

ROLE OF MEDIA IN FOREIGN POLICY: A CASE STUDY OF NEPAL

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

I certify that this dissertation entitled “**The Role of Media in Foreign Policy: A Case Study of Nepal**” was prepared by **Ashok Poudel** under my supervision. I hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination by the Research Committee, Department of International Relations and Diplomacy, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for **MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY**.

.....

Assistant Prof. Prem Khanal

Supervisor

Date: August, 2019

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that it contains no materials previously published. I have not used its materials for the award of any kind and any other degree. Where other author's sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.

Ashok Poudel

Date: August, 2019

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the role of media in foreign policy process and it particularly focus on Nepali context. This dissertation studies the media news and its effect on foreign policy process. Media has been working as a watchdog, source of information, opinion maker and catalyst during the development of different policies in national and international level.

In this globalized world, media is increasingly enjoying a position of considerable importance throughout the international system precipitated by information explosion that is taking place in the world. In international community media is the important channel of communication among the governments of different nations, non-governmental organizations, international institutions and organizations and other non-state entities. In this modern era different kind of mass media and social media has important role in policy process and change.

Without an understanding of the political functions of media and its influence on the nations, it is not possible to provide a comprehensive picture of their impacts on the states and international relations and their foreign policies. So, this thesis clarifies the overall role of media in domestic and international politics and policies.

This thesis concludes that foreign policy decision making process takes place within the environment partly created by the media. The media-created atmosphere reflects the foreign policy events. Media is involved in all stages of foreign policy formulation processes and that political leaders take the media into consideration in its national and international aspects.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

B.S.	: Bikram Sambat
CMDP	: Citizens Movement for Democracy and Peace
ICCPR	: International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights
IR	: International Relations
MoFA	: Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organization
NTV	: Nepal Television
P.	: Page number
SAARC	: South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation
UDHR	: Universal Declaration on Human Rights
UN	: United Nations
UNESCO	: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The world of the twenty-first century is characterized by interdependency nature. States are the prime actors of the international system which are concerned with their own security and national interest. In this age of globalization all the states are highly interdependent and no nation can remain in isolation. So, there are always reasons for interactions among the actors of world community to form international processes. Their interactions are best reflected on the policies adopted by the state towards other states. These policies are generally known as foreign policies which involve regulating and conducting external relations of the state with respect to other in the international scenario. Foreign policies are the strategies that the state uses to guide its action towards other states. Like internal and domestic politics, a state should pay special attention to the careful formulation and successful execution of foreign policy. It is only through the adoption of sound foreign policy and its effective implementation that a nation's sovereignty is preserved, international dignity is enhanced and the national interest promoted (Thapa, 2014, p 1).

A vigilant foreign policy enhances a nation's power and prestige in the comity of nations. Achievement in foreign policy also increases the government's credibility in the eyes of public internally as well as externally (Malhotra, 2014, p. 156). So foreign policy has always remained a very sensitive issue for every policy maker. A nation's foreign policy is formulated on the basis of its position vis-à-vis of the states in the international system. Since it is too hard for a country to remain in isolation, it must follow the established pattern of relationship with other and act accordingly.

A state must set up the long term and short term objectives clearly to maximize the benefits it can acquire from the established system (Khanal, 2009, p.98). In such situations, it becomes the primary responsibility of every state to adopt the adequate policy to serve their interest. Though the interest of the state may vary from time to time, it can best be preserved by adopting reasonable foreign policy. Foreign policy consists of long-term goals set by a nation state in its relations with its immediate neighbors, and other international powers that it has to deal with in promoting its own national interest. Foreign relations of a nation are, therefore, determined by geography, history, language, religion and culture, economy, military capability, trade and political leadership. Nepal's relations with other countries are also determined by the same factors. And media is one of the determining factors of the foreign policy.

Media is the reflection of society and it depicts what and how society works. Media, either it is printed, electronic or the web is the only medium, which helps in making people informed. It also helps in entertaining the public, educate and make people aware of the current happenings. Media has today become the voice of society (Singh and Pandey,2017). Media is a powerful tool that helps to influence the thoughts and perception of people towards an issue. The role of media is not just about providing the information but it is also about being correct and independent.

Nepal is a democratic country and media has established deep roots in the country. It plays a vital role in informing citizens about the developments and progress of the society. Media does not only make democracy to function in its true spirit but also helps citizens to make informed choices. So, in order for the media to

work properly, it should be free from political and governmental pressures to ensure that media is playing a significant role in democracy.

In Nepal, political system is close in spirit to the model of liberal democracy. In the constitution of Nepal, the power of the legislature, executive and judiciary have been thoroughly demarcated. There is a competition among the party system that are in operation with flexibility of roles of government and opposition.

According to H.R. Mehraj media have made the world smaller and closer, the speed of media has resulted in bringing people across the world closer. Events, happy or sad, happening anywhere can be seen live. Sometimes people feel that the entire world is one big family. You might have heard the term “global village” (Mehraj, 2014).

The role of media in Nepal is different from merely disseminating information and entertainment. Mass media is one of the best means of recreation. Television, radio, internet are the best means of entertainment and extremely informative. Social media keeps us up to date with the happenings around the world (Bhatt, 2014). Media is not only a powerful tool but also it has the ability to make and break the opinion of the citizens and policy makers.

The success of Peoples' Movement II in can be taken as a strong example where media helped to make our society democratic by placing emphasis on issues that were suppressed. For the proper functioning of a democratic system, there is necessity of transparency and accountability (Onta, 2006). The peace of Nepal has been snatched away due to a strong nexus between corruption and democrats intertwined by politics.

In the transition period of Nepal, media plays an important role in providing the true facts to Nepalese people, which could influence them to choose the government by whom people want to be governed.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The researcher has found a considerable number of studies on the relations between foreign policy and media, role of media in foreign policy formulations and practices. Nevertheless, the role of media in foreign policy with the particular case study of Nepal has not been studied yet. The researcher has tried to address this research gap. This research study has contributed in the literatures of media's role on foreign policy decision making.

1.3 Research Questions

- I. What is the role of media in foreign policy process and practices?
- II. How has media influenced on the international relations of states?
- III. What is the role of media in Nepal's foreign policy formulation process and practices?

1.4 Research Objectives

- I. To assess the role of media in foreign policy making process and practices.
- II. To analyze the influence of media on the international relations of states.
- III. To explore the media's role in Nepal's foreign policy formulations and practices.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The media have often been referred to as the 'Fourth Estate' – as a platform for public debate, a guardian of the public interest, a link between the state and its

citizens and a watchdog for democracy (Coronel 2002). While this is true for most liberal democracies, it might be considered imperative for emerging democracies. Paul Collier has famously described how the media, especially those in poor and fragile countries, have ‘a role of keeping governments honest’ (Collier, 2004). This function, he described, was especially pertinent where there was an absence of formal institutions that would otherwise have performed similar functions.

The media have also evolved very rapidly with the rapid change in information and communication technologies, as have communicative practices. There is a fear that growing commercialization and commoditization of the media and waning ethical values in the wake of commercial and political ambitions, will pose a challenge to media continuing to play a role in positive social change globally (Bertrand 2000). This may be more relevant for fledgling democracies and nations in transition following conflict.

Within the media background and national context discussed, there is clearly a lack of empirical research to substantiate the media’s role in advancing democracy, or in explaining the challenges that impede or inhibit such a role for the media in Nepal’s transition. The significance of this research is justified with respect to the complexities of Nepal’s critical transition, the contested views of its radical and the potential of the media to enable deliberation, negotiation, consensus and peace. By analyzing the opportunities for the media in Nepal’s transition to democracy and also the challenges that thwart its greater role as a public good, and by reviewing media policy in post-conflict Nepal, this research explores the situation and role of the media in Nepal Foreign Policy over the past two decades.

1.6 Limitations of the Research

This has been a qualitative study in nature. Since this research was primarily based on secondary data rather than primary data. This study has primarily been focused on the case study method.

This study was limited in scope since it analyzed only the role of media on foreign policy formulations. Furthermore, the study was limited to the case study of Nepal.

This study was limited to the realism and liberalism theories of international relations and agenda setting, cultivation, social learning theories of media. The availability of resources is very limited related to the topic. The research is very much depend on the information available on, the relevant organizations' websites, journal, research articles, and reports and will be based very less on book as books on the topic are very less.

Finding policy gaps is highly challenging because of very limited publication of the literatures or information yet the researcher has gathered as many instances on the policy gaps as possible.

1.7 Outline of the Study

The following will be the order of the chapters for the thesis:

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework and Research Methodology

Chapter 4: Media and Foreign Policy of Nepal

Chapter 5: Role of Media in Domestic and International Politics and Diplomacy

Chapter 6: Analysis and Discussion

Chapter 7: Summary and Conclusion

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

International system is composed of different actors which has a continuous interaction among themselves. Various actors in the global system interact with each other for the purpose of protecting and promoting their national interest. Every actor and their behavior are determined by the fundamental instinct that is national interest. The way of dealing or the pattern of interaction of an actor with the other actor is mostly influenced by the core thinking of national interest. By taking this fact into mind, every actor is guided by certain policy. Such policy pursued by a nation while dealing with the other is generally known as foreign policy.

2.1 Definition of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy has been defined by several scholars and thinkers on their own accord. It refers to the ways in which the central governments of sovereign states relate to each other and to the global system in order to achieve various goals or objectives (Jaiswal, 2016, p.2). A foreign policy is generally designed to help, protect and promote country's national interests, security, economic prosperity and independent international image. According to Robert Jackson and Georg Soresen (2013, p. 252) "foreign policy is the management of external relations and activities of nation states, as distinguished from their domestic policy. It involves goals, strategies, measures, methods, guidelines, directives understandings, agreement and so on, by which national governments conduct international relations with each other and with international organization and nongovernmental actors". "Foreign policy", as Schleicher views "refers to the actions (including the words) of government officials to influence human behavior beyond the jurisdiction of their own state. In a broader sense, foreign policy includes the objective, plans and actions taken by a state related

to its external relationship" (quoted, Malhotra, 2014, p. 156). "Foreign policy", according to Padelford and Lincoln, "is the key element in the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into concrete courses of action to attain those objectives and preserve its interests" (Quoted, Thapa, 2014, p.2). In the words of Rodee "Foreign policy involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behavior pattern of a state while negotiating with other states to protect or further its vital interests (Quoted in Dahal, 2009:21).

On the whole, it can be said that foreign policy is the instrument to promote national interest. It is the policy pursued by a state in course of dealing with international community. It is the guideline on the basis of which a state conducts its foreign relations and behaves at international level.

Besides the above definition, foreign policy analysis is based on a broader context of academic knowledge. The concept is determined by several theories. Though theory and policy does not necessarily lead to any one clear policy option, in most cases there will be several different options. Even so, the choice of theory how policy makers view the world is likely to affect the choice of policy (Jackson and Sorensen, 2013, p.252). However, there are two broad theories with different values emphasizes in the formulation of policy that is realism and liberalism.

2.1.1 Realism

Realism is a school of thought that explains international relations in terms of power (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2008, p. 43). It is based on pessimistic view of human nature. Humans are self interested and egoistic. The relations are conflictive and may always lead to war and foreign policy decision making is influenced by the value of national security and state survival (Jackson and Sorensen, 2013, p. 312).

Realism is based on a view of the individual as primarily selfish and power seeking. Individuals are organized in states, each of which acts in a unitary way in pursuit of its own national interest (Mingst, 2004, p. 66). So, the main concern of foreign policy makers is to manage their insecurity.

2.1.2 Liberalism

The liberal approach, on the other hand, emphasizes the great potential for human progress in modern civil society and the capitalist economy, both of which can flourish in states which guarantee individual liberty. Freedom and democracy are the core values of relations of this school of thought. The liberalists are more optimistic about the prospects for peace and see the rules of international relations as slowly, incrementally evolving through time and potentially becoming more and more peaceful (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2008, p. 84). This evolution results primarily from the gradual build up of international organization and mutual cooperation and secondarily from changes in norms and public opinion.

The above theories are very relevant in the analysis of the patterns and trends of Nepalese foreign policy. Nepal's geostrategic position sometimes overrides the basic assumptions of the established theories. From realistic point of view, Nepal has been struggling hard for its survival since the very beginning of nation building. Preservation of national independence has long been the most formidable problem of Nepalese foreign policy. According to liberalists, "relations between liberal states will be collaborative and cooperative" (Jackson and Soresen, 2013, p. 309). But it could not be realized while making analysis of foreign policy of Nepal and its immediate neighbors. The specific policies pursued by the various governments may have varied from time to time in accordance with changing circumstances, but certain basic

considerations have delimited both the style and the content of their responses to external influence and challenge (Rose: 1971, p. 277).

2.2 Communication and Media Theories

Communication is the process of sending and receiving messages through verbal or nonverbal means, including speech, or oral communication; writing and graphical representations and signs, signals, and behavior. Here some communication and media theories has been explain and use how media communicate or broadcast information to the large scale of mass.

2.2.1 Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda Setting Theory states that mass media organizations determine what the general population considers newsworthy by deciding how much attention a news story receives. The term salience transfer is commonly used and refers to the ability of the media to transfer their agendas onto the public.

The agenda setting theory of mass media has played a crucial role in determining on how the mass media affects the media audiences since the conception of the theory (Mohd Zain, 2014).

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on how the mass media affects the media audiences since the conception of the theory.

2.2.2 Cultivation Theory

Cultivation Theory argues media shapes a person's sense of reality. Because many acquire information through mediated sources rather than direct experience, their world view becomes influenced by these sources.

Cultivation theory suggests that the entire value system made of ideologies, assumptions, beliefs, images and perspectives is formulated, to a great extent, by television (Mosharafa, 2015). TV portrays hidden and pervasive values, rules, and moral for what is right, what is important, and what is appropriate in a social discourse in an invisible manner.

2.2.3 Social Learning Theory

Social Learning Theory argues that people learn from each other through observing, imitating, and modeling the behaviors, attitudes, and emotional reactions of others. Social learning theory explains how human behavior can be shaped by continuous reciprocal interaction between cognitive, behavioral, an environmental influences.

2.3 Objectives of Foreign Policy

No doubt, a nation formulates its foreign policy keeping in view of its various national interests and objectives. For this, general, internal and external determinants also play varying degree of role due to which foreign policy takes different terms and shape in different countries. The view of policymakers a country's approach towards outside world is likely to affect the choice of policy. Policy of isolation, policy of special relation, policy of equidistance, policy of zone of peace, policy of

nonalignment and the policy of equi-proximity have remained the major foreign policy choices of Nepal.

Foreign policy is to enhance the dignity of the nation by safeguarding sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, and promoting economic wellbeing and prosperity of a country. It is also aimed at contributing to global peace, harmony and security. Foreign Policy helps to promote our culture, religion and helps to maintain peace and harmony in the world. It is a way to interact with different countries. A country's foreign policy is a set of goals that seeks to outline how that particular country will interact with other countries of the world and, to a lesser extent, non-state actors.

2.4 Objective of Nepal's Foreign Policy

According to Ministry of Foreign Affairs website the fundamental objective of the foreign policy is to enhance the dignity of Nepal in the international arena by maintaining the sovereignty, integrity and independence of the country.

Guiding Principles

The foreign policy of Nepal is guided by the abiding faith in the UN and policy of nonalignment. The basic principles guiding the foreign policy of the country include:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
2. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs
3. Respect for mutual equality
4. Non-aggression and the peaceful settlement of disputes
5. Cooperation for mutual benefit

2.5 Media in Nepal

Media was one sector that recorded extraordinary growth after the restoration of multiparty democracy in Nepal in 1990. This growth was measurable not only in terms of the number of media outlets coming into operation but also in terms of the ownership, with a distinct shift from government owned to the private sector; and in terms of decentralization with more media organizations coming into existence outside of the capital city, Kathmandu (Onta 2006).

According to Michael Hutt, discourses and assumptions about globalization fail to take into account the boom in local language media that has been a phenomenon in South Asia in the past three decades (2006). Hutt explains this boom as a consequence of the liberal market policies adopted by national governments of these countries and also due to technological advances in the print and broadcast industry. The growth in the number of print dailies is also attributed to the growth in literacy in these countries that has led to increase in mass readership, mostly in local languages. Print, along with the broadcast media, constitutes the single largest influence on public opinion in South Asia (Hutt 2006; Onta 2006).

By the year 2006, the Nepali media scenario had grown into one incomparable to that of a decade earlier, with the print and the radio sectors at the fore-front of this growth (Onta 2006). As of mid-2009, around 160 independent FM radio stations had begun to broadcast their programs on a regular basis while the total number of stations that had been officially licensed for operation stood at 323 (Bhattarai & Ojha 2010). This rapid growth in the radio broadcasting sector can be attributed to the difficult geographic terrain and the fact that radio signals may be the only form of media communication to reach populations in large parts of the remote mountains of Nepal.

Another factor is also the low adult literacy levels in Nepal although there has been an increase from 48.61 percent in 2001 to 57.4 percent in 2011 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2013).

2.6 Media History in Nepal

‘Gorkhapatra’ was the first newspaper in Nepal, which began publishing in 1901AD as a State organ. Dev Shamsher, the Rana ruler who was seen as being too liberal in his approaches and actions, the initiation of the newspaper being one, was toppled from power after only three months in office. The newspaper survived and with ‘The Rising Nepal’, ‘Radio Nepal’ and ‘Nepal Television’, remained the powerful media institutions – all State owned. In the period before 1990, there were only a few non state media, most of which had their connections to one or more of the banned political parties (Hutt 2006).

The period after 1990 saw a dramatic increase in not only the number of print newspapers and magazines but also in their quality. According to the Press Council of Nepal (2001), one thousand six hundred twenty newspapers were being published on a regular basis in Nepal. Similarly in same council report, the vast majority (1,156) were weekly papers, whereas 230 were dailies and between them vast majority (1,345) were published in Nepali, with 61 published in English and a further 130 appearing in Nepali and English (Press Council Nepal 2001). Of significance for Nepali public opinion in this period of media boom was the establishment in 1993 of the broadsheet dailies Kantipur (in Nepali) and The Kathmandu Post (in English), whose production quality and editorial standards set them apart as market leaders. Other publications that followed in terms of their circulation and readership included Nepal Samacharpatra, Himalaya Times, Rajdhani and Spacetime Dainik (in Nepali),

and the Himalayan Times and Spacetime Daily (in English). The emergence of higher standard dailies saw the decline in the market of the more cheaply produced tabloids that were most popular in the pre-1990 era. Likewise, the 1990s also saw a rapid growth in the number of high-quality news magazines (Hutt 2006).

The government owned Nepal Television (NTV) was the only television channel until 2002 AD. since its inception in 1984AD. It stayed in operation by producing its own programs or by selling slots to private and NGO operators. Upon opening of the sector to private operators, by 2006 AD there were about 10 television channels broadcasting at a national level utilizing both terrestrial and satellite broadcast technologies. The Internet and related services had also begun to influence the Nepali media scape since the mid-90s, however, this influence was limited to the more affluent, urban youth and professionals (Onta 2006). The potential for internet and internet based media services can be seen more in serving the growing Nepali Diaspora, but there is also the potential for its rapid growth within Nepal provided connectivity is made cheaper and software and language adaptations are made to customise the services to the average Nepali (ibid).

2.7 The Media Role

According to Chanan Naveh (2012), foreign policy decision-making described the media mainly (if at all) as a channel for delivering messages during the process, but the reality of the last decades reveals that this point-of-view minimizes the actual role of the media, which is much more complex. The media – TV, press, radio and new multimedia technologies – are not only channels; they also play a far more important role in the process. The media are a crucial part of the foreign policy decision-making environment, an environment which should not be regarded only as

the input stage of the process, but much more as a general context, and as an output environment in which leaders make policies.

In his investigative report titled *Radio and the Recent Political Changes in Nepal*, Onta (2008) describes radio as a medium for citizen expression and public engagement. He cites radio's large coverage, citizens' access to radio and the plurality in terms of language of broadcast as the main reasons for the popularity of radio as a medium. He describes the role of the media, radio in particular, in providing a platform for political debate, for creating pressure on political parties and for voicing their desire for peace. Likewise, the Citizens Movement for Democracy and Peace (CMDP) following the King's taking over of absolute State power in 2005, was instrumental in bringing about the final demise of the king's rule. The media had a vital role in supporting the CMDP by providing a shared public space and by giving priority coverage to its activities (Chhetri 2010). In the time of peoples' movement 2006 AD media had vital role to set the agenda of people republic. According to Kanak Mani Dixit the independent media of Nepal has been credited with 'rescuing democracy', for its crucial role in creating pressure that led to the restoration of the parliament in 2006, following the king's taking over of the state power in 2005 (Dixit, K 2008).

The period during and after the conflict Nepali media has been in difficult time. It is true that the environment for investigating and covering stories has been much more liberal since 1990, but numerous cases of kidnapping, torture and even killing of journalists have been witnessed in this period (Ghimire 2010; Jha 2009). The period following the royal takeover in 2005 was a particularly dark era for media in Nepal with enforced censorship, coercion, harassment and imprisonment of media

workers. The period also brought about unprecedented solidarity and resolve among the media fraternity and the royal move and pressure on media were resolutely opposed (International Federation of Journalists 2005). Ghimire (2010) describes the current political trend as being increasingly hostile towards media freedom and the principles of media independence. Ghimire recounts that at least 27 media-people have lost their lives in the 10 years of conflict and that the trend of brutal attacks on those with differing ideology or opinion will have a damaging psychological effect on media workers, especially women.

The above discussion has revolved around the role that the media in Nepal have had in the past. There is also the role for the media in addressing issues concerning its peace process and ensuring that violent conflict does not recur. But for that to happen, there first needs to be an environment that supports freedom of expression. Environments with violence can disrupt people's daily lives and limit freedom of expression. Under such circumstances where there is threat to their lives and the media business, reporters, journalists and newsrooms often exercise self-censorship (Waisbord 2007). Public authority, peace, stability and security are not only essential but also crucial for public debate and deliberative argument to take place. Waisbord describes the situation where the State is unable to perform key functions related to maintaining order, security and rule of law as a situation of statelessness.

2.8 Role of Media in Conflict management and Peace-Building

Situations of statelessness inhibit a functioning market economy including commercial networks that are crucial for the emergence of modern media and for their economic self-sustainability (ibid). Thriving media market is essential for ensuring

diversity of media products and representing the political and cultural diversity prevalent in Nepali society. While democratic institutions including international agencies and NGOs have a crucial role in providing a platform for and encouraging public debates around pressing issues, they are usually not in a position to enforce international or local laws to curb violence and provide justice. These are essentially the functions of the state and governments and that is why the state has a crucial role in ensuring freedom of expression and a free democratic media and this developed media plays an influential role in the decision making or foreign policy making and implementation..

According to Skuse and Adams (2000), media interventions related to conflict may be useful in three scenarios – latent conflict, open conflict and post-conflict. Political, religious, economic or ethnic tensions within societies may be referred to as latent or simmering conflict as they have the potential to grow into full-blown conflicts. Countries where civilians are involved in violent armed conflict may be said to suffer from open conflict. Like Nepal, countries that have reached peace agreements and are in the process of consolidating peace through reconciliation and reconstruction may be recognized as being in a post-conflict transition phase. The need for information is crucial for people caught in conflict. More often than not, other forms of communication like telephones and transportation may be disrupted in conflict zones, making mass media the only means of reaching large numbers of people and communities (ibid). The media therefore have an important role in reducing conflict, in the dissemination of essential humanitarian information and in strengthening civil society.

Waisbord (2007) argues that an independent media is not possible or viable in the absence of a functioning state. He stresses that even with the presence and support of international agencies, non-government organizations and international media organizations and networks, there are certain functions that only the state can perform effectively. These include maintaining order, security and rule of law. He compares an intrusive or interfering state to a state in chaos, or even to statelessness, when it comes to the safeguard of freedom of expression. He adds that the absence of state generally leads to violence against the media, depletion of its economic basis and inhibits the rule of law.

Again, there are both optimistic and pessimistic views with regards to the media's role for peace and democracy building. The optimistic school points to recent expansion in liberal democracy, global campaigns supporting freedom of expression, information technologies and the upending of traditional relationship between political authority and popular will. These have helped pave the way for the less powerful to organize, coordinate and have their voices heard and opinions expressed (Gladwell 2010; Waisbord 2007). In addition there has been an emergence of professional reporting culture and ethics through training and exposure to western media, factors that can support the practice of democratic journalism.

Waisbord describes how skeptics on the other hand, consider media concentration, authoritarian media policies and constraints to a free media to be an outcome of transition to liberal democracies. There is such a fear that trend will limit the role of media as a vehicle for public expression and for political accountability (ibid). Their fears include the potential for formation of media conglomerates, their

influence on media policy and the resulting ‘control’ of media through legislation and economic measures.

As has been discussed above, not everybody is convinced about the role of media in conflict management and peace-building. Nik Gowing (2000) asserts that assumptions about the pivotal role of media coverage in conflict management and prevention are ambiguous, unclear and often misconstrued. He adds that assumptions and analyses around the media's role in situations of conflict are instinctive and often skewed due to the lack of rigorous analysis as compared to the emotions of anecdotal comments. He refers to the ‘CNN factor’ – the creation of woeful, heart-breaking images for citizens as justification or rationale for engaging in war – as not having a direct causal relationship with policy decisions to engage or not engage in war. In fact, he argues, most people involved in making policy decisions consider such coverage trite and crude.

Gowing (ibid) laments that the quality and skills of professional journalists and journalism have not matched advances in technology supporting real-time reporting from zones of conflict. He regrets that the trend has been more towards the ‘superficial and sensational’ with ill informed reporting and dependence on second or third hand information as opposed to primary data. He also points to the modern day trend of comment and opinion journalism as being a barrier to clear and impartial understanding of a conflict and its root causes (ibid). While the lack of quality reporting may be partially attributed to the weaknesses in reporting from zones of conflict, he admits that it is also difficult to report in a balanced and accurate manner operating within the constraints of a complex conflict.

Regarding the role of the media in calling attention to international interventions in preventing or managing a conflict, Gowing (ibid) asserts that it is the national interests of countries rather than the emotive power of the media that lead to their involvement in such intervention. Gowing (ibid, pp. 5, 6) asserts that it was a result of a fundamental reassessment of U.S. interests at the time rather than media pressure 'to do something', that led to the change in stance of the Clinton administration and to the consequent U.S. action in managing the crisis in Bosnia in 1995.

Gowing further argues that there is hardly any evidence to suggest that pre-emptive media coverage would lead to pre-emptive diplomatic action on the part of nations to prevent a conflict from developing. Two types of international inaction have been witnessed in the wake of conflict (ibid). The first was a case where the international community shied from intervening when Russia attacked Chechenya in December 1994. Although there was ample media reporting of the conflict accompanied by the gruesome images of conflict, the international community chose not to act, citing that it would be a violation of Russian sovereignty. The second is the case of Burundi in the period between 1993 and 1996. A marginal, sporadic and inconsistent coverage by the international media and subsequent lack of political intervention by the international community, including the United Nations, led to about 100 deaths a day. Gowing (ibid) asserts that the west did not intervene in Burundi because it was not of strategic interest for them. This failure to intervene led to the loss of approximately 150,000 lives in a span of three years.

International media reporting and coverage of an issue and the treatment of stories will vary according to national and regional agendas and interest, and the

physical distance from the event. A crisis in one part of the world may be of little relevance to another region. A story that attracts minimal national interest and is physically unfolding far away will most likely not generate more than a passing interest. While news stories and events in the Pacific Island countries will probably be of strategic importance and relevance to the Australian state and its citizens, the same may not be true for most European countries. While conflicts in Africa may have otherwise been of least importance to the Nepali media, the picture changes once there are Nepali soldiers in the United Nations peacekeeping missions in those countries or regions.

While the above discussions support the notion that the media are generally useful in such situations, there are also valid arguments to suggest media interventions are not the magic bullet for preventing conflict or for building peace and maintaining foreign policy. They are most effective when they are pitched at the community level and in tackling a dispute that is neither too embedded in society nor too large in scale to be realistically addressed (Skuse & Adam 2000).

While the role of media in establishing peace is important, media organizations themselves are usually restrained in their operations during conflict situations due to threats, insecurity, self-censorship and economic reasons. Despite adverse situations, independent media assume greater importance in developing pressure for good governance among governments in post-conflict transition, especially as their institutions are weak and divided.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Conceptual Framework

3.1.1 Theoretical Framework

The realist and the liberal school of thought in international relations and the agenda setting, the cultivation and the social learning theories have served as the theoretical frameworks of the study.

3.1.2 Framework of Study

- Step 1: To study the role of media in foreign policy formulations.
- Step 2: To discuss the influence of media in the relations of states.
- Step 3: To explore the role of media in the foreign policy practices of Nepal.
- Step 4: To excavate the measures to promote constructive role of media in the foreign policy formulations of Nepal.

3.2 Research Methodology

The research methodology of the study is qualitative in study. The source of data is secondary. The case study method is used.

3.2.1 Research Design

The research is qualitative in nature. The research studies the influence of Media in Foreign policy of Nepal especially after 1990. The design is descriptive and exploratory. It is entirely a library based research. The research is done based on the

available literatures, books, articles and journals written in this regard for answering the research questions.

3.2.2 Study Area

The research is based on the secondary data which includes book, articles, reports, publication working in a particular area and online materials so it is conducted on the libraries of Kathmandu.

3.2.3 Nature and sources of data

The study is qualitative in nature. This is a library-based research, so the research collected ample secondary data from books, articles, reports, publication working in a particular area, along with the online materials available on the websites of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA).

3.2.4 Tools and techniques of data collection and analysis

The research uses following tools and techniques of data collection.

(i) Content Analysis

This research conducted content analysis of documents and texts. It referred to and analyzed Newspaper Articles/Reports, relevant scholarly articles, published books, and data available from MoFA.

3.3 Chapter Outlines

Chapter 1: Introduction

This introductory part sets the background of the study and includes the statement of problem, objectives, significance, delimitations, methodology and organization of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Literature by various scholars in the foreign aid and the role of media in foreign policy and the examples of different countries and regions were reviewed in order to create a discussion on the relevant matters of the study.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework and Methodology

This chapter includes:

-) Theoretical framework
-) Framework of the study
-) Research Methodology
-) Research Design
-) Study Area
-) Nature and Sources of Data
-) Tools and Techniques of Data Collection and Analysis

Chapter 4: Media and Foreign Policy of Nepal

This section of the study includes the constitutional provision on foreign policy and constitutional provision about media of Nepal.

Chapter 5: Role of Media in Domestic and International Politics and Diplomacies

This chapter dealt with the analysis of the role of media in diplomacy, maintaining International Relation, international politics and media's power in the domestic politics.

Chapter 6: Analysis and Discussion

The chapter discussed and analyzed the findings of research.

Chapter 7: Summary and Conclusion

The final chapter concluded the thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR: MEDIA AND FOREIGN POLICY OF NEPAL

This chapter deals with the media and its influence on foreign policy. Similarly, the constitutional role of foreign policy and media are discussed. The relationship between the role of media and foreign policy discourse has been contested towards the degree of influencing one another. Different scholars have argued over the thesis of foreign policy influences media or media influences foreign policy. These arguments have been researched and debated over time but “the issue remains undecided” (Malek & Weigand 1997, p.21).

Piers Robinson pointed out about the two schools of thought in understanding media influencing policy or policy influencing media. He argued reviewing the theory of manufacturing consent and role of media in conflict of different researches concluded that two models should be taken together to provide “a starting point for a two-way understanding of direction of influence between media and the state that builds upon rather than rejecting existing theoretical account” (Robinson, 2001, p.541).

Malek & Wiegand (1997) in their chapter *News Media and Foreign Policy: An integrated review* explained that there are three ways of media influence. They have pointed out the influence to be active, passive and neutral. Explaining works about different researches conducted by different scholars they pointed out that that media play a highly active role in influencing decisions made in the foreign policy arena, where media is viewed as watchdog and an independent observer. Some scholars view media as a pawn in the political game, where media serve as an instrument in the actual implementation of foreign policy. Similarly, third aspect of media influence is that neither media nor the government or political force are manipulative as extreme

positions do not suggest nor do they work together to manipulate public opinion (Malek & Wiegand 1997, p.4).

4.1 Constitutional Provisions on Foreign Policy

The Directive Principles and the State Policy as mentioned in part 4 of the Constitution of Nepal, identify the cardinal principles, parameters, and general directions of Nepal's foreign policy. They are:

4.1.1 Directive Principle

The State shall, in its international relations, be guided by the objective of enhancing the dignity of the nation in the international arena by maintaining international relations on the basis of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and national interest of the country.

4.1.2 State Policy

The foreign policy of Nepal shall be based on the principles of the United Nations Charter, nonalignment, the principles of Panchsheel, international law and the norms of world peace. (Clause 35.21)

The State shall pursue a policy of making continuous efforts to institutionalize peace in Nepal through international norms and values, by promoting cooperative and good relations in economic, social and other spheres with neighboring friendly nations and all other countries of the world, on the basis of equality. (Clause 35.22)

4.1.3 Policy

In accordance with the overriding objective and the fundamental principles guiding the foreign policy of the country Nepal has been pursuing a policy of making continuous efforts to institutionalize peace by promoting cooperative and good relations in the economic, social and other spheres on the basis of equality with neighboring and all other countries of the world. Being desirous of promoting cordial relations and cooperation with other countries, Nepal has established Diplomatic Relations with 168 countries in the world. It is an active member of the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations, its Specialized Agencies as well as other International Organizations, and a founding member and active player in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Nepal website 2019).

4.2 Constitutional provisions about Media of Nepal

The political changes of the country directly affect the development of mass media and foreign policy as well. The year 1990 witnessed a significant political change in Nepal. A popular mass movement resulted the fall of party less Panchayat regime (Onta, 2014). Thus on multiparty democracy was restored, which was ousted about 30 years before. The democratic system is the fertile soil for the development of mass media and journalism. This is true in case of Nepal too. The restoration of democracy has extensive effect in the progress of media field.

The Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 guaranteed freedom of opinion and expression. It is also guaranteed right to press and publication. For the first time in South Asia, this constitution incorporated the right to information. Such

liberal provisions naturally make the environment favorable for the development of mass media (Adhikary, 2008, p.325).

Thus journalism as well as the whole media sector got feeling of security after the restoration of democracy. After restoration of democracy they encouraged investors and many big media houses have been established. Journalism and other forms of mass communication have been become a profession.

The Constitution of Nepal, in principle, is the outcome of the Maoist conflict, people's movements, the Madhesh uprising and other political movements to establish an inclusive democracy. Press freedom, and the underlying principles of it including the freedom of expression and opinion, is important ingredients of democracy. The freedom of expression and mass media are most important freedoms for political freedom, which is the basic foundation of democracy in modern world, the freedom of expression is considered the oxygen of democracy (Dahal, 2008, p.56). The constitutional guarantee of the press freedom is an indicator towards the system of governance. In absence of the constitutional guarantee of press freedom, no government in the world could be considered democratic.

Nepal's foreign policy should be guided by the national interests which are fundamental importance to a sovereign and independent nation (Stiftung , 2012: 16) . As for its execution, we need to make a realistic assessment of the external settings that have a direct bearing on our capability to attain our foreign policy goals and objectives.

It is important to note that nationality, sovereignty, independence, and indivisibility (or territorial integrity) are also stated as fundamental subjects of Nepal's national interest in Article 5 of Part 1 of the Constitution which also states

‘act and conduct against national interest shall be punishable by Federal law’. Besides that, to protect nationality, sovereignty and integrity of Nepal by pledging allegiance to the nation, abide by the constitution and law, compulsorily enlist when the state needs the service and to protect and conserve public property are listed as duties of each citizen in Article 48.

Freedom of opinion and expression is not an absolute right and it’s the global practice to ‘reasonably restrict’ the rights to ensure that the rights do not contradict with other fundamental rights and also to safeguard the State’s existence. In this regard, the list of possible restrictions provided by the Article 19 (3) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) is the guiding principle for any member state in formulating restriction on freedom of expression and opinion.

Under this provision, the ICCPR allows member states to restrict freedom of expression for respect of the rights or reputations of others; and for the protection of national security or of public order, or of public health or morals. Further, such restriction shall have to be provided by law and must be necessary. However, the reasonable restrictions in the Constitution of Nepal 2015 is vague in nature, beyond what is permitted in the ICCPR and open to the arbitrary interpretations. Whereas the restrictions attempt to address the issue of national security, hate speech and human rights, the wordings are such that they leave a lot of blank spaces for interpretations thus pose multiple threats to the press freedom.

Nepal as a member of the international community has assessed and ratified a number of international instruments, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the ICCPR. As a state party to international conventions, Nepal has specific international obligations. Article 2 of the ICCPR requires state party to

respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the ICCPR, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Pursuant to this provision, Nepal is obliged to ensure the rights protected under the ICCPR to everyone within the territory of Nepal. However, the right to freedom of expression and opinion under the new Constitution is guaranteed only to its citizen.

In Article 19, the Constitution has provided for the right to communication. The guarantees provided under right to communication were guaranteed under the right to press and publication (Article 15) in the Interim Constitution. Under this provision the constitution guarantees no prior censorship, no closure/seizure or cancellation of registration for contents and no obstruction in the means of communication, which states:

- (1) There shall be no prior censorship of publications and broadcasting, or information dissemination, or printing of any news item, editorial, article, feature, or other reading material, or the use of audio-visual material by any medium, including electronic publication, broadcasting and printing.
- (2) If there is any broadcasting, publishing or printing, or dissemination of news, article, editorial, feature, or other material through the medium of electronic equipment or the use of visuals or audio-visuals, no radio, television, online publication or any kind of digital or electronic equipment, or press, or other kind of media outlet, shall be closed, seized, or their registration cancelled for publishing, or transmitting, or broadcasting such material.

In Article 27, right to information is guaranteed to every citizen who has the constitutional right to seek and receive information on any matters of concern to her/his interest or of public interest provided that no one shall be deemed to compel any person to provide information on any matter of which confidentiality must be maintained in according to law.

CHAPTER FIVE: ROLE OF MEDIA IN DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND DIPLOMACIES

5.1 Role of Media in Diplomacy

Media diplomacy has become a major instrument of foreign policy, and journalists are more frequently and more intensively engaged in diplomatic events and processes. Sometimes they even initiate diplomatic processes. There are several ways in which the media can help or hinder diplomacy. The media functions both as an independent actor and as a tool in the hands of policymakers and journalists.

Berridge defines diplomacy as the conduct of relations between sovereign states through the medium of officials based at home or abroad. It is the principle means by which states communicate with each other, enabling them to have regular and complex relations. It is the communications system of the international society (Beeridge and Games, 2003). Diplomacy is the conduct of official business by trained personnel representing governments. The purpose of diplomacy is to reach agreement within a framework of policy (Briggs, 1968). Diplomatic missions are expected to protect the sending state in the receiving state. This may be carried out in various ways. The missions exercise vigilance on the many happenings in the host country in order to ensure that no action or situation could possibly have an adverse effect on the sending state. They can attempt to retain a constant level of harmony between the sending state and the receiving state by taking the necessary precautions to avoid any source of conflict between the countries or remedy any uncomfortable situations should they arise. This function goes hand in hand with another function; to act as a source of information to the home country. The information may consist of details of the political, commercial, economic or cultural environment of the host

country, together with developments and changes (Nweke, 2012). The task of negotiation and representation of the sending state to the receiving state is vested in the diplomat. The diplomat's role is to provide information and to negotiate (Christodoulides, 2005)

Diplomatic relations can be carried out via official and formal channels and this is referred to as track one diplomacy, or via unofficial channels, track two diplomacy. Track one diplomacy is the kind practiced by states and international organizations and is characterized by formal rules and international standards by which states abide (Mwagiru, 2000). Track two diplomacy is diplomacy practiced by other actors other than the state and internationally recognized organizations. This method is not bound by bureaucratic structures like states and as such not guided or influenced by formal structures. The media is considered as an actor of track two diplomacy, because of it has influence in international level.

Within political communication literature, there has been a growing realization that the media have an impact on the practice of diplomacy. This has largely led to theoretical discussions including modeling and categorizations of the different ways in which the media can affect diplomatic activity, either supporting or preventing negotiation (Gilboa, 2001). Gilboa distinguishes three models of uses and effects about the way the media are used as a tool of foreign policy and international negotiation: public diplomacy where state and non-state actors use the media to influence public opinion abroad; media diplomacy where officials use the media to communicate with actors and promote conflict resolution; media-broker diplomacy where journalists serve as temporary mediators in international negotiations. For instance President Bill Clinton's administration established *Radio Free Asia* primarily

to promote democracy and protection of human rights in China and *Radio Free Iraq* to undermine the Saddam Hussein administration. The reasoning was that by exposing the Chinese population to world democracies, it would inspire some public unrest and this in turn would encourage democratic change (Willem, 2009).

The multiplicity of actors on the international stage and the growing influence of public opinion as a real and formidable impediment to governmental action necessitate the combination of direct force and alternative means of persuasion. Mass media technology has indeed become an indispensable new weapon in today's wars of influence. Recent years have witnessed the development of an increasingly sophisticated version of state-to-foreign population diplomacy based on the use of the latest communication technologies. This has acquired a central position within a number of foreign affairs systems (Pahlavi, 2012). The media also offers an avenue via which disputing parties can communicate without necessarily meeting face to face.

5.2 Role of media in maintaining International Relation

The conduct of international relations is greatly influenced by how relationships between countries are perceived, which in turn depends on the communication between the countries.

Despite media's unquestioned importance in the conduct of international affairs, it seems that the Studies of International Relations (IR) still fail to address the issue adequately and comprehensively, in addition, less has been done to overcome absence of understanding the communication dimension of international relations. It can be argued that three factors might have played a role to the lack of attention given to the function of media in international relations (Le, 2006): a) insufficient abilities

to work in several languages; b) the definition of the international media echo whose narrowness can make it difficult to collect a large enough corpus; c) and the international relations approach in which media is considered.

The first two factors underline the importance of knowing more than one language to reach different national media reporting on each other's society, in other words, 'the international media echo', the report in one's national media of what is said in another's national media. The third factor suggests that the dominance of realism in traditional International Relations approach has contributed the lack of an improved explanation and understanding of the role of communication and mass media in world affairs. In the classical realist tradition of international politics analysis, the state is considered as the main actor in international arena. Foreign policy should be made by politicians, attuned to the national interest, and free of the influence of extraneous domestic factors such as the news media (Mermin 1999, p. 147). In this realist tradition, which was developed in the 1940s, communication and mass media were not regarded as part of state power, but these were considered as the propaganda 'tools' that states used towards 'others' in interstate conflicts in the international arena.

In the 1970s and 1980s, there were new actors, non-state actors and forces, such as multinational groups and corporations in the international arena, particularly in deal with increasing importance of international political economy. Raising transnational's and interdependence theories argued that these multinational actors changed the traditional balance of power politics by losing state's dominant position in international relations (Brown and Ainley, 2009). The latter part of the 1980s, the entry of postmodernism into international relations encouraged strengthening the non-

state centric discourses, meanwhile civil society organization and individual citizens were recognized as new international actors who expanded their influences across borders to the international level by using the power of new communication technologies and mass media. Thus, a recently growing amount of literature has emerged in International Relations approach in which the role of media is considered in international policy making.

According to the literature of media and politics, the political importance of media can be evaluated in a variety of ways. First, global media has created a 'global village' that point out changes in the way citizens of states view themselves and others. The media supply information, and at the same time shape people's learning process about the world, thus mass media have correspondingly large influence on individuals' picture of the world. In this context, the media become important tools for defining 'in-group' identity against 'out-group' identity based on representing a series of contrasts and oppositions.

By this end, the points of view of others are vital in international relations in terms of construction of allies and enemies of the state. In other words, the media help to construct the reality of international politics.

Second, the political importance of media can be identified by the shifts in the way the state's power configuration. Media are pluralizing forces which work against power's ability to influence and control. Essentially, local, national and international news agencies circulate information and images between countries and form relationships between people from the local level to the international level (BoydBarrett and Rantanen 2001, p. 127).

Third, global media have integrated its audiences to wars, peace and diplomacy process. The global media's efforts to attract public attention bring the crises and conflicts to the top of the agenda to persuade its audiences to pressure and influence government policies. At the same time, governments can also use the media platforms to set their own war agenda to make their views known to the public for their own purposes. The concept of 'the CNN Effect' has referred to this paradigm since the 1990s. In addition to this, the new paradigm of the 2000s which is the internet and all other networked information technologies' influence on the global politics, including democratization and terrorism is called 'the Al-Jazeera Effect' (Seib 2008).

According to these three points, it can be argued that the media's power is discussed divisively in the literature of Media and Politics, particularly in terms of their effects in domestic politics, foreign policy decision-making and distribution of the images of political actors and building a global civil society, public sphere and political activism (De Jong et al. 2005). With a departure from this literature, this article aims to observe the evolution of media's rising role in international politics with a specific focus on the concept of 'the CNN effect' and 'the Al-Jazeera effect'.

This observation serves to find out how the media flow from the U.S. to the rest of the world, so-called CNN effect, constituted a soft power and made the U.S. a global hegemonic power in the 1990s. In the 2000s, the broader range of information technology frames and new networks have been taking place in the form of contra flows against American hegemony.

5.3 The Media's Power in the Domestic Politics

Without an understanding of the media's political functions and their influences on the nations, it is not possible to provide a comprehensive picture of their impacts on the states and international relations and their foreign policies. Thus, this section is devoted to explain five political functions of the media (Kuhn 2007,p. 21), which include information provision, agenda setting, public watchdog, political mobilization and regime legitimating.

The roles of media in expressing, reproducing and spreading information, ideologies and values to wider social and international structures constitute a crucial relationship between society and the media (Richardson 2007, p. 114). These roles make them ideological instruments that produce meanings and naturalize power relations; they become the means to realize domination. The politicians would want to influence the information with the aim of maximizing their voters in order to promote desirable situations and definitions. Thus, the role of media discourse is crucial in the expression of ideas regarding how people think about themselves and other nations. The media select, organize and emphasize particularly news in order to decide what a significant subject for public discussion is. The media cannot force us what to think; but they certainly influence what people think about and how people think about it by their function of agenda building. Sometimes the media act as a window on the political affairs or as megaphones for the messages of politicians. In this case, intensive visibility of an issue in the news is an outcome of shaping the media agenda can be used to persuade or manipulate the public.

According to Nye (2045, p. 3), increased information flows through the media have caused the loss of government's traditional control over information in relation

to politics. The speed in moving information has created a system in which power over information is much more widely distributed, which means decentralization and less official control of government agendas. In that spirit, the media are not just the means of reproduction of power relations, but also pluralizing forces which work against the government's ability to influence and control. The media's acting as the public watchdog works out a check on elite behavior, thus it can help make political actors accountable to the public, assisting in the empowerment of the latter as citizens and voters.

Furthermore, the media can be used for political mobilization by political parties and pressure groups for the purposes of membership recruitment, calling for a public meeting, local party canvassing, protesting, campaigning or a demonstration. The final political function of the media, regime legitimating helps to socialize citizens into acceptance of prevalent social norms and the institutions that embody them; by this way they contribute to the legitimating of the political system. On the other hand the media can trigger to increase levels of political cynicism and voter apathy which can result demobilizing effect or delegitimizing effect at least for some of their audiences (Kuhn 2007:30).

It can be argued that the media's potential is based on to what extent there is political control in the hands of politicians in policy making process in the linkage of media-source balance. The key question in this context is who determines what can be addressed and what cannot. This question is answered in various ways in different theories, in particular in political communication and political economy (Herman and Chomsky 2002). The first one focuses on the power of the words, sounds and images in the media which might have influences on policy. Contradictory, political economy

approach uses the power and ownership relations that determine the structural constraints and communication to analysis the 'influence' on the decision making process.

According to this approach, privately owned media within a liberal state with legal protection of free speech is different from the press which is owned and operated by the political parties or state. For instance, pluralist and democratic governments face more competition in shaping the news than nondemocratic governments. The media would be used for justifying policy decisions of elites and having popular support for it (Roselle 2006:9). In democratic regimes, leaders' powers rely on the public for votes. Thus, they use media to explain and legitimize policies, which means media are the fourth estate acting as a protector against unrestrained power, in other words they are independent watchdogs of the system.

In addition to democracy, unlimited freedom of the news market does not guarantee the ideal of freedom of communication (Keohane 1991). Marketing justifies privileging of corporate speech and of more choice to investors than to citizens. Here, the most important point is the empowerment of citizens and not just the satisfaction of citizens as consumers. In this context, a third way can be purposed: 'heterarchy' of communication media which are controlled neither by the state nor commercial market. Functioning of healthy public sphere can be improved in publicly founded, non profit and legally guaranteed media institution of civil society.

The rise in non-state actors offers competing views, information, and foreign policies to government views, information, and foreign policy that may undermine states' ability to influence media coverage of foreign policy. The development of a plurality of non-state media of communication which both functions as permanent

thorns in the side of political power and serves the primary means of communication for citizens' living, working, loving, quarrelling and tolerating others within a genuinely pluralist society. In a nutshell, what is spoken and known in a society depend on the role of the television, freedom of expression, accession to media and news values in the society.

5.4 The Media's Power in International Politics

The domestic and global public opinion have become key factors in the formulation of foreign policy in the age of mediation. Before this period, international politics were carried out mostly behind closed doors in secrecy (McNair 1998, p. 177). Throughout the twentieth century, the media have been used by governments to influence public opinion on foreign policies of states in their favour. By an examination of the British Foreign Office, Cohen (1986) found that at the level of policy implementation, government departments, individual officials and ministers use mass media as direct channels to foreign societies in the purpose of explaining policy to overseas publics to advance or conceal policy opinions. (Cohen, p.52) noted that politicians use mass media in international negotiations in order to manipulate international public sphere and other governments. It can be described as an indirect media impact that mainly depend on pressure from the government's supporters and interest groups that can result to policy change at the planning stage of a decision in foreign policy.

Specifically, during the Cold War the United States had used the media in getting its ideological message out in the rest of the world. Together with its hard power and economical means, the media had contributed to the empowerment of US hegemony. The media flows from the US to the other countries worked to spread its

anti-communist propaganda and to provide reassurance to its alliances that the transatlantic perspective was valid against the Soviet threat. Tactical disinformation about opposing forces undermined the Soviet attempts and manipulated international public opinion.

Regarding this, (McNair,1999) worked on the examples from the East West relations in the Cold war period and claimed that the nature of 'the enemy' changed because of manipulating symbols and images in the media. His work illustrated that the media made an important contribution to international relations as the tools of distribution of political actors' images.

CNN began in the 1980s with a goal of the 24 hour span of international news available with the local reporters from the different parts of the world. During China's Tiananmen Square uprising in 1989, CNN deserved respect through its 24- hour report.

As another remarkable success, in 1991 CNN could broadcast from the front lines of the war zone during the Persian Gulf War. CNN's coverage helped the international society to figure out what was happening in Iraq. It began to take attention to conflict areas and change people's minds. For instance, it is known that the pictures of starving children in the Somalia crisis pushed President Bush toward action.

CNN International still remains influential as it broadcasts to a global audience on TV and via internet. The historical development of the media and international political relationships, the television station CNN is presented as being a direct channel of diplomacy among politicians, the public and the rest of the world.

Much has already been written by historians about that increasing role, from the Anglo German press 'wars' in the build-up to the First World War to the role of newspapers, the cinema and radio in the program of 'moral rearmament' prior to the Second World War. A growing amount of literature also now exists about how the media came to be deployed as a psychological weapon, at home and abroad, first between 1939 and 1945 and then subsequently during the Cold War (Taylor: 1997, p, 58-59).

As Taylor noted, today, however, if a statesman wants to make a public statement or send a message across the world, he has the option of doing so on CNN rather than through traditional diplomatic channels. Government departments, individual officials and ministers use mass media as direct channels to societies with the purpose of explaining policy to their nation and overseas publics to advance or conceal policy opinions. Therefore, the media seems to enable the evaluation of international society by distributing information that builds bridges between groups and individuals around the world.

This makes the media an integral part of international relations. With a departure from Taylor's this summary of the historical development of media-politics relationship, in the following section the role of mass media is indicated in two fields of international relations: the studies of war and peace.

The involvement of the media in this decision-making process is complex. When an external, international event occurs, political leaders learn about it from the media. This information is processed through various image components and then the policy or decision formulating process is set in motion. Media advisors and PR professionals participate in the process; officials consult with them and consider their

advice. Finally, they take the media into account when they define their policy and match to it the appropriate media tools.

The role and impact of media in different instances in Nepali foreign policy decisions can be noted. For an instance, the ambassadors of different countries were meeting Nepali leaders without taking permissions from the Foreign ministry in Nepal. After several meetings of Indian ambassadors and Nepali leaders, the Nepali print medias like Kantipur Daily, Nagarik Daily, Naya Patrika Daily, Annapurna Daily, The Kathmandu Post Daily, The Republica Daily focused on the issue and had even editorial pieces on this issue. After the news that were published and broadcasted in different forms of media, Nepal was forced to start a ruling stating that the ambassadors need to take permission from the Foreign Ministry to visit leaders in Nepal.

In addition, media has been working as a watchdog during the development of different policies related to Nepal and its foreign policy. Media has been considered as the “fourth estate” in democratic societies, the media holds a distinctive capability to influence and shape government policies. Normatively recognized the role of a “watchdog” with a capacity to contribute to institutional change, the media holds the political elite accountable, reflects the needs of the public, and exposes misbehaviors of the power holders within the democratic system. Thus, media role in influencing matters related to legislation and government policies is crucial and should not be ignored.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Mass media plays a decisive role in the dissemination of information and thus in the political market, and in the making of public policy and foreign policy. The information provided by mass media reflects the media's incentives to provide news to different types of groups in society, and affects these groups' influence in policy making. Therefore, the role of media has always been the crucial factor in the foreign policy making in the role of agenda setting and watchdog. In the process of formulating the foreign policy the major actors are the executives, parliamentarians, academia, high level official of the government. The role of media is to set the agenda and make the issues public inviting the opinions of the policy experts and practitioners.

Though media does not own the right to create policies, it plays a contributory role in exercising significant influence over the priorities of general public's policy. This is achieved by the media's pervasive role as a mediator between the state and society, actively participating in the public representation of policies, acting as the doorkeeper of the agenda of political discourse. Similarly, policy plans are designed by the politicians after the media reaction. Therefore, it can be easily said that there is a reciprocal relationship between these two.

Further, whenever the stakeholder are in the time of crisis, the media plays a crucial role by disseminating the government information, it informs the public regarding the crisis growth, it also includes interactions between the media, the public, and policyholders and address the issue.

Media is the medium through which the citizens learn how the government will affect them, and governments gain feedback on the policies and programs made

by them. Media is the supreme channel between those who want to influence policy and policymakers controlling the scope of political discourse and regulating the flow on information. Policymaking goes through series of steps where problems are identified, solutions are developed, policies are adopted, implemented and evaluated. Thus, media plays very crucial role in each and every of these steps to determine the focal issues for policy makers.

Media has key role in publicizing the policy issues at the table. This ignites the public opinion, feedbacks and critiques. These sorts of roles have been expanding the role of media in international relations of the states. The views and opinions of the general mass and experts of foreign policy are brought into the highlights by media.

The final outcomes regarding the issues would include the interplay between diplomacy and media. Media and foreign policy must supplement each other. The policy initiatives in Nepal in relation to foreign policy are taken once the media brings the issues to the public. The sanctity of official communication has been limited by the influence of media at present. The media unveils the issues before the official correspondence take place. Twitter, Facebook like social media have become the means of disseminating the governments' positions, interests and issues.

Foreign policy, agreements, treaties and deals are whether truly implemented or not are brought into the public debates and scrutiny. The role of asymmetric power between the states and their behaviors are checked due to the publicity of the issues by media. The neutrality of media is also pertinent in making the justices of issues. The lack of the neutrality invites the differing perspectives on the foreign policy issues. This has invoked the question whether the role of media is positive or negative in making the foreign policy issues legitimate or fair.

Media is not as another independent actor in the international arena, which tries to influence others in order to protect its interests. The media can take many faces, and through the evolution of technology the media have become the catalyst that alters the environment in which international actors interact. In other words, both game and players have remained the same, while what has changed and has possibly become more sophisticated is the rules or the variables that a player has to take under consideration as well as the strategies that a player has to deploy. In other words, the evolution of media has affected the structure of both the international and the domestic system.

Geopolitical vulnerable countries are in difficult situations to formulate the independent foreign policy because of the power play between big powers. In such situations, media has big role to play.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary and Conclusion

Policymaking is a political process which is affected by various social and economic factors and media plays an essential role in shaping the social context in which policies are developed and thus the foreign policies are developed.

Foreign policy refers to the general principles and theory adopted by the state to interact among the actors of world community. The government makes its own foreign policy to safeguard the interests of own nation and its citizens. Foreign policy is distinguished from the domestic policies. As it involves goals, strategies, measures, methods, guidelines, agreements and so on, by which national governments conduct international relations with each other and with international organizations and nongovernmental actors. In another side media refers to the vehicle that carries the advertiser's message to the audience. The mass media is increasingly enjoying a position of considerable importance throughout the international system precipitated by information explosion that is taking place in the world. In the international community media is the primary channel of communication among the governments of each nations, non-governmental organizations, international institutions and organizations and other non-state entities. It is an interactive method which involves the governments of each nations and their entities and facilitate them to communicate with each other.

The foreign policy of Nepal is based on the principles of the United Nations Charter, nonalignment, the principles of Panchasheel, international law and norms of world piece. The fundamental objective of foreign policy of Nepal is to enhance the dignity of Nepal in the international arena by maintaining the sovereignty, integrity

and independence of the country. Nepal is a democratic country and media has established deep roots in the country. Constitution of Nepal has guaranteed the right to press, publication and communication as the fundamental right of citizens. Media plays a vital role in informing citizens about the developments and progress of the society. Media is the reflection of the society and it depicts what and how society works. In addition, media has been working as a watchdog during the development of different policies related to Nepal and its foreign policy.

In the era of globalization media create a link between people from local level to the international level. Media follow the professional journalistic ethics of neutrality, objectivity, impartiality and balancing in the matter of foreign policy. In the same way, media also have a great impact on the practice of diplomatic relation among the nations. International media echo is considered as the primary tools for maintaining international relations. Media helps to construct the reality of international politics. In other words, media is one of the determining factor of foreign policy.

Slowly and gradually mass media and foreign policy are complementary because media serves as a device to show a country's face to outer world. Within international community, the media supposed to facilitate a full and open debate on important issues regarding international issues. Media has important influence on public opinion and foreign policy. The relationship among public opinion, media and foreign policy can be integrated with major two schools of thought that are realism and liberalism. Media plays as a channel for delivering messages among international community. While the role of media in establishing peace is important, media organizations themselves are usually restrained in their operations during conflict

situations. Media is taken as the foreign policy environment creator. Therefore, in the modern democratic societies, mass media has emerged as an important contributing factor of foreign policy.

The foreign policy decision making process takes place within the environment partly created by the media. The media-created atmosphere reflects the foreign policy events. Media is involved in all stages of foreign policy formulation processes and that political leaders take the media into consideration in its national and international aspects. The involvement of the media in this decision-making process is complex. The role of media is to set the agenda and make the issues public inviting the opinions of the policy experts and practitioners. The views and opinions of the general mass and experts of foreign policy are brought into the highlights by media. When an external, international event occurs, political leaders learn about it from the media. This information is processed through various image components and then the policy or decision formulating process is set in motion.

Finally, states take the media into account at the time of define their policy and match to it the appropriate media tools. Past studies of foreign policy decision-making neglected to deal with this complex role of the media. Media has been described as one of the channels of informing leaders of international events, as input for the decision-making process. Actual reality demonstrates that this perspective minimizes the place of the media and therefore it should be dealt theoretically as well as in applied research case studies using a more complex approach emphasizing the crucial role of the media in foreign policy.

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