Index The Media Inthe News 2010 An Assessment Report in the Context of Nepal's Post-conflict Transition With South-Central Asian Trends DHARMA ADHIKARI, JAGADISH POKHREL, SHEKHAR KC & BHRIKUTI RAI

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This study analyzed trends in the coverage of media by flews filed in major news outlets of South-Central Asia during 2010. In addition, full-length stories on Nepal for the year were analyzed qualitatively for themes relating to post-conflict transition. Findings suggest, regionally, India and China led others in the coverage, with Nepal showing steady focus on media topics and issues. However, Nepali media's post-conflict focus appeared unenthusiastic.

Executive Summary

This study found that security of media workers and institutions dominated Nepal's news media coverage of media in 2010. In the total coverage for the country, current affairs, which included journalists' security, human rights and politics, accounted for 46% of all media-focused coverage. Stories on media development and technology made up 41% of the newshole while the arts and culture garnered 13%.

In a sample of 9,047 headlines on South-Central Asia, aggregated via Google News for the year, India led in the overall coverage of media issues, filling 37% of the newshole. China followed at 28%, Pakistan 11%, Nepal 9%, Sri Lanka 6%, Afghanistan 4%, Bangladesh 3%, Bhutan 1%, and the Maldives 1%.

India's coverage appeared diverse, with many stories focusing on technology, market and media practices. Two intertwined topics—the explosive growth of the Internet and online censorship practices—accounted for most of the stories on China.

Throughout the year, in Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan, there was substantial and sometimes intense coverage of the threat to press freedom and violence against journalists. Bangladesh, Bhutan, and the Maldives generated stories that remained spread over a variety of topics. The data revealed a sustained coverage of new media technologies in all the countries.

Nepal's share of coverage remained more or less steady, except for some fluctuations over the year, due to new developments in the sector, such as ICT events, illegal VOIP channels, the killing of two media entrepreneurs, and new storylines like the direct to home (DTH) television, and newsprint row between Kantipur Publishers and the Indian embassy.

Republica generated 27% of the full-length stories analysed, followed by The Kathmandu Post (11%), The Himalayan Times (9%), and The Rising Nepal (9%). Two weeklies, Nepali Times and Telegraph, generated 5% and 4% of the content, respectively. Bulk of the content on media (35%) originated in "other" online domestic and foreign sources, which included media watchdog sites, blogs, and wire services.

Among story types, news (62%) was dominant. Op-ed articles comprised 31% and feature stories 7%. Most news stories concerned security of journalists and new media technologies. Op-ed articles and features discussed media profession and entrepreneurship.

The qualitative segment of the analysis focused on media coverage of media in the context of Nepal's post-conflict transition. The research found that 21% of Nepal stories were related to themes of peace. A close reading of these significant stories revealed that security of journalists and their media institutions was the most dominant topic in the news media coverage of the media.

Stories were analyzed for the external and internal constraints on media practices during the post-conflict situation and their peace-orientation.

External constraints were most visible in the coverage of violence against journalists, their employers and institutions. In the first quarter of the year, news media gave intense focus on the killing of two media entrepreneurs Jamim Shah and Arun Singhaniya. Some newspapers were threatened for covering the Shah story, thereby generating more stories about the beleaguered media.

Incidents of violence against journalists during the week-long Maoist strike in Kathmandu in March also raised the volume of media coverage. Such incidents in Terai and other rural areas were also frequently reported.

Bulk of the stories on attacks on the media comprised statements and condemnations from watchdogs, including IFJ, CPJ, FNJ, and UN agencies.

Generally, stories adopted a defiant tone and cited past incidents of violence against the media to amplify the context. The common thread running through most stories was the call on the government to take strong action against the culprits, end impunity, guarantee safe working conditions for journalists and ensure press freedom.

Stories covering conflict within the media over ethical responsibilities were few and far between. Much of the self-reflection by the media pertained to their own business practices and routine professional values. Nonetheless, there were scattered examples of introspection that touched on some aspects of ethics in conflict situations.

A tape scandal in late 2010 showing Maoist leader Krishna Bahadur Mahara as the source but without verification was one such prominent example. The coverage touched on questions about the potential for media manipulation by sources, authenticating leaks, and their implications for the peace process. Stories scarcely referred to ethnicity, language and nationalism in the context of media coverage of conflict.

Only a few media texts exclusively focused on some aspect of peace-oriented media, explaining the concept or citing real-life examples of such practices. However, albeit tangentially, many articles on other themes touched on the issues of peace or war.

Some cases of media manipulation, propaganda, and deception by political parties and businesses were reported and issues of gender stereotyping raised by the news outlets, but they rarely related to post-conflict situations.

Introduction

This report analyzes the themes in the coverage of media by the media in Nepal in relation to the country's ongoing post-conflict transition. With the view to enable a big picture of the coverage and its regional trends, the report has attempted to look at Nepal within the context of South-Central Asia, an area of increasing activities in the field of media as well as economics and politics. This regional approach in the general trends analysis enables cross-country comparisons that add to assorted meanings in the findings.

The first section examines the role of media in post-conflict situations, particularly in regards to Nepal's transitional process. It considers the assumptions about media coverage of media and their performance in general, reviews existing literature linking media with post-conflict situations, and advances some propositions for this study.

The second section of the report presents the methodology, the scope of the study, sampling frame, and selection of criteria, variables and categories of analysis gleaned from the literature. We believe that these variables and categories help to capture a sound picture of the trends in media coverage of media, and a more scrupulous understanding of the broad range of themes and issues relating to the performance of the press in a post-conflict situation. It also specifies the limitations of the study.

The third section is focused on regional context and comparison and it analyzes trends in media headlines coverage of media in major news outlets from South-Central Asia, including Nepal. This quantitative analysis is presented by country, story type, frequency, timing, and subject matter.

The fourth section is a qualitative report, exclusively focused on news and commentaries about the media in regards to Nepal's post-conflict transition. News and editorial content from the country's major newspapers is assessed in the context of peace and reconciliation process, along four themes that reflect the nature and recognize the constraints of coverage: beleaguered media, self-reflective coverage, peace-orientation, and coverage uhelpful to post-conflict transition.

Finally, the fifth section offers conclusions and suggestions for further research and action.

This analysis is intended to help inform journalists, professionals and other stakeholders on the nature of media engagement in the peace process and, hopefully, encourage them to identify the needed interventions. •

The Media in the Media & Post-Conflict Transition

The media landscape of Nepal has expanded dramatically in the last several years. This change is evident in the region as well. The advent of new technologies, their increased adoption and penetration as well as expanding economic activities and political reforms have significantly altered the regional media environment. In China, India, Pakistan and countries around them, the media themselves have emerged as a journalistic beat. Stories about the general business aspects of media, and trends in technology or new media have become more frequent in newspapers.

However, empirically, we know very little about the scope of media coverage of the media or related journalistic practices in newspapers from these countries. Prevailing assumptions about the nature of news media coverage of media remain unexplored for their relevance to the newspapers' own self-assessment, their accountability, and, in general, to the public interest. Inferences about media coverage of media underscore mainstream newspapers' reluctance to facilitate open discussion of media issues, their general failure to report about themselves or their own situations, and their unwillingness to embrace introspection, criticism or self-evaluation. It is widely held that although journalists or their news outlets may appear eager to report professional and ethical lapses in other media outlets or their coverage, they are thick skinned to their own criticism by others.

Lacking systematic research, the nature of media coverage by news media in Nepal and the region remains uncharted. Looking at the expanding mediascape, increasing number of media-focused stories or columns in news outlets, and a couple of instances of internal audits (ombudsman or readers' editor) in India (*The Hindu*) and Pakistan (*Express Tribune*), we can infer that the volume and frequency of coverage must have increased, but one cannot conclude empirically about the themes of coverage, or these media's resistance or openness to criticism or self-assessment. Yet, self-evaluation is desirable of a professional and maturing press committed to informing or engaging the public in the affairs of the state.

In the case of Nepal, a country in transition, this type of metajournalism has an added significance. The power of media to influence attitudes, behaviors and beliefs about issues in a post-conflict situation has been widely acknowledged. The media in such a setting can promote reconciliation and reduce tension, restore confidence and peace, or promote propaganda for one side or the other in a conflict, or stereotype parties to conflict. In addition, media can be victims of conflict or they can be in conflict within themselves over ethical responsibilities, and issues like ethnicity, language, and nationalism.

Nepal's post-conflict situation presents a unique case to examine the role of media in the ongoing transition from conflict to reconstruction and peace-building. One way to explore the role of media in this setting is to analyze how the news media reported and commented on the media themselves.

Systematic research on news media coverage of media in regards to Nepal's peace process or post-conflict situation appears deficient. Instances of literature on peace-oriented media remain entirely focused on examining how the media covered the peace process, the post-conflict situation, or themes of reconciliation (Kharel, Dahal et al, 2009; Chhetri, 2008; Adhikari, 2008; Poudel, 2007; Bhattarai, 2005; Gurung 2004).* These, however, scarcely relate to how the news media covered the media in the context of peace and post-conflict transition.

This research focuses on analyzing the nature of self-reporting by some of the major Nepali newspapers in order to identify the salient features of mediated communication in post-conflict setting and their implications for media engagement in the peace and reconciliation process. In addition, for a regional context, it analyzes trends in media headlines coverage of media in major news outlets from South-Central Asia, including China.

Given Nepali media's vocal role in advocating political reforms, peace, and an end to the decade-long Maoist conflict (1996-2006), we expected that the country's leading newspapers, at least in principle, would reflect on media's role in the peace process, the normative expectations about it, and some down-to-earth examples of how the media succeeded or failed to play their desired role. Besides prescribing roles and values of peace-oriented media, they were expected to describe transformative examples of such ideas put into practice, or comment on the styles and methods of presentation. In addition, news outlets could report on the constraints on such coverage. •

^{*} For example, see Kharel, A, Dahal, K, Aryal, K, Dulal, T.P., & Giri, M. (2009). Sambidhan ra media [Constitution & media]. Kathmandu: Suprabha Prakashan; Chhetri, A. (2008). Shanti prakriyama daineek patrikako bhoomika [The role of daily newspapers in the peace process]. Media Adhyayan, 3, 131-156; Adhikari, D. (2008). Democracy can complicate the job of journalists. Nieman Reports. 62 (1), 79-81; Poudel, K.P. (2007). Maobadi dwanda kalma samachar sankalanka chunauti [challenges of news reporting during the maoist conflict]. Unpublished thesis, Department of Langauge and Mass Communication, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu; Bhattarai R. (2005). Dwanda rupantaranka lagi shanti patrakarita [Peace journalism for conflict transformation]. Kathmandu: Kanoon Anbeshan Tatha Srot Bikaas Kendra (CeLRRd); and Gurung, H. (2004). Shanti ka lagi patrakarika [Journalism for peace]. Lalitpur: Himal Association.

Methodology & Scope

News media headlines on media in major news outlets of South-Central Asia during 2010 were analyzed quantitatively, by country, story type, frequency, and subject. In addition, full-length stories on Nepal for the year were analyzed qualitatively for themes relating to post-conflict transition.

Stories were selected by curating online links to news headlines updated at Google News, an automated online news aggregator that indexes all major newspapers of Nepal as well as from around the world. It groups headlines by topic and ranks top stories based on freshness, credibility of the source, and the number of sources publishing a story related to the news. The service covers news articles appearing within the past 30 days on various news websites. Stories from Google News (US version) were manually linked, on a daily basis, to a microblog twitter platform (see Annex 1), especially designed for this research project.

Although the focus of this study was Nepal, for a bigger regional context and cross-country comparison, news headlines on media originating from nine South-Central Asian countries were included in the sample. Stories were searched by exhaustive media-related keywords [see Annex 2) via Google News. All media-related stories published between January and December 2010 and posted on twitter (a total of 12,163 headlines) were sorted out.

Quantitative Analysis

Every headline came with a country label, given at the time when it was tweeted. By the end of every month, the links were copied in a file for the particular month and they were stored inside a folder. Beginning in March 2011, all headlines curated at twitter were manually coded by two trained coders. There were 9,047 headlines specifically on South-Central Asia and those were included in the trends analysis. Variables were country and frequency (by month). Additional variables were added in the analysis of Nepal for a more in-depth look at the coverage of this country. These variables included: news outlet, story type, and subject of content. The findings are presented in the form of charts and graphs, alongside descriptive statistics.

Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analysis focused on four themes gleaned from literature: 1) beleaguered media: stories that highlighted the context of reporting, constraints on press freedom, instances in which media become victims of conflict, 2) self-reflective: stories that covered conflict within the media over ethical responsibilities, and issues like

ethnicity, language, nationalism etc., 3) peace-oriented: stories that related to reconciliation, sought to reduce tension, restore confidence and peace, and 4) unhelpful to the peace process: stories that highlighted the themes of propaganda for one side or the other, or stereotyping of parties to conflict. Analysis was focused on the way articles prescribed these themes at the level of ideas, cited examples of practices, and informed their style or presentation.

Out of the total of 559 full-length news stories (62 were retrieved from caches) about media in Nepal, a little over one hundred stories directly referred to issues of peace, reconciliation, post-conflict situation, attacks on media and professional ethics. Every story from these significant samples was read thoroughly for examples of one or more of the four themes above. The analysis goes beyond numbers and gives concrete examples of how the coverage reflected Nepali media's engagement with peace and reconciliation process. The qualitative findings are presented in a descriptive, narrative format.

Limitations

We recognize that although a useful approach in practice, this methodology is not perfect. Technology made the research work easier and efficient, but it had limitations. In the case of the South-Central Asian trends, this research analyzed only those English-language headlines or stories that appeared on Google News, during the year 2010. For the sections on Nepal, and for national newspaper trends in coverage, we retrieved stories directly from the Websites of additional news outlets that were not indexed in Google News. They included The Kathmandu Post and The Rising Nepal. There must have been more media-related stories published in other media, including native language outlets. It is possible that stories published in other years may offer a different picture of coverage. One of the surprises in the qualitative segment of this research was the presence of a large number of dead links (362) out of the total of 859 for Nepal. Of these, some could be retrieved in full via caches. Despite these shortcomings, we believe our approach yields a reasonably good estimate of the larger trends in media coverage of media and provides a good snapshot for 2010.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS QUANTITATIVE (VARIABLES), Unit of Analysis = Story headline (Entire story analyzed)					
Country	News Outlet	Frequency (Month)	Story Type	Subject	Category
Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, Others	Nepali Times, Republica, Telegraph, The Himalayan Times, The Kathmandu Post, The Rising Nepal, Others	January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, December (2010)	News, Feature, Op-Ed (editorial, commentaries, letters, etc.), Others	Current Affairs & Politics, Business & Technology, The Arts & Culture, Others	 External Constraints Conflict Within Peace-oriented, and Unhelpful (for Nepal only)

3 South-Central Asia & Nepal Trends

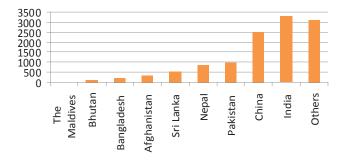
This section presents an overview of the trends in news media headlines on media in major news outlets of South-Central Asia during 2010. These are analyzed in terms of country and frequency (by month). Stories originating in Nepali outlets or referring to Nepal are analyzed along additional variables, which include news outlet, story type, and subject of content.

South-Central Asia in Headlines

Because media stories on pertinent issues of global significance from outside of South-Central Asia were also tweeted within the research time frame, such stories amounted to some 26% of the entire sample of 12,163 tweets. These stories, which mostly concerned developments in the field of new media technologies, business, and freedom of the press, were related to countries as diverse as Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Qatar, Singapore, and the United States. Stories originating from outside South-Central Asia or referring to this region were thus identified by country label and eliminated from the sample for analysis.

Headlines on South–Central Asia were sorted by each country and they amounted to 9,047. India led the countries in the sample in its overall coverage of media issues. It accounted for 37% of the newshole, followed by China (28%), Pakistan (11%), Nepal (9%), Sri Lanka (6%), Afghanistan (4%), Bangladesh (3%), Bhutan (1%), and the Maldives (1%).

Lowest to highest distribution of headlines



India's coverage appeared the most diversified, with stories often focusing on new media technology, media marketing, concerns over geographical reach of the Internet, mobile penetration, Bollywood, alternative media practices, media education, events and ethics, etc. Most notably, the "paid news controversy", which erupted following the disclosure that some election candidates had paid news outlets for favorable election coverage in 2009, generated widespread debate in media throughout the first half of 2010. The Indian media's coverage also reflected growing interest in the media from other countries.

Two intertwined topics—the explosive growth of the Internet and online censorship practices—accounted for most of the stories on China. This was reflected in stories reporting on the country's struggle with the growing interest in Internet among Chinese, the vulnerable western influence like Pornography, and in particular, the much publicized controversy over censorship of Google China and its defiance

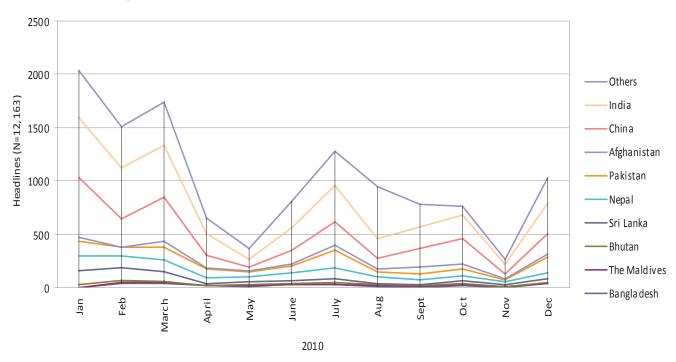
of such censorship. Other recurrent stories related to advertising business, China's assistance to media development in Asia and Africa, and the controversy over reporting on Tibet or the Dalai Lama.

Throughout the year, in Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan there was substantial and sometimes intense coverage of threat to press freedom, violence against journalists, and their deteriorating security. Pakistani coverage also related to national image in media, role of media in checking "extremism", India-Pakistan harmony via media, ban on Indian TV, and frequent comments on the press from the communication ministry. Quite a few stories concerned South Asian media in general, most often referring to the Lahore-based South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA). Stories on Sri Lanka related with war and election coverage, government propaganda, cyber crime, etc. Stories on Afghanistan concerned war-logs on the country leaked by the whistleblower site Wikileaks, journalists' casualties, war coverage (usually by the US media), media diplomacy and journalism training.

The least covered countries in the region, Bangladesh, Bhutan, and the Maldives, generated stories that remained spread over a variety of topics. In Bangladesh, most stories were on new media, use and expansion of ICT, mobile technology and remittance, foreign investment in telecommunications, security of journalists, internet safety, and advertising. Stories on Bhutan were on the emerging telecommunications sector, ICT, media regulation, films, documentaries, and with some focus, on "media wars", a reference to growing competition among news outlets, following the liberalization of the sector and the end of state monopoly in media. Stories on the Maldives mostly reported on threats to press freedom, and presidential pronouncements on the media, and telecommunications.

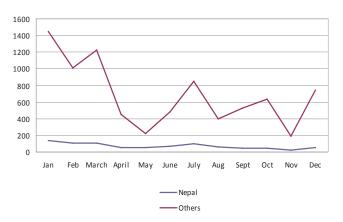
The data revealed that a sustained coverage of new media technologies reflected in stories from all the countries in South-Central Asia, with India and China leading the others in this area. As the year came to an end, many stories on media were related to Wkileaks and its release of US diplomatic cables in November and their implications to some of the countries in the region.

Headlines on media, South-Central Asia



January, which accounted for 2,027 headlines (22%) of all the tweets, was the highest covered month. There was a decline in coverage during February, with a little improvement in March, but again the coverage continued to diminish during the months of April and May. The month of May registered 362 headlines (4% of the entire sample). The coverage increased during June and July, with July registering 1,296 headlines (14%). Again the downward trend continued until November, which, with 269 headlines (3%), registered the lowest coverage for the year. There was a slight increase in December but never exceeding the volumes for July or January.

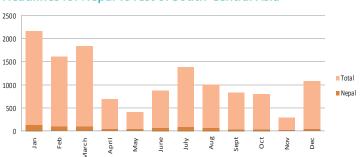
Nepal vs Countries



Countries with the largest number of headlines recorded for any month were China and India. In January, both countries, with 558 and 559 tweets, respectively, generated over 6% of entire headlines for the year. This amounts to almost 63% of total volume for Nepal. The least covered month for Nepal, i.e. November, had only 26 tweets. They comprised 9% of the total for the region, and 3% of the total for Nepal (859).

Although May was the fifth least covered month for Nepal and the second least covered month for the rest of the countries put togehter, it contributed the largest share (13 %) to the total tweets, after April (8%), June (9%) or November (10%). Except for some fluctuations over the months largely because of new events or developments in media sector, Nepal's share of the coverage remained steady.

Headlines for Nepal vs rest of South-Central Asia



January saw the largest volume (16%) of coverage on Nepal. Apart from the regular coverage on telecomunication and journalists' security, this month generated additional stories on topics like CAN InfoTech exhibition, illegal VOIP channels, new IT policy, and digital ID cards. Febuary, with the second largest volume (13%) of headlines, also saw new growing story lines around the killing of media baron Jamim Shah, and the apparent advent of direct to home (DTH) television in the country. Similarly, following the killing of Arun Sighaniya, the Janakpur-based media entrepreneur, March saw a little spike (12%) in the overall coverage of Nepal.

The coverage diminished in the itervening months, but spiked a bit again in July, registering 12% of the total volume of headlines for the country. Events like the Crity (Advertising) Awards, Film South Asia, and the uproar over the manhandling of journalists by former King Gyanendra's aides contributed to

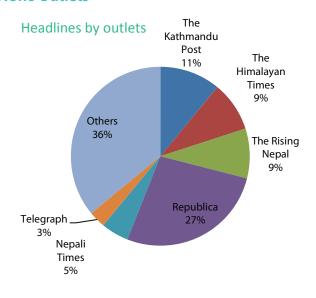
this slight increase in July. Similarly, with 8% of total newshole for Nepal, June saw some upward movement from May, one of the least covered months. New story lines like the newsprint row between Kantipur Publishers and the Indian embassy and downlink permits to TV channels contributed to that increase.

their profession. Some features profiled individuals for their important roles in public life while others concerned media entrepreneurship.

Nepal in Headlines

Stories originating in Nepali news outlets or referring to Nepal were analyzed along additional variables, which included news outlet, story type, and subject of content. This formed the next level of quantitative analysis for Nepal, and this involved clicking through the hyperlinks of individual stories and reading through actual content. Because several headlines turned out to have dead links, most notably those originating at *The Himalayan Times* website, a total of 559 stories, which accounted for 63% of the total sample, were retrieved in full for analysis. These included several stories that were traced and then retrieved in their entirety via caches.

News Outlets

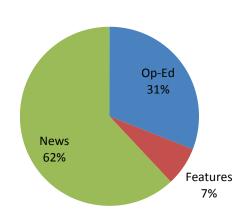


Mainstream English-language newspapers' coverage showed three distinct distributions. *Republica* dominated other news outlets, generating 27% of all the full-length news stories. It was followed by three other daily newspapers that devoted about equal measures of their allotted space to media: *The Kathmandu Post* (11%), *The Himalayan Times* (9%), and *The Rising Nepal* (9%). The two weeklies, *Nepali Times* and *Telegraph* generated 5% and 4% of the content, respectively. Bulk of the content on media (35%) originated in "other" domestic and foreign sources, which included some Indian newspapers, media watchdog sites, a few blogs, wire services like Xinhua, AFP, IPS, and Websites like Nepal Monitor, Spero, Scoop, Newsblaze, and Peace News.

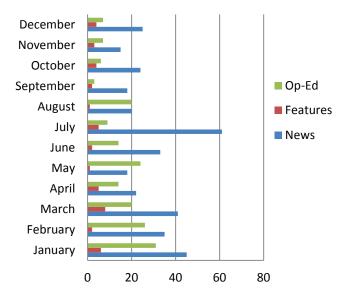
Story Type

News stories were found to be dominant. They comprised more than half of the stories (62%), followed by op-ed articles (31%), which included editorials, commentaries, interviews, etc., and feature stories (7%). News stories were centered mostly on condemning attacks against journalists and release of new technological applications like mobile and computers. Op-ed articles were mostly about security of journalists and side by side various ethical issues that concern

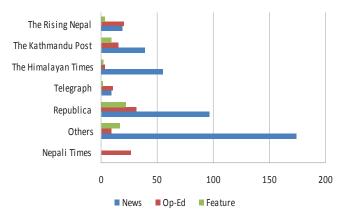
Headlines by story types



Story types by month



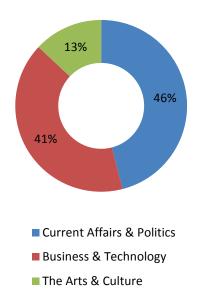
Story types by outlet



When it comes to monthly distribution of coverage, July generated the highest number of news stories, comprising 17% of all the news stories for the year, and 11% of all the content for the year. September and November generated the lowest volume (5% and 4%, in that order) within the news category and 3% and around 3%, respectively, among the entire content. In the case of op-ed, January yielded 17% of all such articles, and 6% of all content for Nepal. Most feature stories were published during the month of March and they accounted for a little over 1% of the entire content.

More than 44% of news stories were covered by sources "other" than the national newspapers. They were followed by Republica (25%), The Himalayan Times (14%), The Kathmandu Post (10%), The Rising Nepal (5%), and Telegraph (2%). Republica, with 27%, led all others in op-ed coverage, followed by Nepali Times (23%), The Rising Nepal (18%), The Kathmandu Post (13%), Telegraph (9%), and The Himalayan Times (3%). The "others" comprised 8% of all the op-ed articles. Most feature articles (42%) appeared in Republica. A significant number of features (36%) were also published by "other" sources, comprising blogs, wires and Websites. The Kathmandu Post carried 17% of feature stories, while the other outlets carried the rest of such stories.

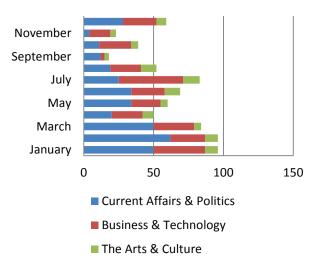
Headlines by subject matter



Subject Matter

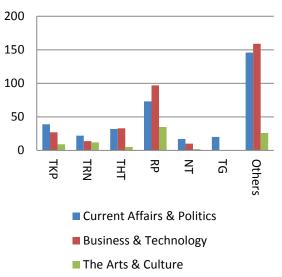
Current affairs & politics, which included topics like domestic politics, foreign affairs, human rights and security, outpaced other subject areas. It accounted for a majority of the stories (46%). Another frequently occurring subject matter was business & technology, which included developments in the field of new media, telecommunication, advertising and related fields. Stories in this area made up 41% of the newshole. Less frequently appearing stories (13%) were in the area of the arts & culture, which included topics such as music, films, recreation, sports and other performing arts, etc.

Subject matter for month



Sometimes these categories overlapped, and in such instances stories were coded for each category. Of all the stories in current affairs & politics, 16% appeared in February, the highest occurrence for this category. July saw the highest coverage (16%) of all business & technology stories. Similarly, June, July and August garnered the highest (12%) in the coverage of the arts & culture. September saw the least coverage, less than 3% of each of the subject areas.

Subject matter by outlet



In terms of individual newspapers, Republica garnered the largest coverage among others in the total coverage in each of the three subject areas: current affairs & politics (21%), business & technology (29%) and the arts & culture (39%). It was followed by The Kathmandu Post, The Himalayan Times, The Rising Nepal, Telegraph, and Nepali Times in the coverage of current affairs. The Himalayan Times was slightly ahead of The Kathmandu Post in the volume for business & technology coverage. Current affairs, and business technology coverage in the "other" sources was almost neck and neck making up 26% and 28% of the total news stories on Nepal. They comprised 4% and 47%, respectively, of the subject newshole. Among the newspapers that gave less space to specific subjects within the media, 5% of stories in Nepali Times accounted for current affairs & politics and 3% for business & technology while 6% of stories in Telegraph related to current affairs and almost none to other subject areas of media coverage by news media. •

Nepal's Post-Conflict Transition & Media

The qualitative segment of the analysis focused on media coverage of media in the context of Nepal's post-conflict transition in 2010. This transition began in November 2006, when the rebel Maoists and an alliance of political parties signed the Comprehensive Peace Accord that paved the way for the Constituent Assembly elections and for a republican order. The research found that 21% of Nepal stories were related to themes of peace and the transitional process. A close reading of these significant stories revealed that security of journalists and media institutions was the most dominant topic in the news media coverage of the media. Stories were analyzed for themes relating to external and internal constraints on media practices during the postconflict situation and their peace-orientation.

Beleaguered Media

External Constraints

External constraints were most visible in the coverage of violence against journalists, their employers and institutions. Many articles highlighted continuing repression of the media, strongly defended press freedom and called for legal recourse.

In the first quarter of the year, news media gave intense focus on the killing of two media entrepreneurs Jamim Shah and Arun Singhaniya. The editors and publishers of *Kantipur* and *The Kathmandu Post* received threat calls to stop covering the Shah story. Such threats generated more stories on the beleaguered media. The December 2009 attempted killing of journalist Tika Bista from Rukum also showed instances of coverage continuing into 2010.

Stories also highlighted political violence against the media. One prominent case that generated many such stories was the harassment, intimidation, and bullying of some journalists, and brutal assault on some others covering the weeklong general strike by Maoists in the capital city in early May. These followed a public remark by Maoist leader Pushpa Kamal Dahal that his party would "settle scores" with journalists, intellectuals and others who insulted ordinary village people supporting the strike. His cadres attacked journalists representing Associated News Agency, *Rajdhani* daily, *Annapurna Post*, News 24 TV, Avenues Television, and Sagarmatha TV, among others.

Stories of violence against the media in the Terai as well as other rural areas were also frequently reported in the media. Journalists working for regional media outlets were targeted not just for reporting facts about political parties and other groups, but also for exposing the lesser-known armed groups. In Janakpur, following Singhaniya's murder, local media, including a BBC correspondent, received death threats from unidentified people. Articles reported cases of another 11 journalists receiving threatening phone calls. Many articles commented on the difficult security situation and hostile work conditions of the journalists.

Stories bemoaned that existing state of fear, deteriorating law and order situation, and a culture of impunity had resulted in self-censorship in the media. These articles cited many examples of attacks and threats on the life of journalists for pursuing violence-related stories. Most perpetrators depicted in these stories were armed groups, criminals under political patronage and political party cadres. They were shown as brutal, violent and intolerant to media freedom.

Bulk of the stories on attacks on the media comprised statements and condemnations from watchdogs, including IFJ, CPJ, RSF, IPI, FNJ, IFEX and UN agencies. Emphasis in reporting their concerns was often laid on the gravity of the situation on the ground, the need to respect press freedom, and to take immediate action against the perpetrators.

Generally, stories and commentaries saw the attacks becoming more insidious than during the royal regime. They adopted a defiant tone, and used past incidents of violence against the media to amplify the context. The common thread running through most articles was a call on the government to take strong action against the culprits, end impunity, guarantee safe working conditions for journalists and ensure press freedom. One encouraging sign for the year was that none of the stories in the analysis yielded cases of statesponsored violence.

The disproportionately larger volume of coverage on victimization of media as compared to other peace themes appeared consistent with past experiences in regards to media coverage of the violations of press freedom. Characteristic of the beleaguered media in times of such professional difficulties, the coverage also reflected strong solidarity among the media fraternity.

News coverage was overwhelmingly focused on factual reporting of the violations of press freedom, while commentaries also cited causes and contexts of such violations, criticizing the existing state of affairs and making a general call for safety, security, and legal recourse. However, the overall coverage did not address the deeper level of links to the ongoing peace process. They did not offer any models, strategies or guidelines useful to alleviate the existing situation. The coverage did not show any transformative examples or formative influences in addressing violence against the press. •

Conflict Within

There were few stories covering conflict within the media over ethical responsibilities of journalists or their media outlets. Ethical concerns were primarily focused on the issues of news priorities and threats to press freedom.

Apparently, because newspapers still lack the appointment of in-house auditors, ombudsman or readers' editors, self-assessment truly worth the name was next to nil. However, as a response to attacks on media, there were many stories about journalists' protests, which highlighted the constraints within the profession. Blank editorials, mute transmissions by radio stations, rallies and demonstrations had volumes to speak about media's own views about the state of journalism in the country.

Very few articles on the media related to the peace and constitution-making process. And when they did, these stories were mostly contributions from commentators and columnists who were not necessarily regular staff members of particular media outlets. In that sense, the occasional rays of introspection and self-reflection came mainly from regular media critics and analysts at a distance.

In fact, for some news outlets, the year 2010 appears to have been significant in the coverage of media issues. In early January, the noted commentator CK Lal began his new column "Fourth Estate" in the *Nepali Times* and continued to write on a variety of topics until the column discontinued in October. *Republica* also began to carry a media column by Binod Bhattarai in early September.

These and other columns focused on media issues and performance in general, and sometimes touched on aspects of internal conflicts or constraints in the context of post-conflict transition. Most often, as one commentator observed, Nepali critics took a reactive approach to media analysis, focusing on dramas, not on substance of issues and topics.

In one notable piece on conflict reporting (Conflict of coverage, *Nepali Times*, July 9, 2010), Lal reflected on the dangers of identifying sources in media texts and images. The case involved Sita Tamang, an ex-Maoist combatant, whose celebrity status, he wrote, was sold by the media for commercial and political gains. In June 2010, Tamang testified at the UN Security Council in New York, in the full glare of media eye. Following this, she received threats from her former comrades. Other pieces in the "Fourth Estate" reflected on the issues of neutrality, partisan press and credibility of sources, etc.

One prominent story involving ethical dilemma over news decisions and processes with implications for post-conflict period concerned a tape scandal in late 2010. Some stories raised questions about the authenticity of the tape in which Maoist leader Krishna Bahadur Mahara was heard asking for several hundred million rupees from a Chinese individual to "buy" Nepali parliamentarians in order to form a Maoist-led government. Some commentators criticized the media hysteria over the tape, citing caution during the

sensitive transition period. One editor recounted that he was approached by a diplomatic mission to run a story on the tape. The coverage raised questions about the potential for media manipulation by sources, authenticating leaks, and the implications of such incidents for the peace process.

Another story involved the coverage of the kidnapping of Dr. Bhakta Man Shrestha in the Nepal Republic Media publications. Some articles referred to unverified claims made in the publications' stories that Dr. Shrestha was kidnapped by Maoists, which later turned out to be untrue. Since the highly dramatic and incessantly covered story directly concerned the behavior of a political entity, a key party to the peace process, it ultimately had implications for post-conflict situation.

Most self-reflection by the media pertained to their own business practices and routine professional values. For example, the Dabur (an Indian joint-venture in Nepal) controversy, in June, generated quite a number of stories raising questions about how advertisement and diplomatic missions can influence the news process and how the press should cover issues like this. Articles frequently underscored the need for ethical journalistic practices for press freedom in general. Concerns were also frequent in editorials over rampant self-censorship, particularly in the hinterlands.

Thus, scattered examples of introspection touched on some aspects of ethics in conflict situations. Recurrent storylines looked at the implications of the deteriorating security situation, misplaced news priorities on violence and crimes, degree of independence of the media outlets, speculative reporting, and arrogance or idiosyncrasies of journalists for ethical work practices. Other stories reflected on the difficulty of balancing facts with compassion.

Stories scarcely referred to ethnicity, language and nationalism in the context of media reporting of conflict. This may reflect Nepali media's tradition of avoiding such sensitive topics. Even when these were covered, they were just mentioned in literal contexts. •

Peace-orientation

Helpful Themes

A strong role has been prescribed for the press at the level of ideas in the debates on peace and post-conflict situation. Often, emphasis is laid on mediating the peace process truthfully and objectively, building trust among political parties, restoring dignity of conflict victims and delivering justice to them, peacefully resolving all outstanding issues, building a society that abides by the laws and shuns all forms of violence, etc. The analysis looked at the ways news stories and commentaries spoke of these themes in the coverage of media issues or topics.

Only a few out of more than a hundred media texts exclusively focused on some aspect of peace-oriented media. One significant commentary in *The Rising Nepal* ("How media helps in peace building", October 31, 2010) calls for dispassion, objectivity and balance in covering or mediating conflict, emphasizing that the major task of Nepali media now is to make the peace process inclusive of the nation's diverse ethnicities and identities.

"Building peace through media" (The Kathmandu Post, January 9), a hybrid of news and comment, described an instance of documenting Nepal's war and peace. It reported on the deeper costs of conflict on ordinary people as depicted in a trilogy that started with A People War (2006). The article presented the trilogy as "a model" to employ photography and journalism in post-conflict reconciliation. It called for "a new kind" of journalism that took an innovative approach to covering conflicts, and even advocated the building of peace memorials or museums. It emphasized engagement through rigorous journalistic research and fieldwork in pursuit of deeper reporting, and alluded to the possibilities of transformative experiences of conflict victims. As a relevant approach, for example, the article mentioned that hundreds of thousands of people participated in the book exhibits and many victims shared their voices.

Another article, with a more substantive peace orientation, recommended gender sensitivity in the media. "Conduct of peace: approaches of women and media in Nepal" (*Telegraph*, December 26, 2009), a seminar paper, prescribed undistorted communication about sources of conflict; urged mediation of diversity and inclusion; and emphasized a "resolutionary" change for a lasting peace. However, as a highly prescriptive essay, the paper did not offer details and practical examples of peace-oriented media activities or projects.

Many articles on other themes touched, albeit tangentially, on peace or war, for that matter. A quick scan of more than a hundred stories yielded 75 counts for the word 'peace'; notably, more than half came from three texts. 'Peace process' appeared roughly in one of four counts. The sentences or paragraphs where the phrase appeared highlighted the need for its 'logical' conclusion. It often co-occurred with constitution writing. Articles invoked the peace 'agreement' or 'accord' or 'pact', referring to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2006, in their call on individual and organizational actors, and, at times, the media and reporters,

to honor it. Standing alone, peace connoted the state of quiet in the country, the post-conflict political process or its anticipated outcome, except in some instances like in a 'sensational peace of instigative journalism', meaning a pun on piece/media report about a coup rumor. Qualifiers, lasting and stable, preceded peace as an outcome.

War and conflict occurred in the media texts quite often too. If a line through the text were to draw connotative clusters of words in a continuum from 'war' to 'peace', they would be justice, law, order, security, harmony, conciliation, consensus, cooperation, inclusion, and resolution, for example, on the peace side and conflict, coercion, intimidation, hate, assault, and violence on the war side.

A search in the texts for these words, as desirables and less desirables, yielded almost similar number of mentions. The 'desirables' broadly appeared as part of prescription in the texts. Most stories described events involving the 'less desirables' or cried foul about them. The search for 'freedom' yielded strikingly high tally in the media texts. The problem in these types of searches, however, was that security, a desirable, would occur mostly in stories concerning assaults on journalists and their institutions, 'less desirables'.

Overall, the texts appeared to emphasize official sources, pingpong ball claims of and about peace and conflict, and surface events rather than the deeper causes and viable solutions, showing little promise, if any, to influence peace as an outcome. The media, in covering themselves, rarely articulated a clear need and method for doing peace journalism although they invariably stood on the side of peace in all their prescriptions. •

Unhelpful Themes

Instead of promoting reconciliation and reducing tension, restoring confidence and peace, the media in a post-conflict setting can deliberately or unwittingly promote propaganda for one side or the other in the conflict, or stereotype parties to conflict. Analysis found that some cases of media manipulation, propaganda, and deception by political parties and businesses were reported and issues of gender stereotyping raised by the news outlets, but they rarely related to post-conflict situations.

The most recurring theme in this respect was propaganda. One of the cases that directly related to media propaganda and manipulation in post-conflict situation concerned the coverage of the week-long Maoist strike in May. One commentator noted that the Maoist party, apart from issuing threats to journalists and harassing them, used print, radio as well as television channels it owns and controls as 'propaganda machinery', and to vilify and denounce its enemies and critics. Stories also reported on the Maoist accusation that other media were distorting facts about them, demonizing them, and were biased against their party.

Articles lamented that some sections of the media had become overtly sensational in their coverage of political strikes and had fallen into a trap of their own making, adding misinformation in the news and victimizing themselves for propaganda and publicity stunts. One commentator wrote that Nepali media critics' reactive approach to media analysis was most visible in probing press coverage on touchy political issues and developing stories. The frequent finger-pointing about systematic media propaganda against certain political groups, and the portrayal of the Maoist general strike were but two examples.

Although a couple of commentaries referred to the need for a compassionate coverage of conflict victims and marginalized groups in society, conflict victims themselves rarely emerged in stories on media. One story bemoaned the persisting insensitivities among journalists in covering conflict issues, and the dangers of identifying news sources in stories on such topics.

The government media were not spared. One commentator observed that the state-owned media acted like the government and, by extension, the ruling party's propaganda machine. Therefore, fair media coverage for all sides was still a far cry from reality. Some articles noted that propaganda was such an essential element of the media that professionals found it unnecessary to explain their biases.

Similar frames appeared in some other major storylines, though not directly related to the political process of transition and peace, but affecting its general context. There were observations that Nepali media were too speculative, and gave unfair coverage to certain individuals, for example, Jamim Shah, linking him to the underworld, without hard evidence. Nepali media were seen as easily getting sucked into the propaganda fed by unseen forces and foreign media. In an example of media feeding wild speculations, there were

a few stories in which the Information and Communications Minister Shankar Pokhrel was attributed as saying that Shah was killed due to "tensions between India and Pakistan."

There were several articles commenting on the practice of deception, distortion and propaganda in media in general. Comments on stereotyping appeared in the context of gender-sensitive journalism, citing imbalance in the portrayal of women and the coverage of their issues. No reports of political correctness, racist language, and hate-messages were spotted. •

5 Conclusion & Recommendations

In conclusion, it is important to keep in perspective the relative lack of attention to news media coverage of media within the research community. Indeed, in general, at least in Nepal, understanding about media's self-coverage or self-assessment is based, at best, on expert guesses, personal assumptions, and widely held perceptions about media practices and performance in society. This is a major disadvantage in terms of appraising the actual standards and quality of journalism. It has important implications for the profession, academic studies, policy efforts, and above all, the use of media by the public in their everyday lives.

We believe that the significance of this study lies in its attempt to empirically assess the nature and volume of news media coverage of media in the time frame of one year. The analysis in the broader context of regional trends in coverage also offers meaningful comparisons.

The findings, for reasons of limitations in sampling, time frame, and the sources studied, are at best suggestive and not definitive.

This study should also be seen as an attempt in Nepal to identify peace-oriented themes of news coverage of media in major English-language newspapers of the country. Since the study was conducted right during the process of post-conflict transition, we started with the assumption that there would be some noteworthy, if not significant, introspection on the part of the media in covering this topic. The findings here indicate otherwise. The coverage in the context of peace and post-conflict was largely superficial and unenthusiastic. The media, in covering themselves, rarely articulated a clear need and method for doing peace journalism although they invariably stood on the side of peace in all their prescriptions.

Further research based on the content from the crosssections of the media may yield similar or different results. It is our hope that this research will at least encourage discussion, and perhaps mobilize efforts towards analyzing news coverage of media on a regular basis. Based on the research process and its findings, we offer some recommendations for further research and action.

- Broaden the sampling frame to make it more representative of Nepal's media coverage on media in terms of outlets taking into account their formats, languages, regions, periodicity, etc. The media landscape is expanding and diversifying with a number of TV channels, radio stations, new media platforms, and print, more importantly vernacular press, producing more content.
- Address the limitations of archiving and access to the data, including audio-visuals; explore and adopt other sampling and online aggregation methods to reflect the diversity of Nepali media content. For example, Google News Index or Twitter posts, though accessible, include only a segment of news outlets. They can be deficient, as this study showed, in the permanence of the actual content they link to.

- Enable news outlets to serve themselves and their audiences better by maintaining systematic archives with permanent links and exact dates of publications. In this research, for example, many links to *The Himalayan Times* were found dead, and some types of stories on *The Rising Nepal* website appeared without dates of publication or incomlpete dates.
- Refine, modify, or adjust some variables, for example Subject Matter, Story Type and Frequency (can do on a weekly basis, too); add other categories, if necessary, to cover pressing themes, issues and topics for them to be relevant to practical situations.
- Build on this study to glean long-term trends, patterns, and directions in the news media coverage of the media. Unlike a one-time study such as this, a regular yearly analysis of the topic could yield a more authentic assessment of the trends. We recommend media research organizations, such as the Media Foundation, could make this study an annual feature of their work.
- Encourage journalists and their employers for selfanalysis, by creating systems for inculcating an appetite for metajournalism among them.
- Encourage media outlets to review their media coverage agenda to include pressing issues and topics in the form of special sections, columns, and features to enable a strong public focus. Integrating media practices with social, economic and political agenda of the day has been found to be more effective than without such integration.
- Foster a culture of media education and literacy with particular focus on the grammar of media coverage on media by way of regular public dialogue, debate and engagement.

Annex 1

Twitter Account (@mediafound)



Annex 2

Search Terms

News coverage of media for Nepal and other countries in South-Central Asia was searched with the following key words, listed here alphabetically.

anchor

article

communication

cyber

documentaries

documentary

Internet

journalism

journalist

journalists

media

mobile

movie

movies

news

newspapers

online

press

radio

reporter

reporting

scribe

telecommunication

telephone

television

 TV

Web

About the Authors



DHARMA ADHIKARI, Ph.D.

Dharma developed the framework for this study, contributed to the analysis, the writing of the report, and offered an overall direction to the research process. As part of his research focus, he maintains interest in the public role of journalism. He is a co-initiator of the Media Foundation.



JAGADISH POKHREL

Jagadish analyzed the data and co-wrote the report. He has interest in socio-cultural analysis of news media trends, routines and practices. He has an M.A. in Anthropology. He is a founding member of the Media Foundation.



SHEKHAR KC

Shekhar coded, interpreted, analyzed data, and wrote parts of the draft report. He has interest in media institutions and their functions. Currently, he is doing his Bachelor's in Media Studies at Kathmandu University.



BHRIKUTI RAI

Bhrikuti contributed in the coding, interpretation and analysis, and in parts, in the writing of the draft report. She has interest in media research. She is a Bachelor's level Media Studies student at Kathmandu University.

This study analyzed trends in the coverage of media by news media in major news outlets of South-Central Asia during 2010. In addition, full-length stories on Nepal for the year were analyzed qualitatively for themes relating to post-conflict transition. Findings suggest, regionally, India and China led others in the coverage, with Nepal showing steady focus on media topics and issues. However, Nepali media's post-conflict focus appeared unenthusiastic.

peace through media Attacks on the press 2009: Nepal abuses continue Concern over threat to editors, publishers Understanding media freedom Information and democracy Murders and death threats to silence Nepali media Reporting death and

About the Media Foundation

Based in Kathmandu, Nepal, the Media Foundation is an independent, not-for-profit research and policy initiative launched in the form of a think- (and do-) tank to explore innovative ideas for media development in the emerging democracy. Activities aim to strengthen professionalism, advance media research, advocate public interest and promote excellence in journalism and communications disciplines. Members in the board include Bharat Dutta Koirala, Dr. Jan Sharma, Dr. Dharma Adhikari, Punita Rimal, Jagadish Pokhrel, Gopal Chitrakar and Dr. Arun Gupto.

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