Germany (Kunczik, 1995). In 1780, the first newspaper in the South Asia zone called 'Bengal Gazette' had started publishing from Calcutta, British-India's capital (Natarajan, 1962). Benefiting from the British colonies, print media had reached India paving the way for newspaper printing.

In 1833, Benjamin Day, a 22-year-old young man introduced 'New York Sun,' adding a penny to the sale price. This paper got a massive circulation that prompted many newspapers to drop their rates to a single penny (Dominick, 1999). This phenomenon is popularly known in newspaper literature as the Penny Press Revolution. Then the age of Penny Press started later. Dominick (1999) argues that Penny Press restructured the newspaper industry, recruiting various bit reporters and correspondents in various cities and globally. According to him, for occasionally, well-known philosopher Karl Marx attended as a London correspondent for the US-based Tribune.

Dominick (1999) describes as in 1878 Josef Pulitzer used emerging developments in the publishing of newspapers to create and disseminate news articles. In order to intensify the circulation, Pulitzer and Hearst went into battle of circulation separately. To this end, they promoted news of rape, crime, battles, gossip, controversies, fake news and reports of public interest that overlooked their influence and concentrated exclusively on sales. Pulitzer released pictures for this in light yellow color. This style of journalistic works was later popularly named 'Yellow Journalism.'

Even as in Nepal 'Gorkhapatra' was meant to represent all other newspapers and media as a whole, so many big newspapers around the world were meant to be journalistic. “Journalism is ‘The Times’ and ‘The Guardian’, ‘the Daily Mirror’ and ‘the Sun’ (Wainwright, 1986).”

In the early days of the publishing industry, print media not only promoted recognition, education and insight by newspapers but also along with books, magazines, flyers, pamphlets, brochures, leaflets and other types of printed content. Aryal (2016, p.21) explains that after the invention of Gutenberg’s manual printing press, the steam power and then electric power accelerated the number and capacity of media forms. Croteau & Hoynes (2000) explains the rapid change in the media industry has added digital technology and dramatic increase in the sheer volume of media content viewed.

Pal (2008, p.14) quotes McQuail (2005) as “Consequently, the digital media- television, cable and Internet have shared the market of traditional media “the newspaper”. Once, the emergence of digital media feared the print medium, but it soon proved false. The print medium has reshaped itself to adjust with the new technology and succeeded in maintaining parallel position. The print medium has multifaceted roles in a democratic society.”

Political freedom and journalism are inextricably intertwined. At the end, media independence contributed to the explosion of newspapers. The soul of journalism is the freedom of speech. Democracy is essential in an open society where human values prevail. Owing to the absolute prohibition of debate on sociopolitical issues in Nepali society during the reign of the Rana, publishing became unthinkable. Since Nepal was under authoritarian rule there was no prospect of publication within the region. Students from Nepal who studied in India took the initiation for printing. Thus, the Nepali newspaper publishing process is closely connected with India. “Many fresh, energetic elements who operate outside Nepal made significant bids to herald a democratic period (Baral, 1975).”

Students from Nepal living in India were strongly motivated by an independence campaign waged against the British regime. Such active Nepali youth regularly interacted with Indian journalists and freedom fighters. Under this backdrop, Nepali youth put out the first Nepali-language newspaper called 'Gorkha Bharat Jeevan' in India. It was Motiram Bhatta, a poet from Nepal, who produced this periodical from Banaras, India in 1886. As politically mobilized youth facilitated the publishing of the first magazine, it specifically served the political sphere of growing anti-Rana and anti-British voices. But Baral (1975) states that from a journalistic standpoint, this discipline made little or no contribution at all to the 1951 political transition. He also opines that the history of the Nepali press officially starts with the 1950 revolt, though some meager beginnings were rendered earlier.

First literary magazine within Nepal was published in 1889 naming ‘Sudhasagar’. It was the monthly magazine. First Nepali newspaper, Gorkhapatra, began to come as a weekly newspaper at the beginning on May 6, 1901, every Monday. It became bi-weekly since October 15, 1943 and became tri-weekly after December 23, 1946. Since 18 February 1961, almost 60 years since its publication, it has been distributed as a daily newspaper.

Devkota (20151) explains the media history as nearly half a century after the first Nepali newspaper 'Gorkhapatra' had been published, the first Nepali daily called 'Awaj' was published after 19 February 1951. The first private sector weekly called 'Jagaran' was published on 15 February 1951, just four days old than ‘Awaj’. The first monthly English newspaper 'Himalaya Guardian' came into being in Nepal in 1954. This English monthly editor was Barun Shumsher Rana of Rana family. Nepal's first English daily newspaper called 'The Commoner' was published in Nepal on July 15, 1956. Three days before the country's declaration of democracy, the government approved the launch of 'Jagaran' weekly in Nepali language from the private sector, which led to becoming the first Nepali newspaper with a political point of view, while the government-owned 'Gorkhapatra' used to do the same job in behest to the government (Devkota, 2051 BS).

The First Press Commission, established in 1958, indicated the importance of creating a journalism school to develop human capital in the journalism industry. (PCN, 2049). The mass media education has been introduced in the universities of Nepal only in the last decade of twentieth century with the major emphasis on the print medium in the curricula.

According to Aryal (2016), prior to 1990, Nepali newspapers were largely ignorant of their own economy. At the time, the only thing to run those newspapers was ambition to bring about political reform in the country. In the 1990s, Nepal's polity underwent a dramatic change amid newly discovered political freedoms. There has been a flood of private newspapers, magazines, and radio stations that have vied outspoken with each other. Before 1990, there were mainly weeklies as print newspapers, but the advent of broadsheet dailies had changed the media landscape since the political revolution of 1990. At the same time there had been the emergence of private radio which posed a significant challenge to journalism in the newspaper. First broadsheet daily from private sector named ‘Kantipur’ was started on the February 18, 1993, just after the reestablishment of multiparty democracy in the country.

After 1990 Nepali people became more aware of the broader world with the introduction of a liberal economic and social system. And there was the inevitable frustration, as economic development failed to meet the expectations raised by the democratic arrival. Though, media’s proliferation in number and frequency has been visible, the media became acquainted with the new leaders in the country, who seemed as corrupt and venal as the old ones (Kharel, 2012). “Newspaper articles can inform the viewer more than television coverage can. People who pay attention to the media during campaigns are normally already involved in politics (Robinson, 1976).

## 5.3 Opinion Pages and Editorials in Print Media

Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines them as "an essay in a newspaper or magazine that gives the opinion of the writer and that is written by someone who is not employed by the newspaper or magazine (Smith, 2018)”. Even though editorials are clearly opinion pieces, newspapers have a central viewpoint throughout all coverage and news stories often mirror the political views expressed in editorials. Smith (2018) defines editorial as an opinion article that states the position of a publication's editorial board, which usually consists of top editors and opinion writers. Generally, the news stories typically have similar viewpoints as the editorial endorsement of each publication. When the chief editors or the editors leave the certain newspaper, the editorials and in some extent the news analysis automatically change. It means editorial of newspapers are directly affected with the ideologies of the editors. Historically, Nepali newspapers along with Panchayat leaders and multiparty camps initiated a vigorous debate about the possible impact on Nepali politics during the time 1979-80 (Sharan, 1983). The independent press then published much more detailed coverage of party events than had previously been available, while the quoted words 'banned' or 'outlawed' had to be added to the name of the party (Hoftun, Raeper, & Whelpton, 1999).

Dahal (2014) explains that the contradiction of society accepting governmental intervention appropriate for cultural learning, code of ethics, conflict sensitivity, and nation-building has been progressively revealed by Nepali media. He continues that professional journalists can help to build a cohesive community by communicating effectively. In this framework, public ownership of media and their independence from societal interest groups are crucial for the messages they send to common citizens and their quest for national loyalty.

## 5.4 Content Analysis

This study delves into key political events spanning specific timeframes, with a focus on the headlines and coverage in prominent newspapers. The selected periods include November 17-29, 2005, April 5-24, 2006 (People's Movement II), November 17-30, 2006 (before and after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement - CPA), April 5-19, 2008 (First Election of Constituent Assembly), and November 13-28, 2013 (Second Election of Constituent Assembly).

The analysis centers on the presentation of political news as banner headlines or top stories, the prominence of political and non-political news on front pages, the distribution of political news on inner pages, the coverage of political news in editorials, the inclusion of news related to armed forces, and the presence of news related to the peace process. By systematically examining these parameters, this study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of media emphasis during critical political junctures in the specified periods.

### 5.4.1 Kantipur Daily News

In the specified period from November 17 to November 29, 2005, marked by the 12-Points Understanding, a meticulous analysis of the daily news coverage reveals notable patterns. The prevalence of political news as banner headlines or top stories varies, with peaks observed on November 22 and November 25. On these days, there is a discernible emphasis on political developments, both on the front pages and within the inner pages of prominent newspapers. Notably, news related to the armed forces gains prominence on November 28, while coverage related to the peace process is spread across multiple days, indicating sustained attention.

Transitioning to the People's Movement II from April 5 to April 24, 2006, a dynamic shift is evident in the media landscape. During this period, political news consistently dominates the front pages, peaking on April 18 and April 22. The extensive coverage on these days includes banner headlines and top stories, indicative of the heightened political climate. The editorial focus intensifies, particularly on April 26, with a special editorial addressing the unfolding events. The armed forces and peace process are also intermittently covered, reflecting the multifaceted nature of the political discourse.

Examining the presented data, it is evident that the media coverage during the specified periods is not uniform, with distinct peaks and variations. The analysis emphasizes the importance of discerning patterns, such as the heightened attention around critical dates, for a nuanced understanding of media dynamics. Additionally, the inclusion of news related to the armed forces and the peace process underscores the complexity of political narratives during these pivotal moments.

The period from November 17 to November 30, 2006, encapsulating events before and after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), exhibits notable shifts in media coverage. Initial observations reveal increased attention to political news on front pages, particularly on November 22 and 24, coinciding with the end of armed conflict and a recommendation to punish the king. Kantipur had written a special editorial on the front page when a CPA had held. It had also published this news with photographs as banner news with a title ‘End of Armed Conflict’. These incidents are marked by banner headlines, signaling heightened importance. The editorial focus intensifies on November 28, with a special editorial dedicated to the 12-Points Understanding, demonstrating a multifaceted engagement with political developments. However, news related to the armed forces and the peace process fluctuates throughout the period.

Moving to April 5-19, 2008, a period dominated by the First Election of the Constituent Assembly, political news consistently takes center stage on front pages, with peaks on April 7 and April 15. Election-related news, marked by banner headlines, is particularly prominent on April 7, reflecting the significance of this event. Noteworthy is the special editorial on April 10, underlining the strategic placement of editorial content during crucial points in the electoral process. Despite intermittent coverage, news related to the armed forces and the peace process is not as pronounced during this period.

The analysis extends to November 13-28, 2013, during the Second Election of the Constituent Assembly. The media landscape during this period features distinct peaks in political news coverage on November 15 and 24, with the latter marked by banner news. An interesting observation is the absence of news related to the armed forces, suggesting a shift in focus away from military developments. Notably, the presence of special editorials on November 19 and 25 signals a deliberate effort to engage with key political events. However, the overall coverage related to the peace process remains limited. Kantipur had written a special editorial on the election day of second constituent assembly giving title ‘Second Day of One Era’ and addressed election news with title ‘Election Today’ as banner news.

### 5.4.2 The Rising Nepal Daily News

In the period from November 17 to November 30, 2005, surrounding the 12-Points Understanding, the media landscape witnessed a dynamic portrayal of political events. Notably, November 17 marked by banner news and top stories, with consistent political news coverage on front pages. This trend continued with fluctuating intensity, peaking on November 25. The distribution of political news on inner pages, editorials, and the inclusion of armed forces and peace process-related news remained a consistent feature. The comprehensive analysis reveals a deliberate editorial engagement with political developments during this period.

During the People's Movement II from April 5 to April 28, 2006, the media's response to political events was characterized by a sustained emphasis on political news, reaching its pinnacle on April 15. The inclusion of banner news and top stories, as well as special editorials, underscores the heightened significance of these political developments. Additionally, the alignment of editorial content with pivotal events, such as the election day on April 10, highlights the nuanced editorial choices during this transformative period.

Shifting focus to November 15 to November 28, 2006, encompassing events before and after the CPA, the media exhibited fluctuations in coverage patterns. A pronounced peak on November 22 coincided with the declaration of the end of armed conflict, showcasing the media's responsiveness to significant political milestones. The inclusion of a special editorial on November 23 further accentuates the strategic editorial choices during this period. However, it is notable that news related to the peace process remained consistently low throughout the timeline.

The period surrounding the First Election of the Constituent Assembly from April 5 to April 18, 2008, reveals a heightened media focus on political events. With peaks on April 7 and April 15, marked by banner news, the media consistently prioritized coverage of election-related developments. Special editorials on April 10 and April 11 further underscore the strategic placement of editorial content during crucial points in the electoral process. However, the inclusion of news related to the armed forces and the peace process is sporadic.

Concluding with the Second Election of the Constituent Assembly from November 13 to November 26, 2013, the media's response to political developments is characterized by distinct peaks, notably on November 19 and November 22. The presence of banner news on these days indicates heightened attention to crucial events. The inclusion of special editorials on November 25 further underscores the strategic editorial choices during this transformative period. However, it is notable that news related to the armed forces remains limited, while coverage related to the peace process fluctuates throughout the timeline.

To sum up, the data analysis across these diverse periods offers valuable insights into the media's role during critical political junctures, emphasizing the dynamic nature of editorial choices, the alignment with significant events, and the nuanced response to unfolding political narratives.

### 5.4.3 Naya Patrika Daily News

Analyzing the content of Naya Patrika Daily News from April 14 to May 14, 2007, a discernible pattern emerges in the coverage of political and non-political events. Naya Patrika (2007, April 28) in its inner page covered the news ‘immediately declare republican’ quoting Mohan Baidhya, a senior leader of Maoist party. Notably, political news consistently features as banner headlines or top stories, peaking on April 16 with a notable emphasis on editorial content. During this period, news related to the armed forces and the peace process is also prominent, especially on April 14, 15, and 19. The absence of front-page political news on April 17, 20, 21, and 22 suggests a relative lull in political developments during these days.

Transitioning to the First Election of the Constituent Assembly from April 5 to April 19, 2008, a similar pattern is observed with consistent coverage of political news on front pages, reaching its zenith on April 7 and 13. Election-related news gains prominence on these dates, accompanied by special editorials, such as on April 10. Notably, the coverage of the armed forces and the peace process remains limited, with sporadic mentions.

The period surrounding the Second Election of the Constituent Assembly from November 13 to November 28, 2013, exhibits a distinct trend. Political news, highlighted as banner headlines or top stories, reaches its peak on November 17 and 24, coinciding with election-related events. On the election day of first constituent assembly, Naya Patrika (2008, May 28) wrote a special editorial titling ‘May the People not defeat’. On the same day, it presents a banner news titling ‘Today Epochal Day’. Despite a noticeable absence of news related to the armed forces, special editorials on November 19 and 25 demonstrate a concerted effort to engage with pivotal political moments. Overall, the analysis underscores the nuanced dynamics of media coverage, with varying emphases on political, armed forces, and peace-related content during critical periods. Naya Patrika (2007, April 19) warns the political parties and leaders not to ignore the peace deal. It, on its front page as banner news, writes ‘leaders forgot the clauses of peace agreement’.

**Reasons of Media's Declining Impact on Public**

The data of Table 5.1 provides insights into the perceived primary reasons for the declining impact of media on the general public. Respondents were given multiple options, and their choices reflect a range of concerns that may have contributed to this decline.

**Table 5.1**

#### Reasons of Media's Declining Impact on Public

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | The primary reason for the media's declining impact on the general public | | |
| **Response options** | **Frequency** | **Percent** |
| 1 | Lack of quality in contents | 58 | 13.2 |
| 2 | Owner's control | 34 | 7.7 |
| 3 | Ownership's control | 9 | 2.0 |
| 4 | Political allegiance | 114 | 25.9 |
| 5 | Unverified and bias information | 57 | 13.0 |
| 6 | All of the above | 168 | 38.2 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

Starting with the response of Table 5.1 "All of the above," chosen by a substantial 38.2percent of participants, it suggests a comprehensive perspective that multiple factors collectively contributed to the declining impact of media on the general public. This inclusive response underscores the complexity of challenges faced by the media, suggesting that a combination of issues, including lack of quality in content, owner's control, political allegiance, and unverified/biased information, may have collectively diminished the media's influence.

The option "Lack of quality in contents," selected by 13.2percent, points to concerns about the substance and quality of the information presented by the media. This response suggests that a portion of respondents believes that a decline in the impact on the general public can be attributed to a perceived drop in the standards of news content, potentially affecting the credibility and relevance of news reporting.

"Owner's control," chosen by 7.7percent of respondents, indicates a perception that media owners exert significant influence over the content and direction of news reporting. This response raises concerns about editorial independence and the potential impact of owner-driven agendas on the overall quality and objectivity of news coverage. The response "Ownership's control," selected by 2.0percent, is similar to the previous option but with slightly different wording. It may represent a distinction in interpretation among respondents or a recognition that ownership structures, beyond individual owners, contribute to the perceived decline in media impact (Table 5.1).

"Political allegiance," chosen by 25.9percent, emerges as a significant concern. This response suggests that a substantial portion of respondents attributes the decline in media impact to political affiliations influencing news reporting. The perception of media being aligned with specific political agendas may lead to a loss of trust among the general public, affecting the media's ability to serve as an unbiased source of information. "Unverified and biased information," selected by 13.0percent, highlights concern about the accuracy and fairness of news content (Table 5.1). This response suggests that the dissemination of unverified and biased information may contribute to the declining impact of media, as audiences may become skeptical or disengaged due to concerns about the reliability of the information presented.

**Media Coverage and Bias**

This series of questions aims to explore diverse facets of media behavior and public perceptions during Nepal's civil conflict in a response of Professional Academicians and Civil Society Members (PACSMs) in Table 5.2. The inquiry begins by assessing whether significant news is frequently overlooked by the Nepali media, delving into potential factors contributing to such omissions. Subsequently, the survey navigates through the public's retrospective evaluation of media reliability and bias during the conflict, examining portrayals of both the rebels and the government. Additionally, the questions scrutinize the media's role in presenting solutions to the political crisis during the civil war. Furthermore, the survey probes into the dichotomy between political and technical dimensions of the issues brought forth by the Maoists, assessing public agreement with this perspective and scrutinizing the recognition of the nature of these problems by government officials and political leaders. In essence, this set of questions offers a comprehensive exploration of media coverage and the perception of political challenges during a critical period in Nepal's history.

**Table 5.2**

#### Responses of PACSMs Regarding Media Coverage and Bias

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **Maybe** |
| 1 | Do you think that even significant and prominent news is frequently ignored by Nepali media? | 15.5 | 63.6 | 20.9 |
| 2 | Do you believe that during the conflict, Nepali media has presented unreliable and biased news materials against the rebels? | 15.2 | 65.9 | 18.9 |
| 3 | Do you think that unreliable and biased news reports about the government were being disseminated by Nepali media during the conflict? | 15.7 | 61.1 | 23.2 |
| 4 | Did the media frequently present the solution for political crisis during the period of civil war in Nepal? | 36.1 | 40.9 | 23.0 |
| 5 | The problems then brought on by Maoists were almost political rather than merely technical. Do you agree with this assertion? | 15.5 | 71.8 | 12.7 |
| 6 | The government representatives and political leaders of mainstream political parties did not recognize that the problems then brought on by Maoists were almost political rather than merely technical. Do you agree with this assertion? | 15.2 | 65.7 | 19.1 |
| 7 | Do you agree that the government officials and political leaders of establishment parties had offered merely technical solutions to solve the problems that were political, economic, social and cultural in nature? | 25.0 | 54.5 | 20.5 |

Source: Survey, 2023

The query of question 1 of Table 5.2 explores the perception of significant news being frequently overlooked by Nepali media. The responses indicate a prevailing belief among the participants, with 63.6percent agreeing that even prominent news is frequently ignored. Conversely, 15.5percent disagree, while 20.9percent remain uncertain. This consensus suggests a widespread concern within the public regarding potential oversights by the Nepali media, highlighting the need for a more comprehensive and inclusive news coverage approach.

The question 2 of table 5.2investigating the presentation of unreliable and biased news against the rebels during the conflict, the responses reveal a substantial consensus, with 65.9percent agreeing with this assertion. In contrast, 15.2percent disagree, and 18.9percent remain uncertain. This consensus implies a prevalent perception of media bias during the conflict, signaling potential challenges to the objectivity of news coverage related to rebel activities.

In question 3 of Table 5.2, participants were asked about the dissemination of unreliable and biased news reports about the government during the conflict. The data demonstrates a notable agreement, with 61.1percent acknowledging the existence of biased news reports, while 15.7percent disagree, and 23.2percent remain uncertain. This consensus underscores concerns about media impartiality during the conflict, with a perceived tendency to present information about the government in a biased manner.

Question 4 of Table 5.2exploring whether the media frequently presented solutions for the political crisis during the civil war in Nepal, the responses depict a diverse perspective. While 36.1percent agree, 40.9percent disagree, and 23.0percent remain uncertain. This suggests a lack of consensus on the role of the media in proposing solutions during a tumultuous period, reflecting varying opinions on the efficacy of media contributions to political problem-solving.

The question 5 of Table 5.2 assesses agreement with the assertion that the problems brought on by Maoists were primarily political rather than merely technical. The data reveals a significant consensus, with 71.8percent in agreement, 15.5percent in disagreement, and 12.7percent uncertain. This widespread agreement suggests a prevailing view among respondents that the challenges posed by the Maoists were fundamentally rooted in political rather than technical dimensions.

Question 6 of Table 5.2 asserts that government representatives and political leaders did not recognize the primarily political nature of the problems brought on by Maoists also receives considerable agreement, with 65.7percent of participants aligning with this view. Conversely, 15.2percent disagree, and 19.1percent remain uncertain. This consensus highlights a perceived gap in the recognition of the political underpinnings of challenges posed by the Maoists among government and political figures.

The question 7 of Table 5.2 explores the belief that government officials and political leaders offered merely technical solutions to address multifaceted problems during the civil war. The data indicates a significant response, with 54.5percent agreeing with this assertion, 25.0percent disagreeing, and 20.5percent uncertain. This consensus suggests a widespread perception of inadequacy in the solutions proposed by government officials and political leaders, emphasizing the need for a more comprehensive approach that addresses political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions.

**The Reasons of Important and Noteworthy News Ignored in Nepali Media**

The question posed to the PACSMs was "What could be the reasons if important and noteworthy news is ignored in Nepali media?". This question seeks the perceived reasons behind the potential overlooking of important and noteworthy news by Nepali media. Participants were provided with various options, and the responses are categorized based on frequency and percentage (Table 5.3). The insights garnered from this data offer valuable perspectives on the factors contributing to the potential neglect of crucial news stories in the media landscape of Nepal.

**Table 5.3**

#### The Reasons of Important and Noteworthy News Ignored in Nepali Media

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Response options | Frequency | Percent |
| 1 | Commercial interests | 68 | 15.5 |
| 2 | Government's interference | 18 | 4.1 |
| 3 | Lack of professional skills | 163 | 37.0 |
| 4 | Outsiders’ interference | 45 | 10.2 |
| 5 | Owner's control | 146 | 33.2 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

A notable proportion of respondents, 16percent, attribute the neglect of significant news to commercial interests. This suggests a concern that profit-driven motives may influence editorial decisions, potentially leading to the prioritization of content aligned with financial interests rather than the public's need for comprehensive and pertinent information. A smaller fraction, 4percent, points to perceived government interference as a factor influencing the oversight of important news. While relatively low, this response underscores concerns about the impact of external pressures on media autonomy and raises questions about the role of the government in shaping the media narrative.

The most prominent reason cited is the perceived lack of professional skills within the media industry, with 37.0percent of respondents expressing this view. This suggests a prevailing belief that deficiencies in journalistic expertise and proficiency may contribute to oversights in selecting and prioritizing news stories, emphasizing the importance of enhancing professional competencies within the media sector. A notable portion, 10percent, attributes the neglect of significant news to interference from external entities. This response highlights concerns about the influence of outside forces on the media landscape, potentially shaping editorial decisions and content priorities (Table 5.3).

A substantial percentage, 33.2percent, points to owner control as a factor in neglecting important news. This indicates a perceived influence of media proprietors in steering content decisions, potentially aligning with personal or business interests, thereby impacting the diversity and comprehensiveness of news coverage. (Table 5.3).

Allover, Table 5.3 reveals multifaceted perspectives on the reasons for overlooking significant news in Nepali media, emphasizing the need for addressing issues related to professional skills, ownership influence, commercial interests, and external interference to enhance the overall quality and inclusiveness of media coverage.

**Regional Focus and Coverage Disparities**

This set of questions scrutinizes the patterns and biases in news coverage within the Nepali media landscape, shedding light on the prominence given to specific regions, social groups, and political events. The inquiry encompasses diverse aspects such as the emphasis on the capital city, coverage of marginalized communities, media influence during mass movements, the balance between village and urban news during the conflict, and the role of political transformations.

**Table 5.4**

#### Regional Focus and Coverage Disparities

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **Maybe** |
| 1 | Do you believe that capital city is emphasized on the front pages of Nepal's broadsheet newspapers? | 12.7 | 70.9 | 16.4 |
| 2 | Do you think that Nepal's media mostly give the downtrodden masses the least coverage? | 13.6 | 63.2 | 23.2 |
| 3 | Did the Nepali broadsheet dailies try to prepare the favorable surroundings for mass movement-II? | 14.8 | 63.2 | 22.0 |
| 4 | Do you believe that village news had predominated over urban news during the ten-year conflict in Nepal? | 18.4 | 62.5 | 19.1 |
| 5 | Do you agree that the latest political transformation in Nepal is the production of Maoist's people's war and peaceful movement 2006? | 11.4 | 74.5 | 14.1 |

Source: Survey, 2023

The question 1 of Table 5.4 investigates whether the capital city is disproportionately emphasized on the front pages of Nepal's broadsheet newspapers. The responses of PACSM reveal a substantial agreement, with 70.9percent of participants expressing belief in such emphasis, while 12.7percent disagree, and 16.4percent remain uncertain. This consensus indicates a prevailing perception that broadsheet newspapers in Nepal prioritize coverage of the capital city, potentially reflecting concerns about regional imbalances in news representation.

In question 2 of Table 5.4, the PACSM were asked about their views on whether Nepal's media predominantly provides the least coverage to the downtrodden masses. The data reflects a notable consensus, with 63.2percent agreeing with this assertion, 13.6percent disagreeing, and 23.2percent uncertain. This suggests a widely shared belief that marginalized communities receive inadequate coverage in the media, indicating potential disparities in news representation.

The question 3 of Table 5.4 explores whether Nepali broadsheet dailies attempted to create favorable conditions for mass movement-II. The responses indicate a significant agreement, with 63.2percent of participants affirming such attempts, 14.8percent disagreeing, and 22.0percent uncertain. This consensus implies a perceived influence of broadsheet dailies in shaping public sentiment during mass movements, highlighting the potential impact of media narratives on political events.

In the question 4 of Table 5.4,PACSMs were asked about their belief in whether village news predominated over urban news during the ten-year conflict in Nepal. The responses indicate a varied perspective, with 62.5percent agreeing, 18.4percent disagreeing, and 19.1percent uncertain. This diversity of opinions suggests differing assessments of the media's coverage focus during the conflict, indicating a nuanced understanding of the representation of rural and urban issues.

The question 5 of Table 5.4 explores agreement with the assertion that the latest political transformation in Nepal is a result of Maoist people's war and the peaceful movement of 2006. The data reveals a substantial agreement, with 74.5percent of participants aligning with this view, 11.4percent dissenting, and 14.1percent uncertain. This consensus suggests a prevailing perception that attributes the political transformation to the Maoist people's war and the subsequent peaceful movement, highlighting the perceived influence of these events on the country's political trajectory.

Allover, the questions and responses from the PACSMs in Table 5.4 underscore the nuanced public perceptions of media representation, emphasizing concerns about regional biases, coverage of marginalized communities, media influence during mass movements, the balance between rural and urban news, and the impact of historical events on political transformations in Nepal.

**Responses of Professional Intellectuals Regarding the Contents since 12-Points Understanding**

The data in Table 5.5 concerning the contents dominated in the media since the 12-points understanding in Nepal reveals diverse perceptions among respondents, with multiple factors contributing to their understanding of media coverage during this period. The highest percentage, with 45.9percent, selected "All of the above," indicating a prevalent belief among a substantial portion of respondents that media coverage encompassed a combination of war news, outsiders' interference, outsiders' interests, and politically dominated contents. This broad categorization suggests a nuanced and comprehensive view of the media landscape, acknowledging the multifaceted nature of the issues covered during this critical period.

**Table 5.5**

#### Responses of Professional Intellectuals Regarding the contents since 12-points Understanding

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| The contents dominated in media since 12-points understanding in Nepal | | | |
| **S N** | **Response Options** | **Frequency** | **Percent** |
| 1 | Dominated by war news | 22 | 5.0 |
| 2 | News dominated by outsiders’ interference | 10 | 2.3 |
| 3 | News dominated by outsiders' interests | 15 | 3.4 |
| 4 | Politically dominated contents | 191 | 43.4 |
| 5 | All of the above | 202 | 45.9 |
| **Total** | | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

Politically dominated contents emerged as a notable focus, with 43.4percent of respondents attributing media dominance to political narratives. This suggests a significant portion of participants perceived that political developments and activities took precedence in media coverage, highlighting the central role of political events during the post-12-points understanding period.

While politically dominated contents constituted a major focus, a smaller percentage of respondents identified specific themes. War news, chosen by 5.0percent of participants, indicates a recognition that the media prominently covered news related to conflicts or war during this period. This might suggest a heightened awareness or emphasis on the security and conflict-related aspects in the media discourse.

The data also shows that 2.3percent of respondents believed that news was dominated by outsiders' interference, while 3.4percent identified news dominated by outsiders' interests. These responses highlight a perceived external influence on media narratives, signaling a level of awareness or concern among a minority of participants regarding the impact of external factors on the content prioritization in Nepali media (Table 5.5).

## 5.5 Newspapers’ Contents related to Political Transformation

M. Bista (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that while some media attempted to romanticize the Maoists' acts, state-owned media slavishly backed state policies, the vast mass of media stood strongly in support of democracy. The media did not resist the Maoist leaders' landing in Baluwatar, which encouraged the rebels to engage in the peace process. Nepali media has also been consistent in its coverage of the affairs and incidents.

D. Jha (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that contents related issue is very crucial that one must consider. When it comes to presenting news as top stories or in banners, the media has its own set of rules and perspectives. Political news was prioritized by the media, which published it on a variety of pages—some front pages, some op-ed or internal pages, and occasionally through interviews. The media often published stories about political upheaval.

T. N. Dahal (personal communication, December 13, 2023) says that the agenda's contents varied widely. While some were outspoken Republicans, others weren't. Overall, however, there was unity in the desire for peace and the establishment of democracy, and the seven political parties as well as the Maoists should unite around this goal. The method of formulating a constitution through constituent assembly was also endorsed by the media. He further explains that the media had a similar ground about these topics, although there were also some discrepancies among them. A campaign towards inclusiveness emerged at the appropriate time. Following that, political reform agendas had been driven by inclusiveness. He argues that the case for inclusion has caused disagreement in the media. In Nepali media, the citizenship protests in Madhesh have given rise to a new narrative. The two main topics that the Nepali media was covering at the time were inclusion and Madhesh. He adds that contents on important issues like freedom of expression, press freedom, peace, and democracy were consistent. He finishes that the nation's revolutionary politics were actively advanced by the media, which also acted as an active partner and facilitator.

R. K. Regmee (personal communication, December 16, 2023) says that there was inconsistency in media contents. While some media outlets adhered to the leaders of political parties, others did not, and they did not follow the consistency principle. In fact, the media has adopted the new voice. They have taken on the role of change agent in the past. When considering violence and peace, leaders have had a major impact on these issues. He argues that the media should independent in three ways. independent reporting, independent ownership, or independent editing. The media is reliant on politicians or their proprietors. He touches that in Nepal, there is no journalistic system. Owner ought to be aware that he owns media, not any other company or factory. But he adds that owners always transfer their influence on the reporter and editor. The victim will be the consumer.

B. Basnet (personal communication December 16, 2023) says that there was continuity and uniformity in the media content that was released. The media in Nepal was extremely confused immediately following the coup or the king's coronation. She presents the example that the day following the royal coup, Kantipur spoke on yet another topic. The media couldn't decide what had happened. After a while, the media realized what was going on and adjusted. She claims that even during a short political campaign and corner assembly, print media delivered banner news.

M. K. Sundar (personal communication, December 18, 2023) on this issue says that media covered the news on that period frequently and consistently except state media. Private media mostly covered the issues frequently. He adds that there was no any dilemma on media world on that issue.

S. Shrestha (personal communication, December 18, 2023) says that media are not ideologists. These are the business entrepreneur. They must sell the news and ideas. He argues that to think media more than the limitation of commercial aim is our mistakes He argues that it was up to the editorials about contents and views. If the editor was in favor of change and transformation, news and views were disseminated accordingly. Consistency was editor relative. But he adds that in general, media had taken a common standpoint to solve the conflict.

G. Acharya (personal communication December 20, 2023) says that at the time of the 12-point understanding to constituent assembly election that we are debating, the media was goal-oriented. The freedom of the people to draft their own constitution should be publicly and vehemently applauded by the media. The media regularly alerted political parties when the constitution could not be drafted in a timely manner. They passed forward the campaign to draft a constitution. He claims that together, the Media Society and Federation of Nepali Journalists launched a campaign that thy went door to door of leaders. The media wanted to draft the constitution ahead of schedule. When the first constituent assembly was unable to draft the constitution in a timely manner, the media attempted to set up circumstances that would facilitate the election of a second constituent assembly. He explores that the media was crucial in helping to develop and formulate the constitution on time, even after the second Constituent Assembly election. He argues that the media worked purposefully. The political structure that emerged from a widespread movement that included the media also aimed to make the system constitutional.

## 5.6 Accountabilities of media and Journalists to their respective societies

M. Bista (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that since the media gives voice to the voiceless, in Nepal's instance, the media ought to be the nation's greatest asset for diversity. It is the topic of conversation. It was responsible in the situation of orientation; it is dubious in the case of presentation. He suggests that publicly accessible contents ought to be given priority by the media. On this matter, the public's criticism should not be disregarded or ignored. The public has chastised Nepali media for being more politicized and for serving as a political instrument for political parties. Nothing about the public contents should be compromised when it comes to advertisements and business owners. He sums up that he couldn’t claim the media as they completely disregarded the general public and respected society, but they weren't able to give this subject enough attention.

D. Jha (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that Nepali media makes an effort to uphold the notion of social responsibility. However, at this point, it should be the matter of discussion about whether or not the media adhered to the social responsibility principle to the letter. They fared well in the peace process. A party of contention was unconventional or unorthodox. He argues that revolt stories would not have been common at that time if Nepali media had not paid attention to wisdom. He atmospheres that when one conduct his/her investigation and analyze the press, he/she will discover that the Nepali press served as the rebels' spokesperson in a manner. The media has revealed all of the rebels' remarks and actions. The media didn't stop reporting on rebels in the major news.

T. N. Dahal (personal communication, December 13, 2023) says that there is no universal explanation for this problem. Media should be accountable to its society. It implies that the media should be responsible to public, including listeners, viewers, and users. He further suggests that the media ought to adhere to value-based contents so that its viewers can form insightful opinions on society. For the media, societal interests ought to be paramount. He adds that media critics accuses the media as they were always answerable to their owners rather than their audience. This is also true in the case of Nepal. He concludes that though insufficient, the media are more reliable than the courts, police, political parties, and so on. But this is affected by ownership pattern. He enhances that there is the impact of company and government ownership on this matter. It will continue until media contents are backed by owners rather than by consumers.

R. K. Regmee (personal communication, December 16, 2023) says that according to journalistic accountability, the media is not very accountable. If one remains silent about some matters, he/she is not being accountable. The media cannot remain silent. Certain media outlets choose to remain silent on certain topics. He elucidates that journalists have a responsibility to fulfil, no matter the repercussions. They have accountability in terms of the overall obligation. He details that the media has been portrayed as a responsible social institution. However, in terms of the overall goals and variety of society, they fulfilled their obligations to the educated and to the urban population, but they neglected to fulfil their duties to the rural population. He elucidates that only twenty-five districts were covered. There are constant reports from 25 districts. They had an obligation to report Karnali, but they chose not to. There is inequity between genders. There is untouchability. There is economic disparity. Nepali society is divided and plagued by numerous issues. At last, he suggests that all of the diverse voices ought to be heard if the media is to be held responsible to society. The media should speak if Maoist leaders choose not to.

B. Basnet (personal communication December 16, 2023) says that the media had a substantial duty of care to the society in which they operated. She pleases that the nation's strife did not get worse thanks to the media. The media performed a great job immediately following the April movement. The media in Nepal played a significant role in reducing unrest and religious conflict. Things would have gotten worse in the country if the media had not been accountable to and responsible to the public. She argues that the media attempted to downplay rather than exacerbate the country's dire circumstances. At the period, the media played a role akin to mission journalism. She advocates that the media are independent within newsrooms. Editorial freedom is not enjoyed by Nepali media.

M. K. Sundar (personal communication, December 18, 2023) says that at the time, it was quite favorable. Later on, nevertheless, the media became more commercial than professional. That presents a challenge. He argues that the media is using extortion to push its own agenda. There is more defamation on social media than elsewhere. He presents an example of Himal media as it was overly critical of the Maoists' actions and ambitions. Even after the peace agreement, it revealed the harmful aspects of Maoist actions with the intention of derailing the whole peace process.

S. Shrestha (personal communication, December 18, 2023) says that it is limited and it is not possible to assert that any Nepali media outlet is totally answerable to the society in which it operates. They're not. He reasons that the media published certain stories whose sources could not be independently confirmed. He adds that civil society even took issue with such media actions. It was untrue, immoral, and raised concerns about the media's accountability. There were some fantastic stories. One was topics, and the other was contents. It had repeatedly occurred. He concludes in this issue that but all in all, the clashes and movements were largely portrayed in Nepali media.

G. Acharya (personal communication December 20, 2023) says that while other foreign media have obligations to their individual societies, Nepali media bear some of the same responsibilities. Regardless of whether they follow the journalistic code of conduct or not, media professionals should be aware of and assess their role in the industry. People eventually turn to the media to get the facts published when they do not receive justice from the government, the court, the police, or the legislature. The public's ultimate trust station is the media. He warns that the people losing faith in the media will be a disaster for us. He advises that Nepali media ought to reconsider their shortcomings, deficiencies, and limitations. They ought to draft their own editing policies, working guidelines, and self-regulation and self-supervision exercises. He further suggests that media companies ought to create and publish their own codes of behavior. The media ought to set up a desk to receive public feedback. It is necessary to create a self-supervision system for the media in order to boost public confidence. If not, people might lump social media and mass media together. That will be regrettable. He elucidates that the reasons for the lack of faith in the media differ in industrialized nations. People don't think highly of corporate entities. The ownership of the media is by large corporations. People thought that major corporate houses' issues were covered by the media.

## 5.7 Conclusion of Content Analysis

Here’s a detailed summary of the content analysis for the specified dates from three major newspapers: **Kantipur Daily**, **Naya Patrika**, and **The Rising Nepal**. This summary captures key trends and changes in political coverage around significant events in Nepal's history, including the 12-Point Agreement, the People's Movement II, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), and the elections for the Constituent Assembly.

### Kantipur Daily

#### 17 November 2005 - 29 November 2005 (Prior and After 12-Points Understanding)

**Political News as Banner News or Top Stories**: Consistently minimal, generally low focus.

**Political News on Front Pages**: Limited, with occasional spikes.

**Non-Political News on Front Pages**: Moderate presence.

**Political News on Inner Pages**: Fairly regular.

**Political News on Editorials**: Sparse, with some mentions.

**News Related to Armed Forces**: Infrequent, mainly related to the peace process.

**News Related to Peace Process**: Occasionally highlighted.

#### 5 April 2006 - 24 April 2006 (At People’s Movement II)

**Political News as Banner News or Top Stories**: Frequent, especially during key dates.

**Political News on Front Pages**: High frequency, often dominating.

**Non-Political News on Front Pages**: Present but secondary.

**Political News on Inner Pages**: Increased.

**Political News on Editorials**: More significant coverage.

**News Related to Armed Forces**: Notable, with frequent updates.

**News Related to Peace Process**: Prominent, reflecting the ongoing changes.

#### 17 November 2006 - 30 November 2006 (Prior and After CPA)

**Political News as Banner News or Top Stories**: High, especially regarding the end of the conflict.

**Political News on Front Pages**: Consistently high.

**Non-Political News on Front Pages**: Limited.

**Political News on Inner Pages**: Significant.

**Political News on Editorials**: Special editorials featured.

**News Related to Armed Forces**: Moderate, in the context of the peace process.

**News Related to Peace Process**: Prominent, reflecting the implementation of the CPA.

#### 5 April 2008 - 19 April 2008 (Prior and After First Election of Constituent Assembly)

**Political News as Banner News or Top Stories**: High, with a focus on the elections.

**Political News on Front Pages**: Dominant.

**Non-Political News on Front Pages**: Secondary.

**Political News on Inner Pages**: Extensive coverage.

**Political News on Editorials**: Highlighted, with special editorials.

**News Related to Armed Forces**: Minimal, focused on elections.

**News Related to Peace Process**: Limited, primarily electoral focus.

#### 13 November 2013 - 28 November 2013 (Prior and After Second Election of Constituent Assembly)

**Political News as Banner News or Top Stories**: High, especially around the elections.

**Political News on Front Pages**: Dominates.

**Non-Political News on Front Pages**: Less prominent.

**Political News on Inner Pages**: Extensive.

**Political News on Editorials**: Frequent.

**News Related to Armed Forces**: Present but secondary.

**News Related to Peace Process**: Limited, focus shifted to electoral coverage.

### Naya Patrika

#### 14 April 2007 - 14 May 2007

**Political News as Banner News or Top Stories**: Consistently high.

**Political News on Front Pages**: Dominant, especially during the election period.

**Non-Political News on Front Pages**: Less prominent.

**Political News on Inner Pages**: High.

**Political News on Editorials**: Regular, with some special features.

**News Related to Armed Forces**: Present but secondary.

**News Related to Peace Process**: Moderate.

#### 5 April 2008 - 19 April 2008 (Prior and After First Election of Constituent Assembly)

**Political News as Banner News or Top Stories**: High focus on elections.

**Political News on Front Pages**: Dominates.

**Non-Political News on Front Pages**: Less coverage.

**Political News on Inner Pages**: Extensive.

**Political News on Editorials**: Regular coverage with special editorials.

**News Related to Armed Forces**: Minimal.

**News Related to Peace Process**: Limited, focusing more on the election.

#### 13 November 2013 - 13 December 2013

**Political News as Banner News or Top Stories**: High around the election period.

**Political News on Front Pages**: Dominates.

**Non-Political News on Front Pages**: Less emphasis.

**Political News on Inner Pages**: High.

**Political News on Editorials**: Frequent.

**News Related to Armed Forces**: Present but secondary.

**News Related to Peace Process**: Limited

### The Rising Nepal

#### 17 November 2005 - 30 November 2005 (Prior and After 12-Points Understanding)

**Political News as Banner News or Top Stories**: Notable for some key events.

**Political News on Front Pages**: Regular but not overwhelming.

**Non-Political News on Front Pages**: Significant presence.

**Political News on Inner Pages**: Consistent.

**Political News on Editorials**: Some, with occasional special editorials.

**News Related to Armed Forces**: Moderate.

**News Related to Peace Process**: Present but secondary.

#### 5 April 2006 - 28 April 2006 (At People’s Movement II)

**Political News as Banner News or Top Stories**: High, especially around significant events.

**Political News on Front Pages**: Dominates.

**Non-Political News on Front Pages**: Secondary.

**Political News on Inner Pages**: Extensive.

**Political News on Editorials**: Frequent.

**News Related to Armed Forces**: Moderate.

**News Related to Peace Process**: Prominent, reflecting the political changes.

#### 15 November 2006 - 28 November 2006 (Prior and After CPA)

**Political News as Banner News or Top Stories**: High, particularly around the CPA.

**Political News on Front Pages**: Dominates.

**Non-Political News on Front Pages**: Limited.

**Political News on Inner Pages**: Significant.

**Political News on Editorials**: Frequent, including special editorials.

**News Related to Armed Forces**: Present, focusing on peace process.

**News Related to Peace Process**: Prominent, reflecting the implementation of the CPA.

#### 5 April 2008 - 18 April 2008 (Prior and After First Election of Constituent Assembly)

**Political News as Banner News or Top Stories**: High focus on elections.

**Political News on Front Pages**: Dominates.

**Non-Political News on Front Pages**: Less prominent.

**Political News on Inner Pages**: Extensive.

**Political News on Editorials**: Regular, with special features.

**News Related to Armed Forces**: Minimal.

**News Related to Peace Process**: Limited, focusing on the election.

#### 13 November 2013 - 26 November 2013 (Prior and After Second Election of Constituent Assembly)

**Political News as Banner News or Top Stories**: High, particularly around the elections.

**Political News on Front Pages**: Dominates.

**Non-Political News on Front Pages**: Less prominent.

**Political News on Inner Pages**: Extensive.

**Political News on Editorials**: Frequent, with special editorials.

**News Related to Armed Forces**: Present but secondary.

**News Related to Peace Process**: Limited, with a focus on the elections.

This summary highlights how political coverage shifted across these major events, showing increased focus during critical moments such as elections and peace agreements, while non-political news and armed forces coverage were often secondary.

## 5.8 Conclusion

Based on the detailed content analysis and key informant interviews provided, the following conclusions can be drawn regarding media coverage of political issues from the 12-Points Understanding to the election of the Second Constituent Assembly:

**Dominance of Political News**

Across all periods analyzed, political news consistently dominated the front pages and banner headlines of major Nepali newspapers. This was particularly evident during critical political events such as the People's Movement II, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signing, and the elections for the Constituent Assembly. The prominence of political news underscores the media's role in shaping public discourse and attention during these pivotal moments in Nepal's political history.

**Variability in Coverage Intensity**

The intensity and focus of media coverage varied significantly depending on the specific political events and dates. For example:

**During the 12-Points Understanding (November 17-29, 2005):** Peaks in coverage were observed on November 22 and 25, reflecting intense media focus on political developments.

**People's Movement II (April 5-24, 2006):** Political news coverage was particularly high on April 18 and 22, with a notable editorial focus on April 26.

**Before and After CPA (November 17-30, 2006):** Media coverage saw significant spikes on November 22 and 24, highlighting the significance of the CPA and its impact on the armed conflict.

**First Constituent Assembly Election (April 5-19, 2008):** Political news peaks were observed on April 7 and 15, with special editorials underscoring the electoral process.

**Second Constituent Assembly Election (November 13-28, 2013):** Peaks in coverage on November 15 and 24 indicate a focused media effort on the electoral process and its implications.

**Coverage of Armed Forces and Peace Process**

Coverage related to the armed forces was more sporadic and less emphasized compared to political news. The peace process, while covered, was not consistently highlighted, with coverage often integrated into broader political narratives rather than as a distinct focus. For instance, the peace process received intermittent attention in periods surrounding the CPA and the Constituent Assembly elections but was not the primary focus of the media.

**Editorial Consistency and Engagement**

Editorial content varied in consistency, reflecting the dynamic nature of the political landscape. Special editorials often aligned with key political events and were used strategically to comment on significant developments. For example, Kantipur Daily and The Rising Nepal published special editorials during critical periods like the CPA signing and the Constituent Assembly elections, showing a deliberate engagement with major political changes.

**Media Influence and Declining Impact**

Survey data reveals a perceived decline in the media’s impact on the public, with respondents citing issues such as political allegiance, unverified information, and lack of quality content as primary reasons. Additionally, biases and inconsistencies in news reporting during the conflict and political transitions contributed to this decline. Concerns about the media’s reliability and the influence of political and commercial interests are highlighted as factors affecting public trust.

**Regional Focus and Coverage Disparities**

The analysis indicates a regional bias in media coverage, with capital city news often receiving more emphasis compared to rural areas. This disparity reflects broader trends in media focus and coverage priorities, potentially marginalizing issues pertinent to less represented regions.

**Media as a Change Agent**

The interviews with key informants suggest that the media played a significant role in facilitating political change. Media outlets were seen as active participants in the political process, advocating for democratic reforms and contributing to the shaping of public opinion and political agendas. The media's role in supporting the peace process and advocating for constitutional reforms was noted, although there were inconsistencies and varied levels of engagement across different outlets.

Overall, the media's coverage of political issues from the 12-Points Understanding to the Second Constituent Assembly election demonstrates a strong emphasis on political news, with varying intensity and focus depending on the specific events. Despite challenges such as biases and regional disparities, the media's role in shaping political discourse and public perception during this transformative period in Nepal's history is evident. The consistency of political coverage and the strategic use of editorials underscore the media's influential role in supporting democratic processes and political change.

# CHAPTER-VI

# PERCEPTIONS ABOUT COUNTRY'S PEACE PROCESS

This chapter includes presentation and analysis of qualitative and quantitative data collected using different tools like questionnaire survey and key informant interviews to analyze the perceptions of Nepali journalists, members of civil society, and political parties to fortify and reinforce the country’s peace process. Statistical analysis of correlation between journalists, Political activists, Civil Society Members, and political activists and correlation of demographic parameters has presented in this chapter.

## 6.1 Media & Civil Society

According to LaMay (2004), both the media and civil society serve as self-regulatory, non-profit institutions that check the power of the government. Media and Civil Society both work to promote social movements. In order to build democracy under a monolithic dictatorship, the media is essential. Civil society and journalism both support the needs of the oppressed and underprivileged. Media initiatives play a role in the emergence of civil society, if not explicitly. The connection is obvious: regardless of one's perspective on the media's function in a democracy, it serves the public's informational needs in order to make their political involvement relevant. Through their interaction with and support of civil society organizations, journalists presumably have the power to alter that environment. In summary, both the media and civil society are examples of pressure coming from below that has an impact on governments' decisions and actions (LaMay, 2004).

Mentschel (2005) places civil society in the region between the private sphere and the State, in which people are politically active but do not aspire to positions of authority. He goes on to say that organizations like families, businesses, and political parties, as well as governmental bodies and bureaucracies, do not constitute the civil society (Mentschel, 2005, pp. 57-58). Ghose (2011) blames civil society, accusing its leaders of putting up roadblocks to good administration. In his subsequent criticism, he questions how a democratically elected government can suddenly alter course and bow to the desires of a select group of individuals referred to by the media as "civil society” (Ghose, 2011, p. 85).

Media should be focused on the audience. Their task is to delve deeply and construct narratives with significant, captivating, and perceptible public significance. LaMay (2004) emphasizes that journalism's role as an agent of economic growth and a promoter of public engagement is essentially the same in industrialized democracies and states that are transitioning to democracy. There are countless other responsibilities and roles. Dahl and Stinebrickner (2002, p. 34) say that through intermediary political and civil societies that process requests, encourage dissent, and restrain the arbitrary actions of the government, people take part in social transformation. They go on to say that while civil societies consist of professional, nonprofit, civic, and neighborhood organizations, political societies are made up of political parties, their organizations, and state institutions. Both contribute to determining the course of government and development.

To make the relation fruitful and to bring the positive outcomes, media and civil society should play potential role. Owing to the intertwined aspect of Nepal's business and politics, economic growth is highly politicized (Shakya, 2012, p. 126). He explains that pervasive exclusion of vast population is the first and most. Therefore, the media and society as a whole prefer to pay more attention to the political responses to a proposal than to the potential gains that it might offer. He adds that a change from over-politicizing problems to a pragmatic study of the projects in question needs to be made.

## 6.2 Partisanship vs Professionalism of Media

Many tabloid weeklies that are connected to one or the other party have made it their business to criticize, denigrate, and degrade their rivals (Thapalia, 2010). He continues, "Instead of conducting investigations and conducting more research, they provide findings that are strongly biased. They allow analysis and criticism that disparages and denigrates groups and people. Instead of bothering to go out and find out, they fabricate the truth and make forecasts at their workstation.”

If it is discovered that the media are outwardly revolutionary when the party they support is in opposition and equally outwardly relaxed if the party is in power. Kharel (2012, p. 248) contends that media politics and political media form a fascinating study. He (2012) expresses his opinions in the strong defense of the positions and deeds of their preferred political party or candidate, which is a partisan's hallmark. When partisanship is rampant, rumor-mongering erodes public confidence in the media.

In the country, it is widely believed that political parties and politicians use radio services primarily to promote their writings, and that people who work in three or more professions are considered "journalists" who are responsible for safeguarding, distributing, and facilitating the public's access to information. No judgment on the role of the media can be made without first determining whether Nepali media are within or above the rule of accountability and responsibility (Ghimire Y. , 2010).

The reasons behind the initial selection of the publication and the selection process are some of the secret aspects of newspapers that are explained by Chakravarty (2007). A healthy press must adhere to the standards of editorial independence and personal responsibility. A healthy press must solicit outside opinion on news values and concepts, just as it does with articles. It needs to stop being dismissive of journalistic research and instruction. To start a national conversation about journalistic values, the print media should take the initiative themselves. (Chakravarty, 2007).

According to Acharya (2011), the majority of the press in Nepal is political. It is not just because it emphasizes political themes over other themes, but also because it hides political activism in the form of journalism. Editorial independence is rendered useless in such a press. (Acharya, 2011). Party press serves as the public relations agent for a political group and represents the governor, not the governed. A certain class or interest group has frequently exploited the media as a tool for political influence, financial leverage, and dominance. Politicians and political interest groups react to the media in ways that serve their own agendas.

Kharel (2012, p. 285) provides a striking illustration of this situation. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) went on to win significantly more seats than the combined strength of the Nepali Congress and CPN (UML) in the 601-member constituent assembly, but the 2008 election for Nepal's constituent assembly was a glaring example that had shown the news media giving less than 50percent to the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). Compared to the Maoists, the Nepali Congress and the UML have a much larger number of media outlets in their favor.

By stating that "Political power, money power, and peer power are elements with potential for compromising and corrupting pen power," Kharel (2012) makes a very fascinating case for how other forces control the media. It can be stopped by the sovereign news department acting as a unit. Kharel (2012) continues that within a short amount of time after they began, the Nepali media have become heavily politicized. Particularly, many of the groups that support Nepali journalists are affiliated with various political parties. For instance, Press Chautari and Press Center Nepal are both affiliated with the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN), whereas Nepal Press Union is formally a sister organization of the Nepali Congress (UML). Through their news products, these journalistic organizations openly support the initiatives of their respective parties.

Many leaders in the Nepali media sector use their ideological affinity for and closeness to powerful political figures and parties as a foundation for directing their media to stay up with current events and forge deeper connections. As a result, the proper content at the proper time and location is lost. The professionalism is damaged. Even though the most influential daily journals were not directly affiliated with any one party, weekly publications frequently did so. As in the past, views-papers still exist in Nepal today. (Whelpton, 2005, p. 226). He goes on the news industry reflects society. They accurately represent society. They serve as democracy's cornerstone. However, partisan journalism cannot bring about popular mobilization and participatory democracy. Party-affiliated media speak for the party, not the general public.

## 6.3 Press Censorship and Government Control

In this context, McQuail (1987) argues that the media must remain free of government control, but in exchange media must serve the public. According to Curran and Seaton (2003), the media industries have put a significant stop to government attempts to regulate and control by enacting treason laws. In the guise of protecting the State and its interests overseas, governments frequently broaden the application of existing laws, which occasionally stifles frank discussion of problems of public concern. According to Nepal (2070 BS, p. 252), those with a poor police record found it extremely difficult to obtain a newspaper license in Nepal during the Panchayat regime. "To give a citizen a choice of ideas is to give them a choice of politics. If a nation has narrowly controlled information, it will have narrowly controlled politics (Bagdikian, 2004) .”

Entery, 1972, p. 410, as cited in Pal (2008, p. 41) indicates that farewell to the rest of our priceless rights and benefits if the freedom of the press is ever lost! In the future, we might anticipate having padlocks on our lips, chains around our legs, and only our hands free to work for our worse than Egyptian taskmasters or struggle for constitutional freedom. Bhattacharjee (2000) makes the case that the development of censorship and the expansion of media as a tool of power. Both nations have historically supported either democracy or communism when it comes to intimidating and manipulating the media. Until media material serves them, their so-called free press and freedom of speech are at a maximum. They will without hesitation kill the media if they believe doing so will protect their financial and other interests from being affected by it.

According to Chakravarty (2007), the government specifically seeks to regulate media content in order to achieve its goals, but media should be free from any kind of regulation because the people have a right to information and the government has a responsibility to assist in that knowledge. According to Chakravarty (2007, p. 99), the relationship between the press and authorities is similar to the relationship between a mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law in Indian culture. For a short while, the government might get along well with one particular editor and one particular correspondent. Institutionally, though, there will inevitably be conflict. He goes on to say that the press is a crucial institution in our nation's politics. It appears that editors write for politicians rather than their own readers. The government is primarily concerned in political feedback, which falls under the purview of intelligence rather than information setup.

According to Pruthi and Sharma (1995), a collectivist system naturally has a considerably higher likelihood of the government monopolizing all means of communication and information due to its control over the economy, raw materials, paper supplies, and other factors. But the threat is not limited to a public monopoly, they continue. Democracy is likewise doomed by a private monopoly on the channels of news and opinion (Pruthi & Sharma, 1995, pp. 44-45).

In Nepal, there are many obstacles to media independence, according to Dahal (2014). These obstacles include the media's heavy reliance on advertising revenue, the ownership of media by societal interest groups, political parties, and business tycoons, which has undermined the effectiveness of the media in defending the public's human rights and pushed thought control, and the insecurity of journalists due to non-state armed actors, party dons, criminals, security agencies, among others. Conglomerates locate audiences to be resources supplied to advertising agencies and sponsors. More than best practices and ethical activities they depend on money. Indirect self-censorship is practiced in the media. The media don't expose the advertiser's reality on certain occasions, but they appear to shield them. Bagdikian (2004) exhibits a good example for this.

“For decades, newspapers, magazines and broadcasters were silent about the medical evidence…. When cigarettes were advertised on television, villains in dramas were not permitted to smoke the advertised brand; all smoking was required to be shown in a positive manner. There is a similar tenderness toward major advertisers in most national programs (Bagdikian, 1997).” Open market policy, commercial interests, and corporate interest of media ownership has now led media owners to control and influence news content that was previously state controlled (Prajapati, 2013). Hayoz & Dafflon (2014, p. 196-198) argue that political elites always try to monopolize power because they do not want to travel through democratic path. The path to full democratic standards is still a long way away; it is hampered by territorial conflicts and by economic hardships, but especially by a political elite that is mainly interested on the monopolization of power rather than a strong civil society, a free media landscape or an open political platform.

## 6.4 Media Dynamics and Socio-Political Influence

The close-ended questions posed to Political Activists and Civil Society Members (PACSM) focusing on relationship between media dynamics, political landscapes, and societal structures in Nepal. These questions span a spectrum ranging from the impact of state behavior on media freedom to the ethical considerations guiding media practices. Exploring the nexus between media and conflict, the discourse also extends to the transformative role of media in political movements and peace processes.

**Media and Civil Society in Political Transformation**

The presented data on Table 6.1 encompasses responses to a series of questions probing the relationship between conflict, media, civil society, and political engagement. The PACSM were asked to express their agreement or disagreement with various statements related to these themes. The ensuing analysis delves into the nuances of these responses, shedding light on the prevailing sentiments regarding the inevitability of conflict, the role of media and civil society in political life, and their interdependence.

The response from the PACSMs on question "Do you agree that conflict is an inevitable and universal societal phenomenon to bring about societal change?" delve into the perception regarding conflict as an inevitable and universal societal phenomenon for inducing societal change. Approximately 73.9percent of respondents agree with this notion, suggesting a prevailing consensus on the belief that conflict plays a crucial role in driving societal transformations. The 15.9percent expressing uncertainty indicates some ambiguity or diverse perspectives on this issue (Table 6.1).

**Table 6.1**

#### Responses on Media and Civil Society in Political Transformation

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response of PACSM (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **Maybe** |
| 1 | Do you agree that conflict is an inevitable and universal societal phenomenon to bring about societal change? | 10.2 | 73.9 | 15.9 |
| 2 | Are you in agreement that media and civil society motivate public for involvement in political life? | 14.3 | 66.4 | 19.3 |
| 3 | Do you agree that media and civil society are the promoter for political and social movement? | 12.3 | 76.6 | 11.1 |
| 4 | Do you agree that independent media outlets and civil society associations are interdependent and sometimes even overlap? | 9.3 | 67.7 | 23.0 |
| 5 | Do you agree that civil society should blow whistle when the government behaves irresponsibly or in a repressive manner? | 7.3 | 83.0 | 9.8 |
| 6 | Do you agree that in many occasions in Nepal, media and civil society were far ahead than political parties in creating the political movement? | 16.4 | 64.1 | 19.5 |

Source: Survey, 2023

Moving on to another question, which assesses the impact of media and civil society on public involvement in political life, 66.4percent of respondents acknowledge the motivating influence of these entities. This emphasizes the perceived significance of media and civil society in shaping public participation in political affairs. However, 19.3percent remain uncertain, signifying a portion of respondents who may not firmly align with this viewpoint.

The response to another question "Do you agree that media and civil society are the promoter for political and social movement?" (Table 6.1) delves into whether media and civil society act as promoters for political and social movements. A substantial 76.6percent of respondents agree with this proposition, indicating a widely held belief in the catalyzing role of these entities in fostering political and social change. The 11.1percent expressing uncertainty suggests a minor level of ambiguity or variability in perspectives. Analyzing the question that focus on the interdependence and potential overlap between independent media outlets and civil society associations, a notable 67.7percent of respondents agree with this interdependency, highlighting the perceived synergy between these two entities. However, 23.0percent express uncertainty, underlining a segment of respondents with varying opinions or lacking a clear stance on this issue.

The response on the question "Do you agree that civil society should blow whistle when the government behaves irresponsibly or in a repressive manner?" in Table 29 probes the role of civil society in holding the government accountable. A significant 83.0percent of respondents agree that civil society should blow the whistle on government irresponsibility or repression. This high level of agreement underscores a strong belief in the watchdog function of civil society. The 9.8percent expressing uncertainty signals a smaller proportion of respondents with unclear or diverse views on this matter.

Moving to the question "Do you agree that in many occasions in Nepal, media and civil society were far ahead than political parties in creating the political movement?' that explores the historical precedence of media and civil society over political parties in creating political movements in Nepal. While 64.1percent of respondents agree with this assertion, suggesting a recognition of the proactive role of media and civil society, 19.5percent express uncertainty, indicating a degree of skepticism or diverse perspectives on this historical dynamic (Table 6.1).

**Degree of connectivity between political leaders and general public**

The PACSM response on the question "What the degree of connectivity established by the media between the political leaders and general public?", was information on effectiveness on media's connectivity between political leaders and the public (Table 6.2).

**Table 6.2**

#### Degree of connectivity between political leaders and general public

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Response Options | Frequency | Percent |
| 1 | Cannot say | 64 | 14.5 |
| 2 | Effective | 194 | 44.1 |
| 3 | Not effective | 126 | 28.6 |
| 4 | Very effective | 56 | 12.8 |
|  | **Total** | **440** | **100.0** |

Source: Survey, 2023

The Table 6.2 describes the respondents' opinions on the degree of connectivity established by the media between political leaders and the general public. A notable 44.1percent of the participants expressed the view that this connectivity is effective. On the contrary, a substantial portion, accounting for 28.6 percent, perceived the media's role in establishing connectivity as not effective. Additionally, 12.8 percent of respondents considered the connectivity to be very effective. It is noteworthy that a considerable portion, comprising 14.5percent, indicated an inability to definitively assess the degree of connectivity by choosing the response option "Cannot say." In summary, the data suggests a diverse range of perspectives on the effectiveness of media in fostering connectivity between political leaders and the general public.

**Media Freedom and State Interference**

The survey questions and response of PACSM of Table 6.3 delves into public perceptions of media dynamics in Nepal, exploring key aspects such as the influence of state relations on press freedom, the impact of commercial interests on news integrity, the presence of political affiliations in the media landscape, and the perceived objectivity of privately owned broadsheet newspapers in political reporting. Additionally, the study scrutinizes historical contexts, specifically examining the Nepali media's portrayal during the time of insurgency, with a focus on potential discriminatory attitudes in political reporting.

**Table 6.3**

#### Response of PACSM's Regarding Media Freedom and State Interference

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response of PACSM (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **Maybe** |
| 1 | Do you agree that when state behaves as enemy with press world, the media freedom confined within the wishes of the ruler? | 20.7 | 64.1 | 15.2 |
| 2 | Do you think that Nepal's privately owned media's commercial interests degrade the value of news? | 8.9 | 73.6 | 17.5 |
| 3 | Do you agree that political affiliation may be seen in Nepal's current media? | 7.7 | 80.7 | 11.6 |
| 4 | Do you believe that Nepal's current privately owned broadsheet newspapers are objective while reporting on political issues? | 40.7 | 37.3 | 22.0 |
| 5 | Do you feel that Nepali media during the time of insurgency has presented discriminatory attitude in political reporting? | 13.9 | 67.7 | 18.4 |

Source: Survey, 2023

Through a nuanced lens, the responses to these questions provide valuable insights into the complex interplay between the media, state, and commercial interests, shaping our understanding of how these factors influence public trust and perception of the media landscape in Nepal.

The question "Do you agree that when state behaves as enemy with press world, the media freedom confined within the wishes of the ruler?”, the study investigates the correlation between a state's antagonistic behavior towards the press and the resultant limitation of media freedom to conform to the ruler's preferences. The responses reveal a notable consensus, with 64.1percent agreeing that media freedom becomes confined within the wishes of the ruler under such circumstances. Conversely, 20.7percent disagree, while 15.2percent remain uncertain. The dominant agreement suggests a perceived vulnerability of media freedom to state interference, indicative of concerns surrounding press autonomy.

Moving to question "Do you think that Nepal's privately owned media's commercial interests degrade the value of news?", in Table 6.3 the responses examines whether Nepal's privately owned media's commercial interests compromise the integrity of news. A substantial majority, 73.6percent, express agreement with this notion. In contrast, 8.9percent disagree, and 17.5percent are uncertain. This high level of agreement implies a widespread perception that commercial interests may undermine the news value, emphasizing the potential impact of financial considerations on journalistic integrity in Nepal.

The response of the question on "Do you agree that political affiliation may be seen in Nepal's current media?" in Table 6.3 addresses the presence of political affiliation in Nepal's current media landscape. The responses reveal a significant consensus, with 80.7percent acknowledging the existence of political affiliation in the media. Only 7.7percent disagree, while 11.6percent remain uncertain. This overwhelming agreement suggests a prevailing belief that political biases are discernible within Nepal's media outlets, highlighting potential challenges to impartial reporting.

"Do you believe that Nepal's current privately owned broadsheet newspapers are objective while reporting on political issues?" In this question, participants were asked about their belief in the objectivity of Nepal's current privately owned broadsheet newspapers when reporting on political issues. The responses present a divided perspective, with 40.7percent expressing belief in objectivity, 37.3percent disagreeing, and 22.0percent remaining uncertain. This indicates a lack of consensus on the neutrality of these newspapers, suggesting a nuanced perception of their reporting practices.

Lastly, this question posed to the PACSMs on "Do you feel that Nepali media during the time of insurgency has presented discriminatory attitude in political reporting?". The responses showcase a substantial majority, with 67.7percent agreeing that discriminatory attitudes were prevalent. On the contrary, 13.9percent disagree, and 18.4percent are uncertain. This consensus underscores a prevailing perception of biased reporting during the insurgency, potentially reflecting historical concerns about media impartiality in politically sensitive periods (Table 6.3).

**Media Influence on Political Agendas**

The responses on various questions in Table 6.4 probes into diverse dimensions of media influence and ethical practices in the Nepali context, encompassing a spectrum of questions aimed at gauging public opinions on the role of media in shaping political agendas, the correlation between ethical media practices and informed citizenship, and the media's perceived impartiality or bias in relation to specific political ideologies. Moreover, the study delves into the impact of key historical milestones, such as the 12-points understanding and the mainstreaming efforts towards former rebels, shedding light on the media's role in contributing to political discourse and transformation. The ensuing data interpretations provide nuanced insights into the public's beliefs and perceptions regarding these multifaceted aspects of the Nepali media landscape.

**Table 6.4**

#### Responses of PACSM regarding Media's Influences on Political Agendas

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN | Questions | Response (percent) | | |
| **No** | **Yes** | **Maybe** |
| 1 | Do you believe that the media can set the political agendas by covering issues the government does not want to focus on? | 8.9 | 77.0 | 14.1 |
| 2 | Do you agree that ethical media practices lead to informed citizens who are the lifeblood of democracy? | 10.2 | 78.6 | 11.1 |
| 3 | Do you believe that mainstream media in Nepal couldn't be impartial towards Maoists because of their long embedded ideological perception about Maoists aim and strategies? | 11.8 | 67.0 | 21.1 |
| 4 | Do you agree that media in Nepal after 12-points understanding has created discourse on the issues of political transformation? | 20.7 | 57.3 | 22.0 |
| 5 | Do you believe that the Nepali media has paid lots of efforts to mainstream the former rebels seriously? | 40.0 | 34.8 | 25.2 |

Source: Survey, 2023

Question 1of Table 6.4 investigates the belief in whether the media can influence political agendas by covering issues the government may not prioritize. The responses indicate a substantial agreement, with 77.0percent of participants affirming the media's potential to set political agendas, while 8.9percent disagree and 14.1percent remain uncertain. This suggests a prevailing perception that the media holds significant sway in shaping public discourse and steering attention towards pertinent issues.

Moving to Question 2 of Table 6.4, which explores the connection between ethical media practices and informed citizens as the lifeblood of democracy. The data reveals a strong consensus, with 78.6percent agreeing with this proposition, 10.2percent dissenting, and 11.1percent uncertain. The overwhelming agreement underscores the perceived importance of ethical journalism in fostering an informed citizenry crucial for the sustenance of democratic principles.

The responses demonstrate a nuanced perspective, with 67.0percent acknowledging this possibility, 11.8percent dissenting, and 21.1percent uncertain. This suggests a complex interplay between media biases and ideological preconceptions, impacting perceptions of impartiality. The study investigates whether media in Nepal, after the 12-points understanding, has contributed to discourse on political transformation. The responses reveal a varied perspective, with 57.3percent agreeing, 20.7percent disagreeing, and 22.0percent uncertain. This diversity of opinions suggests differing assessments of the media's role in shaping discourse following key political agreements.

Lastly, Question 5 of Table 6.4 explores whether Nepali media has invested significant efforts in mainstreaming former rebels. The responses indicate a lack of consensus, with 40.0percent agreeing, 34.8percent disagreeing, and 25.2percent uncertain. This suggests differing perceptions regarding the extent and efficacy of media initiatives in mainstreaming former rebels, reflecting a multifaceted view of the media's role in post-conflict scenarios.

## 6.5 Statistical Analysis

Statistical tests are analytical techniques employed in research to assess the validity of hypotheses, examine patterns within data, and draw meaningful inferences about populations based on sample observations. These tests encompass a variety of methods designed to quantify the likelihood of observed patterns occurring by chance alone. By applying statistical tests, researchers aim to determine the significance of relationships, differences, or effects present in their data, thereby providing a systematic and objective foundation for making informed conclusions.

The importance of statistical tests lies in their ability to bring a level of rigor and objectivity to the research process. In scientific inquiry, where precision and accuracy are paramount, statistical tests offer a standardized methodology for evaluating the credibility of research findings. Through hypothesis testing, researchers can objectively assess whether the observed results are statistically significant, helping to distinguish between genuine effects and random variability. This critical function not only enhances the robustness of research outcomes but also contributes to the reliability and replicability of scientific knowledge, fostering a foundation upon which future studies can build and expand. In essence, statistical tests serve as indispensable tools for researchers seeking to navigate the complexities of data analysis and draw reliable conclusions from empirical observations.

### 6.5.1 Correlation between Journalists, Political Activists, Civil Society Members, Professional Intellectuals

The presented correlation matrix in Table 6.5 provides a quantitative exploration of relationships among different groups of individuals, specifically journalists, political activists, civil society members, and professional intellectuals. Correlation coefficients, measured using Pearson correlation, offer insights into the strength and direction of associations between pairs of these groups. The correlation values are denoted along with their statistical significance levels, emphasizing the reliability and validity of the observed relationships. The data presented here is derived from a sample of 440 individuals within each category, contributing to a robust statistical foundation for the interpretations made.

**Table 6.5**

#### Correlation between Journalists, Political Activists, Civil Society Members and Professional Intellectuals

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| SN |  | | Journalists | Political Activists Civil Society Members | Professional Intellectuals |
| 1 | Journalists | Pearson Correlation | 1 | .596\*\* | .515\*\* |
| Sig. (2-tailed) |  | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| N | 440 | 440 | 440 |
| 2 | Political Activists Civil Society Members | Pearson Correlation | .596\*\* | 1 | .595\*\* |
| Sig. (2-tailed) | 0.000 |  | 0.000 |
| N | 440 | 440 | 440 |
| 3 | Professional Intellectuals | Pearson Correlation | .515\*\* | .595\*\* | 1 |
| Sig. (2-tailed) | 0.000 | 0.000 |  |
| N | 440 | 440 | 440 |

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Source: Survey, 2023

Starting with the correlation between Journalists and Political Activists, the Pearson correlation coefficient is 0.596, which is statistically significant with a p-value less than 0.001. This suggests a moderately strong positive linear relationship between the two groups. In practical terms, as the level of one group increases, there is a tendency for the other group to also increase, and vice versa. This positive correlation might imply that there is some commonality or interaction between journalists and political activists.

Moving on to the correlation between Political Activists and Civil Society Members, the correlation coefficient is 0.595, again with a highly significant p-value. This indicates a similarly strong positive linear relationship between these two groups. The implication is that changes in the level or characteristics of Political Activists are associated with corresponding changes in Civil Society Members.

Finally, the correlation between Journalists and Professional Intellectuals is 0.515, once more with a statistically significant p-value. This shows a positive linear relationship, though slightly weaker than the correlations observed in the previous pairs. It suggests that there is a connection between Journalists and Professional Intellectuals, but it is not as strong as the relationships observed between the other groups.

### 6.5.2 Correlation of Demographic Parameters

**Gender**

The provided correlation Table 6.6 presents Pearson correlation coefficients between gender and four different groups: Journalists, Political Activists, Civil Society Members, and Professional Intellectuals. Each cell in the table represents the correlation between the respective group and gender.

**Table 6.6**

#### Correlation with Gender

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Correlations | | | | |
|  | | **Journalists** | **Political Activists Civil Society Members** | **Professional Intellectuals** |
| **Gender** | **Pearson Correlation** | 0.061 | 0.000 | 0.069 |
| **Sig. (2-tailed)** | 0.199 | 0.996 | 0.147 |
| **N** | 440 | 440 | 440 |

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Source: Survey, 2023

Starting with the correlation between gender and Journalists, the Pearson correlation coefficient is 0.061, and the associated p-value is 0.199. This suggests a very weak positive correlation between gender and being a journalist. However, the p-value of 0.199 is greater than the conventional significance level of 0.01, indicating that this correlation is not statistically significant. In practical terms, the correlation is not strong enough to make a reliable assertion about the relationship between gender and being a journalist in this dataset.

Moving on to the correlation between gender and Political Activists, the correlation coefficient is 0.000, and the p-value is 0.996. This indicates an extremely weak and statistically insignificant correlation between gender and being a political activist. The lack of statistical significance suggests that gender is not related to the identification as a political activist in this dataset.

Next, considering the correlation between gender and Civil Society Members, the correlation coefficient is 0.069, with a p-value of 0.147. Again, the correlation is weak, and the p-value is greater than 0.05, suggesting that the correlation is not statistically significant. This implies that, based on the data provided, there is no strong evidence to support a meaningful relationship between gender and being a member of civil society.

Finally, looking at the correlation between gender and Professional Intellectuals, the correlation coefficient is 0.069, and the p-value is 0.147. Similar to the correlation with Civil Society Members, the correlation is weak and not statistically significant. This indicates that, based on the available data, there is no robust association between gender and identifying as a professional intellectual.

In summary, the correlation coefficients between gender and each group (Journalists, Political Activists, Civil Society Members, and Professional Intellectuals) are all weak, and none of them are statistically significant. This suggests that, within the given dataset, gender does not exhibit a strong or meaningful linear relationship with the identification of individuals in these groups.

**Academic qualification**

The provided correlation table 6.7 displays Pearson correlation coefficients between academic qualification and four different groups: Journalists, Political Activists, Civil Society Members, and Professional Intellectuals. Each cell in the table represents the correlation between the respective group and academic qualification.

**Table 6.7**

#### Correlation with Academic Qualification

**Correlation**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | Journalists | Political Activists Civil Society Members | Professional Intellectuals |
| **Academic Qualification** | **Pearson Correlation** | -0.041 | -0.007 | 0.053 |
| **Sig. (2-tailed)** | 0.386 | 0.880 | 0.267 |
| **N** | 440 | 440 | 440 |

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Source: Survey, 2023

Starting with the correlation between academic qualification and Journalists, the Pearson correlation coefficient is -0.041, and the associated p-value is 0.386. This indicates a very weak negative correlation, suggesting a slight tendency for journalists to have slightly lower academic qualifications. However, the p-value is greater than the conventional significance level of 0.01, indicating that this correlation is not statistically significant. In practical terms, there is not enough evidence in the provided data to conclude that there is a meaningful relationship between academic qualification and being a journalist.

Moving on to the correlation between academic qualification and Political Activists, the correlation coefficient is -0.007, with a p-value of 0.880. This correlation is extremely weak, and the p-value is not significant. This implies that there is no substantial linear relationship between academic qualification and being a political activist in the given dataset.

Considering the correlation between academic qualification and Civil Society Members, the correlation coefficient is 0.053, and the p-value is 0.267. Again, the correlation is weak, and the p-value is greater than 0.05, indicating that the correlation is not statistically significant. This suggests that there is no strong evidence to support a meaningful association between academic qualification and being a member of civil society.

Finally, looking at the correlation between academic qualification and Professional Intellectuals, the correlation coefficient is 0.053, and the p-value is 0.267. Similar to the correlation with Civil Society Members, the correlation is weak, and the p-value is not significant. This implies that, based on the available data, there is no strong linear relationship between academic qualification and identifying as a professional intellectual.

In summary, the correlation coefficients between academic qualification and each group (Journalists, Political Activists, Civil Society Members, and Professional Intellectuals) are all weak, and none of them are statistically significant at the conventional 0.01 significance level. This suggests that, within the provided dataset, academic qualification does not exhibit a strong or meaningful linear relationship with the identification of individuals in these groups.

**Profession**

The provided correlation table 6.8 presents Pearson correlation coefficients between profession and four different groups: Journalists, Political Activists, Civil Society Members, and Professional Intellectuals. Each cell in the table represents the correlation between the respective group and profession.

**Table 6.8**

#### Correlation with Profession

**Correlation**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | Journalists | Political Activists Civil Society Members | Professional Intellectuals |
| **Profession** | **Pearson Correlation** | 0.039 | 0.033 | 0.011 |
| **Sig. (2-tailed)** | 0.409 | 0.484 | 0.811 |
| **N** | 440 | 440 | 440 |

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Source: Survey, 2023

Beginning with the correlation between profession and Journalists, the Pearson correlation coefficient is 0.039, and the associated p-value is 0.409. This indicates a very weak positive correlation, suggesting a slight tendency for journalists to have a positive relationship with a particular profession. However, the p-value is greater than the conventional significance level of 0.01, indicating that this correlation is not statistically significant. In practical terms, there is not enough evidence in the provided data to conclude that there is a meaningful relationship between the identified profession and being a journalist.

Moving on to the correlation between profession and Political Activists, the correlation coefficient is 0.033, with a p-value of 0.484. This correlation is also very weak, and the p-value is not significant. This implies that there is no substantial linear relationship between profession and being a political activist in the given dataset.

Considering the correlation between profession and Civil Society Members, the correlation coefficient is 0.011, and the p-value is 0.811. The correlation is extremely weak, and the p-value is greater than 0.05, indicating that the correlation is not statistically significant. This suggests that there is no strong evidence to support a meaningful association between profession and being a member of civil society.

Finally, looking at the correlation between profession and Professional Intellectuals, the correlation coefficient is 0.011, and the p-value is 0.811. Similar to the correlation with Civil Society Members, the correlation is weak, and the p-value is not significant. This implies that, based on the available data, there is no strong linear relationship between profession and identifying as a professional intellectual.

In summary, the correlation coefficients between profession and each group (Journalists, Political Activists, Civil Society Members, and Professional Intellectuals) are all weak, and none of them are statistically significant at the conventional 0.01 significance level. This suggests that, within the provided dataset, profession does not exhibit a strong or meaningful linear relationship with the identification of individuals in these groups.

**Age**

The presented correlation table 6.9 displays Pearson correlation coefficients between age and four different groups: Journalists, Political Activists, Civil Society Members, and Professional Intellectuals. Each cell in the table represents the correlation between the respective group and age.

**Table 6.9**

#### Correlation with Age

**Correlation**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | Journalists | Political Activists Civil Society Members | Professional Intellectuals |
| **Age** | **Pearson Correlation** | 0.067 | 0.001 | 0.051 |
| **Sig. (2-tailed)** | 0.162 | 0.987 | 0.282 |
| **N** | 440 | 440 | 440 |

\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Source: Survey, 2023

Beginning with the correlation between age and Journalists, the Pearson correlation coefficient is 0.067, and the associated p-value is 0.162. This suggests a weak positive correlation, indicating a slight tendency for journalists to be older. However, the p-value is greater than the conventional significance level of 0.01, indicating that this correlation is not statistically significant. In practical terms, there is not enough evidence in the provided data to assert that there is a meaningful relationship between age and being a journalist.

Moving on to the correlation between age and Political Activists, the correlation coefficient is 0.001, with a p-value of 0.987. This correlation is extremely weak, and the p-value is not significant. This implies that there is no substantial linear relationship between age and being a political activist in the given dataset.

Considering the correlation between age and Civil Society Members, the correlation coefficient is 0.051, and the p-value is 0.282. The correlation is weak, and the p-value is greater than 0.05, indicating that the correlation is not statistically significant. This suggests that there is no strong evidence to support a meaningful association between age and being a member of civil society.

Finally, looking at the correlation between age and Professional Intellectuals, the correlation coefficient is 0.051, and the p-value is 0.282. Similar to the correlation with Civil Society Members, the correlation is weak, and the p-value is not significant. This implies that, based on the available data, there is no strong linear relationship between age and identifying as a professional intellectual

In summary, the correlation coefficients between age and each group (Journalists, Political Activists, Civil Society Members, and Professional Intellectuals) are all weak, and none of them are statistically significant at the conventional 0.01 significance level. This suggests that, within the provided dataset, age does not exhibit a strong or meaningful linear relationship with the identification of individuals in these groups.

## 6.6 State’s Black Eye on the Press

Nepali press also made frequent appearances of the history of banning and suddenly releasing the banned. On 15 December 1960, King Mahendra dissolved the party system and censored various newspapers. These days, the political climate has become incompatible, and different. Political critique of the establishment was a far-off topic, even though it would be very bold to reveal the misdeeds of the current structure. Aryal (2016, p.48) reveals a clear example that in May 1961, Samikshya weekly was suspended, and its editor was jailed due to reports of ropeway construction irregularities.

Aryal (2013, p. 108) mentions that 'Chhalphal' released a Communist Party of Nepal (ML) statement on 20 January 1984. The statement was released in response to a police attack on a cultural festival in Sindhupalchok district’s Piskar village where two villagers were killed. As a result, police arrested its editor, Gopal Thapaliya, in the reaction. After the restoration of democracy in 1990, public cheered the professional rights such as the right to criticize the officials in power and the government and support the ideology they wished.

According to Chalmers (2012), when Janadesh Weekly published a news of Maoists' attack on the Lalitpur District Police Station on January 2nd, 1999 's Night naming a brave attack, the police raided and locked the Bagbazar paper office the very next day. He continues that Royal Nepal Army Wednesday summoned Dailekh-based reporter Harihar Singh Rathour regarding his published news reports on July 20. Rathour’s story was published in The Kathmandu Post that said the RNA soldiers were using local children as spies. The Army called Rathour at its barrack in Dailekh Bazaar, the district headquarters, and handed him a letter asking him to be present before the barracks on Thursday with evidence on which the story was based. Although Rathour was asked to be present before the barrack alone, many local journalists had joined him (Chalmers, 2012, p. 66).

Not only the government but also the Maoists limited freedom of speech and prevented political rivals from gathering and mobilizing in their sphere of power. They ejected many local opposition figures, government officials and, in many cases, security force family members from their controlled areas. According to Lawoti and Pahari (2010, p. 311), the state and the Maoists alike did not accept due process rights. Eighteen journalists were killed during the emergency by both the state and the Maoists.

Nepali journalists, according to Gaunle (2011), stood against anti-media friendly environment. The uprising of Nepali journalists against murders, violence, kidnapping, threats, detention, work losses and closures that ultimately caused journalists to take to the streets to demonstrate.

## 6.7 The Mindset and Standpoint of the Nepali State, Political Parties, and Political Leaders towards the Press

M. Bista (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that political leaders, political parties, and the state of Nepal applied a double standard. Political parties and their leaders have favorable attitudes towards the media during this period of transition. Parties are supportive after every movement while preserving the press's constitutional rights. He argues that however, whether a party is in power or not, in practice, they function in accordance with this. While the ruling party seeks to restrict, control, and seize rights, but the opposition fights to defend media freedom. Additionally, media supervising and regulating organizations do not make an effort to foster a welcoming climate for the media. He elucidates that a number of issues are being faced by the media at once as new technology is created. There may be coordinated media repression when two antagonistic groups reach an understanding. He concludes that though they are selective in their content, overall, they are positive.

D. Jha (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that political parties have had two distinct perspectives on the media: one while they were in power and another when they were in the opposition. Parties play a suppressive role in government and a soft role in opposition with the media. He suggests that parties ought to establish a definite and unambiguous stance on how to use media. Whether or not the media is only a weapon to be used, parties should exercise caution. When a political party is in power or in opposition, they behave differently with the media. He clarifies that political parties are not as inclusive as they should be when interacting with the media. Media outlets can rely on political parties, politicians, and the state itself as trustworthy sources. That is where the contents originate. There can be a few exclusions. Media occasionally warn political parties if they did wrong and leaders automatically behave rudely in such cases. He illuminates that Nepali media play role of watchdogs very well. Federation of Nepali Journalists central committee decided to move ahead in movement in 2062/63 B.S. Though it was not unethical, it was the production of contexts of that time, it was the societal need. It was directed with the principal of social responsibility. He further explains that people were in search of democracy, inclusion, power and participation in the organs of the state. Media were not in the interests of power exercise. They only wanted to confiscate the power from monarch to the representative of people.

T. N. Dahal (personal communication, December 13, 2023) expresses similar opinions that one may immediately sense a double standard in this situation. Political parties and leaders have largely and openly supported the notions of media freedom, media independence, security, and media safety in general; however, research and facts have demonstrated that in reality, they were not, and now are not, being truthful. They object to the media's autonomous function. He explains that political activists pose a significant threat to media security and safety in Nepal. Political leaders and parties are bewildered and using a double standard. While in opposition and when functioning as the ruling parties, yet another double standard has been seen. They don't require the entire critical media landscape.

K. Nepal (personal communication, December 14, 2023) says that democratic leaders saw the press as a helpful resource. He suggests that a person who wants to pursue a career in expression shouldn't be a panhandler. The Nepali press is still heavily focused on Gyanendra, Prachanda, Oli, and Deuba. They are not autonomous. The political parties defend the majority of them. Previously, press mentality used to be exactly the same as that of the general public. Publishers in Nepal are not the same as Indian Times' Ram Nath Goyanka or like the publisher of statesmanship. The editor chooses which article to publish after obtaining implicit consent from the owner or publisher. He believes that Sudhir Sharma was an exception to the owner's argument.

R. K. Regmee (personal communication, December 16, 2023) says that the media is crucial for political parties whenever they are in opposition. However, their voice transforms when they hold public office. The press is viewed by them as the opponent. However, it isn't. The reason the opposition party exists is that it seeks to seize power, whereas the press does not share this desire. Governmental parties view the media as their greatest enemy. They believe the media is superfluous. Regarding the state, its definition is made very plain by the constitution. He further adds that the leaders of political parties have hijacked their ideologies. The press is valued by ideology, but leaders are not. Leaders don't really adhere to the philosophy. They are genuinely interested in the deal. They take all action when it benefits them. He clarifies that press freedom has been mentioned in the manifesto. Hagiology is good enough. Political parties and the Nepali government primarily acknowledged the media as the fourth state, although they practically denied it.

B. Basnet (personal communication December 16, 2023) says that political leaders and parties relied more on the media at that time. In order to support the political movement, GP Koirala and other leaders made frequent calls to the media. Leaders believed that the media was their only source of assistance. Leaders at that time behaved as though they should have made full use of the media.

M. K. Sundar (personal communication, December 18, 2023) says that in the end, political parties' opinions have to be communicated to the public through the media. Political parties used the media as a haven, but these days they completely disregard the media's function. He further illuminates that they have completely lost sight of the function of civic society as well. They desire to use the media as political instruments. Certain media are used in this way.

S. Shrestha (personal communication, December 18, 2023) articulates that parties and leaders in Nepal used to believe that the media would report on their news during the protests. The parties' movement would not have succeeded if the media had not joined in. The media and civil society movements have greatly aided the political parties. If civil society and the media did not exist, royal suppression would crush political movement. He further explicates that parties in power have shown adversarial attitude when in power, but when in opposition, they have behaved well with the media and members of civil society. Parties behaved amicably immediately following the people's movement, but after a while, when the media began calling attention to the wrongdoings of the parties, they began to view the media as an enemy. Civil society and the media did not use their influence.

G. Acharya (personal communication December 20, 2023) speaks that the nature of the media is relentless opposition. Although the opposition and ruling political parties compete with one another for power, the media serves as a social tool for improvement. The media always act as a positive and constructive opponent. Political parties were close to the media throughout times of movement, elections, and constitution-writing, but they quickly turned away from it as they ascended to positions of authority and governance. From within the democracy, the media seek more democracy. There is only one alternative to democracy: more democracy. Media constantly implores more rights across all industries. In order to get additional rights, the media constantly fights with the state and its leaders. He expresses the relation between parties and media that political parties and the media travel together in mass movements, but they split up while in power. Hence, the media adopts a watchdog role and speaks for the voiceless. Nepali media warns not just the administration but also the legislature and the courts. Depending on whether they are the ruling party or the opposition, political parties behave differently in the media.

## 6.8 Nepali Media and Political Leaders in Consolidating and Strengthening the Nepali Peace Process

M. Bista (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that in general, both are advantageous. The media is consistently pro-change. These days, hate rhetoric from political leaders and parties is commonplace and is spread by the media unfiltered. Society will always need conflict for it to grow, but how it is handled will determine how it does. We bear no liability for the contents. Both are good throughout orientation, although there are a few slip-ups due to incompetence and other factors. He suggests that laws should be passed to prohibit hate speech. We are in the absolute bottom of the implementation phase.

D. Jha (personal communication, December 10, 2023) says that no, they didn't perform the part to a high standard. Politicians and journalists did not get along; if they had, the peace process would not be taking as long as it is now. He stresses that political parties were deficient in their effort, but the media was not. He quotes:

"The peace process is not opposed by the media. You can view the last 15 or 20 days' worth of content. The media acknowledges its role as a key player in the peace effort in Nepal. Therefore, the main goal of Nepali media is to advance the peace process in a rational manner. The media does not exist in committees of parliamentarians. It is up to political parties to reach an agreement on this matter, as it has no involvement in passing the TRC bill because it cannot cast a vote on it”.

T. N. Dahal (personal communication, December 13, 2023) speaks,

That there is a lack of cooperation between political parties and the media in advancing and solidifying the peace process. The media constantly cautions against dwelling on transitional justice objectives. Justice for victims should always be the first priority, according to the media. Neither the media nor political parties have brought it to an end. The media consistently reported on the Maoist militants' management and the incentives given to fighters who lacked the necessary skills. Because of this, the topic of transitional justice is still being discussed in the media. Media pays attention to this.

He interprets that the media is bringing up this topic on par with human rights organizations. However, political groups are interpreting these matters to suit their own interests. He views that political parties bear the most of the blame for the peace process's failure to go to its intended conclusion. Political parties accuse the media of exaggerating the problems. The fundamentals of political systems were likewise envisioned and accepted in the 12-point understandings. During the drafting of the 2072 Constitution, many things were compromised, including the human rights debate.

K. Nepal (personal communication, December 14, 2023) Quotes:

Most political actresses are guilty and deserving of criticism. Press identities were seized by leaders. Press Council was transformed by Girija Prasad Koirala from a court body to a bureaucrat's post. Parliament should be in charge of and have autonomy over government media.

R. K. Regmee (personal communication, December 16, 2023) says,

Journalists have been writing about truth and reconciliation commission. What they have not been mentioning is why some people should be punished and why should not. Nepal is a good example of solving Maoists conflict. Without shedding blood, monarchy has gone. Monarch is still in Nepal. He has not gone to any foreign country. But what has not been done is certain things should be done. People’s trust in law, trust in state, compensation for the victims. Maoists fighters got the benefit, but the people did not. Truth and reconciliation commission do not have a right to lengthen the time.

He suggests that media should have built pressure not for another conflict but for the government and the commission to do something. Political killing and human right abuses should be settled. Media role is to create pressure for this not violent pressure but continuous pressure.

B. Basnet (personal communication December 16, 2023) says that journalists and political parties are not working together to enhance and consolidate the peace process in the days ahead. The media is bringing up the peace process, but political groups are only sharing power. Media is now alone in this problem. Parties in power do not have to halt the peace effort. The media was likewise unable to carry on the procedure. She views that the peace process would conclude quickly and easily if political parties took the same level of responsibility as the Nepali media. Political parties should be forewarned by the media to halt the peace process. In this instance, she interprets that media could not function as needed either. When political parties alone engaged in political activity, the media might offer them guidance on how to walk and shape their destination's environment. The media in Nepal only covered the actions of political parties. Three thousand cases are submitted in one commission, and sixty-three thousand cases in another.

M. K. Sundar (personal communication, December 18, 2023) says that the media should not be given as much attention as political parties. He explains that our peace process has our usual nature to it. It has been examined the peace process in South Africa and Sri Lanka. It has been observed that there is a possibility of the peace process collapsing after Nelson Mandela. Although Norwegians participated, the peace process in Sri Lanka was not successful. There is a potential that the peace process could drag on and become derailed if civil society is not actively participating. A number of humanitarian organizations, including as INSEC, have adopted a pessimistic view on the peace process. They were advocating against the peace process both domestically and globally. They desired a trial for Maoist cadres and leaders in the Hague international court. He concludes that the peace process involves reparations and reconciliation. In the reconciliation process, the state is not being very sincere. If all actions during a domestic conflict were considered crimes, a peace agreement could not be established. Some are still attempting to sabotage the undertaking.

S. Shrestha (personal communication, December 18, 2023) says that the media's understanding of the peace process is inaccurate and lacking. What is incorrect is the belief in the media that the peace process has concluded since the Maoists have given up their weapons and joined the Nepali army. The management of weapons and arms is only one aspect of the peace process; other aspects include restructuring the state and the institutionalization of revolutionary agendas. If the reasons why the armed revolution began remain unresolved, there may be a possibility that it will break out again. The Nepali media has a misguided and incorrect mindset while examining the underlying reasons of violence. He critics that the majority of the media believes that the peace process ends when the weapons are turned in. The caste system, economic discrimination, injustice, inequality, lack of inclusion, and the extra-centralized state structure and other many more were the main causes of the Maoists' raising of the weaponry. The Nepali media later abandons these arguments. He illuminates that political parties also veered off the Comprehensive Peace Accord's intended course. The CPA includes provisions for changing the security and administrative mechanisms in Nepal. However, the parties subsequently abandon these agendas. He explicates that the media is now perceived by some as an outsider's tool. Outsiders frequently deal with the Nepali media. While some are conducted from the EU, others are from India. This is a grave problem affecting our country and people.

G. Acharya (personal communication December 20, 2023) says that the media is not as responsible as political parties whose hands are in state and responsible places. Additionally, the media has some flaws that prevent them from effectively pressuring political parties to resolve disputes and institutionalize the reforms brought about by the most recent political upheaval. Likewise, it is less clear how serious the media is. International laws are attracted at any time. As we can see, a colonel was detained in the UK. Every general in the army and every political figure might experience it. It diminished the country's prestige. He suggests that it needs to be fixed and resolved quickly. The peace process ought to be rationally resolved for the benefit of the conflict's victims rather than for outsiders. Victims ought to sense that justice is being served. Although it should be up to the victims, victims may forgive. Political parties, not the media, are, nonetheless, crucial in this situation.

## 6.9 Key findings of Key Informant Interview (KII)

Based on the responses from key informants, several key conclusions can be drawn regarding the role of Nepali print media in political transformation and peace processes:

**Role in Political Transformation**

**Historical Context and Shifts**: The role of Nepali print media has evolved significantly since 2007 B.S. (1950 A.D.). Initially, media played a crucial role in political changes, particularly during the end of the monarchy and the civil conflict. Post-2046 B.S. (1990 A.D.), media increasingly aligned with political sectors, reflecting a shift from independent reporting to politically influenced content (M. Bista, D. Jha, T. N. Dahal).

**Media Influence and Bias**: Media content was often shaped by political ideologies, with differing perspectives on issues like the Maoist conflict. Some media outlets actively supported democratic transformations, while others were seen as aligning with political factions (S. Shrestha, M. K. Sundar). This highlights a complex relationship where media sometimes served as a catalyst for change and other times as a tool of political influence.

**Role in Conflict and Peace Processes**

**Challenges and Shortcomings**: The Nepali media struggled to effectively transition from reporting conflict to facilitating peace. There was a notable gap in addressing the deeper causes of conflict and effectively contributing to peacebuilding (R. K. Regmee, S. Shrestha). Media coverage often failed to provide comprehensive analysis and failed to address underlying issues such as socio-economic disparities and systemic injustice (G. Acharya).

**Proactive Efforts**: Despite these shortcomings, media played a significant role in advocating for democratic values and drawing public attention to peace processes. Initiatives such as debates and discussions in media platforms helped shape public discourse and political agendas (S. Shrestha, B. Basnet). However, there were criticisms regarding the media's inability to sustain a critical role in ongoing peacebuilding efforts.

**Accountability and Media Practices**

**Media Accountability**: The accountability of Nepali media has been a subject of concern. Media outlets often faced criticism for not being fully responsible or transparent, with some accusations of sensationalism and political bias (R. K. Regmee, M. K. Sundar). The need for media to adhere to self-regulation and to focus on delivering accurate and unbiased information was emphasized (D. Jha, G. Acharya).

**Political Influence**: The relationship between media and political leaders has been characterized by duality. Political parties and leaders showed varying degrees of support for media freedom depending on their positions of power. While media were crucial during opposition phases, their role often diminished when parties assumed power, highlighting a cyclical dependency (M. Bista, K. Nepal).

**Media and Political Leadership**

**Collaborative Challenges**: There has been a consistent issue of lack of cooperation between media and political leaders. Political parties have often used media for their advantage and disregarded its role once in power (R. K. Regmee, S. Shrestha). The media’s role in advocating for peace and justice remains critical, yet its effectiveness is sometimes undermined by political dynamics and lack of sustained commitment from all parties involved.

Nepali print media has played a pivotal yet complex role in the country's political transformation and peace processes. While media have contributed to political discourse and democratic advocacy, their impact has been marred by political biases and inconsistencies. To enhance their role in peacebuilding, Nepali media need to focus on improving accountability, providing comprehensive and unbiased reporting, and fostering constructive dialogues that address the root causes of conflict. Additionally, a more transparent and cooperative relationship between media, political parties, and civil society is essential to consolidate and strengthen the peace process in Nepal.

## 6.10 Conclusions

This chapter presents a comprehensive analysis of the perceptions of Nepali journalists, members of civil society, political activists, and professional intellectuals regarding the country's peace process, utilizing both qualitative and quantitative data. The findings underscore several critical insights into how these groups view their roles and the broader dynamics affecting Nepal's political and social transformation.

**Key Findings**

**Role of Media and Civil Society**: There is a strong consensus among respondents that media and civil society play a pivotal role in driving political and social movements. A significant majority (76.6%) believe that these entities act as promoters for political and social change, while 66.4% acknowledge their role in motivating public involvement in political life. This suggests that these groups are perceived as crucial agents in shaping political agendas and fostering civic engagement.

**Effectiveness of Media Connectivity**: Regarding the effectiveness of media in connecting political leaders with the general public, a notable portion of respondents (44.1%) view the media as effective, though a substantial percentage (28.6%) perceive it as not effective. This indicates a mixed assessment of media's role in bridging the gap between political leaders and the populace, pointing to potential areas for improvement in media strategies and outreach.

**Media Freedom and State Interference**: A considerable portion of respondents (64.1%) agree that state interference can restrict media freedom, while 73.6% believe that commercial interests in privately owned media may degrade news value. Furthermore, a large majority (80.7%) feel that political affiliations influence media reporting. These responses highlight concerns about the independence and integrity of the media, suggesting that increased focus on media freedom and reducing commercial and political pressures could strengthen the media's role in democratic processes.

**Media Influence on Political Agendas**: The data shows that a majority (77.0%) of respondents believe media can set political agendas by highlighting issues that may be overlooked by the government. Additionally, 78.6% agree that ethical media practices are vital for an informed citizenry, reinforcing the need for media to uphold high standards of journalistic ethics to support democracy.

**Correlation Analysis**: The correlation analysis reveals significant relationships between journalists, political activists, civil society members, and professional intellectuals, indicating a robust interconnectedness among these groups in their perceptions of the peace process. However, demographic parameters such as gender, academic qualification, profession, and age show minimal correlation, suggesting that perceptions are more strongly influenced by professional roles and experiences rather than demographic characteristics.

**Implications for the Peace Process**

**Strengthening Media and Civil Society Roles**: The findings support the notion that both media and civil society are integral to advancing Nepal's peace process. Efforts to enhance their effectiveness and address challenges related to media freedom and political influence are crucial.

**Addressing Media Independence**: To ensure that media can effectively contribute to political and social transformation, measures should be taken to safeguard media independence from state and commercial pressures.

**Enhancing Public Engagement**: Given the perceived importance of media and civil society in motivating public involvement, strategies to strengthen their roles and enhance their outreach could significantly impact the peace process.

In summary, the perceptions of Nepali journalists, civil society members, and political activists reveal a strong belief in the transformative power of media and civil society, tempered by concerns about media freedom and effectiveness. Addressing these concerns while leveraging the strengths of these entities can play a crucial role in fortifying and reinforcing Nepal’s peace process.

# CHAPTER-VII

# FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## 7.1 Findings

The statistic investigation has been conducted on a test populace comprising 440 people, analyzing four crucial viewpoints: gender dissemination, age bunches, scholarly capabilities, and callings. Each fragment presents a Nitti gritty breakdown, including frequencies and rates that offer pivotal bits of knowledge into the composition and particular qualities of the overviewed populace. This comprehensive examination gives profitable data on the gender orientation adjust, age socioeconomics, instructive foundations, and proficient differences inside the examined gather.

The close-ended questions postured to journalists in basically center on various perspectives of media hones, morals, and the part of news coverage in the setting of Nepal, especially amid the period of the 10-year internal war. The questions on the data on potential impact of the state and the media's scope designs, especially amid the civil war. These questions look for to get it whether one-sided news was predominant, in case administering classes received unbalanced scope, and the politics-centric nature of media substance. Within the respondents' sees on the declaration that ''If the media don't truly carry out their obligation, the state will build up a monopoly'' reflect assorted conclusions. On the opposite, a critical larger part, comprising 77. 9 percent stay questionable, advertising a middle-ground viewpoint, possibly recognizing the complexity of the relationship between media responsibility and state impact.

The assessment of whether ''contents on the standard news and top stories of broadsheet dailies amid the time of residential strife in Nepal are politics-centric'' uncovers diverse opinions. 62 percent of respondents concur this idea. On the opposite, 15.9 percent express inner conflict, possibly reflecting the challenge in categorizing the multifaceted nature of media substance amid times of inner strife.

The moral measures, publication independence, and the mission introduction of Nepali media. They point to assess whether the media maintained proficient measures amid the strife, transitioned responsibly from war to peace, and on the off chance that there has been a move from mission-driven news coverage to profit-oriented business models. The information with respect to the address ''Is there publication autonomy in Nepali print media?'' Table 4.6 illustrates a blended perception among respondents. 50.2 percent express a lack of certainty within the presence of editorial freedom, demonstrating a critical parcel of respondents who see confinements or outside impacts on publication decision-making. 16.4 percent stay dubious, conceivably reflecting the nuanced and complex nature of publication elements inside the media scene. Table 4.6 asking around the adherence of Nepal's existing every day daily papers to moral and proficient benchmarks, the information demonstrates an overwhelming skepticism. Commitment to ethical and proficient measures, demonstrating a essential but minority viewpoint. 20.9 percent stay undecided, recommending an acknowledgment of the complexities involved in assessing the moral scene of day-by-day daily papers.  
Regarding the conviction that the current Nepali media has deep-rooted self-interests disintegrating news values, the reactions grandstand a unequivocal slant. 63.9 percent concur with this attestation, emphasizing a widespread recognition that self-interests play a part in compromising the astuteness of news values. 19.8 percent stay undecided, reflecting potential complexities in gaging the interplay between self-interest and news values. Evaluating the assertion with the explanation that ''To reveal the wrongdoings and abuse of authority by open workers, the media must play an objective and autonomous role,'' Table 4.6 data showcases a strong agreement. 11.1 percent stay undecided, conceivably reflecting the nuanced contemplations related with media's part in uncovering unfortunate behavior. "Did journalists worry that the government during the time of civil war would retaliate against journalists for their journalistic actions?" In Table 4.9, the responses to the question regarding concerns about government retaliation reveal that 61.1 percent of respondents believe journalists had valid worries about government reprisals for their journalistic actions during the civil war. This indicates a prevailing perception that journalists faced the risk of backlash or punitive measures from the government, highlighting the complex dynamics between media and state authorities during conflict. The acknowledgment of such concerns underscores the challenges journalists encountered in maintaining independence and reporting unbiased information in politically charged environments.

Examining the belief that "there was media's declining impact on the general public during the war time," the data underscores a prevailing sentiment. A substantial 63.2 percent agree with this assertion, indicating a consensus that the media's influence on the public diminished during the period of conflict. In contrast, 16.6 percent reject this idea, suggesting a subgroup that perceives a sustained impact or perhaps even an enhanced role for the media during the war. Another 20.2 percent remain undecided, reflecting potential complexities in evaluating the multifaceted dynamics of media impact during conflict (Table 4.9).

The information relating to the conviction that ''there could be a noteworthy part for the media in affecting political transformation'' uncovers a strong agreement. 79.5 percent concur with this statement, underscoring a far-reaching acknowledgment of the media's critical impact on political transformation. Only 6.4 percent oppose this idea, demonstrating a minority point of view that will make light of the media's part in political elements. 14.1 percent stay undecided, possibly recognizing the nuanced contemplations included in surveying the media's effect on political change. The study investigates the seen significance of the interface between media experts and political activists for political alter. '' This shows that a noteworthy parcel of the studied populace recognizes the crucial part that collaboration between media experts and political activists plays in affecting political change. The significant recurrence in this category proposes a winning conviction within the effect of their joint endeavors. '' This minority perspective proposes that there's a portion of the studied populace that does not consider the collaboration between media experts and political activists as profoundly critical for political alter. '' This proposes a predominant conviction among respondents that the collaboration between media experts and political activists isn't fair imperative but, for a significant parcel, the foremost basic calculate in influencing political change. This minority point of view proposes a fragment of the studied populace that does not see a critical association between media experts and political activists as a catalyst for political alter. Table 4.13 center on the media's part in helping Nepal move from war to peace and their commitment to consolidating the peace prepare. These questions point to assess the fulfillment with the part played by media specialists and political pioneers amid this basic period. Analyzing reactions to the address ''Has the media played its portion in making a difference Nepal move from war to peace?'' uncovers assorted viewpoints.

With respect to the seen part of media specialists and political pioneers in solidifying and fortifying the Nepalese peace prepare, the information shows varied opinions. 34.5 percent express disappointment, demonstrating a significant fragment that sees inadequacies in the efforts of media professionals and political pioneers. 21.1 percent stay undecided, reflecting potential complexities in evaluating the multifaceted elements of peace union. The information relating to the statement ''Millions of individuals have no elective source of data but media, so the media must be delicate to the open and liable to them'' Table 4.13 reflects a solid agreement. 78.6 percent concur with this assertion, emphasizing the significance of media affectability and responsibility due to its role as an essential data source for millions. 12.3 percent oppose this idea, recommending a minority point of view that will address the level of duty put on the media.

The ponder envelops reactions to an arrangement of questions testing the relationship between strife, media, respectful society, and political engagement. The following examination digs into the subtleties of these reactions, shedding light on the winning estimations with respect to the certainty of conflict, the part of media and respectful society in political life, and their interdependence. The reaction from the PACSMs on address ''Do you concur that strife is an inescapable and all-inclusive societal marvel to bring approximately societal change?'' dig into the discernment with respect to strife as an unavoidable and widespread societal wonder for actuating societal alter. 73.9 percent of respondents agree with this idea, proposing a winning agreement on the belief that strife plays a vital part in driving societal changes. 15.9 percent expressing uncertainty shows a few equivocalness or assorted points of view on this issue. Moving on to another address, which assesses the effect of media and gracious society on open inclusion in political life, 66. This emphasizes the seen noteworthiness of media and respectful society in forming open cooperation in political issues. The response to another address ''Do you concur that media and respectful society are the promoter for political and social movement?'' digs into whether media and gracious society act as promoters for political and social developments. 76.6 percent of respondents concur with this suggestion, demonstrating a broadly held conviction within the catalyzing part of these substances in cultivating political and social alter. Analyzing the address that center on the interdependency and potential overlap between free media outlets and gracious society affiliations, a striking 67. The response on the address ''Do you concur that respectful society ought to blow shriek when the government carries on flippantly or in a severe manner?'' in Table 6.1 tests the part of respectful society in holding the government responsible. 83.0 percent of respondents concur that respectful society ought to blow the shriek on government unreliability or suppression. Moving to the address ''Do you concur that in numerous events in Nepal, media and civil society were distant ahead than political parties in making the political movement?' that investigates the historical priority of media and gracious society over political parties in making political developments in Nepal. 64.1 percent of respondents concur with this assertion, recommending a acknowledgment of the proactive part of media and civil society, 19. 5 percent express vulnerability, demonstrating a degree of skepticism or differing viewpoints on this verifiable energetic. The PACSM reaction on the address ''What the degree of network built up by the media between the political pioneers and common public?'', was data on viability on media's network between political pioneers and the open. The Table 6.2 depicts the respondents' suppositions on the degree of network set up by the media between political pioneers and the general open. An eminent 44.1 percent of the members communicated the see that this connectivity is viable. On the opposite, a considerable parcel, bookkeeping for 28.6 percent, seen the media's part in building up network as not successful.

In outline, the information recommends a assorted extend of viewpoints on the adequacy of media in cultivating connectivity between political pioneers and the common open. The survey questions and reaction of PACSM of Table 6.2 digs into open perceptions of media elements in Nepal, investigating key angles such as the impact of state relations on press freedom, the effect of commercial interface on news judgment, the nearness of political affiliations within the media landscape, and the seen objectivity of secretly claimed broadsheet daily papers in political reporting. Through a nuanced focal point, the reactions to these questions give profitable bits of knowledge into the complex exchange between the media, state, and commercial interface, forming our understanding of how these variables impact open believe and discernment of the media scene in Nepal. The prevailing assentation proposes a perceived vulnerability of media flexibility to state impedances, demonstrative of concerns encompassing press independence. the reactions look at whether Nepal's secretly claimed media's commercial interface compromise the integrity of news.

The respondent talks about different viewpoints of political, media, and social elements inside the custody of Nepal. It diagrams how political divisions and centralized authoritative structures have been seen as impediments to compelling change and open grievance redressal. There's a highlighted require for radical changes to address these concerns and a minority perspective criticizing the centralized administration for preventing the government's responsiveness to open grievances. The talk expands into the relationship between the Nepali government, the media, and their collective effect on open talk, with experiences into open recognitions of media's reasonableness, its part as an open gathering, and the government's engagement with media criticism for political instead of instructive purposes.

Advance, it touches upon the media's significant role during political moves, just like the Maoists' discretionary overcome and the move from government to a republican setup, emphasizing the media's proactive part however critiquing it for not being adequately instructive on the results of war and societal change. The respondents present measurable examinations showing powerless or non-significant relationships between sexual orientation and callings like news coverage or political activism, as well as between scholarly capabilities and those callings.

In substance, the center message spins around the complexities of political changes, media's impact on open conclusion and political forms, and the nuanced connections among political substances, media, and societal recognitions inside Nepal's transformative political scene. It evaluates both administrative structures and media hones whereas underscoring the significance of educated open talk and the require for noteworthy changes.

The study discusses various aspects of political, media, and social dynamics within the custody of Nepal. It outlines how political divisions and centralized administrative structures have been perceived as obstacles to effective reform and public grievance redressed. There's a highlighted need for radical reforms to address these concerns and a minority viewpoint criticizing the centralized governance for hindering the government's responsiveness to public grievances. The discussion extends into the relationship between the Nepali government, the media, and their collective impact on public discourse, with insights into public perceptions of media's fairness, its role as a public forum, and the government's engagement with media feedback for political rather than informational purposes.

Further, it touches upon the media's crucial role during political transitions, like the Maoists' electoral defeat and the shift from monarchy to a republican setup, emphasizing the media's proactive role yet critiquing it for not being sufficiently informative on the consequences of war and societal transformation. The study also presents statistical analyses indicating weak or non-significant correlations between gender and professions like journalism or political activism, as well as between academic qualifications and those professions.

In essence, the core message revolves around the complexities of political reforms, media's influence on public opinion and political processes, and the nuanced relationships among political entities, media, and societal perceptions within Nepal's transformative political landscape. It critiques both governmental structures and media practices while underscoring the importance of informed public discourse and the need for significant reforms.

### 7.1.1 Major findings according to the objectives

The latest political transformation is actually the conflict transformation. As a result of 10-years long Maoist war and 19-day long people’s movement-II, the country has transformed from monarchist to Federal Democratic Republican nation. But the progress in peace process was very sluggish. It could not move as per the aspiration of the people. Media had played very crucial role in transforming conflict into peace. Major findings of this study can be traced with its following objectives.

##### Findings as per the objective I

To study the role of Nepali media in the country’s 10-year war and political unrest:

There was a significant role of the media in influencing political transformation. Media had played an objective and independent role to reveal wrongdoings and misuse of authority by public servant. Nepali media had played key role to bring two warring parties, then rebels and the government, to the negotiation table. They imposed effective influence upon ordinary citizens who were not part of any political organizations against authoritarian regime. They throughout the civil war had contributed to and interacted with social groups and political oppositions to lay the framework for mass mobilization against the regime in the sphere of civil society. They had contributed to build base for mass movement.

When democracy was on trouble, Nepali media had made an agenda of political transformation for the restoration of democracy and survival of media itself. On reporting side, the media’s role was fine but on informative side, it was inadequate. Reporting on the war and political instability by Nepali media was promising and praise worthy but analyzing part was weak. Media had played proactive role at the time of conflict with reporting and writing and more than that involving in person in the movement against authoritarian regime. Media had also set agendas for the movement. Media were conscious while reporting news and setting agendas that nation’s already unstable condition wouldn’t get worse as a result of their coverage.

Interests of media owners had mostly considered as priorities in Nepali media. Political interests of rebels and political parties rather than government, outsiders and business groups had ruled and shaped the nation’s privately held broadsheet newspapers. Though the broadsheet dailies had given priority of capital centric news, their emphasis was in political news. The link between media professional and political activists was praiseworthy at the time of political unrest. Nepali broadsheet dailies had Mostly presented the news materials which were responsible for society.

Majorities of Nepali media were against the status-que and for the political transformation. Most of the broadsheet dailies had fearlessly disseminated Maoists demands to public. Even media sector had played role of decisive stakeholder in April movement 2006 and become a part of civil movement. Media had made the favorable environment of movement for republic and compelled the political parties to move accordingly. There was no less contribution of media than any political parties in the issue of political transformation. Nepali media took up a role of opposition. Media did well job in getting the agendas out to the general people. Prior to the mass movement and during the active monarchy, the media took a proactive and risk-taking stance against absolutism. They carried a great deal of risk. The media had created a forum for dialogue, led discussions, and looked for places where the opposing sides may come together. The nation’s revolutionary politics were actively advanced by the media. Media has also acted as an active partner and facilitator. They had taken on the role of change agent.

##### Findings on the basis of objective 2

To examine the media contents in banner news and top stories about political issues and their consistency from 12-points understandings to election of second constitutional assembly:

Nepali broadsheet dailies have frequently published political news as top stories on their front pages. Media attention on political issues in Nepal was remarkable, audible and visible. Political news consistently dominated the front pages of broadsheet dailies. The extensive coverage of the heightened political climate had overwhelmed on the banner headlines and top stories. The armed forces and peace process were also intermittently covered reflecting the multifaceted nature of the political discourse. Contents on the banner news and top stories of broadsheet dailies during the time of domestic conflict in Nepal were politics centric. Consistent political news coverage on front pages dominated other news on that period. Inclusion of banner news and top stories, as well as special editorials, underscored the heightened significance of political developments. Even during a short political campaign and small political gatherings, print media delivered banner news.

Though there was no consistency in delivering news and views by Nepali media, they had played expected role in the situation of conflict and political instability. During the time of insurgency in Nepal, Nepali media’s reports were consistent in their message that the conflict could be resolved by turning it into peace.. The Nepali media consistently prioritized coverage of political news. Media contents did not oppose any processes and procedures of peace process rather consistently support. Amount of information media produced had tried to establishment their own sphere of influence. During the armed rebellion, the media acted as a mediator. The media fostered a discussion environment by disseminating news and viewpoints from all sides of disputes and by facilitating mutual understanding. Demands of rebel were made public through the media, along with the government’s answer. It had also incorporated the contents from outside the box to establish it as a shared platform.

The media had frequently presented the solution for political crisis during the period of civil war. Politically dominated contents were disseminated by Nepali broadsheet dailies. Political news was prioritized by the Nepali media not only on the front pages but also on a variety of pages – some op-ed or internal pages, and occasionally through interviews. There was unity and uniformity on different media about the contents in the desire of peace and the establishment of democracy. But in some issues like inclusion, media had not common perception. Contents of media on important issues like freedom of expression, press freedom, peace, transformation of conflict, and democracy were consistent. When constituent assembly-I was unable to draft the constitution in time, media promptly attempted to set up circumstances that would facilitate the election of election of constituent assembly-II.

##### Findings according to objective 3

To analyze perceptions of Nepali journalists, members of civil society and political parties to fortify and reinforce the country’s peace process:

There was a satisfactory role of media practitioners and political leaders to consolidate and strengthen the Nepali peace process. Media is one of the main parties involved in the peace process in Nepal but other stakeholders had not fully embraced the media as the most powerful player. The Nepali media had been marginalized by other peace process participants. Political leaders, members of civil society and media professionals had common attitudes on the issues of political transformation and common standpoint on not to lengthen the conflict prone situation. The administrative pattern has not evolved and changed to reflect political shifts. The media had lobbied for peace by offering opposing groups a variety of options.

Nepali media had played viable role in transforming war to peace. Nepal’s broadsheet newspapers had promoted discussion on pressing societal issues. Media had tried to make a common platform among various ideologies, contexts, and attitudes at the state of war. Mindset of media leaders in Nepal previously was that the deep-rooted monarchy could not collapse with such a movement but later they convinced. Media genuinely and sincerely wanted to bring about peace in the country, not by putting down the rebels but by looking for a diplomatic solution. The phrase “logical ends of conflict” had defined by different stakeholders with their own methods. But there was a good convergence among the stakeholders to fortify and reinforce the country’s peace process.

Nepali peace process is multi-faceted process. Previously the political leaders and government officials had offered just technical solutions to solve the problems that were political, economic, social and cultural in nature. But later on, media professionals, political leaders and civil society members had taken a common standpoint to solve the existing conflict. Media regularly alerted the political parties when the peace related activities couldn’t happen in timely manner. The latest political transformation in Nepal was the production of Maoist’s people’s war and peaceful movement 2006. In many occasions in Nepal, media and civil society were far ahead than political leaders in creating the political movement. Media had established effective connectivity between political leaders and general public. Even though media freedom had confined within the wishes of the ruler, Nepali media had fearlessly settled the agendas covering issues the government didn’t want to focus on.

Though the political parties’ opinions have to be communicated to the public through the media, political leaders in Nepal had applied a double standard while treating with media. Parties and leaders become supportive with the media during and immediate after every movement promising to preserve the press’s constitutional rights but forget after the movement. Political parties also show double standard while they are in power or in opposition. The ruling party seeks to restrict, control, and seize rights, but the opposition fights to defend media freedom. There was a lack of cooperation between political parties and the media in advancing and solidifying the peace process. They are not working together to enhance and consolidate the peace process in the days ahead. Victims of conflict should be satisfied to bring the peace process in logical ends. There was not a good consensus about the reasons of conflict. If the reasons why the armed revolution began remain unresolved, there may be the possibility that it will break out again.

While summarizing, following findings could be noted.

**Findings on Role of Nepali Media in Political Transformation**

**Media Influence During Conflict:** The Nepali media played a significant role in shaping public opinion and political discourse during the ten-years conflict and subsequent transition. It highlighted key issues, mobilized public support, and provided a platform for political and social dialogue.

**Content Analysis:** The media's coverage of political unrest and peace efforts varied, with conflict stories often featured prominently. This coverage influenced public perception and political priorities, shaping the agenda of both the media and the political sphere.

**Findings on Media Bias and Ownership Issues**

**Bias and Ownership Concentration:** Media bias and concentration of ownership were prevalent issues. These factors impacted the impartiality and effectiveness of media in promoting democratic values and political stability. Ownership concentration led to limited diversity in media perspectives and increased susceptibility to political and economic influences.

**Findings on Perceptions and Experiences of Stakeholders**

**Journalists and Activists:** Interviews and focus groups revealed that Nepali journalists and civil society members faced significant challenges, including political pressures and safety concerns. Despite these challenges, they played a crucial role in advocating for democratic values and supporting the peace process.

**Political Parties:** Political parties had a mixed response to media coverage, with some utilizing media to advance their agendas and others critiquing media biases that they felt undermined their positions.

**Findings on Effectiveness of Media Advocacy**

**Media Campaigns:** Media campaigns for democratic values had a measurable impact on public awareness and engagement. However, translating media advocacy into tangible political outcomes was complex and often slow.

**Findings on Role in Peace-Building**

**Peace Process Influence:** The media contributed to the peace-building process by providing coverage that facilitated dialogue and reconciliation. However, its role was often hindered by bias and political interference.

## 7.2 Conclusion

The complete factual examination led on a test people of 440 individuals uncovers significant experiences into the orientation balance, age socioeconomics, instructive foundations, and expert variety inside the studied gathering. The information features the strength of guys in the example, the presence of more youthful people, a huge portrayal of postgraduates, and a different scope of callings. Furthermore, the nearby finished questions presented to writer’s center around different parts of media practices, morals, and the job of news-casting during Nepal's ten-year nationwide conflict, thinking about assorted sentiments media obligation and state impact. The reactions demonstrate differed viewpoints on one-sided news appropriation, media inclusion designs during the nationwide conflict, publication freedom, adherence to moral norms, and the effect of media activism in opposing outer tensions. The information proposes a nuanced comprehension of the difficulties looked by columnists and news sources in Nepal during violent times, stressing the requirement for a diverse way to deal with explore complex outside impacts and maintain editorial trustworthiness.

The text features the perplexing elements of political advances in Nepal, underlining the media's effect on open discernment and the need for informed talk in the midst of cultural changes. It additionally investigates the absence of extensive data given by the media in regards to the results of war and political changes, while bringing up feeble relationships between orientation, scholarly capabilities, and callings like news coverage and political activism.

All in all, the examination uncovers that guys overwhelm the populace viable, making up 65percent of the complete example, while females represent 35percent. The conveyance old enough gatherings show a huge presence of more youthful people, with those matured somewhere in the range of 30 and 50 years framing the biggest part at 65.4percent. This information features the segment organization of the particular populace contemplated, underlining the need to think about more extensive factual patterns past this example.

The central matter of the given text is that most of the populace has a postgraduate capability, demonstrating an elevated degree of instructive accomplishment, while a more modest rate has finished their undergrad concentrates however not sought after additional scholastic capabilities. The message features the different expert commitment inside the populace, with a critical portrayal in instructive jobs and news coverage. The attention on media practices, morals, and reporting's job during Nepal's affable conflict period gives significant bits of knowledge into the cultural scene.

The primary concern of the text is that there are inquiries regarding the likely effect of the state and media's extension plans, especially during seasons of war, and that there are assorted suppositions on the connection between media obligation and state impact. Furthermore, commonplace regions in Nepal are in many cases disregarded in the inclusion of broadsheet dailies.

The review has featured the differing points of view on media inclusion during seasons of contention, for certain respondents recognizing the media's attention on administering classes while others trust it to be more adjusted. The intricacy of media content during times of struggle is clear, with a critical part of respondents communicating inner turmoil in ordering the idea of information inclusion.

All in all, the text features the difficulties looked by Nepali media in keeping up with moral measures, distribution freedom, and progressing from mission-driven news coverage to benefit situated models. The information recommends a blended discernment among respondents in regards to publication opportunity and adherence to moral and expert norms in Nepali print media.

The central matter of the text is that there is a broad acknowledgment that personal circumstances compromise the sagacity of information values in the ongoing Nepali media, with a minority underlining the significance of genuine precision in opposing outer tensions.

The primary concern of the given text is that media activists depend on a blend of variables like precision, equilibrium, validity, and somewhat, legitimate help to oppose outer tensions. This extensive methodology features the intricacy of the difficulties confronted and the requirement for a complex system to explore outside impacts successfully.

There was a far-reaching conviction that papers in Nepal during the nationwide conflict were affected by political powers, and there were worries about the likely predisposition in detailing and the effect of political plans on the media's job in illuminating the general population. Furthermore, there were worries about the wellbeing and potential kickback looked by columnists during the contention.

The review has demanded the difficulties looked by journalists in keeping up with independence and giving exact data in politically charged conditions. The information recommends that there is a common conviction that the media's effect on the public diminished during the conflict, albeit a minority differs and accepts that the media had a maintained or upgraded job. The reactions likewise demonstrate that financial contemplations were not the primary component impacting article choices during the contention.

The central matter of the given text is that the political connection point between rebels, ideological groups, and media experts assumed a huge part in deciding the distribution position and content necessities during Nepal's battle, featuring the perplexing exchange of various effects on secretly held papers. Moreover, there is a far-reaching acknowledgment of the media's basic effect on political change, albeit a minority differs and some stay uncertain. The concentrate likewise uncovers that the cooperation between media experts and political activists is viewed as critical in impacting political change.

All in all, the text features contrasting viewpoints on the significance of coordinated effort between media specialists and political activists in impacting political change. While a larger part sees this coordinated effort as critical, a minority doesn't consider it to be a huge component. The information proposes a larger part settlement on the requirement for media to be capable and circumspect towards the general population. Moreover, the discoveries show a predominant discernment that broadsheet dailies in Nepal are as of now not mission-situated, bringing up issues about their developing jobs and needs.

The information shows areas of strength for an on the significance of media being careful to society and responsible for their activities. Respondents show a blended view on media obligation and state influence, featuring worries about state intercession in the event that the media bombs in its obligation. The review investigates the mind-boggling connection between struggle, media, common society, and political commitment, uncovering winning mentalities towards these elements.

Taking everything into account, the text features the conviction that difficulty is an unavoidable and inescapable cultural peculiarity that drives cultural change, with 9percent of respondents concurring and 9percent communicating vulnerability. It additionally underscores the huge job of media and common society in forming public commitment to policy centered issues, with 66percent recognizing their impact. Also, 6percent of respondents concur that media and common society act as impetuses for political and social turns of events. At last, the text makes reference to a striking 67percent reaction to a location zeroing in on the interdependency and possible cross-over between free news sources and common society affiliations.

The text talks about the different viewpoints on the adequacy of media in encouraging availability between political pioneers and the overall population in Nepal, featuring variables like state relations, business impact, political affiliations, and objectivity in revealing. The reactions to the overview questions give significant bits of knowledge into the many-sided connection between the media, state, and business interface, molding public trust and view of the media scene in Nepal.

All in all, the review highlights the need of tending to different factors like abilities, proprietorship, business interests, and outside boundaries to improve the nature of media inclusion in Nepal. Moreover, it accentuates the significance of guaranteeing adjusted inclusion among country and metropolitan regions, tending to provincial awkward nature, and giving satisfactory portrayal to minimized networks in the media.

All in all, the text features the difficulties presented by political divisions and unified expert in Nepal, underscoring the requirement for revolutionary changes to successfully address complaints. It likewise highlights the job of the media in molding public talk and scrutinizing the public authority's responsiveness to public worries.

The primary concern of the text is that there is a requirement for tremendous changes in Nepal's political, media, and social elements, as brought together managerial designs and political divisions upset viable change and public complaint reviewed. The concentrate additionally features the connection between the public authority, media, and public talk, accentuating the significance of informed public conversation and censuring the public authority's utilization of media for political purposes.

While summarizing, conclusions could be noted as below:

**Complex Influence:** The media's role in Nepal's political transformation was multifaceted. While it played a key role in shaping public opinion and promoting democratic engagement, its effectiveness was sometimes undermined by biases, ownership concentration, and political pressures.

**Stakeholder Experiences:** The perceptions of journalists, civil society members, and political actors highlight the complexities of media's role. Despite challenges, media professionals and activists have been instrumental in promoting democratic values and supporting peace.

**Advocacy and Outcomes:** Media advocacy has had an impact on public discourse and engagement, but translating this into concrete political change requires ongoing efforts and strategic alignment with broader political and social goals.

## ****7.3 Contributions to Knowledge****

**Understanding Media’s Role**

This study provides a comprehensive understanding of the role of media in Nepal’s political transformation, offering insights into how media influences political change, public opinion, and democratic engagement.

**Stakeholder Perspectives**

By incorporating the perspectives of journalists, civil society members, professional intellectuals, and political actors, the study offers valuable insights into the practical challenges and opportunities faced by media professionals during political transitions.

**Strategic Media Advocacy**

The findings highlight the need for more strategic approaches to media advocacy, offering guidance on how to enhance the effectiveness of media campaigns in promoting democratic values and political transformation.

**Media and Peace-Building**

The study contributes to the understanding of the media’s role in peace-building, providing insights into how media coverage can support or hinder reconciliation efforts and long-term stability.

## 7.4 Recommendations

**Enhancing Media Independence**

**Address Ownership Issues:** Implement policies to diversify media ownership and reduce concentration, ensuring a wider range of perspectives and reducing the influence of political and economic elites on media content.

**Promote Journalistic Integrity:** Support initiatives that enhance journalistic standards and ethics, providing training and resources to help journalists navigate political pressures and maintain objectivity.

**Supporting Media Advocacy**

**Strengthen Advocacy Campaigns:** Enhance the effectiveness of media advocacy by aligning campaigns with clear political and social objectives and engaging stakeholders in the planning and execution of advocacy efforts.

**Evaluate Impact:** Conduct regular evaluations of media advocacy initiatives to assess their impact on political change and public engagement, adjusting strategies as needed to improve outcomes.

**Fostering Collaboration**

**Encourage Cooperation:** Promote collaboration between media, civil society, and political actors to support democratic processes and peace-building efforts. Facilitate platforms for dialogue and joint initiatives to address common challenges.

**Support Stakeholders:** Provide support and protection for journalists and civil society members involved in political reporting and advocacy, ensuring their safety and enabling them to perform their roles effectively.

### 7.4.1 Recommendation for further Research

**Longitudinal Studies**

Longitudinal studies to track media influence over the entire span of political transitions, offering a comprehensive view of how media roles and impacts evolve over time have been conducted.

In-Depth Media Bias Analysis

Detailed analyses of media bias and ownership concentration, exploring how these factors specifically influence political stability and democratic engagement in Nepal has been performed.

**Stakeholder Perceptions**

The perceptions and experiences of media stakeholders in greater depth, providing insights into the challenges and opportunities faced by journalists, civil society members, and political actors have been explored.

**Media Advocacy Effectiveness**

The effectiveness of media advocacy campaigns in achieving tangible political outcomes, examining the mechanisms through which media can effectively mobilize public support for democratic processes has been assessed.

**Peace-Building Role**

The specific role of media in peace-building efforts, focusing on how media coverage influences reconciliation, negotiations, and long-term stability has been investigated.

**Comparative Analysis**

Comparative studies to examine Nepal’s media role in political transformation alongside other countries undergoing similar transitions, providing broader insights and contextual understanding has been conducted.This comparison could reveal common patterns or unique factors that characterize Nepal’s experience.

**Explore Research Gaps**

The identified research gaps through longitudinal studies, detailed analyses of media bias and ownership, and comparative studies with other countries have been addressed. This will provide a deeper understanding of media's role in political transformation and inform more effective media strategies.

By addressing these recommendations, future research can build on the findings of this study to offer a more nuanced understanding of media’s role in political transformation and contribute to more effective media strategies and policies.

Political history has shown that the Nepali people have fought for a republican and secular nation, restore democracy, and at different times and under different names. Their battle is still ongoing and has turned into a lovely dream. People still play the role of passive observers rather than active contributors to the level of decision-making and policy-making. It is anticipated that the study would address important facets of the media that are necessary to realize people's aspirations and the objectives of the country. The role that the media played in forming the national consensus throughout times of conflict, political unrest, and transition should be evaluated well. Therefore, a society that is dominated by media, politically aware individuals, a range of political and non-political organizations, academic communities, and civil societies must be motivated to appreciate the role that media plays.

People in today's society have developed a media or newspaper addiction. The everyday routines of readers or consumers are disrupted even by a single day of strikes by the media or newspaper sector. They get a sense of missing or lost things. What should be the contribution of media world towards such crazy audiences? What does the media do for society? Are the media and journalists accountable to their respective societies? Therefore, media contents should be pro-people and pro-nation.

The process of politics is perpetual and never-ending. However, political processes and actions serve the interests of the country and its citizens, not those of a specific person or political party. Even though the necessity is this, similar to media corporations and advertisers, political parties and the government likewise attempt to push their own agendas. So, all the stockholders should be sincere for the benefit of respective societies and nations.

Nepali citizens have taken part in a variety of political initiatives in the hopes that things would improve in their nation. They have been fighting for positive change for a long time, but it has turned out that they are mistrustful and inconsistent, failing before they can become consolidated. What causes the country's status to remain stagnant? Following ten years of armed conflict and nineteen days of widespread public protest, some silver lining appeared in the otherwise opaque political sky. However, the period of transition was getting too long. Political unrest persisted in its extremes. Then, how did the media contribute to reducing political unrest and expediting this period of transition? Therefore, the peace process should be completed as early as possible applying the harmonical measures among the conflicting parties.

Was there any coordination or cooperation between the political sphere and the media sector to address this unrest? Citizens should have faith in politicians and the media to calm the nation's agitation. Were all relevant government agencies, groups, political parties, and media professionals sincere and truthful? There should be the good rapport and cooperation among the political parties, social activists and media professionals to make a happy ending of peace process.

Media outlets have specific political goals in mind. It is important for political figures, media professionals, and other related people and groups to make an effort to keep amicable relations with one another. It had been envisioned that this academic research would yield some challenging and fruitful outcomes that will enable the researcher to play a strong and enthusiastic role in the media and political spheres in bringing political instability to a close and bringing the peace process to a logical conclusion. This study evaluates the role that the media play in shifting politics in the proper direction. Media should independent in three ways. independent reporting, independent ownership, or independent editing. For the other researchers in the globe, these may be the subjects of further research. What does the media’s independency play the role to shift the politics in proper direction.

## REFERENCES

Acharya, S. (2011). Nepali Pressma Sampadakiya Swatantratako Mudda (The Issue of Editorial Freedom in Nepali Press). In R. Dahal (Ed.), *Press Swatantrata Barshik Pratibedan 2011* (p. 26). Kathmandu: Federation of Nepali Journalists.

Adhikari, A. (2014). *The Bullet and the Ballot Box: The Story of Nepal's Maoist Revolution.* New Delhi: Aleph Book Company.

Adhikari, A. (2014). *The Bullet And The Ballot Box: The Story Of Nepal's Maoist Revolution.* New Delhi: Aleph Book Company.

Adhikari, S. (2015). *The Maoist Movement and its Impact on the Democratic Transition of Nepal.* California: Nepal Postgraduate School.

Adhikari, S. K. (2015, March). The maoist movement and its impact on the democratic transition of Nepal. Nepal Postgraduate School. Retrieved from www.core.ac.uk.

Adhikari, S. K. (2015, March). *The Maoist Movement and its Impact on the Democratic Transition of Nepal.* California: Naval Postgraduate School. Retrieved from www.core.ac.uk

Adhikary, N. (2006). *Studying mass media ethics.* Kathmandu: Prashanti Pustak Bhandar.

Anderson, J. (2012). *Media Research Methods: Understanding Metric and Interpretive Approaches.* California USA: Sage Publicatiions, Inc. .

Anokwa, K. (2003). International Mass Communication from the Tower of Bable to the Bable Fish. In K. Anokwa, C. A. Lin, & M. B. Salwen (Eds.), *Mass Communication: Concept-case Approach.* Delhi: Cengage Learning India.

Archer, M. S. (1995). *Realist social theory: The morphogenetic approach.* Cambridge University Press.

Aryal, K. (2013). Nepali weeklies prior to 1990: Newspapers in the struggle for communicating politics. *Nepal bi-monthly, 43*(196).

Aryal, K. (2016). *Transition of newspaper journalism from partisanship to commercialism in post-1990 Nepal.* Tribhuwan University, Humanities and Social Sciences. Kathmandu: Kundan Aryal.

Babbie, E. (2016). *The practice of social research (14th ed.).* Cengage Learning.

Babbie, E. (2016). *The Practice of Social Research 14th Ed. USA.* Cengage Learning .

Bagdikian, B. H. (1997). The U.S. Media. In S. Iyengar, & R. Reeves (Eds.), *Do the Media Govern?* (pp. 74-75). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Bagdikian, B. H. (2004). *The New Media Monopoly.* Boston, USA: Beacon Press.

Baral, L. R. (1975). The Press in Nepal (1951-75). In *Contribution to Nepalese Study.* Kritipur: CNAS.

Baran, S. (1999). *Introduction to mass communication: Media literacy and culture.* California: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Baran, S. (1999). *Introduction to Mass Communication: Media Literacy and Culture.* California: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Baran, S. (1999). *Introduction to Mass Communication: Media Literacy and Culture.* California: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Baran, S. (1999). *Introduction to mass communication:Media Literacy and Culture.* California: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Baran, S. J., & Davis, D. K. (2002). *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment and Future,(2nd Ed.).* Singapore: Thomson.

Barwise, P., & Gordon, D. (1998). The Economics of the Media. In A. Briggs, & P. S. Cobley (Eds.), *The Media: An Introduction* (p. 196). USA: Longman.

Bennett, W. L. (1997). Cracking the news code. In S. Iyengar, & R. Reeves (Eds.), *Do the Media Govern?* (p. 109). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Bhattacharjea, A. (1987). Pressures on print and audio-visual media. In S. Prasad (Ed.), *Right to Know.* New Delhi: National Media Centre Publication.

Bhattacharya, A. (2000). Media in the Third World: Freedom and Social Responsibility. In Z. H. Zaidi, & V. (. Ray, *Media and Communications in the Third World.* New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, Distributors.

Bhattarai, U. K. (2014). *Conflict to Peace Transition in Nepal.* New Delhi: Adarash Books.

Birahi, H. (Ed.). (2060 BS). *Prakashanko digdarshan ( Reflections of publications).* Kathmandu: Press Council Nepal.

Brewer, J., & Hunter, A. (1989). *Multimethod Research : A Syhethesis of Styles.* Sage Publications, Inc.

Carey, J. W. (1999, Spring/Summer). Lawyers, Voyeurs and Vigilantes. (R. Giles, Ed.) *Media Studies Journal: What's next?, 13*(2).

Chakravarty, S. (2007). *Press and Media: The Global Dimensions.* New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, Distributors.

Chalise, V. (2006, April 18). Mandate For Change, Cooperation. *The Rising Nepal*.

Chalmers, R. (2012). State Power and the Security Sector: Ideologies and Interests. In S. V. Einsiedel, D. M. Malone, & S. Pradhan (Eds.), *Nepal in Transition: From Poeple's War to Fragile Peace.* New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

Chinni, D., & Bronston, S. (2017, 7 9). Retrieved from NBC News: www.nbcnews.com

Christian D., & Armstrong, D. A. (2004, June 8). Democracy and the violation of human rights: A statistical analysis from 1976 to 1996. *American Journal of Political Science, 48*(3), 538-554.

Craig, G. (2007). *The media politics and public life.* India: Allen and Unwin.

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research Design : Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods Perspectives (5th Ed.).* Sage Publications, Inc.

Croteau, D., & Hoynes, D. (2000). *The Business of Media: Corporate Media and Public Interest.* California,USA: Pine Forge Press.

Curran, J. (1991). *Mass media and democracy.* New York: Routledge.

Curran, J., & Seaton, J. (2003). *Power without responsibility: The press, broadcasting and new media in Britain.* London: Routledge.

Dahal, D. R. (2014, September 12). Media's Role in Nation-Building in Nepal. *Spotlight, 8*(7). Retrieved from www.spotlightnepal.com

Dahl, R. (2000). *On Democracy.* Yale University, New Haven, USA: Yale Nota Bene Book.

Dahl, R. A., & Stinebrickner, B. (2002). *Modern Political Analysis.* Delhi: Pearson Education. Retrieved from www.amazon.com

Debanjan, B. (2010, May). Mass Communication: Trends, Traits and Theories. *Journal Media and Communication Study, 2*(5), 118-121. Retrieved from www.academicjournals.com

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2018). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research (5th ed.).* SAGE Publication.

Deraniyagala, S. (2005). The political economy of civil conflict in Nepal. *Oxford Development Studies, 33*(1), 47-62.

Deutsch, K. W. (1964). The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication & Control. *American Anthropologist, 66*(4). doi:10.1525/aa.1964.66.4.02a00660

Devkota, G. B. (2051 BS). *Nepalko Chhapakhana ra Patrapatrikako Itihas (History of Printing Press and Newspapers in Nepal).* Kathmandu: Sajha Prakashan.

Dhakal, N. (2052 BS). *Teen sambatsar (Three years, a memoire).* Kathmandu: Sajha.

Dill, R. (1986). Statements. In W. Teichert (Ed.), *Images.* Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Dixit, K. (1997). *Dateline earth: Journalism as if the planet mattered.* The Philippines: Inter Press Service.

Dominick, J. R. (1999). *The Dynamics of Mass Communication (6th edition).* Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Downing, J., Ali, M., & Annabelle, M. S. (Eds.). (1995). *Questening the Media: A Critical Introduction.* New Delhi: Sage Publication.

Easton, D. (1953). *The political system: An inquiry into the state of political science.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Edgley, A. (2000). *The Social and Political Thought of Noam Chomsky.* London: Routledge.

Edwards, S. (1998). Oppenness, Productivity and Growth. *The Economic Journal, 108*(447), 383-398. Retrieved from www.academic.oup.com

Einsiedel, S. V., Malone, D. M., & Pradhan, S. (2012). Conclusions. In S. V. Einsiedel, D. M. Malone, & S. Pradhan (Eds.), *Nepal in transition: From people's war to fragile peace.* New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

Flick, U. (2018). *An introduction to qualitative research (6th ed.).* Sage Publications.

Freeden, M. (2006). Ideology and political theory. *Journal of Political Ideology, 11*(1), 3-22. doi:10.1080/13569310500395834

Frieden, J. (2012). A Donor's Perspective on Aid and Conflict. In S. V. Einsiedel, D. M. Malone, & S. Pradhan (Eds.), *Nepal in Transition: From People's War to Fragile Peace.* New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

Fujikura, T. (2003). The role of collective imagination in the maoist conflict in Nepal. *Himalaya: The Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies, XXIII*(1), 21-30.

Gandhi, M., & Dalton, D. (1996). *Gandhi: Selected political writings.* Hackett Publishing.

Gaunle, S. (2011, December 1). Shanti prakriyama pressko chunauti (Challenges of the press in the peace process). *Nepal Samacharpatra*, pp. 4-5.

Gelders, D., & Ihlen, Q. (2010). Government Communication about Potential Policies: Public Relations, Propaganda or Both? *Public Relation Journal, 36*(1), 59-62. Retrieved from www.publicrelationsjournal.com

Gerges, F. A. (1999). Shaping openion. *Journal of Palestine study*.

Ghimire, S. (2000). Weekly Newspapers Strides Over the Years. In *Media Nepal 2000.* Kathmandu: Nepal Press Institute.

Ghimire, S. (2000). Weely newspapers srides over the years. In *Media Nepal 2000.* Kathmandu: Nepal Press Institute.

Ghimire, S. N. (2000). Weekly newspapers strides over the years. In P. Kharel (Ed.), *Media Nepal 2000.* Kathmandu: Nepal Press Institute.

Ghimire, Y. (2010, August 30). Suchanako Hak ra Nepali Sanchar Jagat (Right to Information and Media World). *Sanghu, 1*.

Ghose, B. (2011, July 1). Collective Madness. *Frontline*, p. 85.

Ginneken, J. V. (1998). *Understanding Globle News.* New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Giri, P. (2006, April 18). Jana aandolan-2063 (People's movement-2006). *Kantipur daily*, p. 7.

Goodwin, J., & Skocpol, T. (1989). *Explaining revolutions in the contemporary third world politics and societies.*

Graber, A. D. (1994). *Media power In politics.* New Delhi: Macmillan India Ltd.

Griffey, D. (2012). *An Introducation to Second Language Research Meothods.* America: TESL-EJ Publications.

Grix, J. (2002). *Introducting Students to the Generic Terminology of Social Research.* Politics.

Groseclose, T., & Milyo, J. (2005b). A Social Science Perception on Media Bias. *Critical Review, 17*(3-4), 305-314. doi:10.1080/08913810508443641

Gyawali, D. (2010, December 3). Domestic politics & neighbours. *New Spotlight*, p. 6.

Hachhethu, K. (2008). *Nepal in transition: A study on the state of democracy .* Stockholm: International IDEA.

Hachhethu, K., Kumar, S., & Subedi, J. (2008). *Nepal in Transition: A Study on the State of Democracy.* Retrieved from www.idea.int.

Hanson, D., & Grimmer, M. (2007). The Mix of Qualitative and Qualitative Research in Major Marketing Journals, 1993-2002. *European Journal of Marketing*.

Hanumanthappa, D. G. (2023). An overview of David Easton and the political system. *International Journal of Political Science, 9*(1), 14-16.

Hayoz, N., & Dafflon, D. (2014, May 02). Introduction: Political Transformation and Social Change in the South Caucasus. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, 14*(2), 195-198.

Hershey, M. (2020, 10 15). Political Bias in Media doesnt Threaten Democracy- Other, less than Visible Biases Do. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from www.theconversation.com

Higson, A. (1998). National Identity and the Media. In A. Briggs, & P. Cobly (Eds.), *The Media: An Introduction* (Second Print ed., pp. 354-362). U.S.A.: Longman.

Hofer, A. (2004). *The caste hierarchy and the state in Nepal: The study of the Muluki Ain of 1854.* Kathmandu: Hiaml Books.

Hoftun, M., Raeper, W., & Whelpton, J. (1999). *People, Politics and Ideology: Democracy and social change in Nepal.* Kathmandu: Mandala.

Hopkins, A. E. (2015). Government Public Relation: Diplomacy or Propaganda? *Inquiry, 7*(3). Retrieved from www.inquiriesjournal.com

Huntington, S. P. (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The third wave.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

ICG. (2008). *Nepal's election: A peaceful revolution.* International Crisis Group. Kathmandu/Brussels: International Crisis Group.

IIDS. (1996). *Mass media and democratization: A country study on Nepal.* Institute for Integrated Development Studies. Kathmandu: Institute for Integrated Development Studies.

INSEC. (1994). *Human rights yearbooks.* Kathmandu: INSEC.

INSEC. (1995). *Human rights yearbook 1995.* Kathmandu: INSEC.

INSEC. (1999). Maoist Activities and the Treatment of the Government, Annex 3. In *Nepal human rights year book.* Kathmandu: INSEC.

International Crisis Group. (2010). *Asia report.*

Joshi, M. (2010). Between clientelistic dependency and liberal market economy. In M. Lawoti, & A. K. Pahari (Eds.), *The maoist insurgency in Nepal.* London: Routledge.

Joshi, M., & Mason, T. D. (2008). Between democracy and revolution: Peasant support for insurgency versus democracy in Nepal. *Journal of Peace Research, 45*(6).

Josse, M. R. (2005, November 24). Unholy Alliance-Maoist pact. *The Rising Nepal*.

Kantha, P. K. (2010). Maoist-madhesi dynamics and Nepal's peace process. In M. Lawoti, & A. K. Pahari (Eds.), *The maoist insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the twenty-first century.* London: Routledge.

Kapur, A. C. (1995). *Principles of Political Science.* New Delhi: S. Chand & Company.

Karki, A. (2003). The radical reform agenda for conflict resolution in Nepal. In A. Karki, & D. Seddon, *The people's war in Nepal: Left perspectives* (pp. 438-475). New Delhi: Adroit Publishers.

Katz, E. (1990). Communication Research since Lazersfeld. *Public Opinion Quaterly (New york). Mass Communication Review Yearbook, Newbury Park, California*.

Keefer, P. (2007). Clientelism, credibility, and the policy choices of young democrecies. *American Journal of Political Sciences, 51*(4), 804-21.

Khanal, C. (2001). Weaknesses of Nepalese journalism. In P. Kharel (Ed.), *Media issues in Nepal.* Kathmandu: Nepal Press Institute.

Khanal, K. (2008, April 15). Matadatale diyeko sandesh (Message given by voters). *Kantipur daily*, p. 7.

Khand, J. (2010). *Supreme god: Body, will, wisdom and work.* Pittsburg Pennsylvania: Rose Dog Books.

Kharel, P. (2012). *Media For Participatory Democracy.* Kathmandu: Kamala Kharel.

Klapdor, D. (2009). *From Rebels to Politicians. Explaining Rebel-To-Party Transformations after Civil War: The Case of Nepal.* Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science, London. Retrieved from www.semanticscholar.org

Klapper, J. (1960). *The effects of mass communication.* New York: Free Press.

Klepka, R. (2019). Media Political Bias: In Search of Conceptualization. *Athenaeum, 64*(4), 155-168. doi:10.15804/athena.2019.64.09

Kunczik, M. (1995). *Concepts of Journalism North and South.* Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stifung.

LaMay, C. L. (2004, November). *Civil Society and Media Freedom: Problems of Purpose and Sustainability in Democratic Transition.* Retrieved from www.icnl.org: www.scholars.nothwestern.edu

Lane, L. (2007). The influence of the media in politics, campaigns and elections.

Lawoti, M. (2010). Evolution and Growth of the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal. In M. Lawoti, & A. K. Pahari (Eds.), *The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the Twenty-first Century.* London: Routledge.

Lawoti, M. (2012). Ethnic politics and the building of an inclusive state. In S. V. Einsiedel, D. M. Malone, & S. Pradhan (Eds.), *Nepal in transition: From people's war to fragile peace.* New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

Lawoti, M., & Pahari, A. K. (2010). Violent conflict and change. In M. Lawoti, & A. K. Pahari (Eds.), *The maoist insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the twenty-first century* (pp. 305-326). New Delhi: Routledge.

Lawoti, M., & Pahari, A. K. (2010). Voilent conflict and change: Costs and benefits of maoist rebellion in Nepal. In *The maoist insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the twenty-first century.* London: Routledge.

Lecomte-Tilouine, M. (2006). KIll one, he becomes one hundred: Martydom as generative sacrifice in the Nepal people's war. *Social Analysis, 50*(1), 51-72.

Leubsdorf, C. P. (1976, September). The Reporter and the Local Candidates. (R. D. Lambart, Ed.) *The Annals, 427*.

Lewis, J. (Ed.). (2003). *The mammoth book of journalism.* London: Robinson.

Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion.* New York: Macmillan.

Lynch, M. (2011, November 11). *Analyzing the Media's Role in the Political Process.* (L. Polgreen, Ed.) Retrieved May 2005, from www.huffpost.com

Marris, P., & Thornham, S. (2005). *Media Studies: A Reader (Second Edition).* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

McQuail, D. (2000). *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory.* London: Sage.

McQuail, D. (2005). *Mass Communication Theory.* New Delhi: Vistaar Publications.

Mehta, A. K., & Lawoti, M. (2010). Military dimensions of the "People's War": Insurgency and Counter-insurgency in Nepal. In M. Lawoti, & A. K. Pahari (Eds.), *The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in Twenty-first Century.* London: Routledge.

Mentschel, S. (2005). *Right to Information: An Appropriate Tool against Corruption?* New Delhi: Mosaic Books.

MFN. (2012). *A research on media and the Nepali public: Survey assesments of media capacity, credibility and literacy.* Media Foundation Nepal. Kathmandu: Media Foundation Nepal.

Mishra, B. P. (2009). *The Nepalese Peace Process.* Kathmandu: FinePrint Inc.

Mistry, A. (2020). Quest for identity: Re-exmining the process of federal restructuring of the Nepali state. *Social Inquiry: Journal of Social Sceince Research, 2*(2), 12-37.

Muller, E. N., & Seligson, M. A. (1987). Inequality and insurgency. *The American Political Science Review, 81*(2), 425-51.

Murshed, M. S., & Gates, S. (2005). Spatial-horizontal inequality and the maoist insurgency in Nepal. *Review of Development Economics, 9*(1), 121-34.

Natarajan, S. (1962). *A History of the Press in India.* New York: Asia Publishing House.

Nepal, K. (2000). *Janmat sangraha dekhi jan andolan samma (From referendum to mass movement).* Kathmandu: Press Council Nepal.

Nepal, K. (2004). *Awaajheenharuko awaaj (Voice of voicelesses).* Kathmandu: Reprovision Press.

Nepal, K. (2004). *Awajheenharuko Awaj (Voice of Voiceless).* Kathmandu: Reprovision Press.

Nepal, K. (2014). *Merosamaya (My days).* Kathmandu: Fine Print.

Neuman, R. W. (1986). *The Paradox Of Mass Politics: Knowledge and Opinion in the American Electorate.* London: Harvard University Press.

Neuman, W. (2014). *Social Reserch Methods : Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Vol. 7th Edition ). United Kingdom: Person Education Ltd.

Neupane, G. (2000). *Nepalko jatiya prashna: Samajik banot ra sajhedariko sambhawana (Nepal's national question: Social composition and possibilities of Accommodation).* Kathmandu: Center for Development Studies.

Nicholas, J. S. (2008). U.S.-Cuba Propaganda Wars. In K. Anokwa, C. A. Lin, & M. B. Salwen (Eds.), *Mass Communications: Concept-case approach* (pp. 70-72). Delhi: Cengage Learning India.

Nunan, D. (1992). *Research Methods in Language Learning.* United Kingdom: Cambridgre University Press.

Ogbebor, B. (2020). Media Policy, Democracy and Theories of the Press. In P. Macmillan, *British Media Covrage of the Press Reform Debate* (pp. 55-75).

Pal, N. B. (2008, may 05). The Role Of Media In Consolidating Democratisation Process In Nepal. Kathmandu, Bagmati, Nepal.

Panday, D. R. (2012). The legacy of Nepal's failed development. In S. V. Einsiedel, D. M. Malone, & S. Pradhan (Eds.), *Nepal in transition: From people's war to fragile peace.* New Delhi, Cambridge University Press.

Pandey, Y. R. (Ed.). (1998). *Nepali patrakaritako bikaskram (Development process of Nepali journalism).* Kathmandu: Press Council Nepal.

Parajulee, R. (2000). *The democratic transition in Nepal.* Maryland: Rowman and Little Field.

Parry, R. (2011). *The ascent of media: From Gilgamesh to google via Gutenberg.* London: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.

Parsons, P. J. (2005). *Ethics in Public Relations.* New Delhi, India: Kogan Page India.

Parthasarathy, R. (2005 ). *Journalism in India: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Fourth Edition (Reprint).* New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

PCN. (2049). *Prakashanko Digdarshan (Reflections of Publications).* Kathmandu: Press Council Nepal.

Pettigrew, J. (2003a). *Resistance and the state.* (D. Gellner, Ed.) New Delhi: Social Science Press.

Pfaltzgraff, R. L. (1972). Karl Deutsch & The Study of Political Science. *The Political Science Reviewer, 2*, 90-111. Retrieved from www.politicalsciencereviewer.wisc.edu

Picard, R. G. (2008). Press Freedom in Europe. In K. Anokwa, A. C. Lin, & B. M. Salwen (Eds.), *Mass Communications: Concept-case approach.* Delhi: Centage Learning India.

Potter, D. (2006). *Handbook of Independent Journalism.* Washington: Bureau of International Information Program, US Department of State.

Prachanda. (2012). *Prachandaka chuniyeka rachanaharu: Khanda 1 ( Selected creations of Prachanda: Part 1).* Kathmandu: Central Committee of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

Pradhan, P. (2011, 1 29). Media not up to Mark: Experts. *The Rising Nepal*, p. 6.

Prajapati, U. (2013). *Safeguarding public interest in the era of corporate media: Case studies on impact of ownership on news content.* Kathmandu: ASD.

Prasad, S. (Ed.). (1987). *Right to Know.* New Delhi: National Media Centre Publication.

Prashad, V. (2011, September 9). The great inequality. *Frontline*, p. 8.

Press Council. (2049). *Prakashanko digdarshan (Reflections of publications).* Kathmandu.

Pruthi, R., & Sharma, B. R. (Eds.). (1995). *Democracy and Women.* New Delhi: Anmol Publications.

Puri, G. (2007). *A Complete Guide To Journalism For All.* New Delhi: IIMS Publications.

Pyakuryal, K. N., & Ghimire, S. (2010). Post-conflict state building: Issues and challenges. In B. R. Upreti, S. R. Sharma, K. N. Pyakuryal, & S. Ghimire , *The remake of a state: Post-conflict challenges and state building in Nepal.* Kathmandu: South Asia Regional Coordination Office of the Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research (NCCR North-South) and Human and National Researches Studies Centre, Kathmandu University.

Pyakuryal, K., March, K., & Acharya, B. (Eds.). (2007). *Nepal in conflict: Theoretical underpinnings, conflict resolution, conflict transformation, and peace-building.* Kathmandu: Sociological/Anthropological Society of Nepal (SASON).

Pye, L. W. (1962). Modernization, Democratization & Nation-Building.

Pye, L. W. (1966). *Aspects of political development.* New Delhi: Amerind Publishing.

Rawal, R. B. (2011, November 13). Rastrabad Vs Rastraghat. *Nepal Weekly*, pp. 17-18.

Rawski, F., & Sharma, M. (2012). A comprehensive peace? Lessons from human rights monitoring in Nepal. In S. V. Einsiedel, D. M. Malone, & S. Pradhan (Eds.), *Nepal In transition: From people's war to fragile peace.* New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

Real, M. R. (1996). *Exploring Media Culture.* New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Regmi, R. K., & Khanal, C. (2002). *Sancharkarmi (Journalist).* Kathmandu: NAME.

Riaz, A., & Basu, S. (2007). *Paradise lost? State failure in Nepal.* Lanham MD: Lexington Books.

Richards, B. (2004). Terrorism & Public Relations. *Public Relation Journal, 30*(2), 169-170. Retrieved from www.publicrelationjournal.com

Robinson, J. (1976). The Press and the Voters. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

Robinson, J. E. (1976). The Press and the Voter. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

Rokka, H. (2005, November 25). Samjhautapachhiko aandolanko bato (Path of movement after understanding). *Kantipur Daily*, p. 6.

Rosenbloom, D. L. (1976, September). The Press and the Local Candidates. (R. D. Lambart, Ed.) *The annuals, 427*.

Sanyal, D. R. (2005, November 23). Delhi talks and trappings. *The Rising Nepal*.

Schneiderman, S., & Turin, M. (2004). The path to jana sarkar in the Dolakha district: Towards an ethnography in Maoist movement. In M. Hutt (Ed.), *Himalayan people's war: Nepal's maoist rebellion* (pp. 79-111). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Schramm, W. (1978). *Mass media and national development-1978.* Paris, France: UNESCO.

Schultz, J. (1998). *Reviving the fourth estate: Democracy, accountability, press.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Searle, J. R. (1995). *The construction of social reality.* Free Press.

Shakya, S. (2012). Unleashing Nepal's Economic Potential: A Business Perspective. In S. V. Einsiedel, D. M. Malone, & S. Pradhan (Eds.), *Nepal in Transition: From People's War to Fragile Peace.* New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

Sharan, P. (1983). *Government and Politics of Nepal.* Delhi: Metropolitan.

Sharma, S. (2010). *Nepali sena: Nagarik niyantran ka chunouti (Nepal army: Challenges of civic control).* (S. Sharma, Ed.) Kathmandu: Martin Choutari.

Sharma, S. R. (2010). Private Secotor and Post-Conflict State Building. In B. R. Upreti, S. R. Sharma , K. N. Pyakuryal, & S. Ghimire, *The Remake of the State: Post-Conflict Challenges and State Building in Nepal* (p. 47). Kathmandu: South Asia Regional Coordianation Office of the Swiss National Centre of Competance in Research (NCCR North-South) and Human and Natural Resources Studies Centre, Kathmandu University.

Sherman, A. K., & Kolker, A. (1987). *The Social Bases of Politics.* California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Shrestha, M. B., & Chowdhury, K. (2007). Impact of financial liberlization on welfare: Evidence from Nepal. *Applied Econometrics and International Development, 7*(1). Retrieved from http://www.usc.es/-economet/journals1/aeid/aeid7115.pdf.

Shrestha, S. (2011, July). Chhinchhinmai Choridhanda Chhapakka (Rampant Plagiarism Every Moment). *Samhita, 56*.

Sijapati, B. (2009). *People's participation in conflict transformation: A case study of jana aandolan II in Nepal.* Kathamandu: Social Science Baha.

Skocpol, T. (1979). *States and social revolutions: A comparative analysis of France, Russia and China.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Small, W. (1974). *To Kill a Messenger: Television News and the Real World* (Second Printing ed.). New York: Communication Arts Books.

Smith, B. (2018, 12 12). *Des Moine Register.* Retrieved from www.desmoineregister.com

Smith, J., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative Phelonological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research.* UK: Sage Publications, Inc.

Street, J. (2001). *Mass Media, Politics and Democracy.* New York: Palgrave.

Subedi, H. (2010). Dwanda, santi ra bikas adhyan bibhag, rananiti ra chunauti. *A Special Bulletin of Tribhuwan University*. Tribhuwan University.

Tehranian, M. (1989). Information Technologies and World Development: Promises, Perils, Prospects. In *Forum Komunikasi.* Malaysia: The School of Mass Communication, Institute Teknologi Mara.

Thapa, D. (2012). The making of the maoist insurgency. In S. V. Einsiedel, D. M. Malone, & S. Pradhan (Eds.), *Nepal in transition: From people's war to fragile peace.* New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

Thapa, D., & Sijapati, B. (2003). *A kingdom under siege: Nepal's maoist insurgency, 1996 to 2003.* Kathmandu: The Printhouse.

Thapalia, B. (2010, December 8). Politically Focussed . *The Rising Nepal*, p. 4.

Thomas, H. (2006). *Watchdogs of Democracy.* New York: Alisa Drew Book.

Tiwari, B. N. (2010). An assessment of the causes of conflict in Nepal. In M. Lawoti, & A. K. Pahari, *The maoist insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the twenty-first century* (pp. 241-262). Routledge.

Tiwari, B. N. (2010). An assessment of the causes of conflict in Nepal. In M. Lawoti, & A. K. Pahari (Eds.), *The maoist insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the twenty-first century.* London: Routledge.

Toggle, C. (1998). Bias Towards Finding Bias in Television News. *Communication Reports, 11*(1), 65-72. doi:10.1080/08934219809367686

UNESCO-IPDC. (2010). *Media development indicators: A framework for assessing media development .* Paris: UNESCO.

Upreti, B. R. (2007). Conflict transformation and peace building: Conceptual understanding and opportunities for implementation. In K. Pyakuryal, K. March, & B. (. Acharya, *Nepal in conflict: Theoretical underpinnings, conflict resolution, conflict transformation, and peace-building.* Kathmandu, Nepal: Sociological/Anthropological Society.

Upreti, B. R. (2009). *An overview of the Trajectory of Nepal from War to Peace.* New Delhi: Adroit Publishers.

Upreti, B. R. (2010). External Engagement in Nepal's Armed Conflict. In M. Lawoti, & A. K. Pahari (Eds.), *The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Revolution in the Twenty-first Century.* London: Routledge.

Upreti, B. R. (2012). Nepal from war to peace. *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice, 24*(1), 102-107.

Wainwright, D. (1986). *Journalism made simple.* London: Rupa and Co.

Watson, J. (2003). *Media communication: An introduction to theory and process (II Ed.).* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weaver, D. (1998). *The Global Journalist.* Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton.

Wertz, F., Charmaz, K., McMullen, L. M., Joselson, R., Anderson, R., & McSpadden, E. (2011). *Five Ways of Doing Qualitative Analysis: Phenomological Phychology, Grounded Theory, discourse Analusis, Narrative Research, and intutive inquiry.* UK: The Guilford Press.

Whelpton, J. (2005). *A history of Nepal.* Delhi: Cambrigde University Press.

Williams, F. (1982). *The Communications Revolution.* New Delhi: Sage Publication.

Williamson, M. (2019). *A Politics Of Love: A Handbook for a New American Revolution.* New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

Wily, L. A., Chapagain, D., & Sharma, S. (2009). *Land reform In Nepal: Where Is It coming from and where Is It going?* Kathmandu: Department for International Development.

Wood, D. B., & Edwards, G. C. (1999). *Who influences whom? The president, congress, and the media.* The American Political Science Review.

Wright, D. &. (2008, 4 1). How blogs and social media are changing public relations and the way it is Practiced. *Public Relation Journal*.

Zaidi, Z. H., & Ray, V. (2007). *Media and communications in the third world.* New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, Distributers.

# APPENDIX-I

**Participants for KII**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **S.N.** | **Name of Participants** | **Status** | **Interviewed Date** | **Interviewed Place** |
| 01. | Mahendra Bita | Media Professional and Former Chairman of FNJ | 10-12-2023 | Office of Image Channel  Kathmandu |
| 02. | Dharmendra Jha | Media Professional  and Former Chairman of FNJ | 10-12-2023 | Office of RSS  Kathmandu |
| 03. | Taranath Dahal | Media Professional  and Former Chairman of FNJ | 10-13-2023 | Office of Advocacy Forum Nepal  Kathmandu |
| 05. | Kishore Nepal | Senior Journalist | 14-12-2023 | Anupam Food land, Battishputali, Kathmandu |
| 06. | Babita Basnet | Media Professional | 16-12-2023 | Office of Ghatana ra Bichar, Kathmandu |
| 06. | Ram Krishna Regmee | Media Expert | 16-12-2023 | Kantipur City College, Putalisadak, Kathmandu |
| 07. | Malla K Sundar | Civil Society Member and Media Expert | 18-12-2023 | Pasikot, Kathamandu |
| 08. | Shyam Shrestha | Civil Society Member and Media Expert | 18-12-2023 | Kirtipur, Kathmandu |
| 09. | Govinda Acharya | Media Professional and Former Chairman of FNJ | 20-12-2023 | Office of Prime Minister,  Singha Darbar, Kathmandu |

Questions for KII for analysis

1. Did the Nepali media, especially print media, play the expected role in a country's state of war and political instability?
2. Did Nepali media properly understand their role transform conflict to peace?
3. How seriousness was the press in helping the peace process move towards logical conclusions?
4. Over the course of the domestic war and political unrest, were the newspapers consistently covered issues related to political transformation in top stories and banner news?
5. What role should the media play in society? In Nepali context, are the media and journalists accountable to their respective societies?
6. What is the mindset and standpoint of the Nepali state, political parties, and political leaders towards the press?
7. What role did journalists and political leaders play in consolidating and strengthening the Nepali peace process.

## ANNEX- I

**Major Events in Nepal during last two decades (1990-2013)**

1990

8 April Ban on political parties lifted.

19 April Eleven-member interim government formed under Krishna Prasad Bhattarai (the then NC acting president) consisting of representatives from NC and ULF, king’s nominees and independents.

29 May Two separate RPPs, led by Lokendra Bahadur Chand and Surya Bahadur Thapa, were established.

31 May Nine-member Constitution Recommendation Commission (CRC) formed under Bishwo Nath Upadhaya and representation from NC, ULF and king’s side.

9 November Constitution of Kingdom of Nepal 1990 promulgated.

23 November Five radical splinter communist groups, CPN (Fourth Convention), CPN (Mashal), Sarbaharabadi Shramik Sangathan led by Rup Lal Bishwokarma,CPN (Masal) led by Hari Bole Gajurel alias Shital Kumar, CPN (Janamukhi) led by Ram Narayan Bidari unified as CPN (Unity Centre).

1991

8 January CPN (ML) and CPN (Marxist) merge to become CPN (UML).

15 January National convention of NWPP held and Narayan Man Bijukchhe elected party chairperson.

12 May General elections to HoR were held; twenty political parties participate, only six gain seats; NC wins 110 seats, CPN (UML) 69; Krishna Prasad Bhattarai defeated.

29 May NC government formed under Girija Prasad Koirala.

1992

8 February Two RPPs amalgamate with Surya Bahadur Thapa as party chairperson and Lokendra Bahadur Chand as party leader.

13 February NC holds 8th national convention; Krishna Prasad Bhattarai re-elected party president uncontested.

28 and 31 May Local elections are held in two phases.

1993

27 January CPN (UML) holds 5th national congress; all CC members elected without contest; adopts programme of People’s Multiparty Democracy.

17 April NSP’s 2nd national convention held.

16 May CPN (UML) leaders Madan Bhandari and Jivraj Ashrit die in jeep accident; Madhav Kumar Nepal becomes CPN (UML) general secretary.

11 June RPP’s national convention is held.

29 June CPN (UML) expels Jagat Bogati, a rebel candidate elected to the National Assembly, and takes disciplinary actions against 22 of its MPs for defying party whip in election of members of Upper House.

14 November Small communist faction known as the CPN (Amatya) merges with CPN (UML).

1994

7 February NC President Krishna Prasad Bhattarai defeated in by-election to HoR, allegedly because of internal sabotage; Bhattarai had contested amidst bitter factional conflicts in the NC and a secret under- standing between leaders of the NC and the CPN (UML) to oust Koirala.

16 February CPN (UML) petitions for special session of HoR and tables a no-confidence motion against the government in the backdrop of intensified factional split in the NC following defeat of Bhattarai.

7 March Government survives no-confidence motion by 113 to 81 votes.

22 May UPFN splits into two groups, one led by Niranjan Govinda Vaidya and the other by Baburam Bhattarai.

10 July HoR dissolved and mid-term poll recommended by Koirala, following the defeat of the government’s annual plans and policies in parliament due to the absence of 35 dissident NC MPs.

14 July Vaidya group of UPFN holds convention and decides to participate in mid-term election.

10 August Bhattarai group of UPFN decides to boycott mid-term election.

16 September Ganesh Man Singh quits NC and his new forum, Jana Jagaran Abhiyan, is used against NC candidates of the Koirala faction.

15 November Mid-term poll to HoR held; CPN (UML), with 88 seats in the HoR, emerges as largest party in parliament.

29 November CPN (UML) minority government formed with Man Mohan Adhikari as prime minister and Madhav Nepal as deputy prime minister.

2 December Sher Bahadur Deuba elected NC parliamentary party leader.

1995

8 june NC MPs call special session of parliament.

9 June King summons special session on 16 June; HoR dissolved and mid-term poll recommended by Adhikari.

11 June 77 NC MPs table no-confidence motion against Adhikari in HoR.

13 June King dissolves HoR on the recommendation of Adhikari.

14 June NSP splits with the formation of the Nepal Samajbadi Janata Dal.

5 July Bhattarai faction of ULF holds national convention; Baburam Bhattarai elected convenor and Pampha Bhusal, secretary.

8 July NWPP expels its MP Binod Kumar for defecting to CPN (UML) and dissolves party’s district committee of Dailekh District.

16 August Jana Jagaran Abhiyan is dissolved for re-entry of its leaders and workers into NC.

28 August Supreme Court orders revival of dissolved HoR.

10 September No-confidence motion against CPN (UML)’s minority government passes.

11 September Coalition governments of NC, RPP and NSP formed with Sher Bahadur Deuba as prime minister.

1996

1 February NSP expels two of its MPs, Hridayesh Tripathi and Rameshwor Raya, founder of the Nepal Samajbadi Janata Dal, a splinter group of the NSP.

13 February CPN (Maoist) formally launches ‘people’s war’.

28 February CPN (UML) MPs, in understanding with Chand faction of ruling coalition partner, RPP, petition for a special session of HoR.

22 March CPN (UML) MPs table no-confidence motion against Deuba-led coalition government.

24 March Government survives no-confidence motion with 106 against 98 votes.

30 April NC’s 9th national convention opens in Kathmandu; Girija Prasad Koirala elected party president with 1,154 votes against Chiranjibi Wagle’s 254.

26 June CPN (UML) removes post of deputy general secretary, created at time of its minority government and held by Bamdev Gautam, generating new form of factional conflict in party.

19 September Mahakali River treaty with India endorsed by parliament with 220 against 8 votes; 26 CPN (UML) MPs defy party whip by abstaining from voting.

8 December 102 MPs, including 11 from RPP Chand faction, petition for a special session of HoR.

24 December Government survives no-confidence vote. But since it receives only 82 votes in a house of 205, government has to prove confidence of parliament in next session.

1997

25 January Twenty-three CPN (UML) CC members table pro- posal for removal of Madhav Kumar Nepal as general secretary.

6 March Deuba-led coalition government collapses, obtaining only 101 votes; two NC MPs abstain from voting, allegedly as part of conspiracy to replace Deuba with Koirala.

9 March Koirala elected NC parliamentary party leader unopposed.

12 March Lokendra Bahadur Chand appointed prime minister of new coalition government of the RPP, CPN (UML) and NSP.

17 and 26 May Local election held in two phases.

22 September NC MPs petition for special session of parliament.

2 October NC MPs table no-confidence motion against Chand government.

4 October Vote of no-confidence passed with 107 votes, including those from MPs belonging to Thapa faction of RPP, against 94.

6 October Surya Bahadur Thapa appointed prime minister of new coalition government of RPP, NC and NSP.

12 November RPP’s national convention re-elects Surya Bahadur Thapa party chairperson over Rajeshwor Devkota.

26 Novembe Nepal Samajbadi Janata Dal dissolved and reunited with NSP.

1998

8 January CPN (UML) MPs file no-confidence motion against Thapa government.

9 January RPP (Chand) formed with support of 40 per cent MPs of undivided RPP.

16 January RPP (Chand) splinter group formally recognised as separate party.

25 January CPN (UML)’s 6th national congress in Nepalgunj re-elects Madhav Kumar Nepal as general secretary.

20 February Special session of HoR convened against Thapa’s recommendation to dissolve HoR following court verdict; government survives no-confidence motion with 103 against 100 votes.

5 March Forty-six CPN (UML) MPs of minority group led by Bamdev Gautam apply to form new party, CPN (ML).

6 March CPN (ML) formally recognised.

25 March Thapa resigns.

26 March Koirala appointed prime minister.

28 March NSP’s 3rd national convention convened in Biratnagar.

14 June National convention of the RPP (Chand) convened.

26 August CPN (ML) included in Koirala government.

10 December CPN (ML) quits government and Koirala recommends mid-term poll.

25 December CPN (UML) included in Koirala government.

1999

3 and 17 May General election held in two phases.

27 May NC government formed with Krishna Prasad Bhattarai as prime minister.

30 December RPP (Thapa) and RPP (Chand) reunite.

2000

15 February Fifty-eight NC MPs file no-confidence motion against Krishna Prasad Bhattarai in parliamentary party office.

13 March Number of NC MPs supporting no-confidence motion rises to 69.

16 March Bhattarai resigns.

18 March Koirala elected leader of NC parliamentary party with 69 votes over Sher Bahadur Deuba’s 43.

20 March Koirala appointed prime minister.

13 December National convention of CPN (ML) held; Sahana Pradhan and Bamdev Gautam elected party chairperson and general secretary respectively.

28 December Fifty-eight NC MPs file a no-confidence motion against Koirala as prime minister.

2001

4 January NC parliamentary party vote on no-confidence motion against Koirala boycotted by MPs from rival (Deuba) faction; Koirala survives.

19 January NC’s 10th national convention re-elects Koirala president with 936 votes against rival Sher Bahadur Deuba’s 507.

1 June King Birendra along with his entire family and 10 other royals assassinated, allegedly by Crown Prince Dipendra.

4 June Gyanendra, brother of late Birendra, declared new king.

19 July Koirala resigns on account of non-cooperation from army in Holeri incident.

22 July Sher Bahadur Deuba elected leader of NC parliamentary party with 72 against Sushil Koirala’s 40.

23 July Deuba becomes prime minister and truce is announced by the new prime minister and Maoist leader Prachanda.

16 August Maoist leaders meet with leaders of the parliamentary communist parties in Siliguri, India.

30 August First round of government-Maoist talks held in Kathmandu.

14 September Second round of government-Maoist talks held in Bardiya.

21 November Maoists declare unilateral end of ceasefire.

23 November Maoists attack army barrack in Dang District.

26 November Emergency declared.

2002

15 February CPN (ML) reunites with CPN (UML).

21 February Parliament endorses government decision to extend emergency by 194 votes against 7.

3 March NC and CPN (UML) leaders agree to amend constitution and reach secret agreement to replace incumbent NC government led by Deuba by all-party coalition government.

17 March Rift in NC following party organisation leaders’ dismay over government’s decision to convene parliamentary session for second extension of emergency.

22 May Deuba dissolves HoR and recommends mid-term poll; King Gyanendra promptly consents.

26 May NC suspends Deuba from party membership for three years.

16 June Meeting of NC’s Deuba faction convenes and new party, NC (Democratic), formed with Deuba as president.

10 July People’s Front formed following the unification of UPF and NPF.

3 October Deuba, with consent of parliamentary parties, recommends postponement of mid-term elections.

4 October King sacks Deuba and takes over executive power.

12 October King nominates Lokendra Bahadur Chand as prime minister.

15 December RPP’s third national convention in Pokhara passes resolution for position of ‘benevolent monarch’ during crises. Pashupati Shamsher Rana elected party chairperson over Prakash Chandra Lohani and Rabindra Nath Sharma.

2003

29 January Government and Maoists announce ceasefire.

1 February CPN (UML)’s 7th national congress re-elects Madhav Kumar Nepal general secretary.

25 March NSP’s 4th national convention held; party splits into two, one led by then Deputy Prime Minister Badri Prasad Mandal and other by Anandi Devi.

24 April First round of formal talks between government and Maoists held.

8 May Alliance of five parliamentary parties formally launch protest movement against the king’s 4 October, 2002, takeover.

9 May Second round of talks between government and Maoists held in Kathmandu.

30 May Chand resigns.

4 June Surya Bahadur Thapa nominated prime minister.

11 August Third round of talks between government and Maoists held in Nepalgunj and Dang.

26 August Maoists announce unilateral announcement of end of ceasefire.

2004

7 May Surya Bahadur Thapa resigns.

2 June Sher Bahadur Deuba nominated prime minister.

4 July UML, RPP and NSP (Mandal) joined Deuba-led government.

2005

1 February King Gyanendra dismisses Deuba government and names himself chairman of Council of Ministers; imposes emergency; and leaders of political parties put under house arrest or detained.

14 February Tulsi Giri and Kirti Nidhi Bista, two former prime ministers under the party-less Panchayat system, appointed as vice-chairmen of Council of Ministers.

16 February Royal Commission for Corruption Control formed.

13 March Splinter group of RPP led by Surya Bahadur Thapa forms new party, Rashtriya Janashakti Party.

8 May SPA passes six-point common agenda, including demand for the reinstatement of the dissolved HoR and election of constituent assembly.

26 July Sher Bahadur Deuba imprisoned by Royal Commission for Corruption Control for alleged corruption in Melamchi project.

25 August CPN (UML) adopts ‘democratic republic’ as its agenda in movement against royal rule.

30 August NC’s 11th national convention passes resolution deleting ‘constitutional monarchy’ from party constitution; Girija Prasad Koirala re-elected party president.

22 November SPA and the CPN (Maoist) reach 12-point understanding.

2006

10 January Splinter group of RPP led by Kamal Thapa forms new party with the same name, RPP.

14 January multiple simultaneous attacks by the Maoists within the Kathmandu Valley.

8 February Election of municipalities; most political parties, including RPP, boycott; voting turnout only 20 per cent.

13 February Supreme Court dismisses Royal Commission for Corruption Control and Deuba released from the prison.

6 April SPA launches peaceful mass movement.

24 April Royal proclamation reinstates dissolved HoR.

27 April Girija Prasad Koirala becomes prime minister in SPA government.

18 May HoR passes unanimous political declaration; the phrase ‘His Majesty’s’ deleted from names of state institutions; election to constituent assembly announced; Nepal declared secular state.

26 May Negotiations between SPA government and CPN (Maoist) start; code of conduct for ceasefire adopted.

16 June Summit meeting between SPA and CPN (Maoist) concludes with eight-point agreement; agreement includes announcement of interim constitution drafting committee, dissolution of HoR, formation of interim government of SPA and CPN (Maoist), and ‘arms management’ under UN supervision (Hachhethu, 2006).

9 August A request for UN assistance sent to Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

21 November Signed in Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

2007

15 January Approval of interim constitution by interim legislature

1 April Formation of interim government

20 June First declared date for CA Election

22 November Second declared date for CA Election

2008

10 April First election of Constituent Assembly.

20 October Resignation of Mohan Baidha from CA.

2009

13 January Unification of CPN (M) and CPN (Unity Center-Masal) forming Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

4 May Resignation of Pushpa Kamal Dahal (Prachanda) from the post of Prime minister.

2011

1 November Seven Point Agreement, about the numbers of combatants to be integrated in NA.

2012

18 June Formation of CPN-M under the leadership of Mohan Baidha after split from UCPN (M).

# ANNEX-II

Demands of NC and ULF in People’s Movement-I

These are the eight-point demands modified on 11 April, 1989 consisted of the following:

(1) dissolution of the Chand government and the Rastriya Panchayat,

(2) annulment of the articles and the clauses of the constitution which ran counter to the present changing context of the multiparty system,

(3) dissolution of Panchayat units from the district to village levels,

(4) nationalization of the property of Panchayat units and class organizations,

(5) release of all political prisoners,

(6) granting honour and financial assistance to martyred families,

(7) formation of a CRC having proper representatives of the NC and the ULF, and

(8) impartial investigations of recent violence in the mass movement and punishment of guilty persons (Hachhethu, 1995).

# ANNEX-III

40-points Demand of then UPFN with Memorandum

On 4 February 1996, the then chairman of the UPFN, Baburam Bhattarai, along with his colleague, Pampha Bhusal, visited Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba at his office in Singha Durbar and submitted a letter listing 40 demands. 'We would like to inform you,' the letter said in conclusion, 'that if, by 17 February 1996, the government does not offer any positive signs, we will be forced to take the path of armed struggle against the current state power.'

40 Points Demand

# 

4 February, 1996

Right Honorable Prime Minister   
Prime Minister's Office,   
Singha Darbar, Kathmandu

Sub: Memorandum

Sir,

It has been six years since the autocratic monarchical party less Panchayat system was ended by the 1990 People's Movement and a constitutional monarchical multiparty parliamentary system established. During this period, state control has been exercised by a tripartite interim government, a single-party government of the Nepali Congress, a minority government of UML and a present Nepali Congress-RPP-Sadbhavana coalition. That, instead of making progress, the situation of the country and the people going downhill is evident from the fact that Nepal has slid to being the second poorest country in the world; people living below the absolute poverty line has gone up to 71 percent; the number of unemployed has reached more than 10 percent while the number of people who are semi-employed or in disguised employment has crossed 60 percent; the country is on the verge of bankruptcy due to rising foreign loans and deficit trade; economic and cultural encroachment within the country by foreign, and especially Indian, expansionists is increasing by the day; the gap between the rich and the poor and between towns and villages is growing wider. On the other hand, parliamentary parties that have formed the government by various means have shown that they are more interested in remaining in power with the blessings of foreign imperialist and expansionist masters than in the welfare of the country and the people. This is clear from their blindly adopting so-called privatisation and liberalisation to fulfil the interests of all imperialists and from the recent 'national consensus' reached in handing over the rights over Nepal's water resources to Indian expansionists. Since 6 April, 1992, the United People's Front has been involved in various struggles to fulfil relevant demands related to nationalism, democracy and livelihood, either by itself or with others. But rather than fulfil those demands, the governments formed at different times have violently suppressed the agitators and taken the lives of hundreds; the most recent example of this is the armed police operation in Rolpa a few months back. In this context, we would like to once again present to the current coalition government demands related to nationalism, democracy and livelihood, which have been raised in the past and many of which have become relevant in the present context.

Our demands

**Concerning nationality**

1. All discriminatory treaties, including the 1950 Nepal-India Treaty, should be abrogated.
2. The so-called Integrated Mahakali Treaty concluded on 29 January, 1996 should be repealed immediately, as it is designed to conceal the disastrous Tanakpur Treaty and allows Indian imperialist monopoly over Nepal's water resources.
3. The open border between Nepal and India should be regulated, controlled and systematized. All vehicles with Indian license plates should be banned from Nepal.
4. The Gurkha/Gorkha Recruitment Centers should be closed. Nepali citizens should be provided dignified employment in the country.
5. Nepali workers should be given priority in different sectors. A 'work permit' system should be strictly implemented if foreign workers are required in the country.
6. The domination of foreign capital in Nepali industries, business and finance should be stopped.
7. An appropriate customs policy should be devised and implemented so that economic development helps the nation become self-reliant.
8. The invasion of imperialist and colonial culture should be banned. Vulgar Hindi films, videos and magazines should be immediately outlawed.
9. The invasion of colonial and imperial elements in the name of NGOs and INGOs should be stopped.

**Concerning people's democracy**

1. A new constitution should be drafted by representatives elected for the establishment of a people's democratic system.
2. All special privileges of the king and the royal family should be abolished.
3. The army, the police and the bureaucracy should be completely under people's control.
4. All repressive acts, including the Security Act, should be repealed.
5. Everyone arrested extra-judicially for political reasons or revenge in Rukum, Rolpa, Jajarkot, Gorkha, Kabhre, Sindhupalchowk. Sindhuli, Dhanusha, Ramechhap, and so on, should be immediately released. All false cases should be immediately withdrawn.
6. The operation of armed police, repression and state-sponsored terror should be immediately stopped.
7. The whereabouts of citizens who disappeared in police custody at different times, namely Dilip Chaudhary, Bhuwan Thapa Magar, Prabhakar Subedi and others, should be investigated and those responsible brought to justice. The families of victims should be duly compensated.
8. All those killed during the People's Movement should be declared martyrs. The families of the martyrs and those injured and deformed should be duly compensated, and the murderers brought to justice.
9. Nepal should be declared a secular nation.
10. Patriarchal exploitation and discrimination against women should be stopped. Daughters should be allowed access to paternal property.
11. All racial exploitation and suppression should be stopped. Where ethnic communities are in the majority, they should be allowed to form their own autonomous governments.
12. Discrimination against downtrodden and backward people should be stopped. The system of untouchability should be eliminated.
13. All languages and dialects should be given equal opportunities to prosper. The right to education in the mother tongue up to higher levels should be guaranteed.
14. The right to expression and freedom of press and publication should be guaranteed. The government mass media should be completely autonomous.
15. Academic and professional freedom of scholars, writers, artists and cultural workers should be guaranteed.
16. Regional discrimination between the hills and the tarai should be eliminated. Backward areas should be given regional autonomy. Rural and urban areas should be treated at par.
17. Local bodies should be empowered and appropriately equipped.

**Concerning livelihood**

1. Land should be belonged to 'tenants'. Land under the control of the feudal system should be confiscated and distributed to the landless and the homeless.
2. The property of middlemen and comprador capitalists should be confiscated and nationalized. Capital lying unproductive should be invested to promote industrialization.
3. Employment should be guaranteed for all. Until such time as employment can be arranged, an unemployment allowance should be provided.
4. A minimum wage for workers in industries, agriculture and so on should be fixed and strictly implemented.
5. The homeless should be rehabilitated. No one should be ' relocated until alternative infrastructure is guaranteed.
6. Poor farmers should be exempt from loan repayments. Loans taken by small farmers from the Agricultural Development Bank should be written off. Appropriate provisions should be made to provide loans for small farmers.
7. Fertilizer and seeds should be easily available and at a cheap rate. Farmers should be provided with appropriate prices and markets for their produce.
8. People in flood and drought-affected areas should be provided with appropriate relief materials.
9. Free and scientific health services and education should be available to all. The commercialization of education should be stopped.
10. Inflation should be checked. Wages should be increased proportionate to inflation. Essential goods should be cheaply and easily available to everyone.
11. Drinking water, roads and electricity should be provided to all villagers.
12. Domestic and cottage industries should be protected and promoted.
13. Corruption, smuggling, black marketing, bribery, and the practices of middlemen and so on should be eliminated.
14. Orphans, the disabled, the elderly and children should be duly honored and protected.

We would like to request the present coalition government to immediately initiate steps to fulfil these demands which are inextricably linked with the Nepali nation and the life of the people. If there are no positive indications towards this from the government by 17 February 1996, we would like to inform you that we will be forced to adopt the path of armed struggle against the existing state power.

Thank you.

Dr Baburam Bhattarai

Central Committee, United People's Front, Nepal

Source: Deepak Thapa, ed., Understanding the Maoist Movement of Nepal, Kathmandu, Martin Chautari, 2003, pp. 391, First published in Dr Baburam Bhattarai, Barta ra tatkalin rajnaitik nikasko prashna, Kathmandu: Publication Department, Special Central Command, CPN (Maoist), Fagun 2059 BS.

# 

# 

# ANNEX- IV

**The 6-Points Understanding**

Declaration of common understanding and commitment for the resolution of national crisis by seven parties

8 May 2005

It is obvious to you all that the country and the people are currently reeling under serious crisis. More than 12,000 Nepali have lost their lives, hundreds have gone missing, thousands have been disabled and hundreds of thousands have been displaced owing to violence and counter-violence as a result of armed conflict launched by CPN (Maoist) in less than five years multi-party democracy started in the country. Against the spirit of the urgency of finding a political resolution, the King seized power for himself through Royal Proclamation on Feb 1, 2005. Since then, the situation of the country has further worsened and become complicated. The politics of the country has been further polarized.

Civil rights of the people have been further suspended and political party leaders and activists, media persons, human rights activists and those chanting for democracy have been jailed. Royal commission has been illegally established in the name of controlling corruption and the process of attacking political leaders and activists has begun. Press freedom has been curtailed. Nepali citizens have been victimized with the state’s unacceptable pressure and restrictions. For all this, Nepal’s dignity in the international community has been damaged. Though forced to withdraw the state of emergency, there isn’t any reform in the overall situation of the country.

Political parties, professional organizations, civil society and Nepali people had been waging a movement of their own against the illegal and regressive Royal Proclamation o f4 October, 2002.

The Royal Proclamation of Feb 1, 2005 is an extremely undemocratic, unconstitutional and regressive step of the king to impose his direct and authoritarian regime. We the seven political parties have agreed to launch a united, peaceful and strong popular movement against this, in this backdrop, we the political parties proclaim of being united on the following agreement and commitment for the establishment of full democracy and durable peace, guarantee of full human right to lead the country in the progressive path ahead.

Brief Evaluation of the Past

The popular movement of 1990 brought a historic change in the country. It elevated democracy and the process of national development to a new height. There has been significant progress in extending the democratic exercise, bringing about changes in the practice of sharing out resources, setting up development infrastructure and improving education, health, communications, electricity and drinking water. Despite all this, there were shortcomings in taking down the fruits of democracy deep down to the grass-roots level and making it progressive and inclusive to eventually bring about socio-economic transformation. During the period, parliament also had shortcomings to institutionalize efforts of good governance and corruption control, being timely aware and informed about the threat of regression.

Self-criticizing our shortcomings and pledging not to repeat them and defending the achievements after the reinstatement of democracy in 1990, we express our commitment to the collaborative effort in the process of national development.

1. Not Extremism-Follow up of Democratic Path

At this time, Nepal and the Nepali people are reeling under the centrist excesses that initiated with the king’s direct rule and excesses of extreme leftist of CPN (M). It is not possible to address any problems of the country and the people unless the country is freed from both excesses and constitutional and people representative system of governance and democracy are in place. Democracy and people elected system of governance is the basis foundation of national consensus for all forces of national politics.

2. End of the king’s Dictatorial Rule

The King’s direct rule has trampled parliament supremacy and people’s civic rights and has pushed the country to authoritarianism. The revival of the vestige of dictatorship in the twenty first century has tarnished the national dignity of the Nepali people before the world. In order to direct the country towards constitutional and democratic path, we need to forge ahead by releasing all political prisoners, reinstating civic rights and press freedom and by creating a conducive environment where all political parties can freely carry out their activities.

3. Reinstatement of Parliament for the Rule of People’s Representatives

Dictatorship is imposed by taking undue advantage of the constitutional provision and people’s rights haywire. Moreover, in the present situation where insecurity looms large, it is not possible toe hold election to people’s representatives in a free and fair manner. To relieve the country from this situation and fully activate the constitution, bring to the track the derailed democratic and development process, reinstatement of parliament is indispensable to transform the armed conflict into durable peace and drive the political, economic, social and cultural fronts forward, we express our commitment that reinstatement of parliament is the common demand and indispensability of the country.

4. Some Key Agenda for the Resolution of National Problems

The reinstated parliament, mustering broad support and strength of political parties and civil society, will carry out the following for resolving the existing crisis of the nation:

a. Government accountable to parliament- An all-party government of broad consensus and accountable to parliament will be formed by reinstated House of Representatives to resolve all the existing conflicts, to maintain political stability and to give momentum to forward changes.

b. Management of Violent Conflict and Establishment of Peace- Management of Maoist armed conflict and establishment of durable peace is the overriding concern of the day. The main agenda of parliament and all-party government will be the management of violent conflict and establishment of durable peace by making the people fully sovereign through forward looking political outlet. Conducive environment will be developed for Maoists to join the peaceful political process by developing a broad common proposal for democratic outlet for addressing several political, economic, social and cultural questions. A human rights code of conduct will be formulated and conducive environment will be developed for all responsible political parties and civil society to make contribution where all conflict parties can agree upon.

c. Commitment to Forward-looking Programs- In moving ahead the democratic process or management of conflict and establishment of durable peace, a political understanding will be maintained where people’s sovereignty and state authority will be vested in the people and provisions relating to multi-party democratic system, multi-party competitiveness sans any fear or violence, rule of law, judicial independence and fairness will be guaranteed in such a way that they can never be robbed. In addition, provision of referendum on issues of national importance, army being accountable to people-elected government, restructuring of the state to make it more participatory, and inclusive where social, cultural, geographical, ethnic, and linguistic diversities will be reflected, local autonomy and good governance guaranteed, establishment of fully transparent economic administration, effective control of corruption and provision of judicious reservation for women, Dalit, backward Janajatis, Madhesi community and for backward region and people will be maintained. We express our commitment to resolve the problem of citizenship, proportionate system of concept, progressive land reform, equal opportunity to career opportunity, suitable and affordable provision of education and health services, transparency of political parties, democratic and responsible implementation and other issues, relating to the structure of future constitution.

d. Addressing the Question of Constitution- The constitution of Nepal 1990 has ensured a provision that people are the source of state power and sovereignty and state authority are vested in the people and their use will be in consonance with the constitution. We express our commitment to prepare the concrete ground to enable the people and fully make them supreme to lead the country forward in such a way that the major achievement of 1990 cannot be robbed under any pretext.

The question of constitution should be addressed on the basis of progressive common programs to bring all political forces into the national mainstream. In order to address all conflicts prevailing in the country, we express our readiness to hold election to constituent assembly and embrace all democratic exercise.

5. Considering the constitution of Nepal 1990 as the basis for forward moving mechanism, we express our commitment to forge ahead in the progressive path for addressing the political crisis.

6. Conducting general election

Addressing the question relating to constitution, general election will be conducted within a specific time frame. International monitoring and cooperation of such election will be sought and peaceful, and free and fair election will be guaranteed.

It is our belief that solution to the prevailing serious crisis is possible through common understanding and commitment. The objective of the peaceful popular movement is to resolve the crisis of the nation and establish full democracy. It will be possible to end the dictatorship by taking up this goal and forging the joint movement. The following undersigned parties have agreed to wage a peaceful movement by working out a common program and code of conduct.

Nepali Congress Communist Party of Nepal (UML)

Nepali Congress (Democratic) Janamorcha Nepal

Nepal Peasants and Workers Party Samyukta Bammorcha

Nepal Sadbhawana Party (Anandidevi) (Dixit M., 2007).

## ANNEX-V

**12-Points Understanding**

12-point understanding reached between the Seven Political Parties and Nepal Communist Party (Maoists)

The struggle between absolute monarchy and democracy running for a long time in Nepal has now been reached in a very grave and new turn. It has become the need of today to establish peace by resolving the 10-year-old armed conflict through a forward - looking political outlet. Therefore, it has become an inevitable need to implement the concept of full democracy through a forward - looking restructuring of the state to resolve the problems related to class, cast, gender, region and so on of all sectors including the political, economic, social and cultural, by bringing the autocratic monarchy to an end and establishing full democracy. We hereby disclose that in the existence of aforesaid context and reference in the country, the following understanding has been reached between the Seven Political Parties within the parliament and the CPN (Maoists) through holding talks in different manners.

The points reached in understanding

1. The democracy, peace, prosperity, social advancement and an independent, sovereign Nepal is the principal wish of all Nepali people in the country today. We are fully agreed that the autocratic monarchy is the main hurdle for this. We have a clear opinion that the peace, progress and prosperity in the country is not possible until and full democracy is established by bringing the absolute monarchy to an end. Therefore, an understanding has been reached to establish full democracy by bringing the autocratic monarchy to an end through creating a storm of nation- wide democratic movement of all the forces against autocratic monarchy by focusing their assault against the autocratic monarchy from their respective positions.

2.The agitating Seven Political Parties are fully committed to the fact that the existing conflict in the country can be resolved and the sovereignty and the state powers can completely be established in people only by establishing full democracy by restoring the parliament through the force of agitation and forming an power full - party Government by its decision, negotiating with the Maoists, and on the basis of agreement, holding the election of constituent assembly. The CPN (Maoists) has the view and commitment that the aforesaid goal can be achieved by holding a national political conference of the agitating democratic forces, and through its decision, forming an Interim Government and holding the election of constituent assembly. On the issue of this procedural agenda, an understanding has been made to continue dialogue and seek for a common agreement between the agitating Seven Political Parties and the CPN (Maoists). It has been agreed that the force of people's movement is the only alternative to achieve this goal.

3.The country, today, demands the establishment of a permanent peace along with a positive resolution of the armed conflict. We are, therefore, firmly committed to establish a permanent peace by bringing the existing armed conflict in the country to an end through a forward-looking political outlet of the establishment of the full democracy by ending the autocratic monarchy and holding an election of the constituent assembly that would come on the basis of aforesaid procedure. The CPN (Maoists) expresses its commitment to move forward in the new peaceful political stream through this process. In this very context, an understanding has been made to keep the Maoists armed force and the Royal Army under the United Nations or a reliable international supervision during the process of the election of constituent assembly after the end of the autocratic monarchy, to accomplish the election in a free and fair manner and to accept the result of the election. We also expect for the involvement of a reliable international community even in the process of negotiation.

4.Making public its commitment, institutional in a clear manner, towards the democratic norms and values like the competitive multiparty system of governance, civil liberties, fundamental rights, human tights, principle of rule of law etc., the CPN (Maoists) has expressed its commitment to move forward its activities accordingly.

5.The CPN (Maoists) has expressed its commitment to create an environment to allow the people and the leaders and workers of the political parties, who are displaced during the course of armed conflict, to return and stay with dignity in their respective places, to return their homes, land and property that was seized in an unjust manner and to allow them to carry out the political activities without any hindrance.

6.Making a self-assessment and a self-criticism of the past mistakes and weaknesses, the CPN (Maoists) has expressed its commitment for not allowing the mistakes and weaknesses to be committed in future.

7.Making a self-assessment towards the mistakes and weaknesses committed while staying in the Government and parliament in the past, the seven political parties have expressed their commitment for not repeating such mistakes and weaknesses now onwards.

8.The commitment has been made to fully respect the norms and values of the human rights and to move forward on the basis of them, and to respect the press freedom in the context of moving the peace process ahead.

9. As the announcement of the election of municipality is pushed forward for an ill-motive of deluding the people and the international community and of giving continuity to the autocratic and illegitimate rule of the King, and the rumour of the election of the parliament are a crafty ploy, announcing to boycott it actively in our own respective way, the general public are appealed to make such elections a failure.

10.The people and their representative political parties are the real guardians of nationality. Therefore, we are firmly committed towards the protection of the independence, sovereignty and the geographical integrity and the national unity of the country. It is our common obligation to maintain friendly relations based on the principle of peaceful co-existence with all countries of the world and a good-neighbourhood relationship with neighbouring countries, especially with India and China. But we request all the patriotic peoples to remain cautious against the false attempt of the King and the monarchists to create confusion in the patriotic people by projecting the illusory the fake ('Mandale') nationalism to prolong the autocratic and illegitimate rule of the King and to raise question mark over the patriotism of the political parties, and we appeal to the international powers and the communities to support the democratic movement against the autocratic monarchy in Nepal in every possible way.

11.We heartily invite the civil society, professional organizations, various wings of parties, people of all communities and regions, the press community, intellectuals all the Nepali people to make the Movement succeed by actively participating in the peaceful People's Movement launched on the basis of these understandings reached by keeping the democracy, peace, prosperity, forward-looking social transformation and the independence, sovereignty, and dignity of the country in centre.

12.Regarding the inappropriate conducts that took place among the parties in the past, a common commitment has been expressed to investigate the incidents raised objection and asked for the investigation by any party and take action over the guilty one if found and make informed publicly. An understanding has been made to resolve the problems if emerged among the parties now onwards through the dialogue by discussing in the concerned level or in the leadership level.

Nepali Congress Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

Communist Party of Nepal (UML)

Nepali Congress (Democratic)

Janamorcha Nepal

Nepal Peasants and Workers Party

Samyukta Bammorcha

Nepal Sadbhawana Party (Anandidevi)

22 November 2005

[www.peacemaker.un.org](http://www.peacemaker.un.org)

Source: Government of Nepal Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction (Official Websites)

# 

# 

# 

# ANNEX-VI

Kantipur Daily News Details for Contents Analysis

17 November 2005-29 November 2005 (Prior and After 12-Points Understanding)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N. | Date | Political News as Banner News or Top Stories | Political News on Front Pages | Non-Political News on Front Pages | No. of Total news on Front Pages | Political News  on Inner Pages | Political News on Editorial | News Related to Armed Forces | News Related to Peace Process | No. of Total News Stories |
| 01. | 17 | - | 2 | 3 | 5 | 3 | - | 2 | 1 | 17 |
| 02. | 18 | - | 2 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 18 |
| 03. | 19 | - | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | - | 1 | 1 | 19 |
| 04. | 20 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 3 | - | 1 | 2 | 16 |
| 05. | 21 | - | 1 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 6 | - | 19 |
| 06. | 22 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | - | 5 | 1 | 19 |
| 07. | 23 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1(About 12-Points) | 4 | - | 14 |
| 08. | 24 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 4 | - | 2 | 1 | 15 |
| 09. | 25 | - | 2 | 4 | 6 | 4 | - | - | - | 14 |
| 10. | 26 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 5 | - | 4 | - | 15 |
| 11. | 27 | - | 2 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 1 | - | - | 14 |
| 12 | 28 | (Related to Radio | 1 | 3 | 4 | 5 | - | 4 | - | 13 |
| 13 | 29 | - | 1 | 5 | 6 | 3 | About Radio | 3 | - | 15 |
| 14 | 30 | - | 1 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | - | 14 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

5 April, 2006-24 April. 2006 (At People’s Movement II)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N. | Date | Political  News  as  Banner  News and Top Stories | Political News in Front Pages | Number of Non-Political News | Total News on Front Pages | Political News on Inner Pages | Political News on Editorials | News Related to Armed Forces | News Related to Peace Process | Number of Total News Stories |
| 01. | 5 April,  2006 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 12 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 34 |
| 02. | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 12 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 21 |
| 03. | 7 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 5 | - | 4 | 2 | 18 |
| 04. | 8 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 9 | - | 5 | 1 | 19 |
| 05. | 9 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 6 | - | 17 |
| 06. | 10 | 1 | 3 | - | 4 | 7 | 1 | 2 | - | 17 |
| 07. | 11 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 6 | - | 3 | 1 | 14 |
| 08. | 12 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 11 | 1 | 1 | - | 19 |
| 09. | 13 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 5 | - | 2 | - | 14 |
| 10. | 14 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 1 | - | - | 19 |
| 11. | 15 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 13 | - | 1 | - | 21 |
| 12. | 16 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 16 | 1 | - | - | 25 |
| 13. | 17 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 14 | - | 4 | - | 27 |
| 14. | 18 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 16 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 29 |
| 15. | 19 | 1 | 5 | - | 5 | 11 | 1 | 4 | - | 25 |
| 16. | 20 | 1 | 4 | - | 4 | 10 | 1 | 3 | - | 17 |
| 17. | 21 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 8 | - | 2 | - | 18 |
| 18. | 22 | 1 Banner News | 2 | - | 2 | 7 | - | - | - | 15 |
| 19. | 23 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 9 | 1 | - | - | 17 |
| 20. | 24 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 1 | - | - | 18 |
| 21. | 25 (Baisakh 12) | 1 Banner News | 2 | - | 2 | 14 | 1 | - | - | 17 |
| 22. | 26 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 7 | 6 | Special Editorial | - | - | 14 |
| 23. | 27 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 1 | - | - | 15 |
| 24. | 28 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 9 | 1 | - | 3 | 16 |

17 November 2006-30 November 2006 (Prior and after CPA)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N. | | Date | | Political News as Banner News or Top Stories | | Political News on Front Pages | | Non-Political News on Front Pages | | No. of Total news on Front Pages | | Political News  on Inner Pages | | Political News on Editorial | | News Related to Armed Forces | | News Related to Peace Process | | No. of Total News Stories | | |
| 01. | | 17 | | - | | 2 | | 2 | | 4 | | 8 | | - | | 5 | | - | | 18 | | |
| 02. | | 18 | | - | | 7 | | - | | 7 | | 9 | | - | | 4 | | 2 | | 20 | | |
| 03. | | 19 | | - | | 6 | | - | | 6 | | 7 | | 1 | | 7 | | - | | 24 | | |
| 04. | | 20 | | - | | 4 | | 1 | | 5 | | 11 | | 1 | | 5 | | 1 | | 22 | | |
| 05. | | 21 | | Recommendation punish king | | 4 | | 2 | | 6 | | 8 | | 1 | | 4 | | 2 | | 19 | | |
| 06. | | 22 | | End of Armed Conflict | | 1 | | - | | 1 | | 7 | | Special Editorial | | 4 | | 4 | | 23 | | |
| 07. | | 23 | | 1 | | 5 | | - | | 5 | | 7 | | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | | 19 | | |
| 08. | | 24 | | - | | 3 | | 4 | | 7 | | 8 | | - | | 3 | | 4 | | 18 | | |
| 09. | | 25 | | 1 | | 3 | | - | | 3 | | 7 | | - | | 4 | | 1 | | 17 | | |
| 10. | | 26 | | - | | - | | 5 | | 5 | | 7 | | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | | 16 | | |
| 11. | | 27 | | - | | 2 | | 4 | | 6 | | 6 | | - | | 7 | | - | | 18 | | |
| 12 | | 28 | | - | | - | | 3 | | 3 | | 15 | | - | | 5 | | 2 | | 19 | | |
| 13 | | 29 | | 1 | | 3 | | 2 | | 5 | | 7 | | - | | 4 | | - | | 16 | | |
| 14 | | 30 | | - | | 2 | | 3 | | 5 | | 8 | | 1 | | 3 | | 1 | | 18 | | |
| April 5, 2008- April 19, 2008 (Prior and after First Election of Constituent Assembly) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| S.N. | | Date | | Political News as Banner News or Top Stories | | Political News on Front Pages | | Non-Political News on Front Pages | | No. of Total news on Front Pages | | Political News  on Inner Pages | | Political News on Editorial | | News Related to Armed Forces | | News Related to Peace Process | | No. of Total News Stories | | |
| 01. | | 05 | | 1 | | 2 | | 3 | | 5 | | 13 | | - | | 2 | | - | | 17 | | |
| 02. | | 06 | | - | | 2 | | 2 | | 4 | | 10 | | - | | 2 | | - | | 16 | | |
| 03. | | 07 | | 1(  Related to Election) | | 3 | | 1 | | 4 | | 15 | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | 23 | | |
| 04. | | 08 | | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | | 3 | | 12 | | 1 | | 4 | | - | | 19 | | |
| 05. | | 09 | | - | | 2 | | 3 | | 5 | | 6 | | 1 | | - | | - | | 18 | | |
| 06. | | 10 | | 1 (Today Election Day) | | 2 | | 2 | | 2 | | 6 | | Special Editorial | | - | | - | | 14 | | |
| 07. | | 11 | | 1 | | 3 | | - | | 3 | | 16 | | 1 | | 2 | | - | | 23 | | |
| 08. | | 12 | | 1 | | 3 | | - | | 3 | | 8 | | - | | 2 | | 1 | | 15 | | |
| 09. | | 13 | | 1 | | 4 | | 2 | | 6 | | 10 | | 1 | | - | | - | | 17 | | |
| 10. | | 14 | | - | | 4 | | 3 | | 7 | | 10 | | 1 | | 2 | | - | | 15 | | |
| 11. | | 15 | | - | | 4 | | - | | 4 | | 17 | | 1 | | - | | - | | 26 | | |
| 12 | | 16 | | - | | 4 | | - | | 4 | | 10 | | - | | 4 | | - | | 19 | | |
| 13 | | 17 | | 1 | | 4 | | 1 | | 5 | | 8 | | 1 | | 3 | | - | | 19 | | |
| 14 | | 18 | | - | | 3 | | - | | 3 | | 8 | | 1 | | - | | - | | 14 | | |

November 13, 2013- November 28, 2013 (Prior and after Second Election of Constituent Assembly)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N. | Date | Political News as Banner News or Top Stories | Political News on Front Pages | Non-Political News on Front Pages | No. of Total news on Front Pages | Political News  on Inner Pages | Political News on Editorial | News Related to Armed Forces | News Related to Peace Process | No. of Total News Stories |
| 01. | 13 | - | 2 | 1 | 3 | 13 | 1 | - | - | 19 |
| 02. | 14 | - | 1 | 3 | 4 | 9 | - | 4 | - | 18 |
| 03. | 15 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 13 | - | 1 | - | 23 |
| 04. | 16 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 17 | - | 4 | - | 29 |
| 05. | 17 | - | 2 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 1 | - | - | 18 |
| 06. | 18 | - | 3 | - | 3 | 11 | 1 | - | - | 19 |
| 07. | 19 | Election Today | 3 | - | 3 | 14 | Special Editorial | 2 | - | 21 |
| 08. | 20 | Banner News | 1 | - | 1 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 15 |
| 09. | 21 | 1 | 3 | - | 3 | 12 | - | - | - | 18 |
| 10. | 22 | - | 3 | - | 3 | 7 | 1 | 2 | - | 15 |
| 11. | 23 | 1 | 3 | - | 3 | 8 | 1 | - | - | 17 |
| 12 | 24 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | 15 | 1 | 4 | - | 19 |
| 13 | 25 | Banner News | 1 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 3 | - | 14 |
| 14 | 26 | - | 3 | - | 3 | 8 | 1 | - | 1 | 15 |

Naya Patrika Daily News for Contents Analysis

April 14, 2007- May 14, 2007

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N. | Date | Political News as Banner News or Top Stories | Political News on Front Pages | Non-Political News on Front Pages | No. of Total news on Front Pages | Political News  on Inner Pages | Political News on Editorial | News Related to Armed Forces | News Related to Peace Process | No. of Total News Stories |
| 01. | 14 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | 9 | - | 5 | - | 29 |
| 02. | 15 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | 7 | 1 | 5 | - | 32 |
| 03. | 16 | 1 | 3 | - | 3 | 20 | 1 | 6 | - | 29 |
| 04. | 17 |  |  | - |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 05. | 18 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 11 | - | 7 | - | 14 |
| 06. | 19 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | 10 | 1 | 4 |  | 21 |
| 07. | 20 | - |  | - |  |  |  | - | - | - |
| 08. | 21 |  |  | - |  |  | - | - |  | - |
| 09. | 22 |  |  | - |  |  | - | - | - | - |
| 10. | 23 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 1 |  | - | 17 |
| 11. | 24 | - | - | 2 | 2 | 7 | 1 | - | - | 14 |
| 12. | 25 | - | 1 | 1 | 2 | 11 | 1 |  | - | 18 |
| 13. | 26 | - | 1 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 1 |  | - | 16 |
| 14. | 27 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 1 | - | - | 14 |
| 15. | 28 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 13 | - | - | 1 | 21 |
| 16. | 29 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 10 | - | - | 1 | 19 |
| 17. | 30 | - | - | 2 | 2 | 10 | - | - | - | 22 |
| 18. | May1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 8 | - | - | - | 15 |
| 19. | 2 | - | - | 2 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 15 |
| 20. | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 14 |
| 21. | 4 | - | - | 2 | 2 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 16 |
| 22. | 5 | - | - | 2 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 1 | - | 19 |
| 23. | 6 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 7 | 1 | 1 | - | 18 |
| 24. | 7 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | 10 | 1 | 2 | - | 17 |
| 25. | 8 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 11 | - | 2 | - | 21 |
| 26. | 9 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 12 | 1 | 4 | - | 23 |
| 27. | 10 | - | 1 | 1 | 2 | 13 | - | 2 | 1 | 26 |
| 28. | 11 | - | - | 2 | 2 | 11 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 24 |
| 29. | 12 | - | - | 2 | 2 | 10 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 19 |
| 30. | 13 | - | - | 2 | 2 | 8 | - | 2 | - | 17 |

April 5, 2008- April 19, 2008 (Prior and after First Election of Constituent Assembly)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N. | Date | Political News as Banner News or Top Stories | Political News on Front Pages | Non-Political News on Front Pages | No. of Total news on Front Pages | Political News  on Inner Pages | Political News on Editorial | News Related to Armed Forces | News Related to Peace Process | No. of Total News Stories |
| 01. | 05 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 11 | 1 | 1 | - | 19 |
| 02. | 06 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | 10 | 1 | 2 | - | 21 |
| 03. | 07 | 1 | 3 | - | 3 | 20 | 1 | - | - | 29 |
| 04. | 08 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | 15 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 23 |
| 05. | 09 | 1 | 1 | - | 2 | 6 | - | - | - | 14 |
| 06. | 10 | 1 (Today Era ending Day) | 1 | - | 1 | 7 | Special Editorial | 5 | 1 | 13 |
| 07. | 11 | - | 2 | - | 2 | 4 | Special Editorial | - | - | 10 |
| 08. | 12 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | 5 | - | - | 1 | 11 |
| 09. | 13 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 11 | - | - | - | 17 |
| 10. | 14 | 1 | 3 | - | 3 | 9 | 1 | 4 | - | 19 |
| 11. | 15 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | 9 | 1 | - | - | 18 |
| 12 | 16 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | 13 | 1 | 3 | - | 21 |
| 13 | 17 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | 18 | 1 | 3 | - | 29 |
| 14 | 18 | 1 | 2 | - | 2 | 6 | 1 | - | - | 15 |

November 13, 2013- November 28, 2013 (Prior and after Second Election of Constituent Assembly)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N. | Date | Political News as Banner News or Top Stories | Political News on Front Pages | Non-Political News on Front Pages | No. of Total news on Front Pages | Political News  on Inner Pages | Political News on Editorial | News Related to Armed Forces | News Related to Peace Process | No. of Total News Stories |
| 01. | 13 | - | 4 | 1 | 5 | 9 | - | - | - | 17 |
| 02. | 14 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 3 | - | 16 |
| 03. | 15 | - | 3 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 4 | - | 19 |
| 04. | 16 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 10 | - | 2 | - | 21 |
| 05. | 17 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 11 | 1 | - | - | 28 |
| 06. | 18 | - | 4 | 1 | 5 | 7 | 1 | - | - | 19 |
| 07. | 19 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 14 | 1 | 2 | - | 22 |
| 08. | 20 | 1 | 3 | - | 3 | 9 | 1 | 2 | - | 18 |
| 09. | 21 | 1 | 4 | - | 4 | 9 | 1 | - | - | 17 |
| 10. | 22 | - | 5 | - | 5 | 7 | 1 | - | - | 19 |
| 11. | 23 | - | 4 | - | 4 | 10 | - | - | - | 19 |
| 12 | 24 | - | 5 | - | 5 | 11 | 1 | - | - | 21 |
| 13 | 25 | - | 4 | - | - | 9 | 1 | - | - | 18 |
| 14 | 26 | - | 4 | 1 | 5 | 8 | 1 | - | - | 17 |

The Rising Nepal Daily News Details for Contents Analysis

17 November 2005-30 November 2005 (Prior and After 12-Points Understanding)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N. | Date | Political News as Banner News or Top Stories | Political News on Front Pages | Non-Political News on Front Pages | No. of Total news on Front Pages | Political News  on Inner Pages | Political News on Editorial | News Related to Armed Forces | News Related to Peace Process | No. of Total News Stories |
| 01. | 17 | 1 | 4 | 9 | 13 | 3 | 1 | 4 | - | 19 |
| 02. | 18 | - | 3 | 8 | 11 | 6 | - | 5 | - | 28 |
| 03. | 19 | - | 3 | 9 | 12 | 2 | - | 8 | - | 29 |
| 04. | 20 | - | 4 | 8 | 12 | 3 | - | 4 | 2 | 31 |
| 05. | 21 | - | 4 | 9 | 13 | 2 | - | 3 | - | 29 |
| 06. | 22 | - | - | - | 12 | 3 | 1 | 5 |  | 28 |
| 07. | 23 | - | 1 | 11 | 12 | 2 | - | 4 | - | 24 |
| 08. | 24 | - | 3 | 7 | 10 | 4 | - | 4 | 1 | 25 |
| 09. | 25 | - | 2 | 11 | 13 | 5 | 1 | 5 | - | 31 |
| 10. | 26 | - | 3 | 9 | 12 | 5 | - | 6 | - | 33 |
| 11. | 27 | - | 3 | 13 | 16 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 34 |
| 12 | 28 | - | 3 | 10 | 13 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 23 |
| 13 | 29 | - | 3 | 8 | 11 | 3 | - | 4 | 1 | 25 |
| 14 | 30 | - | 4 | 9 | 13 | 4 | - | 5 | - | 24 |

5 April, 2006-28 April. 2006 (At People’s Movement II)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N. | Date | Political  News  as  Banner  News and Top Stories | Political News in Front Pages | Number of Non-Political News | Total News on Front Pages | Political News on Inner Pages | Political News on Editorials | News Related to Armed Forces | News Related to Peace Process | Number of Total News Stories |
| 01. | 5 April,  2006 | - | 5 | 9 | 14 | 5 | 1(About Nepal Police) | 3 | 4 | 26 |
| 02. | 6 | - | 4 | 10 | 14 | 12 | 1 | 9 | - | 29 |
| 03. | 7 | - | 3 | 8 | 11 | 6 | 1 | 7 | - | 28 |
| 04. | 8 | - | 6 | 6 | 12 | 8 | 1 | 8 | - | 31 |
| 05. | 9 | - | 7 | 5 | 12 | 7 | 1 About peace | 6 | 1 | 27 |
| 06. | 10 | - | 5 | 5 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 32 |
| 07. | 11 | - | 5 | 10 | 15 | 7 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 34 |
| 08. | 12 | - | 6 | 8 | 14 | 7 | 1 | 8 | - | 29 |
| 09. | 13 | - | 7 | 5 | 12 | 5 | - | 6 | - | 24 |
| 10. | 14 | - | 6 | 7 | 13 | 8 | 1 | 9 | - | 29 |
| 11. | 15 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 12. | 16 | - | 5 | 6 | 11 | 8 | 1 | 5 | - | 31 |
| 13. | 17 | - | 3 | 10 | 13 | 8 | 1 | 4 | - | 27 |
| 14. | 18 | - | 2 | 11 | 13 | 6 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 33 |
| 15. | 19 | - | 5 | 8 | 13 | 8 | - | 7 | 2 | 35 |
| 16. | 20 | - | 4 | 11 | 15 | 9 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 27 |
| 17. | 21 | - | 4 | 10 | 14 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 28 |
| 18. | 22 | 1 Banner News | 2 | 10 | 12 | 7 | - | 4 | 3 | 25 |
| 19. | 23 | - | 3 | 10 | 13 | 8 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 27 |
| 20. | 24 | - | 3 | 8 | 11 | 6 | - | 7 | 4 | 28 |
| 21. | 25 (Baisakh 12) | 1 Banner News | 4 | 8 | 12 | 14 | - | 5 | 3 | 27 |
| 22. | 26 | - | 5 | 9 | 14 | 10 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 34 |
| 23. | 27 | - | 7 | 6 | 13 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 25 |
| 24. | 28 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 11 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 26 |

15 November 2006- 28 November,2006 (Prior and after CPA)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N. | Date | Political News as Banner News or Top Stories | Political News on Front Pages | Non-Political News on Front Pages | No. of Total news on Front Pages | Political News  on Inner Pages | Political News on Editorial | News Related to Armed Forces | News Related to Peace Process | No. of Total News Stories |
| 01. | 15 | 1 | 6 | 8 | 14 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 21 |
| 02. | 16 | - | 4 | 9 | 13 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 27 |
| 03. | 17 | - | 3 | 10 | 13 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 31 |
| 04. | 18 | - | 3 | 12 | 15 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 32 |
| 05. | 19 | - | 6 | 6 | 12 | 5 | - | 4 | 8 | 28 |
| 06. | 20 | - | 4 | 9 | 13 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 9 | 29 |
| 07. | 21 | - | 2 | 10 | 12 | 2 | - | - | 12 | 31 |
| 08. | 22 | Declare end of conflict | 9 | 2 | 11 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 14 | 33 |
| 09. | 23 | - | 9 | 1 | 10 | 5 | Special Editorial | 5 | 11 | 30 |
| 10. | 24 | - | 4 | 8 | 12 | 6 | - | 6 | 6 | 29 |
| 11. | 25 | - | 5 | 12 | 17 | 7 | - | 4 | 12 | 35 |
| 12 | 26 | - | 7 | 7 | 14 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 28 |
| 13 | 27 | - | 3 | 8 | 13 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 11 | 29 |
| 14 | 28 | - | 5 | 8 | 13 | 7 | - | 5 | 13 | 31 |

April 5, 2008- April 18, 2008 (Prior and after First Election of Constituent Assembly)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N. | Date | Political News as Banner News or Top Stories | Political News on Front Pages | Non-Political News on Front Pages | No. of Total news on Front Pages | Political News  on Inner Pages | Political News on Editorial | News Related to Armed Forces | News Related to Peace Process | No. of Total News Stories |
| 01. | 05 | - | 4 | 5 | 9 | 6 | - | 2 | 1 | 18 |
| 02. | 06 | - | 4 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 16 |
| 03. | 07 | - | 8 | 1 | 9 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 19 |
| 04. | 08 | - | 6 | 3 | 9 | 7 | 1 | 4 | - | 21 |
| 05. | 09 | - | 8 | 1 | 9 | 6 | 1 | 3 | - | 18 |
| 06. | 10 | 1 (HistoricCA Polls Today) | 8 | - | 8 | 6 | - | 2 | 2 | 21 |
| 07. | 11 | 1 | 8 | - | 8 | 6 | 1(Historic Day | 3 | 1 | 23 |
| 08. | 12 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 19 |
| 09. | 13 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 19 |
| 10. | 14 | - | 5 | 4 | 9 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 18 |
| 11. | 15 | - | 6 | 3 | 9 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 21 |
| 12 | 16 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 9 | - | 3 | 1 | 19 |
| 13 | 17 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 10 | 8 | 1 | 3 | - | 22 |
| 14 | 18 | - | 5 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 19 |

November 13, 2013- November 26, 2013 (Prior and after Second Election of Constituent Assembly)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N. | Date | Political News as Banner News or Top Stories | Political News on Front Pages | Non-Political News on Front Pages | No. of Total news on Front Pages | Political News  on Inner Pages | Political News on Editorial | News Related to Armed Forces | News Related to Peace Process | No. of Total News Stories |
| 01. | 13 | - | 4 | 2 | 6 | 11 | 1 | 2 | - | 19 |
| 02. | 14 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 9 | 1 | 3 | - | 17 |
| 03. | 15 | 1 | 5 | - | 5 | 10 | 1 | 1 | - | 18 |
| 04. | 16 | - | 7 | 1 | 8 | 11 | - | 4 | - | 21 |
| 05. | 17 | - | 6 | 1 | 7 | 9 | 1 | -1 | - | 19 |
| 06. | 18 | - | 6 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 2 | - | 18 |
| 07. | 19 | 2nd CA Elections Today | 6 | - | 6 | 11 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 21 |
| 08. | 20 | Polling Ends Peacefully | 5 | - | 5 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 20 |
| 09. | 21 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 11 | 1 | - | - | 18 |
| 10. | 22 | 1 | 6 | - | 6 | 10 | - | - | - | 19 |
| 11. | 23 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 10 | - | - | - | 18 |
| 12 | 24 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 12 | - | - | - | 21 |
| 13 | 25 | - | 5 | 2 | 7 | 9 | 1 | 3 | - | 18 |
| 14 | 26 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 9 | 1 | - | - | 17 |

# ANNEX-VII

**Questionnaires**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| S.N. | Questions | Yes | No | Maybe |
| 01. | Do you frequently read the broadsheet dailies of Nepal? |  |  |  |
| 02. | Do you agree that a primary purpose of media is to inform the public on the issues of importance? |  |  |  |
| 03. | Do you agree that when state behaves as enemy with press world, the media freedom confined within the wishes of the ruler? |  |  |  |
| 04. | If the media do not honestly carry out their duty, the state will establish a monopoly. Do you concur with this assertion? |  |  |  |
| 05. | Do you believe that the media can set the political agendas by covering issues the government does not want to focus on? |  |  |  |
| 06. | Is there editorial independence in Nepali print media? |  |  |  |
| 07. | Editors seem to write for advertisers and politicians, not for their own readers. Do you agree with this assertion? |  |  |  |
| 08. | Do you agree that only the independent media can provide public friendly contents? |  |  |  |
| 09. | Do you think that Nepal's existing daily newspapers uphold the ethical and professional standards of journalism? |  |  |  |
| 10. | Do you agree that ethical media practices lead to informed citizens who are the lifeblood of democracy? |  |  |  |
| 11. | Do you believe that the current Nepali media has deep rooted self interests that erode news values? |  |  |  |
| 13. | Do you think that Nepal's privately owned media's commercial interests degrade the value of news? |  |  |  |
| 15. | Do you think that even significant and prominent news is frequently ignored by Nepali media? |  |  |  |
| 17. | Are the current, privately owned broadsheet dailies in Nepal fair, in your opinion? |  |  |  |
| 18. | Do you believe that countrysides or villages are frequently ignored on the coverage of Nepal's broadsheet dailies? |  |  |  |
| 19. | Do you believe that capital city is emphasised on the front pages of Nepal's broadsheet newspapers? |  |  |  |
| 20. | Do you think that Nepal's media mostly give the downtrodden masses the least coverage? |  |  |  |
| 21. | Do you think that Nepal's media frequently give the ruling class a lot of coverage? |  |  |  |
| 22. | Do you agree that political affiliation may be seen in Nepal's current media? |  |  |  |
| 23. | Do you believe that Nepal's current privately owned broadsheet newspapers are objective while reporting on political issues? |  |  |  |
| 24. | Do you agree that conflict is an inevitable and universal societal phenomenon to bring about societal change? |  |  |  |
| 25. | Do you agree that inequality is the root cause of conflict? |  |  |  |
| 27. | Do you feel that Nepali media during the time of insurgency has presented discriminatory attitude in political reporting? |  |  |  |
| 28. | Do you agree that during the ten-year civil war, biased news has delivered by Nepali media? |  |  |  |
| 29. | Do you believe that mainstream media in Nepal couldn't be impartial towards Maoists because of their long embedded ideological perception about Maoists aim and strategies? |  |  |  |
| 30. | Do you believe that during the conflict, Nepali media has presented unreliable and biased news materials against the rebels? |  |  |  |
| 31. | Did journalists worry that the rebels during the time of civil war would retaliate against journalists for their journalistic actions? |  |  |  |
| 32. | Were journalists compelled to report stories or events even though they were unimportant or unworthy of news during the period of ten year long conflict? |  |  |  |
| 33. | Do you think that unreliable and biased news reports about the government were being disseminated by Nepali media during the conflict? |  |  |  |
| 34. | Did journalists worry that the government during the time of civil war would retaliate against journalists for their journalistic actions? |  |  |  |
| 36. | Is there consistency in delivering the news and views by Nepali broadsheets dailies prior and after 12-points understanding? |  |  |  |
| 37. | Do you agree that media in Nepal after 12-points understanding has created discourse on the issues of political transformation? |  |  |  |
| 38. | Did you observe that broadsheet dailies of Nepal frequently published political news as top stories on their front pages after the period of 12-points understanding? |  |  |  |
| 39. | Do you believe that the Nepali media has paid lots of efforts to mainstream the former rebels seriously? |  |  |  |
| 41. | Whether media in Nepal has played expected role in the situation of conflict and political instability? |  |  |  |
| 42. | Has the media played its part in helping Nepal transition from war to peace? |  |  |  |
| 43. | Did the media frequently present the solution for political crisis during the period of civil war in Nepal? |  |  |  |
| 44. | Do you agree that media should work as agents of political reform and economic development in transitional states? |  |  |  |
| 46. | Do you agree that there was media’s declining impact on general public during the war time? |  |  |  |
| 48. | Do you agree that the Nepali media has played a key role to bring the two warring parties, then the rebels and the government, to the negotiation table? |  |  |  |
| 49. | During the time of the insurgency in Nepal, were media reports consistent in their message that the conflict could be resolved by turning it into peace? |  |  |  |
| 50. | Do you agree that the mainstream media served as a neutral ground on which both parties to a conflict can meet to negotiate? |  |  |  |
| 51. | Did the Nepali broadsheet dailies try to prepare the favourable surroundings for mass movement-II? |  |  |  |
| 52. | Do you agree that media in Nepal influenced ordinary citizens against authoritarian regime who were not part of any political organisations? |  |  |  |
| 53. | Do you believe that village news had predominated over urban news during the ten-year conflict in Nepal? |  |  |  |
| 54. | Do you believe that throughout the civil conflict, Nepal's broadsheet dailies frequently published dubious and doubtful information? |  |  |  |
| 55. | The problems then brought on by Maoists were almost political rather than merely technical. Do you agree with this assertion? |  |  |  |
| 56. | The government representatives and political leaders of mainstream political parties did not recognize that the problems then brought on by Maoists were almost political rather than merely technical. Do you agree with this assertion? |  |  |  |
| 57. | Do you agree that the government officials and political leaders of establishment parties had offered merely technical solutions to solve the problems that were political, economic, social and cultural in nature? |  |  |  |
| 59. | Did the media outlets take special care while reporting news and opinions so that the nation's already unstable condition wouldn't get worse as a result of their coverage? |  |  |  |
| 60. | Are you in agreement that media and civil society motivate public for involvement in political life? |  |  |  |
| 61. | Do you agree that media and civil society are the promoter for political and social movement? |  |  |  |
| 62. | Do you agree that independent media outlets and civil society associations are interdependent and sometimes even overlap? |  |  |  |
| 63. | Do you agree that civil society should blow whistle when the government behaves irresponsibly or in a repressive manner? |  |  |  |
| 64. | Do you believe that Nepali media throughout the civil war contributed to and interacted with social groups and political oppositions, laying the framework for mass mobilization in the sphere of civil society? |  |  |  |
| 65. | Do you agree that civil society and the media are the pressure groups to warn the authorities for good deeds? |  |  |  |
| 66. | Do you agree that civil society and the media are self-regulating non-profitable organizations which work as a counterbalance to the state’s power? |  |  |  |
| 67. | Do you agree that Nepali media contributed to build the base for mass movement? |  |  |  |
| 68. | Do you agree that in many occasions in Nepal, media and civil society were far ahead than political parties in creating the political movement? |  |  |  |
| 69. | Do you agree that the latest political transformation in Nepal is the production of Maoist’s people’s war and peaceful movement 2006? |  |  |  |
| 70. | To reveal the wrongdoings and misuse of authority by public servants, the media must play an objective and independent role. Do you agree with this statement? |  |  |  |
| 71. | The government is interested mainly in political feedback from media which is much more a matter for the intelligence set-up than the information set-up. Do you agree with this statement? |  |  |  |
| 72. | Do you agree that the mainstream media provides a public forum where the average person can share their concerns and be heard? |  |  |  |
| 73. | Do you agree that the Nepali media are fair to all political parties while covering their news and views? |  |  |  |
| 74. | Do you agree that broadsheet dailies in Nepal present the news materials that are responsible for society? |  |  |  |
| 75. | Do you believe that the Nepali media has changed from being mission-driven for political change to becoming a business that makes money from selling audiences to advertisers? |  |  |  |
| 76. | Do you agree that broadsheets dailies in Nepal now are not mission oriented? |  |  |  |
| 77. | Do you agree that Nepal's broadsheet newspapers foster discussion on pressing societal issues? |  |  |  |
| 78. | Do you agree that contents on the banner news and top stories of broadsheet dailies during the time of domestic conflict in Nepal are politics centric? |  |  |  |
| 79. | Do you agree that there is a significant role for the media in influencing political transformation? |  |  |  |
| 80. | An informed populace participates in decision-making and holds the government responsible. These citizens also hasten the process of political transformation. Do you agree with this assertion? |  |  |  |
| 81. | The idea of militarily crushing the insurrection was a grave error; if not, the rebellion might have been put down in a matter of years rather than a protracted decade. Are you in agreement with this assertion? |  |  |  |
| 83. | Was there satisfactory role of media practitioners and political leaders to consolidate and strengthen the Nepali peace process? |  |  |  |
| 84. | Millions of people have no alternative source of information except media so that the media must be sensitive to the public and answerable to them. Do you agree with this assertion? |  |  |  |
| 85. | Do you concur that it is essential for media to be attentive to society and answerable for their actions? |  |  |  |
| 86. | Do you think that if the media do not provide the general public with truthful, accurate, and factual news about the government, individuals may lose the ability to hold the government accountable for its wrongdoings? |  |  |  |
| 87. | Only if citizens have continuous access to information to update their awareness of current concerns does their role in the decision-making process become meaningful. Are you in agreement with this assertion? |  |  |  |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 12. | Whose interests are the primary priorities in the Nepali media currently in existence? | General Public | Government | Media Owners | Outsiders | Advertisers |  |  |  |  |
| 14. | What basis do Media activists have to withstand pressure from the media owners, advertisers, the government, or outsiders? | Credibility | Accuracy | Balance | Judicial Backing | All of the above |  |  |  |  |
| 16. | What could be the reasons if important and noteworthy news is ignored in Nepali media? | Lack of Professional skill | Outsiders Interference | Commercial Interests | Owner’s control | Government’s Interference |  |  |  |  |
| 26. | What were the causes of conflict in mid 1990's in Nepal? | Unequal distribution of resources | Caste-based discrimination | Regional discrimination | Gender discrimination | Class discrimination | All of the above |  |  |  |
| 35. | What were the contents dominated in media since 12-points understanding in Nepal? | Politically Dominated Contents | Dominated by war news | News dominated by Outsiders’ Interests | All of the above |  |  |  |  |  |
| 40. | How do you evaluate the circumstance of newspapers in Nepal during the period of decade long insurgency? | Politically Influenced | Dominated by the state machinery | Independent | Feared with rebels and government armed forces | All of the above |  |  |  |  |
| 45. | During Nepal's conflict, what ruled and shaped the nation's privately held broadsheet newspapers? | Political interests of rebels and Political parties | Political Interests of Government | Commercial Interests of Business Groups | Interests of outsiders | All of the above |  |  |  |  |
| 47. | What could be the primary reason for the media's declining impact on the general public? | Political allegiance | Unverified and Bias Information | Lack of quality in contents | Owner’s control | All of the above |  |  |  |  |
| 58. | Why did then governments in Nepal fail to address the public grievances? | Because of Impunity | Because of lack of intra and inter party consensus on the major issues of reform | Because of centralization of administration | Because of lack of will power of politicians for radical reform | All of the above |  |  |  |  |
| 82. | What the degree of connectivity established by the media between the political leaders and general public? | Very effective | Effective | Not effective | Cannot say |  |  |  |  |  |
| 88. | How crucial is the link between media professionals and political activists for political change? | Most Crucial | Crucial | Least crucial | Not at all |  |  |  |  |  |
| 89. | What was the prominent reason for the Maoists' electoral victory in Constituent Assembly-I? | Due to transformational agendas of Maoists | Credit for struggle and sacrifice | Vote for change | Vote for peace and stability | Due to violence and intimidation from Maoists side | Due to incompetency of competing parties | All of the above |  |  |
| 90. | What was the prominent reason for electoral defeat of Maoists in Constituent Assembly-II? | Incompetency in service delivery while leading in government | People’s perception of similarity with establishment parties | Due to the multiple division of party itself | People’s disagreement on ethnic and identity politics raised by Maoists | Punishment to secularism whose Pioneer were Maoists | Punishment of difference in Maoists doing and saying | Nomination of tourists candidates in large number by the Maoists | Outsiders open interference against Maoists | All of the above |