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### **Effects of 1990's Democracy on News Coverage of Tibetan Refugee by Nepalese Press and Their Perception**

Achyut Aryal

*PhD Scholar: MewarUniversity (MU),Gangrar, Chittorgarh,Rajasthan, India.*

#### **ABSTRACT**

This study examined the effects of 1990's restoration of democracy on news coverage of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press and perception expression pattern of Tibetan refugee as spiral of violence. The method adopted was content analysis and 779 issues from 18 newspapers of 6 different sampled (systematically) years where from 3 selected newspapers of each year were analyzed. 4 research questions and 4 hypotheses (both alternative and null) were made and adequately substantiated on effects of 1990's democratic reform on news coverage of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press and their perception (opinion) expression pattern in Nepal. The findings of the study however, revealed that the 1990's restoration of democracy has tremendous effects on Nepalese press on coverage to issues on Tibetan refugee in comparison to pre-democracy period ( $H_1 = \mu < \mu_2$  in three cases and  $H_0 = \mu = \bar{D} = 0$  in one cases during 3 -  $\chi^2$  test, a t-test and an A-test respectively). Furthermore, the paper through questionnaire survey observed that due to fear of Isolation Tibetan refugee remain almost silent even in Nepalese press and such behavior compels them to express their voices through protest after certain time period, which affects: media, society and the refugee themselves. The paper therefore suggests that the press should endeavor to give adequate attention to various issues on Tibetan refugees as well as their voice in its coverage so as to peacefully settle this world famous minority's hurdle.

**KEY WORDS:** Refugee, Effects, Democracy, Coverage, News, Press, Perception.

#### **\*Corresponding Author**

Achyut Aryal

PhD Scholar: MewarUniversity (MU),Gangrar, Chittorgarh,Rajasthan, India.

Department Head: Biblical Communication and Media (BCM) Department, Nepal-Korea International College (NKIC), Affiliated to Seoul Theological University (STU),Seoul, South Korea & Mass Communication and Journalism Department, Nepal Institute of Management and Sciences (NIMS), Affiliated to Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Email:aryala4dk@yahoo.com, Cell No. 977- 9741060086

## **INTRODUCTION**

The Nepalese political arena changed dramatically in 1990 when political parties were re-realized following pro-democracy movement. Under the 1990 constitution, Nepal became both a multiparty parliamentary political system and constitutional monarchy with a directly elected lower house of parliament (205 seats) and an upper house (60) seats elected by an electoral college and nominated by the king. Nevertheless, these constitutional provisions were halted following the November 2001 state of emergency, which hoped to combat the Maoist insurgency. The constitutional provisions were officially suspended in May 2002 when parliament was dissolved following heightened political instability<sup>1</sup>.

Following the 1991 election, the 1990s were characterized by political instability in Nepal, reaching an apex in 2001 with the murder by Crown prince Dipendra of most of the Royal family. Another king Gynendra took power in February 1, 2005<sup>2</sup> (Dahal and Timsina: 2007, pg. 33). There was a crisis of stability because of the dissolved parliament restored following the success of people's uprising in April 2006. The Nepali army had been brought under civilian control, an interim constitution was drafted which is now working after the failure of CA in 2012. And discussion are under way for new elections to a constitute assembly and now Maoist is in government with another partner MJF.

After the revival of democracy in 1990, there was a quantum growth in media in Nepal<sup>3</sup>. This has been played a decisive role in promoting and strengthening news coverage practice of press for all, including minorities like Tibetan refugee as well. Press freedom was ensured by the constitution, and the national Communication policy of 1992 had promised greater autonomy of the government-controlled broadcast media and privatization of electronic media industry through the issuing of license. However in reality, writing that is perceived as undermining the monarchy, national security and public order was broadly suppressed by both the constitution and press and publication Act. The country's main television and radio station was owned and operated by the government and favors the ruling party<sup>4</sup>.

Although the institutional history of Nepali press could be traced back to 1851 when Rana prime minister Jung Bahadur Rana installed a printing press (Giddhe Press), or in 1901 when the state-owned newspaper, the Gorkhapatra, was launched, its practical history begins in 1950s, after the fall of Ranas, when several pioneering journalist took to publishing newspaper in a transitional democracy. Thirty years after the royal takeover of 1960 represented a repressive press system. During this time, press enjoyed limited right sand lobbied, to some extent, for multiparty democracy that could guarantee press

freedom. After the restoration of democracy in 1990 a drastic change came in the Nepali media particularly in the private sector. Liberal provision and guarantee of press freedom enshrined in the constitution opened up avenues for the private sector to involve on the media sector. The 1990's democracy yielded by the people's Movement also established rights and freedom of the press. The constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal (1990) formally guaranteed the freedom of the press and publication<sup>5</sup>.

With the restoration of multiparty democracy in 1990, the media environment in Nepal took a dramatic turn. The issue of freedom of speech and expression first found specific recognition in the country's first Constitution in 1948 but it was never implemented. All subsequent four constitutions in 1951, 1958, 1963 and 1990 made similar recognition with varied wordings and provisions. The acts that followed were of different nature and pattern however<sup>6</sup>. The interim constitution 2006 has followed the same pattern of before<sup>7</sup>.

Refugees are legally defined under Article 1a of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees as:

Any person who owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country<sup>8</sup>.

The refugee problem has existed since the emergence of the nation state. The process of nation-building and state-building has been itself responsible for producing a vast number of refugees. Besides, war, famine and political oppression have been the other reasons contributing to population displacement. From a theoretical perspective, there are six broad casual factors responsible for refugee creation namely (i) anti-colonial wars and self determination movements; (ii) international conflicts; (iii) revolutions, coups and regime changes; (iv) ethnic, communal and religious conflicts; (v) creation and restructuring of state boundaries, and (vi) population transfers.

The Chinese People's Liberation Army launched its first 'invasion' into Tibet in 1949 which is now the autonomous region of the People's Republic of China. In the years that followed the Dalai Lama's efforts to make peace with the Chinese leadership failed. On the night of March 17, 1959, the Dalai Lama took flight towards India, hoping to appeal to the international community to take action

against Chinese 'aggression' in Tibet. On March 31, 1959, exhausted and seriously ill, the Dalai Lama crossed onto Indian soil. All hope for the survival of Tibet's 2,000 year old civilization lay in India with the Dalai Lama and 100,000 refugees living in India and Nepal.

An estimated 20,000 Tibetan refugees in Nepal arrived between 1959 and 1989. Since the early 1980's, when China-Tibet opened to trade and tourism, a second exodus of Tibetan refugees have joined the Tibetan exile community in Nepal India and fleeing religious persecution, political repression, aggressive sanitization and cultural genocide.

At the end of 1989, Nepal stopped registering Tibetan refugees. Of the remaining registered refugees, some 12,000 live in Kathmandu's Bouddha or in Pokhara, Baglung, and other places. China considers these refugees as illegal immigrants. From 1986 to 1996 approximately 25,000 Tibetans have taken refuge in India increasing the exile population by more than 18%, 30% are children seeking placement in an exile school. Refugees must travel for days in waist-deep snow, there is nowhere to find shelter, food or water in the mountain passes; many suffer frostbite, injury, death. It has been a consistent policy of Nepal that Tibet is an integral part of China. Sino-Nepal relations in political, economic and cultural spheres have grown from heights to heights since diplomatic relations was established in 1955. Occasionally, Nepal faces criticism from the U.S and some European countries as regards to its Tibetan refugee policy.

The numbers of Tibetan asylum seekers had decreased from apx.3, 621 in 1994 to 2448 in 2002. It is also dangerous for refugees to return; a Tibetan who has been to Nepal or India risks interrogation, harassment, and work and travel restrictions<sup>9</sup>. A number of changes occurred at the UNHCR run Tibetan Reception Center in Kathmandu. In recent years, there have always been over 2,000 new arrivals annually, but only 596 came in 2008. This can be put down to tighter border security, the Olympic Games and clampdowns in Tibet. Those who came into Nepal received food, medical care and counseling facilities at the Reception Center. Staff here also dealt with the processing of the Special Entry Permit from the Indian Embassy and the exit permit from Nepal. This was followed by allocation of subsistence allowances and transportation to New Delhi by bus. New procedures put in place at the Center improved the service provided to new arrivals. LWF Nepal assisted in completing these tasks, providing trauma counseling and using volunteers. In addition, a volunteer community outreach officer looked after unaccompanied children.

Both Nepal and India are not the party to the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and neither to the 1967 Additional Protocol. Additionally, none of these countries have enacted any refugees' law to govern the growing mass exodus. The protection refugees are based on the traditional hospitality and the deeply ingrained culture in the host community. The host governments are operating refugees' response on ad-hoc basis thus there is no any legally binding instruments to guarantee the refugee protection. Thus, whenever there is any change in the governments or power equation in the host governments, the refugee communities undergo a tremendous psychological pressure about their safety, security, human rights and the possibility for safe and dignified return<sup>10</sup>. Tibetan refugees have no legal status in Nepal, but they move freely, work in the local economy, utilize local facilities, and farm land that was purchased for them in the 1960s by the Nepal Red Cross. In Katmandu, some have dispersed among the local population<sup>11</sup>.

### ***Statement of the problem***

This study is of Tibetan refugee issues published in selected Nepali print media conceptualizes Tibetan refugee as minorities and basically focused oneffects of 1990's democracy (restoration of democracy) on Tibetan refugee's news coverage by Nepalese press. Moreover, it reveals perception pattern of Tibetan refugee. The overall objective of this study is to analyze the pattern of the news coverage in the Nepalese media regarding the Tibetan refugee problem in Nepal in order to get a clearer picture not only of the Authoritarian era, but also of the liberal democracy after 1990 through comparisons and the evaluations expressed by the press through scientific instruments (content analysis), thus obtaining a snapshot of how the selected media in the chosen period described the Tibetan refugee problem of Nepal. This research selects some mainstream print from Kathmandu to do content survey. Among six sampled years; three print media of each year; altogether eighteen dailies has been analyzed. To analyze effects on coverage, news and views have been categorized and analyzed where focus has been given on different approaches. As diplomatic concern and beyond Free Tibet movement Tibetan refugee in Nepali territory is not far and hidden from the world community and political affairs. In the geo-political affairs of this era relationships of Nepal with China, India, America and other European countries concerns on the minorities Tibetan refugee, its relation with media coverage and effects of Democracy on it is important to study. The research problems of this study are:

- a. What restoration of Democracy in 1990 does have effect on news coverage pattern of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press?

- b. What restoration of Democracy in 1990 is effective to control anti-China news (content) coverage by Nepalese press?
- c. Is there any differences in Tibetan refugee's news coverage between before and after Democracy of 1990 by Nepalese press?
- d. Is restoration of Democracy in 1990 is useful for Tibetan refugee to express their perception in Nepalese press as coverage?

There are four general hypotheses (null and alternative each) that has been made before research task, they are:

### **Hypothesis 1**

H<sub>0</sub>: Restoration of Democracy in 1990 does have no effect on news coverage pattern of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press ( $H_0 = \mu = \mu_0$  which is equivalent to test  $H_0 = D = 0$ ).

H<sub>1</sub>: Restoration of Democracy in 1990 does have effect on news coverage pattern of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press ( $H_1 = \mu < \mu_0$ ).

### **Hypothesis 2**

H<sub>0</sub>: Restoration of democracy in 1990 is not effective in controlling the anti-China news (content) coverage by Nepalese press ( $H_0 = \mu = \mu_0$  which is equivalent to test  $H_0 = D = 0$ ).

H<sub>1</sub>: Restoration of democracy in 1990 is effective in controlling the anti-China news (content) coverage by Nepalese press ( $H_1 = \mu < \mu_0$ ).

### **Hypothesis 3**

H<sub>0</sub>: There are no differences in Tibetan refugee's news coverage between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 by Nepalese press ( $H_0 = \mu = \mu_0$  which is equivalent to test  $H_0 = D = 0$ ).

H<sub>1</sub>: There are differences in Tibetan refugee's news coverage between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 by Nepalese press. ( $H_1 = \mu < \mu_0$ ).

### **Hypothesis 4**

H<sub>0</sub>: Restoration of democracy in 1990 is not useful (effective) in case of Tibetan refugee to express their perception in Nepalese press as coverage. ( $H_0 = \mu = \mu_0$  which is equivalent to test  $H_0 = D = 0$ ).

H<sub>1</sub>: Restoration of democracy in 1990 is useful (effective) in case of Tibetan refugee to express their perception in Nepalese press as coverage. ( $H_1 = \mu < \mu_0$ ).

## **METHODOLOGY**

In order to know the frequency of reporting Tibetan refugee news/views in the press, intensive research work was carried out by researcher and an assistant researcher (Trishna Acharya, MA student of Journalism). As part of the PHD project, media were analyzed for the six consecutive months in 2012. Media were analyzed of before and after restoration of democracy in 1990. The data was analyzed by using normal SPSS program.

### ***Methods***

To this end, the study design used in the research work for data collection was content analysis. Importantly, communication research content analysis is regarded a formal system which is systematic and objective for extracting all forms of communication contents. According to Berelson (1952), content analysis is a research technique for the objective systematic description of manifest content of communication. Similarly, Kerlinger (2000) defines content analysis as a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables cited in Wimmer and Dominick (2009). Therefore, content analysis was used in this study as a tool to extract data from the content of the selected newspapers of respective years. This was done by analyzing the frequency and prominence or importance as well as direction/slant of news on Tibetan refugee activities as content categories. More so, the unit of measurement and news analysis included features, news stories, editorials, special reports and sources of news, etc.

### ***Sample size***

In the context of this study, there is no doubt that it is impracticable to study over all daily newspapers of 56 years after the influx of Tibetan refugee in Nepal considering the time frame, constraint and most especially unavailability of some of the members of the population to the researcher is another reason. Therefore, only 3 newspapers were selected for the study of the each year. They are namely:

**Table No. 1: Newspaper Sample**

S.N.	Years and Press					
	1969	1974	1989	2004	2008	2012
1	Samaj = 39	NayaSamaj= 7	Samaj= 29	THT= 83	THT= 141	THT= 107
2	The Commoner= 10	Gorkhapatra= 37	DainikSiddartha= 10	TRN= 2	TRN= 35	TRN= 9
3	Motherland= 14	Hamro Des= 7	Gorkhapatra= 12	TKP= 29	TKP= 178	TKP= 30
total	63	51	51	114	354	146

*(Note: THT= The Kathmandu Post, TRN= The Rising Nepal and THT= The Himalayan Times)*

*Source: Content Survey 2012*

### ***Sampling technique***

For the purpose of this study, 6 different years (1959, 1974 and 1989 of before restoration of democracy and 2004, 2008 and 2012 of after restoration of democracy) were selected systematically including 15 years differences for pre-1990 and 4 years for post 1990. Further, 3 national daily, of each year, totally 9 from pre-1990 and similarly 9 from post-1990, of each year 3, totally 19 were selected. It is assumed that the declaration of democracy in 1990 heavily affected Tibetan refugee News coverage and further people’s movement in 2006 and end of monarch also affected Tibetan refugee news coverage by Nepalese press.

The reasons for the selection of these newspapers were based on their national coverage popularity readership rating and large extent of specific positions on national issues. More so, a simple random sampling technique was adopted for the selection of the years to be studied each 3 from two phases, pre and post 1990 time frame. This is because the sampling technique allows every unit of the population an equal chance of being selected from the sample.

For the purpose of emphasis, the years selected were arrived at using the format. Essentially, all the yearsoftwo phases were assigned identical cards, for the selection of the sample. The identical cards were placed in an enclosed container with a lid whenever the cards were reshuffled. As the container was opened after been reshuffled, the first card that was picked was 1959 followed by 1974 which was the second card. This particular method is referred to as ‘hand drawing balloting’. The method/technique gives equal opportunity or chance to issues selected each year without any form of bias.

### ***Unit of measurement/analysis***

To get answer of effects of 1990's democracy on news coverage of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press and their perception as independent variables; news tone/frame/angle (anti-China, one-China and unspecified), Perception (news with a quote of TR: quotes of Dalai Lama and exile Govt. representative, quotes of general TR and news without a quote of TR), news source (agency and non-agency), total news item, total space (cm<sup>2</sup>), pre-democracy and post-democracy coverage are searched and answered as dependent variables in respect to news and views content. The content was coded according to both quantitative and qualitative variables.

The parameters for this study unit of analysis in collecting data included news, stories, features articles, editorials, special reports and news sources, etc. In addition, in terms of content(s) of the units of analysis, frequency slant/direction and prominence, etc was tested after a smart coding-sheet analysis. In the case of frequency, it was determined or tested based on the volume of reports on issues about pre-1990 vis-à-vis post-1990 coverage. Altogether, 779 contents (news and views) of that press 165 before 1990 and 614 after 1990 were reported at the 6 different time frames. All the daily newspapers were selected purposefully because they were leading press on locate time reference.

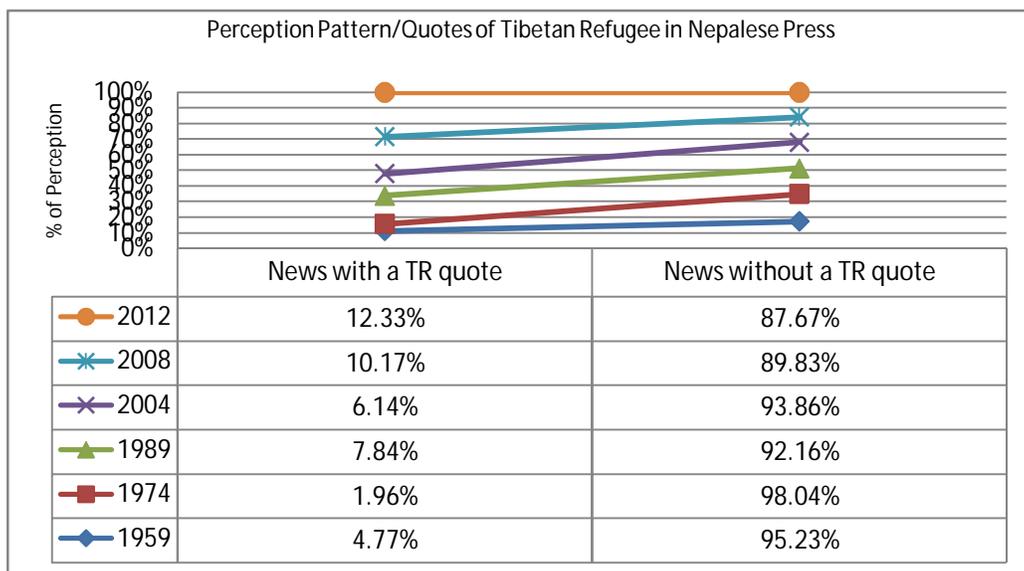
### **WHAT TIBETANS DO SPEAK IN PRESS?**

The media gives voice to various sections of society through one channel or another. They attract public attention, persuade people, influence their behavior and help define many issues. Access to media is an important factor for enhancing media access to readers, listeners and viewers. And it is possible only in democracy. Here is a table of data which reveals about Tibetan refugee's perception in Nepalese press in authoritarian era and in democracy both:

**Table No. 2: Perception Pattern**

Year A.D.	Perception Pattern/ Quotes of Tibetan Refugee(TR) in Press		
	Total news with a quotes on TR		Total news without TR quotes
	Quotes of General TR	Quotes of Dalai Lama and Exile Govt. representative	
1959	0	3	60
1974	0	1	50
1989	0	4	47
2004	1	6	107
2008	6	30	318
2012	2	16	128
Total	9	60	710

The available data proves that Tibetan refugee community in Nepal is not speaking in front of Nepalese press. Nepalese press quote except Tibetan refugee while dealing with Tibetan refugee news. Nepalese media reporting Tibetan refugee matter without quotes from concerned sector? Is it fare? Why it is happening? Who are responsible for it? Do Tibetan refugee speak in Nepalese press/ or press are being biased for quoting them? What is the reality, as a media researcher I felt responsibility to search it. The following quote pattern results definitely forces everyone to search why?



**Figure No. 1: Perception Pattern in Chart**

Use of quotes is a very widely accepted practice among journalist. Without quotes, news stories are generally not complete. They add life to a news item. In case of Tibetan refugee reporting this does not apply. Another result more surprisingly presents the perception representation of Tibetan refugee in Nepalese press:

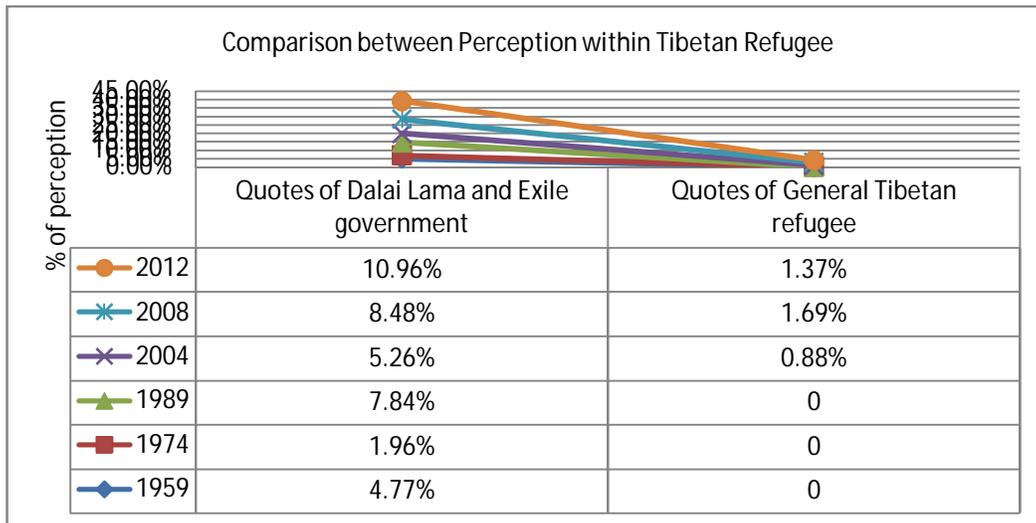


Figure No. 2: Perception Pattern Comparison in Chart

Prajapatisows that the Rising Nepal, has used 0 quote of Tibetan refugee in 2008<sup>12</sup>. From above explanation and data it is proved that very few perception from Tibetan refugee is being covered in press. In few among them too belongs to the head of the exile-government Dalai Lama and exile-government representative. Where are other general refugees who are in great number? Why such few general refugees are being quoted in press? What is the reason behind it? Why they are not speaking in both periods; in dictatorship and in democracy or in other word before 1990 and after 1990's restoration of democracy period? Following section is for it.

**Test**

Is restoration of Democracy in 1990 is useful for Tibetan refugee to express their perception in Nepalese press as coverage? The answer of this question has found like this: On the basis of data available for quotes the expected frequency corresponding to the number time period and types of news quotes would be 14.615. The  $\chi^2$  analysis of news with Tibetan refugee quotes table data of between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results  $\sum (O_{ij}-E_{ij})/E_{ij} = 4.164$ . Where 69 news with a TR quote, and 710 news items without a TR quote s with total 779 examined. Here in this case degree of

freedom is  $(c-1)(r-1) = 1$ ; and the table value of  $\chi^2$  for 1 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance is 3.841. So, the calculated value of  $\chi^2$  is much higher than this table value which means that the calculated value cannot be said to have arisen just because of chance. It is significant. Hence, the  $H_0$  hypothesis doesn't support. This means that  $H_1$ : Restoration of democracy in 1990 is useful (effective) in case of Tibetan refugee to express their perception in Nepalese press as coverage ( $H_1 = \mu < \mu_2$ ) has been accepted.

## **WHY TIBETANS DO NOT SPEAK?**

Restoration of democracy in 1990 is useful (effective) in case of Tibetan refugee to express their perception in Nepalese press as coverage, then why they are not speaking? Why they are not being quoted in press? What is the reason behind it?

### ***Theory***

The concept of the 'Spiral of silence' derives from a larger body of theory of popular opinion that was developed and tested by Noelle-Neumann (1974:1984:1991) over a number of years. The relevant theory concerns the interplay between four elements: Mass media: Interpersonal communication and social relations: Individual expression of opinion: and the perceptions which individuals have of the surrounding 'climate of opinion' in their own social environment. The main assumptions of the theory (Noelle-Neumann, 1991) are as follows:

- Society threatens deviant individuals with isolation.
- Individuals experience fear of isolation continuously.
- This fear of isolation causes individuals to try to assess the climate of opinion all at times.
- The result of this estimate affects their behavior in public, especially their willingness or not to express opinions openly.

### ***Core Assumptions and Statements***

The phrase "spiral of silence" actually refers to how people tend to remain silent when they feel that their views are in the minority. The model is based on three premises: 1) people have a "quasi-statistical organ," a sixth-sense if you will, which allows them to know the prevailing public opinion, even without access to polls, 2) people have a fear of isolation and know what behaviors will increase

their likelihood of being socially isolated, and 3) people are reticent to express their minority views, primarily out of fear of being isolated.

The closer a person believes the opinion held is similar to the prevailing public opinion, the more they are willing to openly disclose that opinion in public. Then, if public sentiment changes, the person will recognize that the opinion is less in favor and will be less willing to express that opinion publicly. As the perceived distance between public opinion and a person's personal opinion grows, the more unlikely the person is to express their opinion<sup>13</sup>.

### ***Scope and Application***

It is related to the mass media and democracy, in such a way that mass media influences public opinion. Shifts in public opinion occur commonly and therefore this theory is used to search an explanation for behavior (speak up or stay silent). The theory has also been criticized for ambiguity and methodological weakness, but the idea has persisted. Evidence of the spiral effect is usually small but significant.

### **NEWS SOURCE IS A FACTOR?**

We can argue that spiral of silence does not apply in this case, if so let us try to search answer. Sources are one of the most influencing factors on determining news value. To search the answers of previously raised questions lets opine that may be the source is a factor and let us look the pattern of source used on Tibetan refugee news:

**Table no. 3: News Sources**

Year A.D.	News Sources	
	Agency News	Non-Agency News
1959	0	63
1974	0	51
1989	0	51
2004	44	70
2008	167	187
2012	83	63
Total	294	485

From the data it is clear that before restoration of democracy in 1990 Nepalese press had not been used agency while reporting Tibetan refugee, the 0 use of agency news as source itself is a great surprise. And if we compare it with the few quotes available in Nepalese press of Tibetan refugee it can be said that if the use of agency rate grows the use of Tibetan refugee quotes also grows. But when we look towards another factor of general Tibetan refugee we surprise again. They are not speaking again. It means growth in use of agency as news source does effects on Dalai Lama and exile-government's perception but not with general Tibetan refugee who are staying in Nepal. The figure below proves the same:

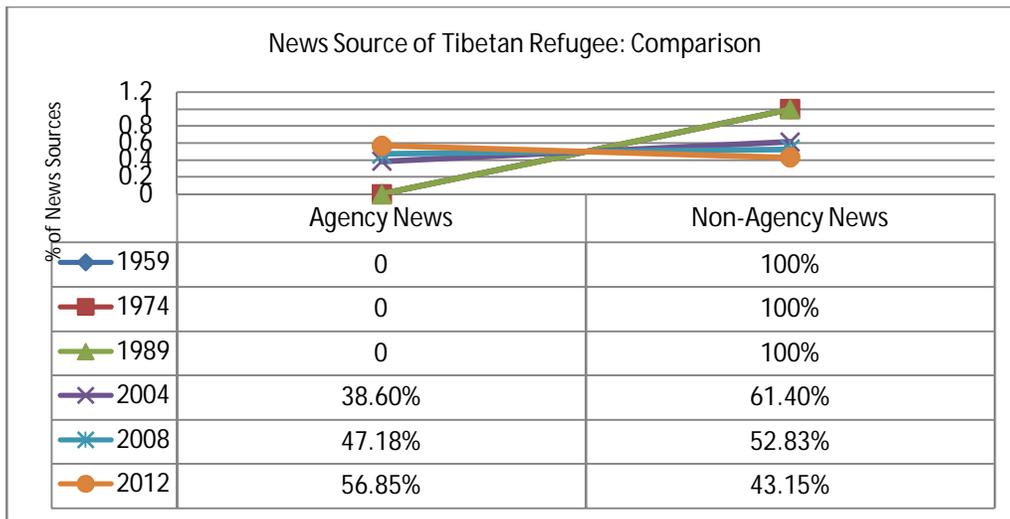


Figure No. 3: News Sources Pattern in Chart

The result is that agency news is also not the factor behind Tibetan refugee's perception pattern in low rate. Agency news source does have no effects on minority's perception coverage, in other case Tibetan refugee's perception here in this research. Otherwise in case of the growth of the use of agency by Nepalese press after 1990's must have effect on perception coverage of the refugee. Again question remains the same, what is the reason if it is not spiral of silence?

### FOREIGN POLICY IS A FACTOR?

Nepal's foreign policy to China is by and large respected by the Nepalese press. The influence of the foreign policy of the country on Nepalese media is high when the issue of Tibet is reported. It is highly unlikely that news media can hardly avoid the sensitivity of the country's foreign relationship with its immediate neighbors and Nepal's geopolitical situation. But the result data surprise us again, let us look:

Table No. 4: News angle/tone

Year	Angle/Frame/Tone of News		
	Anti-China	One-China	Unspecified
1959	22	21	20
1974	3	33	15
1989	16	22	13
2004	40	57	17
2008	120	200	34
2012	48	73	25
Total	249	406	124

Though Nepal has consistently maintained its position towards its northern neighbor, Nepal is still considered as easy entry and transit point for Tibetan refugee to travel to India. Nepal's commitment to act against anti-Chinese activities in its Nepalese soil can be observed even since King Mahendra's period in 1960's. King Mahendra suppressed the voices of Tibetan refugees in Nepal, and stopped any political activities of them from Nepal against the People's Republic of China. Whereas, King Birendra eliminated the Khampa rebels fighting against the Chinese rule in Tibet from the northern boarder of Nepal in 1970's.

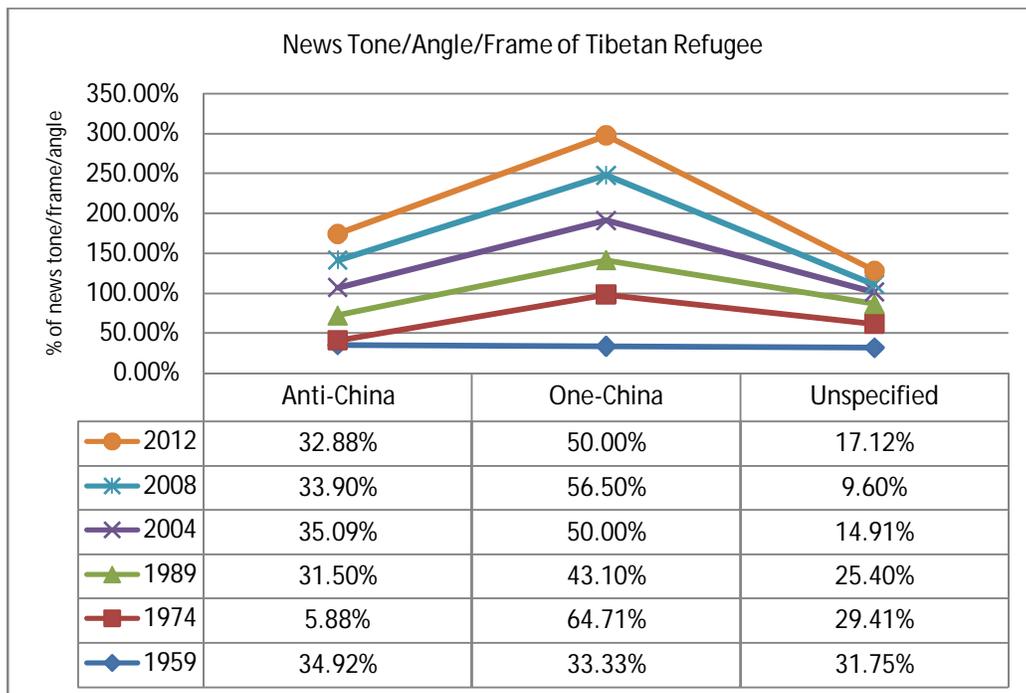


Figure No. 4: News Tone/Angle/Frame Pattern in Chart

However Nepalese leader continually reiterate their commitment to one-China policy. Late Girija Pd. Koirala, Puspa Kamal Dahal, Madav Kumar Nepal, JhalanaathKhanal and Dr. Babu Ram Bhattarai expressed their commitment that the Government of Nepal would not allow anti-China activities in Nepal during high level visit.

But, the outcome of research makes us surprise again. This shows anti-China reporting in Nepalese press does have no difference in between pre-1990 and post-1990. This means there is no effect of foreign policy on Nepalese press for covering Tibetan refugee with anti-China perspective. Let us compare:

***Test***

What restoration of Democracy in 1990 is effective to control anti-China news (content) coverage by Nepalese press? The answer of this question has found like this: The  $\chi^2$  analysis of One-China and Anti-China table data of between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results  $\sum (O_{ij} \cdot E_{ij}) / E_{ij} = 1.47$ . Where 117 One-China news, 249 Anti-China news with total 655 examined. Here in this case degree of freedom is  $(c-1)(r-1) = 1$ ; and the table value of  $\chi^2$  for 1 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance is 3.841. So, the calculated value of  $\chi^2$  is much lower then this table value and hence the result of the experiment does support the  $H_0$  hypothesis. We can thus conclude and accept  $H_0$ : Restoration of democracy in 1990 is not effective in controlling the anti-China news (content) coverage by Nepalese press ( $H_0 = \mu = \bar{D} = 0$ ).

**COVERAGE COMPARISION: PRE-1990 AND POST-1990**

To search answer of previously raised question, it is better to know coverage pattern of Nepalese press before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 first. Here is a table which shows total coverage pattern:

**Table No. 5: News Coverage (cm<sup>2</sup>)**

Year	News Coverage (cm <sup>2</sup> )
1959	516 X 727 cm <sup>2</sup>
1974	623 X 811 cm <sup>2</sup>
1989	687 X 829 cm <sup>2</sup>
2004	1,310 X 1,431 cm <sup>2</sup>
2008	4,517 X 4,638 cm <sup>2</sup>
2012	1,711 X 1,541 cm <sup>2</sup>
Total	9,364 X 9,971 cm <sup>2</sup>

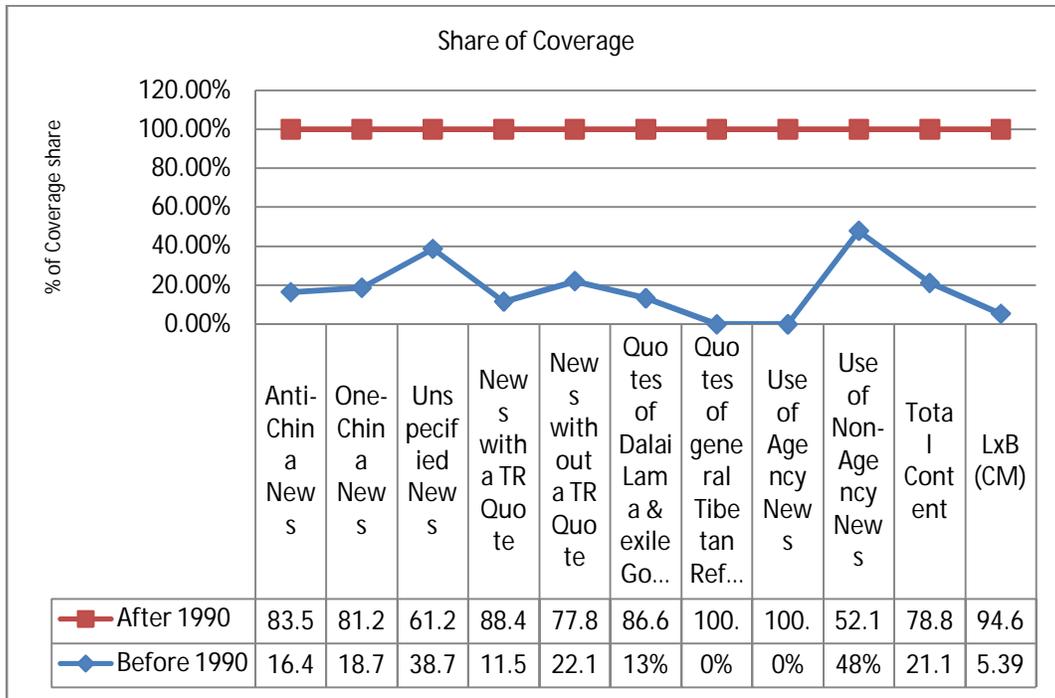


Figure No. 5: Share of Coverage Before & After 1990

**Test**

What restoration of Democracy in 1990 does have effect on news coverage pattern of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press? The answer of this question has found like this: Because of the matched pairs we use t-test and work out the test statistic of all categorized data. To find the value of t, first needed to calculate mean and standard deviation after suddenly  $D_{\sim}$  has been found = -169.33. Where calculated value of  $\sigma_{diff.} = 172.46$ . And in this context The t-analysis of news coverage of all aspects table data of between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results  $t = -2.405$  Where total 779 examined. Here in this case degree of freedom is  $(n-1) = 6-1 = 5$ . As  $H_1$  is one sided, we shall apply a one-tailed test( in the left tailed because  $H_1$  is of less then type) for determining the rejection region at 5% level of significance which covers as under, using table of t-distribution for 5 degrees of freedom R:  $t < -2.015$ . The observed value of t is -2.405 which falls in the rejection region and thus , we reject  $H_0$  at 5% level and conclude that  $H_1$ : Restoration of Democracy in 1990 does have effect on news coverage pattern of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press ( $H_1 = \mu < \mu_2$ ) has been accepted. We can conduct A-test for same condition again. Since  $H_1$  in the condition is one sided, we shall apply a one-tailed test. Accordingly at 5% level of significance the table of A-statistic  $(n-1)$  or  $(6-1) = 5$ d.f. in the given case is 0.372. Where the computed value of A from the same data table as used in t-test above  $\sum D_i^2 / (D_i)^2 = 0.31$  , is less then this table value and as such A-statistic is significant. This means we should reject  $H_0$

(Alternatively we should accept  $H_1$ ) and should infer that  $H_1$ : Restoration of Democracy in 1990 does have effect on news coverage pattern of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press ( $H_1 = \mu < \mu_2$ ) has been accepted.

## **FINDINGS FROM MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS**

The section will present the findings from the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the media content. The study's findings suggest that there were indeed differences in the way the Tibetan refugee problem of Nepal was covered by Nepalese press in between pre- democracy versus post-democracy. Additionally, there were differences in how the story was portrayed in the press before and after democracy. This section will highlight some of these findings:

The content analysis demonstrates that the problem is first and foremost framed in a political dimension with the crisis framed as a political struggle between local Nepalese actors, and a struggle between the Nepalese government and the international community. This trend is underlined by the scope applied by the media in that they frequently focus on the international implications of the problem as opposed to viewing the problem with a local Nepalese context. The problem of Tibetan refugee in Nepal is also framed as a humanitarian issue, stressing that the problem is caused by external factors such as the international community instead of local causes. This is furthermore underlined by the topics covered, where stories focusing on the refugees, for example, are very few, especially in the non-Nepalese media and the Nepalese state-controlled media. The Tibetan refugees and other victims of the problem are losing out in the media coverage in large part because when humanitarian issues are covered they tend to lean become politicized. Only on rare occasions are the victims used as direct sources in the news stories. Instead, Nepalese government sources are prevalent in the news stories. Likewise, it is government officials that stand out as one of the main protagonists in the news coverage. The use of language in covering the Tibetan refugee problem of Nepal is relatively balanced and sensitive. Still, the media content analysis indicates that some media, and in particular the Nepalese written press, use terms which lean towards special interpretations of conflict, using terms such as 'genocide', 'ethnic cleansing'; and 'human catastrophe'. The content analysis shows, that few media platforms offer a balanced debate between different positions to the problem. Although there is no long tradition for debates in pre-1990 and post-1990 Nepalese press, this stands out as a particular problem in relation to the complexity of the Tibetan refugee problem in Nepal. Thus, instead of using first-hand sources, many outlets seek alternative sources of information, most commonly Nepalese government

authorities. Meanwhile, the non-Nepalese (Asian/Western) media complain that the Nepalese authorities conceal and manipulate information. Finally, the parties in Nepal have also imposed restrictions on journalists' freedom in areas controlled by party's factions. Media coverage of Tibetan refugee of Nepal has also been affected by internal elements. For example, the absence of a clear editorial policy for many of the media outlets covering the Tibetan refugee situation of Nepal has increased the difficulty of accurate reporting and the ineffectiveness of their new product. In the absence of a clear editorial policy, the work is carried out mechanically and coverage overlaps the political and the humanitarian, the national and the regional, all at the expense of professionalism. In addition to the lack of clarity in such editorial policy, there is scarcity in the number of journalists who are trained to cover the problems in general and the Problem of Tibetan refugee in Nepal in particular. These factors together produce media coverage of Tibetan refugee in Nepal that fluctuates in volume and quality and which most pre-1990 and post-1990 press themselves admit as unsatisfactory. In reporting Tibetan refugee issues, Nepali print media always remain in self-censored state. Print media doesn't want to take risk by irritating China, India, USA and any other nation. Print media, democratic and non-democratic, both alliances cover Tibetan refugee issues from two different approaches. One is with supporting approach and other is with non supporting aspects. Former is seems to have supported Tibetan refugee and western democratic superpower's philosophy (strategy) and later one seems to have supported Chinese and communistic notion during coverage of Tibetan refugee issues. National sovereignty has become the ultimate standpoint that which seems forced both media alliance to come together and this spirit promotes peace in South Asia.

Not surprisingly, the coverage of the Tibetan refugee of Nepal in the pre-1990 Nepalese press differed significantly from that of the post-1990 Nepalese press not only qualitatively but also quantitatively.

### ***Test***

Is there any differences in Tibetan refugee's news coverage between before and after Democracy of 1990 by Nepalese press? The answer of this question has found like this: The  $\chi^2$  analysis of news tone/frame/angle table data of between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results  $\sum (O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2 / E_{ij} = 27.61$ . Where 406 One-China news, 249 Anti-China news and 124 not specified news with total 779 examined. Here in this case degree of freedom is  $(c-1)(r-1) = 2$ ; and the table value for 2 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance is 5.991. So, the calculated value of  $\chi^2$  is much higher then this table value which means that the calculated value cannot be said to have arisen just because of

chance. It is significant. Hence, the hypothesis doesn't hold good. This means that the news coverage patterns of Nepalese press between and after restoration of democracy differ and are not similar in volume too. Naturally then news coverage volume of one phase must be higher in quantity and space than that of other. The  $H_1$ : There are differences in Tibetan refugee's news coverage between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 by Nepalese press ( $H_1 = \mu < \mu_2$ ) has been accepted.

## WHAT NEXT: THE END???

Why Tibetans are silent in press? After different evidence and tests, the answer is: it is spirals of silence. My question here again is it the end? Is it final? Is there nothing after spirals of silence? Is there any side effect that a spiral of silence does have? Nobody ever has searched on this direction, even the past scholars who'd involved in spirals of silence test and moreover media effects on minority's perspective.

### *Psychological Tendency of Silenced Voices*

In terms of psychological analogies we could justify the stress with the reference of frustration and conflict which are "unresolved" inside the mind. We must look at Tibetans with their stressful state of mind which resulted different modes of conflict either in the form of resistance or with the desire of revolution. It was lead with the sense of frustration. Frustration is the behavioral aspect that causes "aggression and repetitive" behavior among other behavioral consequences. It is not only the psychic factor but also resulted from the social needs. It is explained that "frustration is displaced elsewhere, usually to some less threatening object or to oneself, when it is impossible or dangerous to direct the aggression toward the frustrating event"<sup>14</sup>. Here we need to notice that aggression is resulted in the mode of displacing the threatening and frustrating event. When we discuss about Tibetans aggressive behavior, we could identify their frustration on the context of social values as well. So, we could refer psychological factor to the modes of repetitive and aggressive movements that Tibetans made in their places as their convenience.

But, the question arises about the factor of silenced nature of those people who didn't come across public provocation, but protested with aggressive and repeated protests. In this case we should understand the fact that voice is a great tool for psychoanalysis which deals the facts of unconscious mind. The factors related to voice are "manifestations of unconscious conflicts and tensions which it was the purpose of psychoanalysis to release." (Alice Lagaay, 54). Similarly, Lacan presents voice as "*objets a*". It is essential to observe the categories made by Lacan as "needs ("*besoins*")", wishes ("*demandes*")"

and desire (“*désir*”)” which refer different aspects of psychoanalysis such as “physical nature,” “symbolic realm of language” and the most “enigmatic” aspect of behavior respectively. Alice Lagaay explains that “according to Lacan’s theory, voice belongs to the realm of desire,[...] the voice is actually devoid of phonic substance” (59). It means that the silenced behavior consists the voices of the unconscious mind which is ‘enigmatic’ part of human behaviors. So, silence does not mean the total wordlessness. Silence has bigger and serious realm of expression that they kept inside all the time.

Analyzing such different behavioral factors, we could confirm that the human beings have meaningful approach of relating the events and experiences. In this case, Freud has declared that “nervous symptoms arise from a conflict between two forces-on the one hand, the libido (which has as a rule become excessive), and on the other, a rejection of sexuality, or a repression which is over-severe” (353). Amidst these two forces human behavior is regulated. Whereas in the case of repression, the pattern of repression becomes more serious as it grows with a strong personality type. In this pattern ‘mental events’ are regulated with ‘pleasure principle’. It is believed that different tension gets higher with the repressed psychic event which is an unpleasurable tension. Freud claims that “it takes a direction such that its final outcome coincides with a lowering of that tension-that is, with an avoidance of unpleasure or a production of pleasure” (595). Here we find the pleasure principle is succeeded with reality principle which brings the mode of unpleasurable experiences. So, the mode of repeated violent activities of Tibetans could be analyzed in the form of reality principle which is the outcast of pleasure principle i.e. intensity with their real need of nation. The outburst is not only the factor of social provocation but the need of the individual’s psychic reality.

We need to remember that they always remain silent as they could not expressed their voices openly which is more complex like the pleasure sense of their unconscious mind. Now, they move in mass to keep it safe and less critical as it could not be internalized. It Tibetans are forced to maintain their anxiety as the different defense mechanisms have controlled their presence. In such context their behavioral patterns are related to anxiety too.

More-over, we could focus upon the anxiety level of Tibetans which has given them a silenced manner of reactions. It begins with their state of unconscious mind where the painful and guilty sensation of feelings is repressed. Lois Tyson has described that the unconscious gives the repressed feeling a “force by making them the organizers of our current experience: we unconsciously behave in ways that will allow us to ‘play out,’ without admitting it to ourselves”. It creates a fear within and makes us behave differently. Lois Tyson<sup>15</sup> presents such fear as:

*[F]ear of intimacy*—fear of emotional involvement with another human being—is often an effective defense against learning about our own psychological wounds because it keeps us at an emotional distance in relationships most likely to bring those wounds to the surface: relationships with lovers, spouses, offspring, and best friends. By not permitting ourselves to get too close to significant others, we “protect” ourselves from the painful past experiences that intimate relationships inevitably dredge up.

Here we find psychological factor of fear that keeps human being distanced as it bears that the person could not get too close as it could be harmful to him and the social consequences as well. In this sense the defense mechanism functions which keeps them safe in the mode of relational matter. But the situation gets break that we could not resist the painful feelings which outbreaks. Lois Tyson calls it the state of anxiety and explains as, “sometimes our defenses momentarily break down, and this is when we experience anxiety. Anxiety can be an important experience because it can reveal our core issue”. So, the case of violent episodes of Tibetans is the mode of anxiety which expresses their fear of intimacy and fear of abandonment both. They want to keep themselves here as their need is to secure their mother land. The violent episode is followed with their silence responses as a way to express their needs to remain here.

Besides, as it has been discussed about the psychological framing of violent behavior of Tibetans, we should not avoid the concept of violence which is expressed as:

There are at least two ways to become the dupes of violence that should be of paramount concern. First, there is the tendency to expect *too much* from violence, to look to violence either to express a decisiveness of purpose, or to provide a proof of authenticity that violence cannot in fact sustain. [...]. Second, there is a tendency to come to expect *too little* from violence, to believe that violence will simply wither away, due either to the weight of our moral vigilance or the effectiveness of the political, legal, social, or ethical instruments that we employ in the hope of avoiding the destruction of war<sup>16</sup>.

In this concept of violence, we could trace the psychological behavior of Tibetans’ way of relaying the abrupt behavioral consequences of revolution.

To sum up psychoanalytical framing for the silenced but revolutionary behavioral factors, we need to notice the essence of voices in silence. There is the outburst of anxiety, the shadow images of pleasure principle and a different mode of violence. The following part of survey analysis supports the claim.

### ***Suppression and Tibetan refugee***

In an opinion-‘Some expert says that when a person suppress their feelings and wish they suffer a lot. When a person suppress their opinion and remain silent also suffer a lot. What would you think?’ 43 % Tibetan refugee said they are strongly agreed on it. Another 43 % refugee are agreed on it and rest of the 14 % said they don’t know about it.

There are 43 % Tibetan refugee who strongly agreed on suppression of expression within self makes them angry day by day. It increases the degree of angriness within self, they feel so. Another 29 % agreed on it. 14 % said they are disagree, suppressions doesn’t make them angry. And rest of the 14 % don’t know about it.

Tibetan refugees who strongly agree on expressing opinion only in favorable time are 29 %. There are 57 % who said they agree on it. And rest of the 14 % neither agreed nor disagreed.

### ***What is Collectively Expresses Aggression?***

From previous analysis of Tibetan refugee’s news coverage it has been revealed that after remaining certain period as in silent mood, they’d gradually started to speak, and that is not in press but with collectively in open society. This has been being heavily covered by Nepalese press time and again in their news and views genre. Some of the major collectively expressed evidence found from content analysis in between pre and post restoration of democracy of 1990 can be outline like this:

**Table No. -7: Collectively Expressed Aggression by Tibetan Refugee**

SN	Year	Collective Perception
1.	1959 AD	Tibet Uprising & plight for Exile
2.	1974 AD	Khampa war, Mustang
3.	1989 AD	Tibet Uprising-II & Celebration of Nobel Peace Prize
4.	2004 AD	Free Tibet Movement & Protest in Kathmandu began
5.	2008 AD	Beijing Olympic & Tibet Uprising( Free Tibet)
6.	2012 AD	Self-Immolations (Apx. 200)

***Survey test***

Self-immolation or protest is very important for Tibetan refugee. They want to do it. 72 % refugee says it's important for them to conduct it. And 14 % says it is not at all important. Moreover rest of the 14 % doesn't know about it.

There are 71 % Tibetan refugee they are disagreed on an opinion 'it is better that community with less population should never speak in press that is functioning in majority's community'. It means Tibetan refugee eagerly want to take part in media to raise their voice and to give some opinion through it. Rest of the 29 % said doesn't know about it.

Another issue with 100 % rate is in Free Tibet movement in Nepal that Tibetan refugees want to run here with full wish.

Now again what is it? Is spiral of silence not the end? Or what, is it the beginning? Yes, the evidence says it is the beginning not the end. Imposed wish by self-compelled them to express their individual perception collectively after certain time frame, usually when they felt safe for the opinion climate. Most on those periods Nepal seems to near on serious internal affairs (crisis) like this:

**Table-8: Aggression by Tibetan Refugee, Linkage with Internal Crisis of Nepal**

SN	Year	Internal crisis
1.	1959 AD	King Mahendra vs. political parties for <i>Panchayat</i>
2.	1974 AD	King vs. political Parties for Referendum
3.	1989 AD	King Birendra vs. political parties for restoration of democracy
4.	2004 AD	King Gynendra vs. political parties for Republic
5.	2008 AD	CA Election and new constitution
6.	2012 AD	Failure of CA & with impunity

***Survey tests: Participating in a protest***

There are 71 % Tibetan refugee who said they took part in protest with 'Yes' answer. Rest of the 29 % said 'No'. It means majority Tibetan community take part in any kind of protest that they organize for freedom and free Tibet. During survey most of the protest participant said they mostly take part on those protest of: March 10, Tibetan Uprising Day, Most of the time- India, Kathmandu; Beijing Olympic Protest for Human Rights of Tibetan refugee, 2008, Kathmandu Peace March, End of August, 2008, Kathmandu; Free Tibet (Political Protest) , March 10 & December 10, Pokhara, Kathmandu; Candle Light Vigil, February 13, 2013, Jawalakhel etc.

On situation of above 43 % Tibetan refugee agreed in try to gather groups from Tibetan community to tackle against unjust and to raise voice as opinion. 29 % Tibetan refugee disagreed in it and rest of the 28 % has nothing to do with it.

In case of indifference, torture and humiliations towards the pathetic condition and the voice wouldn't have listened by concerned body long time Tibetan refugee staying now in Nepal reacted by saying 'we try to make institutional move against it' agreed 86 %. Rest of the 14 % disagreed on it. They are against institutional move. But they are very few.

In case of indifference, torture and humiliations towards the pathetic condition and the voice wouldn't have listened by concerned body long time Tibetan refugee staying now in Nepal reacted on such condition 57 % said they speak in group together against it through protest. There are 29 % they have nothing to do with speaking in group, they are neither agreed nor disagreed. Rest of the 14 % don't know about the matter.

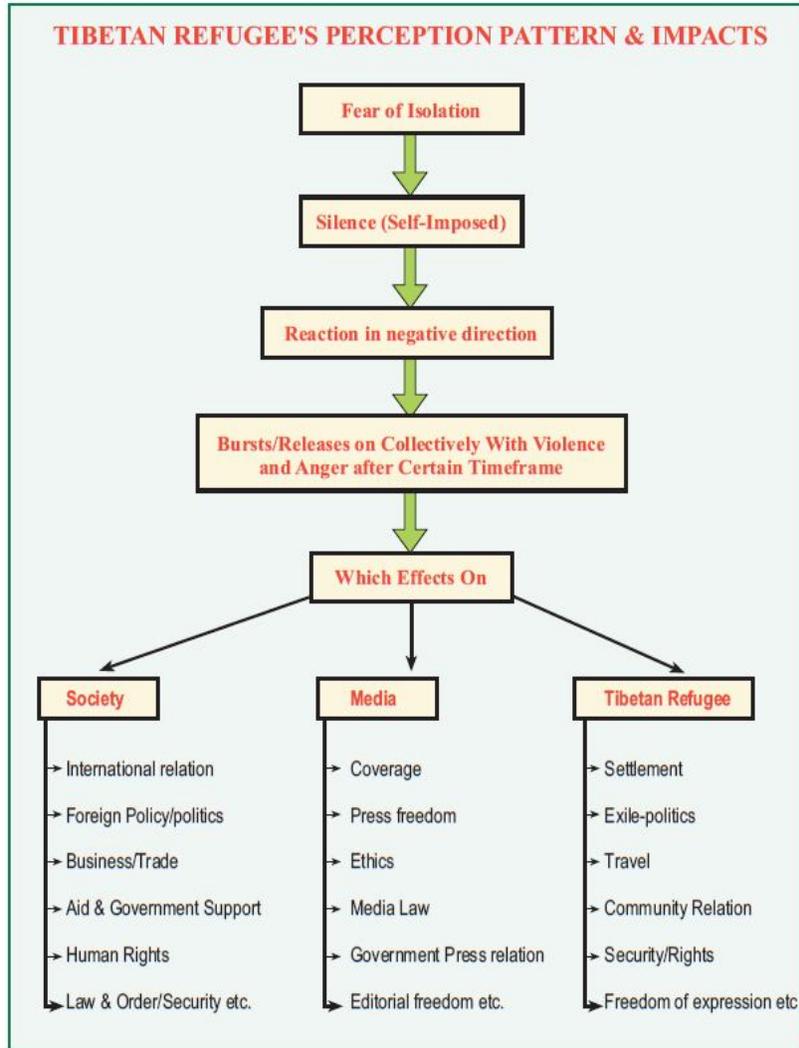
There are 100 % Tibetan refugee agreed on while taking part in protest for justice and human right they want to participate with whole community.

### ***At last***

So, after long discussions the conclusion can be made- by fear of isolation minorities like Tibetan refugee do not give perception openly in press on controversial issues, they imposed their voice within self. And this action starts negative reaction in rapid way after certain period of imposition it bursts with collective manner and which affects everything, basically three aspects in relation to Tibetan refugee:

- a. Effects on Society
- b. Effects on Media
- c. Effects on Tibetan Refugee themselves

The figure can be outlined like this in sum:



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Figure No. 6: Minorities' Perception Pattern and Impacts

## CONCLUSION

The need for information during any time of refugee problem is crucial not only for those directly affected but also for those involved and engaged from outside the problem area. The need for information of the Tibetan refugee problem in Nepal is no exception. Indeed, Nepal's Tibetan refugee problem is often cited as one of the world's worst humanitarian disasters but it is also one of the most complexes. Considering, that mass media often is a main source of information in relation to a given problem and its development it will be useful to examine what type of media coverage has been afforded the problem by the media. In particular, it will be relevant to examine the coverage by the Nepalese media of pre and post restoration of democracy in 1990. Indeed, such an analysis will give basic knowledge of the quality and quantity of news and information made available, as well as provide some

insight as why resolution to this problem proves so elusive. The coverage of the Bhutanese refugee problem, for example, garners endless hours and pages of news coverage but it would seem, at first blush, that this is far from the case for Tibetan. And if indeed this is the case then one must ask the question why. Thus, in order to ascertain whether this is the case, a content analysis of pre-1990 press and post-1990 press coverage of the Tibetan refugee problems of Nepal has been undertaken.

The main goal of the study was to analyze the quality of the communication in the pre-1990 and post-1990 Nepalese press through quantitative and qualitative analysis of the content of select media outlets, of both phases, regarding the Tibetan refugee problem of Nepal. In this manner, the project aims at providing an analytic snapshot of how the selected media in the chosen period described the Tibetan refugee problem of Nepal with a view to improving the quality of this coverage. The quality of media coverage of Tibetan refugee, as noticed during the monitoring period, is conditioned not only by factors related to the crisis itself but also to general attitudes and preferences of Nepalese media. It is therefore important to look at the development of the problem in general, and their most recent developments in particular, and then to have a look at the environment in which the Nepalese media are working and

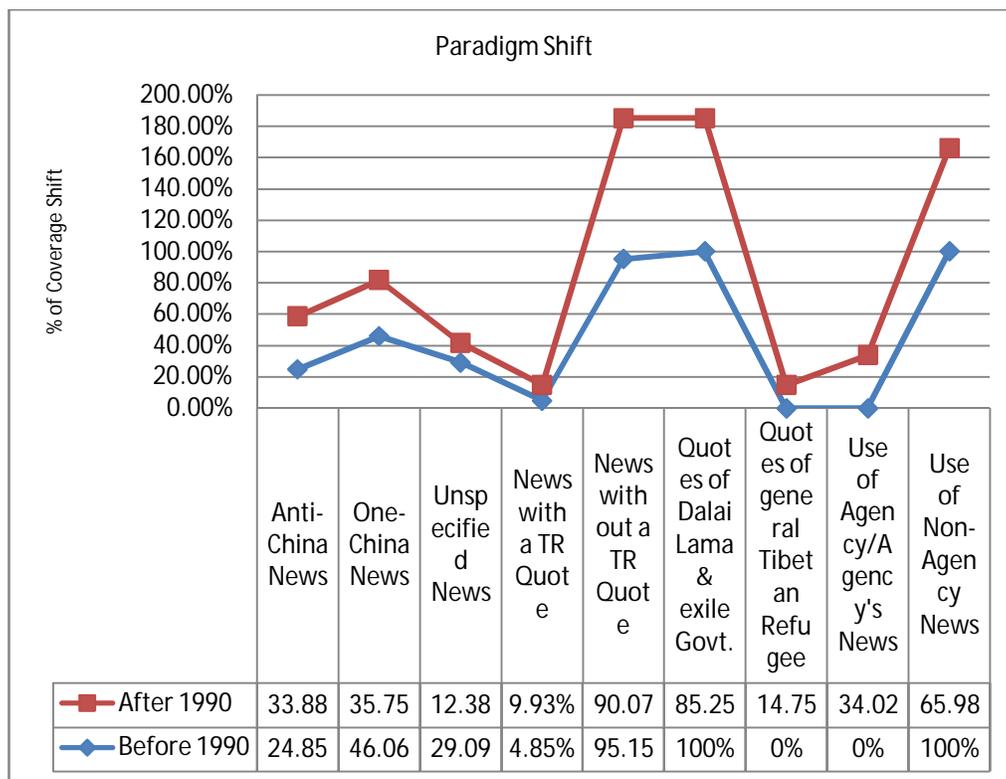


Figure no. 7: Paradigm Shift in Coverage Before and After 1990

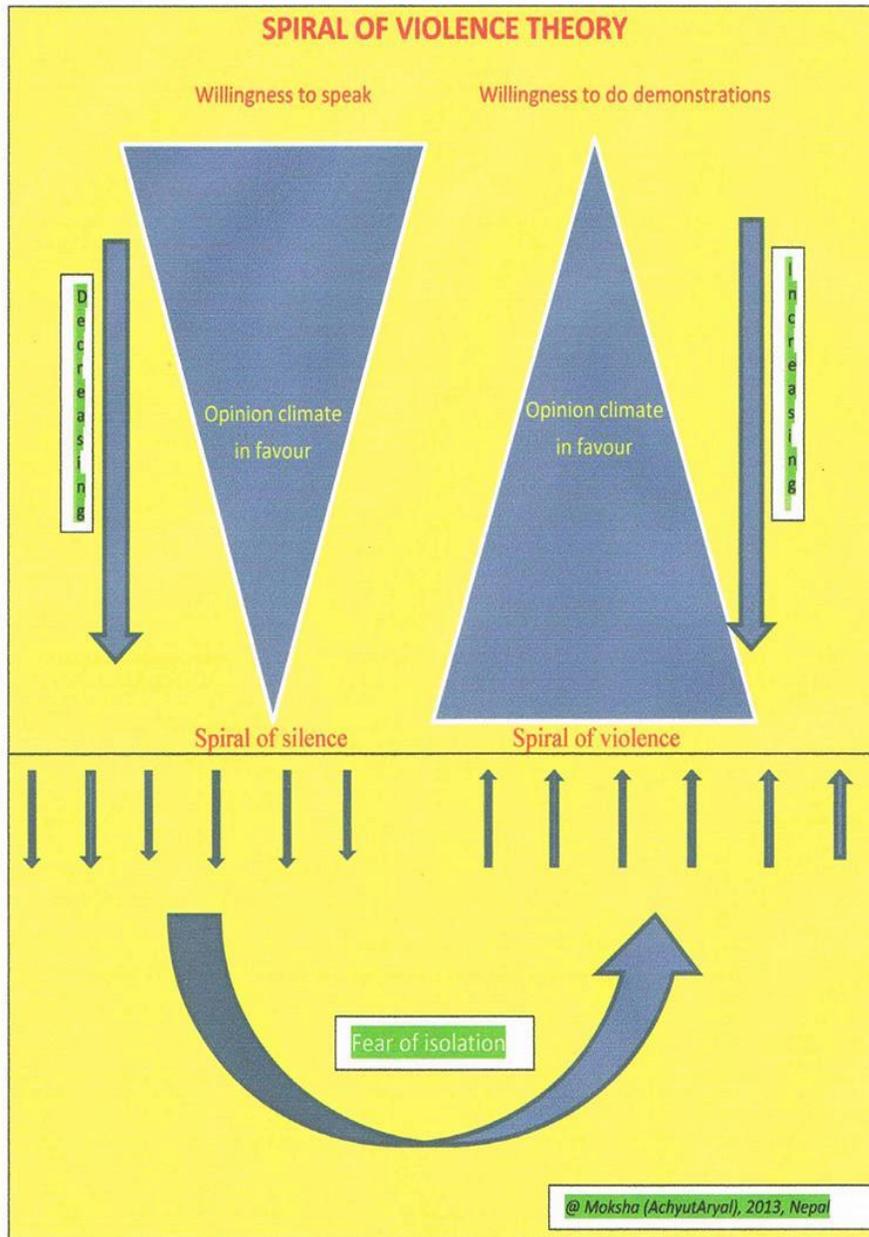
how their editorial policies reflect their attitudes, priorities and interests to understand and interpret their coverage of the Tibetan refugee problem of Nepal in respect to after restoration of democracy of 1990. The assessment of the coverage can illustrate a powerful instrument able to increase the dialogue and the responsiveness on the Nepalese humanitarian problem and to foster media awareness regarding their responsibility in defining the how the Tibetan refugee problem of Nepal is perceived by the public and press. Additionally, it is hoped that this study will not only provide a basis for dialogue with media institutions across the region, but will also enhance awareness among editors and journalists in non-Nepalese and Nepalese media and contribute to policy reforms related to provision of humanitarian information to the population in Nepal.

After examination of the effects of 1990's restoration of democracy on news coverage of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press and perception pattern of Tibetan refugee some results can be outlined. The findings of the study however, revealed that the 1990's restoration of democracy has tremendous effects on Nepalese press on coverage to issues on Tibetan refugee in comparison to pre-democracy period ( $H_1 = \mu < \mu_2$  in three cases and  $H_0 = \mu = \bar{D} = 0$  in one cases during 3 -  $\chi^2$  test, a t-test and an A-test respectively). Furthermore, it has been observed that due to fear of Isolation Tibetan refuge remain almost silent in Nepalese press and such behavior compels them to express their voices through protest after certain time period, which affects: media, society and the refugee themselves. The paper therefore suggests that the press should endeavor to give adequate attention to various issues on Tibetan refugees as well as their voice in its coverage so as to peacefully settle this world famous minority's hurdle.

The focus of this study was to test spiral of silence Theory regarding Tibetan refugee living now in Nepal, as they are minority community. Due to fear of isolation Tibetan refugee in Nepal do not speak even in press; whether the condition is favorable or unfavorable to them. Even in full democracy they are being afraid to speak in press and express their opinion freely. Such behavior of Tibetan refugee creates/produces a mass silent of minority community Tibetan in Nepal. And further it pinches them within self-day by day. The struggle happens within for not expressing the thoughts, opinions and feelings as perception compels them in situation of mass anger after certain time frame; which releases as a anger after certain time, even though demonstrations , which may go violent some time. Such phenomena creates spiral of Violence in a long time frame which effects society, media and Tibetan community themselves on various aspects.

**Generalization and further research**

Fear of isolation of minority community force them to remain almost silent (even in existing press) and such behavior compels them to express their voices through series of protest after certain time frame(period), and it comes with spiral of violence form; which affects: media, society and the minority community themselves. As like:



**Figure-8: Spiral of Violence from Spiral of Silence**

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