

**AN ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE USED IN THE EDITORIALS
OF THE GOOD GOVERNANCE MAGAZINE**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Department of English Education
In Partial Fulfilment for the Master of Education in English**

**Submitted by
Nodanath Trital**

**Faculty of Education
Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur
Kathmandu, Nepal**

2011

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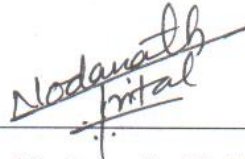
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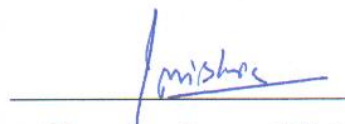
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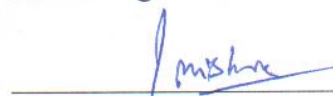
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DEDICATION

DEDICATED

to

my parents,

relatives

&

respected all

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ABSTRACT

The present research makes an effort to analyze the language used in the editorials of Good Governance Magazine in terms of register variety, coherence and cohesion. This research is descriptive one, based on only the secondary sources of data. The data for the study were randomly collected from the Good Governance Magazines since the year 1998 to 2008. The total sample population of the study consisted of 33 editorials of the magazine during eleven years of publication. The required data were collected using observation as the data collection tool. The outcomes derived from the texts of editorials were listed, tallied and tabulated on the basis of data and linguistic characteristics. An effort has been made firstly to analyze the register variety of the language of editorials on the basis of subject matter and secondly, the coherence and cohesion ties used in the editorials and their frequency have been tabulated to observe the usual tendency of writing within the editorials of the magazine. The main findings of this study are: the language of the editorial in the Good Governance Magazine is used from different register variety; different fields and areas are covered to advocate public related issues via editorial of magazine. The issue of 'Corruption' is maximally frequent; then the issue of 'Politics' has been given emphasis for advocating. Similarly, the editorials of the magazines are full of cohesive ties and become coherent. The cohesive ties through conjunctions are maximally frequent followed by the cohesive ties through references. In case of position of cohesive devices in the sentences, anaphoric position is mostly frequent than cataphoric one. Regarding the level of cohesive ties, inter- sentential use of cohesive devices is highly used than the intra-sentential one.

This thesis is composed of four chapters and each chapter is divided into necessary headings and sub-headings. Chapter one deals with general background, importance of the English language, linguistics, sociolinguistics, varieties of linguistic codes, coherence and cohesion, mass media and its

importance, introduction to Pro Public and Project design, definition of the important vocabularies, literature review, objectives and significance of the study. Chapter two presents the methodology of the study, sources of data, sampling procedure and tools for data collection, process of data collection and the limitations of the study. Chapter three consists of the analysis and interpretation of the collected data. In this section both statistical tools like percentage and comparative and descriptive approaches have been used to derive the conclusion. The comparison has been done among eleven years of publication of the magazine. Chapter four discusses the findings and recommendations based on the analysis and interpretation of this study. The references, appendices and some samples of editorials are included at the end.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

| | |
|-------|--|
| CA | Constituent Assembly |
| D. A. | Discourse Analysis |
| e. g. | For example (Latin <i>exempli gratia</i>) |
| ELT | English Language Teaching |
| ESP | English for Specific Purposes |
| etc. | et cetera (and other similar things) |
| Freq. | Frequency |
| Fig. | Figure |
| FM | Frequency Modulation |
| GGM | Good Governance Magazine |
| GGP | Good Governance Project |
| GGEM | Good Governance English Magazine |
| GGNB | Good Governance Nepali Bulletin |
| GGRP | Good Governance Radio Programme |

| | |
|------|--|
| IDP | Internally Displaced People |
| i.e. | That is (Latin id est.) |
| LSP | Language for Specific Purposes |
| NGO | Non Government Organization |
| No. | Number |
| P. | Page |
| SDC | The Swiss Agency for Development and cooperation |
| T.U. | Tribhuvan University |
| UNO | United Nation Organization |
| Viz. | Namely |
| % | Percentage |
| & | And |

CHAPTER-ONE

INTRODUCTION

This section includes general background, importance of the English language, linguistics, sociolinguistics, varieties of linguistic codes, ESP, coherence and cohesion, mass media and its importance, introduction to Pro Public and Project Design, definition of the important vocabularies, literature review, objectives and significance of the study.

1.1 General Background

Language is the means of self expression and of communicating ideas or expressing feelings. It is species specific, unique and universal within the species. It is often defined as a voluntary vocal system of human communication. It is most important medium of human communication. People in the world use different languages for the purpose of communicating each other. In other words, language is a social phenomenon which we use in the society to express our feelings, ideas, thoughts, emotions and desires by means of which we establish and maintain relationship with other people in the society. It is the language that differentiates human beings from the rest of the animal kingdom. Although there are other means of communication viz. tactile, olfactory and gustatory, language is the most widely used means of communication. In this connection, Richards et al. (1999, p. 196) define language as “the system of human communication which consists of the structured arrangement of sounds (or their written representation) into larger units, e.g. morphemes, words, sentences and utterances”.

Language is primarily a means of communication. It is one of the most widely used means of communication. It is also the most powerful and prominent means

of communication through which we can express our thoughts, feelings, ideas, and emotions of everyday life. It is the distinctive property of mankind because of which human being seems extraordinary and superior to all the species on the earth. It is present everywhere in our thoughts, feelings, dreams, prayers, meditations and rituals. Without language man would have remained only a dumb animal. Without it human civilization would have remained impossible. There is no comprehensive definition of language. Different people have defined language in different ways. Some of the definitions of language have been given below: Regarding the definition of language, Finocchiaro (1964, p.8, cited in Brown 1994, p.4) defines language as a system of arbitrary, vocal symbols which permit all people in a given culture, or other people who have learned the system of that culture, to communicate or to interact". Similarly, Sapir (1998, p.8) says, "language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols." In the same way, Wardhaugh (1986, p.3) defines, "Language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols used for human communication." Similarly, according to Chomsky (1957 p.13), "Language is the innate capacity of native speakers to understand and form grammatical sentences." In the words of Todd (1987, p.6), "...a language is a set of signals by which we communicate."

From the above mentioned definitions we can say that language is a unique asset and a very complex social phenomenon. It is the system of communication more for human and less for non-human purposes such as the language of bees, dolphins, gibbon and other animals. In this system of communication process one produces the clear picture of the whole world and the other perceives it. It is an organized noise used in actual social situation. That is why it is also known as contextualized systematic sound. Every normal human being is completely competent on at least one language. As we know that language is species-specific of mankind i.e. only human beings can have the capability to speak language and their mind is

genetically equipped with it. By physical inadequacies, animals do not have vocal organs and the type of brain which human beings possess. That is why; human being is the only possessor of language which makes him different from other animals.

Language is powerful means of communication. Language is a very complex phenomenon which includes a speaker's or writers' personal, psychological, cultural and academic condition. It is also a means of development of education, culture, society, media, science and technology. In the process of communication one perceives the clear picture of the whole world through the language. Most of the activities of the world are carried-out through the use of language. There are many languages in use in the world. Among them, English is the most widely used and expanded language in the world. Without language a man would have remained only a dumb animal. In fact, human beings have been able to enjoy their academic, social cultural and personal activities through language.

Varieties of language are spoken in the world. Among them, English is the most widely used language because it has gained the status of international language. English is one of the official languages of the UNO and therefore it plays a significant role in international communication. It has been widely accepted lingua franca in the world which is used to communicate with people who belong to differentiate linguistic groups. It is widely used in the media for detail information of any events and activities in the world. Therefore, the sound knowledge of English language is our basic need and the demand of this century. It is regarded as the store of knowledge, the window through which one can view the broad world.

1.1.1 Importance of the English Language

English is an international language. It is a most widely used language as a lingua franca which permits one to visit and contact with the whole world without any restriction. Without having knowledge of English, no one can communicate with each other if his/her language is different. Moreover, most of the world's books have been written in English. More than half of the world's books, three quarter of international mail and almost all the things of science and technology have been written in English. English magazines are used to show the outputs of the project activities to their donors in the sector of NGOs. English has been practiced and used all over the world by millions of people either as native language or as a second language or as a foreign language. English has become the voice of progress and modernization.

So, English is the language of communication, politics, journalism, commerce, education, science and technology. In this regard, Crystal (1996, p.7) says:

English is the main language of the world's books, newspapers and advertising. It is the official international language of airports and air traffic control. It is the language of international business and academic conference, of diplomacy, of sport, over two thirds of the world's scientists write in English. Three quarters of the world's mail are written in English.

In the context of our country, the English language is taught and learnt as a foreign language of global significance. It is used in different media, travel and tourism and any other fields as well. So, people are directly or indirectly influenced by the English language in their daily communication. In recent years, English is also

taught for specific purposes such as English for business, English for tourism guide, etc. Similarly, the English language has been used differently in different areas.

1.1.2 Linguistics

The discipline that studies language is called linguistics which is defined as the scientific study of language or linguistic science. It is scientific in the sense that it has its own spirit, principles and methods to study about the languages. It studies the language explicitly, systematically and objectively. Thus, linguistics is the science which studies the origin, organization, nature and development of language descriptively, historically, comparatively and it formulates the general rules related to language. It attempts to establish general principles for the study of all languages, and to determine the characteristics of human language as a phenomenon, it may be called general or theoretical linguistics.

Linguistics has made great contribution to the study of several other fields in many ways. The contribution of linguistics to language teaching is one of them. Linguistics has its other branches like clinical linguistics, educational linguistics, psycholinguistics and so forth. When the linguistic research, findings, methods or theoretical principles are applied to the study of problems from other areas of experience such domain falls under applied linguistics. So, linguistics is concerned with the study of a particular language as an end itself in order to be able to produce its complete and accurate description; and it also studies language as a means to a further end, in order to be able to obtain information about the nature of language in general.

1.1.3 Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is a branch of applied linguistics. It deals with the social norms, values, practices or groups and language and their nature. It studies the ways in which language interacts with society. According to Hudson (1980, p.1), "Sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to society." The function of language is not only to communicate information but also it is a very important means of establishing social relationship. It is a social phenomenon so that language has intimate relationship and influence society. From sociolinguistic perspective, Lyons (1977) defines languages as the principal system of communication used by particular groups of human beings within the least, every aspect of the structure and use of language related to its social and cultural functions. According to Varshney (1977, p. 295):

Language with its different varieties is the subject matter of sociolinguistics.

Sociolinguistics studies the varied linguistic realizations of socio cultural meanings which in a sense are both familiar and unfamiliar on the occurrence of everyday social interactions which are nevertheless related to particular cultures, societies, social groups, speech communities, languages, dialects, language varieties, i.e. why language variation generally forms a part of socio-linguistic study.

1.1.4 Varieties of Linguistic Codes

In general, code refers to language. In linguistics, a code is a system used for communication between two or more parties. In other words, it refers to a set of conventions for converting one signaling system into another in communication

rather than linguistics. In linguistics, code is a human language which manifests the forms or the sum total of its varieties. According to Wardhaugh (1986, p.40), "One chooses to use on any occasion is a code." Any linguistic code is manifested in the form of different varieties and is the sum total of its varieties. 'Variety' refers to any system of linguistic expression where the use is governed by situational variables. It is usually identifiable at all levels of grammar. There are mainly three kinds of its varieties of language. They are dialect, idiolect and register.

Dialect, a variety of language, is spoken in a certain region showing the differences from standard language. It differs from language in terms of its pronunciation, grammatical construction and idiomatic use of words. Dialects are the varieties of language that initially and basically show divergent geographical origins of the speaker. It also reflects the personality of the speaker i.e. who the speaker is and which geographical area s/he belongs to.

Register is another variety of language. Registers are sets of language items associated with discrete occupational or social groups. Surgeons, airline pilots, bank managers, sales clerks, lawyers, human right activists etc employ different registers. A particular register is used by a particular group of people, usually showing the same occupation or the same interest.

Idiolect refers to the linguistic system of an individual speaker, i.e. one's personal dialect. So dialect is the sum total of a large number of idiolects. Hockett (1916, p. 322) defines "generally speaking the totality of speech habits of a single person at a given time constitutes an idiolect." A person's idiolect can be noticed in his/her literary writing, and speech which distinguishes one individual from another in voice quality, pitch etc. as well. Idiolect is the individual's personal variety of the community language system and that displays a particular variety at a given time.

1.1.4.1 Dialect

Broadly speaking, it is a variety of language according to user. In other words, the use of a language that varies according to place, time and group of people is called dialect. The use of same language is interpreted and presented in many different forms in terms of pronunciation, grammatical construction, vocabulary, idiomatic use of words and so on. It also reflects the personality of the speaker i.e. who the speaker is and which geographical area he/she belongs to. If we meet unknown people, we get engaged in conversation and then we make a fair guess about them. We know something about their social and geographical background, social status they are enjoying, etc.

Dialect is a cover term that includes two kinds of sub varieties: language variation in a geographical dimension is called dialect and language variation in the social dimension is known as sociolect. The regional or geographical varieties are due to the distance from one group of speakers to those of the others. Greater the distance, greater is the difference. This distance is caused by natural barriers, e.g. mountain, river, etc. Distance is the most important factor for variation in geographical dialects whereas sociolect originates from social groups and depends on a variety of factors such as social class, religion and ethnicity.

1.1.4.2 Register

Registers are the varieties of language according to situation, subject matter and topic. Registers are the varieties of language according to use. It is also called use-based variety of language. Like other forms of social activity, language has to be appropriate to the speaker, receiver, situation and subject matter. Effective communication demands not only the grammatically correct utterances but

appropriate in situation also. A particular register distinguished itself from others in terms of distinctive words, phrases, special grammatical constructions and so on. Register is a set of features of speech or writing characteristics of a particular type of linguistic activity or a particular group when engaged in it. The same person may use very different linguistic items to express more or less the same meaning on different occasions and the concept of the dialect cannot reasonably be extended to include such variation.

Similarly, the term 'Register' is widely used in socio-linguistics to refer to varieties according to use in contrast with dialect defined as varieties according to the user. A particular register is distinguished itself from others in terms of distinctive words, phrases, special grammatical constructions and so on. In this context, Hudson (1980, p.45) says: "The term register is widely used in sociolinguistics to refer to varieties according to use in contrast with dialect defined as varieties according to the users." For example, journalist, doctors, Engineers, Lawyers, Bank managers, airline pilots, surgeon etc. employ different registers which is used by a particular group of people, usually showing the same occupation or the same interest. Each time we speak or write, we not only locate ourselves in relation to the rest of the society but we also relate our act of communication itself to a complex classificatory scheme of communication behavior. So a register is a variety of language decided according to the use.

Halliday (1978, p.33) distinguishes three types of registers: Field based, Mode based and Tenor based. Field based register is concerned with the purpose and subject-matter or topic of discourse of the communication. Field also refers to 'why' and 'about what' a communication takes place notably, by speech or writing. It is also called field of discourse. Mode based register is about 'how'. Tenor based register depends on the relations between participants. So it is based on 'to whom', i.e. how the speaker views the person addressed. In field based, the variety

of language changes according to the subject matter or field about which one is talking, for example: Scientific English, English of Human Rights and so on. In mode based, the language used by the same person differs according to the channel he is using, for example: spoken and written. In tenor based, the same speaker uses different varieties of a linguistic code according to where, when and to whom he is speaking, for example: formal and informal variety. Regarding the use of different words in different types of register, Wardhaugh (1986, p.48) says, "Registers are the set of vocabulary items associated with discrete occupational or social group. Surgeons, airline pilots, bank managers, clerks, lawyer's jazz fans and pimps employ different registers..."

A particular register is often distinguished from other registers in terms of distinctive words, phrases and grammatical constructions. Mode, means the medium used. So, mode is about 'how'. In language, there are two major types of medium: spoken medium and written medium. Spoken language differs from written language in several ways in terms of grammar and vocabulary. It is also known as mode of discourse. Third classification of register is tenor based which refers to the relations among the participants in discourse. The participants in a discourse are the speaker (or addresser) and the hearer (or addressee). The relation among the participants refers to their respective social status, e.g. teacher, student, lawyer, etc. Thus, tenor depends on the relations between participants, formal and informal varieties. The language used by the teacher to his/her students may be different from the language used by the student speaking to his classmate. It is also called 'style of discourse.' Thus, registers are the special terms of any language which differ according to the situation, mode of language and field or topic.

1.1.5 Coherence and Cohesion in English: An Introduction

Generally a paragraph has coherence if it is a series of sentences that develop a main idea with a topic sentence and supporting details which relate to it. Ideas and thoughts should be so connected logically in a piece of writing. The writing should be so connected that one sentence leads on naturally to the next. There should be continuous, logical and clear progression of thought. Coherence can be achieved through a good organization of a text, i.e. chronological, spatial and logical.

Regarding Coherence, Mishra (2007, p. 41) says:

Coherence refers to the logical connectivity of ideas and thoughts so as to make a comprehensible whole. It is a discourse where all the components fit tightly together. In order to be a coherent piece of language, there should be one controlling/central idea, a topic sentence as well as well-knit organization of the thought (systematic sequence of thoughts). In another word, it refers to the relationship between an utterance and the meaning it conveys. It is the semantic relationship of different sense units between and among the utterances. These links may be based on the shared knowledge between the writer and the readers. An educated person can share his ideas and experiences in written form of language as well. While writing any piece of article it should be well formed. Every paragraph has one topic sentence and other supporting sentences which form a clear concept on any area. To be specific, paragraph writing must have the features of several mechanics (i.e. punctuation, cohesion, spelling, coherence, capitalization).

According to Crystal (1992):

Coherence in D.A. refers to the principles of organization postulated to account for underlying functional connectedness of a piece of spoken/written language. It encompasses the study of the factors like user's knowledge of the world, the inferences one makes and the assumptions one holds close to one's heart and mind." Similarly, the thought in a paragraph to be coherent should be connected and developed in a logical order. That is to say, the paragraph should be so constructed that one sentence leads on naturally to the next and the mutual relation of all the sentences in the paragraph should be clearly seen.

Similarly, in the words of Carter (1996, p.19):

For a text to be fully satisfactory to a listener or reader, it needs not only appropriate grammatical links between sentences but it also needs the concepts, propositions or events to be related to each other and to be consistent with the overall subject of the text. This semantic and propositional organization is called coherence.

1.1.5.1 Role of Coherence in Writing

There are various mechanics used in a written text, i.e. spelling, punctuation, cohesion, coherence, capitalization and among them coherence is one of the important features. It refers to the logical connectivity of ideas and thought so as to make a text a comprehensible whole. The knowledge of coherence in written

discourse gives us immense ideas on how to relate various sentences to form a good paragraph. Coherence plays a significant role for the interpretation of written discourse. In written discourse we see the coherence within and beyond the sentence which is grammatically as well as semantically meaningful. We understand the meaning of a linguistic message solely on the basis of the words and structure of the sentence used to convey that message. If any sentence lacks coherence, it could not provide any reasonable meaning, but behind this it could be the hindrance to the reader in order to grasp the proper meaning of the text.

Coherence, beyond cohesion, is a semantic concept and refers to the relations of meaning that exist within the text. The writer can elaborate his/her view on the text developing the main phrases, clauses, sentences and paragraphs. Coherence occurs where the interpretation of some elements in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other in the sense that it can't be effectively decoded except by reference to it. We understand the meaning of the linguistic message solely on the basis of the words and structure of the sentences used to convey that message. We certainly rely on the syntactic structure and lexical items used in a linguistic message to arrive at an interpretation. We can recognize when a writer has produced perfectly grammatical sentences from which we can derive a literal interpretation. In addition, because of the knowledge of coherence any short messages like advertisement, SMS, email in the discourse fragment could be studied easily and also find the cause and effect relation, chronological order and spatial order could be found in the sentences. With the knowledge of it we can also do interpretation relating people, objects, events and status of any affairs beyond the text itself. Without coherence a written text becomes just a heap of words which can't impart the intended meaning.

1.1.5.2 Devices of Coherence

Writing a paragraph is not merely an activity of encoding verbal thought in printed symbols. It should be considered that all the sentences must be coherent in order to understand the paragraph. A number of devices can be used to obtain coherence.

There are other devices used in paragraph writing. They are conjunctions (additive, adversative, causal, temporal), repetition of words, topic chain, known-new contract, chronological order, spatial order, logical order, parallelism, collocation, statements leading to a climax, comparison and contrast. Some of them are discussed below:

a. Conjunction

Conjunction signals the ways in which the writer wants the reader to relate what is about to be said to what has been said before. Conjunction involves the use of formal markers to relate sentences, clauses and paragraphs to each other. Actually it links two or more elements in written or spoken text with different manners or meaning. Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 238) identify four different types of conjunction in English, viz. additive, adversative, causal and temporal.

b. Reference

Reference is a semantic relation. So what must match are the semantic properties. But they need not necessarily have been encoded in the text; they may be retrievable from the situation. It is certainly possible that, there are two different ways in which reference items can function within a text. They can function in an anaphoric way. Or they can function in a cataphoric way. The subsequent item can only be understood with reference to the initial phase of the first sentence. This type of device is known as anaphoric device. Anaphoric device points the reader or listener backwards to a previously mentioned entity, process or state of affairs.

Another referential device is cataphoric device which relates to the forward information. It draws us further into the text in order to identify the elements to which the reference items refer.

c. Repetition of words

The relationship between the two sentences can be made by the single repetition which can be boring. But when writing a paragraph, we often need to repeat key words to unify the paragraph by keeping the topic or line of thought in the forefront of reader's and the writer's own consciousness on the paragraph process.

d. Collocation

Martin (1981, p.1) points out the importance of collocation "its contribution to coherence in text is so significant that it can't be ignored" (as cited in Nunan 1993, p.30). The problems arise because collocation is expressed through open rather than closed class items. They also work as reference. The items will have the systematic relation of meaning.

e. Topic Chain

In its simplest form, the topic chain is just repetition of the same topic through the paragraph. The topic announced by each sentences, the subject coming at the beginning of the sentences remains consistent through the paragraph.

Topics are crucial because they focus a reader's attention on a particular idea towards the beginning of each clause. Cumulatively, these ideas provide thematic signposts that should focus your reader's attention on a well-defined set of connected ideas. If a sequence of topics seems coherent, that sequence will move your reader through a paragraph from a cumulatively coherent point of view. But if your topics shift randomly, then your reader has to begin each sentence out of

context, from no coherent point of view when that happens, your reader will feel dislocated, disoriented, out of focus. You must provide your readers with a coherent point of view, with a logical continuity that will guide them not only through individual sentences but through whole paragraphs.

f. Chronological Order

It is the simplest method of ordering sentences which follows the order of time. For instance, in writing a paper for a history or political science course (or for any course in which ideas and practices have developed over time), be sure you know what event you want to relate first. It will often be the reason that everything else has happened; if you fail to include this event subsequent events may not be clear. Also, try to decide in advance what the last event in the paragraph will be. It may not end the entire sequence of events but it will conclude one part of the sequence. For instance, if you plan to devote several paragraphs to the major events occurring over a few days, the last such events in each day might end each paragraph. Here is an example of a paragraph employing time order.

g. Logical Order

The logical sequence relation is concerned with representing selective changes in time/space continuum from simple time/space to deductive or causal sequence which is modeled on real-world time. These relations can be expressed by such purely chronological event questions such as: what happened next? For the next significant event, and what happened before that? for the preceding significant event. That can be expressed by deductive questions such as: What do you conclude from that? We now consider some instances of the logical sequence relation which are signaled by conjunctions like thereafter, then, and thereby, also, besides, especially, finally, for example, in addition, in other words, likewise, moreover, similarly, again etc.

1.1.5.3 Cohesion in English

The term 'cohesion' refers to the formal links that mark various types of inter-clauses and inter-sentence relationship within the text of discourse. It's through these cohesive devices that discourse becomes coherent and meaningful. They are the building blocks for coherence. In fact, these are the words and phrases which enable the speakers' writers to establish relationships across sentence boundaries and help in linking the sentences in a text together. Cohesion consists of certain linguistic/formal devices including pronominal and conjunctions which help in producing a sequence of sentences, all linked together. It also helps us in establishing relationship between entities and events quite explicitly.

In other words, 'Cohesion' refers to the grammatical and/or lexical relationships between different elements of a text. This may be the relationship or link between different sentences or between different parts of a sentence. Two levels of cohesion have been identified: sentential (intra-sentential) and textual (inter-sentential) cohesion. Sentential cohesion occurs within a sentence whereas textual cohesion occurs across sentences.

So, cohesion is essential for effective writing. When some successive sentences constitute a text, these sentences are connected with each other in terms of meaning. The connection is grasped as 'cohesion' by Halliday and Hasan (1976). So cohesion is a property of any successful text. It also exists in spoken language. Writers or speakers relate their texts or utterances to previous ones through the use of cohesive relations; a cohesive tie is established. Cohesive ties enter into cohesive chains, which run throughout a text, revealing how different parts of a text are related to each other.

According to Oxford Advance Learner's Dictionary (2000, p. 230), "Cohesion is the act or state of sticking together." This definition clarifies that cohesion refers to the relationship and unity of all the elements in a text. Similarly, Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 4) define it as "a semantic unit; it refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text." In other words, a text stands as a text by means of cohesion. Due to lack of cohesion, some successive sentences would be parted from each other and would not form a text. Similarly, Yule (1997, p. 85) defines it as, "cohesion is the ties and connections, which exist within text." In a same way, Chapman (1983, p.23) defines it as "a major factor in the readability and thereby comprehension of text." All the definitions take cohesion as a kind of relation, which exists in a text to form its unity. So, it is a formal, semantic and stylistic features or ties that connect each element to make a text coherent and communicative enough.

We can say the cohesion is the network of lexical, grammatical and other relations, which link previous parts of a text. These relations or ties organize and to some extent, create a text, for instance, by requiring the reader to interpret words and expressions by reference to other words and expressions in the surrounding sentences and paragraphs. Cohesion is a surface relation, which connects together the actual words, and expressions that we can see or hear. Furthermore, it is a skill in which we produce a sequence of sentences arranged in a particular order and linked together in certain ways. A cohesive text has unity; i.e. it deals with one topic. But unity alone cannot make the text effective. In a text, we may find that all sentences are closely related to the central idea, but the text is badly written. This happens when the sentences are not properly arranged and the reader finds it difficult to understand the inter-relation of the sentences and the paragraph (text) lacks coherence. An effective text should arrange the details in their natural order. One sentence should lead with the next and there should be continuous and logical progression of thought.

We analyze cohesion in a piece of text. According to Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 293):

... text is not just a string of sentences, it is not simply a large grammatical unit, something of the same kind as sentences, but differing from it in size—a sort of super sentence. A text is best thought of not as a grammatical unit at all, but rather as a unit of a different kind: a semantic unit.

This definition clearly states that a text is not just a network of sentences but a grammatical unit that provides information about text, which is meaningful, and is of any size. Similarly, Crystal (1992, p. 72) defines a text as, "A piece of naturally occurring spoken, and written or signed discourse identified for purposes of analysis. It is often a language unit with a definable communicative function, such as conversation, poster."

In the words of Brown and Yule (1983, p. 6), "We shall use text as a technical term, to refer to the verbal record of communicative act." A text may be verbal or printed record which follows the principles of syntax and semantics and is useful for communicative function. Any piece of language that is operational, functioning as a unit in some context of situation, constitutes a text. A text may be spoken or written, prose or verse, dialogue or monologue. It may be of any length. It may be anything from a single proverb to a whole play, a momentary cry for help to an all-day discussion on a committee. Warnings, titles, announcements, inscriptions, advertising slogans etc. all are examples of a text. The property of being a text is called 'texture'. A text has texture and this is what distinguishes it from something that is not a text. It derives this texture from the fact that it functions as a unit with respect to its environment. Texture is realized in existing relations between parts of a text.

Different cohesive devices can be used to produce a cohesive piece of writing, such as:

- a. Cohesion through reference: In this device, there are three main devices: endophoric and exophoric, anaphoric and cataphoric and personal, demonstrative and comparative.
- b. Cohesion through substitution and ellipsis: In this device, there are nominal, verbal and clausal devices.
- c. Cohesion through conjunction: In this device, there are additive, adversative, causal and temporal devices.
- d. Lexical cohesion: In this device, repetition and collocation are included.
- e. Grammatical cohesion: Syntactic parallelism and categorical homogeneity are included.

1.1.5.4 Levels of Cohesion

Cohesive devices can be observed functioning at two levels: at the level of clause and at the level of sentence. When cohesive devices are seen functioning between clauses, it is identified as sentential cohesion, also termed as intra-sentential cohesion and when the formal links are noticed functioning at the levels of text, it is termed as textual or inter-sentential cohesion.

Intra-sentential cohesion is the study of cohesive devices functioning within/inside the sentence in at the sentential level. It is termed as sentential cohesion as it is studied within the sentential boundary. Inter-sentential cohesion is the study of linking words between sentences, resulting into coherence connectivity between them. It is also called textual cohesion and it is studied beyond the sentence boundary, stretching to string of sentences and paragraph.

1.1.5.5 Devices of Cohesion

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976), there are five devices of cohesion which are called cohesion ties. They are reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion which are described here in details:

a. Reference

There are certain items in every language, which have the property of reference; one of the most significant cohesive ties among the element is a written text.

Instead of being interpreted semantically in their own right, they make reference to something else for their interpretation. Referring to the other elements in a written context can only discover the meaning of referential expressions.

Reference is a semantic relation. So what must match are the semantic properties.

But these need not necessarily have been encoded in the text; they may be retrievable from the situation. It is certainly possible that, in the evaluation of a language, situational reference precedes the text reference. Situational reference referring to a thing as identified in the context of situation and textual reference referring to a thing as identified in the context of situation and textual reference referring to a thing as identified in the surrounding text. Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 33) give special term for situational and textual reference. The former is named as exophora or exophoric reference and the later one is named as endophoric reference (anaphora and cataphora). As a general rule, therefore, reference items may be exophoric or endophoric; and, if endophoric, they may be anaphoric or cataphoric. Exophora is not simply a synonymous to referential meaning. An exophora item, however, is one, which does not name anything; it signals that the reference must be made to context of situation. Exophoric reference is one form of context-dependence, since without the context we can't interpret what is said. A high degree of exophoric reference is one characteristic of the language of the

children's peer group. When children interact with each other, especially young children, they do so through constant reference to things, and since the things, which serve, as reference points are present in the immediate environment they are typically referred to exophorically. So that only endophoric reference is cohesive. Exophoric reference contributes to the creation of text, in that it links the language with the context of situation but it does not contribute to the 'integration' of one passage with another so that the two together form part of the 'same' text. Hence it does not contribute directly to cohesion.

Endophoric reference contributes directly to cohesion. It has already been mentioned that there are two kinds of endophoric reference: anaphoric and cataphoric reference.

Anaphoric reference points the reader or listener 'backwards' to the previously mentioned entity, process or state of affairs.

Cataphoric reference, on the other hand, points the reader or listener 'forward'. It draws us further into the text in order to identify the elements to which the reference items refer.

Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 37) identify three subtypes of referential cohesion: Personal, demonstrative and comparative. These various devices enable the writer or speaker to make multiple references to people and things within a text.

b. Substitution

Like reference, substitution is another significant cohesive relation that can be a tie between the elements in a written text. Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 88) define substitution "... as the placement of one item by another." Substitution is a relation in the wording rather than in the meaning. It means substitution is a relation between linguistic items, such as words or phrases. So, substitution is a relation on the lexicogrammatical level, the level of grammar and vocabulary, or linguistic form.

Substitution is a relation within a text. A substitute is a sort of counter, which is used in the place of the repetition of a particular item. As a general rule, the substitute item has the same structural function as that for which it substitutes. Since substitution is a grammatical relation, a relation in the wording rather than in the meaning, the different types of substitution are defined grammatically rather than semantically. In English, the substitute may function as a noun (i.e. one, ones, same), as a verb (i.e. do) or as a clause (so, not) as its types.

c. Ellipsis

Ellipsis occurs when some essential structural element is omitted from a sentence or clause and can only be recovered by referring to an element in the preceding text. According to Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 142) "ellipsis is the omission of elements or simply 'substitution by zero item' or something left unsaid." So ellipsis involves the omission of an item. In other words, in ellipsis, an item is replaced by nothing. That is to say, ellipsis is a form of substitution where the original item is replaced or substituted by null or zero items. There are three types of ellipsis: Nominal, verbal and clausal. Nominal ellipsis means ellipsis within the nominal group. Verbal ellipsis means within the verbal group. Clausal ellipsis means ellipsis of clause.

d. Conjunction

Conjunction differs from reference, substitution and ellipsis in that it is not a device for reminding the reader or previously mentioned entities, actions and states of affairs. However, it is a cohesive device because it signals relationships that can be fully understood through reference to other parts of a text. It signals the way in which the writer wants the reader to relate what is about to be said to what has been said before conjunction involves the use of formal markers to relate

sentences, clauses and paragraphs to each other. Actually, it links two or more elements in written or spoken text with different manners or meaning.

According to Van Dijk (1982, p. 28) "relations between propositions or facts are typically expressed by a set of expressions from various syntactic categories, which will here be called connective." Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 238) identify four different types of conjunction in English: Additive, Adversative, Causal and Temporal. The additive conjunctions state the additional information to the given information. In other words, the additive conjunction links the further information with the given information. The basic meaning of adversative relation is 'contrary to expectation'. Adversative relationship exists when the information in the second sentence of each text moderates or qualifies the information in the first.

The causal relationship is one of cause and consequence. The simple form of 'causal relation' is expressed by: so, thus, hence, therefore, consequently, accordingly, and a number of expressions like: as a result, in consequence, because of that... etc. Temporal relationships exist when the event in a text are related in terms of the timing of their occurrence. The simple form of 'temporal relation' is expressed by: then, next, after that, just then, previously, finally... etc.

e. Lexical Cohesion

Lexical cohesion refers to the role played by the selection of vocabulary in organizing relations within a text. Lexical cohesion occurs when two or more elements in writing are semantically related in some way- in other words, they are related in terms of their meaning. This is cohesive effect achieved by the selection of vocabulary items rather than of structure or patterns. A given lexical item can't be said to have a cohesive function per sentence, but any lexical item can enter into a cohesive relation with other items a text. It can be said that lexical cohesion

covers any instances in which the use of lexical item recalls the sense of an earlier one.

Halliday and Hasan (1976) have identified two major types of lexical cohesion:

Reiteration: When one lexical item refers back to another, to which it is related by having a common referent, we shall refer to this general phenomenon as reiteration. Reiteration includes repetition, synonym, or near synonym, super ordinate, and general word and in most cases it is accompanied by a reference item, typically 'the'.

Collocation: Collocation, as a subclass of lexical cohesion in Halliday and Hasan's model which includes all those items in a text that are semantically related, and that regularly co-occur. In some cases, this makes it difficult to decide for certain whether a cohesive relationship exists or not. Martin (1981, p.1) points out that, while there are problems in defining collocation, "its contribution to coherence in text is so significant that it can't be ignored." The problems arise because collocation is expressed through open rather than closed class items.

The items will have the systematic relation of meaning such as:

Various kinds of oppositeness of meaning: Boy/girl, love/hate, order/obey.

Associations between pairs of words from same ordered series:

Tuesday/Thursday, August/December, Dollar/Cent.

Association between pairs of words from unordered lexical sets:

Part-whole relations: Car/break, body/arm, Bicycle/wheel.

Part-part relations: Mouth/chin, verse/chorus.

Co-hyponymy: Red/green (Colors), Chair/table (furniture)

Association based on a history of co-occurrence (collocation proper): rain, pouring, torrential, wet, hair, comb, curl, wave, etc.

1.1.6 Mass Media and Its Significance

Mass media is a term used to denote, as a class, that section of the media specifically conceived and designed to reach a very large audience which may at least as large as the whole population of a nation state. It is generally considered as the medium through which some information, news, views and reviews and other matters of public importance are transmitted to the large number of people scattered in the various locations who are heterogeneous in cultural background, age, sex and education relatively at the same time. It includes electronic and print media that are used to convey messages to the mass. Mass communication is made possible by the use of mass media. It was coined in the 1920s with the nationwide radio networks and of mass circulation of newspapers and magazines. The mass media audience has been viewed by some commentators as forming a mass society with special characteristics in the world.

1.1.6.1 Newspaper Editorial

The editorial, which generally appears in the column on the left of the center page below the masthead of the newspaper, is its opinion or reflections on the most important event or topic of the preceding 24 hours. Its view can be in support of some policy or action governmental, institutional or global, which is featured in the newspaper, or may be critical of it. It may analyze the implication of some important events or happenings and explain to the readers the background in order to give them a clearer picture of what they have read in the news columns.

According to Reah (2002, p. 45-46):

Editorials exist to allow the newspaper (usually in the person of its editor) to comment, give views on and draw conclusions from the day's events.

The editorial gives a newspaper the opportunity to address its readership directly, and the editorial is the place where the reader may expect to find overt comment on the news of the day.

Similarly, to quote Parthasarathy (1975), "Editorials are signposts of the attitude of the paper whether it is pro-government or anti-government or whether it is an independent newspaper which doesn't support any political party but judges every issue on merit." So, editorial in the newspaper reflects the actual view of the editor or newspaper as a whole on some issues of public importance, hence the heart of the newspaper. Editorial is not considered as the obligatory column in general but the tradition in Nepali newspaper is that they appear nearly in every issue.

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2000, p. 401) defines editorial as "an important article in a newspaper, that expresses the editor's opinion about an item of news or an issue; in the US also a comment on radio or television that expresses the opinion of the station or network." This signifies the fact that the editor is not, as is commonly believed, the man who writes the editorials. They are the assistant editors who are the top elite and the cream of the intellectuals, which gives the aroma and the flavor to the popular newspapers or magazines. They are assigned extra work in addition to writing editorials as: editing the literary page, industrial page or may be in charge of the features carried on an editorial or edit page. So, generally the assistant or a body of assistant editors prepares the editorials, which is in turn forwarded to the editor. He then may rewrite, correct, change or modify it or ask his junior colleagues to write another matter and makes the final decision regarding the publication of the editorial on a particular day or month. He has to take the responsibility and must have the courage to accept the criticism and other responses evoked by the issues on the editorials.

So now, it must be clear that an editor of a newspaper need not necessarily be an editorial writer. The editor assigns topics or issues on which the assistant editor should write, and suggests the line that should be adopted, the points that should be stressed, and the points to be ignored or lightly touched. He preside the editorial conference and goes by the opinions expressed there, which is a daily feature of nearly every newspaper. But in some newspapers there are strong editors who sometimes have it in their own way. In any case editor has the final word on everything appearing as an editorial. To conclude it in the words of Kamath (1993), "It is the editor who will get editorials written by his junior colleagues, the assistant editors and, in the ultimate analysis; it is he who bears the brunt of public criticism or gathers the laurels."

The number of editorials in a day's paper may be one, two and in any case, not more than three. The second and third editorials are called sub-leaders and they generally deal with news and topics of secondary importance. Not many newspapers in Nepal adopt the policy of publishing more than two editorials. Pro Public adopts the policy of publishing only one editorial in its publications. Historically, in the ancient days, there was no limit to the space taken up by editorials on what is called leader or edit page. There were occasions when they ran to five to six columns out of seven columns available. But now a day, mostly two columns and generally not more than two editorials is the tradition in Nepali newspapers. Due to the money and space constrains single and short editorial policy with more complex sentences and heavy information density is favored.

The style and dimension in the writing of newspaper editorials has undergone a radical change. To quote Westin (2001):

British newspaper editorials become more argumentative but less narrative, the texts gradually relied less on complex post modification and a more

non-abstract style developed...During the 20th century they became less narrative but more persuasive and argumentative and also became less abstract and less dependent on referential elaboration, which resulted in much informal language. It was mainly during the later part of the 20th century that these changes took place.

In this regard, to talk about the structure of newspapers and magazines editorial, most of newspapers or magazines editorials in English follow a tripartite structure including lead, follow and valuate. Bolivar (1994) states, "a tripartite structure called triad organizes the macro-structure of the editorials." Bolivar explains that the function of triad is to negotiate the transmission and evaluation in written text and that it consists of three turns of elements namely lead, follow and valuate serving distinctive function of initiation, follow up and evaluation of the two. This structure is prevalent in many newspapers and magazines in Nepal.

1.1.7 ESP: A Brief Introduction

At first, '*Language for Special Purposes*' (i.e. LSP) has begun to appear more and more frequently in language teaching literature. Now, many scholars and its followers use the term '*English for specific purposes*' (i.e. ESP). It is thought that the former (i.e. LSP) is restricted language which, for many people, is only a small part of ESP, the latter one (i.e. ESP) focuses attention on the purpose of the learner and refers to the whole range of language resources. Holden (1977, p.11) collects different articles in the book '*English for specific purposes*' where Kerr clarifies what ESP seeks to do and the areas with which it is concerned. Mackay (Robinson, 1980, p.6) argues "ESP is generally used to refer to the teaching/learning of a foreign language for a

clearly utilitarian purpose of which there is no doubt". Thus, by ESP is meant the teaching of English, not as an end in itself but as an essential means to a clearly identifiable goal. The crucial word is 'purpose' for there is always a purpose behind language teaching. If we are to teach English for a special purpose, we have to consider the ways in which we hope to achieve the end. So, we have to design a syllabus that will meet the needs of the students and adopt our methodology in order to teach the necessary skills. Mackay and Mountford in Robinson (1980, p.6) suggest three kinds of purposes:

- Occupational requirements, e.g. civil airline pilots and so on.
- Vocational training programmes, e.g. for hotel and catering staff, technical trader etc.
- Academic or professional study, e.g. engineering, medicine, law etc.

The first thing in ESP is time factor where the students will normally have a pressure to achieve the required level of linguistic competence in the minimum (given) time. The students and teacher should be constantly aware of the purpose and they introduce relevant material into the course that is learner-centered. Attention to the needs of the learner is constantly a key element in any ESP course. The student of ESP is usually studying in order to 'perform a role'. The attention of student should be in successful performance in English rather than knowledge of the rules of general English. Each individual student has different needs and purposes, which an ESP course should aim to satisfy. But a general English course tries to accomplish to perform their role in general regardless of their specific purposes. The age of the ESP learners is another element which more people agree. For most of the people's concept the learner is an adult or near adult. Considering such facts the ESP course is designed for a reasonable number of students with identical or nearly identical needs and those needs should be satisfied and the course is limited to or more

specific according to their needs. The course can be determined in following ways:

- *Restriction*: only basic skills are included which are required by the learner's purposes.
- *Selection*: required vocabulary, grammar, language function are included.
- *Themes and topics*: only required themes topics, situations, etc. are included.
- *Communicative needs*: only those communicative needs are included which are required by the learner's purposes.

In conclusion, an ESP course is purposeful and is aimed at the successful performance of occupational or educational roles. Any ESP course may differ from another in its selection of skills, topics, situations and functions and also language. It is likely to be of limited duration. Students are more often adults but not necessarily so, and may take part in their ESP course before embarking on their occupational or educational role. It is based on a regional analysis of student needs and should be 'tailor-made' (perfectly suited). They may be at any level of competence in the language: beginner, post-beginner, intermediate etc. They may already be competent in their occupation or discipline but may desire to perform their role in English as well as in their language. Generally, ESP can be analyzed in the following headings in brief:

1.1.7.1 Register Analysis

Most of the linguists and practitioners agree that ESP materials are based on register analysis. Register is used to refer to vocabulary collection, lists of lexical items, structural items, choice of lexical verb, verb-phrase, noun-phrase

etc. ESP courses should be designed locally for specific target students with any register confining the particular set of textbooks for their special subject that a particular class employs.

1.1.7.2 Discourse Analysis

Discourse (text) refers to a stretch of language, either spoken or written, analysis of which will consider aspects of sentence connection, or cohesion. A stretch of language is a unique piece of communication and the use of connectives in discourse is one of the features to differentiate texts one from another. So discourse markers and connectives have developed alongside ESP.

1.1.8 Introduction to Pro Public and Project Campaign

Forum for Protection of Public Interest (Pro public), a non-profit national level NGO dedicated to the cause of public interest, was founded in 1991 by a consortium of environmental lawyers, journalists, economists, engineers, consumers and women rights activists. It raises voice against corruption, red tape, irregularities and makes the government bodies aware of their duties and responsibilities. Its focus over the years has been on good governance, environmental justice, pollution control, protection of natural and cultural heritage, gender equality and consumer protection. Through media campaigns, advocacy, negotiation, correspondence and public interest litigation, Pro Public has consistently succeeded in creating government accountability in Nepal.

Good Governance Project (GGP) of Pro Public aims to ensure the interest of the down trodden and marginalized community of Nepal. When the program was

launched in 1997 by Pro Public, Good Governance was a very new concept in Nepal. It was something unheard of that time. The emphasis of the program lies in disseminating sensitive information and making the government accountable to its citizens. So, the institution had been started media campaigns through Good Governance Radio Program (GGRP), Good Governance Nepali Bulletin (GGNB) and Good Governance English Magazine (GGEM) from the beginning. Later, it was become leader organization for Good Governance, Human Rights and Peace Campaigns. It became a pioneer of Public Hearing Program in Nepal.

1.1.8.1 Description of Good Governance Project

The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) has provided financial support to the Good Governance Project (GGP). The GGP works in the areas of good governance, anti-corruption and consumer rights. With a view to promoting public debate on policy issues, it prepares and broadcasts a weekly Radio Program on Good Governance and a fortnightly Television Program, conducts Public Hearings (Pro Public is the pioneer institution to start the Public Hearing culture in Nepal) and trainings on Good Governance at both, local and national levels. It is also a leading publisher of Good Governance Magazines in both Nepali and English language.

The main goal of this institution under Good Governance Project (GGP) is to promote good governance in the organs of the government by generating critical stakeholders at all levels. Similarly, the main purpose of this project is to promote a vibrant civil society working for good governance at all levels. The main outputs of this project are as follows:

- a. General awareness on Good Governance enhanced.
- b. Capacity of stakeholders to advocate good governance strengthened.
- c. Government service to women and the disadvantaged facilitated.

- d. Anti-corruption organizations supported, and Capacity of Pro Public strengthened.
- e. Good Governance Magazine: The GGP has been regularly publishing Good Governance English and Nepali Magazines too.

1.1.8.2 Good Governance English Magazine

These publications have successfully drawn the attention of both domestic and foreign readers in the country. The magazine has especially been raising good governance issues in Nepalese context. Its readers have reflected their commitment and confidence in the magazine by instantly becoming three-year subscribers based on their evaluation of the published contents. The analytical and impartial styles of the published reports have increasingly caught the attention of its readers. Though the circulation is small in number, the project has been able to raise some funds to the magazines.

1.2 Review of Related Literature

In the Department of English Education, very few researches have been carried out in the language analysis of media sector like newspapers and journals up to this period but no researches have been carried out on cohesion and register of language of magazines in chronological design until now. Some of the researches related to language of newspapers and journals are as follows:

Irwin (1986) carried out a research on "Cohesion in Reading Comprehension." His study shows how matured readers make use of cohesion in text. It also shows that increasing number of cohesive ties can improve readers' comprehension. Similarly, Shrestha (2000) has carried out the research entitled 'An Analysis of Newspaper Headlines: A Descriptive Study'. His study attempts to analyze

newspaper headlines from the angle of their structure, tense and aspect. It is found out that the language used in newspaper headlines differs considerably from other patterns of English writing and has its own linguistic theories and principles guiding it, while scripting. But he didn't explain the coherence and cohesion of the language in his research. In the same way, Sharma (2003) carried out a research on "A study of Cohesion in Written Discourse." He found that the students of B. Ed. performed more exactly and appropriately in a given context than a free context.

In another research, Pokhrel (2004) has, in his M. Ed. Thesis, conducted a research on 'The Use of English in Broadcast and Print Media: A Comparative Study', tries to compare the similarities and differences between the language used in them only in terms of news. He has found some significant differences in terms of sentence types, narration, tense and aspect. But he didn't explore the register, coherence and cohesion of language used in the news. In the same way, Paudel (2005) carried out a research on "Students' Ability in Expressing Cohesion in English Writing" to find out the ability of B. Ed. Ist students of Faculty of Education in establishing cohesion in English writing in terms of different cohesive devices. She found out that students are better in receptive ability than productive ability to establish cohesion in writing.

Similarly, Paudel (2006) carried out a research on "Students Ability to Establish Cohesion in Reading" to find out the ability of the students of 10th grade to establish cohesion in reading on the basis of cohesive ties format test and fixed ratio format text. He compared the data and found that the ability of the students to establish cohesion in reading was to be more on cohesive ties format than on the fixed ration format. Similarly, he found that on the whole, the overall ability of the students to establish cohesion in reading was poor.

In a same way, Sharma (2007) has made an effort to find out the 'Language Used in Newspaper Editorials' in terms of sentence type, voice, aspect and tense. He concludes that complex sentences having heavy information, high active voice, perfective aspect more often than progressive and non-past tense more frequent than past are its characteristics. In another research task, Jamkatel (2008) has carried out a research entitled "Cohesion in Writing English" to find out the types and frequency of cohesive devices used in free writing and to analyze the performance of frequency of cohesive devices in writing to detect whether students are proficient enough to link their ideas together from sentence to sentence and from paragraph to paragraph. He found that the students of the higher secondary schools were better in cohesion in writing reflective essays than in writing argumentative and expository essays. Similarly, he found that the frequency of 'Pronouns' was highest than 'Additive words' and 'Demonstratives' in writing essays.

In another research related to the language used in the journals, Sapkota (2008), in his research entitled 'Language Used in Human Rights Journals', has tried to analyze the language used in the Human Rights Journals in terms of sentence types, tense, voice and aspect of language. He found out that Complex sentences are used maximally than other types. The past tense is highly used. Passive voice has been used in majority in human rights texts and perfective aspect is maximally used in the texts of Human Rights Journals. Similarly, Regmi (2009) has carried out a research entitled "Achievement of Coherence in Writing" to find out the use of coherence in writing in terms of campuses and type of writing and the use of different coherence devices in writing. In this research, he found that the overall ability of students to achieve coherence in controlled writing was found more satisfactory than the free writing and guided writing. He also found the majority of the students used references, conjunctions repetition of words and topic chain as devices of coherence which were used satisfactorily.

Although some researchers have already been carried out their research work on language used in newspapers, journals and other related magazines, no research has been conducted in terms of register, coherence and cohesion analysis of the text focusing on editorial of magazines. So, the present study aims to find out the features of language used in editorial of Good Governance Magazines in terms of its register, coherence and cohesion used in the text. The editorial of any newspapers or magazines reflects the authentic view of that organization or publication. Editorial shows the vision of a particular issue of current time and situation too. The editorial is the sign of the quality of the magazine.

This Good Governance Magazine was started to be published since 1998 by Pro Public, a Kathmandu based reputed NGO in Nepal. So, the researcher has concentrated his mind to carry out a research diachronically on the study of language used in editorial of Good Governance Magazines since 1998 to 2008 and compare the differences of language used in terms of coherence and cohesion ties and register among the years.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This research had the following objectives:

- i. To find out and analyze the features of the language used in the editorial of Good Governance Magazine in terms of :
 - register varieties.
 - coherence and cohesion
- ii. To suggest some pedagogical implications.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Good Governance is being the emerging issue in the context of our country. The issues which are raised by the Good Governance Magazine are important in terms of public related subject matters. So, the study is significant to those people who are directly or indirectly engaged in the field of journalism. It is most important to the editors and sub-editors who are involved in writing editorials. It can be vital for mass media. It will be useful for the sector of planning and designing syllabus of mass communication and journalism as well as language teachers who are involving in teaching profession of the English language and use editorials as an authentic teaching materials in the classroom. It will be useful for those students who are studying mass communication and journalism. It shows the trends of editorial writing by using different cohesive devices to establish cohesion and coherence in writing.

Because of the novel ideas and subject matter in terms of methodology of data analysis, i. e. comparison in chronological design, this research will also be equally useful for the future researchers who want to carry out their research on mass media or mass communication. It will be very useful and specific diachronic study on journalistic style too.

1.5 Definition of the Terms

Some important related terms used in this research are defined as follows:

i. Mass Media

Mass media refers to tools or instruments of communication, which permit us to record and transmit information and experiences to large, scattered and heterogeneous audiences. These are the sources of information and news such as

newspaper, magazine, Radio, FM, Television and Internet. They are broadly two types, i.e. print media and broadcast media.

ii. Print media

Print media refers to the mass media, which are in printed form and thus, are designed for the eyes, for example: newspapers, journals, magazines, books, brochures, prospectus, etc.

iii. Newspaper

Newspaper refers to a printed publication appearing daily or weekly and contains news, advertisements and article on various subjects.

iv. Magazine

Magazine refers to a type of large thin book with a paper cover that people can buy every week or month, containing articles, feature news stories, photographs, etc. often on a particular topic.

v. Editorial

A newspaper article written by, or under the responsibility, of the editor of a newspaper which is distinct for news items, it actually represents the actual view of the newspaper on the matter of public importance and generally appears in the column on the left of the center page below the masthead of the newspaper.

vi. Coherence

Coherence refers to the relationship between an utterance and the meaning it conveys. It is the semantic relationship of different sense units between and among the utterances. These links may be based on the shared knowledge between the writer and the readers.

Vii. Cohesion

Cohesion refers to the grammatical and/or lexical relationships between different elements of a text. This may be the relationship or link between different texts, sentences or different parts of a sentence.

- Reference: This term refers to the most significant cohesive ties among the elements in the text, which shows the previously mentioned or coming items.
- Anaphora: This term refers to process where a word or phrase refers back to another word or phrase which was used earlier in a text or conversation.
- Cataphora: The use of a word or phrase which refers forward to another word or phrase which will be used later in the text or conversation.
- Substitution: This term refers to the placement of one item by another.
- Ellipsis: The term refers to the substitution by zero items or something left unsaid.
- Conjunction: This term refers the formal markers to relate sentences, clauses and paragraphs to each other.
- Lexical Cohesion: This term refers to the role played by the selection of vocabularies in organizing relation within a text.

CHAPTER- TWO

METHODOLOGY

The following strategies were adopted to fulfill the objectives of this research:

2.1 Sources of Data

The research task was based mainly on secondary sources of data.

2.1.1 Secondary Sources of Data

All the language components and sentences incorporated in the text of editorial of Good Governance Magazines since 1998 until 2008 had been used as secondary source of data for this study. Apart from this source of data, the researcher had consulted subject related books and previously carried out theses related to language used in media sectors, such as: **Halliday** and **Hasan** (1976), **Reah** (2002), **Sharma** (2007), **Sapkota** (2008), **Jamkatel** (2008), **Regmi** (2009), **Gaire** (2009) etc. and other supportive materials as secondary reference sources had been consulted as well.

2.2 Population of the Study

The total population of the study consisted of the 33 texts of editorial of Good Governance Magazine, bimonthly publication of Pro Public, Kathmandu.

2.3 Sampling Procedure

The researcher collected all editorials of Good Governance Magazines published by Pro Public from 1998 to 2008. The editorial texts of three in each year, 33 in total, had randomly been taken to find out register, coherence and cohesion used as language in writing and for analyzing coherence and cohesion as a sample population of this study.

2.4 Tools for Data Collection

For this research, observation was the main tool for data collection. The headlines, subject matters and sentences used in the text of the editorials of Good Governance Magazines published were taken as research tools (mentioned in appendix-I). They were observed and studied by listing them using the tables, charts. Altogether 33 editorials i.e. three in each year had been selected for this research. And the language of the editorials of the magazines had been read, re-read and observed in terms of field based register, coherence and cohesive ties to get the required information for the study. Some sample editorial texts of the magazine are mentioned in appendix-III.

2.5 Process of Data Collection

The texts of editorial of randomly selected 33 volumes of Good Governance Magazines of eleven years had been read and re-read in great detail. The subject matters, sentences of the texts in editorials had been analyzed and interpreted in terms of register variety, coherence and cohesion in writing process.

2.6 Limitations of the Study

The following were the limitations of the present study:

1. This study was limited to the texts of the editorials of selected 33 Good Governance Magazines published by Pro Public, an NGO based in Kathmandu since 1998 to 2008.
2. The study was limited to analyze the language used in the texts of the editorials of the Good Governance Magazine in terms of register variety, coherence and cohesion.

CHAPTER-THREE

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

This chapter deals with the analysis and interpretation of the data taken from the texts of editorial of Good Governance Magazines in terms of register variety and cohesion. The data of language used in the text of editorials during 11 years has been presented. Different tables and figures are given to make the analysis clear, as a result, the analysis and interpretation is very comprehensive.

Systematically collected data of cohesive devices has been analyzed, interpreted and presented, in terms of references, substitutions, ellipsis, conjunctions and lexical cohesion using appropriate tables. Similarly, the data has been analyzed in terms of position and level of cohesive devices too. These presentations are shown in the following sub-headings:

3.1 Analysis of Field Based Register Varieties in Editorial

There are mainly three varieties of language. They are dialect, idiolect and register. Regarding register variety, different field based on subject matters is selected to advocate through editorials by the magazine during the years. The frequency of field based register of language variety on the basis of subject matter used in editorials of Good Governance Magazine during 11 years is shown in the table below on the next page:

Table No.-1
Frequency of Register Variety

| Field based register | Freq. of editorial | Percentage |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| Corruption | 10 | 30.30 |
| Politics | 6 | 18.18 |
| Constituent Assembly Election | 4 | 12.12 |
| Good Governance | 3 | 9.09 |
| Administration Process | 2 | 6.06 |
| Peace Process | 2 | 6.06 |
| Health | 1 | 3.03 |
| Electricity | 1 | 3.03 |
| Education | 1 | 3.03 |
| Media Freedom | 1 | 3.03 |
| Judiciary | 1 | 3.03 |
| Development Process | 1 | 3.03 |
| Total | 33 | 100.00 |

As shown in the table above, frequency of the subject matter of 'Corruption' in the editorials is 10 times (i.e. 31%) which is the highest frequency among the selected editorials. Similarly, the subject matter related to 'Politics' has the second highest position with the frequency of 6 times (i.e. 18%) whereas the subject matter of 'Constituent Assembly' has taken in the 3rd position with the frequency of 4 times (i.e. 12.12%) of advocacy in the volumes of Good Governance Magazine. The issue of 'Good Governance' has taken the 4th position of advocacy via editorial with the frequency of 3 times (i.e. 9.09%). In the same way, the issues of 'Administrative Process' and 'Peace Process' has taken next position of occurrences with 2 times frequency (i.e. 6.06%) and remaining issues, such as 'Health', 'Education', 'Electricity', 'Media Freedom',

'Judiciary' and 'Development Process' has occurred once (i.e. 3.03%) as the issue of advocacy via the editorial.

The following are some examples of subject matters used in the headlines of the editorials of Good Governance Magazine:

1. 'Good Governance: Foundation of Democracy' (February, 1998)
2. 'Pressure from the Bottom.' (August, 1998)
3. 'Judiciary: Crisis of Confidence' (October, 1999)
4. 'Political parties: Salter for Corruption.' (May, 2000)
5. 'A Disappearing Act' (December, 2002)
6. 'Have Passport. No Visa? Will Travel.' (February, 2003)
7. 'Foreign School Education: A Policy Vacuum' (June, 2005)
8. 'Where are Missing Citizens?' (April, 2006)
9. 'Election, Euphoria and Anxiety.' (August, 2007)
10. 'Ensuring Free and Fair Polls' (April, 2008), etc.

3.1.1 Year wise Analysis of Register Varieties in Editorials

The table below shows the year wise frequency of fields of language variety in the editorials on the basis of subject matter:

Table No.-2
Year wise Analysis of Register Varieties in Editorials

| Field based register of language used | Frequency of fields of language used in editorial during 11 years. | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------------|
| | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | Total freq. |
| Corruption | 2 | 1 | 2 | | 2 | 1 | 2 | | | | | 10 |
| Politics | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | 3 | | 1 | 6 |
| Constituent Assembly Election | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Good Governance | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| Administration Process | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 2 |
| Peace Process | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 2 |
| Health | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Electricity | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Education | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Media Freedom | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Judiciary | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Development Process | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |

As shown in the table above, the subject matter related to 'Corruption' is raised on the editorials of selected 33 magazines in the years 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2003 and 2004. There are 10 editorials among all. Similarly, the issue of 'Politics' is emphasized mainly in the years 2001, 2003, 2006 and 2008. All three selected editorials are related to the issue or field of 'Politics' in the year 2006. The main field of 'Good Governance' is advocated once on editorial in the years 1998, 1999 and 2000. The issue of 'Administrative Process' is raised in the years 2002 and 2003. Similarly, the subject matter of 'Peace Process' is highlighted in the years 2005 and 2008. The public related issues of 'Health' and 'Electricity' are advocated in the year 2001, 'Education' and 'Media Freedom' is raised in the year 2005. In such a way, the issue of 'Judiciary' is raised in 1999 and 'Development Process' is raised in the year 2004. For example,

1. 'Requires Pragmatics Policies' (June, 2004)
2. 'Why Not Peace Commission?' (April, 2005)
3. 'Manifestoes of the Political Parties: Documents of Dishonesty' (December, 2001)
4. 'Media Fiat A Damocles' Sword' (December, 2005), etc.

3.2 Analysis of Frequency of Coherence and Cohesion

Here, the language used in editorial of Good Governance Magazine has been analyzed to find out the use of coherence and cohesive ties in the text which have made the text coherent. The study, after the careful observation, has found the following occurrences of cohesive ties in the texts of editorials (i.e. the detail shown in appendix-II):

3.2.1 Analysis of Frequency of References as Cohesive Tie

The frequency of cohesive ties through references as cohesive devices has been presented in the table below:

Table No.-3

Analysis of Frequency of References as Cohesive Tie

| Year of publication | Cohesion through references | Percentage |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|------------|
| 1998 | 70 | 6.06 |
| 1999 | 109 | 9.44 |
| 2000 | 139 | 12.03 |
| 2001 | 130 | 11.26 |
| 2002 | 112 | 9.70 |
| 2003 | 80 | 6.93 |
| 2004 | 100 | 8.66 |
| 2005 | 93 | 8.05 |
| 2006 | 107 | 9.26 |
| 2007 | 113 | 9.78 |
| 2008 | 102 | 8.83 |
| Total | 1155 | 100.00 |

As shown in the table above, the total frequency of cohesive ties through reference devices is 1155. Among them, in 2000, the cohesive tie through reference devices is mostly frequent (i.e. 139 times or 12.03%). Similarly, in 1998, cohesive tie through reference devices is least frequent (i.e. 70 times or

6.06%). Some examples of references taken from different editorials are given below:

1. We believe that the society is not a playing field for frauds, corrupt and unscrupulous elements. **Our** forefathers also fought against the anti-social elements. (February, 1998)
2. Politicians and ministers can never be above the law nor should **they** flout rules and regulations to serve **their** own petty interests. (March-may 1998)
3. Nepal's parliamentarians have given in **themselves** to general decline in moral and ethical standards. **They** have even become a butt of jokes. (January, 1999)
4. But, the reality is that **it** can't go the way like in the past as the solidarity of the nations against Nepal is growing and consolidating. (March-April, 2006)
5. **It** won't be unwise to say that constitution-writing is in the eclipse and is of the secondary importance compared to power sharing and taking the lead off the government. (July-August, 2008)

3.2.2 Analysis of Frequency of Substitution as Cohesive Tie

The frequency of cohesive ties through substitutions as cohesive devices has been presented in the following table:

Table No.-4

Analysis of Frequency of Substitution as Cohesive Tie

| Year of publication | Cohesion through Substitution | Percentage |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| 1998 | 6 | 4.44 |
| 1999 | 2 | 1.48 |
| 2000 | 10 | 7.41 |
| 2001 | 25 | 18.52 |
| 2002 | 15 | 11.11 |
| 2003 | 14 | 10.37 |
| 2004 | 7 | 5.19 |
| 2005 | 10 | 7.41 |
| 2006 | 25 | 18.52 |
| 2007 | 11 | 8.15 |
| 2008 | 10 | 7.41 |
| Total | 135 | 100.00 |

According to the above table, the total frequency of cohesive ties through substitutions as cohesive devices is 135. Among them, in 2001 and 2006, the cohesion tie through substitution is mostly frequent (i.e. 25 times or 18.52%). Similarly, in 1999, cohesive tie through substitution is least frequent (i.e. 2

times or 1.48%). Some examples of substitution taken from different editorials are presented below:

1. This bulletin has brought together the materials published in mass media which are also contributing towards reinforcing in cause of democracy and good governance in some way or **the other**. This quarterly publication aims at exposing corruption, inefficiency and mismanagement. (February, 1998)
2. Weak ethics regime can be attributed as one of the major factors leading to virtual collapse of integrity. The time has come for solidifying and carefully nurturing the foundation of integrity in public life. It is a difficult task but not impossible if national debate is fostered in time with a strong commitment towards **the same**. (June-August 1998)
3. It's not only the Ministers who should declare their property details immediately after swearing in, but the parliamentarians too, should **do the same**. (June 1999)
4. And if "morning shows the day" is any indication, **not so** a rosy picture comes in mind. However, whether every vital of society remains to be seen. (November-December, 2003)
5. Now, the duty to institutionalize democracy befalls on the seven party alliances. In years after 1990s, they miserably failed **to do so**. As a result people had to bleed again for getting democracy and sovereignty back. (May-June, 2006)

3.2.3 Analysis of Frequency of Ellipsis as Cohesive Tie

The frequency of cohesive ties through ellipsis as cohesive devices has been presented in the following table:

Table No.-5
Analysis of Frequency of Ellipsis as Cohesive Tie

| Year of publication | Cohesion through Ellipsis | Percentage |
|---------------------|---------------------------|------------|
| 1998 | 8 | 14.81 |
| 1999 | 4 | 7.41 |
| 2000 | 10 | 18.52 |
| 2001 | 8 | 14.81 |
| 2002 | 5 | 9.26 |
| 2003 | 5 | 9.26 |
| 2004 | 3 | 5.56 |
| 2005 | 2 | 3.70 |
| 2006 | 3 | 5.56 |
| 2007 | 5 | 9.26 |
| 2008 | 1 | 1.85 |
| Total | 54 | 100.00 |

As shown in the table above, the total frequency of cohesive ties through ellipsis as cohesive devices is 54. Among them, in 2000, the cohesive tie through ellipsis is mostly frequent (i.e. 10 times or 18.52%). Similarly, in 2008, cohesive tie through ellipsis is least frequent (i.e. 1 times or 1.85%). Some examples of ellipsis taken from different editorials are given below:

1. Will corruption be checked or wiped out by demagoguery or tall talks alone?
No. This is not possible. (March-may, 1998)
2. Are common people reacting enough to corruption and fraudulent scheming wrought upon the national exchequer that otherwise would have utilized to the country's development? **Simply not.** (June-August, 1998)
3. Thus our aim is not to achieve complete rectitude, but to realize a fundamental increase in honesty-and **so** the efficiency and fairness-of government. Because we know corruption may not be completely eliminated. Our fight is for relative improvement and **not for the absolute.** (October-December, 2000)
4. There are different federal models and basis as there are the parties. **Some** have come up with ethnicity-based federalism while **others** put forward region and other dimensions as basis for federalism. (July-August, 2008)
5. It's, however, a fact that, despite hurdles, the debate of "to go or no to go" for the CA polls has now long been over. And the current debate now is just about how to proceed towards the CA polls and create a conducive environment under which it can be held free and fair with the massive participation of the people. **But how?** (May-June, 2007)
6. What-so-ever, these all efforts to educate people have been coming across barriers this way or **the other.** (May-June, 2007)

3.2.4 Analysis of Frequency of Conjunction as Cohesive Tie

The frequency of cohesive ties through conjunction as cohesive devices has been presented in the following table:

Table No.-6
Analysis of Frequency of Conjunctions as Cohesive Tie

| Year of publication | Cohesion through conjunction | Percentage |
|---------------------|------------------------------|------------|
| 1998 | 76 | 6.42 |
| 1999 | 81 | 6.85 |
| 2000 | 92 | 7.78 |
| 2001 | 130 | 10.99 |
| 2002 | 131 | 11.07 |
| 2003 | 105 | 8.88 |
| 2004 | 113 | 9.55 |
| 2005 | 88 | 7.44 |
| 2006 | 114 | 9.64 |
| 2007 | 130 | 10.99 |
| 2008 | 123 | 10.40 |
| Total | 1183 | 100.00 |

As shown in the table above, the total frequency of cohesive ties through conjunctions as cohesive devices is 1183. Among them, in 2002, the cohesive tie through conjunctions is mostly frequent (i.e. 131 times or 11.07%). Similarly, in 1998, cohesive tie through conjunction is the least frequent (i.e. 76 times or 6.42%). Some examples of conjunction taken from different editorials are given below:

1. **Finally**, the Pro Public Family expresses its' heartily congratulations to all the elected Representatives of the Lower House of the Parliament **and** also wishes them a successful tenure towards giving the country a right direction **and** good governance. (June, 1999)
2. **When** those **who** govern the party and government fall into the trap of corrupts, **then** they lose the moral courage to control the party cadres at the local level **as well as** the office bearers of the administrative organs. **As a result of this**, the total state mechanism itself becomes corrupt. (May, 2000)
3. **Whether or not** those at the helm of affairs read it, **Whether or not** they understand it, nobody knows. All that everyone knows is that no one is accountable. (January-March, 2001)
4. **Again**, the many examples of such understand activities prove one thing. **And** that is serious overhauling **and** major reforms must be introduced to comprehensively counter such corrupt conduct in this sector **as soon as** possible. (January-February, 2003)

3.2.5 Analysis of Frequency of Lexical Cohesion as cohesive device

The frequency of lexical cohesion as coherence and cohesive devices has been presented in the following table:

Table No.-7

Analysis of Frequency of Lexical Cohesion

| Year of publication | Lexical cohesion | Percentage |
|---------------------|------------------|------------|
| 1998 | 101 | 11.88 |
| 1999 | 115 | 13.53 |
| 2000 | 107 | 12.59 |
| 2001 | 68 | 8.00 |
| 2002 | 55 | 6.47 |
| 2003 | 64 | 7.53 |
| 2004 | 89 | 10.47 |
| 2005 | 56 | 6.59 |
| 2006 | 58 | 6.82 |
| 2007 | 68 | 8.00 |
| 2008 | 69 | 8.12 |
| Total | 850 | 100.00 |

As shown in the table above, the total frequency of lexical cohesion as cohesive devices is 850. Among them, in 1999, the lexical cohesion is mostly frequent (i.e. 115 times or 13.53%). Similarly, in 1998, the lexical cohesion is least frequent (i.e. 55 times or 6.47%). Some examples of lexical cohesion taken from different editorials are given below:

1. In most cases, holding a **passport** is a precious thing. But in Nepal, such a **document** has undergone specious transformations in identity switching for profit and it has been known to be 'precious' in other ways. (November-December, 2002)
2. The smugglers are well-equipped with state-of-the-art **electronic gadgets** like **mobile phones**, while those manning the government offices in border points are deprived of such **facilities**. (January-February, 2004)
3. **BIRGUNJ**, the **gateway** to Nepal, is known as a main **city** dealing in businesses with the third countries including India. (January-February, 2004)
4. And gradually, **Nepal** started to be known as a volatile land of human rights abuses. Now outsiders see this **Himalayan kingdom** as a synonymous to the **country of disappearing citizens** and other sorts of gory rights violations. (March-April, 2006)
5. The country is faced with two **Herculean tasks- Constitution writing** and the **state restructuring**. Therefore, the challenge ahead would be to integrate and forge a consensus on diverse propositions as put forward by the major political parties. (July-August, 2008)

3.2.6 Comparison of Frequency of Cohesive Ties in Editorials

The comparison of frequency of cohesive ties as coherence and cohesive devices has been presented in the following table:

Table No.-8
Frequency of Coherence and Cohesive Ties in Editorials

| Cohesive devices | Frequency of Coherence and Cohesion Ties | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--|------|-------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|------------|
| | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | Total | Percentage |
| Cohesion through references | 70 | 109 | 139 | 130 | 112 | 80 | 100 | 93 | 107 | 113 | 102 | 1155 | 34.20 |
| Cohesion through Substitution | 6 | 2 | 10 | 25 | 15 | 14 | 7 | 10 | 25 | 11 | 10 | 135 | 4.00 |
| Cohesion through Ellipsis | 8 | 4 | 10 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 54 | 1.60 |
| Cohesion through conjunction | 76 | 81 | 92 | 130 | 131 | 105 | 113 | 88 | 114 | 130 | 123 | 1183 | 35.03 |
| Lexical cohesion | 101 | 115 | 107 | 68 | 55 | 64 | 89 | 56 | 58 | 68 | 69 | 850 | 25.17 |
| Total freq. | 261 | 311 | 358 | 361 | 318 | 268 | 312 | 249 | 307 | 327 | 305 | 3377 | 100.00 |
| Percentage | 7.73 | 9.21 | 10.60 | 10.69 | 9.42 | 7.94 | 9.24 | 7.37 | 9.09 | 9.68 | 9.68 | 100 | |

As shown in the table above, the total frequency of all the cohesive devices used in the editorials during 11 years is 3377. Among them, the cohesive device 'Conjunction' is most frequently occurred in editorials (i.e. 1183 times, or 35.03%). Similarly, cohesion through references has occurred 1155 times (i.e. 34.20%). The cohesion through ellipsis is least frequent (i.e. 54 times, or 1.60%).

Similarly, among all occurrences of cohesive devices, in 2001, cohesive devices are mostly used in the editorials (i.e. 361 times, 10.69%), in 2000, cohesive devices are used for 358 times or 10.60% and in 2005, the cohesive devices are least frequent in the editorials (i.e. 249 times, or 7.37%).

3.3 Analysis of the Position of Cohesive Devices in the Editorials

The frequency of position of cohesive devices in the text of editorials has been presented in the table below:

Table No.-9
Analysis of Position of Cohesive Devices in the text of Editorials

| Year of publication | Position of cohesive devices | | | | Total freq. |
|---------------------|------------------------------|---------|------------|---------|-------------|
| | Anaphoric | Percent | Cataphoric | Percent | |
| 1998 | 241 | 7.87 | 20 | 6.39 | 261 |
| 1999 | 280 | 9.14 | 31 | 9.90 | 311 |
| 2000 | 313 | 10.22 | 45 | 14.38 | 358 |
| 2001 | 319 | 10.41 | 42 | 13.42 | 361 |
| 2002 | 294 | 9.60 | 24 | 7.67 | 318 |
| 2003 | 248 | 8.09 | 20 | 6.39 | 268 |
| 2004 | 289 | 9.43 | 23 | 7.35 | 312 |
| 2005 | 229 | 7.47 | 20 | 6.39 | 249 |
| 2006 | 280 | 9.14 | 27 | 8.63 | 307 |
| 2007 | 283 | 9.24 | 44 | 14.06 | 327 |
| 2008 | 288 | 9.40 | 17 | 5.43 | 305 |
| Total | 3064 | 100.00 | 313 | 100.00 | 3377 |
| Percentage | 90.73 | | 9.27 | | 100.00 |

As shown in the table above, the cohesive devices are mostly used in anaphoric position in the editorials (i.e. 3064 places, or 90.73%). And cohesive devices are used in cataphoric position in 313 places or 9.27% in the editorials. Among the editorials of 11 years, in 2001, cohesive devices are mostly used in anaphoric position (i.e. 319, or 10.41%). Similarly, in 2005, cohesive devices are the least used in anaphoric position among all years (i.e. 229, or 7.47%). In the same way, cohesive devices are used in cataphoric position mostly in 2000 (i.e. 45, or 14.38%) and in 2008, cohesive devices are the least used in cataphoric position in the editorials among all years (i.e. 17, or 5.43%). Some examples of anaphoric and cataphoric use of coherence and cohesive devices taken from different editorials are given below:

1. Political parties should also take care not to re-nominate the lawmaker whose deeds have already defiled and disfigured the image of parliament and parliamentarians **themselves**. (January, 1999)
2. Election is an expensive process in **itself**. (June, 1999)
3. Here, the question is **what** makes them run here unlawfully? Even the education ministry full well knows that present laws do not address their existence and says there has not been any policy level decision to deal with such institutions. (May-June, 2005)
4. One thing is true **that** whatever programmes government brought they could not reach the real IDPs. (January-February, 2006)
5. To put **it** truly, the election seems to be oscillating between the two **extremes**- euphoria and anxiety. (January-February, 2007)
6. We firmly believe in **it that** our pursuit for good governance in the country is a process and not a product. (October-December, 2000)

3.4 Analysis of the Level of Cohesive Ties

The frequency of level of cohesive ties in the texts of editorials has been presented in the table below:

Table No.-10
Analysis of the Level of Cohesive Devices in the text of Editorials

| Year of publication | Level of cohesion tie | | | | Total freq. |
|---------------------|-----------------------|---------|------------------|---------|-------------|
| | Intra sentential | Percent | Inter sentential | Percent | |
| 1998 | 92 | 6.50 | 169 | 8.62 | 261 |
| 1999 | 108 | 7.63 | 203 | 10.35 | 311 |
| 2000 | 149 | 10.52 | 209 | 10.66 | 358 |
| 2001 | 141 | 9.96 | 220 | 11.22 | 361 |
| 2002 | 151 | 10.66 | 167 | 8.52 | 318 |
| 2003 | 132 | 9.32 | 136 | 6.94 | 268 |
| 2004 | 112 | 7.91 | 200 | 10.20 | 312 |
| 2005 | 93 | 6.57 | 156 | 7.96 | 249 |
| 2006 | 134 | 9.46 | 173 | 8.82 | 307 |
| 2007 | 163 | 11.51 | 164 | 8.36 | 327 |
| 2008 | 141 | 9.96 | 164 | 8.36 | 305 |
| Total | 1416 | 100.00 | 1961 | 100.00 | 3377 |
| Percentage | 41.93 | | 58.07 | | 100 |

As shown in the table above, the cohesive devices are used in inter-sentential level in the editorials for 1961 places (58.07%). And cohesive devices are used in intra-sentential level in the texts for 1416 places (41.93%).

Among the editorials of 11 years, in 2001, cohesive devices are mostly used in inter-sentential level (i.e. 220 or 11.22%). In the same way, in 2005, cohesive devices are the least used in inter-sentential level among all years (i.e. 156, or 7.96%). Similarly, cohesive devices are mostly used in intra-sentential level in 2007 (i.e. 163, or 11.51%) and in 1998, cohesive devices are the least used in intra-sentential level in the editorials among all years (i.e. 92, or 6.50%).

Some examples of intra sentential and inter sentential use of coherence and cohesive devices taken from different editorials are given below:

1. **However**, except the banner hanging, the other techniques were employed as usual by almost every political party **in spite of** the Election Commission being force.
2. **Though**, the government created no hurdles towards conducting fair and impartial poll, political parties having strong-hold in certain areas used muscle powers and coercion to deprive others from casting their votes by rigging, booth-capturing etc. Activities **like** carrying muscle-men from outside to beat the local activities were also witnessed. (June 1999)
3. The huge budget allocated to road constructions fall under the venturous eyes of many. Nepalese roads have been a strong source for politicians to meet their electoral expenditures. **Therefore**, Ministers holding the rein of Transport Ministry are seen **as** "Contractors" themselves. Their performances over the years substantiate the allegations. (January, 2000)
4. In many rural, terai and political parties are the most essential component in a multi-party political dispensation. These political organizations **not only** represent the people of varying ideological and philosophical streams, **but also** propose the methodologies of varying nature to address and resolving problems faced by people and the country **as** a whole. (October-December, 2001)

5. It gives us immense pleasure to notify our valued readers **that** from this issue on GG magazine is going bimonthly. **Due to** the demands made on us by our readers we felt **that** this was a necessary new step to forward our cause against corruption. (July-August, 2002)

3.5 Frequency of Some Coherence and Cohesive Devices in Editorial

Several Coherence and cohesive devices have been used in editorials. These devices are presented in the following table individually on the basis of their occurrences. The devices which have the occurrences of 5 and below 5 are not included in this table.

Table No.-11
Frequency of Coherence and Cohesive Devices in Editorials

| S. N. | Cohesive devices | Frequency of some coherence and cohesive devices in editorial texts | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | | Total | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 |
| 1 | The | 1245 | 62 | 112 | 136 | 101 | 113 | 108 | 123 | 107 | 109 | 125 | 149 |
| 2 | And | 565 | 72 | 58 | 50 | 45 | 50 | 49 | 43 | 33 | 47 | 53 | 65 |
| 3 | it | 148 | 2 | 11 | 15 | 10 | 20 | 15 | 16 | 19 | 16 | 13 | 11 |
| 4 | That | 143 | 2 | 14 | 26 | 17 | 15 | 16 | 12 | 7 | 14 | 12 | 8 |
| 5 | Their | 99 | 1 | 12 | 10 | 17 | 6 | 8 | 10 | 7 | 17 | 2 | 9 |
| 6 | As | 88 | 3 | 4 | 10 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 10 | 11 | 9 | 11 | 12 |
| 7 | They | 78 | 2 | 13 | 5 | 24 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 7 | 3 |
| 8 | This | 76 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 9 | 7 | 12 | 4 | 9 | 5 | 8 |
| 9 | All | 56 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 10 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 10 | 3 | 6 | 8 |
| 10 | But | 55 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 2 | 5 |
| 11 | If | 46 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 1 | 3 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| 12 | Its | 48 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 14 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| 13 | Our | 36 | 3 | 2 | 12 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 2 | | | 5 |

| S. N. | Cohesive devices | Frequency of some coherence and cohesive devices in editorial texts | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---------------------|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | | Total | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 |
| 14 | Or | 33 | 8 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | | 1 | 3 |
| 15 | Them | 43 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 9 | 6 | 3 | |
| 16 | Such | 40 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 12 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 2 | |
| 17 | Which | 37 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 5 | | 2 | 6 | 5 |
| 18 | There | 33 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 2 | | 5 |
| 19 | We | 30 | 6 | | 13 | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | 6 |
| 20 | Through | 28 | | | 5 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| 21 | Other | 26 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | 4 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 5 |
| 22 | These | 25 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 3 | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 3 |
| 23 | What | 25 | 1 | | 2 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 | | |
| 24 | Also | 24 | | 3 | 2 | | 1 | | 3 | | 7 | 6 | 2 |
| 25 | One | 24 | | 1 | 1 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 3 | | | 1 |
| 26 | Now | 23 | | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 1 |
| 27 | When | 23 | | 1 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 1 | | | 2 |
| 28 | Those | 21 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | |
| 29 | Only | 20 | | 6 | | 6 | 1 | 3 | | | 3 | 1 | |
| 30 | Like | 20 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | | 4 | |
| 31 | Who | 19 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 | | 3 | | |
| 32 | Any | 16 | | | 2 | | 7 | 4 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 |
| 33 | So | 15 | | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | | 1 | 4 | | 2 | |
| 34 | How | 15 | | 1 | | 1 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 2 |
| 35 | Many | 15 | | 1 | 2 | | 3 | 2 | | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| 36 | Even | 14 | | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | |
| 37 | Us | 14 | | 3 | 6 | | 2 | | 2 | | | | 1 |
| 38 | Much | 13 | | | 2 | 1 | | 2 | | | 1 | 5 | 2 |
| 39 | Though | 13 | | 4 | 2 | | | | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | |
| 40 | His | 13 | | | 1 | 3 | 3 | | | 4 | | 1 | |
| 41 | Itself | 12 | 1 | 1 | 4 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | | |
| 42 | Yet | 12 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | | | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| 43 | Then | 12 | | 5 | 1 | | 3 | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 |
| 44 | Too | 11 | | 3 | 3 | | | | | 3 | 1 | | 1 |

| S. N. | Cohesive devices | Frequency of some coherence and cohesive devices in editorial texts | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | | Total | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 |
| 45 | Why | 11 | | 3 | 5 | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| 46 | While | 10 | | 1 | 1 | | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | 1 |
| 47 | Everyone | 10 | 1 | 2 | | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | |
| 48 | Not only ...but also | 9 | 3 | | | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| 49 | Already | 9 | | | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | 2 |
| 50 | Every | 8 | | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | |
| 51 | He | 8 | | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | | 2 | | | |
| 52 | Themselves | 8 | | 2 | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 1 | | |
| 53 | Because | 8 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | |
| 54 | Among | 8 | | 2 | 2 | | | | | 1 | | | 3 |
| 55 | Once | 8 | | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 | 1 |
| 56 | Whether | 8 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| 57 | Another | 7 | | | | | 3 | 2 | 1 | | | | 1 |
| 58 | Since | 7 | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | | 2 | 1 | | | |
| 59 | However | 7 | 3 | 2 | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| 60 | In fact | 7 | 2 | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 |
| 61 | Finally | 7 | | 2 | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 62 | Even if | 7 | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| 63 | Instead of | 6 | 2 | 1 | | | | | 1 | 2 | | | |
| 64 | Others | 6 | | 1 | 3 | | | | | 1 | | 1 | |

As clearly shown in the table above, the definite article 'the' as a referent word has the highest frequency (i.e. 1245) which is followed by the conjunction 'and' (i.e. 565) and the pronoun 'it' (i.e. 148) respectively. Similarly, the conjunction word 'instead of' and 'others' have the least frequency (i.e. 6) which is preceded by 'another', 'since', 'however', 'in fact', 'finally' and 'even if' with the frequency of 7. According to the table, the top twelve cohesive devices are used in each year of the texts of editorials.

CHAPTER-FOUR

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The principal aim of the present study was to find out the language used in editorials of Good Governance Magazine in terms of register variety, coherence and cohesion. For this, altogether 33 editorial texts of Good Governance Magazine published by Pro Public were taken randomly. They were observed and re-observed to get the required data. The data was carefully presented in tables and then analyzed and interpreted under different headings and sub-headings, to accomplish the objectives.

4.1 Findings

On the basis of the analysis and interpretation of the data, the findings of the study can be summarized in the following points:

1. The language used in the texts of editorial of Good Governance Magazine has been found to have its own focusing areas of advocacy. (i.e. issue of 'Corruption'-30.30%, 'Politics'-18.18%, 'Constituent Assembly Election'-12.12%, 'Good Governance'- 9.09% etc.)
2. Public related issues are emphasized which make the language used in the editorials different from others. So the language used in them has its own register on the basis of subject matter. (i.e. Health, Education, Electricity, Politics, Good Governance, Development Process, etc.)
3. In terms of time period, the advocating issues of the editorial have been changed and used different registers of language to advocate the issues.

In the year of 2006, issues of 'Corruption' had been repeated in three editorials. Similarly, in the year of 2007, 'Constitutional Assembly' election had been given focused in three editorials. In the same way, in 1998, 2000, 2002 and 2004, the issues of 'Corruption' had been repeated twice in the editorials of each year.

4. The cohesive tie through references is highly used in the year of 2000 (i.e. 12.03%) and is the least occurred in the year of 1998 (i.e. 6.06%).
5. The cohesive tie through substitutions is maximally used in the year of 2001 and 2006 (i.e. 18.52%) and is the least occurred in the year of 1999 (i.e. 1.48%).
6. The cohesive relation through ellipsis is mostly used in the year of 2000 (i.e. 18.52%) and is the least occurred in the year of 2008 (i.e. 1.85%).
7. The cohesive tie through conjunctions is highly used in the year of 2002 (i.e. 11.07%) and is the least occurred in the year of 1998 (i.e. 6.42%).
8. The lexical cohesion is highly used in the year of 1999 (i.e. 13.53%) and is the least occurred in the year of 2002 (i.e. 6.47%).
9. In total 3377 cohesive ties have been used in the editorials. Among them, cohesion through conjunctions is mostly occurred in the editorials (i.e. 35.03%) and cohesion through ellipsis is the least occurred in the editorials (i.e. 1.60%). Similarly, cohesive devices are mostly used in the year of 2001 (i.e. 10.69%) and cohesive devices are the least used in the year of 2005 (7.37%) among the editorials.

10. The use of determiners as references is most frequent. For example, definite article 'the' has most frequent as its frequency 1245 times among all editorials. The information already occurred previously is signaled by the definite article 'the' in each editorials.
11. The anaphoric use of cohesive devices in the texts of editorial is mostly frequent (i.e. 90.73%).
12. The inter-sentential position of cohesive devices in the texts of editorial is mostly frequent (i.e. 58.07%).
13. The texts of editorial have high use of pronouns (i.e. it, they, their, them etc.) and conjunction (i.e. 'and', 'but' etc.) as coherence and cohesive devices.
14. In terms of cohesive devices, during the time of research, most of the words are found as references and conjunctions. Substitution and ellipsis are also found in a limited number. Only 12 devices are found repeatedly used in all the editorials of the magazine.

4.2 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings of the study, some recommendations for pedagogical implication have been suggested below:

1. It has been found that there is a significant difference between the language used in editorials of magazine and language used in other discourses. So, it is recommended that the students of mass communication and journalism and the students of English in general should be fully acquainted with this fact.

2. The findings in terms of register variety, coherence and cohesive ties of this research will be of great use to teachers/learners who have been involved in teaching/learning and in the course of journalistic writing.
3. During the research period it is found that most of the texts were written with cohesive relations that made the text fully logical, sequential and coherent texture.
4. According to the research, cohesion through conjunctions and references are most frequently used. Thus, the focus should be paid to them while teaching and learning of cohesive relation and its devices.
5. The teacher and the students should make their attention on the coherence and cohesive relation in the sentences of the texts while teaching and learning of any portion of discourse writing.
6. The subject matter of good governance and anti-corruption campaign is being the emerging issue in the context of our country. So, this kind of advocacy matter for the good governance and some samples of editorial text should be included in the textbooks of different classes and levels.
7. The teachers, curriculum designers and the students should be aware of any kind of grant or large corruptions, such as economic, educational, social, time, political and others. So, some theoretical aspects of good governance and its significance should be included in the syllabus of different levels from the school level.

8. Legal provisions should be strictly followed by all for establishing good governance and syllabus designers should paid their attention to make all the students aware of the legal provisions of our country.
9. To eradicate corruption from top to bottom levels, the syllabus designers should include the subject matter of good governance from elementary level up to college level.
10. To make the students/trainees fully acquainted with the language of newspapers, magazines and their editorials i.e. of good governance, the teacher/trainers should teach the students how to handle the language of good governance texts in the editorials.
11. While preparing or developing teaching materials for general courses and particularly for ESP courses, the curriculum designers/planners should include the study of good governance in the textbooks of secondary and higher secondary levels, taking consideration of subject matter of language variety in good governance texts mainly to make the students aware of historical and current situation of good governance in our country in its writing. Similarly, they should design the textbooks for those who want to make their profession better under good governance advocacy by writing the related texts of burning issues of corruption for newspapers and magazines.
12. In the courses like Mass Media or Mass Communication and Journalism the students should be given some opportunities to involve in the practical activities, such as editorial writing to be published in their model magazine from the school or campus. So, practical exams in such

courses should be made practical in its real sense, not just the means of getting more marks in the examination.

13. The researcher has found that there is a considerable difference in the use of language in Good Governance Magazines than the rest of other fields. It differs considerably from general pattern of writing. So, text writers should follow the explicit way to make the texts more effective to its readers and this fact has to be pointed out while teaching the journalistic style of writings.

This study was carried out on only 33 editorials of good governance magazine, 3 each from 11 years. Only limited variables register variety, coherence and cohesion were taken for the analytical study. So, the researcher is not in the position to claim that the findings are conclusively and applicable elsewhere. The large scale research work including more magazines published from different organizations and more dimensions should be carried out to find more realistic reliable and applicable findings. Furthermore, a diachronic study is must on different magazines comparatively to find out the real trend of editorial writing across the time.

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Annex-1

Sample Editorials and Headlines

| S. N. | Year | Date of Publication | Field Based Register | List of Headline of Editorials |
|-------|------|----------------------------|------------------------|---|
| 1 | 1998 | Dec1997-Feb.(Vol1 No1) | Good Governance | Good Governance: Foundation of Democracy. |
| | | Mar-May(Vol.1, No.2) | Corruption | <i>No Headline</i> |
| | | June-Aug(Vol.1, No.3) | Corruption | Pressure from the Bottom |
| 2 | 1999 | Jan (Vol.1 No 4) | Corruption | Corruption from Party toParliament! |
| | | June (vol. 2 No.1) | Good Governance | New Parliamentarians and the Question of Good Governance |
| | | Oct.(Vol. 2, No. 2) | Judiciary | Judiciary: Crisis of Confidence |
| 3 | 2000 | May(Vol.2, No.4) | Corruption | Political Parties: Selter for Corruption |
| | | June-August (Vol. 3, No.1) | Corruption | Civil Servants architect of Corruption |
| | | Oct-Dec (Vol3, No2) | Good Governance | <i>No Headline</i> |
| 4 | 2001 | Jan-March (Vol3, No3) | Health | <i>No Headline (Related to drinking water)</i> |
| | | April-June (Vol3,No4) | Electricity | <i>No Headline</i> |
| | | Oct-Dec (Vol 4, No 2) | Politics | Manifestoes of the Political Parties: Documents of Dishonesty |
| 5 | 2002 | Jan-March (vol.4, No.3) | Corruption | Transparency without Borders |
| | | July-Aug (Vol5, No.1) | Corruption | Turning the Screw |
| | | Nov-Dec (Vol 1, No1) | Administration Process | A Disappearing Act |
| 6 | 2003 | Jan-Feb (Vol 1, No 2) | Administration Process | Have Passport. No Visa? Will Travel |
| | | May-June (Vol.1, No.4) | Politics | At Last, Light at the End of the Tunnel |
| | | Nov-Dec (vol2, No.2) | Corruption | Taming Corruption |
| 7 | 2004 | Jan-Feb (Vol.2, No.3) | Corruption | Don't Delay, Please. |

| | | | | |
|----|------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| | | Mar-April (Vol2,No4) | Corruption | Hold No Brief for Corruption |
| | | May-June (vol2,No5) | Development | Requires Pragmatics Policies |
| 8 | 2005 | Mar-April (vol.3, No.5) | Peace | Why Not Peace Commission? |
| | | May-June(Vol.3, No.6) | Education | Foreign School Education: A Policy Vacuum |
| | | Nov-Dec (vol4, No.3) | Media Freedom | Media Fiat A Damocles' Sword |
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| | | July-Aug(vol.7 No.1) | Politics | Consensual Crisis |

Annex-2

Table of Detail Analysis of Coherence and Cohesion

| Date of Publication | Cohesive devices and its Frequency | Cohesion through references | Cohesion through Substitution | Cohesion through Ellipsis | Cohesion through conjunction | Lexical cohesion | Total freq. | Position of cohesive devices | | Total freq. | Level of cohesion tie | | Total freq. |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|-------------|------------------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|------------------|-------------|
| | | | | | | | | Anaphoric | Cataphoric | | Intra sentential | Inter sentential | |
| 1998 | February | 19 | 5 | 0 | 6 | 38 | 68 | 65 | 3 | 68 | 10 | 58 | 68 |
| | May | 22 | 0 | 5 | 31 | 32 | 90 | 78 | 12 | 90 | 44 | 46 | 90 |
| | August | 29 | 1 | 3 | 39 | 31 | 103 | 98 | 5 | 103 | 38 | 65 | 103 |
| | Total | 70 | 6 | 8 | 76 | 101 | 261 | 241 | 20 | 261 | 92 | 169 | 261 |
| Percentage | | 26.82 | 2.30 | 3.07 | 29.12 | 38.70 | 100 | 92.34 | 7.66 | 100 | 35.25 | 64.75 | 100 |
| 1999 | January | 30 | 0 | 2 | 24 | 30 | 86 | 80 | 6 | 86 | 28 | 58 | 86 |
| | June | 45 | 1 | 2 | 31 | 60 | 139 | 123 | 16 | 139 | 42 | 97 | 139 |
| | October | 34 | 1 | 0 | 26 | 25 | 86 | 77 | 9 | 86 | 38 | 48 | 86 |
| | Total | 109 | 2 | 4 | 81 | 115 | 311 | 280 | 31 | 311 | 108 | 203 | 311 |
| Percentage | | 35.05 | 0.64 | 1.29 | 26.05 | 36.98 | 100.00 | 90.03 | 9.97 | 100 | 34.73 | 65.27 | 100 |
| 2000 | January | 42 | 6 | 0 | 42 | 33 | 123 | 109 | 14 | 123 | 64 | 59 | 123 |
| | May | 28 | 3 | 6 | 27 | 41 | 105 | 92 | 13 | 105 | 38 | 67 | 105 |
| | December | 69 | 1 | 4 | 23 | 33 | 130 | 112 | 18 | 130 | 47 | 83 | 130 |
| | Total | 139 | 10 | 10 | 92 | 107 | 358 | 313 | 45 | 358 | 149 | 209 | 358 |
| Percentage | | 38.83 | 2.79 | 2.79 | 25.70 | 29.89 | 100 | 87.43 | 12.57 | 100 | 41.62 | 58.38 | 100 |
| 2001 | March | 60 | 14 | 3 | 52 | 18 | 147 | 118 | 29 | 147 | 61 | 86 | 147 |
| | June | 38 | 5 | 4 | 31 | 27 | 105 | 99 | 6 | 105 | 31 | 74 | 105 |
| | December | 32 | 6 | 1 | 47 | 23 | 109 | 102 | 7 | 109 | 49 | 60 | 109 |
| | Total | 130 | 25 | 8 | 130 | 68 | 361 | 319 | 42 | 361 | 141 | 220 | 361 |
| Percentage | | 36.01 | 6.93 | 2.22 | 36.01 | 18.84 | 100 | 88.37 | 11.63 | 100 | 39.06 | 60.94 | 100 |
| 2002 | March | 36 | 2 | 3 | 55 | 23 | 119 | 107 | 12 | 119 | 56 | 63 | 119 |
| | July | 48 | 6 | 0 | 36 | 13 | 103 | 96 | 7 | 103 | 52 | 51 | 103 |
| | December | 28 | 7 | 2 | 40 | 19 | 96 | 91 | 5 | 96 | 43 | 53 | 96 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------|----------|-------|------|------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-----|-------|-------|-----|
| Total | | 112 | 15 | 5 | 131 | 55 | 318 | 294 | 24 | 318 | 151 | 167 | 318 |
| Percentage | | 35.22 | 4.72 | 1.57 | 41.19 | 17.30 | 100 | 92.45 | 7.55 | 100 | 47.48 | 52.52 | 100 |
| 2003 | February | 27 | 5 | 0 | 28 | 19 | 79 | 69 | 10 | 79 | 39 | 40 | 79 |
| | June | 24 | 7 | 3 | 45 | 20 | 99 | 93 | 6 | 99 | 52 | 47 | 99 |
| | December | 29 | 2 | 2 | 32 | 25 | 90 | 86 | 4 | 90 | 41 | 49 | 90 |
| Total | | 80 | 14 | 5 | 105 | 64 | 268 | 248 | 20 | 268 | 132 | 136 | 268 |
| Percentage | | 29.85 | 5.22 | 1.87 | 39.18 | 23.88 | 100 | 92.54 | 7.46 | 100 | 49.25 | 50.75 | 100 |
| 2004 | February | 39 | 2 | 0 | 28 | 24 | 93 | 88 | 5 | 93 | 21 | 72 | 93 |
| | April | 41 | 2 | 3 | 41 | 31 | 118 | 108 | 10 | 118 | 47 | 71 | 118 |
| | June | 20 | 3 | 0 | 44 | 34 | 101 | 93 | 8 | 101 | 44 | 57 | 101 |
| Total | | 100 | 7 | 3 | 113 | 89 | 312 | 289 | 23 | 312 | 112 | 200 | 312 |
| Percentage | | 32.05 | 2.24 | 0.96 | 36.22 | 28.53 | 100 | 92.63 | 7.37 | 100 | 35.90 | 64.10 | 100 |
| 2005 | April | 32 | 8 | 1 | 38 | 25 | 104 | 96 | 8 | 104 | 46 | 58 | 104 |
| | June | 25 | 2 | 0 | 21 | 11 | 59 | 55 | 4 | 59 | 18 | 41 | 59 |
| | December | 36 | 0 | 1 | 29 | 20 | 86 | 78 | 8 | 86 | 29 | 57 | 86 |
| Total | | 93 | 10 | 2 | 88 | 56 | 249 | 229 | 20 | 249 | 93 | 156 | 249 |
| Percentage | | 37.35 | 4.02 | 0.80 | 35.34 | 22.49 | 100 | 91.97 | 8.03 | 100 | 37.35 | 62.65 | 100 |
| 2006 | February | 38 | 6 | 0 | 33 | 18 | 95 | 85 | 10 | 95 | 38 | 57 | 95 |
| | April | 33 | 13 | 2 | 49 | 19 | 116 | 109 | 7 | 116 | 61 | 55 | 116 |
| | June | 36 | 6 | 1 | 32 | 21 | 96 | 86 | 10 | 96 | 35 | 61 | 96 |
| Total | | 107 | 25 | 3 | 114 | 58 | 307 | 280 | 27 | 307 | 134 | 173 | 307 |
| Percentage | | 34.85 | 8.14 | 0.98 | 37.13 | 18.89 | 100.00 | 91.21 | 8.79 | 100 | 43.65 | 56.35 | 100 |
| 2007 | February | 38 | 2 | 0 | 46 | 29 | 115 | 102 | 13 | 115 | 55 | 60 | 115 |
| | June | 47 | 5 | 5 | 40 | 20 | 117 | 95 | 22 | 117 | 55 | 62 | 117 |
| | August | 28 | 4 | 0 | 44 | 19 | 95 | 86 | 9 | 95 | 53 | 42 | 95 |
| Total | | 113 | 11 | 5 | 130 | 68 | 327 | 283 | 44 | 327 | 163 | 164 | 327 |
| Percentage | | 34.56 | 3.36 | 1.53 | 39.76 | 20.80 | 100.00 | 86.54 | 13.46 | 100 | 49.85 | 50.15 | 100 |
| 2008 | February | 40 | 4 | 0 | 46 | 27 | 117 | 112 | 5 | 117 | 46 | 71 | 117 |
| | April | 30 | 2 | 1 | 34 | 23 | 90 | 81 | 9 | 90 | 41 | 49 | 90 |
| | August | 32 | 4 | 0 | 43 | 19 | 98 | 95 | 3 | 98 | 54 | 44 | 98 |
| Total | | 102 | 10 | 1 | 123 | 69 | 305 | 288 | 17 | 305 | 141 | 164 | 305 |
| Percentage | | 33.44 | 3.28 | 0.33 | 40.33 | 22.62 | 100.00 | 94.43 | 5.57 | 100 | 46.23 | 53.77 | 100 |

Editorial

Pressure from the Bottom

Reports of the Commission for Investigation of the Abuse of Authority (CIAA) and Office of the Auditor General in the Parliament have unearthed irregularities, embezzlements and corrupt practices perpetrated in the massive scale corroding the moral fibre of the society. The reports presented by the constitutional authorities have provoked debates and deliberations not very much noticed and experienced in the past. Mass media has assumed an important part in reaching the essence, if not detail, of the assertive and educative role mass media has of late, taken upon itself befitting to the 'Fourth Estate' in a democratic society. However, more zeal and energy are expected of the mass media to investigate the depth and breadth of the corrupt tentacles sapping the will of the nation to advance along the democratic path of progress.

Are common people reacting enough to corruption and fraudulent scheming wrought upon the national exchequer that otherwise would have utilised to the country's development? Simply not. People are not conscious enough to react to the situations prevailing in the country. Even if they are aware that the corruption, misappropriation and inefficiency have been rampant and caused obstructions to development, they are not organised to offer resistance to malgovernance and maladministration. In fact, those who have managed to acquire or accumulate illicit wealth or fortunes are able to influence the common people and command loyalty and respect in the society. Honesty, integrity and probity in public life are not rewarded sufficiently as a consequence of which those who uphold integrity and decency are at the lowest ebb of social ladder. The major concern of the day should, therefore, be to restore credibility, decency and probity in public life so that who cultivate these norms and ideals inspire and be worthy of emulation.

In order that the integrity, morality and uprightness in public life are fully normed and institutionalised, action at citizen's level should be mounted to counteract the nefarious designs of the corrupt and dishonest people. Whatever rhetorics and 'ornate' speeches against corruption and malgovernance at the central level or at the level of elites, no effective results can be produced unless people are empowered and inspired enough to punish those who bank on advance and unscrupulous tendencies to further their political and bureaucratic career. Undoubtedly, there is the need to create strong legal and integrity framework to ward off the evils of corruption and malfeasance. The most important means to achieve this end is strengthening the popular capability to fight the corrupt and nefarious practices.

A living democratic system essentially demands high moral standard and integrity in public life. The degeneration in high political places has not only lowered the status and prestige of the institutions but also caused an erosion on the faith of people upon them. Weak ethics regime can be attributed as one of the major factors leading to virtual collapse of integrity. The time has come for solidifying and carefully nurturing the foundation of integrity in public life. It is a difficult task but not impossible if national debate is fostered in time with a strong commitment towards the same.

Editorial

Good Governance: Foundation of Democracy

We are pleased to provide you with the maiden issue of the "Good Governance" bulletin. The materials compiled together in the bulletin are not new and completely different from what you have been hearing and reading elsewhere. We believe that the society is not a playing field for frauds, corrupt and unscrupulous elements. Our forefathers also fought against the anti-social activities. We have established a democratic order to create a society free from indecent acts. Democracy as a political system we have in our country is indeed a testimony of our yearning for the rule of law and good governance.

The key elements of good governance are legitimacy, freedom of association and participation, creation of legal framework, bureaucratic accountability, validation of information, effective and efficient public sector management and co-operation between government and civil society organizations. Democracy provides everyone an opportunity to advance one's own cause and develop in a legitimate and democratic way. Nepalese people have freedom to organize together for a cause and contribute towards building democratic society in adherence to norms and values. In fact, Forum for Protection of Public Interest (Pro Public) was constituted to bring people from different backgrounds and experiences together and work towards creating a society based on tenets of good governance, equity and active citizenry.

Pro Public is involved in the activities towards defending the rights and interest of consumers, environment conservation and other issues of public interest through multipronged approach. The "Good Governance" bulletin is published with an objective to bolster the cause of public interest and help to promote tenets of good governance. This bulletin has brought together the materials published in mass media which are also contributing towards reinforcing the cause of democracy and good governance in some way or the other. This quarterly publication aims at exposing corruption, inefficiency and mismanagement. We have followed multipronged approach to raise voice against these social evils. We intend to seek the support of mass media to take up issues and express solidarity to the cause we are seeking to further. If no solutions are arrived at we may be forced to knock the door of the court of law. In fact, several activities are being taken up these days against corruption. Even the political parties are seemingly aware of this malaise rotting the vitals of our society. The "Good Governance" bulletin will highlight these activities in its succeeding issue. Suggestions and comments to improve the forthcoming issues are welcome.

However, our ultimate objective is to empower people and create active citizenry, able to defend their interests and rights.

Editorial

Will corruption be checked or wiped out by demagoguery or tall talks alone? No this is not possible. Public feelings can be assuaged with recourse to promises or rhetorics for the time being but disenchantment sets in if the gap between promises and performance is widened. For the last few months corruption is high on the agenda of national debate. Political leaders, parliamentarians and bureaucrats all have waxed eloquence on the need to fight the malaise of corruption embedded in all ranks of the society. The Parliament has decided to constitute a panel to investigate into the causes of slump in revenue collection which is allegedly caused due to collusive nexus between ministers, law enforcers and smugglers. However, there are doubts whether the 'high voltage talks' against corruption will be translated into concrete terms. May be the rhetorics galore will be allowed to condescend into a futile exercise.

Corruption is very much a systemic issue or a result of the system in which people work or operate. A democratic system, well imbued with norms and values, and operationalised by sound principles of accountability and transparency can work as bulwark against corrupt practices. Neither wishful thinking of political leaders nor loud speeches of ministers can help to stem the rot of corruption if sincere commitment to the rule of law is lacking. We have a constitution which was promulgated to respond to popular operation and perform in adherence to the rule of law is lacking. We have a constitution which was promulgated to respond to popular aspirations-social, economic and political, following the restoration of multiparty democracy in 1990. The constitution has not only guaranteed fundamental human rights but also envisaged mechanism for checks and balances. Constitutional organs like Public Service Commission, Auditor General, Election Commission and Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority are provided in the constitution which are mandated to operationalise democratic tenets and check the abuse of authority. But experiences have shown that the constitutional organs have not performed effectively. The letters of the basic law of the land are being reduced to mere 'verbiage'. What lies at the root of the problem needs therefore be properly diagnosed and the remedy found out.

The first problem is the unwillingness on the part of politicians to build a system which will not only require honest performance of the policy makers but of implementors as well. Politicians and ministers can never be above the law nor should they flout rules and regulations to serve their own petty interests. The democratic system should be strong enough to book the culprits to justice no matter how high they are-ministers, parliamentarians and top level bureaucrats.

The second problem lies with the overly centralized power structure compounded by the lack of democratic organisation of political parties. A centralized power system is always corrupt and rigid where decisions are taken without adherence to principles of subsidiarity transparency and accountability. The government is procrastinating to pass the law that intends to devolve certain centrally reposed power to local bodies.

The third problem lies in the weak and disunited civil society. Without a strong civil society, able to mediate between the government and people, principles of good governance like accountability, transparency, predictability and rule of law can not be instituted and corruption can not be checked. It is satisfying to note that media is slowly taking up the issues of good governance but it is yet to break off the shackles of political influence.

Instead of indulging in speechifying against corruption, it is high time leaders of this country take some substantial measures to create a performing system that will act as guard against

Editorial

Judiciary: Crisis of Confidence

In Nepal, a concept that popularly ruled the mind of people was that there could be no "irregularities" in the Judiciary.

Alas! If only those working in the Court could help preserve the "popular trust". Unfortunately, what is being present, couple of clean-imagined Judges in the Supreme Court have openly come out to preserve the rapidly eroding popular faith on Judiciary.

The defeat of Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA) filed cases on corruption in the Court attributes to the fact that the institutions established for controlling corruption have virtually become criminal-freeing agencies. It is said "Judiciary is not powerful on its own", its power and right is emanated from people's faith on it.

And, it's the responsibility of the Judiciary to keep the popular faith on it intact. Though, people do not have a direct mechanism at their disposal to control the judges, yet they cannot be away from contemporary societies. The only fact is that the judges are identified as people with wider experience, diligent and hardworking, and therefore, they are entrusted with the responsibilities of delivering justice.

Unfortunately, the holy responsibilities of judges is widely felt as being perverted which is also substantiated by several "financially influenced" decisions made in conformity with the existing laws of the state, this leads to further perversions among the populace. Therefore, those at the helm of delivering justices should first become a law-abiding citizen, then only, they can deliver lawful justices; then only, they can generate "conscience-pricking" feelings among the criminals. The judges are seen as holy and dutiful people by the society. An abominable deed of a judge can defame the whole judiciary. Therefore, its high time for the judges to start pondering on 'whether the fingers raised at their character and the allegations of corruption are baseless? Whether all of them are characterless?' These questions should become a matter of grave concern for the judges. If any judge or judges are found involved in unlawful activities, both the Judiciary Council and the Parliament should initiate the process of impeachment and move steps towards reforming the judiciary.

Finally, since the judges' responsibilities are different from others and they remain empowered with infinite "discretionary powers", every sentences of theirs' should go for delivering justice in favor of the innocent.

Editorial

Corruption from Party to Parliament!

Nepal's parliamentarians have given in themselves to general decline in moral and ethical standards. They have even become a butt of jokes. The social dignity and esteem they held has been blown to smithereens. A self-confessing lawmaker was once reported to have told that he belonged to a political tribe (parliamentarians) that has been intensely hated and disliked by the people.

How come that popularly elected parliamentarians stooped so low in the eyes of the people? Why our parliamentarians-chosen few have faced an onslaught of disrepute and defame? It is a question that needs some ruminations. There is indeed no lack of rules and regulations to require that lawmakers maintain highest level of standards and probity. Even there are no rules and regulations to bind the law makers, they should demonstrate noble conduct and integrity so that others could emulate them in a reasonable spirit of respect. Lawmakers should blaze the trail of social morality and ethical standards. They should adhere to high standards of behavior to ensure that value-based politics is internalized.

In fact, there is a body of legislative instruments that are applicable to Parliament and parliamentarians. Anti-defection law, House of Representatives Rules and many other stipulations governing the business of Parliament constitute internal regulatory provisions to mandatorily require lawmakers to adhere to noble legislative practices and traditions. Why are they broken? Why is the game of 'crossovers and takeovers' enacted in the Parliament? It is a big question. It even requires us to ponder over the fate of multiparty democracy in the country. Corrective internal mechanism that exists in the Parliament has not worked. Parliamentarians have fallen in temptation to acquire material affluence. Ethics for them sounds as if the "devil quoting the scripture".

A steep fall in the conduct and behaviors of parliamentarians became a matter of big concern. The passport misuse scandal has made us to hang our head in shame. Those elected representative by people found guilty have betrayed and caused a great disservice to the people. The remedy to deterioration in norms and standards of parliament in the polls whose hands are tainted with corruption and misuse of position. Political parties should also take care not to renominate the lawmaker whose deeds have already defiled and disfigured the image of Parliament and parliamentarians themselves.

Editorial

New Parliamentarians & the Question of Good Governance

The general election, held recently, with the view to attain political stability, development and good governance, has given the country a new direction. Corruption, irregularities, immorality and power-hunger, institutionalized for the past four years, and the trend among parliamentarians to ignore or downright popular mandate, have seen a halt. Also, the ways & means of indulging oneself into all sorts of criminal activities and then pass the blame on politics, system and parliamentary structure, and thereby, seek excuse, too, have been stopped.

As appealed by major political parties, people at large have entrusted a single political party with the comfortable majority so as to enable it to smoothly run the country's administration. Now, there should be nothing to stop the government from giving the country a corruption-free administration, initiating development efforts, maintaining law & order, alleviating poverty, providing employment opportunities to the jobless and setting a precedent of good governance.

Election is an expensive process in itself. Everyone including the Government, Election Commission, political parties, and the candidates make expenses the way they want. The nation has to ultimately bear the burden of their expenses, though it is never realized immediately. Therefore the need of the day is to bring down the electoral expenses. In order to reduce the electoral expenses, and thereby, mitigate the burden falling on nation's shoulder, some developed and developing countries have employed several ways and means.

Among such ways and means are, state bearing the electoral expenses of the candidates; and the state setting ceiling on electoral expenses, followed by effective monitoring and evaluation of such expenses. In the general election recently held in Nepal, reports coming from some election supervision groups say, the electoral expenditure have come down comparing to the past elections. It is being assumed that the electoral expenditures should have certainly come down during the time, as certain gimmicky techniques including the wall-painting, banner-changing, color posters and pamphlets, distributing of caps and T-shirts were banned by the Election Commission. However, except the banner-changing, the other techniques were employed as usual by almost every political party in spite of the Election Commission being force. Though, wall-painting was reduced to some extent in urban areas, in semi-urban and rural areas, it was more expansive. In stead of color posters, multiple color posters were seen pasted at places which evidently speaks volumes of the fact that expenses couldn't have come down.

Barring a few exceptions, in almost every part of the Kingdom, votes were bought paying huge sums of money. The electoral expenditures were seen exorbitantly high. Though the government created no hurdles towards conducting fair and impartial poll, political parties having strong-hold in certain areas used muscle power and coercion to deprive others from casting their votes by rigging, booth-capturing etc. Activities like carrying muscle-men from outside to beat the local activists were also witnessed. In several places candidates of those political parties have won election which have captured from the polling booths. For such happenings, not a single political party is guilty or responsible. The tendency of every political party remained the same. One can only imagine the rise in expenditures when muscle-men are to be carried from one side, were to be sheltered, taken care of and paid. And, the fear of this election perversion deepening its root in Nepalese soil is being more strongly felt. People at large are apprehensive about their voting rights being trampled under the boots of money and muscle power.

The popular demand for every candidate declaring their property details prior to contesting the poll and, the 9 political parties commitments have fallen into deaf ears till now. No parliamentarians, two months after the election, have publicly announced their property details yet. Its not only the Ministers who should declare their property details immediately after swearing in, but the parliamentarians too, should do the same.

If, even after the election and oneself being elected, the parliamentarians fail to declare their property details, then the people should expect no clean and corruption-free administration, neither they should ever expect increase in their living standard from the government and the parliamentarians. Since the election and till now, the Nepalese press continues to talk about the candidates and the political parties not submitting the details of their electoral expenditures to the Election Commission. The Election Commission may certainly extract those details from them. However, measures are to be applied to fathom the truthfulness in those details.

Finally, the Pro Public Family expresses its hearty congratulations to all the elected Representatives of the Lower House of the Parliament and also wish them a successful tenure towards giving the country a right direction and a crowd governance.

June - August 2000

Editorial

Civil servants architect of corruption

The politicians never say "No" to any works and the HMG officials never say "Yes". Irrespective of what they say, the mission of both is one and the same. Politicians in their bid to keep their voters swarming around them don't make them feel any thing impossible and say yes to every problems they bring. On the contrary, the civil servants always want to give the impression to the people that no works are easier and they complicate them, dilly dally them, in their bid to extract personal benefits.

Either of them have made the common citizens their victim, however, bureaucratic hassles have troubled them a lot. Most of the problems appearing in their day to day lives need to be solved from the HMG offices. Since the HMG officials are the ones who implement the Acts & and the Rules governing people's works and they are equipped with immense discretionary power at their disposal, there remains no alternatives to their services.

Former deputy prime minister, and the General-Secretary of the CPN-UML once said, "the civil servants intrigued me."

Even the corrupt politicians need civil servants to prepare the paper works, and bureaucratic procedures for a safe and secured corruption. Without closer aid from the civil servants, the politicians cannot swim across the ocean of corruption.

In fact, the politicians and the civil servants together produce the currency which runs in the world of corruption. The head and the tail of the coin are the politicians and the bureaucrats. If one side of the coin is missing, the coin become valueless. Similarly, if only civil servants refuse to be hand in glove with the politicians, they alone may not swim across the ocean of corruption. Likewise, if only the politicians keep their hands off, civil servants alone may not indulge in corruption in such a bigger scale. They are two sides of the same coin.

Civil servants like politicians do not need to undergo popularity test in every 5 years. For them, once they get through the Public Service Commission test, that is uppermost rung of the ladder of their success. After that, all they need is to cater to the taste of their seniors, and doing that successfully means their interest is well-served. Since the civil servants are accountable to their immediate superiors only, they don't need to bother about the public complaints against them.

For them, the more intricate and complicated the Acts & Rules are, the better it is for extracting benefits.

The civil servants who have once got through the Public Service Commission test are permanent HMG employees against whom no punitive action have been initiated so far save transferring them from place to place. They know that nothing can happen to them no matter how defiant and renegade they behave. This lack of fear psychosis have made them unaccountable. Due to this "no fear psychology" the civil servants have largely remained insensitive towards their duties and responsibilities.

To do away with this situation and to make them more accountable, diligent and serious in their deliveries, the provision of the long-term permanent employment need to be given a second thought. The provision should be made for a short-term employment needing annual renewal of their jobs. This would make them more accountable. And, this could be one of the measures to reduce corruption.

Vol-2, No. 4 May, 2000

Editorial

Political parties: shelter for corrupts

Political parties of Nepal are defamed for being partner with corrupts and as a protector of corrupts. Parties are not only the shelter for corrupts but the condemned corrupts have become MPs, securing parliamentary tickets from different political parties. Political parties have chosen the powerful ones but not the honest ones while providing the tickets.

People who collect the assets by fair and unfair means surpassing others are regarded as the powerful ones. Political parties have been very badly polluted (dilapidated) because of the competition in gathering such defamed but powerful ones.

Transparency is an integral part of good governance. But if one is to look at the economic activities of the political parties it is evidently clear that all the parties have stepped over on the concept of good governance. None of the political parties have publicized their income expenditure report. Political parties playing with unfair assets for unfair activities are the enemies of transparency. Politicians providing protection to the smugglers and black marketers, smugglers seeking shelter from the politicians and distribution of wealth among the parties with mutual consensus have been an increasing trend. It can be safely concluded that politics is the source of corruption. Even the Corruption Control Recommendation Committee Constituted five months ago by the HMG has also concluded that the main source of Corruption is politics itself. The said committee has recommended that to keep the politics a fair game, an Act regulating political parties should be immediately introduced. At the moment, a legislation regulating political party has been presented in the Parliament for consideration and discussion. At the time when the irregularities are rampant in the politics, the proposed endeavor to control the undisciplined parties is worth commending.

Unless political parties don't make public their real income and expenditure coupled with the identification of source and auditing of the financial transaction, corruption taking place at the party level wouldn't be controlled. When those who govern the party and government fall into the trap of the corrupts, then they lose the moral courage to control the party cadres at the local level as well as the office bearers of the administrative organs. As a result of this, the total state mechanism itself becomes corrupt. Now a days, politicians have started to publicly accept the accusation of corruption occurring at the political level. A process of self-criticism has started. Voices for discouraging the corrupts from the civic society have been growing strongly. Hence through limited, a symposium of check has been noticed against the irresponsible tendency of the political parties.

Prime Minister G.P. Koirala has made it public time and again that HMG will accord the priority to curbing the corruption. He says that he has staked his fifty years long political life to fight corruption. This is a laudable initiative. The main opposition party has also run a hotline telephone system against corruption which is also an exemplary move. The image of the country would have been totally different if the HMG and political parties would have practiced transparency in their real life. Because of the suture and the position, political parties and leaders may or may not penalize the corrupts. One thing is clearly evident that those who oppose corruption should start the process of purification, from within the party itself.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Good Governance

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IN PURSUIT of good governance, Forum for Protection of Public Interest (Pro Public), over the past decade, launched a series of activities that included the on-going advocacy & awareness campaigns, through the publications of bulletins and radio programs.

The quarterly Good Governance bulletin in both English and Nepali languages and the weekly Good Governance radio program have proven to be a very productive initiative on the part of Pro Public. The overwhelming response that Pro Public has been receiving, of late, from its radio program listeners and bulletin readers is indicative of the fact that our efforts have started yielding fruits. The radio listeners and the bulletin readers from the far remote regions of the country have started forming Good Governance Radio Listeners' Club with the objective of advocacy and pressure building at the local level in favor of good governance. And, their drive for it is spontaneous and self-motivating. It is at this point, we feel encouraged and equally convinced that our efforts have not been in vain.

We firmly believe in it that our pursuits for good governance in the country is a process and not a product. We equally know that it is going to be a long march and consume much of our time. However, whether or not we have set the wheels of our mission on right track is what we think we should be more concerned about.

By good governance, we understand that any system of governance must necessarily have certain values inherent in it which are commonly termed as accountability, transparency, rule of law, right to information etc. The practical manifestation of these values on the *modus operandi* of any governance would lessen the scope of corruption. Hence, our ultimate mission is to ensure good governance through countering corruption.

We know that combating corruption is not an end in itself. It is not a blinkered crusade to right the wrongs of the world. Rather, the struggle against malfeasance is part of the broader goal of creating more effective, fair and efficient government. Reformers like us are not just concerned with countering corruption per se, but with reversing its negative impact on development and society as a whole.

Thus our aim is not to achieve complete rectitude, but to realize a fundamental increase in honesty- and so the efficiency and fairness- of government. Because we know corruption may not be completely eliminated. Our fight is for relative improvement and not for the absolute.

Bearing this very goal in mind, Pro Public has been running an advocacy and awareness campaign through publications of bulletins, radio programs, public hearings, seminars, workshops and through capacity building measures of the clubs and institutions at the local level. Pro Public believes that if things didn't change for such a long period, its because there have been no demand for such change. The underlying mission of the advocacy and awareness measures is to bring these demands into the mind of populace through self-realization. It's the passion for good governance among our readers which motivated us to come out with this Good Governance magazine. We hope that the issues covered in this magazine will go a long way in catering to the taste of our readers.

One of the reasons behind our going to a step further into magazine from bulletin is that we wanted to cover issues more widely and extensively. We are hopeful that we will still receive your kind support and encouragement in our pursuit. Your healthy comments and critical appreciations would help us a lot in refining the magazine. ■

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EDITOR'S NOTE

MANIFESTOS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES

Documents of dishonesty

POLITICAL parties are the most essential component in a multi-party political dispensation. These political organisations not only represent the people of varying ideological and philosophical streams, but also propose the methodologies of varying nature to address and resolve problems faced by the people and the country as a whole. People, in turn, vote for one of these organisations during the elections according to the doctrines and policies they find most closely resonating to their conscience. Through this process, the roles of these parties are decided as defined in the constitution. The election manifestoes of the political organisations are one of the important means of communicating their philosophical baseline, policies and programmes to the common people. At a time when delineating lines between various political doctrines is gradually being obliterated by materialistic pragmatism, such manifestoes, rather than other traditional rhetoric, are ideally, explicitly expressed commitments to be only meaningful documents that help people problems are considered to be only meaningful documents that help people.

But, alas, the trend surfaced during the last three parliamentary and two local elections suggests that all major political forces of the country, who are supposed to work as the agents of change to improve the knowledge and critical judgement of the common people, are rather keen on exploiting their weaknesses. This deliberate indulgence of the political parties into political mischief has made the culture of publishing election manifestoes a mere routine formality. A common trend that came into force during last elections was—every party in their election manifestoes listed almost all problems faced by the country, vowed to solve them only if their own party formed the government. But once the elections were over no one, ruling and the opposition alike, deemed it necessary to turn the pages of the document of their public commitments, let alone thorough reviews and follow-ups of the same.

Not only these phenomena vindicate the fact that our political organisations are making a force of the entire electoral process. Until and unless the tradition of formulating and publishing practicable and result-oriented manifestoes is begun, inconsistencies, anomalies and ad-hocisms that are alarmingly affecting the present day governance are going to multiply. These circumstances now demand an independent body to evaluate the status of pledges made by the political parties in their official documents, at least, on completion of the term of office by the elected officials, or before next round of elections. Perhaps, constitutional bodies like The Election Commissions need to be empowered for this job which can admonish and penalise the political parties not fulfilling their commitments made to the people.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

OVER 6000 rivers criss-cross Nepal. They have the potential for 83,000 megawatt (MW) of hydropower, say experts. At least, 42,000 MW is commercially viable, they say.

At present, 380 MW is available for use in the country. And, 17 percent of the population have access to power.

According to Dr. Ramesh Nanda Vaidya, Member, National Planning Commission (NPC), "The country has the infrastructure for supplying power to 35 percent of the population. Yet, only 17 percent are using them and the rest resort to pilfering because they can't afford."

In many rural terai and hills, the locals hook wires to the overhead transmission lines and electrify the street and their hovels. In many cases they do so in collusion with the local electricity authorities.

That amounts to a heavy leakage. And, to recover the loss resulting from theft, Nepal Electricity Authority (NEA) raises the power tariff. As NEA's funding efforts to plug such leakage fail, it increases the tariff every time the volume of theft rises. That taxes on the wallet of power users—the 17 percent.

With Kali Gandaki A and Middle Marsyangdi hydropower project soon to begin the production, the availability of power is estimated at 650 MW by 2005. For legitimate power purchasers, the power in the making seems more than enough. However, since the volume of leakage and theft is unaccounted for, one has reason to remain skeptic about the power sufficiency.

They say, Nepal is only second to Brazil in water resource. A few enthusiasts dub the water "white gold". Everyone from politician to policy makers harp on selling power to neighboring India and transforming the fate of the country. They have been doing that for long. Even the country's hydropower policy aims at selling power to Indian states neighboring Nepal.

India, the emerging tiger on IT and software, suffers from power crisis. Some of its states have as much as 40 percent power deficiency, writes the Newswatch dated January 22, 2001. The burgeoning IT industries in India are investing over 100,000 US dollars buying back-up generators as they have been hard hit by frequent brownouts. That is the power crisis scenario across the border.

In view of the power crisis severely hitting neighboring India, Nepal's idea of exporting power to India and boosting its economy sounds logical.

The question is, can Nepal really take advantage of the India's power need? Can it generate, transmit and distribute power to cater to the Indian need at an attractive price?

Does it have adequate infrastructure—power transmission lines, distributive mechanism—to sell its power across the border?

Above all, can NEA that buys power at 6.7 cents per unit from private sector generators sell them at 5 cents? In India, the production cost remains as high as 5.19 cents per unit, writes the Newswatch report.

With Nepal's power generation cost rising exponentially due to the increase in strategic costs, its chances of competing in the neighboring market remain dim.

The authorities at home count on foreign investors who they think would rush in once they are said to see power crisis in India. They have never tried to read Indian mind.

All they have been doing is, they are exploiting the water that naturally flows for "domestic political consumption" than "power generation". They are successful in doing so. ■

EDITOR'S NOTE

IMAGINE WHAT will happen if one's water tap begins emitting, leeches! What if the stone spouts begin flowing fresh and blood? And, what if fear psychosis grips one's mind after drinking water from the public taps? Had they been a chimerical tale, Nepalese would have enjoyed them as much as any one. Unfortunately, they are the ghastly reality that a Nepali citizen is forced to live with. Madhav Prasad Shrestha, a shopkeeper of Budhanilkantha, Bishnu VDC, Ward no.2 witnessed his taps ejecting leeches one fine morning when he opened his tap to fetch a bucket full of water. He took the leeches to Nepal Drinking Water Supply Corporation where no one was to heed him. Coming at his wit's end, poor fellow gave them to a newspaper which splashed its front page with them. One morning of August 11, 2000 the locals of Ekhanche Tole, Lalitpur, to their dismay, saw fresh and blood running through *Chhargadharu* (stone spout). Those drinking them fell sick with at least 14 of them lying on hospital beds for weeks.

Out of 100 samples of water examined by Teku hospital, 91 samples were found to have had the presence of human excreta in it. Of all 40,000 students from 244 Schools taken in for examination by Parasite Prevention, Control and Blood Grouping Research Center (1996), 73.31 percent were found to have had one or the other kind of intestinal parasites. The list of such horrific tales, that Nepalese have stoically borne, are endless. Usually, their taps remain dry, if and when, they start flowing, one never knows what health hazard substances he would be consuming. Despite public out cry and media hullabaloo, nothing much has changed. Either they fell into deaf ears of the authorities or complacency ruled their mind. Kathmandu valley's drinking water problem has already sucked away too much from national exchequer and a hundred times more from foreign loans and grants. At the end of day, people turned their taps on to see no water dripping. Nepal boasts of being only second to Brazil in water resources. The politics of the country revolves around water. Demagogues say, they would churn out gold from Nepalese waters and make everyone rich. A few other say they would export power, generated from water, through "satellites" to different countries.

Those finding their kitchen taps and toilet faucet dry grumble and hurl curses on the authorities. This is how Nepalese live without water or with contaminated water. Does that mean, the problem will see no end? No one is there to answer for sure. However, the National Water Supply Policy sounds as good as any policy would ever. It says, "Drinking water is the minimum need of all human beings and provision of safe and adequate drinking water is the declared commitment of His Majesty's Government of Nepal". The polity further states "Water for All by 2002" as its principal objective. Whether or not those at the helm of affairs read it, whether or not they understand it, no body knows. All that everyone knows is that no one is accountable. What should be done then? Again, this should be the duty of those holding the rein of power to think over it. What the tax-paying citizen may be expected to do is to tell them that their taps remain dry. They emit leeches, parasites and human excreta.

Now, it is the responsibility of those at the helm of affairs to abide to the policies they have made. It is their responsibility to provide them with safe and clean drinking water. Otherwise, the tax-paying citizen can rightly think, "What is the use of an administration that can't supply its people with a glass full of clean drinking water?" And if they think so, they are just right.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Transparency without borders

THE SEEMINGLY curt response shown by the European Economic Community (EEC) against the Office of the Auditor General's (OAG) wish to audit its books for the fiscal year 1997/98 of the long running Livestock Health Promotion Project (LHPP), the EEC going so far as to send a letter of refusal last year in September needs to be taken seriously. Such a move smacks of arrogance and a total disregard for this country's operative departments and the mechanics that run them. Since 1995 there has been a history of hesitancy from the EEC whenever the OAG has requested its books for auditing. In its annual '98 report, the OAG stated that it had found financial abnormalities in the expenditures of grants and loans, multi-lateral agencies are more cooperative while bi-lateral donors generally less so, and the EEC, a bi-lateral donor which has funded and is funding a garment project, is no exception. It is a plain and simple case. Or so it should be. The country has made provisions in law for any foreign assistance (in the form of grants, loans, etc) to come under the direct scrutiny of the OAG. Foreign assistance by law is required to be included in the annual budget and once there it should be released to the country's top auditing body. But in reality, while billions of rupees are pumped into the development channels of Nepal, this automatic rite of passage is ignored and at times disdainfully overlooked, in many cases.

Voices of concern are being heard, not just from the relevant department but also from independent observers and watchdog institutions, which say there have been instances when more than two thirds of the assistance has gone back to the source country as consultancy charges while others have slipped down the drain through illicit procurement of vehicles, transport etc. The public's right to know how the money is spent should not be an irrelevant side issue. Only if such undertakings are done in openness can a climate of mutual trust develop. There should be no gray areas. Transparency means no gray areas. Everyone should be accountable and no one should get special treatment.

If foreign donor agencies do not abide by our country's laws, rules and regulations, then the stated aims of good governance and accountability systematically chanted out by developed nations can sound like mere hypocrisy. It has come down to such a point that even our Auditor General remains clueless and left in the dark over the transactions of the LHPP project. If transactions are not carried out in an open manner and if withheld, then it ultimately gives false economic indicators. The country's development thus seen under a false light. It is unfair if certain donor agencies are reluctant to have their books audited by the country's responsible department. And it is even more unfair when, under this light, they talk about good governance and the need for transparency and accountability. The Auditor General himself has gone on record as to voice his concerns over the government's indifferent attitude to the reports prepared by his department. This is a serious flaw. If support from the government hardly materialises, then confidence to tackle the irregularities in foreign companies, groups and organisations takes a severe blow.

Just last month, the Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee (PAC) issued a directive to the government to get the third phase of the LHPP account books audited. The issue will not go away. The committee also backed up the OAG by instructing the government not to accept foreign assistance which bypasses the OAG's right to audit accounts. Ever since 1996, including the Foreign Directives of 1998, PAC has urged the government to bring foreign aid into the national budget. So far, no policies have been made regarding this. It remains to be seen whether this time the government will take more heed.

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Steps gained, action affirmative

THE LAST editorial previous to this one was on the CIAA's raids on the night of Aug 17. It was titled 'Turning the screw'. Indeed now the recent arrests of members of ex PM Deuba's top brass is a true reflection of it. The screw is finally turning and the areas that have been infested by corruption are being squeezed out clean.

There is an old saying, 'You can run but you can't hide' and now the constitutional body with added powers of investigation is bringing the house down on individuals who have played the dirty card of corruption time and again thinking that they could get away with it.

But there is still a long way to go. All those detained by the CIAA must face trial and must face a clean conviction. Barring any mischief from detractors, convictions should be a sure guarantee based on hard evidence. Ultimately there must be no deviating from the straight line taken by the investigative task force even when powerful hurdles are put in its way. There must be no stopping from getting at the truth so that the dirty laundry of these so called socially acceptable members of society is aired in public.

As a positive sign, civic organizations working for a more transparent and accountable system from the common office to the government run engines of authority have been fully behind the operations of the task force. It may be tempting to overlook the actions of the CIAA given the tough time the nation is going through but civic society must do its utmost to ensure that arrests of the guilty continue and continue to make the headlines. In any circumstance the constitutional body's actions must not be ignored.

The secular and the religious throughout human history have confronted each other. On the one hand you have the humanistic based order for social justice and on the other, the unshakable beliefs of religious faith. In a country like Nepal steeped in religion where even people's daily lives revolve around it, any serious investigation into the basis of some questionable practices carried out in the name of religious tradition is bound to stir up a hornet's nest.

But any malpractice seen in the eyes of civic society as a whole, inclusive of the religious part must be brought to an end for the benefit of all citizens who make up this country. Everyone is entitled to freedom of choice in how to live their lives and any obstruction of this is a violation of human rights.

Women are in most cases the chief victims of tradition and custom temples in certain remote parts of the country, where albeit awareness may exist in small measure, just to fulfill selfish and carnal desires, and that away, through no volition of their own, to work in religious communities so that the family's religious virtue remains intact is a crying shame.

Propounding injustice in the name of religion is a crime. Awareness campaigns are one thing and so is creating new laws forbidding such practices. But still it is important that steps for change must be taken carefully and sensitively.

Turning the screw

IT IS common knowledge that the past catches up with you. With a determined pursuer on your back there is no place to hide. And skeletons in closets come tumbling out.

The midnight raids of August 17 proved one thing beyond any shadow of doubt. The Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA) has begun its crusade against corruption. It will be a long campaign.

What the CIAA needs more than anything now is moral boosting support from civic organizations, line agencies and citizens fighting to turn the screw on corruption and the blind eye tradition of taking kickbacks without a momentary thought to its consequences. The briber who tries to bribe away his bribes. The rally held on August 29 was one such manifestation showing solidarity and team spirit for a common cause.

The constitutional body must now take the cautious route to avoid any pitfalls from its end objective of cleaning up the administration from top to bottom. Spinning the right message in the media and getting the right people will prove to be the body's trump card. And in no way must it mirror the Machiavellian tactics of its targeted individuals by asserting that the end justifies the means in its new capacity as an independent probing committee with added powers of investigation.

Another thing is becoming increasingly clear. The CIAA must prepare itself against any form of threat that will thwart its campaign against corruption. Longstanding politicians are beginning to spin their own messages on the actions of the CIAA. Whether through an incomprehensible understanding of good governance or just a plain down desire to hide the dirty facts, 'seasoned' politicians and one well known for his airlines acquisition scandal has called the CIAA's investigation into his property and income as an attack and a threat on democracy. These politician-spin doctors with an almost open history of conducting scams and fraud are what the CIAA needs to turn off and air their dirty laundry.

From one active constitutional body to a government department that seems to like its anonymity. The Department of Mines and Geology since its establishment has done little to justify its existence, especially in terms of work-rate and work produced. What has come out of all the surveys conducted? Up till now there have hardly been any results from the department's extraction efforts. There is concern in some quarters of what is actually going on there. Neither does the government have a clear-cut mineral policy.

Proclaiming transparency and accountability there also comes a responsibility to uproot irregularities. With in depth research into suspicious activities irregularities that began over 20 years ago and that still remain can be surfaced and extracted for the sake of accountability and justice. For the last thirty years the department in association with a private partner has run a mineral extraction project which now exists in name only. The Khardzurga magnesite deposit scam, one of the largest magnesite deposits in the world, seems to be one such swindle hoping to be kept under wraps. But with more investigation the details of the whole affair can be drawn out. It cannot remain swept under the carpet forever. Foreign companies as much as the nation's government have to accept that people have the right to information and have to accept that any outstanding answerability must be owed to the general public.

It gives us immense pleasure to notify our valued readers that from this issue on GG Magazine is going bi-monthly. Due to the demands made on us by our readers we felt that this was a necessary new step to forward our cause against corruption.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Parties, stop being spectators!

WITH THE shocking end of the peace talks, the country once again has slipped into a whirlpool of anarchy marked by killings, maimings, loots and violence in other forms. The rosy dreams of having a normal life have been prematurely shattered, and once again, the hills and fields, dales and valleys have started reverberating with the gunshots released from both the Maoists and the government. Worse, individual killings will be taken and precedence. Who knows how many Kiran Basnets will be killed and how many Doramba incidents will be enacted before declaring an edge over the other! It seems both parties have braced themselves for the armed good; this will only touch off a never-ending process of settling scores by using violence as a tool. What is most intriguing is when the Maoists police chief was brutally killed, a ceasefire was announced and the label of terrorist removed, but when an army colonel, way junior in rank, was killed, the Maoists were again declared terrorists. Why? There seems to be no consistency in the government's approach of dealing with the issue. Besides, the government's giving of walking papers to the facilitators was a hasty decision. It gives a feeling that the government is not so serious in the talks as it appears to be.

Moreover, as the things stand now, foreign intervention seems round the corner. The activism of foreign powers in recent months has gone a bit far. So if we fail to take a calculated step vis-à-vis all these things, we shall have nothing left with us except shattered hopes, distrust and destruction. As the wildfire of "civil war" has already engulfed the country, we must be able to rise above our individual and party concerns and think of the collective good. Granted, resumption of talks in such a situation is not easy as we have a bitter experience of the ceasefire now can, in no way, be justified. But this is not impossible either. This time, not only did they unilaterally end the talks, but they also broke off the hammer out a solution, the political parties should now stop being spectators and take pro-active initiatives to resolve the problem. They need not suffer from any hypochondriac fears that once the Maoists join the political mainstream they will have their political space shrunk. On the other hand, the Maoists also must stop their indiscriminate attacks on other political parties. They must be able to make the parties convinced that their rise does not mean their negation. A nation is not only geography; it means its people also. There is no point in having a nation with piles of dead bodies. A prolonged war not only contributes to militarization of politics and the economy, there is also a danger of it making every one such a pious deadly war? The sure answer is emphatic "no". With the combined efforts of the five political parties, we don't think they would be able to find any solution. But what is most important is the challenge have political will, courage and far-sightedness to take on the enemy. If the political parties don't really relish a narcissistic desire to feather only their own nest, they must take initiatives. The buck stops there. *

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Have passport. No visa? Will travel

WITHOUT a visa? Somebody can go without a visa? The director general of the Department of Immigration replies to a question on how it was possible for someone to clear the immigration of the airport with no visa.

Exploiting any official document or misusing an official post for financial gain is not a new phenomenon. Extreme examples exist in all decision-making and corridors of officialdom. That a person can walk through immigration without a visa and get caught right on the tarmac and the above reply of the director general speaks of extreme cases of exploitation at the country's immigration section.

Another case in point. The harassment of nationals of this country at the airport when returning from abroad does not do much in showing up the responsible government section in a good light. It is not healthy practice and any guilty staff should really be ashamed of such behaviour of taking money illegally from their fellow citizens.

The unscrupulous tactics used from "tining" people for overstaying their visas abroad (cannot be done according to the law on Nepali soil) to the general harassment of naïve people leaves no room for doubt that the cases are and have been severe.

Again, the many examples of such underhand activities prove one thing. And that is serious overhauling and major reforms must be introduced to comprehensively counter such corrupt conduct in this sector as soon as possible. A commitment to improve what needs obvious improving can only come from the top up. This calls for the responsible apex body of the department to seriously take up the challenge and bring in strong measures whereby the malpractices of individual officials working in this section of the public sector can be

The fact that even genuine criminals dodging international aviation laws are actually apprehended by the immigration officials but then released after an "arrangement" is another acute case in point. Abuse of authority at the public sector level and especially against unsuspecting individuals is an unpardonable offence that is not condonable to any degree. The matter should be thoroughly looked into by an independent investigating body.

At a time when public outrage has seemingly turned a corner seeing the accusations of corruption levelled against some of the country's one time leading politicians and a host of public officials holding water and "something being done about it" as opposed to "something must be done about it" through the actions of the highest investigating unit, the microscope's gaze must now diversify to include sectors where members of the public have shown much distrust, over the lack of ethics, underhand motives and otherwise, to, once again, ease their sense of frustration. This is the heart of the matter. The smugness of thinking one is "untouchable" must be wiped out. ■

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EDITOR'S NOTE

At last, light at the end of the tunnel

THE GUNS of "people's war", conceived, scripted and directed by the CPN (Maoist), have stopped reverberating up hill and down dale with the declaration on January 28 of ceasefire between the government and the Maoist rebels. They have agreed on the need of drawing up the contours of the popular opinion at home and the ceasefire received a rapturous welcome from the 23 million plus Nepali hearts. The fear of uncertainty that in cahoots with every sunset staged a comeback in the hamlets parched in the rugged hilltops of the country has passed off, making the people sanguine to become an architect of their own destiny themselves. Hopes and aspirations are soaring high that the virtual killings-terraces may once again turn into lands of friendship, brotherhood and togetherness, which formed the very bedrock of the Nepali society not in the distant past. And at last, the light has been seen at the end of the tunnel.

The seven-odd years of savage killings, brutalities, extortions and excesses in other forms committed in the name of "safeguarding" the nation have seemingly brought to an end the powers-that-be on both sides of the spectrum about the futility of war. No one wins in a war; everyone is a loser. The land is soaked red with the blood of those who laid down their lives for the "great cause of the nation, and it is high time that the Nepalese people contributed to setting up a lasting peace. Because it is only in a matrix of peace that development finds itself in element. And from the look of things, it seems that the ground has been broken. Lack of a clear consensus among all political parties in identifying the true nature and gravity of the problem posed by the Maoists served as a deterrent factor for a long time and din generated by political factions in Nepal's rambunctious democracy. Democracy must respond to people's expectations, and when those in power become address social and economic issues and when those in power become preoccupied with little else but hanging on to power, political violence comes to a head in the form of an accumulated force of anger, frustration and discontent. In retrospect, the government's plan to tame the Maoists by using force failed to yield any substantive results as was originally expected. With the brawn taking precedence over the brain, political, economic and social issues were forced to take a backseat. The Nepalese people tremendously suffered with a bleak future ahead of them.

Everyone from rights bodies and the civil society to political parties have converged on the stand that a poor country like Nepal cannot afford to have a "civil war" for long. War can, in no way, be justified no matter how noble the goal may be. The blood-curdling images of the victims of war are enough to bring home to us the point that how horrendous and disgusting war may be. War can never be a solution to problems; it only intensifies them. There was wide speculation as to when the renewed peace talks would begin. And now it is already in process. There is no alternative to being optimistic. With the long-awaited ceasefire gradually taking on full shape, things have started looking up. The two guns are at rest now. And if the cloud banks hovering over Nepal are to be removed at all for good, the two guns have to be holstered permanently. ■

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Don't delay, please

BIRGUNJ, the gateway to Nepal, is known as a main city dealing in businesses with the third countries including India. Its contribution to the national coffers here constitutes a large share in the total revenue collected by the customs office here. It is also a cradle of big businessmen. But the definition of Birgunj goes far beyond this. It has earned as much disrepute as it has earned a reputation. Birgunj has its image tarnished especially because of smuggling from across the border. Now smuggling has assumed the form of culture in Birgunj. Whether it is hemp or electronic goods, textiles or other consumer items, all are smuggled into the country through this point. And this has, of course, heightened its importance. Smuggling success still remains a far-off thing. Since the smuggling has already taken its firm roots and has already got entrenched, it remains far from fully controlled. As everyone is involved in the network of smuggling, either in a latent or patent way, the problem has assumed bigger proportion. Without the sincere, dauntless efforts of one and all, putting curbs on the smuggling is really a daunting task beyond the capacity of a few individuals. On the other hand, there is an apparent lack of coordination between the bodies entrusted with the responsibility of putting checks on smuggling. It is because of this reason that even the smugglers who are arrested can easily get away with it. Judging by the modus operandi of the smugglers, it seems they are hell-bent on getting an upper hand by employing the idea "divide and rule." And they have largely succeeded in feathering their nest by alluring the government employees into their net.

On the other hand, the government's information system can be held just as responsible in helping the smuggling thrive. The smugglers are well-equipped with state-of-the-art electronic gadgets like mobile phones, while those manning the government offices in border points are deprived of such facilities. And the smugglers are making most of this unbalanced situation. Our laws are not less responsible in any way either to encourage smuggling. For example, the law relating to VAT provides for rewards to informants for providing tip-offs about smuggling. But this is subject to evidence. One can easily imagine how defective is our law that seeks for evidences for providing incentive to informants. Granted that, then, would help strengthen the corrected by framing regulations, which, then, would help strengthen the information network of informants. But no efforts have been made towards this end. Our administrative machinery entrusted with the responsibility of taking care of this seems to be producing VAT bills also stands before it. Similarly, the legal provision allowing the businessmen to take their merchandise from one place to another by producing VAT bills on smuggling will remain a far cry. Customs clearance forms alone will little help the Revenue Investigation Department in this regard. Though the Pathlalya-based office of the Department has started asking for the papers indicating the source of merchandise along with the VAT bills, it would have been better had the provision been made in the law itself. It will not be in the interests of the country if such defective laws stand uncorrected.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Requires pragmatic policies

NEPAL Development Forum (NDF), for the second time, is being organized in Kathmandu in the first week of May 2004 with a bang since Nepal's development partners and foreign donor agencies are meeting on a common forum to chalk out glorious future of Nepal out of grim reality the nation is currently passing through. Apart from reviewing implementation aspect of the earlier promises and commitments, the donors will help thrashing out development policies and strategies for Nepal's sustainable prosperity and at the same time, they will also announce amount of future assistance to Nepal.

When assessed formation of development policies and their subsequent implementation scenario, what becomes clear is the implementation part being slower than expected and policies being highly ambitious. Moreover, the age-old tradition of formulating policies within preview of terms and conditions as laid by donors has to be abandoned and the trend of carving out policies and strategies as per the real needs and wants of Nepal people have to begin soon. Stringently sticking to donors' conditions while making development programs compels us most of the time to come up with policies that are highly ambitious and less implementable pragmatically in our context. So what requires is formation of implementable and highly pragmatic programs with clear-cut identification of core areas needing more development and support, and diversion of resources into the needy sector. But, unfortunately formulation of development policies and programs in Nepal are being used as tools to please donors to seek more aid and support.

The other factor leading to non-implementation of the policies is owing to lack of commitment at the leadership level which has lagged us far behind in putting promises into practice. The hefty stress should be laid on implementation part on realistic ground so that whatever has been promised will ultimately come to fruition, otherwise, it continues to be a mirage. There is no dearth of policies and programs in Nepal as such, but genuine need is implementation drive at leadership strata. The experts opine that implementation of pragmatic development programs have to be devised in view of rising needs of people in various sectors. On the other hand, donor community too should press the government to implement commitments with a strong warning to reduce aid levels if fulfillment of promises through implementation is not effectively pursued and ensured. Donors without laying strict conditions in forking out aid to Nepal should use other means to pressurize for realizing commitments through proper reinforcement.

That is why; upcoming NDF meeting should assist Nepal in churning out practical, pragmatic and implementable development programs and policies to generate sustainable development in various sectors. Moreover, the government and donor community should also shift focus on carrying out development programs in areas affected by ongoing Maoist insurgency. For which requires a strong government mechanism to deliver services to people at grass root level languishing in hinterlands of the country.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Hold no brief for corruption

WHEN asked about the reasons behind the fall of the Roman empire that lasted for centuries, famous historian Gibbon had given a laconic answer-- "Corruption." The answer explicitly shows the gravity and ramifications of the "Corruption." The great popular movement of 1990 at the helm of which were today's political parties which are now agitating against the king's "regressive" move marked a watershed in the history of Nepalese polity. With the restoration of democracy, people's hopes and aspirations had faced tremendous hardships and leaders of their regime who themselves had faced tremendous hardships and troubles in their relentless fight against autocracy would get the country out of the morass of poverty, illiteracy, sufferings and backwardness. The people and their leaders who themselves had faced tremendous hardships and troubles in their relentless fight against autocracy would get the country out of the morass of poverty, illiteracy, sufferings and backwardness. The people and their leaders who themselves had faced tremendous hardships and troubles in their relentless fight against autocracy would get the country out of the morass of poverty, illiteracy, sufferings and backwardness. The people and their leaders who themselves had faced tremendous hardships and troubles in their relentless fight against autocracy would get the country out of the morass of poverty, illiteracy, sufferings and backwardness.

A century old absolute Panch rule, in fact, sowed the seeds of corruption, an insidious social malaise that, if not nipped in the bud, eats into every vital of society in the long run further complicating the remedies. But the 30-year old Panchayat autocratic system and the nearly one-and-a-half decades of democracy watered it enough to help it grow into a bigger tree. Corruption, Panchayat autocratic system and the nearly one-and-a-half decades of democracy watered it enough to help it grow into a bigger tree. Corruption, Panchayat autocratic system and the nearly one-and-a-half decades of democracy watered it enough to help it grow into a bigger tree. Corruption, Panchayat autocratic system and the nearly one-and-a-half decades of democracy watered it enough to help it grow into a bigger tree.

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Media Fiat A Damocles' Sword

On 11 November, 2005, Supreme Court's denial to issue stay order on media fiat finally turned the tables on the government to go hell-bent on curtailing free media. Though promulgated through or-dinance under the pretext of good faith, now the diktat is hanging like Damocles' sword that can strike anytime on any media house. After week-long hearings at the apex court on press ordinance, the govern-ment has ultimately got what it was intending to get. And much-controversial media law has caused panic among me-dia organizations as all the FM radios already stopped airing news items fearing strict reprisals from the government. It is like a bitter pill for all of media-savvy people as the right to information guaran-teed by the Constitu-tion has been slashed by the unwanted regula-tion in a gun-boat manner.



The Article 33 (3) of the Constitution requires the state to act within the confines of given laws and regulations, and there is no room for it to function arbitrarily. Government's real intention in amending some acts relat-ing to media is quite frustrating. And the rationale government put-ting to media is not allowed to air news worldwide is forward saying FM radios are not allowed in Nepal, doz-not agreeable to some extent. Over the last fifteen years in Nepal, do-zen of FM stations emerged as a source of information channel to the people of all corners. In the light of this fact, instead of getting hawk-ish to stop news from FM radios, government should have allowed them in a regulated way. By shutting down news from FM stations, government has dealt severe blows to the inherent popular right to information.

Though the government tries to feign honesty and makes efforts to justify rationale behind promulgation of the media regulation, it has already exposed its true colors. But, instead of going against the court's decision to pass stay order, entire media gamut should direct their energies to mount pressure on the government to bring it to heel. If we call ourselves votaries of democracy and rule of law, we must respect decisions of the court. To be honest, it is completely court's jurisdiction to pass or deny stay order basing it within the existing legal parameters on any case. There is no denying of the press ordinance was enacted to put curbs on free functioning of the press, but it is also untrue to create furors against the ruling of the court. Amended press law overtly contravenes with some of the provi-sions in 1990 Constitution. So, now, there is no alternative of taking to streets to revoke government's ruling on the free media. For this, all of us need to get united and move ahead jointly to challenge untoward government decrees that stand as obstacle to our enjoyment of rights enshrined in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal. ■

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Foreign School Education A Policy Vacuum

MORE than half a dozen schools affiliated to Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE), India, are smoothly running in Nepal. Some of them even do have a history of running for more than a decade in Nep-al. It may simultaneously ring quite surprising to know that Nepal government doesn't have any policy or law on foreign school educa-tion on overseas curriculum. But these schools have been conducting classes up to secondary level on foreign course without any policy hitch from Nepal government. Here the question is, what makes them run here unlawfully? Even the education ministry full well knows that present laws do not address their existence and says there has not been any policy level decision to deal with such institutions.

As per the education laws, all embassies can seek at least one school to educate their kids on their own curriculum in Nepal. And the Indian number of such schools is rising every year. And the government appears vacuous toward this evolving phenomenon. All of this is not to say that they can't be allowed to run here. But, the foremost concern is about the lack of government policy to regulate them. The over-riding fact is that why can't the ministry dare take actions either to punish them or bring them within the regula-tory framework?



As a part of the process, these schools need to seek no-objection letter from the ministry. And four of them have filed applications to seek approval but the ministry has not given them any permission to run. To our surprise, they are making headway in Nepal without government's permission and policy for decades. Many of their non-registration in Nepal has also increased the possibility of tax dodging. Because of this fact they are less liable to pay taxes to Nepal government even if they teach a good number of Nepalese students. Owing to such policy vacu-um, government has returned a tax loss of millions of rupees until now.

So, what is of the essence is that need is to hammer out concrete policy for foreign affiliated schools, and for this, the ministry should take a lead at the earliest. It won't be more than a shame on the part of the government if it continues to pay deaf ears to address the functioning of foreign accredited schools. It is not only the matter of CBSE schools alone but of the foreign school education in entirety. There is yet no legal clarity at the policy level whether Nepalese students be allowed to study foreign school course or not. Thus, a new level of debate has to begin on foreign school education so that definite policy can be framed to regulate and monitor schools affiliated to foreign boards within the confines of the Nepalese laws. ■

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Why Not Peace Commission?

IN post-February One scenario, corruption and peace, among many others, have not only made the headlines but also hogged the attention of all. Royal proclamation contains repeated paragraphs on themes like corruption control and peace restoration. The King out of abhor-rence against the rampant corruption constituted the most powerful Corruption Control Royal Commission (CCRC) bestowing it with the investigative and executive powers at par with the Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA) and Special Court. By form-ing such powerful anti-graft body, though on a pro-tem basis, he showed his utmost desire and anger to stamp corruption out of all spheres and gave the Commission supreme authority to deliver verdicts on the spot if need be. From all sides, CCRC can be viewed as a testament to the King's deep-rooted resolution and commitment to knock down corrup-tion.

But at par with the King's hatred against corrup-tion, conflict resolution seems to have gained a low-ly attention. So one of the best way to show king's desperation for peace will be to form a Peace Commission conferring it with utmost power to adopt any means to address the conflict like the CCRC for corruption control. Of the two problems - corruption and conflict, the first is get-ting a high priority but the latter seems not receiving a deal on equal footing. If formed Peace Commission, it would on the one hand explic-itly indicate the king's desire to resolve the conflict and on the other it equally signals the edgy international community that it is too early to be 'a doubting Thomas' about the king's move.

Conflict resolution by nature is quite uphill task, as it requires great amount of professional expertise and support from all quarters. As the situation in post-February period is different from the earlier order of the real politic, the king requires garnering support from the political parties, intelligentsia, civil society, media and international communi-ty in making move for peace a success. Indubitably, formulating Peace Commission can help the king pool all essential professional knowl-edge and technical know-how in dealing with the conflict and explor-ing ways to effectively address the situation. Such move, if it occurs, could indeed be a glaring example of his passion for peace restoration.

The other facet in problem resolution is to take the political parties into confidence without whom the peace measures can be inadequate and patchy. At a time when the role of democratic forces cannot be ruled out in peace making process, the king ought to take them into faith to com-bat the conflict collectively. As the king in tête-à-tête with the senior media persons said making peace could be a departure point for col-laboration with political parties, he must start initiatives by calling upon the political forces to make ties for peace. And the parties too must not feel jittery about king's cooperative move if it happens. And in response, they should extend the best of their support to bring peace back home so as to pave the way for democracy.

Constitution of the Peace Commission will take the king a step ahead in his efforts to address the conflict while inviting political parties to join hands and issuing formal calls for the rebels to come to the peace parlays could be either stepping stones in peace restoration. But the king himself should take initiatives since the country is under his di-rect rule in post-February one situation. Let these all initiatives happen from the king first without any further delay. ■

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Ensuring Free and Fair Polls

The day we are making history is just a few days away. The much-awaited Constituent Assembly (CA) election slated for 10 April 2008 is much closer. We are desperately waiting to cast the ballots to elect 601 representatives not to govern the nation but to write a comprehensive constitution on behalf of 25 million Nepalese people. People in Nepal gasped and waged several mass movements at different points of history with demand of the CA election. But the Shah dynasty which ruled over Nepal for the last 239 years continued to deprive Nepali people of their rights to be sovereign and free under various concocted pretexts.

The CA election is historic in the sense that it will decide to abolish 239-year old monarchy for good with establishment of federal Democratic Republic of Nepal. The other achievement through constituent assembly would be to adopt a federal system of governance by ending decade-old unitary model of governance in Nepal. We are getting closer to the first stage of reform process that will end with the conduct of free and fair CA election. And the second process would start with the beginning of the elected CA, passing through the constitution making process. The third stage would be a process of state restructuring with division of the country into different federal provinces or states.

This election has drawn an international attention and publicity. The world is closely watching how this twice-deferred election would be conducted. International election observers are already deployed all across the country to ensure that the election is conducted free and fair. About seven hundred international election observers representing the different organizations will be deployed to monitor 20,888 election booths all over the country. Similarly, about 90,000 national election observers are monitoring the election on 10 April. This shows how important and historic the election is in Nepal and to the international community as well.

The days are fast ticking away and the pending election is getting nearer. Election fever has gripped from alleys of the capital to the far-flung areas of the Karnali zone. All from contesting political parties to the desperate voters are much enthusiastic about the coming polls. Still the challenges to the conduct of free and fair polls are not yet over. The voters are not yet completely assured of their security and peaceful environment on the Election Day. To put the truth even if the government has planned to deploy 110,000 security personnel during the polling day, the people especially in Tarai and interlands of Nepal are yet to be assured of full security.

Another threat to the conduct of free and fair polls is the intensity of violence by the armed outfits in Tarai and strained relationships among the political parties themselves. Increasing violation of the election code of conduct can also pose a threat to the coming election and we must be aware of the negative impact of our anti-election activities upon the CA polls.

This election is a victory of Nepalese people but not of any political party in particular. Therefore, we all from political parties to the civil society to the international organizations must work hand in hand to ensure that the election will be conducted free and fair. This will ensure our collective victory and the way ahead. ■

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Peace fund and peace process

Amid hovering clouds, a silver lining appeared in the Himalayan State of Nepal when the underground and outlawed Maoists waging a communist rebellion, agreed to hold talks with the government after 10 years of armed conflict and consequently, did a safe landing with the signing of a peace pact. The Maoists, bidding farewell to arms, however, brought some financial burden on the State when they joined the national mainstream. For instance, the State had to take care of some 30,000 ex-combatants of the Maoists then had to take care of their stay in the cantonments. The ex-military-making arrangements for their stay in the cantonments. The ex-military-making arrangements for their stay in the cantonments. The ex-military-making arrangements for their stay in the cantonments.

For these all tasks to be performed; huge money was needed and as a requirement, the Nepal Peace Trust Fund was set up. The Fund received remarkable response from the donors and there was once Rs 817.4 million in total in its coffers initially. Later, the Fund was also supposed to support the implementation of separate peace agreements with Nepal. Federation of Indigenous Nationalities and Madhesi Jan-with Nepal. Federation of Indigenous Nationalities and Madhesi Jan-aadikar Forum and other disgruntled regional and/or ethnic groups. To perform these all tasks, the money collected so far in the Fund's bank account is not, by any means, enough. As of January 2008, the Fund's balance stands at Rs 258.08 million, of which the donors' contribution remains at Rs 97.52 million. The government's finance ministry has been vocal in saying that not less than Rs 5 billion is currently required to take ahead the peace process and to implement all (new and old) peace agreements. Noteworthy, the reconstruction works in the post-conflict period will require more than Rs 5 billion extra - thus making the total amount to be spent in all peace-related activities worth Rs 10 billion!

Such is the responsibility of the Fund and the government. But less homework has been done in running the Fund under a system and giving it a transparent and accountable structure. Just as an eye-wash, a Peace Fund Secretariat has been set up at the Ministry of Finance. In principle, this secretariat has to keep records of the Fund's performance, develop guidelines for sub-ordinate offices and assess periodic progress of the Fund. However in practice, the secretariat is working merely as a documentation centre for account details submitted to it by other implementing partners. The Fund Secretariat rarely makes a field visit to cross-check if the accounts has been made as per the actual amount spent and if actual progress has been made as per the texts of the financial reports submitted to it. Further, the Fund has no monitoring and evaluation mechanism under which it could detect corruption and irregularities done by the implementing partners. If asked about this loophole, the secretariat officials point back to show one the Office of the Auditor General (OAG) and the Commission for the Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA). It's, however, not a good omen for a body, supposed to carry out works worth Rs 10 billion and supposed to contribute to a lasting peace, not to have their own anti-corruption mechanism and to rely upon the OAG and the CIAA - already overloaded with their own regular duties. It would be better if the Fund, assigned with such a huge task of making peace in a transitional period, is operated under a system. The making peace in a transitional period, five so far, need to develop their own monitoring mechanism for not to rely anymore upon the government's unreliable and weak monitoring tools. ■

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Consensual Crisis

Finally the government was formed in four months after Constituent Assembly (CA) elections. Electing the president, vice-president and the prime minister of Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal was quite hectic as major political parties could not stitch together on consensual positions, "politics of consensus" seems to have been pushed aside if not for good but for now. Animosity and rivalry seen among the smacked of "unhealthy political game" practiced in years after 1990s. A polarization appears to have evolved among the major political parties. People dread this "political cleavage" for its probability to impact at the constitution-making process. The previous political alliance Congress is in the opposition. With this sort of political opposition, it compels us to brood over whether we are departing from "politics of engagement" to "politics of displacement". Prevailing political emity TION WRITING PROCESS".

Given the gravity and significance of the political agendas for which CA has been mandated, the political parties will have to consolidate and glue together their collaboration and alliance until they successfully produce a comprehensive and inclusive constitution for New Nepal. There is a long way to go and the journey ahead is fraught with many new challenges. As every body knows, strength lies in unity and collaboration such political cohesion until the end of ongoing peace process to propel Nepal right into the path of prosperity.

The country is faced with two Herculean tasks—constitution writing and the state restructuring. Therefore, the challenge ahead would be to integrate and forge a consensus on diverse propositions as put forward by the major political parties. As about five months out of two bickering and stagnation, writing constitution within the time agreed is almost impossible until political parties come together and speed up the process with concentration. Wrangling among the parties regarding the political agendas. It won't be unwise to say that constitution-writing in the eclipse and is of the secondary importance compared to power sharing and taking the lead of the government.

The most difficult and uphill task shall be state restructuring process. Political parties have their own priorities and reservations regarding the federal model to be adopted. A diverse range of political basis has been put forward by the political parties that may choke up the federalizing process. No uniformity can be seen in terms of the basis on which the country has to be divided into federal provinces. There are different federal models and basis as there are different parties. Some have come up with ethnicity-based federalism while others put forward region and other dimensions as basis for federalism. The challenge would be to find a middle-way out of the divergent propositions of federalism.

There are quite a number of challenges and threats before a New Nepal is born. The efficiency and political acumen of the parties will reflect in finding amicable solution to the various issues through the consensus. The fear factor is that can our parties be able to revitalize their collaboration until they successfully write the constitution for New Nepal? ■

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