

**PRINT MEDIA AND PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT 2006
IN NEPAL**

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in
Journalism and Mass Communication

Submitted by:

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

This is to certify that Mr. Deb Raj Aryal has completed the doctoral dissertation entitled **Print Media and People's Movement 2006 in Nepal** under our guidance and supervision. The researcher has fulfilled all the requirements as prescribed by the Research Committee, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University. The doctoral research which Mr. Aryal accomplished is his original contribution. We hereby recommend this dissertation for final evaluation to the Research Committee of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, in the fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Journalism and Mass Communication.**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is an original report of my research, has been written by me, and has not been submitted for any previous degree. Wherever contributions of others are involved, every effort is made to indicate this clearly, with due reference to the literature and acknowledgment of collaborative research and discussions. The work has been done under the guidance of Dr. Tika Ram Gautam, Associate Professor and Co-supervisor Dr. Samiksha Koirala.

Deb Raj Aryal

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

A. D.	: Anno Domini
ASNE	: American Society of News-Papers Editors
B. C.	: Before Christ
B. S.	: Bikram Shambat
CPJ	: Committee of concerned Journalist
CPN (M)	: Nepal Communist Party (Maoist)
CPN (UML)	: Nepal Communist Party (United Marxist Leninist)
CPO	: Creation of Public Opinion
EC	: Election Commission
FGD	: Focused Group Discussion
FNJ	: Federation of Nepali Journalist
FOHSS	: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
GoN.	: Government of Nepal
HUB	: Hiebert, Ungurait& Bohn
KII	: Key Informant Interview
MCC	: Millennium Challenge Corporation
MoCIT	: Ministry of Communication and Information Technology
NC	: Nepali Congress
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organization
NMKP	: Nepal Majadur Kisan Party
NSP	: Nepal Sadabhawana Party
PC	: Press Council
PCN	: Press Council Nepal
PM	: People's Movement 2006

PM, 2006	: People's Movement 2006
PSC	: Public Service Commission
RJM	: Rastriya Jana Morcha
RPO	: Reflection of Public Opinion, The
SMCR.	: Sender, Message, Channel, Receiver
SPSS	: Statical Package for the Social Sciences
TAPD	: The Annapurna Post Daily
TGP	: The Gorkha Patra Daily
TKD	: The Kantipur Daily
TNSP	: The Nepal Samachar Patra
TRD	: The Rajdhani Daily
UK	: United Kingdom
UNESCO	: United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	: United State of America
UK	: United Kingdom

ABSTRACT

The present study focuses on the role played by media on political change in Nepal. Various political changes have noticed in modern Nepali political history since the unification of Nepal. Significant political changes took place in A. D. 1951, 1960, 1990, and 2006. Out of these political changes, the role played by the media during that period has been analyzed, focusing on the people's movement 2006. This research has been conducted on the questions of what role was played by Nepali media during people's movement, how they presented the themes, what was the reason for playing such a role, and whether the role played by the media contributed to political change or not.

The main objectives of the study are to examine the role of media on political changes in the context of Nepal. This study also analyzes the media's role during the political movement in Nepal as the major actors in the political deviations. Media could contribute to a favorable environment for driving the political movement through conveying the political message. The research focuses on the media's effect on politics. The study explores the situation of the people's movement in 2006 on the prospects of media angle with appropriate research design. Content analysis, survey, and key informant interview methods have been adopted to find solutions to the questions raised in the research and to achieve the set objectives. The present study is based on the quantitative method; however, the qualitative method has also been adopted to support it.

A political change has not been recognized only in the context of change in the ruling government. There are real political transformations in the political system and procedures in Nepal. Only after the beginning of publications like newspapers and magazines the modern mass media occupied the roles in the political changes in

Nepal. Media has played an important role in making the people's revolution of 1951, the people's movement of 1991, and the people's movement of 2006 successful. While examining the role of media in political change, the aspects of media's effect become important.

According to the theory of social responsibility, the media is an organization that should be fair, neutral, impartial, and balanced. However, when the People's Movement 2006 was going on, Nepali media appeared somewhat positive towards the movement. The Federation of Nepali Journalists made a formal decision and determined the agenda for the movement to ensure democracy. After that, major newspapers, radios, and televisions also followed the agenda of democracy and started content making, publishing, and broadcasting in favor of the movement. Due to the agenda prepared by the media and the framing of it, public opinion was formed in favor of the movement. As a result, the movement was successful, and the then monarchical system was abolished, and democracy was established. In this sense, political change was possible due to the role played by the media in the context of Nepal. The facts, evidence, and details obtained from content analysis, surveys, and in-depth interviews with experts have confirmed that the role of media in Nepal's political change was significant.

During the People's Movement, Nepal's major broadsheet daily newspapers discussed three main agendas: the establishment of peace, the ceremonial aspects of monarchy, and the full-fledged democracy. The concept of full-fledged democracy involved a forward-looking restructuring of the state to resolve the problems related to all sectors, including class, caste, gender, region, political, economic, social, and cultural, by bringing the autocratic monarchy to an end and establishing full democracy.

The majority of the 641 news articles examined, which were published in the dailies Kantipur, Annapurna Post, Samachar Patra, and Rajdhani, were found to be favorable to the movement. A survey of Nepali media revealed that most of their tones and contents favored the People's Movement. According to 80 percent of respondents, the media was the primary source of information about people's movements. The social media had minimal impact at that time.

The purpose of the media is to educate and provide facts to the public. The relationship between politics and the media also plays a role in holding politics accountable because it is the duty of the media to inform people through information. Politics, on the other hand, determines the necessary environment for the media. This study reveals that there is a theoretical as well as empirical link between politics and the media.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Regime change is related to the political system. It is also known as political change. With such a change, the existing political ideology is transformed, and another political ideology is established. Therefore, the change of regime is not only a change of government but also a change of the entire political system. According to Ward (2016), regime change is a complete change of replacement of government, especially one brought to another by force. The two broad categories of regimes that appear in most literatures are democratic and autocratic. However, autocratic regimes can break down into a subset of many different types: dictatorial, totalitarian, absolutist, monarchic, oligarchic, etc.

There have clearly been different political changes in modern Nepali political history since the unification of Nepal under the successful leadership of the then great King Prithivi Narayan Shah. During ancient times, Nepal was ruled by different dynasties, such as, the Gopal dynasty, the Mahishpal dynasty, the Kirat dynasty, and the Lichchhabhi dynasty. Later on, the Malla dynasty ruled Nepal, then after, Baise and Chaubise Rajyas along with the Kathmandu Valley. Before the unification, Nepal was not in an integrated form; rather, it was in the form of separate and divided states. According to Nepali political history, Nepal's unified recognition was not established until the Malla era (Acharya, 1997).

In ancient time, Nepal was not in a unified form as it is now. The journey to unification of Nepal was initiated by King Prithivi Narayan Shah since 1743 AD. The modern history of Nepal has said to have started after the victory over the Kathmandu in 1768 by King Prithivi Narayan Shah (Pandey, 1999). Only then the structure and

identity of the whole integrated Nepal came into existence. In fact, after the formation of a unified Nepal, various changes have been observed in Nepali politics over time.

1. 1. 1. Political Change in Nepal

Political change is meant to refer to a change that has taken place in the political system. It also indicates the changes that come in certain types of political systems. A political change does not only mean changes in the ruling government but significant transformation in the political system and procedures. Nepal has practiced mainly three political systems: the monarchy, an autocratic political system, and a republican democratic political system.

After 1768, the political system of Nepal changed repeatedly with different political movements and events. Since 1768, the monarchy has continued in modern Nepal for two hundred-forty years. The absolute power of the monarchy was snatched by the Ranas in 1846, and they officially practiced the autocratic political system, which lasted for one hundred-four years till 1951 (Pandey, 1999).

On 18 February 1951, democracy was introduced in Nepal for the first time. So, 18th February has been regarded as Democracy Day. After the establishment of a democratic government in 1958, there were series of conflicts between the king and political parties about political existence. Suddenly, King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shahdev revoked the multiparty democratic system in 1960, and the absolute monarchy system (Panchayat system) was introduced. This autocratic system has been called the party-less Panchayat system, which ruled the country for thirty years under the absolute power of the king (Dulal, 2009).

After the introduction of Panchayat system, all the political parties were banned, many leaders of the political parties, especially the communist party and the Nepali Congress party, were jailed, and some were forced to live in exile. However,

leaders from banned political parties remained active underground and encouraged people to fight against the party-less Panchayat system. As a result, a forceful people's movement against the Panchayat System in 1990 gained victory over the autocratic Panchayat system and achieved success in restoring democracy and a multiparty democratic system (Ministry of Communication and Information, 2019).

In 2001, parliament was dissolved, but the general election could not be held on time. Then, the direct rule of the King began, which lasted until 2006. However, in 2006, a significant political change occurred through the people's revolution. By then, the monarchy was completely ousted, and the Multiparty Democratic Political System was set up (Thapa, 2005). Since 2006, the political parties regained political power, and few parties have been the mainstream political power.

There are different types of actors playing their roles in the political change of any country. Such actors include political parties, ruling elites, social institutions and organizations, media, the international community, professional wings, the academic community, and international organizations. All these groups have effect on the process of political changes. Although different actors and agents play an important role in any political change, the most important driving forces for the movement are political parties. Nepal is not an exception in this regard. The media have also played important roles in causing political changes in Nepal, but they had no such special role during the Shah Dynasty and Rana regime because the media had not developed during that period.

According to Devkota (1968), till 1893, there has been no strong foundation, function, and exercise of mass media in Nepal. In fact, the trend of newspaper publishing was introduced only after 1898. The *Sudhasagar* was published as the first magazine of Nepal in 1898. But the *Sudhasagar* was only a literature-based magazine.

The *Gorkhapatra* was launched in 1901. It was the first news-based newspaper (Devkota, 1968). The *Sudhasagar* and the *Gorkhapatra* both were print media. In the context of mass communication, print media is also known as modern mass media. However, the media started showing its role in the political changes that took place only after 1901 (Pandey, 1999).

1. 1. 2. Defining Mass Media

Mass media means all the media, not only print media. Mass media is also the medium of the overall mass media process. According to Joseph Turow (2020), "the media is part of a technological system that helps with the transmission, distribution, or reception of messages. " While having a general analysis, the media is like a medium of equipment and technology. However, the media is not only this much but rather it is a complete institution. Mass media refers to the technological vehicles through which mass communication takes place (Turow, 2020).

Wimmer & Dominick (2011) have defined media by connecting its institutional features. According to this definition, the term "form" refers to any form of communication that simultaneously reaches many people, including but not limited to radio, television, newspapers, magazines, billboards, films, recordings, books, and the Internet. Newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and internet-based media are the more effective and influential media (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). These media are also known as the mainstream media in the context of modern age.

McLuhan (1964) referred to the printing press as the first mass production thing. The print media pattern flourished in the pre-internet era, when instant access using smartphones and online news aggregates, was not within the reach of the ordinary person. The earliest known product in the print media is a newsheet, the

Acta Diurna which was circulated in Ancient Rome before 59 B. C. (Baran and Davis, 2012).

The *Acta Diurna* contained significant everyday occasions, such as public talks, which were distributed day to day. A court circular known as a "bao, " or report, was issued by government officials in China during the Tang Dynasty. Johannes Gutenberg, a German goldsmith, invented the printing press around the year 1450. Gutenberg distributed the Christian Book of Scriptures in 1455, and it is among the earliest printed books in Europe (Turow, 2020).

Newspaper is a form of print media that printed products created on a regular (weekly or daily) basis and released in multiple copies. Newspapers are the first media in the context of journalism. Newspapers did not exist before Johannes Gutenberg invented the printing press in the mid-1400s. While Gutenberg's printing press made it possible for newspapers to be produced, having the technical means to do so did not immediately result in an expansion of newspaper publishing.

In the world, newspapers developed like the modern mass media in the 1600s. The World Association of Newspapers considers the first newspaper to be *The Relation*, published in Germany in 1609 A.D. It was published weekly, disseminated to the public, and covered a range of news, from politics to entertainment (Turow, 2020).

The *Oxford Gazette* was the first English paper, published in 1665 A.D. The next year, it moved to London and was renamed *The London Gazette*. It has continued to be published until today as the official publication of government news. The first successful newspaper in America was the *Boston Newsletter*, published in 1702 A.D. J. A. Hisky started an English newspaper named *Bengal Gazette* in Kolkata, India, in

1780 A.D. In the nineteenth century, newspaper publications spread globally (Vilaniyam, 2013).

Radio transmission kicked off in 1920 A.D. After the establishment of KDKA in the United States of America, television was launched in the late 1930s. A new medium (internet-based media) was commenced only after the 1970s (Turow, 2020).

But in Nepal, modern mass media like magazines, newspapers, radios, televisions, and the Internet, developed comparatively late. The printing press was developed in the world in 1445 A.D. The first printing press in Nepal was established in 1851 A.D., 400 years after the development of the printing press in the world. Prime Minister Jung Bahadur Rana brought a printing machine to Nepal while returning from the United Kingdom. Now, it is known as *The Giddhe Press* (Devkota, 1968).

Even a long time after the entry of the printing press in Nepal, many magazines and newspapers were not yet brought out. About fifty years later, *The Sudhasagar* was published in 1898 as the first magazine. Immediately after that, *The Gorkhapatra* was published as a news-based magazine in 1901. In the history of Nepali journalism, *The Gorkhapatra* is known as the first newspaper (Basnet, 2007). Hence, modern media flourished in Nepal only after the publication of the *The Gorkhapatra*. Only after the beginning of the publication of magazines and newspapers as the modern mass media, the media started to occupy roles in the political changes in Nepal. Then after, the roles of Nepali media become influential and effective.

According to the Ministry of Communications Information Technology of Nepal (2007), the number of newspapers registered in Nepal by 2006 was 2253. Among them, 643 were regularly published. The number of newspapers published daily was almost 150 over the country (Press Council Nepal, 2006). But broadsheet

daily those published from Kathmandu valley was only ten in 2006. Among them, major five broadsheet daily newspapers published regularly since 2006 have been selected in present study.

1. 1. 3. Media and Politics

Media and politics have a very close relationship to each other. This is the medium of production, distribution, and exhibition of information and messages. It can give easy access to information, ideas, thoughts, and messages to the mass of society. Such a role is necessary for politics. Here, for the media, politics can be a reliable source of information, thoughts, and perspectives. The media has a very close tie with politics. The media have, therefore, played a remarkable role in making any kind of politics successful (McQuail, 2013).

During the 1930s, Hitler excessively used the media in the Nazi propaganda war. This is a clear example of the establishment of the Institute of Propaganda Research by America to influence public opinion and face the propaganda war conducted by Hitler (Martin, 2020).

Similarly, the media played a significant role in forming public support for freedom during the independence movement in India (Vilani, 2013). In the context of Nepal, the media played an important role in the eruption of the People's Revolution against Rana regime in 1950 (2007 B. S.). The media played a crucial role in accelerating People's Movement against the Panchayat system in 1990 (2046 B. S.) and in making the political change of 2006 (2063 B.S.) successful (Basnet, 2007).

According to Basnet (2007), the political phenomena of different periods have directly affected Nepali media and journalism, and vice versa, i. e., political activities are influenced through journalism. Basnet (2007, p. 74) writes, "In every political incident, mass media has been found to be involved and play an active role in the

dissemination of political information and messages. In particular, the Nepali media and journalism sector has always stood as an eyewitness during the moments of recent political change".

While noting the role of the media in political change, the aspects of the media's effect have become important. Obviously, there has been immense influence of the media in the political sector. Moreover, there have been adequate influences of the media in social, economic, and cultural arena as well. The level of influence is determined in terms of the characteristics of society. In a particular society, there will be more influences of the media, whereas, in other societies, it is found to be very minimal. Political, social, economic, and cultural sectors have been found to influence the media's activities and their roles (Saeed, 2013).

The media's roles appear in two different ways in any society. One is the reflection of public opinion (RPO), and the next is the creation of public opinion (CPO). The media reflects various voices, feelings, perspectives, and ambitions that exist in society (Gurevitch et al. 1982). Reflection means reality of public and opinion means voice of public of the society.

According to Muratova and Nozima (2019:128), the media reflects representative-based concepts by collecting the common sentiments of the people in society. Similarly, it keeps its eyes on the events taking place in society and disseminates the aspects of them. It is known as a reflection of public opinion. Likewise, in the second role, the media tries to create public opinion by presenting subject matters, viewpoints, agendas, and concepts on the issues.

The creation of public opinion is really a complex task. For this, the media adopts a special type of process. The media sets an agenda to decide the issues for prioritizing as per the value of content. It causes opinion creation among the people

by selecting the major issues after dramatically publicizing the issues determined in this way. In fact, the process of creating such public opinion is a theory of agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw, 2072).

The core idea of agenda setting is that the news media indicates the public issues of the day, and this is reflected in what the public perceives as the main issues. In the context of Nepal, the agenda-setting theory has been playing in the media for the creation of public opinion. The agenda-setting theory was propounded by McCombs & Maxwell E in 1972. According to Cohen (1963), "The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (p. 13).

The media's ability to reflect and shape public opinion stems from the functions it performs. 'While doing analysis through functional perspectives, the fundamental tasks of the media are education, interpretation, surveillance, and transmission of values and persuasion to the public' (McQuail, 2013). People receive information about factual incidents through the media. 'The knowledge of the main subjects, opportunities for extra clarity on the subjects, and similar motivation for any action have been acquired from the media' (Chalaune, 2021).

A change comes in the thoughts, concepts, viewpoints, and behaviors of people. Such change does not only come in social behaviors but also in political, economic, and cultural behaviors (Winkler, 2023). This study investigates how the media affects people's political notions and opinions and attempts to examine how the media affects on political change.

Meaningful political changes took place in Nepal in 1846 AD, 1951 A.D., 1960 A, D., 1990 A.D., and 2006 A.D. However, the role of the media was not noticed in the political change in 1846 A.D. By then, there was no active media like

that of media developing and working in Nepal. The influence of the media had very little to do with the political change in 1951 A.D. From 1846 A.D. to 1951 A.D., the total number of media in Nepal was just twelve. In 1960 A.D., King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shahdev started the Panchayat System forcefully by announcing that his sovereign rights were centralized. In that political incident, the actual role of the media did not appear, though Nepali media had already developed at that time (Ghimire, 2013).

From 1951 to 1960, however, various publications were established, including 147 daily, weekly, fortnightly, and monthly magazines and newspapers (Press Commission, 2015). Similarly in 1951, Radio Nepal was established and began transmitting (Basnet, 2007). After the political incident of 1960, two groups appeared in the Nepali media and journalism. One group of magazines and newspapers started to advocate the Panchayat system, whereas another group started to disseminate thoughts, creating public opinion in favor of democracy.

By the time of political change in 1990, publications of magazines and newspapers had increased in number. According to the Press Council report (1992), the total number of newspapers and magazines reached one thousand five hundred. *Nepal Television* was established as the first television in the nation. Since then, *Radio Nepal* and *Nepal Television* have been established under the ownership of the government. The *Gorkhapatra* has been published daily since 28 February 1961, and the *National News Agency* was set up as the first news agency on 18 Feb 1961. These media were government media (Acharya, 2018).

Undoubtedly, in the political change of 1990, all the media did not play equal role. Of course, the media played an important role in disseminating thoughts to make the People's Revolution successful. Magazines and newspapers played the role of

mission journalism to create public opinion in favor of democracy. By then, the media had foregrounded the agendas of major political parties, the Nepali Congress and the United Leftist Front.

In 2001, under the condition of a dissolved parliament and the absence of a general election, King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shahdev took over the government by centralizing all the executive power within him. The direct rule of the king started in the nation. As a result, all political parties went to the streets to protest. It turned into the form of the People's Movement with the aim of ousting the monarchy and introducing the People's Democratic Republic system.

In this process, the Nepali media openly supported the pro-people's democratic republican movement. During this period, the number of media continued to increase. By 2006, the number of Nepali newspapers was around two thousand. The numbers of radios and televisions were 56 and 5 respectively (Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, 2007).

1. 1. 4. Principle of Media and Journalism

The media is an important institution in society. It influences society through the revelation of socially relevant issues, information, and thoughts. All the fields, resources, production, and distribution of the media reflect society and its members (Rijal, 2014). Just like “By the people, for the people to the people” for democracy. Society is the origin of the media, and society is its destination, too. Therefore, a creative and constructive role has been expected by society from the media. That is why the media has made definite types of principles, standards, and codes of conduct to make itself responsible towards society. Discourse is going on globally on “How the media should be.”

However, according to principles, there must be ABA (Accuracy, Balance, Credibility) in the media. In this regard, various media experts have similar concepts. To create awareness, prosperity, and a civilized society, the media should be factual, true, balanced, and credible (Torbert, 2021). In this context, the principles observed by the media were mentioned in the title of the American Society of News-Papers Editors (ASNE, 1922) 'Canons of Journalism'. According to ASNE on Canons of Journalism- Responsibility, Freedom of the press, Independence, Truth, Accuracy, Impartiality, Fair Play, Honesty, and Decency are the fundamental principles for the media and journalists.

In 1947, it was suggested that the media should be responsible for society. The concept of the Hutchins Commission report is close to social responsibility. According to it, the role of the media follows the social responsibility theory that allows a free press without any censorship. But at the same time, the content of the press should be discussed in public panels, and the media should accept any obligation from public interference, professional self-regulation, or both (Schramm, Peterson, & Sibert, 1956).

The Committee of Concerned Journalists (CPJ) has also set up standards on how the media should be. It has emphasized truth, loyalty towards people, verification, neutrality, fair play, the public sphere, and other issues, including the necessity of taking up the context of the news as the rights and responsibilities of the people.

Indeed, the media is a dynamic institution of society, which stand little different from other institutions. In terms of principles, the media should be fairer than any other profession. The main justice of it is impartiality. In conclusion, in

terms of principles, the media is accuracy, balance, credibility, decency, ethics, fair play, and responsibility.

Mass expectations about the role of media will always remain the same as mentioned above. The perception of ordinary people also supports impartial media. The media should not support any special individual, political party, or system. But in practice, there may not always prevail such conditions regarding press freedom; the role of media is biased towards itself. According to Ahuja (2000), the media's role goes to favor democratic system regarding the matter of establishment, protection, and promotion of press freedom.

The media advocates its interests regarding rights to speech and expression, rights to communication, rights to publication, rights to broadcast, and rights to information. The media supports a political system that guarantees rights. It was felt that the professional responsibility of the media had deviated (McQuail, 2016). Due to a special kind of compulsion, sometimes the media plays such a role. However, the working field of the media is to search and produce information and thoughts and disseminate them.

For these, the rights to speech and expression, rights to communication, rights to publication, rights to broadcast, and rights to information are necessary. In practice the media's existence continues only in the political system, which guarantees the free consumption of political rights. In the absence of these rights, various kinds of obstructions occur while running the media, such as producing, distributing, and exhibiting services. Regarding one's own professional security, sometimes the media takes the course of Mission Journalism. In such conditions, the media's role appears in political change (Dahal, 2002).

Press freedom is a right connected with human rights. This is the issue of political rights, too. Press freedom is above the rest of all kinds of freedom. Therefore, John Milton remarks, “Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberty” (Milton, 1644:36). Likewise, keeping the press in the most elevated inclination in the American Constitution, it is simply referenced that no legislators can endorse any regulation that appears to reduce press opportunity.

According to the First Amendment (1791) of the American Constitution- 'Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances' (The First Amendment, 1791:11). The First Amendment's statement “Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech or of the press” seems to rule out any type of government interference in journalistic organizations and even in media that present content other than news. The country's founders were determined that in the new nation, no one would need the government's permission to communicate ideas to a wide public (Turow, 2020).

Similarly, in Article 19. 1 of the Constitution of India 1949, press freedom is ensured under the right to speech and expression. According to this, freedom of expression is defined as the issues expressing anyone's beliefs or support, to print orally or in written form or request, receive and give thoughts and information through audio-visual aids like radio, television, etc. (The Constitution of India, 1948).

As the importance of the rights of the press is globally accepted, it sounds very natural to see the media itself respecting press rights. Many efforts have been made to establish press rights at the international level. The best examples are the Magna Carta

and the Virginia Bills of Rights to *Areopagitica*. There have been struggles to develop press rights institutionally and extend them across the globe. In such a process, the media is found to be directly involved. However, in such times, the media's professional role may be in a dilemma. According to the principles, the media's role does not remain neutral and impartial, but it appears like lobbying.

1. 1. 5. Context of Media's Role in People's Movement in 2006

In the context of Nepal, the media's role seemed biased during political movements that took place at different times, especially the movements in 1951, 1990, and 2006. The Nepali media have been found standing in favor of these movements. The Nepali media did not give equal support to the then-ruling government and the power involved in the movement. There has not been a noticeable balance between media coverage, placement, space, tone, and style. The Nepali media presented itself as a supporter of protesting political parties. This study examines the role played by the Nepali media in the People's Movement of 2006.

After the end of the family line of King Birendra Bir Bikram Shahdev in an unimaginable incident that occurred in the *Narayanhiti* Royal Palace on June 1, 2001 (19 Jeth, 2058 BS.), Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shahdev became the King. The government, under the premiership of Sher Bahadur Deuba, declared the Maoists terrorists on November 26, 2001 (11 Mangsir, 2058) and imposed a state emergency for six months, till May 24, 2002 (10 Jeth, 2059).

On the recommendation of the Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba, on May 22, 2002 (8 Jeth, 2059), the King, as provisioned in the then constitution, announced the dissolution of the House of Representatives and the holding of mid-term election for November 13, 2002 (27 Kartik, 2059). On October 4, 2002 (18 Asoj, 2059), King Gyanendra disposed of Deuba, alleging him 'Incompetent' for not being able to hold

the election on the stipulated date. Suspending the election scheduled for November 13 (Kartik 27), the King took over the executive power until the next arrangement and announced that the new government would be formed within five days (Department of Information, GoN, 2021).

After the failure of three rounds of negotiations that took place in 2001 (8 Shrawan, 26 Bhadra, 28 Kartik, 2058 B. S.) respectively, the Maoist who went underground, initiating the people's war from January 15, 1996 (1 Falgun, 2052 B.S.), The Maoist attacks in Dang and Syaanja on Nov 23, 2001 (8 Mangsir, 2058) caused the security situation to become more complex. The state of emergency was declared throughout the country on Nov 26, 2001 (11 Mangsir, 2058 B.S.). When the Maoists declared an immediate cease-fire and the government withdrew its previous decisions like declaring the CPN (Maoist) terrorist and issuing a red corner notice for their arrest, the Nepali politics took a new turn.

After Oct 4, 2002 (18 Asoj, 2059 B.S.), King Gyanendra began the rule at his will by making Lokendra Bahadur Chand the Prime Minister at one time and Surya Bahadur Thapa at another time. Labeling this a Royal regression, five political parties, the Nepali Congress and CPN (UML), started their protest to create pressure. On (18 Asar), King Gyaanendra, with a Royal decree to hold the election of the House of Representatives at the end of April 13, 2005 (Chaitra, 2061), re-appointed Sher Bahadur as the Prime Minister. The government was kicked out on Feb 1, 2005 (19 Magh, 2061), and the direct rule of King Gyanendra began. After Feb 1, 2005, an alliance the of seven parties by the Nepali Congress (Democratic) and United Leftist Front was formed against the Royal rule. The Alliance in April 2005 (Baishakh, 2062) made public its common understanding and commitment that they agree to reach out to the constituent assembly to give a political outlet to the armed revolt of CPN

(Maoist) through the path of reinstating the House of Representatives. After King Gyanendra had started his autocratic and direct role for the second time on Feb 1, 2005, Nepali Congress, CPN(UML), Nepali Congress (Democratic), People's Front of Nepal, Nepal Majadur Kisan Party, Nepal Sadbhawana Party (Anandidevi) and United Leftist Front formed the seven-party alliance for the first time on May 8, 2005 (25 Baishakh 2062) to protest against King Gyanendra's rule. The 12-point accord was made in New Delhi, India, among Nepali Congress, CPN (UML), and CPN (Maoist) on Nov 5, 2005 (7 Mangsir 2062 BS). The alliance became the eight-party alliance after signing the peace accord and the formation of an interim legislature parliament with the participation of CPN (Maoist). The immense participation of Nepali people in the peaceful People's Movement 2006 for 19 days (from April 4, 2006 to April 23, 2006) took it to a decisive point. As a result, the interim constitution of Nepal 2007 was promulgated on Jan 15, 2007 (Thapa, 2009).

In the background of these developed events of people's movement as such, the role of Nepali media was closely connected to it from the beginning. The Nepali media had pushed forward the agenda to advance the movement since February 2, 2005 (Magh 20, 2061 B. S). The Federation of Nepali Journalists formally issued a press release and announced that it would protest in favor of democracy to protect and ensure freedom of the press when the parties had not reached a decision. Likewise, Nepali media got seven political parties and Maoists to agree on a peaceful movement. The fact that the media, which should play an independent and impartial role, openly appeared in favor of the movement is an aspect to be considered. In this sense, an attempt has been made to study the role played by the Nepali media during the people's movement.

1. 2. Statement of the Problem

Impartiality is the main ethics of the media. The media should not tilt toward any individual or organization. It should not be biased, and neither should it be prejudiced towards anybody. It should have equidistance and the same feelings for everyone.

While disseminating any content of news and ideas, it should remain professionally neutral. The media's content should be completely accurate, factual, decent, balanced, impartial, and credible and the soul of the media relies on it. So, accuracy, balance, neutrality, credibility, decency, impartiality, and fair play are the fundamental principles. The media will help foster a positive public attitude if they take the lead and uphold their own values.

The journey of making a creative and constructive society moves forward with fair and objective media. But, if the media cannot remain impartial and gets deviated from its principles, misinformation gets disseminated in society. Consequently, the environment for the formation of a healthy public opinion will be obstructed. Eventually, the public became confused, and the question can arise about the role of the media.

In recent times, by adopting these concepts, the necessity of social responsibility has been realized in the media sector. According to the social responsibility theory, information, truth, objectivity, balance, and credibility are the foundations of the media. This theory is based on pluralist theory. This theory emphasizes that all aspects should be treated with equal opportunities and behaviors. The media should be equally responsible towards both the targeted audience and the government (Sibert et al., 1956).

Social responsibility theory is based on the Hutchins Commission (1947). According to this commission, the media should be responsible for and liable to society. Certain standards have been prepared for the issues of the media's roles. According to these standards, the services or news provided by the media should be true, solid, objective, and balanced. It means people's benefit is more necessary than unrestrained freedom. For this, the media must work by staying within the periphery of the code of conduct (Hutchins Commission, 1947).

The major objective of the journalist code of conduct is to keep the media fair. The Canons of Journalism of the American Society of News Editors issued in 1922 can be considered as the first code of conduct. 'Responsibility, freedom of the press, independence, truth and accuracy, impartiality, fair play, honesty, and decency are the fundamental duties of the media and journalists (ASNE, 1922).

In almost every country of the world, codes of conduct have been issued for the sake of making the role of the media responsible and credible towards society. Press councils of the relevant countries have taken initiatives in this regard. Thus, in Nepal too, Press Council Nepal has issued a code of conduct for the media and journalists. Its main objective is "To maintain and promote the institution of a free and responsible media" (Press Council Nepal, 2019).

Press Council Nepal's 'Duties of Journalists and Mass Media' mentions fifteen-point wise duties for the journalists and mass media to perform. According to this, the media is instructed to disseminate factual, balanced, and objective information. It explains that journalists and the media should disseminate balanced opinions and factual news by adhering to the principles of objectivity. Also, in different focuses, it refers to the focus on friendly obligation, proficient nobility,

conduct, good, fair play, reliability, biasedness, regard for publication opportunity, and so on ((Press Council Nepal, 2019).

It has been analyzed how the media in society should be and in which form it appears. The obvious answer will be that it should be free and fair. This is the theoretical value. Nevertheless, the public perceives the media as an independent organization. Indeed, even an individual, a local area, an association, a strict local area, a political framework, and the entire country comprehend that the media's job should be unbiased.

But in all the circumstances, its role will not be of an ordinary type. In a special situation, the media plays a different type of role than what is expected in a theoretical way. Its best example appears in Nepal during People's Movement of 2006. When the King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah took over the power in 2001, the political parties announced the revolution. King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah started to slash political powers one after another. This affected the communication, media, and journalism sectors. Telephone services were interrupted; government officials were mobilized to the offices of the newspapers and magazines for censorship. Journalists were arrested for publishing news. There was even an attempt to obstruct the radio transmissions.

Media plays an influential role not only in the context of political change but also in the process of mobilizing movements. The rapidity and magnitude of the movement is determined based on the amount of media involvement and approach towards people's movement. Various concepts and theories prevalent in the media sector have accepted the fact that the role of the media in the movement is crucial. According to McQuail (2013), politics can be a reliable source of information, thoughts, and perspectives for media, The media has a very close tie with politics. The

media has, therefore, played a remarkable role in making any kind of politics successful.

During the period of people's movement of 2006, the political parties moved ahead with the political agenda of completely overthrowing the existing political system and establishing a full-fledged democracy. The revolution was launched to change the existing political system. At that time, the media could not remain free in Nepal.

Chapagain (2006) argues that instead of showing the role of keeping equidistant with the ruling authority [monarchy] and the demonstrating political parties, the Nepali media showed solidarity with the latter. It conducted a targeted campaign to create public opinion for the movement.

Different researches have been conducted in Nepal about the role played by political parties, students, and other organizations in the people's movements so far. However, any research has been hardly done in the academic field by focusing on the role played by the media during the mass movement. In such a background, it is desirable to show interest and generate curiosity about the role played by the media during political movement. It is also the responsibility of the media to play their role by sticking to a fair point. However, some acclaims and problems have been pointed out in the role played by the media during people's movement 2006. There exists neither an adequate exploration on the role of Nepali media in the people's movement 2006 nor satisfactory academic answers to what and how the media presented its role during the movement. This study problematizes this issue and tries to delve into it.

1. 3 Research Questions

At the time of people's movement 2006, Nepali media could not maintain its neutrality but showed an inclination to the movement launched by political parties. In

order to solve the research problem on the role of Nepali media in People's Movement 2006, the following research questions have been formulated:

- a) What role did Nepali media play during the people's movement 2006?
- b) How did the role of print media contribute to political change during the people's movement 2006 in Nepal?
- c) Why did the print media play a role on political change of 2006 in Nepal?

This study aims to attempt an analysis of the media's role in people's movement 2006. In addition, the study also intends to provide answers to the questions of how and why media can be actors for political change and why media cannot be neutral in particular circumstances. The study focuses on how the media affected Nepal's political changes.

1. 4 Objectives of the Research

This research strives to examine the role of media in political changes in Nepal with reference to people's movement 2006. To identify the media's role in political change, the study seeks to answer the questions like what, why, and how media functioned at the time of political movements in Nepal. Although the media has not been the major actor in political change, it contributed to building a favorable environment for driving the political movement by conveying political messages. To divulge the reality in such a context, the following general objectives have been addressed in this research.

- a) To explore the role played by the media during the people's movement 2006 in Nepal.
- b) To examine the strategic part of media in political change during the people's movement 2006 in Nepal.

- c) To analyze why the media is an important agent for political change in the context of Nepal.

1. 5 Significance of the Research

Research is a continuous process for the creation and extension of knowledge. It shows the ways to solve different types of problems created in society. Likewise, research helps in clarifying ambiguous theoretical and conceptual issues and finding out the ways to resolve them. Research plays the role of discovering the truth through facts, evidence, and logic.

Fundamental research and applied research are fashionable approaches in the area of research. Fundamental research is a large working field. Its process is extensive and managed. There will be the processes of finding new knowledge through identification of the problems. Similarly, applied research has been used to find solutions to the problems occurring in special circumstances (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011).

Eventually, the objectives of all research are to find out new ideas or explore new knowledge for the solution of problems that occur. The only difference is that some research focus on the solution of theoretical and academic problems, whereas the others focus on solving the problems that arise in practical contexts. The research presented here is for academic use. This research has been done on 'Print media and People's Movement 2006 in Nepal' as per the title. It analyzes the interconnection between media and politics and its impact. Similarly, the study attempts to explore the role played by the media in political change comprehensively.

This research specifically focuses on the People's Movement 2006 in Nepal. In this context, the general background of the People's Movement 2006 and the condition of Nepali media, especially newspapers, magazines, radio, and television of

that period, have been described. Relation between media and politics and its influence on politics along with its consequences have been elucidated. Therefore, it is expected that through this study, it will be easier to explain, understand, and deal with the relation between media and politics in the context of Nepal during people's movement 2006 AD. Its other important contribution is to demonstrate how the media played a role in political change in Nepal, especially during the People's Movement 2006. In many situations, the media plays its role by directly participating in the movement, but sometimes it has been found to be in a non-participatory role.

In the Nepali media sector, there are journalists, investors, as well as professionals and politically motivated special organizations like the Federation of Nepali Journalists, Broadcasting Association of Nepal, Nepal Media Society, Nepal Press Union, Press Chautari Nepal, Press Sangathan, Press Nepal, Press Manch etc. The study analyzes how such organizations played their roles in the political movements. Similarly, it also describes what types of programs and strategies were used by the media during the movement that aimed for political change, what types of agendas were determined, and how such agendas were set up and related to the political agendas.

Political communication comes into practice through media during political change. To take the political agendas to the people, the political parties want to reach the media through appeals, programs, advertisement, publications, door-to-door programs, and direct contacts. Media engages in political communication through reporting, editorials, contemporary analysis, interviews, and discussions. Moreover, there are also other methods like opinion polls, blogs, and citizen journalism.

With the help of such methods and procedures, the media disseminates content to inform and educate the people. The aforementioned aspects have also been

reanalyzed for this research. In fact, the strategies adopted, and the agendas determined by the media abundantly influence public opinion. This aspect has been revealed in this study. Media strategies and agendas determine how this happens as media plan coverage of content, placement, frequency of news, news value, immediacy, and tone. These aspects have special meanings when making public opinion for or against political change.

The next important aspect of this study is to discover why the media could not remain neutral in the period of the political movement. Theoretical and practical solutions have been searched for responding to why media became an agent in the movement aimed for political change.

Several studies have been carried out on the issues of politics and media in different countries but in the context of Nepal, the proposed area is new and largely unexplored. It is a systematic and organized study conducted by bringing relevant subject matter. On the one hand, there are theoretical and conceptual aspects, and on the other hand, there are practical monitoring and aspects of such a survey. The role played by media has been analyzed through the procedures and systems of research, and the reality has been simplified through the help of quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Generally, the media remains completely committed to the theory. However, situations may differ under special conditions. This may occur while dealing with a specific movement targeted for political change. In the context of the protection of press freedom, the role of media may theoretically differ from what is expected to do. Nevertheless, in that condition too, the media's role remains fair in all other issues except politics. Therefore, it can be expected that this study provides insightful views for those who are interested in carrying out research in this field.

1. 6 Delimitations of the Research

Every research has its own limitation, just like the circumference of the circle. Area, time duration, size, resources, respondents, and thematic aspects are major ingredients to determine the limitations of the research. This research also contains some limitations in terms of time duration, thematic content, covering area, and respondents. These general limitations are given as per following ways:

This research is focused on the role played by the media on political change in Nepal during the People's Movement 2006. This movement is a historical event for Nepal in the context of political transformation. The Movement 2006 established the Republican Democratic Political System in Nepal and completely displaced the Monarchical System.

In 2006, People's Movement spread across the nation, but the center of the Movement was Kathmandu Valley. So, Kathmandu valley has been taken as the main working field for this research. Similarly, major broadsheet daily newspapers were also published from Kathmandu valley. Here, the news materials that were published through *Kantipur*, *Rajdhani*, *Annapurna Post*, *Nepal Samacharpatra*, and *Gorkhapatra* have been used for content analysis.

The five newspapers are the Nepali broadsheet national dailies. They had been published before 2006. Content analysis was made on the first page of these five dailies from 24th March 2006 to 26th April 2006. The day of 26th April 2006 has a historical significance for Nepali politics since that is when King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah announced the success of the people's movement. In this research, 214 respondents, who were familiar and well informed about the people's movement 2006, were also surveyed.

Five journalists, who were working during the People's Movement 2006, have selected for a Key Informant Interview (KII). They are Taranath Dahal, Somnath Ghimire, Dharmendra Jha, Balkrishna Chapagain, and Narayan Regmi. Likewise, four political leaders were selected for KII. They are Narayan Man Bijukaksha, Ram Narayan Bidari, Ramesh Lekhak and Pradip Gyawali.

Generally, this study is limited to the People's Movement 2006 in Nepal. There have been numerous political movements taken place in Nepal at a crucial mode 1950, 1990 and 2006. However, the people's movement 2006 is one of the significant movements since it radically changed Nepali politics, creating a representative republic and toppling government framework 240 years in length. For this reason, this significant political change has been made the central point of this research.

1. 7 Operational Definitions

Mass Communication: The dissemination of information to a large audience via modern media on a large scale, known as mass communication. Any form of communication that simultaneously reaches many people has been referred to as mass media. Examples of mass media include but are not limited to, radio, television, newspapers, magazines, billboards, films, recordings, books, and the internet.

Media: The means of communication, such as radio and television, newspapers, magazines, and the internet, that reach or influence people widely.

Ethic: A recognized moral principle and code of conduct for a particular category of human behavior

News: The most common format in which news about current public events has been reported by media of all kinds. Timeliness, relevance, and dependability are generally regarded as the fundamental characteristics of news.

Newspaper: Traditionally, this refers to a print media form appearing regularly (usually not less than once a week), containing reliable reports of recent or ongoing events of general interest and offers for public sale. Here, newspaper means mainly daily newspapers, which were published during the people's movement.

Public Opinion: The collective views of a significant part of any public. Here, the public opinion refers to the collective views of respondents regarding the People's Movement of 2006.

Theory: Any organized set of concepts, explanations, and principles of some aspect of human experience. Here, theory means media related theories.

Propaganda: The process and product of deliberate attempts to influence collective behavior and opinion using multiple means of communication in ways that are systematic and one-sided.

Priming: Refers to the activity of the media in proposing the values and standards by which objects of media attention can be judged. The origin of the term lies in social psychology (socialization theory), but it is more applied in political communication to the evaluation of political for crating public opinion.

Normative Media Theory: Theory explaining how a media system should operate to conform to or realize a set of ideal social values.

Ontology: The nature of reality: what is knowable.

Epistemology: How knowledge is created and expanded.

Axiology: The proper role of values in research and theory building.

Political Change: Political change is meant to refer to a change that has taken place in the political system. It also indicates changes that come across certain types of political systems. A political change is not recognized only in the context of a change

in ruling government; there must be real transformations in the political system and procedures.

Political Communication: Political communication is an organized communication system. Here, it means sharing information, knowledge, ideas, and beliefs on the issues of politics and political activities between political parties, political forces, political institutions, and the public.

Full Democracy (Loktantra). The concept of full democracy through a forward-looking restructuring of the state to resolve the problems related to all sectors, including class, caste, gender, region, political, economic, society, and culture by bringing the autocratic monarchy to an end and establishing full democracy.

The People's Movement 2006- This movement, known as *Jana Aandolan-II*, is a name given to political agitation against the direct undemocratic rule of King Gyanendra of Nepal. This movement began between 7th April 2006 and 24th April 2006. This movement was initially conducted by seven political parties. On 22nd November 2005, even though there was an agreement on 12 Points, CPN Maoists also participated. The 12-point agreement has focused on the principles of democracy, peace, prosperity, social advancement, independence, and sovereign Nepal. Both Maoists and the seven parties had made a common agreement on the fact that the autocratic monarchy is the main hurdle in achieving the wish of the people. They did have a clear opinion that peace, progress, and prosperity in the country were not possible until full democracy had been established by ending the absolute monarchy.

1. 8 Organization of the Study

The organizational structure that depicts the formation of the entire dissertation comprises seven chapters: I. Introduction, II. Literature review, III. Research Methodology, IV. Analysis of content, V. Analysis of the survey, and VI.

Role of media on political change in the eyes of key Informants, VII. Finding, Conclusion, and Recommendations. Here, chapters IV, V and VI have focused on data and facts that were collected in the research process.

The introduction chapter consists of the background of the research, the statement of the problem, the research question, the objectives of the research, the significance of the research, the limitations, the operational definitions, and organization. A review of the literature comprises the second chapter. Overall, research methodology has been included in chapter three, especially research design, research area, sampling, method of research, tools and techniques of data collection procedure, and method of data analysis.

Chapters IV, V and VI focus on data and facts collected in the research process. The analysis of the facts obtained from the content analysis has been done in chapter four, while the facts obtained from survey has been analyzed in chapter five and views of key informants has analyzed in chapter six. And correlation and association between questions and quantitative aspects have also been included in chapter six.

This chapter analyzes the data collected through content, survey, and KII based on determined research objectives to analyze the situation and draw the conclusion. Chapter VII includes findings, conclusion, and recommendation. This chapter traces the key findings of the research and then draws a conclusion based on theoretical perspective, conceptual background, and grounded observation. Finally, this research work presents recommendations for further investigation to political communication.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. 1. Introduction

This chapter reviews different literature about the relationship between media and politics and the role that the media plays in political change. Before starting any research, it is mandatory to review related studies and literature. To discover the reality of an environment, one must dig into its past. A literature review in research is a way to observe the reality of the past and discern an appropriate research path.

The relationship between media and politics has been widely discussed. The history of media reveals much about the relationship between politics and media. There was not any modern mass media before the 15th century; by then, there was just traditional communication in practice in the society. The first modern mass media newspapers started to be published in the countries of the world, including Europe and America, after 1600s (Kipphan, 2001).

Radio broadcasts started transmission in the 1920s. It was the KDKA in America, and television was invented only in 1926. Television had been operating and broadcasting all over the world since 1937. Thus, since modern media began to develop in the world, media and politics have started to be studied and analyzed by relating them to each other (Hiebert, Ungurait & Bohn, 1988).

Significant theoretical studies have been undertaken to explore the relationship between media and politics, as well as the impact of media in the political sector. Similarly, conceptual, and subject-wise analyses have also been carried out. A few academic and applied research have been done focusing on the relationship between media and politics. Regarding the relationship between media and politics,

explorations have been carried out from the perspectives of public relations and advertising as well. The concept of a separate discipline, political communication, is already in practice to analyze the relationship between media and politics.

In this chapter, subject-wise and theoretical contents relevant to the relationship between media and politics have been critically reviewed. Along with this, the research focused on the impact of media in politics and its role in political change has been reviewed here.

This chapter reviews the research carried out on the issues of media and politics in European, American, and Asian countries. They have been reviewed to make them relevant for this research. This research has addressed several books, theoretical contents, investigative articles, research-oriented theses, dissertations, and related contents. These contents have been included in sequential order in this chapter.

2. 2. Literature Related to the Context of Nepal

Pokharel (2002) has argued that republican democratic system as a clear political destination for Nepal. Theoretically, all kinds of rights of the citizens have been guaranteed in a republican and democratic system. In this regard, press freedom plays a vital role in any political system. There has been included a right to publication, a right to broadcast, a right to communicate, and a right to information under press freedom. According to Pokharel (2002), media personnel of the world have contributed to democracy by protecting the freedom of the press and the right to speech and expression.

Pokharel analyzes the political activities from the beginning of armed insurgency in the name of the People's War launched by Nepal Communist Party Maoist during 1996-2001. Analysis of political situations has been carried out along with reviews on the different titles like *study-analysis*, *theory-debate*, *peace*

campaign, negotiation context, event analysis, sacrifice story, address, and campaign report.

After a thorough discussion of Nepali society and Nepali psychology, Pokharel asserted that the suitable political system for Nepal is the republican democracy. That means the people have sovereign rights, party-wise competition, periodic elections, power decentralization, public approval, implementation of public interest by people's representatives, press freedom, human rights, and the right to a free judiciary. It is concluded that such rights may not be insured in the revolutionary system put forth by *CPN Maoists* and Constitutional Monarchy as supported by Nepali Congress and other political parties. The concept of involvement of more roles of political parties as main characters and a helpful role of media in the establishment of the Democratic Republic along with people's rights has been synthesized.

In the absence of a Republican Democracy with complete press freedom, the media may not have an environment to work freely. Media personnel became direct witnesses to such circumstances. During the period of 1996-2001 (2052 to 2058 B. S.), there was also a community that advocated for violence and retaliation. But in real ground, there was a kind of double pressure on media personnel. They were compelled to disseminate news based on violent events, one by one being double pressurized by the Maoists and the then Government. Here, it can be concluded that in the presence of any kind of pressure and influence, the role of media cannot freely occur. For this, an independent, open, and democratic state system is needed. In such conditions, the media is compelled to support and follow the group that has been struggling to set up a state system of an independent nature (Pokharel, 2002).

In *The Dimension of Journalism*, Basnet (2007) states that Nepali media has been actively involved with political phenomena. Moreover, he says that the media

has effectively contributed to political change in Nepal. As political activities and change have been influenced through media and journalism, there is a direct impact of political events and change on journalism, too. Media contributes to political and social change by its functions. In this way, Basnet has clarified that the media's role appears at the base of the function of politics in Nepal.

Basically, the media has informed, educated, persuaded, and provided surveillance for the public in every political, social, and cultural event or issue. Media plays an effective role by sharing knowledge, being a voice for the voiceless, and framing opinions. Through Media, the people receive and comprehend information and develop clearer concepts by assimilating and changing their behaviors. In this way, Nepali media has played a role in the political changes of Nepal.

Historically, Nepali media has grown step by step in different political regimes. Basnet (2007) claims that modern journalism began since *the Gorkhapatra* that was published in 1901. However, *The Gorkha Bharat Jeevan* was published in Banaras, India, in 1886 (1943 B. S.), and *The Sudhasagar* was published in 1898. *The Sudhasagar* is the first published magazine in Nepal, but it was the second magazine in the context of the Nepali language. *The Gorkha Bharat Jeevan* was the first magazine of the Nepali language.

According to Basnet (2007), Nepali journalism from 1846 to 1951 has been classified as the *Rana period of Journalism*, 1951 to 1960 is known as the *Democracy period of journalism*, 1960 to 1990 known as *Panchayat period of Journalism*, 1990 to 2006, as journalism to *Restoration of Democracy* and 2006 to till now as *journalism after the Democratic Republic*. During the first phase, from 1846 to 1951, Nepali journalism did not seem to come into politics. The period from 1951 to 1960 was the development phase for Nepali journalism. In between 1960 to 1990, media

was found to play a significant role in Nepali politics. By that time, the media began to take a role as either anti-panchayat or pro-panchayat. Democracy was restored in the nation after the success of the people's revolution in 1990 (2046 B. S.), but when King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah took control over power in 2001, political conflict started between the King and the political parties. As a result, the People's Movement 2006 was announced. In this movement, Nepali media played an active role. Although factual evidence about how Nepali media appeared in the revolution, why the media gave support to it, and its overall impact has not been analyzed in detail (Basnet, 2007).

While discussing the role of media in any political change, the issue of freedom of expression becomes important. Media can play an outstanding role only when freedom of expression is completely ensured. With freedom of expression, there will be the right to know, the right to publication, the right to broadcast, and the right to information without restraint. Media can properly work only in such an environment. For this situation, many philosophers and writers have made special contributions. John Milton (1608-1674), John Locke (1632-1704), Adam Smith (1723-1790), Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), James Madison (1750-1836), John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) and Thomas Jefferson all contributed to our understanding of freedom of expression (McQuail, 2010).

Kharel (2012) argues that the role of media is very effective in politics by highlighting this aspect with much significance in *Media for Participatory Democracy*. Media bears the strength to play a role in a noticeable change in society. The function of media is to inform, to create awareness, to persuade, to advocate, and to educate. In this context, the media's role seems to appear in facilitation, motivation,

cooperation, and socialization processes. When it is analyzed with this meaning, obviously, the media's role is found in political change, too.

However, there will be a special meaning of media credibility. Just as there are main roles of political debate, idea mobility, citizen activity, and social responsibility to improve and strengthen the governance system in democracy, media credibility also has an equally important role. For this, a free and fair media environment is necessary.

The free and fair concept is a key element of the liberation press theory. Therefore, the media struggles to create a free and fair media environment. The roles of media during different political movements can be analyzed in the periphery of these subjects. However, media should not be tilted to any definite type of politics, institutions, or parties. Media bias weakens the foundation of its credibility. When this happens, questions may arise about the role of media (Kharel, 2012).

Aryal (2013) argued that democracy is needed for media freedom. In a democratic society, the right of the media to communicate ideas freely is ensured. If the media can work freely, democracy will progress properly. However, freedom of the press does not mean the media can do everything. Media must fulfill its responsibility towards society. Journalist codes of conduct play a special role in social responsibility. Here, the media itself supports the democratic political system to ensure its own rights in different political revolutions held in Nepal.

Dulal (2009), in *Nepali Chhapa Ma Rajanitik Prabhav*, has concluded that in every democratic movement, Nepali print media and political parties have acted together, however this study is more focused on the influence of politics on the Nepali press. The Nepali journalism sector is found to be more influenced by politics. This study concludes that thoughts and perceptions of political parties are found mixed in

the news, interviews, and other content. Nepali journalism has not completely adopted the path of impartiality yet. This relates to the impact of the press on the political change in this study.

According to Dulal (2009), from the People's Revolution of 1951 to the People's Movement in 2006, political parties and print media worked together against the activities of monarchy. Moreover, Dulal concludes that the role of the press is significant in the political changes of Nepal. Regarding this value, Nepali print media is given a top priority in the freedom of speech and publication.

Mainali (2015) has argued that the role of the media is significant and remarkable for creating public opinion. The influence of content flowing through the media leads to the transformation of political and social spheres. In Nepal, political issues are getting more priority in the media. When the media gives a lot of attention and priority to political issues, its effect is also seen in political changes. The book entitled *Radio Padhdati* focuses on radio broadcasts and radio management.

Radio broadcasting in Nepal started on April 2, 1951, after the establishment of *Radio Nepal*. FM radio broadcasting technology was developed in 1996. The radio operation in the community sector started in 1997. The first FM radio in the community sector was *Radio Sagarmatha*, which was established on May 22, 1997. When the people's movement started in 2006, there were newspapers in mainstream journalism. However, FM radios were also in operation during that period (Mainali, 2015).

Rana (2018) has highlighted political events that took place during the regime of Great King Prithvi Narayan Shah to King Gyanendra in his book *The History of Nepali Politics*. He claims that the main reason for abolishing the monarchy is the twelve points of understanding agreed upon between seven Nepali Political Parties

and the Nepal Communist Party (Maoist). The twelve-point agreement was settled in India. Although India was not directly involved in that process. But the Indian side was worried that the armed insurgency carried out in Nepal by Maoists might encourage the ongoing revolution of Naxalites in the various states of India.

During that period, Nepali citizens were dissatisfied with the ruling style of King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah. In the meantime, Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah had advocated reviving absolute monarchy by restoring zonal and regional administrations, which had already been dismissed by *Constitution of Kingdom of Nepal 1990*, after the political change in 1990. On 1st February 2006, King Gyanendra declared that all the absolute right to rule would be confined to himself. This created an environment for all the political parties and people to stand against the monarchy.

In the background, the topics of political discourse were the balance and polarization of political powers, aspirations of common people, national and international scenarios, tactics of the political powers, and the political ambition of King Gyanendra. However, they could not be adequately analyzed, and political steps could not be put forward before them. Consequently, the monarchy got into an accident.

For Rana (2018), these contexts and concepts are not fundamentally focused on media. The book does not focus on the role played by the media in the People's Movement based on the above background. The question of democracy and the rights of people is related to that political event. Various organizations of society, civil society, and media could not stay neutral by favoring the system. Here, the question of democracy is basically concerning the issue of common people. The question of 'freedom of expression' is also connected with it. Therefore, the media also got support. Then public opinion stood against the system.

Kharel (2010), in *Political Communication*, has seen political communication as a separate discipline and analyzed its various dimensions. He mainly focused on the relationship between politics and news media. Media disseminates activities, political affairs, and agendas of political institutions. This is the first duty of the media. In political communication, the consequences of political messages on acts of commission and omissions are analyzed.

Theoretically, the role of media should be free and fair. There is no doubt about it. However, media has more connection with political aspects. According to Kharel (2010), content analysis in that study, 1207 news articles on the front page were political news out of 1731 (69.38 percent). Thus, political news got more preference on the FrontPage. Its effects and influence will naturally fall on the audience.

According to Kharel (2010), the context of political communication media not only plays the role of the watchdogs but also plays the role of hound dogs and lap dogs. That practice is going on in Nepal. He analyzed the roles of free media, partly free media, state-controlled media, and party-oriented media. Especially in a democracy, the role of the media will be important. Media creates the arena of discourse in a free society. Media must have been playing an important role in the establishment of any democratic system.

This study mentions the context of the development of ancient political tools. Moreover, for political communication, newspapers use appealing tools like op-ed pages, editorials, reviews, letters to the editors, features, interviews, and news items. The overall conclusion is that the media has an effective role in political changes.

After an in-depth study of incidents across the nation, Federation of Nepali Journalist (2003) published *Nepali Press During Crisis*. It concluded that it was a very difficult time for Nepali Press during the crisis period. By then, due to the activities of the state and by the *Nepal Communist Party Maoist*, Nepali media press freedom contracted.

Press and freedom of speech guaranteed by the constitution of Nepal Kingdom, 1990, was in crisis. The whole journalism sector was in a state of suffocation as the media could not work freely. It has included the fact that some journalists even lost their lives then. It has been described that the journalists were detained, arrested from their homes, threatened, tortured, and even killed. For this reason, a free and fair political system was expected more (FNJ, 2003).

Media itself is an agent of change in a society. However, in the absence of press freedom, the media cannot play an effective role. Along with press freedom, there should be a baseline for life protection and occupational guarantee. When the Nepal Communist Party (Maoist) has broken out people's war, the working environment for media became fearful due to the State and Maoist sides (FNJ, 2003).

After 1995, the environment became more fearful. It is possible for the media to play a role properly only when absolute press freedom prevails. For this reason, to get freedom from brutality and conflicts on behalf of the State and Maoists, it was felt necessary to create a democratic political system. Consequently, the media directly and ideologically participated in the campaign of the democratic movement. The present study is not directly focused on the role of media in political change, but it reveals that the base for the necessity of involvement of media in the movement launched for political change had been created.

Thapa (2005) has put forward the highest role of media in political change. Nepali media are effective as a medium for disseminating information, and they can equally play a significant role in building ideology and public opinion. The role of the press towards society has been becoming mature. Not only as a medium of information but also with its editorials, comments, and opinions, Nepali Press has been playing a decisive role in building ideology and public opinion. In Nepal's political change in 1990, media played a special role in creating awareness for democracy.

Thapa (2005) clarifies that for uninterrupted journalism, press freedom, the right to expression, the right to communication, and the right to information are necessary conditions. Media has been found struggling for the protection of these related rights. In this way, when the media play a role in building public opinion for the establishment and protection of press freedom, the support goes to political change as well.

While clarifying different aspects of mass media in *Mass Communication and the Nepali Language*, Chapagain (2006) mentions that the media relates to politics. He claims politics and the press have an interdependent relationship. The government of a state is formed in terms of political ideologies and principles. Description of how the character of the state government formed based on ideologies will be decided by the attitude of the leader of the governing body.

The character of the state does not matter, but the media's character will be in favor of civil liberties. In the history of journalism in Nepal, the media in the mainstream have been in favor of the system which seems to be protecting civil liberties. Especially regarding ideology building, Nepali Media are found to be in favor of democracy. In the context of mass media, Chapagain argues that long before

politics was developed, people had developed signs and then letters respectively to express them.

Only after Plato had described the principles of communism did political ideologies start to develop. It can be assumed that political communication developed as people advocated political ideology with each other by writing and speaking. Since then, the media's role has been found to be effective in political activities. It is said that while analyzing media, the language will also have a special importance. The content of media can be made acceptable through language. Acceptable content disseminated by the media will impress people. Such an impression will fall in the political sector, too.

Acharya (2018), in *Mass Communication and Journalism Studies*, describes various ingredients of mass communication, media, and journalism. This publication was developed by searching relevant areas and reviewing the contexts. Reasonable evidence and descriptions support its logic and statements. According to Acharya (2018), the journey of Nepali journalism has been 120 years since the beginning of the publication of *the Gorkhapatra* in 1901. During this period, there have been various political ups and downs in Nepal. Nepali journalism could not stay separate from their effects. After the political change in 1990, however, positive effects began to appear in Nepali journalism. Nepali journalism had opportunities to flourish and broaden due to a more open environment after the change. Similarly, after the change in 2006, an even more suitable environment was formed for the development of journalism. While deliberating the evolution of Nepali journalism and its role, Acharya (2018) divides this evolution by dividing various periods. He calls the period before 1901 the *Pre-Gorkha Patra* Period; 1901 to 1950 *The Gorkha Patra* and *Rana Regime*; 1950 to 1960 the *Democracy Decade*; 1960 to 1990 the *Panchayat Period*;

1990 to 2004 the *After Restoration Democracy Period*; 1st February 2005 to 24th April 2006 (Baisakh 11, 2063) the *Period of Royal Coup*; and after 2006 is *Republican Democratic period*.

Acharya then describes the fundamental features of Nepali journalism in various periods. He asserts the period featuring a political system with a politically free environment and guarantee of fundamental rights of citizens constituted a significant development of Nepali Journalism. For example, after the change in 1951, 1990, and 2006, journalism grew both quantitatively and qualitatively. Along with quantitative development, there were diversities in media development as the foundation was formed for its professional development. This publication is not directly focused on what the role of media in political change will be. However, it claims that the development of media, a democratic system with rights is a must. The media itself has tried to set up such a system.

Acharya (2018), in the 'Period of Royal Coup', states that journalists were arrested from their homes, media houses were interfered with, the licenses of radios were revoked, and telephone service was disrupted. Because of all these things, there was a security crisis in the overall media sector. Therefore, Nepali people could not remain neutral regarding the then monarchy system.

Dahal (2012), in *Mass Media and Law*, has argued for freedom of expression and freedom of the press. Dahal prioritizes freedom of expression and freedom of the press and says it is the origin and foundation for a democratic ruling system.

Freedom of expression is for the public benefit. Through this freedom, thoughts can be exchanged, and information can be disseminated. This plays a fundamental role in the formation of a healthy public opinion, reinforcing the importance of freedom of expression.

The functions of media are to describe important incidents, find out hidden facts, sort out the facts, and highlight them, thus bringing truth and reality to the public. Moreover, media works to form public opinion in a democratic state, provide working guidelines, and reflect social aspirations. To accomplish all these tasks, press freedom is necessary. Through press freedom, the media is strengthened.

According to Dahal (2012), the role of media cannot be viewed absolutely. The role of media should be analyzed by connecting it with freedom of expression and freedom of the press. The real meaning of press freedom is to be free from arbitrary control imposed by the government. There are various rights under this, including the right to information, the right to print and broadcast without prior restraint, and the right to print and broadcast without fear. A free society cannot be formed without press freedom. While working in society, the media needs to be aware of these rights guarantees.

By mentioning the importance of the Magna Carta (1215), Virginia Bill of Rights (1776), and First Amendment of the American Constitution (1791) for the establishment of freedom of speech, the struggles by media to achieve that freedom have been mentioned as an example.

This means the media is not itself the main actor. However, whenever the press is being suppressed, the media supports the establishment of a democratic ruling system. In such conditions, the media's role appears in certain types of political change (Dahal, 2012).

In Effect of Radio Programs in Rural Areas of Nepal, Khanal (2018) researched the basis of community radio in the Nuwakot district. This study analyzed the impact of radio programs on the socio-cultural behaviors of the local community

and their lifestyles. This study used surveys, case studies, in-depth interviews, and focus groups.

The study specifically examined the impact modern cultivation, fertilizers, seeds, and agricultural tools on planting hybrid rice, offseason vegetables, poultry farming, and goat farming. The impact of radio programs on agricultural storage and marketing was analyzed. While it evaluated the impact on farmers' behaviors through the angle of diffusion of innovation, use and gratification, and moderate effect theory, it concluded that the effects of radio programs on the farmers were positive.

It is said that the farmers' level of awareness increased due to inspiring messages, information and education transmitted by radio and that knowledge had been translated into practices. The study showed the impact of radio programs on the farmers as their income increased and their lifestyles improved.

Khanal (2018) describes a formula of five stages: knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation, and confirmation. These are necessary for the media to have effects on the listeners. During the study, four community radio stations named *Nuwakot FM*, *Jalpa FM*, *Radio Abhiyan*, and *Trisuli Radio* in the Nuwakot district. Those listeners selected for the study said they had regularly listened to the programs transmitted by community radio. Because of this, awareness increased among relevant health stakeholders of the community; there was a decrease in discriminative behaviors, an increase in the number of inter-caste marriages, and a growth in the number of students going to school. Similarly, the study shows improvement in the economy after the growth in income from using the latest technologies and methods in modern agriculture due to radio programs. In conclusion, it can be said that changes have been noticed in the cultural, social, and economic aspects of the local community due to the impact of the media. As changes come to the social, cultural,

and economic sectors of local communities due to the impact of the media, in the same way, the media can be helpful for political change.

Chalise (2018), in *Mass Communication Theories*, has done comprehensive deliberation about various dimensions of journalism, mass communication, and media. He discusses the concept of mass communication and media as such: critical cultural theory, audience analysis, and media impact theory.

Analyzing the Nepali context, Chalise states Nepali journalism started in 1898. After the first and the second magazines, *The Sudha Sagar (1898)* and *The Gorkha Patra (1901)*, were published, Nepali journalism is found to be going forward continuously. As the number of published newspapers grew, their impact on the readers also increased. The journalism sector has been influenced by the political changes of various times in Nepal. Likewise, there were contributions through journalism to the movements organized for political changes. During the People's Movement in 1990, the weekly newspapers disseminated opinions in its favor.

In fact, the media has an impact on the political sector. Consequently, it has almost been established that political opinions disseminated by print media, periodic publications, and television will influence the attitudes and behavior of voters. (Chalise, 2007, p. 40).

Indeed, during the People's Revolution in 1990, weekly newspapers of Nepal played a significant role in building public opinion in favor of democracy. At that time, *The Gorkha Patra* was published daily, but it was under the control of the government. *The Gorkha Patra* was not able to disseminate news content against the Panchayat system. Most newspapers were published weekly.

Weekly newspapers were the mainstream of journalism in 1990, which disseminated news content in favor of democracy. However, it was difficult to

disseminate opinions freely. On behalf of the state, too many actions like disruption, interference, censorship, home arrest, and detention were taken against the media. But without caring about all the obstructions caused by the state, Nepali media played a role in the mission for the establishment of democracy (Acharya & Luintel, 2008).

The outstanding aspect is the media's principle of 'free and fair'. It cannot be compromised. It means the media must not forget accuracy, balance, credibility, decency, ethics, fair play, and responsibility. However, in Nepal, the Panchayat system was autocratic. Political parties were banned. There was no freedom of expression, and press rights were suppressed. At that time, citizen rights were the first concern. In that concern, Nepali newspapers could not remain absolute. For freedom of expression and guarantee of press rights, they appeared on the side of the political movement.

Bhattarai and Mainali (2014) analyzed the media of Nepal by keeping the free press, safety and security of journalists, and professional journalism at the center of their analysis. They conclude that media is affected by political, social, and cultural domains.

According to Bhattarai and Mainali (2014), lack of competence, financial insufficiency to run media, political affiliation, corporate interest, and criminal interest have remained as the problems for media management. This study discusses censorship and self-censorship as well.

Like others, Bhattarai and Mainali describe periods of the history of Nepali journalism in terms of the political environment. They define these periods as 1950-1961: Transition from Rana rule towards the modern government; 1961-1990: Direct rule by king under Panchayat; 1990-2000: A decade of constitutional free press, safety, and security of journalists under monarchy and multiparty democracy; 2001-

2006: Escalation of the Maoist conflict and an ascendant monarchy; 2006-2013: Regime change and political transition towards establishing a federal republican.

This study illustrates the conditions of censorship and self-censorship in the different periods. They conclude that freedom of expression, a free press, and the safety and security of journalists are required for media to play its role smoothly in society. Only in that condition media's role will be effective.

Rai (2013) argued that mass media and national politics have complex and intense relationships. But it does not mean that the media will always be under the control of political organizations and government. Usually, the relationship between media and politics has been freely influenced by conflicts and doubts.

According to Rai (2013), the twenty-first century is the era of democracy. In this era, democracy without media and media without democracy cannot be imagined. Media's existence remains only in a democratic system. To smoothly accomplish occupational responsibilities, the media needs a democratic system with civic rights. Media disseminates information, monitors, educates, and motivates on any issue. For this, media provides news, news analysis, editorials, opinion writings, features, and perspectives. To accomplish these roles, the media needs democracy.

In *Mass Communication Theory*, Rai (2013) presents the development of media against a background of mass communication theories. He discusses advanced and well-known principles. He concludes that media can strengthen the political system of any nation or bring change to it.

Bista (2017), in *Press Freedom in Nepal*, researched keeping the historical context of press freedom at the center. His work reviews the evolution of journalism in Nepal, press freedom in the constitution, press acts, international recognition, and

the principles and behaviors about press freedom through empirical research. He writes:

This study is fundamentally focused on press freedom. However, it is concluded that press freedom is a necessary condition for the development of democracy. According to this current era is the era of democracy, democracy is not only political system but also it is a series of the freedom of thoughts and expressions too. The right to information and press freedom are based on this. There are three rights to know, find out, and express respectively under press freedom (Bista, 2017).

Bista (2017) argues that democracy is impossible without political freedom, and press freedom cannot be imagined without democracy. In terms of this, it can be said that democracy and press freedom are closely interconnected with each other.

Here, the subject of press freedom is a special concern. This is a basic required aspect for media to work smoothly. Therefore, the media has expected a democratic system for the sake of the protection of press freedom. Nepali media does not seem to be an exception. Nepali media has openly supported the establishment of a democratic system.

In this study, 49 percent of survey participants replied that the media has contributed much to bringing and nurturing democracy in Nepal. Similarly, 48 percent replied, 'some contributions', but 3 percent replied, 'No, contributions at all'. This study clearly supports his claim that media has contributed to the establishment of democracy in Nepal. It is meant to say that the media's role will be important in political change.

Kafle (2005) argues, Nepali journalism is entangled in a political perimeter. He concluded this while explaining various dimensions of Mass media and Journalism in his book *Patrakarita Dot Khoj*.

He says journalism should be free and above politics or control of any group with its own selfish interest. However, due to the issue of press freedom, journalism is naturally supposed to be related to politics. Media is found lobbying for a democratic political system for advocacy, restoration, and protection of press freedom. Media politicized by writing in favor of the struggles for independence in America and India. Similarly, the media wrote in favor of political change in Nepal in 1950 and 1990.

Media has a connection with politics. When the connection between them becomes uniform, there will be a change in the prevailing political system, too, because the media has the power to form public opinion. It helps make laws to create public opinion in favor of a special type of political thought. This is a phase-wise process. Under this, the first step is to publicize political issues and agendas. The second step is to present the news contexts in a certain format and layout. The third step is to analyze the subject matter from different angles. And the fourth step is to conclude by guiding relevant agendas.

Kafle (2005) has not focused on the impact of mass media on politics. He focuses on the theoretical contexts of journalism and mass media and their exercise and use in Nepal. However, analyzing the role of the media in the context of the subject matter, he says the media can play a political role in certain situations.

2. 3. Literature Related to International Context

In *An Introduction to Political Communication*, McNair (2017) analyzes the relationship between media and politics based on the contemporary society of the UK and the USA. McNair has given a thematic overview of how politicians, trade unions, pressure groups, non-government organizations and terrorist organizations use media in their favor. McNair also highlights the key actors of political communication: political organizations, media, and citizens. Specially, Political organizations have

conducted their role through appeals, programs, advertising, and public relations. Likewise, media disseminate political communication through reporting, editorials, contemporary articles, and analysis. Similarly, citizens are involved in political communication through opinion polls, blogs, citizen journalism, and letters to editors

Having studied the influence of media, McNair (2003) writes that media will undoubtedly be important in any kind of political system. McNair claims that public relations are developed through political advertising and marketing, so its influence on political aspects is expected. Comparatively, the influence of media is more than that of other institutions, so it is used in political campaigning, too. Due to this, the media's role is clearly seen in the political changes.

In *The Dynamics of Political Communication*, Richard M. Perloff (2017) discusses various dimensions of political communication. Political communication is an important genre of mass media itself. Perloff studies the procedure, process, principles, utilization, and evaluation of political media. In this book, Perloff reveals current principles of political media and beliefs about them. Political news and advertisements were examined, exposing what types of strategies and equipment are used by political candidates to impress and inspire the voters to favor their sides during an election. Perloff (2017) also illustrates the landscape of political media, including agenda setting, agenda building, framing, political socialization, and media bias. From this, it can be concluded that media has a significant role in the politics of any country.

While analyzing the effects of media in *Mass Media and National Development*, Schramm (1964) agrees that mass media is a significant agent of social change. However, he has put forward an argument about the media effect in the

context of social change, but such a change has been closely connected with politics, too. The speed of change is found to appear quickly in politics.

According to Schramm, media has almost a miraculous capacity to bring change, playing an important role in changing various sectors of society. In fact, for a change, there should be changes in people's attitudes, beliefs, skills, and social index. In this process, the media first identifies the necessities of the public and forms the agenda in terms of them. The media then produces and communicates news content by combining the styles and topics that will impress the public. In the context of impression on the public, media plays its role based on empathy, awareness, achievement, and behavioral change (Flew, 2017).

This concept applies in the context of political change as well. However, Schramm has connected this concept with the development process. He says print, television, and cinema have the capacity to play a supportive role in the formation of development. Regarding the use of media in the development process, he supports his opinion through research. In fact, when the media holds the power to make the public participate in the development process, that power will be helpful for political change.

Eisenstein (1978) states that printing gradually causes content to alter, resulting in more popular, practical, and secular works as well as political and religious pamphlets and tracts, which contributed to the transformation of the medieval world. Laws and proclamations were printed by royal and other authorities at an early date. As a result, there was a social revolution, and printing was unavoidably a part of it.

According to Unvan Atas (2010), media had a strong role in the formation of agendas in political issues. In his study entitled *A Comparative Analysis of Agenda Setting and Political Communication, A Case Study of the 2004 Cyprus Referendum*

carried out in Westminster University, Media, Art, and Design Department, he explored the dynamics amongst political campaigners and news media in the agenda setting process of a referendum. That referendum was proposed by the United Nations General Secretary Kofi Annan to reunify the Island after 50 years of division.

According to Gilardi, Gessler and Müller (2022), political campaigning practice, journalistic approaches, news production processes, and agenda setting influence referendums. It is mentioned that during the campaign of that referendum, meetings, rallies, information materials, street events, internet use, press briefings, opinion polls, media monitoring, discussion programs on radio and television, visiting villages, organizing PR activities for international media activities were conducted. Basically, the authors claim that the media can play a significant role in any kind of election.

Propaganda theory has also been widely discussed in terms of media effects. According to Baran and Davis (2012), propaganda was the first systematic theory of mass communication that focused on why media might have powerful effects. It identifies personal, social, and cultural factors that can enhance media's power to have effects. Propaganda theory also focuses attention on the use of campaigns to cultivate symbols. This seems relevant to analyzing the role played by the media during the people's movement in 2006 in Nepal to favor democracy.

Wilding, Fray, Molitorisz & McKewon (2018) has presented a model of the impact of the media on politicization, which postulates that the increased availability of political information leads to increased politicization. The accidental acquisition of political information from mass media leads to discussion of public affairs, which in turn leads to information-seeking behavior. This, then, leads to greater interest, more

discussion, and even greater information. All these serve as a prelude to political participation.

Paul (2017) argues that the significance of media in politics is enormous and beneficial to all with developmental impacts on politics. Paul conducted this study based on politics in Nigeria. Media impacts date back to the pre-independent era in Nigeria. It is an aspect of marketing management. The history of mass media emanated from man's struggles for liberty and freedom. Politics is the capacity for power acquisition and its application for the governance of the state and influences the allocation of both human and physical resources in the interest of state development. Media stimulates citizen engagement in politics. This is the fundamental power of media. In the context of Nigeria, there are four major types of media, namely: traditional media, print media, electronic media, and social media. Media stimulates citizen engagement in politics; these include political party membership registration, voters' registration, elections and electoral campaigns, and electorate management. On this basis, media can play an effective role in every dimension of the political sector

McQuail (2010), argued that media is an integral part of society. Media exchanges information and ideas in an organized form. In society, the media remains active as mass informers and mass educators. Media itself is an organization with different features of society. However, the ways the various sides of society look at it reflect different viewpoints. According to one school of thought, the true meaning of media is a medium fairly disseminating information and ideas, but according to another school of thought, media is a tool for creating public opinion and shaping it. In this latter regard, political parties undoubtedly have more interest in the media.

The impact of online media on print media in developing countries, specifically based on the context of Zambia. They have looked at the background and role the new media plays in the dissemination of news and information and interrogated the impact of online and print media in developing countries and the impact on businesses based on key strategies and business models. They show that an E-paper subscription is cheaper and easier to access by the masses as the cost of the internet continues to decline. This is a reduction in circulation and revenue from advertising as most advertisers are now focused on online media platforms where they can target clients through specific platforms. These factors have led to a notable reduction in print media sales as readers flock to online media platforms, thereby reducing newspaper circulation.

According to McQuail (2010), politics is a policy of all types of policies. Politics exists in the center of any society and country. It governs the economic, social, cultural, and other aspects of those places. It means media, too, gets connected with political behaviors in some ways. Through mass media, all parts of a society are affected by political thoughts, exercises, behaviors, and activities existing in any other part.

Similarly, the impact of politics is found in the media as well. As the media itself is the reason for, to public opinion, it must affect political aspects. In this dimension, propaganda and agenda setting procurers are mostly used in media regarding to political campaign. It seems though the media itself is not the main actor of political change, it is an effective aspect that can give input in the process of political change. It is also relevant in Nepal.

2. 4. Literature of Indian Research

By analyzing the *Style of Headlines in Hindi Newspaper*, Shingh (2015) concluded political news is more preferred in the Hindi newspapers being published in India. His study found that common people have more curiosity and interest in political subjects. Most readers like political news because the news is produced and disseminated by connecting people's lives with political issues.

The study was conducted based on samples of the first page of thirty issues of *DainikJagaran, Bhaskar Dainik, Amar Uajala, Punjab Keshari and Daily Tribune*. According to this study, the portion of political news is found to be *The Dainik Jagaran*- 36.7 percent, *The Daily Bhaskar* 30 percent, *The Amar Ujala* 16.7 percent, *The Panjab Keshari*- 26.7 percent, and *The Tribune*- 57.6 percent, respectively. The main objective of this research was to study the styles and contents of the 'headline' and 'intro' (lead) of the newspapers. The headline is supposed to be attractive, interesting, and curious for the readers, though the readability was analyzed by classifying the news based on various issues.

There is political news, crime news, judicial news, agriculture news, international news, human interest news, science and technology, cultural, entertainment, health, education, and financial news. Political news includes any kind of public gatherings, speeches of political leaders, thoughts, activities related to political parties, and notices and news related to various political parties of a nation or a province. This study was carried out through a content analysis method and suggests the impact of media on political change; it reveals that political news had a significant position in the newspapers.

In *A study of Indian-Pak Media in the Context of Peace Process*, Mishra (2010) analyzed the role of media in India and Pakistan. This study focused on the

origin and context of a peace process, especially on the elements and limitations of the peace process, political environment and media, media of India, media of Pakistan, media in war situation, and civil society.

Mishra (2010) argued that, for 75 years, there were huge ups and downs in the peace process due to the war between India and Pakistan. Efforts initiated by the government of both nations were important for the peace process, although the media made an important contribution in this regard. But when war-time activities continue, politics and the economic system have control over the media. Politics and the economic sector were found utilizing media to tighten the grip of their control. In such situations, the media cannot play an independent role. Media has not been seen to independently appear in the India-Pakistan peace process, as both countries used media to taint each other's image.

By examining the media's roles in various wartimes, Mishra found Pakistan and India both have been disseminating more negative news than positive and neutral news during the Kargil war. At that time, Indian media had disseminated 75 percent negative, 19 percent positive, and 7 percent neutral news. Similarly, on behalf of Pakistani media, 75 percent negative, 8 percent positive, and 17 percent neutral news was presented.

However, Mishra argues civic society believed media played a favorable role in the peace process while covering news about the war. Basically, the study focused on the media of both Pakistan and India based on content analysis. The key Informant Interview method was also adopted in this research.

In Impact of New Media on Political Communication in 2014 Parliamentary election, Kushwaha (2018) studied new media and political communication in India.

Especially in the context of political communication, new media or social media are current phenomena.

Since 2000 AD, the use of social media in the political sector has been increasing. In India, all the political parties have used new media to impress the voters. This study focused on the Parliamentary Election of 2014. The political communication of *Bhartiya Janata Party, Indian National Congress, and Aam Aadmi Party* were analyzed.

Questions considered in this study include how social media was used to influence voter participation, how social media affected the election campaign, and how new media and social networking attract viewers. This study was based on the survey method. Respondents are Indian voters, aged 18-50+ years old who use new media platforms like YouTube, Facebook, blogs, and Twitter. Focus groups and Key Informant Interviews were also included in this research.

Social media is a kind of media. In politics, the media is used to impress the people. Kushwaha notes that, during the election, social media could do this more effectively. One remarkable aspect is that mainly young voters have been found active on social media and have been more impressed by the content that comes through social media.

In *Contribution of Maharshi Dayananda in Hindi Language and Hindi Newspapers*, Agrawal (2016) analyzed the special contribution of *Maharshi Dayananda* in the overall development of Hindi journalism. Conducted by relying on secondary data. This study notes the remarkable contribution of *Maharshi Dayananda* in Hindi journalism as well as in the development of the Hindi language.

This conclusion was reached based on historical documents, records, newspapers and magazines, and other texts written by *Dayananda and activities of an*

organization, '*Aarya Samaj*', established by him. Hindi magazines from 1879 to 1950 were reviewed. The magazine *Rikwedadibhasya*, published by him, was also discussed. Although this study of Agrawal (2016) is fundamentally focused on the development of Hindi language and Hindi journalism, it notes the effects of journalism in society.

These effects highlight the journalist's role in the context of the nation's politics, nationalism, and independence. Newspapers and magazines nourished by *Maharshi Dayananda's* consistently raised issues of social malfunctions, the importance of education, patriotism, and independence. During British rule in India, the Hindi newspapers played a significant role in articulating patriotism. While conducting a study about the role of media on political change in Nepal, this study based on the journalism of India before 1950 may be relevant.

Sharma (2012) researched *Media Management in Indian Regional Political Parties*. This study shows that political parties have adopted political communication processes for effective communication. Print media, broadcasting media, and online media have been used. Certain political parties were found to use these media for the sake of forming strong public opinion in their favor. Management for political communication is necessary on its own, but it is difficult to accomplish.

In this study, Sharma (2012) applied survey and content analysis. This study analyzed the media management systems of India. It found regional political parties had concluded there is an interdependent relationship between politics and media. For the dissemination of activities in politics, media becomes a compulsory means, whereas, for media, political activities remain a source to produce news and information. For both sides, the destination will be the people.

According to Emily and Christian (2021), political activities are major sources of media input to produce messages, whereas for politics, media is a process. As the output of that process reaches people, it will be fruitful for the political parties when political content and messages are disseminated. They will be extended on a mass scale. Its effects and influences explode like a missile amidst the community. That is sometimes called a hypodermic needle theory. For this, political parties might have managed good relationships with the media through lobbying, public relations, and political advertisement. India's regional political parties also use beneficial posts, assurances, research scholarships, and ideological proximity to keep journalists in their favor. Because of media's influence in society, the parties prioritize the relationship with media.

Moreover, they said that media may be an effective means for the formation of ideology. In recent times, the political parties of India have especially started to use means like televisions, radios, newspapers, the Internet, and mobiles to disseminate their agendas and policies. The trend of pamphlets and door-to-door contact has been gradually decreasing. This shows that the media will play a significant role in the political sector.

Pande (2013) argues that the media's role has been significant to create public opinion. In the political context, Pande added, the media seems to play a role in forming public opinion in elections, depending on the circumstances. These circumstances include people's intellectual level, cultural sentiments, social situation, and access to media's formation of agendas and credibility. He studied elections in India in 2004 and 2009, using case studies, content analysis, and Key Informant Interview methods.

According to this study, the media's activity during the elections in India illustrates these circumstances. Print media, radio, television, and online media disseminated issues of the elections with clear preferences. Media were found to communicate various agendas of the political parties, including their own efforts intended to build public opinion.

To form public opinion, materials like political advertisements, paid news, electoral calculations, and statements were used for publicity. Regarding the formation of public opinion, people consider both publicity and credibility of media (Ullah, Rooh & Khan, 2020).

Media is an institution with the power to change the opinion, trust, and behavior of the people. Whether it was during the independence movement of India or revolutions for democracy in other countries, the media made a special contribution to public opinion (Jesper et. al, 2020). There are many examples in history. These influences should be analyzed based on limited effect, uses, and gratification theories.

Influence may differ due to the development of social networks, diversities in readers, differences in aspirations of readers from a village or a city, and the lack of equal access to mainstream media. However, Pande (2013) seems fully convinced that media can play a role in bringing changes in political aspects especially through the creation of public opinion.

Loknath (2018) gives preference to social media in his research *Role of social media in social awareness*. He concludes that social media brings changes in the social behaviors of the public as well as in the psychological and health sectors. This study was carried out based on the sample of one thousand students who were studying in bachelor's and master's degree programs in Allahabad Hindu University, and Allahabad Central University.

The study relied on surveys, observations, and descriptive analysis. The findings suggest social media influences the social and cultural behaviors of the students. The students' thinking was found to be extended due to activities like sharing their opinions and perspectives through social media and reacting and giving the logic to the issues related to social discussions. Social media has been found useful while searching for extra educational content, new information, and knowledge. Loknath (2018) claims that social awareness among youth has increased.

Social media is the latest technology in the mass communication sector. In comparison to print, radio, and television, social media is found to be more multi-dimensional, communicative, and participatory. It is easier to acquire and has qualities of immediacy and convergence. It has become a special choice of youth for its facility of easy access. This means social media has more influence on this age group. This study generalizes that the impact of social media has been significantly noticed in social awareness, so its impact also falls on the political sector.

Vijapur (2016) carries out empirical research in the *Impact of political news on Youngs-Adults*. The study was conducted in Hubli-Dharwad corporation, in Karnataka State from August to October 1997. Among the 67 wards of Hubli-Dharwad area, 34 wards were selected for the study, which used the survey method. According to Vijapur (2016), of all the ingredients that constitute democracy, information is the key component. Information is essential, especially at the time of making important decisions. Therefore, a democratic society can be effective and successful and deliver its goods only when it has a well-informed citizenry capable of playing an independent and decisive role by making the right and rational decisions.

This study focused on 'political socialization'. Opinion, participation, and knowledge are determinants of political socialization. This study concludes that mass

media can create political awareness among adults, helping them to form political opinions through political news. Political news affects the public fundamentally. Media directly influences youth, shaping opinion, attitude, and behavior. Youth and adults depend on media content in some ways. Youth and adults have also participated in different political programs due to media content.

Jacob (2018) argues that effective political communication will have a significant impact on the voting behavior of the voters. The study attempted to find out the impact of political communication on voting behavior in Karnataka, Kerala and Tamilnadu. It found that mass media, especially political communication through newspapers and television channels, did have an impact on the voting behavior of the people in Karnataka, Kerala, and Tamilnadu.

The highest rating of media impact figured with Karnataka (88 percent); it can be attributed to the scientific use of media by the Karnataka politicians for the political propaganda, or it may be due to the credibility of the media and the belief system of the people of Karnataka. It needs further study.

This research scanned the content of newspapers and television channels of Karnataka, Kerala, and Tamilnadu over a period of 18 months. From Karnataka and Kerala, a random sample of 385 samples and Tamilnadu, 380 samples were selected, giving adequate representation to all segments of society. This study claims the media affects voting behavior. Just as media content brings change in the electoral behavior of people, media also has a role in political change.

Kumar (2021) argues that media alone cannot be responsible for political change, social transformation, and economic prosperity in any nation. For such a process, the media remains a helpful organization, but the media has limited power. The background, interest, capacity, psychology, awareness, cultural scenario, and

sentiments of audiences result in wide differences. In this environment, media access-only access is not determinative. There should be attraction, acceptance, adaptability, and intelligibility too. To create these environments, there should be a good combination of news values and credibility. Only then media's power will shine. However, media is found to keep its role as a basis of social power. While this study looks at the context of India, political processes and media have been developing deep relationships. Political leaders look at media activities within the political periphery with much interest. Leaders are found using media for propaganda.

Media impact is particularly noted during elections, especially in the elections after 1980. This may happen in all sectors, circumstances, and times. It depends on the credibility of the media. It also depends to some degree on the agenda. However, that agenda cannot be determined on a random basis by the media since society will have a role in any form. Values like objectivity, topicality, proximity, distinctiveness, struggle, novelty, curiosity and mystery of pertinent.

Kumar (2021) maintains the impact of media will be powerful, it will not be so in every situation. Media content will be sold, and its impact appears only when connected to public interest. For this reason, the media should protect the credibility part by cannons of journalism (Accuracy, Balance, Objectivity, Impartiality and Social Responsibility).

Ken (2010) opines that the public role of political and social awareness is important for the establishment and preservation of a democratic system in any nation. The context of awareness refers to right and wrong aspects of any event or situation. Not only this, with the possibility of evil tendencies in any aspect, it also means raising voices to control it.

In his research entitled *Political and Social Awareness in Indian Citizen*, Ken (2010) concludes media contributes to awareness by citizens. His research explains that the presentation of information, education, and facts in media develops cognitive knowledge in people and brings awareness. In terms of analyzing the political situation of Nepal. It can be generalized that the media has contributed to political awareness in Nepal, too.

Rajan (2009) studied this in *The Role of Media in Social Political Change: A Study from Gandhian Perspective*. This study presents Indian media's historical development from a Gandhian perspective. Newspapers from the first published newspaper in India, *Bengal Gazette* (1780), to '*Sambad Kumudi, Mituralul Akhabar*' by Raja Ram Mohan were included. He also looked at the roles of the newspapers '*Indian Opinion*, '*Navajivan*', '*Young India*' and '*Harijan*, ' which had been published in initiation of Mahatma Gandhi.

In the conclusion of this study, Ken states that in the political and social transformation of any nation or society, the media has a major role. That special role was noticed during India's movement for freedom. In India, the media made a special contribution as mass educators. Especially during India's freedom movement, newspapers helped build patriotic feelings and thoughts. That means the media provided a foundation for the movement against the British by playing an outstanding role in the formation of public opinion. Mahatma Gandhi portrayed the media as freedom fighters. As per agenda setting theory, in any society, media can play an influential role in political and social transformation. As in India's context and in the Nepali context as well, this will naturally be the subject of study.

Aroda (2016) claims that there is a strong tie between media and politics in his book *Mass Communication*. Media and politics have an interdependent and

interrelated relationship. Since the beginning of the political system, mass communication has been used to shape public opinion. Due to technological development, there was a change in traditional mass communication processes or media. For this reason, the media has become more powerful and influential in building public opinion. Obviously, its direct impact is to be seen in politics and political activities.

Globally, the dominance of dictatorial power has diminished. Democratic systems have been established in place of the ruling systems sustained by violent activities and terrifying power. In such conditions, media thrive when there is freedom of speech and expression as well as freedom of the press. Obviously, the role of democratic powers will be crucial. However, the media helps and supports the democratization process.

The role played by the media in building public opinion in India's independence and democratization was outstanding. In fact, as freedom lies at the center of a democratic system, most of the time, the media also stands for the democratic system. However, when corruption, irregularities, and malpractice evolve in a democratic system, the media can effectively watch over them (Roy, 2019).

In India, Anna Hajare and Ramdev, who campaigned against corrupt policies, were made powerful people by the media. Whether it is a democratic or dictatorial system, political powers must have the support of the media to build public opinion. Media builds public opinion by disseminating content like news, editorial, opinion, and features. In this way, when the media plays a role in the political sector, there will be a change in both the political system and the ruling politics as well.

According to Chaudhuri (1982), public opinion formation is an appropriate technique for political communication. Chaudhuri developed this idea in the survey he

did in his research into *Political communication in West Bengal, India's 6th Lok Sabha Election 1977*. In this study, the nature of political communication and the use and effect of political communication in West Bengal from 1957 to 1977 has been analyzed. He used survey and content analysis procedures.

Content analysis was conducted on five daily newspapers of West Bengal: *The Anandabazar Patrika, The Statement, The Amritbazar Patrika, The Kalantar, and The Jan Shakti*. The study focused on communication flow through the newspapers, the attitudes of the newspapers, political communication, the social dimension, and communication structure. How media acted towards the political parties was examined within the parameters of support, opposition, and neutrality. He concludes a positive impact favored the parties as per the provision of media support.

According to Chaudhuri (1982), the dissemination of principles, messages, and contents of journalism is found in *The Anandabazar Patrika, The Statement, The Amritbazar Patrika* are nearly neutral. In contrast, *The Kalantar and the Jan Shakti* newspapers were found to be tilted towards the political parties. However, due to the published news contents people were found to be taking interest in the election. Media played a role in increasing the people's interest through knowledge about election issues, interest in election campaigns, notice about election polls, and interest in election results.

Ananda (1999) supports the idea that media is effective in political implementations in the *Role of the Press in Political Mobilization: A Comparative Analysis in Colonial and Independent India*. The study claims the power of media remains effective in any system. Ananda (1999) argues that media is a forum of dialogue. It means it has been called the fourth estate and a crucial pillar of democracy.

Media is engaged in the production, reproduction, and distribution of knowledge in the widest sense of sets of symbols that have meaningful reference to experience in the social world. This knowledge enables people to make sense of experiences and shapes their perceptions. Ananda says by emphasizing political communication, the role of media becomes outstanding in political socialization and opinion formation during both colonial and independent India. In this study, various functions of mass media, its process, political communication, and political socialization are discussed, and the roles played by media during colonial and post-colonial periods in political mobilization is described. Basically, media facilitate public opinion through political agendas in actions like information, persuasion, decision, and confirmation.

Ananda used surveys, case studies, observation, and focus group discussions. He observes that even as a journalist, Mahatma Gandhi educated and mobilized people for the independence of India and then afterward used media in political implementation.

2. 5. Role of Media Organizations in People's Movement

The Federation of Nepali Journalists (FNJ) is a professional representative body of journalist who are working in all areas of modern print media, electronic, and online-across the country. It was initiated on 29 March 1956 through the establishment of the Nepal Journalists Association (NJA). It was formally converted into the present-day Federation of Nepali Journalists (FNJ) on 25 June 1995. In the context of the People's Movement in 2006, FNJ played a significant role. The Federation of Nepali Journalists has made the safeguard against the suppressor of press freedom in Nepal. After the Royal takeover on 1st February 2005, the state had tried to beat the substructure upon which the Nepali media had grown after the

reinstatement of democracy in 1990 (FNJ, 2005). In the absence of democracy, press freedom is not impossible. In such context, on February 2, 2005 (Magh 20, 2061 BS), the FNJ had decided to make the similar voices for the establishment of a democratic republic as an agenda for safeguarding Nepali media. After the decision of FNJ, its impact had also been felt in all the media of Nepal. The overthrowing of an elected government (by the King) on 4 October 2003, and then a multi-party government on 1 February 2005, came as a join to free media.

A major question is how Nepali media behaves to maintain its professionalism in the face of government suppression, threats, crisis of press freedom, and government censorship. Continued vigilance is the price has paid for freedom. Since the right to information, freedom of the press, and publication rights are enshrined in the constitution, media personnel have to be vigilant, maintain solidarity, and fight for their rights, whatever the circumstances. At the same time, networking at the district, national, and international levels and with the government is crucial to protect the rights of Nepali media personnel.

At the time of the People's Movement 2006, FNJ had decided to support Jana Aandolan-II for maintaining press freedom. FNJ chose physical, moral, and professional solidarity with the people's movement all over the nation and mobilized its national and international network in favor of democracy and press freedom (Freedom Forum, 2006).

FNJ connected with the international lobby with the help of the International Federation of Journalists to create global pressure and conducted a free debate in these conversations with media organizations like Press Chautari Nepal, Nepal Press Union, Nepal Press Institute, and Martine Chautati. These conversations helped make policy for the media. At the time, FNJ had not directly participated in political protest,

but it had made separate agitations from different media sectors. From that media agitation, 100 journalists were arrested from Kathmandu, which created public opinion and reflected social reality for maintaining a free environment in society (FNJ, 2006).

2. 6. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is the main foundation of a research project. It provides guidelines as a conceptual solution to research problems. It is a kind of structure prepared based on existence theories. In this template of connection and relations among different variables, an impact caused by them is prepared. A theoretical frame helps explain why the research problem under study exists. For this reason, a theoretical framework becomes a compulsory aspect of any kind of research. Research works cannot be completed without a theoretical framework. This is also a step in the scientific and systematic process of research. This framework is addressed by connecting the context of the problem in this study as well. The existing relevant theory has been mentioned here. The presented study research is related to the impact of media. Information, messages, and contents disseminated by media influence the viewpoints, attitudes, and behaviors of the people. Their direct effects fall upon political, economic, and social sectors too. Eventually, there will be changes and transformations in political, economic, and social areas due to the influence of media. In this study, media-centric theories focused on the impact of media on the political field.

2. 6. 1 Agenda Setting Theory

This is the idea of agenda-setting proposed in 1968, with the help of media agendas, form regarding various social issues. The theory is based on the fact that media has deep effects and impacts on the public. According to this theory, the media

filters certain issues out of various social issues and puts them forward as the media agenda. Media also affects public opinion by paying less attention to certain issues.

When the media attractively presents such filtered issues in a special frame, public opinion will be impressed. In general, people's interests focus more on issues given by the media. 'People learn, understand, and follow new things based on how much the media values the issues. In fact, to which issues media has given importance can be determined by the preference given to these issues, including their placement, size, presentation, and frequency' (Geetali, 2020).

Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw first put the agenda setting function of the mass media in 1972 in *Public Opinion Quarterly*. McCombs and Shaw propounded this principle by researching the American presidential election campaigns in 1968 and 1972. Previously, scholar Walter Lippman had expressed the idea of agenda setting in his book '*Public Opinion in 1922*'.

Bernard Cohen further explained it in 1963. However, McCombs and Shaw changed this concept into a formal principle according to which it is considered that voters would be significantly impressed by issues advertised through mass media (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

They originally suggested that the media sets the public agenda in the sense that it plays an integral part in the shaping of political realities. The amount of time spent on an issue and the information relayed in a news story, along with the story's position, determines how much a reader learns. This depends on the importance and style of presentation on the issue.

Figure 2.1

Agenda Setting Process by Mc Combs and Shaw



According to McCombs and Shaw (1972), agenda setting theory states that when the media reflects on the views of a candidate during a campaign, they are also shaping and determining the issues of importance. This can ultimately set the agenda for a political campaign. When analyzing agenda setting, there are two basic assumptions to be considered: first, media and the press filter and shape reality rather than reflecting it. Second, when the media focuses on just a few issues and subjects, the public tends to perceive those issues as more important.

Advancements in technology provide new avenues for influencing the masses. At the onset of the agenda setting theory, communication was conducted primarily via print and radio, followed by film and television. Today, communication sources are nearly unlimited, allowing for greater public engagement and setting the trend for increased attention through agenda setting.

2. 6. 2 The Propaganda Model of Communication

'Propaganda' is a word that was widely used before World War II. Its meaning is to impress any stakeholders. Propaganda refers to a conceptual model in political

economy advanced by Edwards S. Hermann and Noam Chomsky to explain how propaganda and systematic biases function in corporate mass media.

In other words, propaganda is information, ideas, opinions, or images that often give only one part of an argument that is broadcast, published, or, in some other way shaped with the intention of influencing people's opinions. In their book *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Herman and Chomsky (1998) describe how propaganda works in mass media. The model tries to understand how the population is manipulated and how the social, economic, and political attitudes are fashioned in the minds of people through propaganda. It focuses on the inequality of wealth and power and its multi-level effects on mass-media interests and choices.

Propaganda is more specifically used in the political sector. Political parties and political powers use propaganda tools to prepare public opinion in their favor by having a dominant impression on people. This is a kind of political weapon as well. According to such a model, rival parties are also harassed, and a lot more fabrication is spread, favoring one's own party. That means in propaganda, there will often be misinformation and disinformation.

Propaganda is not taken up as an easy communication. In these individual thoughts, principles, and values are thought to be supreme. Based on that belief, the material is prepared and forcefully disseminated to the related people. Propaganda tries to earn the trust of people with the help of the logic of history, philosophy, and science. However, for the sake of making their content acceptable and comprehensible, in some cases, the truth is hidden or exaggerated. There are different types of techniques for propaganda. Some of them can be described as follows:

Name Calling or Stereotyping: Giving a person or an idea a bad label by using an easy way to remember a pejorative name.

Glittering: These words are used to dupe us into accepting and approving of things without examining the evidence carefully

Deification: This is used when an idea is made to appear holy, sacred, or very special and, therefore, above all laws.

Transfer: Transfer is when a symbol is used that carries respect, authority, sanction, and prestige. These words or symbols are used along with an idea or argument to make it look more acceptable.

Testimonial: When some respected celebrities (or alternatively someone generally hated) claim that an idea or product is good (or bad). This technique is used to convince us without examining the facts more carefully.

Band Wagon: This common propaganda method is used when the speaker tries to convince us to accept their point of view or else, we will miss out on something good by claiming, sometimes falsely, that most others agree.

2. 6.3 Four Theories of the Press

Four theories of the press are relevant to the issues of media and politics. The four theories of the press explain the shape, structure, and special features of media in different political systems. It was propounded by Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm in 1956. It includes authoritarian press theory, libertarian press theory, Soviet Communist model, and social responsibility press theory. These deal with possible relationships between the government and the press.

According to Sibert, Peterson, and Schramm (1956), media does not operate in a vacuum; the press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within the ruling system. Four theories of the press are known as

normative theory that describes an ideal way for a media system to be controlled and operated by government, authority, leader, and public. These theories are basically different from other communication theories because the four theories of press do not provide any scientific explanations and predictions. These descriptive theories have come from many sources rather than a single source. These theories are more focused on the relationship between the press and the government than the audience. Four theories of the press are more concerned about the ownership of the media and who controls the media in a certain country.

Authoritarian theory: This is an idea that places all forms of communication under the control of a governing elite or authorities (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, 1956). Authorities justified their control to protect and preserve a divinely ordained social order. In most countries, this control rested in the hands of a King, who granted royal charters or licenses to media practitioners. These practitioners could be jailed for violating their charters, and charters or licenses could be revoked. It included censorship of all types of content. Authoritarian control tended to be exercised in arbitrary, uneven ways. Sometimes, considerable freedom might exist to publicize minority viewpoints and culture if authorities did not perceive a direct threat to their power. Unlike totalitarianism, authoritarian theory does not prioritize the cultivation of a homogeneous national culture. It only requires acquiescence to a governing elite.

Libertarian Theory: In rebelling against authoritarian theory, libertarians argued that if individuals could be freed from the arbitrary limits on communication imposed by church and state, they would “naturally” follow the dictates of their conscience, seek truth, engage in public debate, and ultimately create a better life for themselves and others (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1956).

Libertarians blamed authorities for preserving unnatural, arbitrary, and social orders. They believed strongly in the power of unrestricted public debate and discussion to create more natural ways of structuring society. They believed that without authoritarian restrictions, individuals could follow their conscience, communicate accordingly, and ultimately come to a knowledge of the Truth.

In *Areopagitica*, a powerful Libertarian tract published in 1644, John Milton asserted that in a fair debate, good and truthful arguments will always win out over lies and deceit. It followed that if this were true, a new and better social order could be forged using public debate. This idea came to be referred to as Milton's self-righting principle, and it continues to be widely cited by contemporary media professionals as a rationale for preserving media freedom (Altschull, 1990).

Libertarian theory basically focused on press freedom. In such contexts, John Keane (1991) identified three fundamental concepts underpinning the (American) Founders' belief in press freedom:

1. Theology: media should serve as a forum allowing people to deduce between good and evil.
2. Individual rights: press freedom is the strongest, if not the only, guarantee of liberty from political elites.
3. Attainment of truth: falsehoods must be countered; ideas must be challenged and tested, or they will become dogma.

Various forms of communication freedom-speech, press, and assembly are listed as among the most important of these rights. The ability to express dissent, to band together with others to resist laws that people find to be wrong, and to print or broadcast ideas, opinions, and beliefs- these rights are proclaimed as central to democratic self-government. Above all, the aspect of libertarian theory's fundamental

theme is media freedom, consistent with U. S. media traditions. It values individuals and precludes government control of media.

Soviet-Communist Theory: This theory originated from former the Soviet Union of Marxist, Leninist, and Stalinist thoughts after the 17th century. Under the Soviet-Communist Theory, the state owns or in some way controls all forms of mass media directly. The media's authority falls in the hands of a small group of party leaders. The role of the media in countries applying the Soviet-Communist Theory is to act as an instrument of the ruling party to unite the people of the state and to carry out plans of the party and state, bringing about societal change.

Social Responsibility Theory: The main abstract of social responsibility theory is freedom with social responsibilities. It expects rights regarding freedom of the press to help fulfill social responsibilities as well. Such a concept was developed in America in the 1940s. This principle is also explained as the principle based on the report of The Hutchins Commission, 1947. However, the Social Responsibility Theory is one important principle of the *Four Theory of Press* published in 1956 by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm.

According to the principle of social responsibilities, press freedom alone cannot address people's interests and anticipation. If it is being advocated only for freedom, some aspects of society might be in the shadows, and the rate of spontaneity might increase. There will be more trade-in information for profit. The right to privacy is being encroached upon, national security and sovereignty are not being sensitized, social morality is becoming intolerant, and eventually, chaos and marketing are on the rise. Therefore, along with freedom of the press, media needs to fulfill responsibilities towards society (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1956).

In this view, the right to information, truth, balance, objectivity, and reliability become essential conditions for media. For this, the media needs to make a suitable environment itself. That is not to be done through government control or legal procedure but self-censorship and responsible mechanisms the media makes on its own. Ethical codes are important for media to maintain itself in a self-censored condition and be responsible and accountable towards the society.

Such ethical codes are prepared by media for the media. When this is enacted, journalist's responsibility towards society will develop in a real sense. In fact, after the formation of this principle in democratic countries, there was a code of conduct for media institutions and journalists. Such a code of conduct was prepared through the Press Council at the initiation of the journalists themselves and brought into implementation. In the context of social responsibilities, similar practices have been developed in Nepal too (Bista, 2017).

In the mid-20th century, many countries applied the social responsibility theory, incorporating "The Commission of the Freedom of Press" in The United States in 1949. Anyone can express their opinion through mass media. Additionally, mass media plays an essential role in raising a voice against discrimination and corruption (Kobiruzzaman, 2023).

According to Siebert, Peterson & Schramm (1956), freedom of expression under the social responsibility theory is not an absolute right, as under pure libertarian theory. One's right to free expression must be balanced against the private rights of other citizens and against vital societal interests. Some fundamental features of social responsibility theory are:

- Media as a democratic institution
- Public participation

- Self-regulation in media
- Code of Ethics
- Professional standards
- Media's role in criticizing the government
- Pluralistic media (including ideas and people from different groups)
- Private press ownership

This study focuses on media's role in political change in Nepal. This study analyzes how the media played a role in the political transformation of Nepal. However, in exploring the role of the media in political change, it is necessary to examine the extent to which the media has been able to stand for neutrality and objectivity on its own feet. Media has no right to be biased against any individual, institution, or system. This is the main abstract of social responsibility theory. In this context, the relevance of the theory mentioned here is considered appropriate for this study.

2. 6. 4 Communication Model

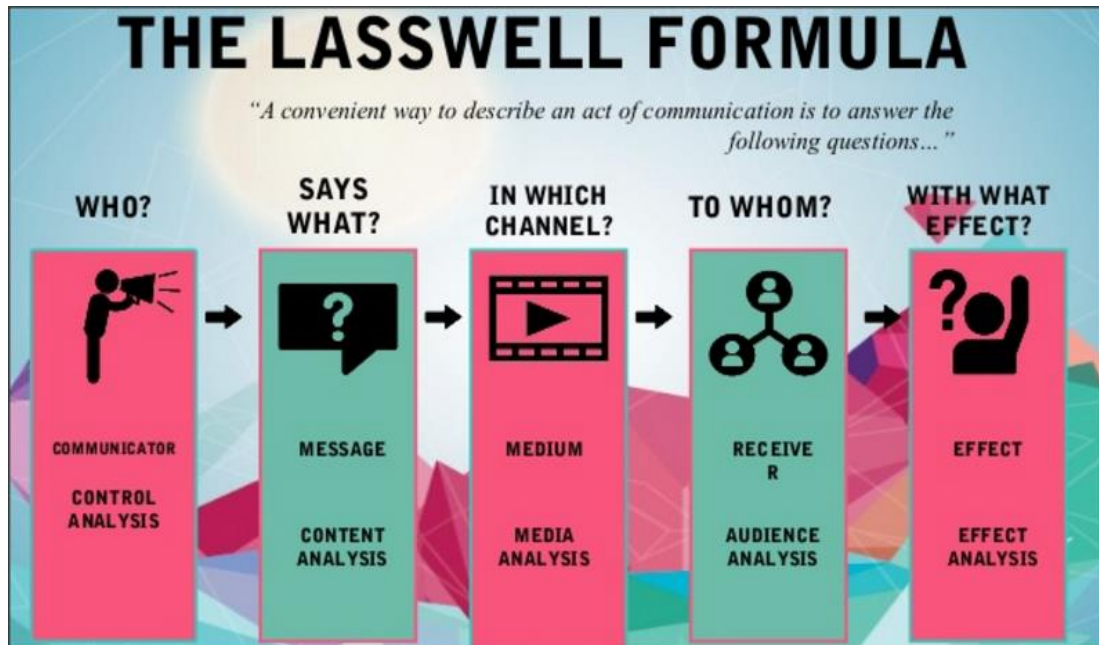
It becomes critical to think of structural viewpoints while analyzing political communication. Therefore, in the context of political change, the choice and implementation of a communication model is important. While disseminating information during the People's Movement in 2006, Nepali media used a special type of communication structure. Here, Laswell's communication model can be used to analyze how and in which communication was used and what impact was left by it. This communication model, proposed in 1952 by Harold Laswell, is also called the SMCR model of communication. Its main abstract is *Who Says What, In Which Channel, To Whom, and With What Effect* (Stinberg, 2007). Here *who* refers to the sender, *say what* means message, *in which channel* means different kinds of media, *to*

whom means the receiver, and *to what effect* means effect of the communication.

These four aspects of communication are essential elements for effective politics.

Figure 2.2

Communication Model



Source: *Laswell's Communication Model, 1948.*

Who is supposed to be the sender. It is the source of **messages** an individual or an institution prepares. In fact, a message sender matters a lot in communication.

Similarly, '**say what**' means what messages the sender has sent. In the context of a message, it means what an agenda is. Likewise, '**In which Channel**' means the medium through which messages disseminate. That is media. The meaning of '**To whom**' stands for a '**Receiver**'. '**What effect**' means how much media's messages influence the receiver. This study uses this model to explain through which structure media disseminated messages during the People's Revolution.

2.7 Research Gap

While reviewing the literature and theories mentioned above, it is found that political change has been researched in terms of media perception. Such research has

been conducted internationally. Such research has also been carried out in the universities of the neighboring country, India. Research and studies conducted on this subject have shown that the media can influence the area of politics and political change.

As far as Nepal is concerned, that have connected politics and media. In some studies, either only political aspects have been focused on, or the media sector has been given preference. It has been established that the effect of media extends to the political, economic, social, and cultural sectors.

Based on this theoretical context, these studies have not analyzed the impact of the media on Nepal's political change. There is no separate research on the effect of the media on the People's Revolution of Nepal in 2006. Here is a research gap. This study explores the effect of the media on political change in this specific period of Nepal's development.

2. 8. Conceptual Framework

In general, the role of media should be fair and free. But every time, the situation will not be normal. In special circumstances, the role of media depends on the political system. The determination of the media's role based on the political system is mentioned in four theories of the press (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1956).

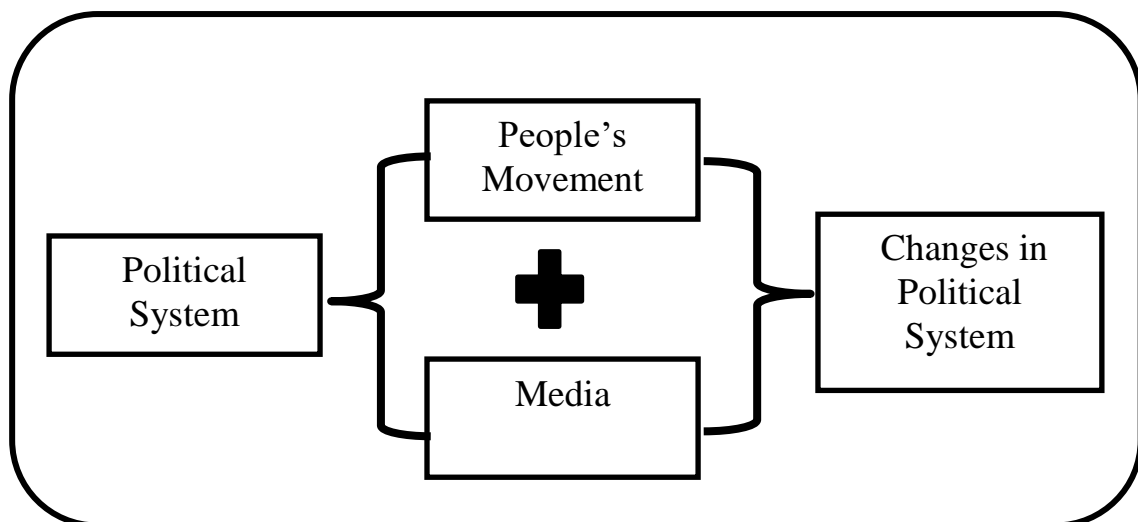
However, after 1947, the concept that media should be more responsible towards society developed. The notion of responsible journalism began in 1922. The role of media will be free and fair when there is a full guarantee of press freedom. For this, there is a need for a political system that ensures the fundamental rights of citizens. That is possible only in democratic and republican systems. There will not be any certainty of civic rights in an authoritarian system. As there are no fundamental

rights in an authoritarian system, the media is found favoring these fundamental rights. In such a condition, there may be a problem with media neutrality. This occurred during the People's movement in 2006. At that time, democracy was in crisis because King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah had taken the executive power of the nation by himself. The media supported the People's Movement in 2006 on the condition of ensuring press freedom. Here, press freedom was connected to democracy. This is shown in the conceptual framework in the following ways.

Considering the overall introductory review of literature related to the present area of interest, the researcher has developed a conceptual framework to guide the research in more systematic and vibrant ways. Figure-3 depicts the complex conceptual framework elements governing the present study.

Figure 2.3

Conceptual Framework



Source: Researcher himself, 2022.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The objective of this research is to examine the role of media in the People's Movement 2006 and political change in Nepal to identify what, how, and why media worked during the political movement in Nepal. This section describes the research methods used to achieve the research objectives.

According to McMillan and Schumacher (2010), research is a methodical process of data collection, interpretation, and analysis. Though numerous social scientific approaches are employed to explore problems or questions to resolve the gaps between and among research variables, this definition makes the topic intelligible to generalize data about the relevant difficulties. These techniques have been designed to ensure the study's validity and dependability.

The research topic is restated at the beginning of the chapter, followed by a description of the study design and a philosophical justification for using both qualitative and quantitative research design. Additionally, the demography, sample, research tools, and data collection techniques employed in this study are identified and described in this chapter.

Cooper, Schindler and Sharma (2012) state that qualitative research includes an array of interpretative techniques that seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain naturally occurring phenomena in the social world. Qualitative research aims to achieve an in-depth understanding of a situation and is designed to tell the researcher how (process) and why (meaning) things happen as they do.

Quantitative research, on the other hand, attempts to make precise measurements of something and answer questions related to how much, how often,

how many, when, and who. Such methodology often consists of participant responses that are coded, categorized, and reduced to numbers so that these data may be manipulated for statistical analysis. This research uses a concurrent embedded mixed approach- qualitative as well as quantitative. Details of the method are described in the following separate points:

3. 1 Introduction to the Research Area

This research has focused on Kathmandu valley. Kathmandu, Lalitpur, and Bhaktapur districts are in Kathmandu valley as well as the federal capital of Nepal. The mainstream media are concentrated in Kathmandu Valley, and all national political parties have established their central offices in Kathmandu valley. Kathmandu valley is also a central administrative location of Nepal, in This regard, the study area has been selected for research.

3. 2 Research Philosophy

It is crucial to place qualitative and quantitative research in relation to other types of research conceptually. There is a persistent need to understand the nature of reality (ontology), knowledge (epistemology), and axiology (Merriam, 2009). Certain conventions about the research criteria are established by conventional research paradigms. Merriman believes researchers should attempt to elucidate an objective reality. Finding the objective reality is the fundamental goal of the study.

In general terms, research philosophy deals with the source, nature, and development of knowledge. It is a belief about the way in which data about a phenomenon are collected, analyzed, and used. Generally, research philosophy has many branches related to a wide range of disciplines. Positivism, realism, interpretivism, and pragmatism are the major branches of philosophy. This research is specifically based on the philosophy of interpretivism. The concrete conclusion has

been drawn on the base of published content, the perception of respondents, and the interview results of key informants in this research. Facts have been obtained in both quantitative and qualitative forms and tested in statistical tools and drawn conclusions.

3.3 Research Design

This research basically focuses on the media's effect on political change in the context of Nepal. After the Rana regime (1846), Nepal saw five fundamental political changes in 1951, 1960, 1990, 2001, and 2006, but this research tries to make a thorough analysis of the people's movement in 2006. It particularly explores and discusses what role Nepali media played during the people's movement, how they presented that role and why that role was played by the media.

Present research has basically applied descriptive and analytical method to achieve established objectives. The data collected from the survey are presented by descriptive method, the data collected from content analysis are exploratory method and the data collected from interviews are presented based on explanatory method.

3.4 Sources of Data

Both primary and secondary sources have been included in this research. Primary data has been collected through the code sheet for content analysis, questionnaires for survey, and in-depth interviews of key informants (KII). Secondary data has been collected through documents such as books, journal articles, historical documents, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, manifestos, websites, and audio and video archives.

3.5 Sample Design

This research depends on sampling. News materials published in *the Kantipur Daily*, *the Rajdhani Daily*, *the Annapurna Post*, *the Nepal Samachar Patra*,

and the *Gorkha Patra* have been used for content analysis. According to the records of the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology, the number of newspapers registered in Nepal by 2006 was 2253. Among them, 643 were regularly published. In that, the number of newspapers published daily was almost 90. Among these, five broadsheet daily newspapers routinely published since 2006 have been selected here.

Table 3. 1

Selected Newspapers for Content Analysis

S. N.	Name of Newspapers	Abbreviation	Established Date	Ownership
1	The Kantipur Daily	TKD	1993	Private
2	The Annapurna Post	TAP	2002	Private
3	The Nepal Samachar Patra	TNS	1995	Private
4	The Rajdhani Daily	TRD	2001	Private
5	The Gorkha Patra Daily	TGD	1901	Government

Source: Content Analysis, 2022.

These five newspapers are the Nepali broadsheet daily newspapers. They were being published before the political movement in 2006. Content analysis was conducted on the front page and op-ed page of these five dailies over 42 days, from 14th March 2006 to 26th April 2006 (*Chaitra-1, 2062 to Baishakh-11, 2063 BS.*). The day 11th Baishak 2063 was a historical moment for Nepali politics. On this day, King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah was compelled to announce the success of the people's movement.

A total of 214 respondents have been selected for the survey. The age group above 31 years has been included in the sample here because those who have information about the people's movement 2006 should be included. However, the

respondents were selected to be representatives based on gender, profession, education, and age group. A convenient sampling method has been adopted for this.

The survey collected information about the age group of respondents, their educational and professional background, their knowledge about the people's movement, their participation, and the overall role of media in the movement.

To make this study representative, various age groups, academic qualifications, professions, and classes have been addressed in the selection of respondents. Respondents could understand the People's Movement and complete the form using technology. On this basis, respondents were selected through purposive-convenience procedures. Selected sample for survey has given in following table.

Table 3.2

Background of Respondents

S. N.	Background of Respondents (Group)	Number
1	Journalist	77
2	Political Activist	34
3	Social mobilizer	16
4	Civil Servant	18
5	Businessman	11
6	Professor/Teachers	18
7	General Public	35
9	Others (Doctors, Nurses, Accountants)	5
	Total	214

Source: Survey, 2022.

Additional data consisted of nine prominent Key Informant Interviews taken with people from the journalism and political field. Key information experts have

been selected based on the fact that they are well informed about the People's Movement 2006, have experience in journalism, and are leaders of major political parties (Nepali Congress, CPN-UML and CPN-Maoist) who participated in the movement at that time. They are Somnath Ghimire, Dharmendra Jha, Narayan Regmi, Taranath Dahal, Bala Krishna Chapagain from the media field and Narayanman Bijukakhsa, Ram Narayan Bidari, Ramesh Lekhak, and Pradeep Gynwali from the political field. Details of Key Informants have given in following table.

Table 3. 3

Group and Number of Respondents for Key Informant Interview

S. N.	Group	Number	Name of Key Informants
1	Journalists	4	<i>Dharmendra Jha, Narayan Regmi, Taranath Dahal, Balkrishna Chapagain</i>
2	Political Leaders	4	<i>Narayanman Bijukakhsa, Ram Narayan Bidari, Ramesh Lekhak, and Pradeep Gynwali</i>
3	Media Expert	1	<i>Somnath Ghimire</i>

Source: Key Informant Interview, 2022.

Questions were prepared about the relationship between media and politics and the media impact on political change with special reference to the people's movement 2006. Only seven questions have been asked with selected experts on the KII process.

3. 6 Method of Data Collection

This research is based on both qualitative and quantitative methods. Most of the quantitative data has been gathered through the survey and qualitative data has been collected through content analysis and interviews with key informants.

Procedures for collecting data are given below:

3. 7 Methods of Data Analysis

Data analysis is a major part of the research. Appropriate tools and techniques should be applied for data analysis in research. Both quantitative and qualitative methods have been applied in this research. The quantitative data are presented in tables and graphs according to certain statistics rules. Simple quantitative techniques and methods have been applied in this research process. On the qualitative side, narrative and discourse techniques were applied for data analysis. SPSS version 26 has used to analyze the data, tables, correlation, and association. Quantitative analysis (survey) has been analyzed with descriptive statistics, content and interview have analyze with the narrative style.

3. 8 Data Management

Data management in research refers to the care and maintenance of the data produced during a research process. It is an integral part of research and helps ensure the given data are properly organized, described, preserved, and shared. In this research, information is organized, described, and preserved in a record with given instruments.

3. 9 Thematic Analysis

Media and politics have a close relationship. Media is a kind of organized medium or a technology. It is also the medium of productions, distributions and exhibitions of information and messages. It has the capacity to provide easy access to information, ideas, thoughts, and messages to be delivered to the community. Such a role is a must for the politics. According to McQuail (2013) politics can be a reliable source of information, thoughts, and perspectives for the media. Media must play a remarkable role to make any kind of political movement successful.

During the 1930s, Hitler used media in the Nazi propaganda war. America established the Institute of Propaganda Research to influence public opinion and face the propaganda of war conducted by Hitler (Turow, 2020). Similarly, media played a significant role in shaping public support for freedom during the independence movement in India (Vilani, 2013). In such context, role of media on people's movement expects meaningful for academic research.

According to Basnet (2007), the political phenomena of the different periods directly affected Nepali journalism and vice versa, i.e., the political activities were influenced through journalism. In other words, journalism played key role in accelerating the speed of the people's movement and slowing it down. In Nepal, during every political incident, mass media have been found actively disseminating significance messages to the public and inspiring the rebels not to feel tired in the movements. Nepali journalism sector has always stood as an eyewitness during the moments of political change (Basnet, 2007).

While claiming the crucial role of media in political change, the effect of media on the socio-political and economic ground of the society is to be taken seriously. Needless to say, the media has a heavy influence on political sectors. The question is if media has influence, but the degree of influence, its impact on the people's political life, and its consequences. Media affects not only politics and political movements but also social, economic, and cultural areas as well.

The level of media's influence is determined in terms of the characteristics of the society. The influence of media differs according to the level of awareness of people in the societies. There can be a lot of influences by media in a society or little. However, political, social, economic, and cultural sectors are influenced by the media's activities and roles (Saeed, 2013). In any society, the media's roles appear in

two different ways: reflection of public opinion and the creation of public opinion.

Media reflects various types of voices, feelings, perspectives, and ambitions that exist in society.

Media reflects representative-based concepts by collecting common sentiments of the people in the society. Similarly, it keeps its eyes on the events taking place in the society and disseminates the real aspects of them. This is the reflection of public opinion. Likewise, in the second role, the media tries to create public opinion by selecting and presenting subject matters, viewpoints, agendas, and concepts on issues.

The creation of public opinion is really a complex work. For this, the media adopts a special type of process. Although the media sets an agenda to decide which issues are to be prioritized out of the several issues in society, it creates opinion by selecting the chief issues after advertising the issues determined in this way. In fact, the process of creating such public opinion is a major theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

The core idea of agenda setting theory is that the news media indicates to the public what the main issues of the day are and what the public perceives as the main issues. In the context of agenda setting theory, famous political figure Bernard Cohen's asserts (1963), "The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people *what to think*, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers *what to think about*".

Similarly, the role used by media for reflecting and creating public opinion comes from the role of its functions. As the functional perspective, the functional tasks of media are education, interpretation, surveillance, and the transmission of values and persuasion to the public (McQuail, 2013).

People receive information about factual incidents through the media. The knowledge of the main subjects, opportunities for additional clarities on the subjects, and similar motivation for any action are acquired from the media. As a result, a change comes in the thoughts, concepts, viewpoints, and behaviors of the people. Such change does not only come in the social behaviors but also comes in the political, economic, and cultural behaviors. This study describes the change that comes in the political concepts and viewpoints of the people due to media and tries to analyze its role in political change.

Meaningful political changes that occurred in 1846, 1950, 1960, 1990, and 2006 in Nepali history. However, the role of media was not noticed in the political change in 1846. At that time, modern type of media was not available in Nepal. There were only twelve media outlets in Nepal from 1846 to 1950 (Press Council Nepal, 2006). The influence of media was minimal in the political change of 1950. However, people won victory over the Rana's rule and introduced democracy for the first time in Nepal.

After the establishment of democracy, the means of media began to grow and develop. In 1960, King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shahdev usurped democracy and discarded the multiparty system to set up a party-less Panchayat system, placing people's sovereign rights under him. King Mahendra initiated an absolute monarchy system. At that time, media could not play any noticeable role, although Nepali media had already developed at that time (Dahal, 2012). It was a period of democratic system development during the period from 1950 to 1960. During this period, various publication houses published one hundred forty-seven daily, weekly, fortnightly, and monthly magazines and newspapers (Press Commission, 1958).

Similarly, on 2 April 1951, Radio Nepal was established and began transmitting. After the political incident of 1960, two groups with different political inclinations appeared in the Nepalese media. One group of magazines and newspapers started to advocate in favor of the changed political system, whereas another group expressed an unwillingness to accept that incident as natural and started to disseminate thoughts by creating public opinion in favor of democracy (Basnet, 2007).

By the time of political change in 1990, publications in magazines and newspapers had increased. According to the Press Council (1991), the total number of newspapers and magazines reached fifteen hundred in number. But in this period, there was only one radio outlet. However, on 29th December 1985 (14 of Push 2042), Nepal Television was established as the nation's first television. Radio Nepal and Nepal Television were established under the ownership of the government. *Gorkhapatra* was published daily since 18th February 1961 (7 Falgun, 2017), and the National News Agency was set up as the first news agency in 1961. These were both government media (Acharya, 2018).

Undoubtedly, in the political change in 1990, all the media could not play an equal role. Of course, the media played an important role in disseminating thoughts to make the people's revolution successful. Especially by then, magazines and newspapers made attempts to play the role of mission journalism to create public opinion in favor of democracy. By then, the agendas of the major political parties, the Nepali Congress, and the United Leftist Front, were the agendas of the media.

In 2001, parliament was dissolved, and a general election could not be held. At the same time, King Gyanendra took over the democratic government by centralizing all the executive power within him. Then, the direct rule of King was resumed in the

nation. As a result, the political parties went to the streets to protest. People's Movement began aiming at ousting the autocratic monarchical political system and introducing the People's Democratic Republic system. At this critical period, Nepali media openly supported the People's Democratic Republic Movement. During this period, the number of media was greatly increased. By 2006, the number of Nepali magazine and newspapers were 2, 253. The numbers of radios and televisions were 56 and 5, respectively (Department of Information, GoN, 2007).

According to annual report (2022) of the Press Council Nepal, the number of newspapers increased to 7, 847, whereas the numbers of radios and televisions are 700 and 150, respectively, with 2, 500 online portals (Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, 2022).

CHAPTER IV

ROLE OF MEDIA DURING PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT 2006

While studying the role of media on political change in Nepal, the context of media coverage and their presentation covers a significant meaning. In this study, content analysis is used to measure how much coverage and how Nepali media presented coverage during the people's movement from 14 March to 26 April in 2006.

4. 1 Coverage and Presentation of People's Movement in Newspaper

Principally, media writing should be on the base of truth, correctness, exactness, neutrality, objectivity, and civic liability. Nothing can be compromised in these points (Tilak, 2020). In fact, this is also the theory and justice of journalism. But sometimes, there may be limitations to this neutrality, as was especially seen during the people's movement 2006.

A question was raised by then since Nepali media could not favor the government. People felt the media mostly disseminated news content favoring the movement conducted by the alliance of seven political parties. In this context, the facts about coverage of relevant content and the way or style were presented in the print media have been mentioned in the table with different topics.

4. 1. 1 Coverage of People's Movement Issues in FrontPage

According to Pasternack and Utt (1986), the front page of the newspaper is the most important page of the publication, and it highlights the day's most critical stories. It is generally considered to function to attract readers, inform them, and set the reader's agenda. The front page is considered the most valuable part of a newspaper.

Scanning the front-page headlines and images quickly gives readers a sense of what is going on so they can choose what they want to learn more about. The front page is also important because it may be the only part of the paper that many readers

will see. On this basis, the news published on the first page tells how much that newspaper has given importance to the concerned agenda.

Total 1485 news articles were covered on the front-page during movement period in selected five national dailies. Among them, 824 were related to *political issues*, and 641 were specifically related to the *people's movement*. Of all included news content, 43.16 percent was directly related to the peoples' movement. It can be seen newspapers significantly covered the news related to the people's movement of 2006.

Furthermore, when analyzing five newspapers, it can be seen how much each of them covered. *Kantipur* gave the largest space for the news on the people's movement in 2006. Out of 255 articles published on the first page, 148 were related to politics, while 119 articles were related to the movement. *Annapurna Post* is in the second position after *Kantipur* with 49.01 percent news related to the movement. Similarly, such news published in *Nepal Samacharpatra*, *Rajdhani* and *Gorkhapatra* is 48.38, 35.80, and 39.24 percent, respectively. A detailed description of coverage in newspapers is presented in table 4.1.

Table 4.1*Coverage of Political News in Daily Newspapers during Movement*

S. N.	Newspaper Name	Total News in Front Page	Number of political news	News related with People's Movement	Movement related news in total (percent)
1	Kantipur Daily	255	148	119	46. 6
2	Annapurna Post	255	155	125	49. 01
3	Nepal Samachar Patra	279	179	135	48. 38
4	Rajdhani Daily	324	154	116	35. 80
5	Gorkha Patra Daily	372	188	146	39. 24
	Total	1485	824	641	43. 16

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

According to table 4. 1, out of the total news content published on the front page of those mentioned newspapers, 35 to 50 percent of news is found making content related to the People's Movement. In this period, the media is found making issues of people's movement a major agenda. In this regard, *Kantipur* was found to be in the first position. It was followed by *Annapurna Post*, *Nepal Samachar Patra*, *Gorkha Patra*, and *Rajdhani*, respectively.

It can be concluded that Nepali media have given enough preference to the agenda related to people's movement. Out of them, *Kantipur* was found to be giving special preference to the agenda of the movement. The agenda of the People's Movement was directly connected with democracy. Without democracy, there can be no guarantee of press freedom. That is why the media gave coverage of the issues of the people's movement with a special focus on Nepal, and the issues of the people's movement got important space on the front pages of the newspapers.

Kantipur, Annapurna Post, Nepal Samacharpatra, Rajdhani, and Gorkhapatra have given the largest space for the news of the people's movement 2006. Within 42 days, 1485 news items were covered on the front page of these five newspapers. Out of the total news content published on the front page of those mentioned newspapers, 35 to 50 percent of news content was related to the people's movement. Out of them, *Kantipur* has been found to be giving special preference to the agenda of people's movement. The issue of democracy matters since, without democracy, there will be no guarantee of press freedom.

4. 1. 2 Coverage of the Issues of People's Movement with Photo

While analyzing news coverage in newspapers, the importance of an agenda is also determined by how photos have been used. If contextual photos are used in the news, that will attract and impress the readers. In the context of agenda setting, a photo is also an important tool.

In an overall analysis of the 641 news items published during the period of study in the five national dailies, 37.12 percent of the news items included photos, whereas 62.87 percent were found without photos. But, while the newspapers were individually observed, real differences were found to be different. Analyzed on this basis, *Kantipur* used the maximum number of photos, and the fewest number of photos was used by *Gorkhapatra*. The description of the photos used in the newspapers appears in table 4.2.

Table 4.2*Coverage of People's Movement Issues with Photos*

S. N.	Newspaper Name	News Coverage	News Coverage	Total
		with Photos	without Photos	
1	Kantipur Daily	67(56.30 percent)	52(43.69 percent)	119
2	Annapurna Post	54 (43.2 percent)	71(56.8 percent)	125
3	Nepal Samachar Patra	39(28.88 percent)	96(71.11 percent)	135
4	Rajdhani Daily	49(42.24 percent)	67 (57.75 percent)	116
5	Gorkha Patra Daily	29 (19.86 percent)	117 (80.13percent)	146
Total		238 (37.12 percent)	403(62.87 percent)	641

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

According to table 4.2, *Kantipur* used photos for 67 (56.30 percent) news stories in this period out of 119 items. It did not use any photos for 52 (43.69) news. Likewise, *Annapurna Post* used photos for 54 (43.2 percent) articles while publishing 125 articles, but it did not use any photos for 71 (56.8 percent) news.

Nepal Samacharpatra used 39 (28.88 percent) photos for 135 news items, but it did not use any photos for 96 (71.11 percent) of them. While publishing 116 news items, *Rajdhani* used photos for 49 (42.24 percent) items, but it did not use any photos for 67 (57.75 percent) items. Similarly, *Gorkhapatra* used photos for 29 (19.86 percent) items out of its published 146 items, and it did not use any photos for 117(80.13 percent).

Compared to other newspapers, *Kantipur Daily* forwarded the issues of people's movement as a major agenda and tried to present them in attractive ways through photos too. It seemed to be trying to build up public opinion favoring democracy. However, numerically *Annapurna Post* and *Nepal Samacharpatra* also seemed to be disseminating news content favoring this movement. *Rajdhani Daily*

was also on the same track. But comparatively, *Gorkhapatra* was found using minimum photos in the news. *Gorkhapatra* seemed not very much interested in giving preference to the issues of people's movement.

4. 1. 3 Placements of the Issues of People's Movement in Newspapers

On which side of the relevant page the news is placed also reflects how much importance newspapers give it. Obviously, the front page of the newspapers is valuable. Moreover, the news put at the top of the left or right on the first page of the newspapers is supposed to be the most important. News placed at the middle, bottom of the right, or bottom of the left is considered less important.

The most important news is supposed to be that covered from right to left. It is also called news placement. Here again, *Kantipur* seemed to give the news related to People's Movement more preference.

According to this preference, *Kantipur* gave three pieces of news from right to left by covering the whole page. Similarly, *Gorkhapatra* also covered the whole page with two pieces of news from right to left. Other newspapers did not give such placement. Table 4. 3 presents details about the placement of news given in the movement period.

Table 4. 3*Placements of Movement News in National Dailies*

S. N.	Newspaper Name	Top of the Right	Top of the Left	Bottom of the Right	Bottom of the Left	Middle in page	Right to Left
1	Kantipur Daily	29	31	33	13	10	3
2	Annapurna Post	32	37	22	9	25	-
3	Nepal Samachar Patra	38	36	33	18	10	-
4	Rajdhani Daily	27	30	29	16	14	
5	Gorkha Patra Daily	24	27	14	3	76	2
	Total	150	161	131	59	135	5

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

According to table 4.3, during the study period, *Kantipur Daily* put 29 news items covering the people's movement at the top of the right, 31 at the top of the left, 33 at the bottom of the right, 13 at the bottom of the left and 10 in the middle page as per placement. Similarly, *Annapurna Post* put 32 pieces of such coverage at the top of the right, 37 at the top of the left, 22 at the bottom of the right, 9 at the bottom of the left, and 25 at the middle page, as per placement.

Nepal Samacharpatra put 38 pieces of news at the top of the right, 36 at the top of the left, 33 at the bottom of the right, 18 at the bottom of the left, and 10 on the middle page, and *Rajdhani Daily* put 27 pieces of news at the top of the right, 30 at the top of the left, 29 at the bottom of the right, 16 at the bottom of the left and 14 in the middle page.

The *Gorkhapatra* put the largest pieces of movement coverage, that is, 76 items, in the middle. *Gorkhapatra* put 24 at the top of the right, 27 at the top of the left, 14 at the bottom of the right, and 59 at the bottom of the left as per placement.

Just as the issues of the people's movement were given coverage with preference by Nepali print media, they also gave them preference with the placement of the top of the right and the top of the left. The agenda of the People's Movement received remarkable coverage in that period.

4. 1. 4 Given Size People's Movement Issues in Newspapers

How much the newspapers of Nepal gave preference to issues related to the movement conducted by seven political parties in terms of their size was also analyzed. Movement-related news has been counted in terms of column. Newspapers were found disseminating news from one to eight columns. In an overall analysis of 641 movement-related items published in this period, most of them were found to be of three columns.

News with one column came to the second position. Its number was 153. Similarly, the news with two columns came to the third position. It was followed by the news with four, five, six, seven, and eight columns, respectively. There were 6 items with 8 columns, 7 with 7 columns and 24 with 6 columns. The size of the news items given by various newspapers during the study period is presented in table 4. 4.

Table 4. 4

Given Size of Movement Related News in Newspapers. (In Column)

S. N.	Newspaper Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
1	TKD	43	20	17	15	6	9	6	3	119
2	TAP	27	29	25	29	11	4	-	-	125
3	TNSP	33	33	38	18	5	7	1	-	135
4	TRD	20	19	43	26	5	3	-	-	116
5	TGPD	30	35	55	21	2	1		2	146
	Total	153	136	178	109	29	24	7	5	641

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

According to table 4.4, out of 119 pieces of news related to the People's Movement and published by *Kantipur* in the period of the study, three pieces of news were given placement of eight columns. Similarly, there were six pieces of news in six columns, six in five columns, 17 in four columns, 20 in two columns, and the most, or 43, in one column. *Kantipur* gave top preference to movement-related issues. To give movement-related issues, the top area of the front page in eight columns is itself a meaningful finding.

Likewise, in *Annapurna Post*, the movement related news was published in one to six columns. It published four pieces of news in six columns, 11 in five columns, 29 in four columns, 25 in three columns, 29 in two columns, and 27 in one column.

Similarly, *Nepal Samacharpatra* published one piece of news in seven columns, seven in six columns, five in five columns, 18 in four columns, 38 in three columns, 33 in two columns, and 33 in one column.

In *Rajdhani*, there was a piece of news in six columns. There was no news in more than six columns. It published two pieces of news in five columns, 21 in four columns, 55 in three columns, 35 in two columns, and 30 in one column.

The *Gorkhapatra* had two pieces of news in eight columns. It had no news in seven columns. It had one piece of news in six columns, two in five columns, 21 in four columns, 55 in three columns, 35 in two columns, and 30 in one column. In fact, *Gorkhapatra* had more news in one to three columns.

These findings indicate the newspapers of Nepal were found disseminating news with preference given to people's movement with the objective of establishing democracy. *Kantipur* was found covering this agenda with more space. Similarly, *Annapurna Post* and *Nepal Samacharpatra* stand in the second and third ranks, respectively, in this regard. Likewise, this issue also got a preference in *Rajdhani*. But in the *Gorkhapatra* Peoples' Movement, issues were given less priority.

4. 1. 5 Political Agenda Taken by Newspaper in People's Movement Period

During the People's Movement major daily newspapers of Nepal were found revealing three agendas: full-fledged democracy, peace establishment, and continuity of the monarchy.

Some media disseminated their indifferent viewpoints by keeping silent on the news related to all three agendas. Here, while revealing the agenda of democracy, it was explained as a complete democracy. Similarly, *Kantipur*, *Annapurna*, and *Nepal Samacharpatra* connected the issues of peace with democracy. An agenda was set by saying that if democracy was established, peace would be restored. *Rajdhani* has found connecting the agenda of peace with both democracy and monarchy. But *Gorkhapatra* clearly connected monarchy with the issue of peace. The agenda raised by the newspapers of Nepal during the study has been presented in table 4.5.

Table 4. 5*Political Agenda Taken by Media during the Movement*

S. N.	Newspaper Name	Full-fledged Democracy	Peace	Monarchy	Indifference	Total
1	Kantipur Daily	33 (27. 73 percent)	79 (66. 38 percent)	--	7 (5. 8 percent)	119
2	Annapurna Post	30 (24. 0 percent)	75 (60. 0 percent)	4 (3. 2 percent)	16 (12. 8 percent)	125
3	Nepal Samachar Patra	46 (34. 07 percent)	52 (38. 5 percent)	7 (5. 2 percent)	30 (22. 2 percent)	135
4	Rajdhani Daily	27 (23. 27 percent)	77 (66. 37 percent)	5 (4. 3 percent)	7 (5. 03 percent)	116
5	Gorkha Patra Daily	--	54 (36. 9 percent)	45 (30. 8 percent)	47 (32. 19 percent)	146
Total		136 (21. 2 percent)	337 (52. 57 percent)	61 (9. 5 percent)	107 (16. 6 percent)	641

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

According to table 4.5, out of 641 news items published in five newspapers during the study period, both the agenda of Full-fledged democracy and establishment of peace, respectively, got 21.2 and 52.57 percent space. Similarly, the agenda of Monarchy was given 9.5 percent space. Agenda was not mentioned in 16.6 percent.

Newspapers were basically found making peace and democracy a major agenda. Except for *Gorkhapatra*, *Kantipur*, *Annapurna Post*, *Nepal Samacharpatra*, and *Rajdhani* presented the agenda of the establishment of Full-fledge Democracy by addressing democracy and peace.

In Table 5, *Kantipur* covered the agenda of democracy most. It did not give space to items related to the monarchy. Similarly, *Annapurna Post*, *Nepal Samachar Patra*, and *Rajdhani Daily* also mainly revealed the agenda of Democracy. However, they have given 3 to 5 percent space to the agenda of Monarchy as well. But, in comparison to the other newspapers, *Gorkhapatra* gave entire space to the Monarchy. It gave no space at all to Democracy.

The Gorkhapatra is in the ownership of the government, and it was its responsibility to advocate the then government. However, except *The Gorkhapatra*, all other media covered the issues of Democracy raised by the People's Movement, conducted by seven political parties and Maoist, with preference.

4. 1. 6 Tone of News Material Presented by the Newspapers

After studying content published in the newspapers, it can be determined which aspects they favor. In an overall analysis of 641 news items published in the five dailies, *Kantipur*, *Annapurna Post*, *Nepal Samacharpatra*, most news items were found to be favoring the People's Movement, 2006. It means 54.9 percent of news published was found favorable to People's Movement, 2006. Whereas 20.4 percent of news published was found favorable to the government, and 24.6 percent of the news did not seem to favor any parties or seemed neutral. The tone of published news during this period is presented in table 4.6.

Table 4. 6*Tone of News-Material Presented by the Newspapers.*

S. N.	Newspaper Name	Neutral	Favorable to Movement	Favorable to Government	Total
1	Kantipur Daily	29 (24. 4 percent)	87 (73. 1 percent)	3 (2. 5 percent)	119
2	Annapurna Post	11 (8. 8 percent)	108 (86. 4 percent)	6 (4. 8 percent)	125
3	Nepal Samachar Patra	38 (28. 14 percent)	78 (57. 8 percent)	19 (14. 07 percent)	135
4	Rajdhani Daily	36 (31. 03 percent)	79 (68. 1 percent)	13 (11. 2 percent)	116
5	Gorkha Patra Daily	44 (30. 13 percent)	-	102 (69. 86 percent)	146
Total		158 (24. 6 percent)	352 (54. 9 percent)	131 (20. 4 percent)	641

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

An analysis of news content published in the period of the study and presented in table 4. 6, most news favoring the People's Movement of 2006 was published in *Kantipur Daily*. The tone of more than 73.1 percent of news published in *Kantipur Daily* favored the People's Movement. In newspapers, the tone of only 2.5 percent of the news favored the then government. It was a coincidence when the government also opposed news covering violent protests. There was 24. 4 percent neutral news covered in *Kantipur*.

Similarly, the tone of 86.4 percent of news published in *Annapurna Post* was in favor of People's Movement. Only 4 percent of news was in favor of the then

government or monarchy. There has been 8.8 percent neutral news in *Annapurna Post*. *Annapurna Post* clearly seemed in favor of the People's Movement. Similarly, in another newspaper, *Nepal Samacharpatra*, 57.8 percent of news favored People's Movement, and 14.07 percent supported the then government. Neutral news was 28.14 percent.

Likewise, in *Rajdhani Daily*, 68.1 percent of news favored People's Movement, and 11.2 percent supported the then government. There was 31.03 percent neutral news. Generally, newspapers disseminated news that seemed to support the people's movement conducted by seven political parties. The *Gorkhapatra* was of a different type. Among 146 articles published in *Gorkhapatra* 70 percent items favored the then government. The remaining 30 percent of the news was neutral. There were no news items that had a tone favoring the People's Movement.

It can be concluded that, except for *Gorkhapatra* the newspapers covered news favoring the People's Movement. At that time, the government restricted press freedom. The main demand of the movement conducted by seven political parties was to establish Full-fledge Democracy. Considering that there would be a guarantee of press freedom in democracy, the newspapers of Nepal favored People's Movement instead of remaining neutral towards the then government.

4. 1.7 Presentation of News in the Prospects of Journalistic Principle

The balanced condition of news content published during the study period was analyzed based on the principles of journalism. Studying the news content published in this way, it has been discussed whether news content was balanced or not, and if not, if they were biased towards the People's Movement or the then government. An overall study of 641 news items published in *Kantipur Daily*, *Annapurna Post*, *Nepal Samacharpatra*, and *Rajdhani daily*, most of the news items were seemed to be biased

towards the then government. It has been found that the media of Nepal were unable to show neutral treatment towards the then government.

Here, the remarkable thing is that there was a prejudice towards the then government in 42.12 percent of news. The rate of balance lower than that was 38 percent. The overall ratio of biased news towards the People's Movement was comparatively small. The number of news items biased towards the Movement was 19 percent. However, this number reflects an increase in the news published in *Gorkhapatra*. Overall, the condition of balance could not cross 38.68 percent. While having analysis on this basis, media has been found tilted towards the role of mission rather than the principles of journalism in the period of the People's Movement in 2006. The details are presented in table 4.7.

Table 4.7

Presentation of News in the Prospects of Journalistic Principle

S. N.	Newspaper Name	Balanced	Biased to Government	Biased to Movement	Total
1	Kantipur Daily	44 (36.97 percent)	74 (62.18 percent)	1 (0.84 percent)	119
2	Annapurna Post	37 (29.6 percent)	76 (60.8 percent)	12 (9.6 percent)	125
3	Nepal Samachar Patra	79 (58.51 percent)	41 (30.37 percent)	15 (11.11 percent)	135
4	Rajdhani Daily	26 (22.42 percent)	79 (68.10 percent)	11 (9.48 percent)	116
5	Gorkha Patra Daily	62 (42.46 percent)	--	84 (57.53 percent)	146
Total		248 (38.68 percent)	270 (42.12 percent)	123 (19.18 percent)	641

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

According to table 4.7, the ratio of balanced news of *Kantipur* was 36.97 percent, whereas the biased news towards the then government, published during the

period of study, was 62 percent. In this newspaper, the news biased towards the People's Movement 2006, was very few means 0.84 percent.

Similarly, in the news of *Annapurna Post*, the rate of balanced and biased news towards the then government was 29 percent and 60.8 percent, respectively. In this biased news towards the People's Movement 2006 was only 9.6 percent. Comparatively, the rate of balance has been found to be higher in the *Nepal Samacharatra*. The ratio of balance news was 58.51 percent in *Nepal Samacharatra*. However, the rate of biased news towards the then government was 30.37 percent. In it, the rate of news biased towards the People's Movement was 11 percent.

There is a little more or 68.10 percent news bias towards the then government in *Rajdhani*. There is 9 percent, or the least news biased towards People's Movement, 2006 and balanced news was found to be 22 percent. But in *Gorkhapatra*, news was found biased towards the People's Movement, 2006. In *Gorkhapatra*, 57.53 percent of the news is biased toward the People's Movement, and the remaining news is balanced. There was not any bias towards the then government in *Gorkhapatra*.

4. 1.8 Comparative Analysis of Content on Movement Issues in Newspaper

Especially on the issues of the Peoples' Movement the newspapers of Nepal disseminated news content in different ways. In this study period, the news content published in the five newspapers of Nepal, *Kantipur*, *Annapurna Post*, *Nepal Samacharatra*, *Rajdhani*, and *Gorkhapatra* have focused on the agenda of the Peoples' Movement, 2006.

News coverage, size, space, placement, presentation, tone, and biases on the agenda of the Peoples' Movement in 2006 was found sufficient for analysis. Along with coverage of news content, a significant space has also been given to the size of articles. The news was published in one to eight columns.

News on these issues has space at the top of the right and top of the left. Hence, all the media were found to give important preferences to these issues. Major newspapers in Nepal were found to give enough coverage on the People's Movement issues. In this context the presentation of the newspaper would play a special role in building public opinion.

An important aspect is that except for *Gorkhapatra*, most of the news published in five major newspapers (*Kantipur*, *Annapurna Post*, *Nepal Samacharpatra*, *Rajdhani*) had a tone favoring People's Movement conducted by seven political parties which were for the establishment of democracy. Later, the then Nepal Communist Party (Maoist) joined in.

Considering that there would be a guarantee of press freedom and civic rights in a democracy, the newspapers of Nepal presented news content favoring the agenda of the People's Movement. One another important aspect here is that media is also a body of society. For this, social responsibility is expected from the media, too. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the media to disseminate credible information. But for this, there must be an environment for smoothly getting and disseminating information. It means the right to speech and expression, as well as freedom of the press, must be guaranteed. For this, a system with civic rights is, of course, democracy. In this regard, in this special circumstance of the People's Movement 2006, Nepali media became loyal to the People's Movement to guarantee of press rights.

An analysis of news published during the period of the study shows all major newspapers disseminated news aiming to support the People's Movement except *Gorkhapatra*. They set the agenda in favor of the People's Movement 2006. The

agenda has framed in such a way that it would leave a positive impression on the public towards Movement.

Media created an agenda with the objective to build public opinion in favor of the People's Movement. In this period, media has been found playing the role of a mission. Kantipur played a larger role in agenda setting by their framing and presentation in favor of the People's Movement. Kantipur has found taking initiation and being more proactive in this regard. Similarly, the activities of the People's Movement were found covered with preference in *Annapurna Post, Nepal Samacharpatra*, and *Rajdhani* as well. The tone of news covered in this way was also in favor of the People's Movement. On this basis, it can be said that there has been a special role of media in the political change of that time.

4. 2 Editorial Analysis: Coverage, Agenda and Tone

An editorial is an opinion-based article in a newspaper. Publication houses share their thoughts and opinions through the editorials. It typically refers to important contemporary issues. Through editorial, not only are formulated agendas on the special issues, but other concepts, viewpoints, and thoughts of the publication house are also disseminated. Such exercises are mainly practiced in the newspapers. In this section, content analysis of editorials written by newspapers during the People's Movement 2006 in Nepal is discussed.

Editorials written from 14 March 2006 to 26 April 2006 by newspapers selected for sampling include *The Annapurna Post*, *the Gorkhapatra daily*, *the Kantipur daily*, *the Nepal Samacharpatra daily*, and *the Rajdhani daily*. Published editorials in the study period are explained and analyzed as following way:

4. 2.1 Agenda Raising on Editorial in *Annapurna Post*

While analyzing the editorials published in *Annapurna Post*, it is found that 34 editorials were published from 14 March 2006 to 26 April 2006. This newspaper was not found, including a regular editorial. These 34 editorials addressed the subjects of peace, media, law, health, and economy, as well as Maoist and public issues. Several editorials on the People's Movement were written in this period. The details are in table 4. 8.

Table 4. 8

Agenda Raised on Editorials in Annapurna Post.

S. N.	Agenda Related to	Number	Percent
1	Peace and Democracy	24	70. 9
2	Media	4	11. 8
3	Law	2	5. 9
4	Health	1	2. 9
5	Economy	1	2. 9
6	Maoist	1	2. 9
7	Public	1	2. 9
	Total	34	100. 0

Source: Content Analysis, 2022.

The headline of each editorial was extracted and shows which agendas have been favored. For example, 'Peace restoration' was raised as an agenda asserting that peace restoration would be possible only in a democratic political system. The agenda appeared in 24 out of 34 editorials published in *Annapurna Post*. It means 70.9 percent editorials are related with the agenda on Democracy.

After the peace agenda, newspapers raised other issues. Media issues comprise the second agenda, 4 of the 34, or 11.8 percent. The editorial viewpoint put forward was that press freedom must be guaranteed. The demand for the guarantee of press freedom was strongly raised in the movement of seven political parties. In a democratic political system, press freedom is a compulsory and necessary condition. The right to expression, right to know, right to publication, right to broadcast, and right to information are the conditions of press freedom. Any totalitarian system cannot protect these rights. For this, a democratic system is a must. This aspect was raised with a preference in the editorials published in the capital. Health, economy, Maoist, and public issues were revealed as other agendas. However, these numbers are very nominal. In each case, 1 of the 34 editorials addressed these issues, 2.9 percent respectively.

In this period, *Annapurna Post* promoted the agenda raised by the seven political parties through its editorials. The necessity of a democratic movement conveys this agenda as an issue of peace. The democratic system was explored as an agenda in place of the monarchy system. The editorial stance is not found to be principally neutral towards the monarchy system.

4. 2. 2 Tone of Editorial in *Annapurna Post*

Media was found setting up a determinant agenda with respect to various issues. Priming and framing were carried out in the context of how to present such agendas to convince audiences. Such practices can clearly be seen in editorials as well. This study analyzed how editorials published in *Annapurna Post* from 14 March 2006 to 26 April 2006 were framed, how their tone was, and what they favored. It is presented in table 4. 9.

Table 4. 9*Tone of Editorial in Annapurna Post*

SN	Tone of Editorial	Number	Percentage
1	Favorable to Movement	18	53. 9
2	Favorable to Government	2	5. 9
3	Favorable to Media	4	11. 8
4	Neutral	10	29. 4
Total		34	100. 0

Source: Content Analysis, 2022.

Table 4.9, analyzes the tone of 34 editorials published in this period. Some editorials published in this period favored the then People's Movement and some publicized viewpoints to support government and media. 53.9 percent of published editorials favored the People's Movement. Similarly, the number of editorials supporting the then government was 2, or only 5.9 percent. Similarly, regarding the media aspect of Press freedom, it was supported by 11.8 percent. Of the 34 editorials, 10 percent were indifferent to both the People's Movement and the government. Such neutral editorials percentage was 29.4 Percent.

Based on these findings, it seems that the editorials of the *Annapurna Post* generally favored the People's Movement conducted by seven political parties. According to the principles of journalism, media should not show biased behavior toward any party, but while analyzing editorials published by the newspapers in this period, it can be concluded that Annapurna Post was in favor of the People's Movement.

4. 2. 3 Agenda Raising on Editorial in *Nepal Samacharpatra Daily*

Thirty-eight editorials were published in *Nepal Samacharpatra* during the period of 14 March 2006 to 26 April 2006. In this period, *Nepal Samacharpatra* daily

raised the agendas of peace, press freedom, education, economy, social sector, health, and water. Out of them, the issue, peace-related agenda got the most priority-32 out of 38 editorials, or 84.21 percent of the total number. Other numbers and percentages were related to press freedom, education, economy, social sector, health, and water, respectively. But these agendas' coverage was comparatively very low. The number of editorials addressing these issues was one, or 2.63 percent. The details are presented in table 4.10 below.

Table 4. 10

Agenda Raising on Editorial in Nepal Samacharpatra Daily

S. N.	Agenda Related to	Number	Percent
1	Peace	32	84. 21
2	Education	1	2. 63
3	Economy	1	2. 63
4	Social	1	2. 63
5	Health	1	2. 63
6	Press freedom	1	2. 63
7	Water	1	2. 63
	Total	38	100. 00

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

Here, the agenda of peace can reflect its perspective favoring democracy through peace or favoring the constitutional monarchy. Peace has an agenda. Normally, editorials in *Samacharpatra* tried to clarify this agenda as meaning that the foundation of democracy is peace. As the insurgency of the Nepal Communist Party (Maoist) was growing more violent, it was obvious that peace agenda was strongly

supported. In this context, newspapers were found to disseminate their own viewpoint towards democracy through the agenda of peace. *Nepal Samacharpatra* was not far from this perspective.

4. 2. 4 Tone of Editorial in *Nepal Samacharpatra Daily*

The tone of the editorials published in *Nepal Samacharpatra* during the study period is analyzed here. The editorials of *Nepal Samacharpatra* reflect the viewpoints of that media house about the concerned issues. To send messages to the people about the ideas and viewpoints of the media house is why the editorials were written. Here, the subjective tone of the editor of *Nepal Samacharpatra* in the context of the People's Movement 2006 is shown. The details about this have been presented in table 4. 11 below.

Table 4. 11

Tone of Editorial in Nepal Samacharpatra Daily

SN	Tone of Editorial	Number	Percentage
1	Favorable to Movement	16	42. 10
2	Favorable to Government	7	21. 87
3	Neutral	15	39. 47
	Total	38	100. 00

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

According to table 4.11, during this period, 38 editorials were published in *Nepal Samacharpatra*. When the content of 15 published editorials is analyzed, their tone seemed neither especially favoring the People's Movement nor the then government. Their tone is found to be neutral. They seemed to treat both sides equally. But when the content of the remaining 16 editorials is studied it can be seen

that they favored People's Movement, or they were found to favor the agenda of the seven political parties which took part in that movement.

There are only seven editorials that seem to support the government. The percentage of neutral editorials was 39.47 percent. The percentage favoring the then government and the People's Movement were 21.87 and 43.10, respectively. It can be said consequently that *Nepal Samacharpatra* put forward favorable content in the context of the People's Movement. *Nepal Samacharpatra* might have put forward this idea by giving preference to the context that democracy and press freedom remain the main agenda of media during the People's Movement.

4. 2. 5 Agenda Raised on Editorial in *Kantipur Daily*

While analyzing editorials published during this period, *Kantipur Daily* raised many more agendas comparatively. It raised agendas for the restoration of democracy to peace, development, education, economy, Maoist, social, security, health, technology, literature, good governance, press freedom, and human rights as well. Details have been presented in table 4.12.

Table 4. 12*Agenda Raising on Editorial in Kantipur Daily*

S. N.	Agenda Related to	Number	Percent
1	Democracy	16	43. 22
2	Peace	5	13. 5
3	Development	1	2. 7
4	Education	1	2. 7
5	Economy	1	2. 7
6	Maoist	4	10. 8
7	Social	1	2. 7
8	Security	2	5. 5
9	Technology	1	2. 7
10	Health	1	2. 7
11	Literature	1	2. 7
12	Governance	1	2. 7
13	Press freedom	1	2. 7
14	Human Right	1	2. 7
	Total	37	100. 00

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

According to table 4.12, the editorials published by *Kantipur* with various headlines represent different agendas. Fourteen different agendas were revealed in *Kantipur* at this period. Most of them focused on the establishment of democracy and the restoration of peace. Sixteen editorials focused on the establishment of democracy; it means 43.22 percent. Likewise, the restoration of peace was raised in

Kantipur five times. Similarly, it also raised the necessity of Press freedom with special preference. All these agendas have related to the establishment of democracy.

In conclusion *Kantipur* has raised different agendas in editorial. However, it focuses on full-fledge democracy for ensure press freedom. *Kantipur* believe that whenever full-fledge democracy established in Nepal then peace, press freedom and fundamental rights are automatically guaranteed.

4. 2.6 Tone of Editorial in *Kantipur Daily*

Content analysis of the editorials published in *Kantipur daily* show what they favored. In the period of People's Movement 2006, the political forces were basically divided into two lines. Seven political parties were in favor of a complete restoration of democracy, whereas the government, under the direct instruction of King Gyanendra, monarchy. Seven political parties conducted a peaceful movement for the establishment of democracy. Later, the Nepal Communist Party (Maoist) also got involved in the movement.

In this background, it is relevant to analyze which side of the political power *Kantipur Daily* used to highlight major agendas and which parties were favored. Content analysis of published editorials shows *Kantipur's* tone seems favorable to the People's Movement. Relevant details have been presented in table 4.13.

Table 4.13

Tone of Editorial in Kantipur Daily

SN	Tone of Editorial	Number	Percentage
1	Favorable to Movement	22	62. 85
2	Favorable to Government	--	--
3	Neutral	15	40. 54
	Total	37	100. 0

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

According to table 4.13 out of 37 editorials published by *Kantipur*, 22 were found favorable to the People's Movement, it means 62.85 percent was favor to Movement. There were no editorials written which seemed favorable to the then government. The number of editorials supporting the principles of journalism was fifteen, it means 40.54 percent. On this basis, *Kantipur Daily* is mainly found to have a tone agenda priming and framing public opinion to support democracy in Nepal.

4.2.7 Agenda Raised on Editorial in *Rajdhani Daily*

The editorials published during the people's movement in *Rajdhani Daily* have also raised different agenda. These editorials addressed peace, economy, education, health, social issues, international issues, good governance, agriculture, women issues, human rights, and administrative sectors.

Basically, this was a special period when the alliance of seven political parties conducted the people's movement. The seven political parties started the movement, claiming King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah violated the sovereignty of the people by conducting direct rule. So, in this period, the main political agendas were either democracy restoration or acceptance of monarchy. Nepali media made those contemporary issues their agenda as well. In this context, the agenda raised by *Rajdhani Daily* has been presented in table 4.14.

Table 4. 14*Agenda Raised on Editorials in Rajdhani Daily*

S. N.	Agenda Related to	Number	Percent
1	Agenda related to Peace	19	55. 34
2	Economics Issues	4	11. 76
3	Educational Issues	2	5. 88
4	Health Issues	2	5. 88
5	Social Issues	1	2. 99
6	International issues	1	2. 99
7	Good Governance	1	2. 99
8	Agriculture	1	2. 99
9	Women Issues	1	2. 99
10	Human Right	1	2. 99
11	Administration	1	2. 99
	Total	34	100. 00

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

According to the table 4.14, different agendas have been represented by the editorials with various headlines published by *Rajdhani daily*. In this period, *Rajdhani Daily* revealed 11 different agenda. Among them, most editorials' agenda has been related with peace, 19 of 34, or 55.34 percent of editorials published in this study period.

Here, the agenda is for peace, specifically how peace is established. But it advocated what type of political system enables this goal. *The Rajdhani Daily* put forward the viewpoint that if a new system was formed with political consent, peace could be established. It indicated that the secret of establishing peace related to the political system.

Although the movement was going on in this period, *Rajdhani Daily* also stressed the issue of the economy. In this period, four editorials, or 11.76 percent, focused on economic issues. Issues of education and health were also addressed, 5.88 percent and 5.88 percent, respectively. A single editorial was written on the remaining issues of health, social, international, good governance, agriculture, women, human rights, and administration.

4.2.8 Tone of Editorial in *Rajdhani Daily*

Thirty-four editorials were published in *Rajdhani Daily* within the period selected for this study, 14 March 2006 to 25 April 2006. *Rajdhani Daily* promoted the agenda of peace establishment with preference in this period.

These editorials clearly maintained that all the political powers should work together to establish peace in the nation. The viewpoints expressed in the editorials indicate the newspaper was not found to be biased towards any political powers. Political powers were treated with a neutral tone. The implicit tone of published editorials during this period in *Rajdhani daily* is presented in table 4.15.

Table 4.15

Tone of Editorial in Rajdhani Daily

SN	Tone of Editorial	Number	Percentage
1	Favorable to Movement	3	42.10
2	Favorable to Government	5	21.87
3	Neutral	26	39.47
	Total	34	100.00

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

As per above table 4.15, out of 34 editorials published in *Rajdhani Daily* 26 were with neutral tone. Converted into a percentage, it becomes 73.47 percent. This percentage is large in the published editorials. It means that compared to other

newspapers considered in this study, *Rajdhani Daily* did not have any prejudice towards any political powers. However, when the 8 remaining editorials were analyzed 5 were found to favor the government, and only 3 editorials, or 8.82 percent, were found to be favorable to the Peoples' Movement. Basically, a neutral tone appeared in *Rajdhani Daily*. However, when 8 editorials focused on political powers were analyzed, slightly more were found to favor the government of the Peoples' Movement. *Rajdhani Daily* tried to adhere to the theory of neutrality in agenda priming and agenda framing.

4. 2.9 Agenda Raised on Editorials in *Gorkhapatra Daily*

The *Gorkhapatra daily* is the newspaper published under the government's ownership. The Nepal government forms the management committee of *Gorkhapatra*. The editor is also appointed, and editorial policy is set by the government. Consequently, during this period, *Gorkhapatra* remained more loyal to the government.

In general, *Gorkhapatra* daily disseminates news and editorials supportive of the government. In this study, the contents of editorials published in *Gorkhapatra* were also studied. While researching types of agenda *Gorkhapatra* revealed within the period selected for this study, it was found raising agendas relevant to contemporary sectors to various agendas of society and civic life. During the period of the People's Movement of 14 March 2006 to 26 April 2006, 45 editorials were published in *Gorkhapatra*. The topics are presented in table 4.16.

Table 4. 16*Agenda Raised on Editorials in Gorkha Patra Daily*

S. N.	Agenda Related to	Number	Percent
1	Peace	16	35. 55
2	Media	3	6. 6
3	Monarchy	10	22. 22
4	Good Governance	1	2. 2
5	Economy/Tourism	3	6. 6
6	Maoist	2	4. 4
7	Diplomacy	2	4. 4
8	Environment	3	6. 6
9	Education	1	2. 2
10	Culture	1	2. 2
11	Women	1	2. 2
10	Security	2	4. 4
	Total	45	100. 00

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

According to table 4.16, *the Gorkhapatra* addressed agendas of peace, media, monarchy, good governance, economics, tourism, Maoism, diplomacy, environment, education, culture, women, and security.

Out of 45 published editorials, priority was given to the agenda of peace establishment. Sixteen editorials, 35.55 percent, were written on the agenda of peace establishment. The second preference was given to the agenda of monarchy. Its percentage is 22.22. Then, the issues of media, economy, and environment were raised, respectively. These three agendas received equal priority, 3 editorials each, 6. 6 percent.

The Gorkhapatra included many other social agendas while keeping the governmental issues a top priority. It was found advocating for the protection of the government and ruling system by fundamentally forwarding an agenda connected with establishing peace.

4. 2. 10 Tone of Editorials in *Gorkhapatra Daily*

Within the period selected for study from 14 March 2006 to 26 April 2006, total 45 editorials were published in *Gorkhapatra*. While analyzing inter-subjectivisms of the published editorials, *Gorkhapatra* was found forming and disseminating content providing support and protection to the government. In the *Gorkhapatra* daily, there were rarely editorials toned to favor Peoples' Movement 2006 conducted by seven political parties. Seven political parties had an alliance to reestablish the democracy that had been brooked by King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah.

As per common knowledge, *Gorkhapatra* disseminated content and viewpoints that supported the ruling government. The tone of editorials published in Gorkha Patra daily within the selected study period is presented in table 4.17.

Table 4. 17

Tone of Editorial in Gorkhapatra Daily

S. N.	Tone of Editorial	Number	Percentage
1	Favorable to Movement	--	--
2	Favorable to Government	35	77. 77
3	Neutral	10	22. 22
	Total	45	100. 0

Source: Content Analysis 2022.

According to table 4.17, out of 45 editorials published in *the Gorkhapatra*, 35 editorials were found to favor the government, 77.77 percent of the total editorials.

This means the entire viewpoint of *Gorkhapatra* focused on protecting the government and advocating monarchy. This accords with the established policy-wise system of Gorkha Patra.

During the study period, *Gorkhapatra* Daily did not write any editorials that would favor the movement conducted by seven political parties for the establishment of the democratic system. In addition, while analyzing the editorials published in *Gorkhapatra*, the total number of neutral editorials was found to be only ten, 22.22 percent. However, neutrality was observed in both social and other agendas.

Editorials published in *Gorkhapatra* on issues of good governance, economics and tourism, Maoist issues, diplomacy, environment, education, culture, women, and security were found to be neutral. While analyzing the implicit viewpoint of the editorials of *Gorkhapatra* its opinion did not, of course, favor the People's Movement, but as it is financed by the government, it seemed to be more neutral and balanced on other issues. Mostly, it was found disseminating viewpoints advocated by the government and the ruling system. It was found to have agenda-setting, agenda-priming, and agenda-framing aspects. However, especially in the context of positively covering the activities of the movement conducted by seven political parties, *Gorkhapatra* was not found to be neutral. It is seen as the medium of disseminating the voice of the government.

4. 2.11 Comparative Analysis of Editorials in Newspapers

This research has analyzed the context of Nepali media during the period of the People's Movement. For this, the period of 14 March 2006 to 26 April 2006 has been selected. The tone and agenda of five major newspapers; *Annapurna Post*, *Nepal Samacharpatra*, *Kantipur*, *Rajdhani* and *Gorkhapatra* were analyzed here. Basically, the editorials focused on the agenda of politics during this period. There were two

political systems in this period. One was a Democratic political system, and the other was the existing Monarchical political system.

Here, democracy means a system in which people's rights are assured. This system includes freedom of assembly, association, property rights, freedom of religion, freedom of speech and expression, inclusiveness and equality, citizenship, consent of the governed, voting rights, freedom from unwarranted governmental deprivation of the right to life and liberty, and minority rights. Here, the context of media is concerned with freedom of speech and expression. On the other hand, Monarchy refers to a form of authoritarianism.

A monarchy is a form of government characterized by the rejection of political plurality, the use of strong central power to preserve the political status quo, reductions in the rule of law, separation of powers, and democratic voting. In such a system, it is said that freedom of speech and expression and press freedom are guaranteed, but in practice, they are found to be curtailed. In such an environment, Nepali newspapers gave coverage of political agendas with preference.

Annapurna Post gave 70 percent of its space for political agendas in the published editorials. Similarly, *Nepal Samacharpatra*, *Kantipur*, *Rajdhani* and *Gorkhapatra* have given 84, 50, 84, and 50 percent space in this regard, respectively. Nepali media seemed to be more concerned about the agenda of the People's Movement 2006. In this regard, the *Kantipur* has disseminated viewpoints, establishing democracy its agenda, and building public opinion toward this end.

Annapurna Post and *Nepal Samacharpatra* did not directly advocate democracy, but they pointed out the necessity of democracy for opening an agenda of peace establishment. The *Rajdhani daily* gave a large space for political agenda.

Likewise, the *Gorkhapatra* also kept the political agenda a priority, but its tone was made milder by addressing it as a peace establishment.

While analyzing the tone of the editorials published in these five newspapers, *Annapurna Post*, *Nepal Samacharpatra* and *Kantipur* were found disseminating messages toned to support the side of the People's Movement. *Annapurna Post* disseminated 53 percent editorial in a tone to favor people's movement. Both *Nepal Samacharpatra* and *Rajdhani* disseminated editorials 42 percent, with a tone favoring the People's Movement. Likewise, 62 percent of editorials in *Kantipur Daily* favored the People's Movement.

On the other hand, *Gorkhapatra* presented the editorials with a tone that did not favor the side of the People's movement but favored the then government. Theoretically, it is said that journalism should be neutral, balanced, and free of bias. It has been observed in practice during the People's Movement 2006 that the media could not remain neutral as expected. The *Gorkhapatra* seemed inclined towards the government's favor. Because of the state's investment, it was an obligation of *Gorkhapatra* to protect the government.

However, the remaining mainstream newspapers had seen in favor of democracy. Print media have found disseminating a tone and viewpoints supporting to movement conducted by seven political parties and Maoist. Due to the concerning issues of press freedom, Nepali news media tilted with movement. There is a special reason behind this. That is the issue of press freedom.

Press freedom is an inseparable right of a democratic system. Its right is guaranteed only in democracy. But in the monarchy system, press freedom was controlled and directed by the state. Therefore, to create a suitable environment for

working smoothly, the media favored democracy and could not remain neutral towards the monarchy system.

The Gorkhapatra daily was found comparatively carrying the fewest neutral editorials. The neutrality percentage in the editorials of *Gorkhapatra* was 22 percent. Similarly, most neutrality has been found in the editorials of *Rajdhani daily*. Out of 34 published editorials of *Rajdhani*, 26 were found with a neutral tone. When converted into a percentage, it becomes 73.47 percent.

The second position of neutrality is held by *Kantipur* with 40 percent. Nepal *Samacharpatra* and *Annapurna Post* have 39 and 29 percent, respectively. Nepal *Samacharpatra* was found to have special types of favoring certain issues. That was a special situation. However, Nepali newspapers were serious about neutrality. In comparison to government media, privately run media were found to be more professional, responsible, and diverse in content.

The period of 14 March 2006 to 26 April 2006 was a remarkable period of Nepali history. At that time, according to the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 (2047 B. S.), periodical Parliament elections were to be held but could not. The existing Parliament was dissolved, and Maoist's activities were continuing. That's why King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah himself had taken the right of ruling the nation. At that time, there were fears the democratic system of the nation and the right to freedom and expression might be in turmoil and press freedom might be curtailed. Against this background, seven political parties were conducting the People's Movement demanding the establishment of democracy, and the king was exercising monarchy as another power.

In such conditions, it was a tough time for Nepali media. Ordinary people had a curiosity about the role of Nepali media during the people's movement. On one

hand, according to theory of journalism; responsibility, impartiality, and neutrality were important. On the other hand, there was the issue of protection of press freedom. After the roles of Nepali media were analyzed, in practice, it was found the media did not sustain the first option.

According to the theory of neutrality and impartiality, media were to show equal treatment towards both powers at any cost. But at that time, Nepali media could not remain neutral to the then king's government. They gave as much positive tone as they could to provide support for the agenda of the people's movement. They expressed viewpoints and concepts through editorials to favor the movement. The editorial itself represents the concept and thought of the relevant media house. The appearance of positive viewpoints towards People's Movement in the language of the editorials means Nepali media favored the movement due to press freedom.

CHAPTER V
PERCEPTIONS OF PEOPLE ON THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN PEOPLE'S
MOVEMENT 2006

In this research, public perception toward the people's movement of 2006 has been analyzed. A survey was used to identify public perception the media's role in the Movement. A total of 214 respondents have been selected for the survey. The age group above 31 years has been included in the sample here because those who have information about the People's Movement 2006 should be included. However, the respondents were selected to be representatives based on gender, profession, education, and age group. A convenient sampling method has been adopted for this.

Twenty-two questions were prepared for the survey. The survey was developed in Google forms and sent to different respondents through E-mail, Messenger, WhatsApp, and WeChat.

The survey gathered information about the respondents' age, educational background, and professional background, knowledge of the People's Movement, and their participation, as well as the overall role of media in the People's Movement. Different age groups, academic qualifications, professions, and classes were coordinated in the selection of respondents. Respondents who could understand the people's movement and complete the form online were included in this study. Respondents were selected in terms of purposive-convenience procedures. The result of the survey has been systematically presented as following way.

5. 1. Background of the Respondents

In this section, the age groups, professional status, and educational qualifications of the respondents have been included. The following tables present these details.

5. 1. 1 Age of Respondents

Age is a biological variable. It cannot be changed. But age determines and controls different characteristics of people. The age group has a special meaning in the context of media impact. The age groups who had awareness about the People's Movement in 2006 and witnessed the movement were made respondents in this research. Out of all 214 respondents, the numbers of different age groups are presented in the following table.

Table 5.1

Age structure of respondents

S. N.	Age Group of Respondents	Number	Percentage
1	31-40	58	27. 10
2	41- 50	60	28. 03
3	51-60	72	33. 64
4	Above 61	24	11. 21
	Total	214	100

Source: Survey, 2022.

As per the table 5.1, most respondents included in this study are of the age groups 41- 50 years and 51- 60 years, respectively. The percentage of them turns to be 28.03 percent and 33.64 percent, respectively. Similarly, the percentages of the respondents aged 31- 40 and above 61 age groups are 27.10 percent and 11.21 percent, respectively.

5. 1. 2 Gender Status of Respondents

In this research, the respondents have been selected to be gender-based representatives. Efforts have also been made to include more female respondents. However, it was found that more males than women eagerly condensed in this study. It is presented in detail in the following table:

Table 5. 2*Gender Status of Respondents*

S. N.	Gender	Number of Respondents	Percentage
1	Male	140	65. 43
2	Female	74	34. 57
Total		214	100. 00

Source: Survey, 2022.

According to table 5.2, most respondents included in this study are male, around 65 percent. Similarly, the percentage of female respondents is 35 percent. What this interprets is that although there is more amount of women population in Nepal, their participation in politics is relatively low. Behind such a result is the existing social structure in Nepali society and the relatively moderate state of women's literacy compared to males.

5. 1. 3 Educational Background of Respondents

An individual's academic background plays a vital role in comprehending and evaluating a particular agenda disseminated by the media. The main contents disseminated by media were the issues of democracy, freedom of the press, the People's Movement conducted during the study period, and the activities of the government. Respondents from various academic backgrounds have been included in this research. The educational backgrounds of the respondents included in this study have been presented in table 5.3 as following way:

Table 5.3*Educational background of respondents*

S. N.	Professional of respondents	Number	Percentage
1	Under SLC	16	7.47
2	PCL/ +2	13	6.06
3	Bachelor Level	50	23.36
4	Master Level	119	55.60
5	MPhil/ PhD	16	7.47
	Total	214	100

Source: Survey, 2022.

According to table 5.3, of the educational backgrounds of the respondents included in this study, the largest number were found of those who had completed Master Level. Almost 55.60 percent of the respondents in this study had completed the Master Level. Those who had completed the Bachelor Level were in the second position. The percentage of those who had completed the Bachelor Level was 23.36 percent. Similarly, MPhil/PhD holders were in the third position. Their percentage was 7.47 percent. The ratio of those who had completed was Under SLC also 7.47 percent. The number of PCL/ +2 respondents is 6.06 percent.

5.1.4 Professional Background of Respondents

This research basically focuses on the relation between media and politics in the context of Nepal. The respondents with professions like journalist, political activist, and social campaigner were given preference in this study. In fact, the contents produced and distributed by media are directly connected with these professions. However, people from other professions were also included as respondents. They have been presented in table 5.4 as following way.

Table 5. 4*Professional Background of Respondent*

S. N.	Professional of respondents	Number	Percentage
1	Journalist	77	35. 98
2	Political Activist	34	15. 88
3	Social mobilizer	16	7. 47
4	Civil Servant	18	8. 41
5	Businessman	11	5. 14
6	Professor/Teachers	18	8. 41
7	General Public	35	16. 35
9	Others (Doctors, Nurses, Accountants)	5	2. 4
	Total	214	100

Source: Survey 2022.

According to above table, 214 respondents included in this study revealed their professional background. Out of 214 respondents, most were from journalism backgrounds. The number of respondents with a journalism background included 77 or 35. 98 percent.

In the second position were respondents without any special professions who called themselves the 'general public'. Their number has included 35 or 16.35 percent. Political activists were in the third position. Under the political activists' leaders and cadres were included. In this study, their number was 34 or 15.88 percent.

Similarly, the community comprised of social campaigners and professors/teachers who can play an important role in social change were also included as respondents. Similarly, the number of civil servants was 18 or 8.41 percent. Legally, civil servants are prohibited from politicizing. However, in the People's Movement of 2006, civil servants also had solidarity. For this reason, they

were kept as respondents. The number of businessmen was 11 (5.14 percent). Apart from this, there were fewer numbers of students, doctors, nurses, and accountants.

Overall, people in all types of professions were respondents in this study. Respondents have been selected to represent all professions, businesses, and general in society. Basically, there was the participation of the mentioned groups in the People's Movement 2006. The community involved in these professions and business seems capable of analyzing and evaluating people's movement in 2006 and the work of media at that time.

5. 1. 5 Knowledge of Respondents on the Issue of People's Movement

Respondents were asked how much they knew about the People's Movement of 2006. Two hundred fourteen respondents answered this question. As far as the formation of public opinion is concerned, the public should be familiar with various dimensions of the relevant agenda. It was found the respondents had enough information about the People's Movement of 2006. For our purposes, the level of information of respondents about the People's Movement has been divided into various categories. This is presented in the following table 5.5.

Table 5. 5

Knowledge of Respondents on the Issue of People's Movement

S. N.	Respondents' Knowledge	Number	Percentage
1	Very much	129	60. 28
2	Average	64	29. 9
3	Little about	14	6. 54
4	No idea	7	3. 27
	Total	214	100

Source: Survey 2022.

According to the table 5.5, most of the respondents had adequate information about the People's Movement of 2006. Out of 214 respondents selected as representative, 129(60.28 percent), replied that they had very much knowledge about the movement. Similarly, 29.9 percent replied they had an average knowledge of the movement. Only 6.54 percent of respondents replied that they had only a little knowledge about the movement. Very few respondents replied that they had no idea about the movement. Overall, the percentage of respondents who had no idea was 3.27 percent. Accordingly, almost 98 percent of people were aware of the movement and had meaningful knowledge about it.

Essentially, the Nepali public knows about the Movement of 2006. The awareness of that movement reached every person. The Movement was conducted by seven political parties as the then King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shahdev had taken executive power to handle daily administration of the nation on the basis in the absence of a people's representatives' organization. Parliament was dissolved and there was uncertainty about a general election. This is understood by the public.

After the month of December 2005, the then *Nepal Communist Party Maoists* also took part in that movement. After that, the scope of the movement became wider, as revealed by the opinion of the respondents.

5.1.6 Public Participation in 2006 Movement

In this study, respondents were also asked if they directly participated in the People's Movement in 2006 or not and, if yes, how actively they were involved. For this purpose, four choices were provided: actively participate, just participate, just observe from the side, and never participate. Out of the overall selected respondents for the study, 214 responded to this question. Responses are presented in table 5.6 as below.

Table 5. 6*People's Participation in 2006 Movement in*

S. N.	Respondent Participation	Number	Percentage
1	Actively Participate	67	31. 30
2	Just Participate	51	23. 83
3	Just observe from the side	73	34. 11
4	Never Participate	23	10. 74
Total		214	100

Source: Survey 2022.

According to the table 5.6, an analysis of public participation in the movement in 2006 by respondents found that most people participated in some way. Among the selected respondents of this research, 31.30 percent participated actively, and 23.83 percent had just participated.

The number of respondents who did not directly participate in the movement but observed it by sitting at the side was found to be 34.11 percent. Some, 11 percent, said they did not participate. Respondents include all types of personalities like political leaders and activists, journalists, social motivators, teachers, professors, businessmen, civil servants, and the public. People from all professions and businesses were concerned and interested in the movement.

Here, the important aspect is that in the political field, respondents participated actively in the movement. Similarly, some general people participated actively, and others said they participated in general. Similarly, some journalists said they observed the activities by sitting at the side. Likewise, government officials said that despite their interest in the movement, due to legal compulsion, they did not participate. Overall, a little over 55 percent of respondents participated to some degree.

According to the perception of respondents, it seems that most of the citizens participated in the movement in 2006. About 55 percent of the public participated in the movement, while 34 percent observed the movement with interest. Analysis of the public participation in the movement reveals that the movement was an important event in the political history of Nepal.

5. 1.7 Medium of Information Source about the Issues of Movement

Respondents were also asked through which medium they got information about the movement. Sources for information included media, political leaders, social activities, and neighbors. All the respondents selected for this study replied to this question.

Most mentioned media as a source of information about the movement. Responses to a question about what source they used to get information during the movement are presented in table 5.7 below:

Table 5.7

Medium of Information Source about the Issues of People's Movement

S. N.	How do you get information about people's movement?	Number	Percentage
1	Media	172	80.37
2	Political leaders	32	14.9
3	Social Activists	8	3.37
4	Neighbors	2	0.99
	Total	214	100

Source: Survey 2022.

According to table 5.7, the major source of information about the People's Movement in 2006 was media. Out of the overall 214 respondents, 172 replied that

media was the major source of information about the movement. It was 80.37 percent of the overall number. Other sources of information were political leaders, social activists, and neighbors.

The percentage of those respondents who said political leaders and activists were the sources of information was 14.9 percent. Similarly, those who said social activists and neighbors were the sources of information were 3.73 and 0.99 percent, respectively. This indicates the major source for the dissemination of information about the Movement in 2006 was the media. Nepali media was at the frontline during the People's Movement.

This relates to the contents covered in print media during the movement 2006, selected newspapers have carried 1485 news items on the front page. Out of 1485 news published on the front page, 621 items were directly related to the movement issues. This was 45 percent of the overall content of the front-page news. This strengthens the argument that the media played a vital role as a key source of information during the Movement of 2006.

People were asked about their knowledge of and participation in the movement. They were also asked through which source they got information about it. Sources for information were media, political leaders, social activities, and neighbors. Most mentioned media as a source of information about the Movement. Table 5.7 shows that media was found to be the key source of information about the people's movement.

5. 1.8 Information Provided by Different Media

It was found that people receive information about the movement 2006 from different media like newspapers, radio, television, and social media. The data show that at the time of the movement, the main source of information about the People's

Movement was the media. They were also asked from what type of media they received information. Two hundred fourteen respondents answered this question. Multiple choice options provided were newspapers, radio, television, and social media. Respondents chose more than one option as well. Looking at this data, most information about the movement was disseminated by newspapers. Responses are presented in table-5.8 as following way.

Table 5.8

Information Provided by Different Media.

S. N.	Media	Number
1	Newspapers	141
2	Radio	138
3	Television	80
4	Social Media	25
Total Respondents		214

Source: Survey 2022. (Note: Here, Respondents chose more than one option as well)

According to table- 5.8, during the Movement 2006, the major source of information was print media, primarily newspapers. In fact, during the period of the movement in 2006, mainstream journalism was newspapers in Nepal. However, by then, radio transmission had also been extended. By the end of 2005 (2061 B.S.), 47 FM radio had permission to broadcast. But they were not as developed a media as the newspapers.

Similarly, television transmission also did not that much spectrum. The use of social media was negligible as other media had not developed widely in comparison to newspapers. The main source of information was newspapers at that time. Out of overall 214 respondents, 141 said their main source of information about the People's Movement was the newspapers. The second place was held by radio:138 respondents said that the main source of information about People's Movement was the radio.

Overall, 80 respondents said that television was their source of information about the People's Movement. The number of social networks was negligible.

5.1.9 Media's Role in the Context of Tone

It is not necessary that all the contents disseminated by media will be balanced. Coverage, placement, size, framing, and presentation of subject matters by media determine their tone. Because of different amount of coverage, placement, size, framing, and presentation, the contents of news disseminated by media favoring one side or the other is created. As context of the people's movement in 2006, such a situation was created in daily newspapers. Respondents were asked about the tone of news content published in the newspapers of Nepal. Four options were positive favor to movement, negative favor towards movement, and media played a balanced role, and favorable to the Government/monarchy. The responses to these questions are presented in following table.

Table 5.9

Tone of News Presented by Newspapers

S. N.	What kind of role did the Nepali media play in people's movement?	Number	Percentage
1	Positive favor to Movement	175	81.77
2	Negative favor towards movement	10	4.67
3	Media play balance role	26	12.14
4	Favorable to Government/Monarchy	3	0.93
	Total	214	100

Source: Survey 2022.

According to table 5.9, the tone of news content disseminated by then was found to be positive toward the Movement. Out of 214 respondents, 175 said the tone of media by then favored People's Movement. This is 81.77 percent of all responses.

Only three respondents, 0.93 percent, said media content at that time favored the government. Twenty-six, or 12.14 percent, of respondents said the news did not favor any side or the tone of the news was balanced.

Based on this survey and content analysis, it can be said the tone of almost all news content disseminated by Nepali media in the period favored the movement. News contents were not disseminated, creating agendas and positive framing for the government. Most of the newspapers made it their strategy to build public opinion in favor of the movement. Very little news content was published that was neutral towards the government and monarchy.

Coverage, placement, size, framing, and presentation of subject matters by media determine their tone. In the context of the People's Movement, such a situation was created in Nepali media. Respondents were asked about the tone of news content published in the major newspapers of Nepal. A survey conducted about Nepali media during the period of study found most of their tone and content favored the movement. Only three respondents said the news covered by the media favored the government. News contents were disseminated, creating an agenda and positive framing with an aim to build public opinion in favor of the movement.

5. 1.10 Public Perceptions on the Role of Media in People's Movement

Basically, political parties conduct the people's movement with a view to bringing political changes. In fact, political parties were the driving force of People's Movement. But on the whole, there will have been contributions by the media and other organizations in society for political change.

Media have an effective role in building public opinion by disseminating information. This study has tried to understand public perceptions of how effective the role of media was during the People's Movement in 2006. Respondents were

asked: Do you agree the media played a strong role in the movement? Replies from respondents to this question found media made a strong contribution towards the People's Movement of 2006. Findings are presented in the following table 5.10;

Table 5.10

Public Perceptions on the Role of Media in People's Movement

S. N.	Do you agree that the media have played a strong role in the movement?	Number	Percentage
1	Strongly agree	63	29.43
2	Agree	115	53.73
3	Neutral	16	7.47
4	Strongly disagree	14	6.54
5	Disagree	6	2.8
	Total	214	100

Source: Survey 2022.

According to the table above, 214 respondents were asked, do you agree the media has played a strong role in the movement?' Most respondents agreed that the media had played a strong role. Out of 214 respondents, 115 agreed with this statement. That means 53.73 percent agreed. Similarly, 63 respondents (29.43 percent), strongly agreed. When strongly agreed and agreed are added, this is 85 percent of respondents.

In fact, 85 percent of respondents believe media played a very effective role in the People's Movement of 2006. Here, 6 respondents said they did not agree with this statement, and 14 said they strongly did not agree with it. It was respectively 2.8 and 6.54 percent. Similarly, 7.6 percent had a neutral opinion towards this question.

Media was seen as playing an influential role in revealing various issues of society and building public opinion about them. As far as the movement in 2006 is

concerned, the media had a special interest in it. As the issues of the right to speech and expression and freedom of the press were directly connected, the movement became the interest of the media. Therefore, the media gave top preference to the issues of the movement. Since the media gave the issues of the people's movement top priority, the media's role seemed stronger in making that movement meaningful.

This study tried to understand public perception of how effective the role of media was during the People's Movement of 2006. Analysis of replies by respondents found that the media made a strong contribution to the People's Movement. Media had an effective role in building public opinion by disseminating information. Eighty-five percent of respondents believed media played a very effective role in People's Movement. Since media covered the issues of People's Movement with a high priority, media can be said to have played an influential role in revealing various issues of society and building public opinion. As the issue of the right to speech and expression and freedom of the press were directly connected, that movement became the interest of the media.

5. 1.11 Relation between Media and Movement

In general, the functions of media are to inform, educate, motivate, entertain, watchdog society, and help the public in the socialization process. While performing these functions, the media should follow principles of truth, impartiality, balance, purity, and fair play. Looking at these principles, the question may arise if the relationship of the media is with the People's Movement or not. In this regard, this study has questioned whether there was a connection between media and People's Movements or not. When replying to this question, most respondents said there was a strong relationship between media and the People's Movement of 2006. Responses are presented in the following table:

Table 5.11*Relation between Media and Movement*

S. N.	Is there any relation between media and movement?	Number	Percentage
1	Yes	187	87.38
2	No	12	5.6
3	No idea	15	7.00
Total		214	100.00

Source: Survey, 2022.

According to table 5.11, Respondents have expressed their ideas about whether there was a relationship between media and the movement in 2006. Most replied there was a strong relationship between the media and the People's Movement. According to the data in table-28, the number of those who said there was a relation between People's Movement and media was 87.38 percent. Respondents who said that there was not any relation between media and the People's Movement were comparatively low, 12 respondents or 5.6 percent overall. The number of respondents who said they had no idea was 15 or 7.0 percent.

Other analyses in this study found coverage of news about the movement had priority in placement and size as well. On this basis, it can be said that the relationship between the media and People's Movement was real. That is why the then government had encroached on the right to press freedom and other fundamental rights. There was a strong relationship between politics and the media at that time since the democratic system was also in crisis along with the fundamental rights of the people.

5.1.12 Special Reasons towards the Relation between Media and Movement

During the People's Movement 2006, there has been found a close connection between the media and the movement. Respondents were asked for what reasons that relationship formed. In fact, in that period, the media sector had a special relation and interest in the People's movement. Why did the media have that interest? This is a topic of curiosity. There might be many reasons behind it. The following are four reasons why the media of Nepal may have given more preference to the movement. The first was that the issue of press freedom was raised in the movement. Other reasons might be a fear that democracy would be in crisis because the then government curtailed people's rights and doubts that media could be professional. Respondents' responses are given as follows.

Table 5.12

Special Reason towards Media and Movement

S. N.	Why was there a special reason relationship between movement and media?	Number	Percentage
1	The issue of press freedom was raised in the movement	104	48. 59
2	Fearing that democracy will be in crisis	74	34;57
3	Because the then government curtailed people's rights	26	12. 14
4	Because the media was not professional	10	4. 67
Total		214	100. 00

Source: Survey, 2022.

As per above table, 214 respondents gave their ideas about the reason for the relationship between media and the People's Movement or why the media gave preference to the movement's agenda during the period of the movement. Most respondents replied that the reason for the relation between media and the People's

Movement was the agenda of freedom of the press, and the right to speech and expression was raised in the People's Movement. Out of 214 respondents, 104 (48.59 percent) said the reason was because the issue of press freedom was raised in the movement.

In the second position, other respondent said the media have given preference to the agenda of People's Movement from fear that the democratic system would be in danger. The number of respondents with this concept was 74 (33.57 percent). Those who said the relation between media and movement was because the then government controlled the rights of citizens were in the third position, 26 or 12.14 percent. Ten respondents, or 4.67 percent, said that such conditions were created because the media was not being professional. However, this number was very small. Basically, as the voice of freedom of the press was widely praised in the People's Movement, the media did not pay special priority to the need for professional development.

During the People's Movement of 2006, there was found a relation between the media and the movement. Most respondents said the strong relation between media and the movement was the agenda of press freedom and the right to speech and expression raised by the People's Movement.

5. 1.13 Agenda Prioritized by Media during the Movement

During the People's Movement, Nepali media covered certain agendas with special preference. Among them, basically, there were four agendas. These are full-fledged democracy, republican political system, restoration of peace, and the monarchy system, respectively. Respondents were asked which agenda was raised with preference during the movement by the media. All the respondents expressed their opinions on this question. Most of the respondents said the media gave

preference to the agenda of a full-fledged democracy. Detailed responses are given in the following table:

Table 5.13

Agenda Prioritized by Media during the Movement

S. N.	Which agenda was prioritized by the media in the movement?	Number	Percentage
1	Full-Fledged Democracy	141	65.88
2	Republican Political System	43	20.09
3	Restoration of Peace	18	8.41
4	Monarchy System	6	2.8
5	No Idea	6	2.8
Total		214	100.00

Source: Survey, 2022.

According to table 5.13, respondents were asked which agenda was prioritized by Nepali media during the People's Movement. Most of the respondents replied that full-fledged democracy was a major agenda. The number of respondents who said full-fledged democracy was the major agenda of media during the movement was 141 (65.88 percent). Other respondents said that during the period of the movement, the media raised a voice for the republican political system as well. The number of respondents who put forward this concept was 43 (20.09 percent). Those who said the media made peace restoration the agenda were 18 (8.41 percent). However, this agenda was not given much preference. Similarly, only 2.8 respondents said that the media explores the agenda for the monarchy system. Likewise, 2.8 percent said they did not know about it.

The People's Movement was conducted by seven political parties at the beginning when King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shahdev hit on democracy. The

movement started by saying that democracy should not be let under anyone. Later, full-fledged democracy in the nation was made a key agenda. For democracy, it was demanded to restore the representative assembly. For this reason, Nepali media also made full-fledged democracy its own agenda. The establishment of a full-fledged democracy was made a key agenda according to respondents. In this study, respondents who aid the agendas of a republican political system and restoration of peace received second and third preference, respectively. However, all three agendas focused on a guarantee of civic rights protection and press freedom.

The role played by media on the people's movement can also be analyzed through the framework of *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*. Media is an official authority that disseminates information for society, requiring a kind of credibility. Similarly, media agendas were presented by connecting them with people's emotions as well. Finally, logic indicated when democracy was not managed in the nation, press freedom would be in danger. On this basis, it seemed easy for people to be persuaded by content disseminated by the media.

During the People's Movement of 2006, Nepali media treated certain agendas with special preference. Among them, basically, there were four types of agendas. These are *full-fledged democracy*, *republican political system*, *restoration of peace*, and *monarchy system*. Most respondents said that during that period, media preferred the agenda of full-fledged democracy. Media agenda can be analyzed through the viewpoints of *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos*. It seems easy to persuade people through content disseminated by the media.

5.1.14 Carrying Favorable News to the Issues of Movement by Newspapers

While the People's Movement 2006 had been extending all over the nation, at that time, newspapers were the mainstream in journalism. However, radio

transmission had also become widespread, and it was at the forefront of news broadcasting. Newspapers, however, were the dominant medium to disseminate the activities of the People's Movement. Against this background, the question arises: which newspaper brought out news relevant to the People's Movement with preference, and which newspaper published news more and more favored the People's Movement. The question is directly related to the objectives of this study. Respondents have asked, "Which media disseminated the news favoring the People's Movement of 2006?"

Respondents were asked to choose from five newspapers: the *Kantipur Daily*, *Annapurna Post*, *Nepal Samachar Patra*, *Rajdhani*, and *GorkhaPatra*. Most respondents reported that the *Kantipur Daily* disseminated the most news, favoring the people's movement. Detail responses are shown in the following table:

Table 5.14

Carrying Favorable News to the Issues of Movement by Different Newspapers.

S. N.	Which newspapers carried favorable news to the movement?	Number
1	Kantipur Daily	191
2	Annapurna Post	105
3	Nepal Samachar Patra	56
4	Rajdhani Daily	58
5	Gorkha Patra	22
	Total	214

Source: Survey 2022. (Note: Here, Respondents chose more than one option as well)

According to table 5.14, out of 214 respondents, 191 said that the most news was produced by the *Kantipur daily* to favor the People's Movement. An analysis of content from 14 March 2006 to 26 April 2006, according to the viewpoints of

coverage, placement, size, and news tone, *Kantipur Daily* was found to favor the People's Movement more. The *Annapurna Post* was in the second position, and *Nepal Samacharpatra*, *Rajdhani Daily*, and *Gorkhapatra* were in the third, fourth, and fifth position, respectively. Respondents reported that *Gorkhapatra* favored the People's Movement the least. Its number was only twenty-two.

5.1.15 Reasons for Supportive Role of Media in Movement

Nepali media was supportive to the People's Movement in 2006. In general, the role of media is to remain neutral towards any power or system. In this case, Nepali media was not found treating the government and the powers that conducted the movement equally. The media was found to have little bias toward the government and was more loyal to the activities of the movement.

The major reasons related to press freedom, to democracy, to political affiliation, and to international pressure. Among these reasons, the fact that Nepali media was associated with a political party or because of international pressure was not the main reason why the media supported the movement. The key reason for the media's support for the movement was that it had affiliated with the issues of democracy and press freedom. Findings are presented in the following table:

Table 5.15

Reasons for a Supporting Role of Media in the Movement.

S. N.	What is the reason for the media to support the people's movement?	Number	Percentage
1	Cause related to Press freedom	82	38. 31
2	Cause related to Democracy	112	52. 33
3	Cause related to political affiliation	13	6. 04
4	Cause related to others pressure	7	3. 27
Total		214	100. 00

Source: Survey, 2022.

According to table 5.15, All respondents addressed the question, -What is the reason for the media to support the people's movement? Among them, most respondents replied that the media gave support because the issue of democracy was affiliated with the movement. One hundred twelve or 52.33 percent of respondents have given this reason for the media's support for the movement.

Similarly, the issue of press freedom was in the second position, 82 respondents (38.31 percent). Some said this was because the media itself got affiliated with a particular political party. The ratio of those who said so was 6.07 percent. Moreover, the ratio of those who said other reasons for media support for the movement was held by 3.27 percent.

Nepali media had a special role in the people's movement of 2006. The major reasons for this were related to press freedom, democracy, political affiliation, and international pressure. The media was found to be loyal to the People's Movement. The main reason for the media's support for the movement was that it had affiliated with the issues of democracy and press freedom. A few also said this was because the media itself got affiliated with a particular political party.

5.1.16 Public Perception on the Impact of Media Impact during Movement

The messages disseminated by the media left a noticeable impact on the public mind. According to the media-centric theory, the impact of media falls into the public mind miraculously. This effect grows cumulatively. Therefore, the public was asked about the effect of news carried by the media on the People's Movement.

It has already been found that Nepali media disseminated positive content favoring the People's Movement in 2006. To analyze its effect on public opinion, the question of whether the content of the media helped the People's Movement has been

answered in five categories. Detailed responses have been presented in the following table.

Table 5.16

Public perception on the impact of media during the movement

S. N.	Do you agree that the media carried the news that supported people's movement?	Number	Percentage
1	Strongly Disagree	14	6.54
2	Disagree	5	2.33
3	Neutral	18	8.41
4	Agree	134	62.61
5	Strongly Agree	43	20.09
Total		214	100.00

Source: Survey, 2022.

According to above table, 214, respondents answered the question, do you agree that the media carried news supporting the People's Movement? Most said the People's Movement was supported a lot by the content disseminated by the media. Out of the overall respondents, 134 (62.61 percent), agreed that the movement was supported by the messages of the media.

Similarly, this same statement was strongly agreed by 20.09 percent of respondents. While both are added up, it becomes 82 percent. It is clear in practice that theoretically, the effect of media falls on the public significantly, miraculously, and cumulatively. The effect of media fell significantly on the People's Movement.

According to table 5.16, some said a media had a neutral impact on the People's Movement. 8.41 percent of respondents said there was only a common effect of media. The ratio of respondents who denied the effect of media during the movement was 2.33 percent, and 6.54 percent of respondents strongly denied the effect.

The public has different perceptions about the media. Therefore, mixed answers also came from the question, ' Did the content disseminated by media support the people's movement on this basis?' Such a view is a representative view. However, the number of respondents who disagreed with the effect of media was low. Most respondents accepted the effect of media.

According to the media-centric theory, the impact of media falls on the public mind miraculously, and this effect keeps growing cumulatively. It has been demonstrated that Nepali media disseminated positive content favoring the People's Movement. The questions of the content of the media affected public opinion was answered in five categories. Out of the overall respondents, 62.61 percent agreed with this statement: People's Movement was supported a lot by the content disseminated by the media.

5.1.17 Perception on the Role of Media in Creating Public Opinion

The media plays an important role in shaping public opinion. Sometimes, media messages reach people directly, and sometimes, opinion leaders play a role. Opinion leaders here represent social workers, teachers, professors, political activists, people's representatives, and conscious and active people in society. Therefore, messages that target the media and opinion leaders play a role in shaping public opinion.

Particular attention has been paid to the creation of public opinion. The media can build public opinion in everyone's favor. The creation of public opinion is influenced by events. What topics does a medium propose on their agenda, how this agenda is designed, and which political parties are spreading positive messages? During the people's movement, there was essentially a political dispute between

parties supporting democracy and the monarchy. Until then, the government supported the monarchy, and the political parties supported democracy.

Democracy is a political system that guarantees the rights of citizens. The media is also particularly important when it comes to civil rights. The issue of press freedom is also related to various civil rights. But in the monarchical system, issues of honor and guarantees of civil rights do not come to the fore. In this context, respondents were asked to what extent they agreed with the role of media in shaping public opinion in favor of movements. Responses are summarized in the following table:

Table 5.17

Public Perception on the Role of Media in Creating Public Opinion.

S. N.	Do you agree you agree that the media have contributed to creating public opinion in favor of the movement?	Number	Percentage
1	Strongly Disagree	10	4. 67
2	Disagree	2	0. 93
3	Neutral	19	8. 87
4	Agree	130	60. 74
5	Strongly Agree	53	24. 76
Total		214	100. 00

Source: Survey, 2022.

According to table 5.17, most respondents said that the media in Nepal helped to build positive public opinion in favor of the people's movement. Out of 214 total respondents, 60.74 percent agreed with the above statement. Not only that, 53 people (24.76 percent) said the media contributes significantly to shaping public opinion.

Eighty-five percent are added based on agreement and express agreement. The people

believed that public opinion was constructed to support mass movements thanks to media. However, there were also respondents who were neutral, opposed, or totally opposed. But relatively, the negative recognition of this kind is small. The neutral, disagree and strongly disagree ratios are 8.87, 0.93, and 4.67 percent, respectively.

Nepali media made a significant contribution to building positive public opinion in favor of the people's movement, with 60 percent agreeing and 24.76 percent strongly agreeing. However, the ratio of neutral, disagree, and strongly disagree was low.

5.1.18 Public Perception on the Issues of Media Neutrality

In practice, people need comprehensive, independent information and distance themselves from specific influences. According to Kovack & Rosenstiel (2006), the primary duty of journalism is to bring truth, balance, and substantive verification. This means all news products must be based on objective perceptions. The term objective in mass media refers to a method of accurately describing events through the principles of journalism. For journalists, the principle of objectivity means collecting and processing news without any other purpose.

The message can be claimed to be objective if it contains accuracy, reliability, completeness, a statement of fact, and the ability to separate opinion from fact. Independence in journalism refers to impartiality, neutrality, objectivity, and impartiality. However, during the mass movement, the role of media in Nepal seemed different from neutrality. For this reason, respondents were asked about the neutrality of news content published in daily newspapers. Perceptions of media neutrality during the study period is given in table 5.18 below.

Table 5.18*Public opinion on the Issues of Media Neutrality*

S. N.	What was the issue of neutrality considered in the news materials during the movement period?	Number	Percentage
1	That was neutral	27	12. 61
2	That was not neutral	49	22. 89
3	That was mission	122	57. 0
4	No idea	16	7. 47
Total		214	100. 00

Source: Survey, 2022.

According to table 5.18, when asked about the neutrality of published news during the movement period, most respondents said the situation had mission issues. Out of 214 respondents, 122(57.0 percent) said that was mission. At the time, mainstream media felt a responsibility to defend civil rights as the government curtailed press rights and restricted citizens' rights. For this reason, the role of the media at that time was called "mission", although the media at that time was not neutral to the government. However, 22.89 percent of all respondents said the role of the media was not neutral at the time.

An analysis of media neutrality during, the people's movement found 12.61 percent of people considered media neutral at the time. Similarly, 7.47 percent said they don't know. It is noteworthy that during the mass movement, Nepali media failed to present an objective stance toward the government and political parties of the time. However, the role of the media in this period was accepted as a mission.

5.1.19 Level of Public Satisfaction on the Role of Media during Movement

The public's reaction to the role the Nepali media played during the People's Movement is also important. How pleased were the public with the function of the

media? Theoretically, the media's purpose and function should be impartial. Yet, during the People's Movement, Nepali media tended to favor the political party-led movement. One side even claimed the media's role was unbalanced. This question seeks to determine how pertinent this situation was to how the public viewed the function of the media. Responses from the 214 respondents reveal that the public was happy with the media's function at that period. Level of public satisfaction with the media role at the time of the movement has been presented on following given table.

Table 5.19

Level of Public Satisfaction on the Role of Media during the Movement

S. N.	Are you satisfied with the role played by the media during the movement?	Number	Percentage
1	Very Satisfied	25	11. 68
2	Satisfied	150	70. 09
3	Neutral	27	12. 61
4	Very Dissatisfied	3	1. 4
5	Dissatisfied	9	4. 20
Total		214	100. 00

Source: Survey, 2022.

Table 5.19, shows the public was happy with the roles daily newspapers performed during the People's Movement of 2006. Of the 214 total responses, 150(70.09 percent) said they were satisfied with the media's role. In a similar vein, 27 (12.61 percent) people said they were neutral, while 25 (11.68 percent) said they were extremely happy.

The statistics clearly show that the people were happy with the media's involvement during the People's Movement in approximately 80 percent of cases. Considering the administration at the time, the media was unable to maintain its

neutrality. Even under this situation, the public was happy with the media's function. Despite this, the number was not an absolute. Even though some people were unhappy with the media's role, and some of them were very unhappy. They were 4.20 percent and 1.4 percent out of total number, respectively.

The public seems to have been happy with the role of Nepali media during the People's Movement of 2006. However, the nominal public was unhappy with the media's role-playing in the period of the People's Movement.

CHAPTER VI

ROLE OF MEDIA ON POLITICAL CHANGE THROUGH PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT IN 2006

6.1 Background

In this chapter, the perception of experts who have better information and knowledge about the people's movement 2006 has been analyzed in a narrative style. Nine experts in the field of politics and journalism have highlighted the role played by the Nepali media in the movement and its impact on political change. Specifically, the context of what role the media played during the movement, what the process was, and how the media played a role in the political change has been analyzed here. So, to the perception of the subject matter, intensive interviews were conducted with 9 key experts: 5 from the media and 4 from the political sectors. The name list of the key informants are mentioned in the annex section.

Experts are those persons who are active in Nepali politics and media sectors, and have adequate knowledge and experience to generate accurate ideas about the people's movement, 2006. Experts' views have been analyzed according to the purpose of this research in following chapter.

6.1.1 Inter-Connection between Media and Politics

Politics and media are distinct subgenres. The professional field of media is more information and thought-based. The purpose of the media is to educate the public and provide them with the facts. One journalist from Kathmandu said, 'Print, broadcast, and online media currently dominate the media landscape in Nepal. Through this channel, people can be easily exposed to societal information. 'Another participant from the media sector said, 'additionally, politics plays a significant role in

media information reception and dissemination. However, politics is a unique sector which has unique characteristics than the media.'

Politics is connected to the country's overall management and governance. However, the media's role as a major political tool is necessary and inevitable. When looking at the preceding background, politics, and the media are seen to have a strong connection. The relationship between politics and the media also serves to hold politics accountable because it is the media's duty to inform people through information.

Media policy has an impact on other industries. The media and society are governed by the political system in place at the time. However, this does not imply that politics continues to benefit from the media as a whole. Politics, on the other hand, determines the necessary environment for the media.

The four theories of the press, presented in 1956, explain the connection between politics and the media. Soviet communist model, social responsibility press theory, Authoritarian press theory, and Libertarian press theory, all affirm that political systems determine the shape of the media. Emphasizing these statements, another expert among the participants has argued- 'The fact that there is a theoretically established connection between politics and the media is from this. The question at hand is whether journalism is a form of information dissemination or whether politics is a source of information. '

Despite the fact that politics and the media are two distinct professional fields, they share a profound relationship. It is the guiding principle of all state policies taken together as a political whole. (Interview, P1, 2022)

Media and politics are two faces of a coin. Journalism comes forward for politics. Karl Marx also ran a magazine in the beginning. Politics and journalism

cannot be separated from each other. Politics and journalism have the roles in forming and disseminating messages. (Interview, P2, 2022)

The period before 1951 in Nepal shows there was no noticeable development in the role of media in Nepal at that time. *The Gorkhapatra* has published under the control of the government. Including articles based on Nepali literature, there were around a dozen magazines in existence. There was not any significant role of the media in the political change of 1951. But, after the political change in 1951, the role of media gradually started to grow. There is an important relation between media and politics. That is why Edmund Burke said that *media is the fourth state of the nation*. This statement also clearly explains the relationship between the state and the media or politics.

Some of the participants from political fields have different angles to look at the Nepali media. The role of media was significant for political transformation in a country. One of the participants from Kathmandu argues 'that media is an integral part of politics to create a democratic environment in a country'. Similarly, another participant has similar views on the role of media in political changes. The participant said that 'in a democratic system, the media can utilize full press freedom to raise the voices of voiceless people in Nepal'. Participants from Kathmandu had the same perception about the role of media in Nepal for political changes. He said that 'mass media plays the role of watch dog of mass society, whereas people can easily assert their problems with the media, and media then quickly will provide responses for their security. Then, the authority will be responsible for the people'.

Media is said to be an integral part of politics in the context of the democratic environment of in the context where the basic governance system of the world is democracy. (P3, Interview, 2022)

In a democratic political system, mass media can fully utilize the right of press freedom to raise the voice of voiceless people. (Interview, P4, 2022)

Mass media plays the role of watch dog of mass society, whereas people can easily assert their problem with the media and media then quickly will provide responses for their security. Then, the authority will be responsible for the people of a country. (Interview, P5, 2022)

Nepali media have been creating its positive role to construct better political system in a county. It always brings Nepali politics into a right track for making it responsible. (Interview, P6, 2022)

After the political changes took place in 1951 in Nepal, the absolute Rana regime ended, and a democratic political system was established. Along with the establishment of democracy, the number of newspapers rapidly increased. The growth of newspaper publications was related to the people's freedom of expression movement in Nepal. A democratic ruling system encouraged freedom of expression; then, newspaper publications increased. Another participant said that 'During the democratic period from 1951 to 1960, almost 150 newspapers and magazines had already been published. Despite some obstacles due to the political ruling system, the publication of the newspapers did not come to a complete stop. Nepali media were prepared to establish the agendas for political change in Nepal'.

Another participant said that 'the media itself is a part of politics. Media exists as a technology to provide people with a place for communication, connection, and conversation'. However, the development of Nepali media made politics and political ideologies more responsible and accountable to the people. Media principles have been developed for the sake of monitoring. Therefore, media and politics have an integral inter-relation.

A political system must provide a free environment for the media to make it effective. In that open and free environment, media can play the role of watch dog of society. Another participant said that 'as we know, the media should not be a lapdog of the government. It must be more responsible and accountable by maintaining accuracy, balance, and credibility towards its people. Media should be autonomous and must genuinely work as a watchdog'. Another participant from western Nepal said, 'that weak media cannot properly monitor the political system to properly represent the voice of the voiceless people, then after, politics will not be effective'. Therefore, in the presence of a good environment for media, politics are in a good position to become fertile to create a good environment for press freedom.

Another key part is the 'public opinion' which decides the future of democratic politics. Another participant said that public opinion sets social agendas that provide information to the people for positive changes in government systems also. Politics move forward on the basis of the public opinion being set by the media, so the media has a very close relation with politics.

Another participant from the Bhaktapur district of Nepal said that that 'wider the communication means greater the political awareness in a country. This means the media has a great role in spreading political awareness among the people, which shows the essence of the media is inevitable'.

There is a very important relationship between politics and journalism. Without the use of media, it is difficult for leaders to do politics. Media has been playing an effective role in the events of Nepali politics. Politics has not moved forward without media. But sometimes, media involves trials in the judicial sector. It should not test itself. Society helps it for its existence in a country.

One of the participants from the Kanchanpur district said that 'the connection among media and governmental issues is like nails and tissue. Media is the soul of a vote-based system. There is not a viable replacement for the media to create high-level bearing for politics. Additionally, through broad communications, the correct bearing of governmental issues is given'.

Similarly, the participant had significant insights on the topic. In another sense, the reason for the media is to pass on data/messages for the government to assist the public, while the motivation behind legislative issues is likewise to advance the government's assistance of the general public. In this sense, media and legislative issues are vital pieces of one another.

The connection between media and governmental issues is like nails and tissue. Media is the soul of a vote-based system. (Interview, P7, 2022)

6.1.2 The Role of Media in Politics

This study has focused on the role of media in Nepali politics. One of the participants from the journalism sector said that 'it appears to be that governmental issues and news casting have been having a connection in Nepal too'. Nepali reporting has been spinning around the pivot of governmental issues. In any case, nearly the improvement of news casting in Nepal has been slow. Until 1901, the activity of distributing the papers regularly hadnot begun in Nepal. In 1901, with the inception of the public authority, distributions of *Gorkhapatra* were initiated. From that point forward, media has been created in Nepal step by step. Radio transmission began in Nepal after 1950, TV broad casts began after 1985, and online media began after 1999. All things considered; the media has been engaging in the political exercises of Nepal since around 1951. In the political changes after 1951, the job of media

appeared. Essentially, the media of Nepal has a background marked by bringing its voice up for press opportunities.

It appears to be those governmental issues and news-casting have been having a connection in Nepal, too. Nepali reporting has been spinning around the pivot of governmental issues. (Interview, P8, 2022)

The relationship between politics and journalism has been monitored with a special meaning. Political actors want to use journalism as their supporting tool. Such desire does not only exist in small and underdeveloped countries but also in developing and developed countries. Such interest in politics has been in practice since the beginning of the history of journalism. It still continues. The relationships between media and Nepali politics have existed for political transformation since at least 1951.

The participants said that journalist's role has been in existence in supporting the politics of Nepal directly and indirectly. During the Rana regime and the Panchayat period, the state adopted a repressive policy toward Nepali journalism. Later, after the restoration of a multi-party system, the state supported the development of journalism. There is a relationship and cooperation between politics and journalism.

The then King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shahdev unexpectedly announced the party-less Panchayati ruling system instead of the democratic system in 1960. (1st Push, 2017). The king started to rule directly. Later, that system was named 'Panchayat System'. Some Nepali newspapers advocated in favor of democracy when King Mahendra made that announcement. Some media demonstrated political awareness. However, some newspapers welcomed the step of King Mahendran but

could not show effective interference in that political incident. However, newspapers did give the message that they were under the influence of one of the political parties.

Later, in 1990, the national People's Movement started against the *Panchayat system*. The role of media and journalists appeared in that movement. Except for the government controlled *Gorkhapatra*, *Rastriya Samachar Samiti*, *Radio Nepal*, *Nepal Television*, and some other newspapers, almost all Nepali newspapers supported democracy. At that time, newspapers provided information on the activities of the government. Another participant said that many political articles, opinions, and editorials supported it at that time. It helped to create favorable conditions to build public opinion in favor of the democratic movement.

Similarly, during the people's movement of 2006, Nepali media directly contributed to establishing democracy in Nepal. The participant said: 'The relationship between politics and media should be interdependent and complementary in Nepal as well. Sometimes, a general expert complained about the role of media in Nepal. One participant noted, Sometimes, we hear people's comments on the role of media in Nepal, Nepali media have biased. Complaints are heard that media has become more politically motivated.

A common saying is that the media and media workers must understand politics: if they do not understand it, they cannot analyze it. But some believe the media should not do politics. If the media and media workers become active in politics and start doing politics themselves, the independence and effectiveness of media is questioned. In the context of Nepal, media has been found to play an important role for quite a long time.

Nepali media has a role in the establishment of democracy, too. Once, there was a high degree of mission journalism. The role of media was very important

during the movement of 2006. Media played an important role in the shift from a monarchy to a republic in Nepal. Despite this, it is said that the media in Nepal sometimes tries to create its own positioning. There are accusations that it is also a party. To address this perception, questions have been raised about the credibility of Nepali media. The main reason for such a question is if the media is politically biased. In terms of following the editorial process, the media and journalists of Nepal are sometimes motivated by their own point of view or proceed with a particular point of view. In such a situation, people may be deprived of having correct information.

Participant from Dang district argued that 'definitely, the media at that time did proceed with a particular point of view. Through its contented perception, it worked to educate and persuade. All those were necessary ingredients to make the movement successful. Sometimes, there might have been a little bit more salt, oil, and spices in those ingredients, but the content of the media played a role in making the movement successful'. That is why, the agenda of the media was taken on by political parties in the People's Movement period. The participant from Kathmandu said Nepali media intentionally incites some things. It also has tried to clarify people's ambiguous political issues.

I have found that the media intentionally incites some things as well. This has been noticed especially in the context of the people's movement. In some contexts, it has tried to clarify people ambiguous issues in politics. (Interview, P1, 2022)

The agenda of the media was taken on by political parties in the People's Movement period. Source: (Interview, P5, 2022)

Nepali media played a significant and positive role in the people's movement of 2006, Initially, the movement was not intense; the Maoists were still at war. They had not come out of the jungle yet. The constitutional parties that were in the streets

were not able to lead the movement properly. At that time, the media disseminated the spirit of the movement to a massive number of people and motivated them. As a result, the movement was successful. Therefore, the media played an outsized role.

Journalists should write for the disadvantaged community. A participant from Bhaktapur said, 'Journalism should be progressive. News should be written for the betterment of the nation and its people. But, in Nepal, journalists are not found to be writing for lower-level people. In this view, journalists write news by appreciating a person who people hate as a villain. In fact, those who do not write about the nation are seen as capitalistic journalists. Those who write against people and the nation and do not write about MCC and the citizen bill are seen as hired soldiers of America.

The participant from the Kanchanpur district said, "If there is no media, the lawmakers will just fall head over heels for power. In the wake of acquiring power, there is a risk of abusing power and enjoying self-centeredness as opposed to public interest. " Media can adjust the environment. Media generally empowers and advances the right issue. Not just this, the media is a leader of political change. Accordingly, the power of the media to keep legislative issues adjusted, and a majority rules system on the correct path is unrivaled.

If there is no media, the lawmakers will just fall head over heels for power. In the wake of acquiring power, there is a risk of abusing power and enjoying self-centeredness as opposed to public interest. (Interview, P7, 2022)

The media accomplished crafted by spreading political mindfulness among individuals. (Interview, P8, 2022)

6.1.3 Contribution of Nepali Media in People's Movement 2006

Nepali media have been found to be very active role during the people's movement of 2006. Numerically, the number of newspapers was also remarkable at

that time. But at the same time, Nepali media were basically one-sided. It was not seen that the media should behave in a balanced manner toward the activities of the government and the people agitating political parties. By then, the Nepali media was found to be tilting towards the political parties involved in the people's movement. It has not been found to be clearly balanced towards the government. The media stood in the role of preparing public opinion in favor of the movement conducted by the political parties. Consequently, it is suspected that the Nepali media did not always follow the principles of journalism at that time.

During the movement of 2006, Nepali media had widely developed. Daily newspapers like *Kantipur daily*, *Rajdhani*, *Nepal Samacharpatra*, *Annapurna Post* and *Gorkhapatra* were already being published. During the People's Movement of 2006, newspapers actively focused on disseminating the news in Nepal. A key informant expert from the media sector remarks:

Everybody has accepted the fact that Nepali media had contributed a lot to building public opinion in favor of the People's Movement. As by then the movement was related to freedom, positive news material was disseminated in favor of the movement though it did not match with the principles of journalism.

Nepali media had played a very important role in the movement of 2006. At that time, the media stood for democracy. It can be said that Nepali media is presented against the concept of aristocracy in politics or the concept of totalitarianism.

Monarchy is a family power, and because of this, democracy could not progress in the way it was supposed to. So, it is believed that the power of governance should be given to the hands of the people. (Interview, P9, 2022)

The media at that time stood in favor of the movement, absorbing the belief that democracy cannot be institutionalized if the power of governance does not go to

the hands of the people. There had been political movements in Nepal before the media developed. In 1950, in the movement against the Rana regime, it cannot be said that the media did not play a role at that time. Although there was no media within the nation, different media publishing from Banaras of India worked to inform people about the politics of Nepal and prepare the environment for the movement.

After the movement against the Rana regime, the formation of a democratic environment for the media was created. After 1950, the media started to have an important role in every political change. Within the period from 1980 to 1990 (2036 to 2046 B. S.), Nepali media became a major factor and actor in politics. Looking at things like creating the situation of the movements, taking the movement to its peak, and providing energy to the forces involved in the movement, it can be said that media led the politics.

By 2006, the landscape of Nepali media had already become very wide. Since the creation of the environment by the political change of 1990, private sector media started to develop beyond Kathmandu. Radios, and televisions also came forward from the private sector. It vastly spread the influence of media in Nepal. With the widespread expansion of media, media has become the most effective mass communication medium in Nepali society.

'During the movement in 2006, there was the situation of unrest and human rights violations by the Maoist insurgency and another incident was the autocratic step taken by king Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah on 1st Feb. 2005 (Magh 19, 2061 B. S.)' (Interview, P3, 2022)

The democratic structures were completely controlled by taking all governance into the hands of King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shahdev. Media was also

controlled. Because of that, the media had no choice but to move ahead with a purpose of protecting its integrity.

At that time, the media thought the step taken by the King was against them, so it was their duty to stand against it. After activities such as media censorship, publication, broadcast control, and looting of equipment, the media were forced to protest. Therefore, at that time, media became not only an integral part of the movement but also a leading part.

Democracy and peace were the demands of that time. Later, demands for a republic were added. Those two issues became important issues in the media. A participant said:

Media did not only fight with their content for them, but also it came to the streets to protest. Not only did media come to the streets, but it brought other professional groups as well. (Interview, P4, 2022)

At that time, the media also tried to put pressure on Maoists to come to a common agreement between the seven protesting parties and the rebel side. If the media had not taken this initiative, both sides would not have been able to come together at that time. (Interview, P9, 2022)

Along with peace and democracy, the media also had a role in setting the agendas of inclusion along with the republic. Some critics said the media had become the eighth party. After the attack on the media landscape, the media had to come to the streets for their fundamental freedom. At that time, proactive activism of the media was necessary. That movement was not only a movement of political parties.

In some cases, it could be blamed that the media had lost balance and neutrality, but it was not only a political party's movement. It was a movement destined to change the system. (Interview, P8, 2022)

If the media had not played such a role in that movement, the media would not have existed as it is today. Sometimes the media enters into the authority sectors of others in the matter of a constitutional body, legal, and court issue. It has also sometimes caused problems in a good system. But in the political context, the role played by the media in the people's movement of 2006 was not inconsistent.

At that time, media advocated federalism, secularism, republicanism, proportional inclusiveness, etc. All of them were very positive. Even when analyzed on the basis of the universal theoretical recognition of neutrality and impartiality of the media, it was still neutral and impartial. The main question is where most people are. It cannot be understood without a referendum. But it was not a time for staging a referendum. The media, the army, and the power of the government had to surpass everything, so it was natural for the ruling party to say neutrality was not seen. But if there was neutrality, the people would not have believed the media and gone to the streets.

At that time, most of the media were in favor of the movement. Media workers were all prohibited in their basic professional religion, freedom of speech, and publication. No one could speak against the king and his family members. At that time, the journalists themselves had the biggest pain, emergency, and despair. Against that oppression, the journalists mixed their grievances and spread propaganda.

Nepali media actively showed their participation in the movement in 2006. But, the media worked for the Nepali Congress and Nepal Communist Party (UML). Because of this, there was a movement on one side, and on the other side, India built Tanakpur Dam. (Interview, P6, 2022)

6.1.4 Role of Nepali Media Based on Journalistic Principles

It cannot be considered that there was a good combination between the roles played by Nepali media and maintaining journalistic principles in 2006. The media also had their own specific interests. However, the media of the 21st century cannot deviate from the principles of journalism. Truth, facts, accuracy, fairness, and balance are basic principles of journalism. The participant said:

After 1947, there was even an obligation to bear social responsibilities. It means the media have to get balanced in any situation. Analyzing the principles of journalism here, when the People's Movement in 2006 was taking place, the Nepali media became a little more in favor of the mass movement and started positively broadcasting ideas and news. (Interview, P5, 2022)

The basic principle of journalism is to disseminate true, factual, pure, fair, and balanced news. It is also the duty of journalism in the 21st century. Journalism has to stay within the limits of its ideology and essence because journalism is an integral part of society. To be an important part of the society, the media has to undertake social responsibility. The participant said:

Society expects social responsibility from the media as well. After having a look at this basis, people have stated that Nepali media could not follow the principles of journalism in its entirety when the people's movement in 2006 has been going on. And that period was of little different situation in Nepal's history. (Interview, P1, 2022)

Journalism should not be taken up only as a medium of trading information. It is also an effective medium for disseminating messages of political awareness. Journalism also plays the role of informing the people about their rights, making them aware of their rights, and awakening and guiding them on the path to attaining their

rights. Therefore, the concept of political communication has been developed in recent times. A participant from Kathmandu district said:

'When evaluating from that basis, if the general principles of journalism are considered as the only basis, it can be said that the media of Nepal deviated from the principles of journalism in the movement in 2006. But the situation was not like that.'

(Interview, P3, 2022)

By then the government or monarchy had cut off people's rights. Freedom of the press, right to information, and expression of opinion were also curtailed. To protect press rights, the media of Nepal at that time was positive in favor of the movement.

One of the participants said that no matter what the media said: *It is always in favor of the rights of movement. It will always speak the voice of the people.*

'Journalists should think about seven canons of journalism while writing news.

Another participant blamed the media and said that the media only advertised the Nepali Congress and its wings in their news story. It is totally bad practice.

(Interview, P5, 2022)

Principles may be anything. Let's talk about the Seven-canon and the code of conduct. Let's talk about the editorial process. But basically, in the movement in

2006, the media stood in favor of the rights of the Nepali people. (Interview, P6, 2022)

Those who came to power are found be highlighted more. The media only advertised the Nepali Congress and its wings. The media have not been able to work for the betterment of the nation and lower-level community yet. In the name of the movement, it worked to benefit the status quo forces. (Interview, P7, 2022)

As the government power was limited to one place, common Nepali people could not get the opportunity to participate in the government power, they could not choose the development plan by themselves, and their freedom of expression was suppressed. Based on the understanding that their common rights were suppressed, the Nepali media stood in favor of the common people's rights.

Most of the media were supportive of progress. The participant said:

The duty of media is a positive change in society. In this sense, the voice raised by the public level media around then was inside the moral system, which was essentially inside the laid-out upsides of news casting. (Interview, P2, 2022)

If the ideological groups and their administration concluded the premise of progress, the media attempted to carry it to general society. There was very little preference. This is the affiliation. However, I believe that a few media, media constrained by some power, have not satisfied their obligations well. Once more, such media were not generally open to individuals. By and large, the greater part of the media had deserted their moral and hypothetical religion.

The duty of media is a positive change in society. In this sense, the voice raised by the public level media around then was inside the moral system, which was essentially inside the laid-out upsides of news casting. (Interview, P8, 2022)

6.1.5 Role of Nepali Media on People's Movement in 2006

Certain reasons behind the positive role played by Nepali media in favor of the movement during 2006 have been discussed. In the 21st century, the media should remain responsible and accountable. On this basis, it is expected that the media's role would remain balanced. However, despite that, there was a suspicion that the freedom of the press would be in jeopardy when the movement 2006 was going on.

The regulatory role that the communication institutions of the government were trying to play at that time also caused such suspicion. In such a situation, 'Nepal media happened to be little more positive towards the movement with the concept of press freedom might get contracted. ' Since the issue of freedom of the press, right to information, freedom of opinion, and expression are directly connected with the media, it is natural for the media to protect these rights. However, this question is only natural from the perspective of press freedom. If not, the media should remain in the background based on the principles of journalism. One of the participants said:

Nepali media had made a significant contribution to building public opinion in favor of the people's movement in 2006. There were specific reasons behind it. At that time, the then monarchy system and the government adopted the policy of oppressing press freedom. (Interview, P9, 2022)

At that time, telephone and mobile services were blocked, censorship of newspapers was implemented, and journalists were unnecessarily suppressed. As a result, there was a suspicion that if the monarchy continued to exist, the freedom of the press would be in danger.

Especially as there was a fear of a crisis in the professional situation of journalism, the Nepali media at that time supported the people's movement being conducted by the political parties. For the professional guarantee of the journalism sector, Nepali media favored the People's Movement of 2006.

Press freedom is a must for the journalism profession in its pure form. The participant said: *Under press freedom, there are rights including right to speech and expression, right to information, right to communication, right to know, right to publication and broadcast. (Interview, P4, 2022)*

When democratic rights were abducted by King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shahdev, the entire media sector was also under suspicion. In this circumstance, the media had to be alerted to protect its professional rights. At that time, the political parties did not protest for the restoration of democracy. In fact, the rights of the media sector are assured in a democratic system, so the media of Nepal played a role in favor of the movement at that time, and it was natural, too.

The most important thing was that the media spread information. Similarly, the participant said:

The content of the movement was brought to the local level. It played a role in making the people participate in the movement. The common people were informed what were the specific themes of the movement and for what agenda the movement was being conducted. (Interview, P9, 2022)

The key function of journalism is to educate and motivate. In the context of the movement of 2006, media played an important role through these two mediums. It cannot be said that the media was not biased at that time. But looking at the degree and purpose of that bias, it was something that would make the movement successful. We cannot deny that there was some exaggeration in making the movement successful and ensuring people's rights. It might not be objective in principle, but it could not be called illegitimate as it had a legitimate purpose.

Too many negative things happened. But the media did not watch these events, Media just focused on People's Movement at that time. (Interview, P6, 2022)

It was something that would make the movement successful. But we cannot deny that there was some exaggeration in making the movement successful and ensuring people's rights. (Interview, P2, 2022)

The common people were informed that what were the specific themes of the movement and for what agenda the movement was being conducted. (Interview, P3, 2022)

King Gyanendra had been controlled the executive power of nation at that period. The actual media was restricted. The panel was exclusively for the sake of press opportunity. The voice of individuals couldn't come out without any problem. The populace had gone through much defilement and weak monetary status. The participant said:

The media had a decent comprehension of this large number of issues. The media had a decent comprehension of this large number of issues. (Interview, P8, 2022)

6.1.6 Argument of the Experts about the Media and Politics

Nepali media played a constructive role in the creation of public opinion toward the People's Movement or against the absolute regime. The faults and errors of the prevailing political system were reported more. Similarly, media content was disseminated to ensure press freedom and to establish new political system. Nepali media continuously disseminated news and view materials during the movement of 2006.

One of the participants said, 'During that period Nepali media worked for agenda priming and setting in favor of the movement and advocating for the agenda as well. This type of content was not only concentrated on thought-provoking articles, features, and editorials but also news. Considering the size, use of photographs, style, rhythm, and presentation of this content, it can be seen how Nepali media contributed to building public opinion in favor of the movement. '

Another participant said that 'Nepali media played a role in different dimensions to creation positive public opinion in favor of the movement in 2006. On the one hand, the media agenda was set in favor of the movement of 2006, and on the other hand, diversity in styles was adopted to make that agenda look more attractive. Not only that, media-related organizations like the *Federation of Nepal Journalists*, *Press Chautari Nepal*, and *Nepal Press Union* played a role in the movement.

Along with the press, public opinion was created in favor of the movement by lobbying with international missions and organizations. Nepali media and journalists helped make the movement a success for the sake of democracy. According to agenda setting theory, media played a role in Nepal at that time.

The news published and broadcasted by the media had an intensive impact on the public mind. The impact of media is instant, miraculous, meaningful, and deep. This kind of media influence was seen and felt in the movement of 2006. Nepali media disseminated news content while setting an agenda in favor of the movement. The media published news, interviews, editorials, opinions, and articles to build public opinion. The news disseminated a wide range of content as seen in the space, photos, and tone of coverage.

Basically, Nepali media played a positive role at that time because of the anticipation of making democracy sustainable and institutionalized. Another thing is their role in protecting the rights of the common people. (Interview, P1, 2022)

If you search for it, there may be other reasons, too. The media itself can sometimes be biased. The media may have some beliefs of their own. (Interview, P3, 2022)

During the time of the movement, some media came into the limelight a little more. Certainly, somewhere, or other, they may have had their own institutional interest.

Some invisible factors may also have worked. However, as the Movement of 2006 related to the question of ensuring the media's own rights, Nepali media became positive towards the movement.

The movement itself was the media's own movement. For this reason, there was no question for their playing a positive role. (Interview, P4, 2022)

The media set the public opinion that the movement was necessary. At that time, the media did not only disseminate the thoughts and calls of the political parties. Accepting the agenda for change, the media created the environment for cooperation between the seven political parties already involved in the movement and the rebel side Maoists.

At that time there was public distrust of the seven political parties. One participant said, the media played a role in convincing the common people that those parties were not like before; they had changed, they were working in a new way, and they would not get entangled in distortions like previously.

The media raised the morale of the protesters by breaching the prohibited areas by themselves. Citizen power emerged after professionals across the nation took to the streets at the call of the media. Media has become a major power for creating the civil society and providing it a platform.

In some cases, the media might have promoted a bit of propaganda as well. The media gave an extra motivation that brought people to the streets. In addition, because of the involvement of the media in the movement, there was wide international support for that movement.

Accepting the agenda for change, media created the environment for co-work between the seven political parties already involved in the movement and rebel side-Maoists. (Interview, P6, 2022)

The media took part in bringing together individuals by spreading positive information for individuals' development and bringing their voices up for change. The participant said: 'Remaining as a power like an ideological group, the media conveyed the voice of individuals, yet in addition, showed initiative in the development. '

By and large, the media provoked individuals to continue seeking change by making individuals mindful of the mistreatment by the dictatorship.

Remaining as a power like an ideological group, the media conveyed the voice of personalities, yet in addition showed initiative in the development. (Interview, P8, 2022)

6.1.7 News-materials Provided by Media to the Course of Political Changes

The news disseminated by the Nepali media contributed to political change during the Movement in 2006. The positive news in favor of the Movement created public sympathy towards the movement. In addition, the content of the movement was given so much space and placement that a positive image was formed in public. The positive messages created by the media towards the movement did not spread only in the nation but also in the international arena. Consequently, public opinion was built in favor of the movement. It can be said that the role of the media in political change was very important because the democratic republican system was established in this background.

Nepali media had played a significant role in the political change by the news matters had been disseminated during the People's Movement in 2006. Even before that, the media's contribution to the Movement in 1990 had made a huge contribution to changing the politics at that time. Due to that movement, a multi-party system was established in the nation. Even 240 years ago, the historical monarchy system was

abolished by the People's Movement in 2006 and the democratic republican system has established.

Nepali media played an important role in this campaign. Especially, the media played an active role in the creation of public opinion in favor of the movement and in making people take part in the movement through information and messages. Nepali media played a role in favor of the movement by even ignoring the principles of journalism in some of the cases so far.

During the movement in 2006, the role played by Nepali media brought political change. However, the media was not the sole reason for the political change. The main players in the political change were, of course, the political parties. However, the media plays a major role in creating public opinion in favor of the movement and making people participate in it. As a result, the movement in 2006 became successful, and eventually, a historical political change was possible in the nation. Because of the movement, the 240-year-old monarchical political system was totally abolished, and a republican-democratic political system was established in its place. This is the biggest and most meaningful political change in the nation's history.

Due to the establishment of a republican-democratic political system, the rights of citizens are now guaranteed. Consequently, here is a situation where full freedom of the press can be experienced and realized. Other rights, the right to speech and expression, the right to information, the right to communication, the right to know, and the right to publication and broadcast have been guaranteed. The above-mentioned rights have been guaranteed constitutionally and legally. In such a situation, it is necessary to build a suitable environment for independent journalism. Now, there is a need for journalism to fully follow its professional and occupational ethics and principles and move forward.

There was one hundred percent such contribution played by the media. *At that time, the media successfully set the popularity narrative in society. On that basis, the role of media in political change was significant. (Interview, P5, 2022)*

Media workers contributed through expressions, articles, and dissemination of the news. Though there were no new media and social sites like now, they contributed through radios and televisions and the daily newspapers. Their overall efforts seemed to make people aware of autocracy. They gave a clear picture of reality to the people. In gist, the media took the real voice of the movement to the people.

I believe in one hundred percent. My expressions mentioned above also clarify that the media played a major role in the movement in 2006, not an auxiliary one. Not only me but everyone who is interested in politics should feel the same. (Interview, P9, 2022)

They do not write about the labor movement. They only carried out released news bulletin. No media could say that India was conspiring to snatch the rivers. Both such unknowing and intentional attitudes of media are wrong. Although in real sense media have magical power to change politics in any society and country.

(Interview, P6, 2022)

The media assisted with making the development towards the achievement, which was driven by the ideological groups. The participant said, in the event that the media did not speak more loudly for the development, there would be no enlivening among individuals.

Crafted by acquiring attention to individual favor of the development was finished through the media. The phenomenal activism shown by the media in passing on the message of the development is not talked about, however much it is.

If the media didn't speak more loudly for the development, there would be no enlivening among individuals. (Interview, P8, 2022)

6.1.8 Conclusion of Interview

There is an interdependent relationship between media and politics. Freedom of the press, extent of media, and media content are determined based on the political system. Generally, a democratic political system is fertile for media. Likewise, when the media fulfills its social responsibilities, democracy is strengthened.

Nepali media has been fundamentally in favor of change. Some media had been encouraged by the government while maintaining the *Panchayati system*. However, the mainstream media carried the agenda of democracy and change. Indeed, the Nepali media played a significant role in the 1990 and 2006 for People's Movement and political changes. At that time, it played an important role in conveying the message of the political parties to the people and building public opinion.

When the rights and freedoms of the people were violated, almost the entire media, including newspapers, FM, radios, televisions, weekly newspapers, and magazines, stood in favor of political change. After censorship was imposed on the Nepali media, the media must have realized that if democracy was taken away, media integrity would be taken away. Perhaps that is why Nepali media played a very positive role in institutionalizing the democratic movement.

Freedom or fairness is relative. No one can remain neutral when the battle between democracy and autocracy is going on. There needs to be a bias in such a situation. The impartiality of the media we seek is in democracy. If the media remains neutral even when democracy starts to disappear, then the duty of the media is not considered complete. Media can survive only in democracy. Therefore, the role

played by the media in 2006 is different from the universal principles and values of journalism.

Without democracy, the existence of the media cannot remain independent. In this sense, Nepali media played a positive role in people's movement. The aim of the movement was to ensure sustainable peace, democracy, and people's rights. The right of the people includes the freedom of the press.

During the period of the Movement, all the political parties had not agreed on the agenda of the republic. However, the media encouraged all political parties to agree to a republic. At that time, the media became an ally to bring the rebel side to the point of accepting the values of democracy. The media also played a role in content making, and in many contexts, the media workers themselves demonstrated on the streets. The media created an atmosphere in favor of the Movement.

Undoubtedly, the media played a significant role in the political changes in Nepal. This has changed with the presence and participation of the media itself. It is important to define the role played by the press while fighting for democracy and after democracy has been achieved.

6.2 Relationship between People's Participation and Public Opinion

In this research, related quantitative techniques have been made to measure the association and correlation of the questions. Likewise, the values have been tested. This is presented in the following table.

6.2.1 Association between People's Participation and Public Opinion

Association between people's participation in movement 2006 and it makes the public opinion in favor of people's movement 2006 is presented in table 5.6 and 5.17. Frequency distribution of people's participation in the movement and public opinion show that there is some kind of correlation between them. Correlation coefficient

(0.267) which is significant ($p=.000 < \alpha=0.01$) at 0.01 level of significance. It is enough evidence to reject null hypothesis that there is no correlation between people's participation and public opinion in favor of people's participation. Based on this evidence, it can be concluded that people's participation and public opinion are positively correlated. Therefore, there was positively correlation between perception of people on role of media in creating people's participation in people's movement 2006.

Table 6.1

Association between People's Movement and Public Opinion

Association between People's Movement 2006 and it makes the public opinion to favor of the people's movement 2006 has presented as:		
Q6. Have you ever participated in the Peoples' movement 2006?	Pearson Correlation	.267**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000

Note: $P=0.000$, there is relationship between q6 and q18 and significant.

Chi-Square Tests q6 and q18				
		Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
	Pearson Chi-Square	23.194 ^a	12	0.026
	Likelihood Ratio	23.815	12	0.022
	Linear-by-Linear Association	15.189	1	0.000
	N of Valid Cases	214		

Chi square test, $P=0.026 < 0.05$ shows that the test between q6 and q18 is significant.

Source: Computed by Researcher, 2022.

The table shows that Q6 and Q18 have strong Pearson correlations with statistically significant values, indicating that Nepali media helped to shape public

opinion in 2006 in support of the people's movement. Its $P=0.000 < 0.05$ values indicate a substantial relationship. Chi square test, $P=0.026 < 0.05$ shows that the test between q6 and q18 is significant.

6. 2. 2 Correlation between Source of information and Issues Preference on Movement

Association between source of information and issues preference on movement are presented in table 5.7 and 5.13. Frequency distribution of source of information and issues preference show that there is some kind of correlation between them. Correlation coefficient (. -261) which is significant ($p=.000 < \alpha=0.01$) at 0.01 level of significance.

It is enough evidence to reject null hypothesis that there is no correlation between source of information and media preference. Based on this evidence, it can be concluded that source of information about the people's movement in 2006 and media preference are positively correlated. According to respondents most of the information they have gotten by media.

Table 6.2

Correlation between Source of information and Issues Preference on Movement

Correlations between q7 and q9 (N=214)				
Questions	Mean	Standard Deviation		P=Value
q7	1.26	0.618	Pearson Correlation	-.261 ^{**}
q9	3.63	0.643	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000
			N	214

$P=0.000$, there is relationship between q7 and q9 and significant.

Source: Computed by Researcher, 2022.

The tables demonstrate that it strongly correlates with 2006. The relationship between source of information about the people's movement in 2006 and media preference helped for media preferences in favor of it. It is significant ($P=0.000 < \alpha=0.05$) at 0.05 level of significance which indicates a negative relationship.

6. 2. 3 Correlation between Public Participation and Reasons of Media Support to Movement

The reason of public participation on movement was press freedom, democracy, political affiliation, and international pressure. Among these reasons, most of the respondent prefers the issues on the press freedom. Likewise, most of the respondents have getting by the information from media. It shows on table no. 5.7 and 5.12. Correlation coefficient (0.271) which is significant ($P=0.000 < \alpha=0.05$) at 0.01 level of significance.

Table 6.3

Correlation between Public Participation and Reasons of Media Support to Movement

Correlations between q7 and q16 (N=214)				
Questions	Mean	Standard Deviation		P=Value
q7	1.26	0.618	Pearson Correlation	.271 ^{**}
q16	1.59	0.749	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000
			N	214

P=0.000, there is relationship between q7 and q16 and significance.

Source: Computed by Researcher, 2022.

The table shows that Q7 and Q16's Pearson correlation had substantial values, indicating that the Nepali media had supported the people's movement in 2006 by

giving the public correct information and that the information on the people's movement had been delivered at the same time. Its $P=0.000 < \alpha=0.05$ values indicate a substantial relationship.

6.2. 4 Correlation between Participation and Satisfaction

Correlation between the participation of people's movement and satisfaction are presented in table 5.7 and 5.19. Frequency distribution of information about the participation of people's movement and satisfaction show that there is some kind of correlation between them. Correlation coefficient (-0.238) which is significant ($P=0.000 < \alpha=0.05$) at 0.01 level of significance. Based on this evidence, it can be concluded that participation of people's movement and satisfaction are positively correlated.

Table 6.4

Correlation between Participation and Satisfaction

Correlations between q7 and q20 (N=214)				
Questions	Mean	Standard Deviation		P=Value
q7	1.26	0.618	Pearson Correlation	-.238**
q20	3.64	1.166	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000
			N	214

P=0.000, there is relationship between q7 and q20 and significance.

Source: Computed by Researcher, 2022.

The role performed by the Nepali media during the people's movement appears to have been satisfactory, as shown by the table's Q6 and Q18, where the Pearson correlation demonstrated good results with significant values. Its $P=0.000 < \alpha=0.05$ values indicate a substantial relationship.

6.2.5. Correlation between Selection of the Media and Preference

Correlation between selection of the media and preference are presented in table 5.8 and 5.13. Frequency distribution of information about selection of the media and preference show that there is some kind of correlation between them. Correlation coefficient (-0.238) which is significant ($P=0.000 < \alpha=0.05$) at 0.01 level of significance. Based on this evidence, it can be concluded that selection of the media and preference are negatively correlated.

Table 6.5

Correlation between Selection of the Media and Preference

Correlations between q8 and q9 (N=214)				
Questions	Mean	Standard Deviation		P=Value
q8	6.42	2.797	Pearson Correlation	-.238**
q9	3.63	0.643	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000
			N	214

P=0.000, there is relationship between q8 and q9 and significant.

Source: Computed by Researcher, 2022.

The above tables illustrate how much weight the selected media gave some issues on People's Movement with how strongly they are related to tables Q8 and Q9, where the Pearson correlation has excellent results with significant values. Its $P=0.000 < \alpha=0.05$ values indicate a significant relationship.

6.2.6. Correlation between Information and Political Change

Correlation between the information and political change are presented in table 5.8 and 5.15. Frequency distribution of information and political change show that there is some kind of correlation between them. Correlation coefficient (-0.269)

which is significant ($P=0.000 < \alpha=0.05$) at 0.01 level of significance. Based on this evidence, it can be concluded that information and political change are positively correlated.

Table 6.6

Correlation between Information and Political Change

Correlations between q8 and q21 (N=214)				
Questions	Mean	Standard Deviation		P=Value
q8	6.42	2.797	Pearson Correlation	-.269**
q21	4.27	0.893	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000
			N	214

P=0.000, there is relationship between q8 and q21 and significance.

Chi-Square Tests q8 and q21			
	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	93.403 ^a	40	0.000
Likelihood Ratio	68.031	40	0.004
Linear-by-Linear Association	15.388	1	0.000
N of Valid Cases	214		

Chi square test, $P=0.000 < 0.05$ shows that the test between q8 and q21 is significant.

Source: Computed by Researcher, 2022.

The table shows that Q8 and Q21's Pearson correlation had excellent significant values, indicating that Nepal's media played a significant role in the country's political changes in 2006. Its $P=0.000 < 0.05$ values indicate a significant relationship. Chi square test, $P=0.000 < 0.05$ shows that the test between q8 and q21 is significant.

6.2.7. Correlation between Media Preference and Role

Correlation between the media preference and role are presented in table 5.13 and 5.8. Frequency distribution of media preference and role show that there is some kind of correlation between them. Correlation coefficient (0.266) which is significant ($P=0.000 < \alpha=0.05$) at 0.01 level of significance. Based on this evidence, it can be concluded that media preference and role are positively correlated.

Table 6.7

Correlation between Media Preference and Role

Correlations between q9 and q10 (N=214)				
Questions	Mean	Standard Deviation		P=Value
q9	3.63	0.643	Pearson Correlation	.266**
q10	2.85	0.484	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000
			N	214

P=0.000, there is relationship between q9 and q10 and significance.

Chi-Square Tests q9 and q10				
		Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
	Pearson Chi-Square	76.876 ^a	9	0.000
	Likelihood Ratio	44.132	9	0.000
	Linear-by-Linear Association	15.115	1	0.000
	N of Valid Cases	214		

Chi square test, $P=0.000 < 0.05$ shows that the test between q9 and q10 is significance.

Source: Computed by Researcher, 2022.

The table shows that Q9 and Q10 have significant Pearson correlations because of the weight that Nepali media gives to issues related to the Peoples' Movement and the role that Nepali media played in the Peoples' Movement in 2006. Its $P=0.000 < 0.05$ values indicate a significant relationship. Chi square test, $P=0.000 < 0.05$ shows that the test between q9 and q10 is significant.

6.2.8. Correlation between Media Prioritize and Public Opinion

Correlation between the media prioritize and public opinion are presented in table 5.3 and 5.10. Frequency distribution of media prioritized, and public opinion show that there is some kind of correlation between them. Correlation coefficient (0.305) which is significant ($P=0.000 < \alpha=0.05$) at 0.01 level of significance. Based on this evidence, it can be concluded that media prioritize, and public opinion are positively correlated.

Table 6.8

Correlation between Media Prioritize and Public Opinion

Correlations between q9 and q11 (N=214)				
Questions	Mean	Standard Deviation		P=Value
q9	3.63	0.643	Pearson Correlation	.305 ^{**}
q11	3.51	1.154	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000
			N	214

$P=0.000$, there is relationship between q9 and q11 and significance.

Source: Computed by Researcher, 2022.

Chi-Square Tests q9 and q11			
	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	52.935 ^a	12	0.000
Likelihood Ratio	33.154	12	0.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	19.753	1	0.000
N of Valid Cases	214		

Chi square test, $P=0.000 < 0.05$ shows that the test between q9 and q11 is significant.

The news in the media helped shape public opinion in favor of the People's Movement in 2006, and according to the table, Q9 and Q11, their Pearson correlation has seen significantly associated with each other with high significant values. Its $P=0.000 < 0.05$ values indicate a significant relationship. Chi square test, $P=0.000 < 0.05$ shows that the test between q9 and q11 is significant.

6.2.9. Correlation between Media Prioritize and Favor to Movement

Correlation between the media prioritize and favor to movement are presented in table 5.13 and 5.20. Frequency distribution of media prioritize and favor to movement show that there is some kind of correlation between them. Correlation coefficient (0.373) which is significant ($P=0.000 < \alpha=0.05$) at 0.01 level of significance. Based on this evidence, it can be concluded that media prioritize and favor to movement are positively correlated.

Table 6.9

Correlation between Media Prioritize and Favor to Movement

Correlations between q9 and q17 (N=214)				
Questions	Mean	Standard Deviation		P=Value
q9	1.26	0.618	Pearson Correlation	.373**
q17	3.54	1.365	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000
			N	214

$P=0.000$, there is relationship between q9 and q17 and significant.

Source: Computed by Researcher, 2022.

Chi-Square Tests q9 and q17			
	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	40.104 ^a	12	0.000
Likelihood Ratio	35.904	12	0.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	29.656	1	0.000
N of Valid Cases	214		

Chi square test, $P=0.000 < 0.05$ shows that the test between q9 and q17 is significance.

According to the table, Q9 and Q17's Pearson correlation clearly demonstrates that they are related and that news coverage in the media in 2006, helped to shape public opinion in favor of the People's Movement. It's $P=0.000 < 0.05$ values indicate a significant relationship. In chi square test, $P=0.000 < 0.05$ shows that the test between q9 and q17 is significant.

6.2.10. Correlation between Media Prioritize and Contribution to Create Opinion

Correlation between the media prioritizes and contributions to create opinion are presented in table 5.13 and 5.17. Frequency distribution of media prioritizes and contribution to create opinion show that there is some kind of correlation between them. Correlation coefficient (0.302) which is significant ($P=0.000 < \alpha=0.05$) at 0.01 level of significance. Based on this evidence, it can be concluded that media prioritize and contribution to create opinion are positively correlated.

Table 6.10*Correlation between Media Prioritize and Contribution to Create Opinion*

Correlations between q9 and q18 (N=214)				
Questions	Mean	Standard Deviation		P=Value
q9	1. 26	0. 618	Pearson Correlation	. 302**
q18	1. 59	0. 749	Sig. (2-tailed)	0. 000
			N	214

P=0. 000, there is relationship between q9 and q18 and significant.

Chi-Square Tests q9 and q18			
	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	38. 042 ^a	12	0. 000
Likelihood Ratio	39. 368	12	0. 000
Linear-by-Linear Association	19. 394	1	0. 000
N of Valid Cases	214		

Chi square test, P=0. 000<0. 05 shows that the test between q9 and q18 is significance.

Source: Computed by Researcher, 2022.

The table shows that Q9 and Q18 have significant Pearson correlations with pure values and that media coverage of news events in 2006 AD helped to shape public opinion in favor of the People's movement. Its values P=0. 000 0. 05 demonstrate a meaningful relationship. Chi square test, P=0. 000<0.05 shows that the test between q9 and q18 is significant.

CHAPTER VII

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research explores the role of media on political change in Nepal, with specific reference to people's movement 2006. It particularly explores the issue Nepalese history and sheds light on the significance of media in politics. The media itself is not the driving force of the people's movement, but it is both the force and the means that accelerates the movement. Also, the media has been considered to be an organization that should stand in a neutral role in the society, based on the theory of social responsibility. However, the media itself is also an agenda setter on different issues. In this sense, discourses about the role of media are happening all over the world.

The role of media has been explored based on the political movement of Nepal. It has been analyzed how the media played its role in the people's movement, what kind of contribution was made to the political change based on the role played by the media. To complete this research, content analysis, survey and interview methods have been adopted. The data obtained from the survey and interviews and content analysis have analyzed based on both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

The major findings obtained from the research are presented in this chapter as per the research title and objectives. The researcher has tried to answer the following research questions: (a) What role did Nepali media play during the People's Movement of 2006 in Nepal? (b) How did the Nepali media play their role in political change during the People's Movement of 2006 in Nepal? (c) Why has the media been an important agent for political change in the context of Nepal? This research specifically focuses on the media's role in People's Movement 2006.

7.1. Major Findings

The major findings have been analyzed on the basis of facts obtained from the research by means of content analysis, survey, and interview methods. The achievements according to the three objectives determined in the research are mentioned below in chronological order.

A) The first objective is to explore the role played by media on the People's Movement of 2006 in Nepal. This objective is related to the activities of the media in the movement. Analyzing the facts obtained according to this objective, it seems that the Nepali media is playing a positive role in favor of the People's Movement in 2006. Within the study period, 1485 news items were covered on the front pages of five newspapers: *Kantipur*, *Annapurna Post*, *Rajadhani*, *Nepal Samacharpatra*, and *Gorkhapatra*. Out of the total, 43.16 percent of news content were related to People's Movement. Here, *Kantipur*, *Annapurna*, *Rajadhani*, and *Nepal Samacharpatra* have given special preference to the agenda of the People's Movement 2006. There is a remarkable aspect here, that is the decision made by the Federation of Nepali Journalists. On February 2, 2005 (Magh 20, 2061 BS), the FNJ decided to make the establishment of a democratic republic an agenda. After the decision of FNJ, its impact has also been felt in all the media of Nepal. According to this, 73 percent of the news published by the newspapers during the study period was democratic republic as the main agenda.

Nepali media has given enough space to the agenda of the People's Movement 2006 in the news as well as in the editorials. Among the published editorials during the selected period for research, the People's Movement agenda has an average of 60 percent space. 56 percent of the 37 editorials published in *Kantipur*, 84 percent in 38 published in newspapers, 55 percent in 34 in Rajdhani, 70 percent in

34 in Annapurna, and 57 percent in 45 in *Gorkhapatra* have a key agenda in the people's movement. Most of the published editorials are written in a positive way in favor of the movement. Analyzing from this basis, the role played by Nepali media in People's Movement 2006 was positive. This fact is also confirmed by the perception of the respondents expressed in the survey. Similarly, in intensive interviews, experts argued that the role of the media helped the movement succeed.

B) The second objective is to examine the strategic part of Nepali media in political change during the People's Movement of 2006 in Nepal. This objective is related to the process of the media in the movement. This second objective has determined to assess how the Nepali media presented the issues on People's Movement. This raises the question of how the media will frame the issues of the people's movement. Looking at this basis, Nepali media has used various tools and techniques of attraction to make the news more readable. Particularly, the combination of photographs, given the size, placement, and tone of news, media seems to convey a positive message in favor of the movement.

According to agenda-setting theory, in news selection and presentation, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important role in shaping political reality. Readers know not only about an issue but the amount of information in the news and its placement and how much importance should be given to that issue. The media can better determine important issues-that is the media sets the campaign agenda. According to the mentioned concept, Nepali media seems to have paid special attention to content creation during the period of the movement.

The importance of the agenda was also determined by how the photos have been used in the above-mentioned newspapers. In the context of plan setting a photo is also an important tool. Photos were widely used to make the news attractive,

readable, and effective, which means that photos have been used in an average 43 percent of a total of 641 movement-related news. Throughout the study period, 37.12 percent of the 641 news articles published on (14 March 2006 to 26 April 2006) have used attractive pictures. The number of pictures used varies from the selected five newspapers. *Kantipur* has the highest number of photos, with 56 percent of the news. The lowest is 19.8 percent in *Gorkhapatra*. The usage of photos in *Annapurnais* 43 percent.

Similarly, when it comes to placement, the newspapers have placed most of the agitation news at the top of the left. This number is 161, while the top of the right has 150. Similarly, five items of news content have been placed in the entire part of given newspapers. It means the whole right and left covers of newspapers.

Another important aspect here is the size provided for news. Looking at the aspect of size provided for news, most news is in three columns. However, the news related to movement has been given a maximum space of 8 columns.

Similarly, 55 percent of the published news favors people's movement. However, *Gorkhapatra* is an exception to this. *Kantipur*, *Annapurna*, *Nepal Newspaper*, and *Rajdhani* have published 60 to 80 percent of the news in favor of the movement. Not only this, but the above-mentioned newspapers have also published news that conveys a negative message in favor of the then government and monarchy. Its share is 42 percent on average.

Likewise, published editorials of the newspapers also have favored the movement. Here, *Gorkhapatra* is also an exception to this. However, among the editorials published in the remaining four newspapers, an average of 55 percent is in favor of the movement. The number of editorials favoring the then government is very low. On the basis of this analysis, it can be assessed that the Nepali media has set the

agenda to create public opinion in favor of the people's movement and framed it in such a way as to influence the people.

C) The third objective is to analyze how the media is an important agent for political change in the context of Nepal. The third objective is related to the reason for political change in Nepal, especially focused on the People's Movement 2006. This objective is determined to analyze a solution to the question of whether the media can become a factor in political change or not. This analysis led to the conclusion that the media has also become a factor in the events of political change in Nepal. People's Movement 2006 is an appropriate example of this because the mainstream media at that time had played a positive role in favor of the People's Movement 2006, political change was possible, that is, the end of the then monarchy system and the establishment of a democratic republican system.

When the then King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shahdev took over the executive power to rule the country, the democratic rights of the citizens were curtailed one after the other. In this context, the freedom of the press was also controlled and encroached upon. After the freedom of the press and the democratic rights of citizens were taken away, the Nepali media decided to stand for democracy. Meanwhile, on February 2, 2005 (Magh 20, 2061 BS), the Federation of Nepalese Journalists formally issued a press release and announced that it would protest in favor of democracy to protect and ensure freedom of the press. This decision made by the Federation of Journalists was one step ahead of the seven political parties at that time. Although the Federation of Nepalese Journalists is on the front based on policy and agenda, the driving force of the people's movement is the political parties. Here, the media has played a significant role in pushing the trajectory of political change towards its destination.

There is no press freedom in a country with an authoritarian political system. Freedom of the press requires a liberal political system called democracy. Nepal had a constitutional monarchy before King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shahdev took control over the executive power of the country. However, the democratic rights of citizens were naturally in crisis due to the dissolution of the parliament, a people's representative institution, new elections could not be held, and the King reserved all the rights to himself. In such a situation, the Nepali media is standing in favor of the movement to protect democracy and freedom of the press.

According to the survey conducted during this research, the opinion had been expressed that the media had to stand in favor of the movement because of the need to protect press freedom and democracy. The number of respondents who hold this opinion is 38 and 52 percent, respectively. Likewise, the number of respondents who strongly agree that the role played by the media has created a positive atmosphere during the movement is almost 83 percent. This fact reveals that the role of the media in aiding to the people's movement 2006 and bringing about political change is quite significant.

Most of the respondents viewed that Nepali media had played a strong role in political change in Nepal. More than 80 percent of respondents expressed their views that the media was a contributing factor to political change in Nepal. Based on this, it can be concluded that media is one of the reasons for political change in the context of Nepal.

At that time, print media was the major medium to disseminate the activities of the people's movements. *Kantipur Daily* was found to favor the people's movement in greater volume. *Annapurna Post* was in the second position, and *Nepal*

Samacharpatra, *Rajdhani Daily*, and *Gorkhapatra* were in the third, fourth, and fifth positions.

According to the media-centric theory, the impact of media falls on the public mind miraculously, and this effect keeps on growing cumulatively. Sometimes, media messages reach people directly, and sometimes, opinion leaders play a role. Opinion leaders here represent social workers, teachers, professors, political activists, people's representatives, and conscious and active members of society. As a result, messages in the media and opinion leaders influence public opinion.

Media and society are governed by the dominant political system, but this does not mean politics continues to be benefitted from the media. Politics, on the other hand, determines the necessary environment for the media. Soviet communist press theory, social responsibility theory, the media authoritarian theory, and the media liberalism theory all argue that the political system determines the form of the media. This reveals that there is a theoretically established link between politics and the media. The question arises whether journalism is a form of information dissemination or politics is a source of information. Politics and the media are different disciplines, but they are deeply intertwined.

The research examining the correlation, association, and relationship between media and the people's movement revealed the nexus between these two. This embeddedness during people's movement 2006 helped to form public opinion based on the tables Q7 and Q9, each of which had widespread Pearson correlation co-efficiency. According to the table Q9 and Q17's Pearson correlation demonstrates that they are related and that information insurance in the media in 2006 helped to form public opinion to prefer the people's movement.

7.2. Conclusion

Political change itself is a complex and comprehensive process. Political change is not only the issue of a change of the government but also the change in the political system. Political change in this context is a process of transformation of an authoritarian political system into a liberal political system, i.e. democratic or republican. While a change occurs in the political system, there will be a change in the various organs of the state.

In the authoritarian political system, sovereign and executive rights will be in the hands of the ruling class. Consequently, the fundamental rights of citizens remain restricted. Most of the rights, including the right to speech and expression, right to know, right to communication, right to information, and right to freedom, are reduced or eliminated. But, in the democratic system, the right to freedom is ensured in the citizens. There is the legal provision of free enjoyment of many more rights, including the right to speech and expression, the right to know, the right to communication, the right to information, and the right to freedom. In this, the concept of free press is also assimilated. Freedom of the press is a major characteristic of a democratic system.

Media exist in any type of political system. But there is a suitable environment for the press in the democratic system. Therefore, the role of media is determined based on the political system. However, after 1922, the theory was developed that media should be free, fair, balanced, responsible, neutral, creative, and constructive for society. But, in special situations, the role of media appears differently than what is mentioned in these principles.

During the people's movement 2006 in Nepal, the role of media was found to be different from the principles. At that time, Nepali media could not remain neutral

to the ruling of the government as expected. Instead, the media favored people's 2006 movement.

The role of the media seemed positive towards people's movement in 2006 because there was no right to know, no right to speech and expression, no right to information, and no right to communication in the political system under the monarch. The content analysis carried out in this study period shows that Nepali media were found to be contributing to the creation of public opinion, favoring the movement organized by the political parties. In this regard, Nepali media played a role according to the agenda setting theory. As a result, political change was possible in Nepal by then.

There prevail contested opinions on the role of media in political changes. The role of media differs in different contexts. Even if it is said that the media is independent and impartial when analyzed by social normative theory, the media is contextual according to the geopolitical situation and existing political system of any country. This research conducted in the context of Nepal revealed that media played the complimentary role to the political movement rather than the neutral one. The study further revealed that the principle of the neutrality of media cannot be applied in every situation. Especially for ensuring civil rights and freedom of the press, the media itself appears as a catalyst and as an agenda setter to create public opinion in its favor. During People's Movement 2006 in Nepal, the media remained a defender of civil rights. The media tended to favor democratic political system. In the situations as such, the principles of balance, fairness, and impartiality of the media are likely to be violated in some conditions in a democratic nation.

In conclusion, Nepali Media played an effective role during people's movement 2006 for the political change in Nepal. This alignment resonates media

effects theory like agenda setting. Nepali media during people's movement 2006 foregrounded political agendas and framed them to uphold people's movement. The agenda of the alliance of seven political parties and the CPN Maoist to establish republican democracy ensuring freedom of speech and expression as well as fundamental rights were brought into the limelight by the media thereby shaping the public awareness in favor of the movement.

7.3. Recommendations

Recommendations are arranged in this research in the following way. In the beginning, general recommendations are presented, which may be relevant to media persons, media houses, media-related institutions, government authorities, as well as different political parties. Later, recommendations for further research are enlisted.

7.3.1 General Recommendations

1. Since media is mandatory and indispensable in modern society, the state must provide a suitable environment for the proper development of media. The appropriate environment includes financial, technical, and legal basis. The economic, technical, and legal basis created by the state should be media friendly.
2. The state should ensure press freedom legally and constitutionally. Likewise, the environment should be created for working according to complete press freedom as well. For this, it is necessary for the state to set up a mechanism that listens to the policy-wise problems of media.
3. In principle, the roles of media are mainly accuracy, balance, credibility, decency, neutrality, and responsibility. These principles should be completely observed in the news content disseminated by the media. For a healthy creation of public opinion and reflection of public opinion, it is necessary for the media to observe the principles.

4. There is an interdependent relationship between media and politics. Here, the media should be alerting society, whereas politics should be able to act responsibly towards society. However, accountability should be taken by both media and political parties. Along with accountability, one should follow one's responsibilities and duties.
5. A code of conduct is the baseline of self-censorship for media and journalists. Nothing should be compromised in the context of adopting a code of conduct. The result of non-observance of the code of conduct will create public confusion. For this, a press council is needed.
6. Journalists should play their role freely. The exercise of practicing journalism by being affiliated with a particular political party not only puts the principles of journalism in crisis but the entire credibility of the media will be weakened. At the same time, media and journalists should be able to show high moral behavior.
7. The impact of the media on the society is significant and intense. Considering the seriousness of the media influence, the media should carry out the flow of its content in a balanced manner. Balanced content helps citizens build a fair opinion.
8. As public opinion is formed based on the agenda presented by the media, the agenda should be prepared by studying the problems of common people. An agenda should not be set according to the interest of any political power or a corporate house.
9. Diversities have come to the media due to the development of internet technology after 1970. Consequently, online newspapers and social media are advancing intensely. Sending and receiving information has become faster due to internet technology. However, as there are still problems in the context of information quality, mainstream journalism should be maintained and developed based on

credibility. For this, the necessity of a regulatory role on the part of the state has been felt.

7.3.2 Recommendation for Further Research

While completing this research, the role of the media in the establishment of a democratic political system seems to be inevitable, so the question of what role the media plays in the protection, development, and prosperity of democracy in Nepal is seen to be relevant for further research. Along with the establishment of democracy, the institutional development of democracy is an inevitable question. Freedom of speech, periodic elections, sovereignty, good governance, transparency, independent judiciary, and accountability is important for the institutional development of democracy.

The surveillance and monitoring of the executive, legislature, and judiciary by the media ensures the enhancement of the rights mentioned above. The effective surveillance of the media is necessary for the institutional development of democracy. In this matter, after the completion of the people's movement in Nepal, it is an appropriate issue to further research in the context of media's role. Similarly, coverage of gender issues in the people's movement, ethical consideration of media in the people's movement, and the practice of political communication of political parties may be research issues for further research.

Furthermore, the present research is conducted taking reference of people's movement 2006 when print media played a pivotal role in setting political agenda and shaping public awareness. However, in the present context, televisions and social media are also emerging as influential means of ideas and information. Therefore, the new avenues for research would be the exploration of the role of social media and television on political movements in the local and global sphere.

APPENDIX 1

Some Clips of News Material

During Movement period 2006, Dailies Newspapers

कारिवादीलाई स्पष्टीकरण

गृहबाटै २५ कर्मचारी पक्राउ
राष्ट्र बैंक दफ्ती टम्प, १२ कर्मचारी पक्राउ

अश्रुग्यासले महिलाको मृत्यु
मौली लागी १४ घाइते

गृहमन्त्रीले भने- यिनीहरूलाई थुन्ने

सैनिक घुसपैठको पुष्टि

मिटामिन 'ए' तथाप्सुलले बाल-बालिकाको ज्याम जोमाउँछ ।
आज हरेक बच्चाको बितरण केन्द्रबाट बाल-बालिकालाई मिटामिन 'ए' क्याप्सुल र चुकाको औषधी निःशुल्क रुपमा खुवाईदछ ।
सबै बाल-बालिकालाई यो सेवा प्राप्त गर्नमा आ-आफ्नो तर्फबाट विशेष सहयोग गरिदिनु हुन अनुरोध गरिन्छ ।
युनिसेफ unicef

कफ्युको व्यापक अवज्ञा
तीन जनाको मृत्यु, सयौं घाइते

'बन राजाको कोर्टमा'

एम्बुलेन्सले समेत कफ्यु पास पाएनन्



कान्तिपुर

कर्फ्यु पनि अवज्ञा

सेनाको गोर्नले मृत्यु



मोहान कर्णिक

कर्फ्यु पनि अवज्ञा

सेनाको गोर्नले मृत्यु

मुद्दामा दुई काको मृत्यु

जुलुस हस्तक्षेप गरी सवारी

बुटवल र तौलिहवामा आक्रमण

वमले घाइते बालिकाको मृत्यु

संस्कृत अकादमीको वार्षिक सम्मेलन समुदाघाटन

आन्दोलन तीव्र

कर्मचारी, चिकित्सक र पेसाकर्मीको साथ ठूलो संख्यामा घाइते र पक्राउ

रबरको गोलीसमेत प्रहार

प्रहरीलाई जोगाउँदै विद्यार्थी

राजालाई अमेरिकी सांसदहरूको पत्र

प्रज्ञातन्त्रको उपहास

कानून व्यवसायीहरू पत्र आन्दोलित

आन्धीनमा आउन नेताहरूको आह्वान

कान्तिपुर

आन्दोलन तीव्र

कर्मचारी, चिकित्सक र पेसाकर्मीको साथ ठूलो संख्यामा घाइते र पक्राउ

रबरको गोलीसमेत प्रहार

प्रहरीलाई जोगाउँदै विद्यार्थी

राजालाई अमेरिकी सांसदहरूको पत्र

प्रज्ञातन्त्रको उपहास

कानून व्यवसायीहरू पत्र आन्दोलित

आन्धीनमा आउन नेताहरूको आह्वान

बुटवल र तौलिहवामा आक्रमण

वमले घाइते बालिकाको मृत्यु

संस्कृत अकादमीको वार्षिक सम्मेलन समुदाघाटन

मुद्दामा दुई काको मृत्यु

जुलुस हस्तक्षेप गरी सवारी

कर्फ्यु पनि अवज्ञा

सेनाको गोर्नले मृत्यु

मोहान कर्णिक

कानून व्यवसायीहरू पत्र आन्दोलित

आन्धीनमा आउन नेताहरूको आह्वान

प्रज्ञातन्त्रको उपहास

राजालाई अमेरिकी सांसदहरूको पत्र

प्रहरीलाई जोगाउँदै विद्यार्थी

रबरको गोलीसमेत प्रहार

ठूलो संख्यामा घाइते र पक्राउ

कर्मचारी, चिकित्सक र पेसाकर्मीको साथ

आन्दोलन तीव्र

कान्तिपुर



Glose UP

गोन्नुमा त मज्जाले टारनुमा

गोन्नुमा त मज्जाले टारनुमा



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श्री ५ बाट
दमस्कलाई
आह्वान



सिरीकाद्वारा नागरिकलाई
नेपाल छाड्न सुभाष

‘अत्यधिक बलले स्तब्ध’

सका उपचारक निकालिए

यदीपल गर्यो वर्ष दोनागञ्जो-२०५३



सिद्धिमा

रु. १ (+ कर)

हिरो गलभिन

कान्तिपुर

ठोकपांवासी त्रस्त



आमहडताल गर्न नदिने

घमपेट
छ : सेना

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अन्नपूर्ण पोष्ट



संक्षेप
समाचारको संक्षेप रूपमा पढ्नका लागि यहाँ आउनुहोस्।

आत्मसमर्पण गर्नेलाई दस लाख दिने घोषणा

आत्मसमर्पण गर्ने पुरान्नीसभामध्ये गैरीस - २०५, २ पुरान्नीसभाले





माओवादीले बैंक लुटे
सम्बन्धीमा सर्वसाधारण परिणाम

विधिलाई उपस्थित गराऊ : सर्वोच्च



तपस्वी बेखबर, बैंक खाता रोक्का

दुन्दु समाधान गर्न तेस्रो पक्ष चाहिन्छ : गुन्धर





हरै पल,
हाजमोला पल

सिटो चटपटे स्वास्थ्यमै हरेक बीज बचाने पकटेनुहोस् ।



अन्नपूर्ण पोष्ट



संक्षेप
समाचारको संक्षेप रूपमा पढ्नका लागि यहाँ आउनुहोस्।

प्रहरीको गोलीले परासीमा आन्दोलनकारीको मृत्यु





धरधरी रोए दर्शक

सर्वोच्चको तीन पदले अझै बेपत्ता

अमेरिकी सभामुखको भ्रमण स्थगित

अमेरिकी सभामुखको भ्रमण स्थगित



अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट



संक्षेप
अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट विभाग, काठमाडौं

भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा
अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट विभागले भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवालाई अगाडि बढाएको छ। यसबाट नेपाली नागरिकहरूले भारत जाने यात्रामा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवाबाट फायदा उठाउन सक्नेछन्।

समाचार
नेपाल सरकारले भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवालाई अगाडि बढाएको छ। यसबाट नेपाली नागरिकहरूले भारत जाने यात्रामा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवाबाट फायदा उठाउन सक्नेछन्।

देशभरि आन्दोलनको तीव्र प्रभाव

पोखरामा गोली चल्यो, एक आन्दोलनकारीको मृत्यु



पोखरा, २०७० चैत्र १५ : नेपाल सरकारले भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवालाई अगाडि बढाएको छ। यसबाट नेपाली नागरिकहरूले भारत जाने यात्रामा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवाबाट फायदा उठाउन सक्नेछन्।

नेपाल सरकारले भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवालाई अगाडि बढाएको छ। यसबाट नेपाली नागरिकहरूले भारत जाने यात्रामा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवाबाट फायदा उठाउन सक्नेछन्।

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संक्षेप
अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट विभाग, काठमाडौं

भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा
अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट विभागले भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवालाई अगाडि बढाएको छ। यसबाट नेपाली नागरिकहरूले भारत जाने यात्रामा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवाबाट फायदा उठाउन सक्नेछन्।

उपत्यकामा कर्फ्युको अवज्ञा

उपत्यकामा कर्फ्युको अवज्ञा

उपत्यकामा कर्फ्युको अवज्ञा

उपत्यकामा कर्फ्युको अवज्ञा



संक्षेप
अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट विभाग, काठमाडौं

भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा
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भिडन्तमा उन्नाईसजनाको मृत्यु

भिडन्तमा उन्नाईसजनाको मृत्यु

भिडन्तमा उन्नाईसजनाको मृत्यु

भिडन्तमा उन्नाईसजनाको मृत्यु



संक्षेप
अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट विभाग, काठमाडौं

भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा
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सबै शक्तिले जनचाहना बुझेर काम गर

सबै शक्तिले जनचाहना बुझेर काम गर

सबै शक्तिले जनचाहना बुझेर काम गर

सबै शक्तिले जनचाहना बुझेर काम गर

अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट



संक्षेप
अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट विभाग, काठमाडौं

भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा
अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट विभागले भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवालाई अगाडि बढाएको छ। यसबाट नेपाली नागरिकहरूले भारत जाने यात्रामा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवाबाट फायदा उठाउन सक्नेछन्।

श्री ५ पाल्पा सवारी



दाताहरू आफैँ पारदर्शी छैनन् : उपाध्याय

दाताहरू आफैँ पारदर्शी छैनन् : उपाध्याय

दाताहरू आफैँ पारदर्शी छैनन् : उपाध्याय

दाताहरू आफैँ पारदर्शी छैनन् : उपाध्याय



संक्षेप
अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट विभाग, काठमाडौं

भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा
अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट विभागले भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवालाई अगाडि बढाएको छ। यसबाट नेपाली नागरिकहरूले भारत जाने यात्रामा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवाबाट फायदा उठाउन सक्नेछन्।

पेसाकर्मी हडतालमा सहभागी हुने

पेसाकर्मी हडतालमा सहभागी हुने

पेसाकर्मी हडतालमा सहभागी हुने

पेसाकर्मी हडतालमा सहभागी हुने



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अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट विभागले भारतसँगको सीमा क्षेत्रमा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवालाई अगाडि बढाएको छ। यसबाट नेपाली नागरिकहरूले भारत जाने यात्रामा अन्वपूर्ण पोष्ट सेवाबाट फायदा उठाउन सक्नेछन्।

URGENT NOTICE

URGENT NOTICE
Regarding advertisement published by Aeroce Nepal Ltd. and Aeroce Ltd.

This is to inform all our valued Passengers, Agents and all concerned that our attention has been drawn by a Notice published in various newspapers on April 2, 2006, by Aeroce Nepal Ltd. and Aeroce Ltd. via, the Cosmic Air Pvt. Ltd., which like to inform all concerned that the above stated Notice with false allegation is misleading to the people. We, the Cosmic Air, have obtained an Interim Order from the Appellate Court of Patan on 27 February 2006, in relation to the aircraft and have been operating the aircraft accordingly. We, therefore, are in conformity and in adherence to the Law of the Kingdom of Nepal and the order of the Court in respect to the operation of the aircraft. Further, we are in full compliance with the Nepalese Civil Aviation Airworthiness requirements and all other relevant Aviation Laws, which are mandatory for operation of all aircrafts in Nepal.

Based on the foregoing facts and reasons, we would like to request all concerned not to be misled regarding the operation of the said aircraft by Cosmic Air. It is further to inform that as the said act of publishing such Notice in the newspapers by Aeroce and Aeroce Ltd. is misleading, defamatory, derogatory of our Authority and Laws of our Kingdom and against our business repute of long standing. We will be taking legal action against Aeroce and Aeroce Ltd. in appropriate legal authority of Law in Nepal.

Further, Cosmic Air assures its well-wishers, valued Passengers, Agents and all concerned that we, the Cosmic Air, will continue in the service of the people and the Travel and Tourism Industry, as we have done faithfully, honestly and successfully in the past.

COSMIC Air Pvt. Ltd.

अन्नपूर्ण पोष्ट



संक्षेप
सिक्की अन्वेषण संस्था




समाचारिकी योजना

बारी को!



अन्नपूर्ण पोष्ट



प्रश्नपत्र बोकेको गाडीमा माओवादी आक्रमण

पिडितमा एक सैनिक र माओवादीको मृत्यु

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ध्याय र चन्द्र दमकको विरोधमा

सन्तान नहुँदा सम्बन्धविच्छेद गर्न नपाइने

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सिक्की अन्वेषण संस्था



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बारी को!





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बारी को!



अन्नपूर्ण पोष्ट



माधव नेपाल गिरफ्तार

दैनिक मडिनाका लागि नजरबन्दमा राख्ने पुजी

यात्रुबस धरापमा पर्दा तीन घाइते

'आतंककारी घोषणा संविधानवमोजिम'

कुखुरामा बर्ड फ्लु नभएको प्रमाणित

बागमतीको पानीमा अक्सिजनको मात्रा घट्दो

संक्षेप
सिक्की अन्वेषण संस्था



समाचारिकी योजना

बारी को!





दाँतमा प्राकृतिक बलियोपन

सिटेमा!

विश्वका सबैभन्दा राम्रिमा सिटेमा



असल मान्छेकी संगत गरे घमण्ड आफै टाढा हुँदै जान्छ ।

— महात्मा गान्धी

कालाजारको प्रकोप

गर्मी सुरु हुनेबित्तिकै तराईका जिल्लामा रोगको प्रकोप बढ्न थाल्छ । मौसमको हिसाबले अहिलेको समय औसत भए पनि तराईका कतिपय जिल्लामा प्रचण्ड गर्मी सुरु भइसकेको छ । गर्मी चढ्दै जाँदा रोगको प्रकोप पनि बढ्दै जाने सम्भावना बढेको छ । त्यसै त यस वर्ष कम वर्षा भएका कारण पनि तराईका कतिपय जिल्लामा गर्मीको चाप तीव्र रूपमा बढेको छ । भाडापखाला, ज्वरोलगायतका समस्याले तराईवासी बढी पीडित हुने गरेका छन् ।

महोत्तरीको जलेश्वर क्षेत्रमा यसपालि चैतको पहिलो सातामै कालाजार प्रभावित देखिन थालेका छन् । महोत्तरीवासी कालाजारबाट मुक्त त छैनन् नै तैपनि अघिल्ला वर्षमा गर्मी सुरु भएपछि मात्रै यस्ता रोग देखिन्थे । यसपालि अहिले नै कालाजार रोगीले अस्पताल शैया भरिएका छन् । कालाजार त्यति डरलाग्दो रोग नभए पनि उपचारमा ध्यान पुऱ्याउन सकिएन भने विरामीको मृत्युसमेत हुनसक्छ । रोग लागेको थाहा हुने बित्तिकै खानामा विचार पुऱ्याउन सकियो भने पनि सहजै रूपमा ठीक हुन सकिन्छ । कालाजार प्रभावित क्षेत्रमा सफासुग्घर हुनु अनिवार्य छ । कति त फोहोर व्यवस्थापन गर्न नसकेकै कारण पनि रोग प्रभावित भएका छन् । यसका लागि सर्वसाधारण स्वयंले पनि सचेतता अपनाउनु जरुरी छ । रोग लागेर उपचार गर्नुभन्दा रोग लाग्नै नदिनु उपयुक्त हुने बनाइ चर्चित रहे पनि रोग लाग्न नदिने विषयमा सचेतता अपनाउने परम्परा हामीमा छैन । अझ कतिले त रोग लागिसकेपछि पनि अन्तिम अवस्थामा मात्रै अस्पताल घाउने गरेका छन् । कालाजारजस्ता रोग लागेको शंका हुनेबित्तिकै स्वास्थ्यकर्मीको सल्लाह लिनु उपयुक्त हुन्छ । समयमै स्वास्थ्यकर्मीको सल्लाह लिनु उपयुक्त हुन्छ । समयमै स्वास्थ्य परीक्षण गराउने परिपाटी विकास भयो भने रोगीको संख्यामा केही कमी आउने थियो ।

कालाजारबाट बढी प्रभावित महोत्तरीको जलेश्वर अस्पतालमा अहिले उपचार गराउनेको घुईचा बढेको छ । शैयाको अभावमा कतिपय विरामी भुइँमा सुतेर उपचार गर्दैछन् भने नजिक घर हुनेहरू शैया अभावकै कारण वासका लागि आफ्नै घर घाउन विवश छन् । अझ अर्को लाजलाग्दो कुरा त जलेश्वर अस्पताल मुलुककै फोहोरी अस्पतालको रूपमा चिनिन्छ । स्वास्थ्यकर्मीले



आन्दोलनकारी गाउँमै रोकने

काठमाडौं, २०७० मंसिर २१

राजधानीको विभिन्न भागमा जारी भइरहेको आन्दोलनकारीहरूलाई गाउँमै रोक्ने प्रयास भइरहेको छ। सरकारले अर्थसचिवको कार्यालयमा रहेका आन्दोलनकारीहरूलाई गाउँमै रोक्ने प्रयास गरिरहेको छ।

आन्दोलनकारीहरूले अर्थसचिवको कार्यालयमा रहेका आन्दोलनकारीहरूलाई गाउँमै रोक्ने प्रयास गरिरहेको छ। सरकारले अर्थसचिवको कार्यालयमा रहेका आन्दोलनकारीहरूलाई गाउँमै रोक्ने प्रयास गरिरहेको छ।

हिम्मत र तागत भए कारबाही गर : सातदल

सातदल सरकारले अर्थसचिवको कार्यालयमा रहेका आन्दोलनकारीहरूलाई गाउँमै रोक्ने प्रयास गरिरहेको छ। सरकारले अर्थसचिवको कार्यालयमा रहेका आन्दोलनकारीहरूलाई गाउँमै रोक्ने प्रयास गरिरहेको छ।

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नेपाली प्रेस संकटमा परेको मिसनको ठहर

नेपाली प्रेस संकटमा परेको मिसनको ठहर गरिएको छ। मिसनले नेपाली प्रेस संकटमा परेको मिसनको ठहर गरिएको छ। मिसनले नेपाली प्रेस संकटमा परेको मिसनको ठहर गरिएको छ।

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आन्दोलनकारी गाउँमै रोकने

काठमाडौं, २०७० मंसिर २१

राजधानीको विभिन्न भागमा जारी भइरहेको आन्दोलनकारीहरूलाई गाउँमै रोक्ने प्रयास भइरहेको छ। सरकारले अर्थसचिवको कार्यालयमा रहेका आन्दोलनकारीहरूलाई गाउँमै रोक्ने प्रयास गरिरहेको छ।

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राष्ट्रिय दायित्व
युग युग राष्ट्रवादी रह्यो

स्टेट काउन्सिलर नाइ आज नेपाल आउनुहुने
नेपाल-चीन सम्बन्धमा
नयाँ आयाम थपिने विश्वास

कथित नाकाबन्दी हल्लाको भ्रममा नपर्ने
उपभोक्ता तथा व्यापारीलाई अह्वान

यातायात सुचारु
गर्न विशेष क्षतिपूर्ति

एसएलसी परीक्षालाई हतियार बनाउनु दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण

आज उपखान्डा

BOOST YOUR POWER

रुकि टुक्का टोल नोड - सधैँ उज्यालो

गोरखा




गोरखापत्र

रिलायन्स
एउटा रूढि सिर्जना
राष्ट्रिय अविच्छेद्य दायो रिलायन्स

नैतिक आचरण र मर्यादा
छोडेमा समाजको पतन हुन्छ

शान्तिका नाममा आतङ्कारीसँग
साँठगाँठ गर्ने कसैलाई छुट छैन

काठमाडौँमा सुरआर्जीच कडाइ

राणी सती वसन्त महोत्सव सुरु

जङ्ग र सुन्दरीले सोनबुनमा लाली र गुराँसको नाम पाए

'नेपाली भाषाले भारतमा प्रभाव जमाएको छ'

नेपाल-भारत नेपाली विद्यार्थी सम्मेलन

रुकि टुक्का टोल नोड - सधैँ उज्यालो

गोरखा




APPENDIX 2
PRINT MEDIA AND PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT 2006
IN NEPAL

Code Sheet for Content Analysis in front page

(Chaitra 1, 2062 to 11 Baishak 2063)

Table 1: Coverage of political news in national dailies

S. N.	Newspaper Name	Total News in Front Page	Number of political news	News related with Peoples' Movement
1	Kantipur Daily			
2	Annapurna Post			
3	Nepal Samachar Patra			
4	Rajdhani Daily			
5	Gorkha Patra Daily			
	Total			

Table 2: Placements of political news in national dailies

S. N.	Newspaper Name	Top of the Right	Top of the Left	Bottom of the Right	Bottom of the Left	Middle in page	Right to Left
1	Kantipur Daily						
2	Annapurna Post						
3	Nepal Samachar Patra						
4	Rajdhani Daily						
5	Gorkha Patra Daily						
	Total						

Table 3: Given size movement related news in news in national dailies

(In Column)

S. N.	Newspaper Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	TKD								
2	TAP								
3	TNSP								
4	TRD								
5	TGPD								
	Total								

Table 4: Tone of news in national dailies

S. N.	Newspaper Name	Neutral	Favorable to movement	Favorable to Government
1	Kantipur Daily			
2	Annapurna Post			
3	Nepal Samachar Patra			
4	Rajdhani Daily			
5	Gorkha Patra Daily			
	Total			

Table 5: Presentation of news in the prospects of journalistic principle

S. N.	Newspaper Name	Balanced	Biased to government	Biased to movement
1	Kantipur Daily			
2	Annapurna Post			
3	Nepal Samachar Patra			
4	Rajdhani Daily			
5	Gorkha Patra Daily			
	Total			

Table6: Political agenda taken by media

S. N.	Newspaper Name	For Democracy	For Peace	For constitutional monarchy	Indifference
1	Kantipur Daily				
2	Annapurna Post				
3	Nepal Samachar Patra				
4	Rajdhani Daily				
5	Gorkha Patra Daily				
	Total				

Table7: Political news coverage with photos and without photos

S. N.	Newspaper Name	News Coverage with Photos	News Coverage without Photos	Total
1	Kantipur Daily			
2	Annapurna Post			
3	Nepal Samachar Patra			
4	Rajdhani Daily			
5	Gorkha Patra Daily			
	Total			

APPENDIX 3
PRINT MEDIA AND PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT 2006
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Code Sheet for Content Analysis for Editorial

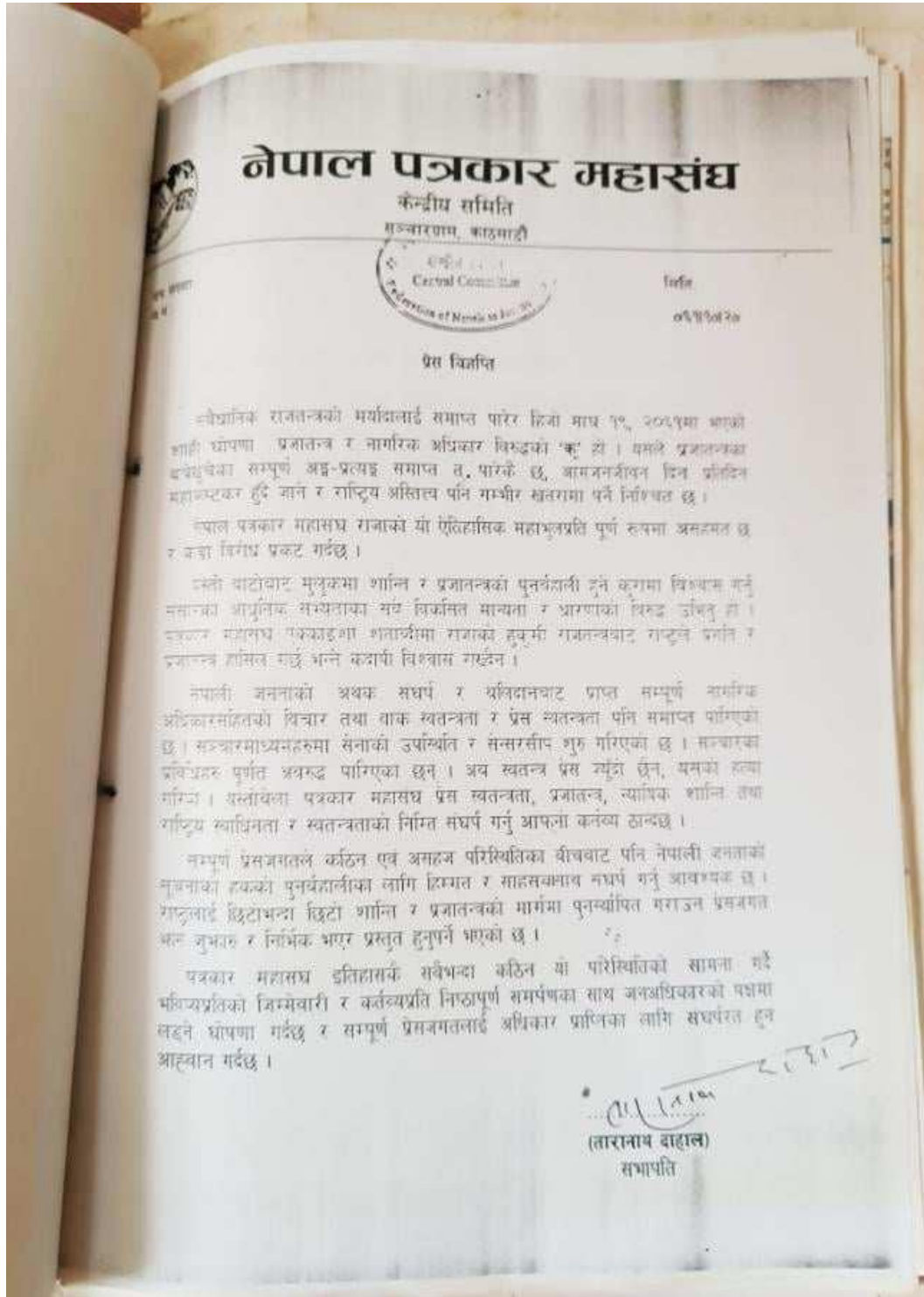
(Chaitra 1, 2062 to 11 Baishak 2063)

Date	Headline of editorial	Proposed Agenda	Favorable to movement	Favorable to movement	Neutral
2062/12/ 1					
2062/12/2					
2062/12/3					
2062/12/4					
2062/12/5					
2062/12/6					
2062/12/7					
2062/12/8					
2062/12/9					
2062/12/10					
2062/12/11					
2062/12/12					
2062/12/13					
2062/12/14					
2062/12/15					
2062/12/16					
2062/12/17					
2062/12/18					
2062/12/19					
2062/12/20					
2062/12/21					
2062/12/22					
2062/12/23					

Date	Headline of editorial	Proposed Agenda	Favorable to movement	Favorable to movement	Neutral
2062/12/24					
2062/12/24					
2062/12/26					
2062/12/27					
2062/12/28					
2062/12/29					
2062/12/30					
2062/12/31					
2063/01/1					
2063/01/2					
2063/01/3					
2063/01/4					
2063/01/5					
2063/01/6					
2063/01/7					
2063/01/8					
2063/01/9					
2063/01/10					
2063/01/11					
Total					

APPENDIX 4

Press Release of Federation of Nepali Journalist



APPENDIX 5
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Questionnaire for survey

(Chaitra 1, 2062 to 11 Baishak 2063)

(This presented questionnaire has been prepared for academic purposes. This questionnaire has been specially prepared for PhD research work. The name of the respondents answering the questions included in it will be kept confidential. Kindly, answer the following questions in the given form)

1. Name of Respondent (Identity can also be kept confidential).
2. Age group.
 - A. 20-30
 - B. 31-40
 - C. 41- 50
 - D. 51-50
 - E. Above 61.
3. Your qualification:
 - A. Under SLC,
 - B. PCL. / +2,
 - C. Bachelor,
 - D. Above Master
4. Your profession:
 - A. Journalist
 - B. Political Activist
 - C. Social mobilizer
 - D. Civil Servant
 - E. Business man
 - F. General public
5. How much do your knowledge about the People's movement 2006?
 - A. Very much
 - B. Little about
 - C. No idea

6. Have you ever participated in the people's movement 2006?
 - A. Actively Participate
 - B. Just Participate,
 - C. Just observes from side
 - D. Never participates.
7. How do you get information about the people's movement 2006?
 - A. By Media
 - B. By Political leader
 - C. By Social Activist
 - D. By Neighbors
8. From which media did you get information about the movement?
 - A. Newspaper
 - B. Radio
 - C. Television
 - D. social media.
9. How much preference did the Nepali media give to the issues of people's movement?
 - A. Too much
 - B. Moderate
 - C. less coverage
 - D. No idea.
10. What kind of role did the Nepali media play in the People's movement?
 - A. Positive favor to Movement
 - B. Negative favor towards Movement
 - C. Balance
 - D. favorable to Government/Monarchy
11. Are you agree the media have played strong role on people's movement?
 - A. Strongly agrees
 - B. Agree
 - C. Strongly disagrees
 - D. Disagree
 - E. No idea.

12. Were there any relation between the media and the people's movement?
 - A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. No idea
13. What was the special reason for the relationship between the movement and the media?
 - A. The issue of press freedom was raised in the movement
 - B. Fearing that democracy will be in crisis
 - C. Because the media was not professional
 - D. Because the then government curtailed people's rights
14. Which agenda was prioritized by media during peoples' movement 2006?
 - A. Full Democracy
 - B. Monarchy
 - C. Republican System
 - D. Peace, E. No idea
15. Which newspapers were carried favorable new-material to movement?
 - A. Kantipur Daily
 - B. Annapurna Post
 - C. Nepal Samachar Patra
 - D. Gorkha Patra
16. What is the reason for the media to support the people's movement?
 - A. Cause related to Press freedom
 - B. Cause related to Democracy
 - C. Cause related to political affiliation
 - D. Cause related to international pressure
17. Are you agree that the media carried news that supported the people's movement?
 - A. Strongly Agree
 - B. Agree
 - C. Strongly disagrees
 - D. Disagree
 - E. No idea.

18. The news in the media have contributed to create public opinion in favor of the people's movement?
- A. Absolutely Support it
 - B. Moderately support it
 - C. Hardly Support it
 - D. Don't support it
19. What was the issue of neutrality considered in the covering news-materials at during movement period?
- A. That was neutral
 - B. that was not neutral
 - C. That was mission
 - D. No idea
20. You are satisfied with the role played by the Nepali media during the people's movement?
- A. Very satisfied
 - B. Satisfied
 - C. Neutral
 - D. Very dissatisfied
 - E. Dissatisfied.
21. Do you agree that the media plays a role in political change?
- A. Strongly Agree
 - B. Agree
 - C. Strongly disagrees
 - D. Disagree
 - E. No idea.
22. What is your expectation that the role of media should be changing political system?
- A. Neutral and Balanced
 - B. Totally professional
 - C. Socially responsible
 - D. Politically purposeful.

APPENDIX 6
PRINT MEDIA AND PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT 2006
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Name list of Key Informant

1. TaranathDahal, Senior Journalist and Chairman of Freedom Forum,
Kathmandu. - P1
2. Somnath Ghimire, Media Expert, Kathmandu. -P2
3. Dharmendra Jha, Former president of FNJ, Kathmandu. -P3
4. Dr. Balkrishna Chapagain, Senior Journalist and Chief Editor of Dainik Patra,
Butwal. -P4
5. Narayan Regmi. Senior Journalist, Dang. -P5
6. Narayan Man Bijukaksha, Senior Leader of Nepal Majadur Kisan Party,
Bhaktapur. -P6
7. Ram Narayan Bidari, Leader of Nepal Communist party (Maoist Center),
Kathmandu. -P7
8. Ramesh Lekhak, Leader, Nepali Congress, Kanchanpur. -P8
9. Pradip Gnawali, Leader of Nepal Communist party (UML), Kathmandu. -P9

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