Universidade do Minho
Instituto de Ciências Sociais

Niranjan Sapkota

Ethnic Minorities and Dalits in the News. An analysis of Nepalese mainstream print media

maio de 2022

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Professora Doutora Rosa Cabecinhas

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EXPRESSIONS OF GRATITUDE

Everyone who has supported me during the period of research is invaluable. Every step of my research has got genuine encouragement from my parents (Machchheshwar Sapkota and Saraswoti Sapkota) and from other family members. I extend immense gratitude to my supervisor Professora Rosa Cabecinhas, whose unfading faith in my work to accomplish successfully is incomparable.

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STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

I hereby declare having conducted this academic work with integrity. I confirm that I have not used plagiarism or any form of undue use of information or falsification of results along the process leading to its elaboration.

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Ethnic Minorities and Dalits in the News. An analysis of Nepalese mainstream print media

ABSTRACT

Nepal enjoys vast social, cultural, geographical, and linguistic diversity. However, with very few exceptions, the language of the vast majority of newspapers or other forms of media is Nepali. In this context, this research aims to investigate the media's coverage and representatioin on ethnic minorities and Dalits through content analysis of two leading Nepali national daily newspapers, namely *Gorkhapatra* (state-owned) and *Kantipur* (private-owned), for a period of 10 years. Additionally, the practices of inequality in the media are analyzed through four focus group discussions and 16 in-depth interviews. This research has adopted qualitative research methods.

One of the main objectives of the study was to examine the major trends on caste representation of the two daily newspapers during the study period. Firstly, the study has focused on analsying the patterns of headlines of the selected sample news which are related to the ethnic minorities and the Dalits communities. Secondly, using focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with different stakeholders, this study has focused on analysing the newsroom culture and the practices of inequality of Nepalese print media and its reception by the participants.

The research was carried on the ground of ethnic identity and social inclusion theory. Likewise, some classical theories of mass media, cultural studies and sociology have also been applied. The news samples are selected from 2004 - the year when the Maoist civil war was in its climax on which the reformation of the state on the basis of caste was the main demand of the Communist party of Nepal (Maoist) to 2014 - the base year of the formation of new constitution 2015, when the issue of equal participation of minorities was advocated densely. This research prominently suggested the media to improve their policy on news reporting and fair representation of ethnic minorities and low caste people. This study will be helpful to the government of Nepal, social organizations and other media institutions to foster equality in the society as well as in the media in terms of inclusion of ethnic minorities and lower caste groups as a reference.

Keywords: Dalits, ethnic minorities, inequality, media representation, stereotypes.

Minorias étnicas e Dalits nas notícias. Uma análise a partir da imprensa do Nepal

RESUMO

O Nepal é um país com uma vasta diversidade social, cultural e linguística. No entanto, a língua da grande maioria dos jornais e meios de comunicação social é o nepalês. Esta investigação visa investigar a cobertura jornalística sobre minorias étnicas e Dalit através da análise do conteúdo de dois importantes jornais diários nepaleses, nomeadamente o *Gorkhapatra* (propriedade do Estado) e o *Kantipur* (propriedade privada), durante um período de 10 anos. Além disso, são analisadas as práticas de desigualdade nos média através de quatro discussões em grupo e de 16 entrevistas em profundidade. Esta investigação é de cariz qualitativo.

Um dos principais objetivos do estudo foi examinar os estereótipos sociais relativos à etnicidade e à casta na imprensa no referido período. Em primeiro lugar, o estudo centrou-se na análise dos padrões de cobertura dos dois principais meios de comunicação impressos no que respeita às minorias étnicas e aos Dalits. Em segundo lugar, através dos grupos de discussão realizados junto de públicos diversos e das entrevistas aprofundadas com peritos dos média, ativistas, líderes sociais e analistas políticos, este estudo coloca em evidência o cenário de extrema desigualdade entre grupos de casta e classe social na sociedade nepalesa contemporânea.

Esta investigação integra os contributos de teorias sobre identidade étnica e inclusão social assim como algumas teorias clássicas nas áreas das ciências da comunicação, estudos culturais e sociologia. A investigação abarcou conteúdos publicados de 2004 – ano em que a Guerra Civil maoísta atingiu o seu climax - até 2014, ano base da elaboração da nova constituição do país, que entrou em vigor em 2015. Esta investigação evidencia a desigualdade na cobertura noticiosa das minorias étnicas e dos 'Dalit' nos média nepaleses. Este estudo poderá ser útil para o governo nepalês, organizações sociais e outras instituições ligadas à cultura e aos média de modo a combater a desigualdade nos meios de comunicação social e na sociedade em geral.

Palavras-chave: Dalits, minorias étnicas, Desigualdade, representação, estereótipos.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADWAN – Association of Dalit Women's Advancement of Nepal

AJURP – Adivasi/Janajati Utthan Rastriya Pratisthan (National Foundation for ethnic Upliftment)

BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation

BCN – Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar

BS – Bikram Sambat

CA – Constituent Assembly

CBI – Central Bureau of Investigation

CBS – Central Bureau of Statistics

CCM – Central Committee Member

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

CIAA – Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority

CNN – Cable News Network

CPA – Comprehensive Peace Agreement

CPN - Communist Party of Nepal

CSRD – Centre for Social Research and Development

FGD – Focus Group Discussion

FNJ – Federation of Nepalese Journalists

GP – Gorkhapatra

HLMC – High Level Commission for Media Recommendation

ICCPR – International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

I/NGO – International Non-Governmental Organization

IDSN – International Dalit Solidarity Network

ILO – International Labour Organization

IPS – Inter Press Service

KMG – Kantipur Media Group

KP – Kantipur

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

NHRCN – National Human Rights Commission Nepal

NRN – Non-Resident Nepalese

PCN – Press Council of Nepal

PMN – Population Monograph of Nepal

SCPDPM – Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities

SDG – Sustainable Development Goal

SIP – Social Inclusion Policy

TIA – Tribhuvan International Airport

TRN – The Rising Nepal

TU – Tribhuvan University

UNDRIP – United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

WHO – World Health Organization

This thesis is dedicated to my late younger sister Sunita Sapkota (1980-2001)!

I apologize for all the discriminations done to date on the basis of caste without knowing it.

INTRODUCTION

Study context

Caste is a mode of power, hierarchy and a weapon of action along with the criteria of constructing collective identity within social groups (Subedi, 2016). Social exclusion and discrimination against ethnic minorities and Dalits groups (Untouchable groups) are the principal characteristics of Nepalese society (Bista, 1991), a situation with parallels with other countries in the Indian subcontinent (Ratnamala, 2022). To find out the major trends of media coverage and the ways of news dissemination of ethnic minorities and the Dalit is the main purpose of this study.

The caste system is a basic part of the capitalist system of South Asian territory (Yengde, 2019). The caste system represents today's capitalist system (Ahuti, 2020). In this context, to find out the inequality functions of media based on caste and the reflection upon this system in the media business are the main purposes of the study.

This study addresses and exposes unequal representations (Hall, 1997) on news dissemination of ethnic minority communities and untouchable groups in Nepalese context, that is a low income, developing country with huge diversity in culture, caste, race/ethnicity, language and geography. The size of news, the language that represents (Hall, 1997) the minorities and the way of covering issues are addressed. Ethnic minorities and low caste people are always marginalized, deprived and disadvantaged groups as they are excluded from the historically unequal states' resources (Bista, 1991).

Minorities caste groups do not have enough access to the state level functionings and the participation in the government. Their cultures and languages are dominated by the higher caste groups or by those who could exercise all the political and governmental power (Ahuti, 2020). Everyone should be aware of the need to change the discriminatory social structure, thinking and behaviour based on caste and untouchability. Obstacles to building an egalitarian society must be discouraged by all social institutions. This empirical study would be able to examine the role of Nepali print media on these serious concerns.

Nepali language is the dominating language although more than hundred different languages are spoken throughout the country (PMN, 2014). Regarding caste or ethnicity-based study, Nepal would be

the ideal ground since it already has extensive literature on Hindu caste-based discrimination, *Dalits*[1] (the people who are untouchables) issues, Hindu cultures and customs, Hindu caste hierarchy and the social structure of the country which is based on caste hierarchy (Ahuti, 2014). But the study on inequality in the media based on caste and ethnicity is a relevant subject as not enough studies have occurred in the past.

Also, previous studies have not captured enough information about *'how media represent lower caste groups and ethnic minority people in their news or on other contents?'* During the long history of Nepal, caste and cultural identity (Hall,1997) issues have not been the subject of discussion as they was seen as 'normal' and taken for granted. Caste and cultural identity and right based issues were hardly dominant subjects before the 1990 democratic movement and gradually increased between the first and second peoples' movement in 1990 and 2006 in Nepal. During the Panchayat[2] (A political system adopted by King Mahendra which dissolved the first people elected government) period (1960-1990), freedom of speech was restricted as the system was autocratic and partyless. Under the direct rule of the King, the citizens were monitored and the laws were also controlled. Opposition to the king and dissatisfaction to the autocratic law was punishable. In this background, Nepalese print media were struggling to exist and were contributing to reestablishing democracy in the nation until 1990. After restoration of the Democracy, the environment was suitable for the establishment of new media houses, including print media.

The Constituent Assembly took practical form in Nepal as a result of seventy years of democratic and communist movement, Maoist peoples' war, Madhesh movement and continuous movements of Dalits, Women, Janajati (indigenous) and Muslims. In the constitution, only the republic remained intact, the stagnant broker capitalist character remained the same with the well-known caste system coated with colourful dreams for marginalized groups which never came true in practical life even in these days (Ahuti, 2020).

Maoist civil war[3] (1996-2006) (Sharma, 2008) has a lot of consequences with a significant role of changing the long rooted unequal behaviours of the society towards the marginalized communities. Caste based discrimination and stigmatization has had uncountable? effects on the society where untouchability has existed deeply and its practices are still being exercised. After the ceasefire in 2006,

[1] Dalit is a formal word used for untouchable low caste people in South Asia along with Nepal. Damai, Kami, Sarki are some example surnames of Nepalese Dalits community.
[2] Panchayat was the party-less political system ruled by King Mahendra by side-lining the first elected government of BP Koirala in December 1960.
[3] Maoist Civil War was an armed conflict in Nepal fought between the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and the Government of Nepal from 1996 to 2006.

Communist Party of Nepal (CPN), (Maoist) of Nepal came into open politics with a demand of the Constituent Assembly (CA) for drafting a new inclusive constitution. The issue of inclusion of all caste groups in the mainstream of politics especially and the lower castes were the hot subject matters of the debate. Print media also had a great responsibility to address these issues frequently.

This study was mainly based during this period when the CA was on its run to establish the rights of minorities and to reformation of the state based on ethnic identity. What is the role played by the media during this routine, how did they perform their issues and on what extent? This study was developed around these questions.

During the period of new constitution formation, the print media were more active and the issues of minorities were moren oftenly addressed at this time frame.

At the same time, the issues of framing and the way of coverage also increasedl. Generally, the media were more concentrated in elite ruling groups which used to have all the resources of the state (Ahuti, 2020). Political system and the structure of the society were fully favoured by dominant communities but the scenario is quite changed now. Considering this context, this study aimed at analying the media coverage on ethnic minorities and the untouchable communities in Nepal and also analysing the perceptions of media professionals, communication students and other stakeholders on that complex issue.

Introduction to Nepal in regards with diversity

Nepal is a Himalayan state located in South Asia between two largest countries, China in the North and India in the South. Nepal was a monarchic country with for 240 years since the unification of smaller states into modern Nepal by late King Prithvi Narayan Saha until 2007. It occupied 147,181 km2 with varieties of landscapes (PMN, 2014). Nepal is divided mainly into three geographical categories Himalayan region, Hilly region and the plain land called Terai region (Gurung, 2006, p.34). It is said that, 'Nepal is a world itself because of its diversity.' Nepalese national anthem says, 'we, Nepali people, are a garland of hundreds of plucks of flowers.' It indicates the social harmony and tolerance among hundreds of castes and sub castes (Nepalese National Anthem).

Nepal is a poor country following other South Asian countries with problems of low-income growth, high population growth and environmental degradation. At the same time a poor education system, low pace of change, traditional social patterns and the international geopolitical direction in the name of

developmental assistance, Nepal still is crawling for infrastructural development (Karan & Ishi, 1995). Political immaturity and instability are still occupying the main discourse of Nepal and the main reason of the corruption.

It has a total population of 26.5 million according to census 2011 (PMN, 2014). In 2011 census, it is recorded that 125 different castes or ethnic groups (making Nepal as a multi-ethnic country) are living in Nepal and 123 different languages are being spoken whereas majority of the population (59%) were reported to be monolingual and (41%) of the population speak at least one second language (PMN, 2014). Nepal has a diverse geography including the highest peak of the world (Mt. Everest) 8848.88 meters to the lowest plain land (Kechana Kawal) of 70 meters from the sea level. It is the 49the largest country by population and 93rd largest country by area (PMN, 2014).

Nepal enjoys diversity in various aspects. Nepal is widely famous for its cultural diversity, religious diversity, diversity in language and or climatic variation. Hinduism is reported to the religion of 81.34% of the population followed by Buddhism (9.04%), Islam (4.38%), Kirat (3.04%), Christianity (1.41%) and others like Sikhism, Bon etc. (PMN, 2014). Nepal is now a democratic multiparty republic country. The decade-long Nepalese 'civil war (1996-2006)' resulted in the proclamation of a republic in 2008, ending the reign of the 240 years long monarchy of Shah Dynasty. Modern Nepal is a federal secular parliamentary republic. Nepal is experiencing a high level of poverty and disparities among citizens across the society (Gurung, 2006).

In the past, Nepal had a deep belief in the caste system where people belonging to the lower caste were untouchableThis system was eradicated legally in 1964 but In practice it remains as a social problem until nowadays (Ahuti, 2014). Dalits are the so-called untouchables and indigenous peopletaken as lower caste, whereas Brahmins and Chhetri, are higher in traditional social ranking. Currently, the new generation is not practicing the caste hierarchy but the reflection of forefathers has been carried out to their daily practices. Traditional professions of so-called lower caste community such as, making shoes, tailoring, collecting garbages and many more are not chosen by younger generations of their community.

Nepal has not a long history of political development and modernity. Only after 1951, the transition of democracy mainly focused on social reformation and change had occurred (Koirala, 1986). 104 years of Rana autocratic and family-based rule was a dark part of the history since no one had the right to express their thoughts or show offence by the violation of their rights. Folks are not allowed to go to

school. Most of the time, general people who did not have access to the ruler suffer social exclusion. Inclusion was the major issue for the minorities especially for the untouchables for a long period (Ahuti, 2020). Marginalized groups of people were struggling for their demand to fulfil. The exclusively debated matter of Nepal was socio-political inclusion to the mainstream. Language, caste, gender, geography, religion were the major issues of inclusion (Lawati, 2010). Social class-clash had been remained as a root of conflict and discrimination between people. By the result of this inequality, Nepal faced a decade long 'civil war' during 1996 to 2006 called Maoist civil war. Innocent and marginalized people were killed but the issue of inclusion is still being establishing in a very slow pace (Subedi, 2010).

Figure 0.1. Political Map of Nepal (Different colours represent 7 proviences and the lines are drawn for saperating 77 districts)



Picture Source: nepalforeignaffairs.com

Selection of media and reliability

This research has been held within the contents of two major national daily newspapers of Nepal which address the coverage and the framing subjects about the issues of ethnic minorities and the Dalits. Nepalese media has a single dominant language which seems to be biased towards minorities who speak their own ethnic language rather than Nepali. Two national dailies *Kantipur* (www.kantipur.ekantipur.com) and *Gorkhapatra* (www.gorkhapatra.org.np) are the major publications which have the largest audiences over the country and in diaspora as well. *Kantipur* is a private owned publication and the *Gorkhapatra* is the state-owned newspaper. Both of them have their English editions and online versions as well; that is why studying the content whilebeing abroad was also possible In this

research. English Edition of Kantipur is called *The Kathmandu Post* (www.kathmandu post.ekantipur.com) and the Gorkhapatra has its English Edition named *The Rising Nepal* (www.the rising nepal.org.np). Both of the newspapers are well recognized in Nepalese society so that, these newspapers would be easy to know for the sample population as well.

Government assists the media because of its publicity but the private sector invests in media business for their benefits. All over the world we can observe a similar scenario of ownership in the media. Government media are runned by public interests, where the government media operate allegedly as the interest of people (Djankov & McLiesh, 2003). But the Nepalese government media practice is not the same as Djankov & McLiesh (2003) described in their definition.

Rationale of choosing Nepalese mainstream Print Media

A renowned Nepali journalist Dil Nisani Magar once wrote in his Facebook page that 'Nepali newspapers are portraying ethnic communities as criminals' (n.d). His argument involved an incident of arrest of the criminal of gold smuggling in Tribhuvan International Airport (TIA) Kathmandu. A directly involved accused criminal was arrested by the central bureau of investigation (CBI). The following day newspapers udes the following headline for the news as, '*A Tamang boy caught with illegal gold*.'

Magar himself is from an ethnic community andwrote that, if there was a Brahmin boy caught in the same case, the media would mention the headline like, '*A boy caught with illegal gold*.' The observation of these type of media representation patterns explain why Nepali media is selected for the research. Ia have started this research assuming that the Nepali media has not given proper space to the issue of minorities, I have tried to highlight the fact that they have not given the space to the voices of lower strata of the society. Society functionning is reflecting its character in every societal activity that the existing caste system in Nepal has stung to the lower-class people. However, the patterns of the media in covering and representing the minorities are an an insufficiently researched question in Nepalese context.

Tamang is an ethnic caste group that lives around the capital city of Nepal Kathmandu but the economic and the political situation of them are comparatively poor (Gurung, 2006). Nepalese print media are Kathmandu centric (Onta, 2001), whereas most of the national dailies are edited and published from the capital city Kathmandu. The regional newspapers failed to cover the nation and to be a national level media (Onta, 2001). Because of the lowest circulation and the lack of the supply of advertisement, regional newspapers are not likely to survive for a long time. That is why no one believes

in their presence. The city centric newspapers focus on an urban audience and the discrimination among the geographical region has been promoted by national dailies. Regionally, Terai and the Himalayan region of Nepal are more neglected regions even though the volumes of incidents for news are greater than in the mid-hilly region. For instance, these areas suffer more of hunger and other natural disasters but the coverage of the news in comparison with Kathmandu is countless.

The Kathmandu-centric feudal ruling system has been responsible for this type of tragedy between the regionally remote areas of the nation. Onta (2001) takes this situation as the constraints and weakness of Nepalese National level Newspaper. The structure of the society and the mentality that is rooted in all the organizations operating within it is the reason for the roundabout till the date. The media business is not the activity of people from another planet, so the fact is that, the news contents do not get a proper space and enough attention on the basis of caste also reflects how society is treating over the caste issue.

Nepalese constitution 1990 accepted the country as a non-hierarchical and homogeneous country for the first time. The latest constitution (2015) made by the constituent assembly and promulgated by the President contemplates the homogeneity issue. In the past, Nepalese society was divided by caste and ethnic hierarchy either in the practice as well as in legal authorities thatpracticed discrimination with the state's support. Nepal has just turned over its course of politics in a new dimension of inclusion and participatory development around the country. In the past, Nepal was a country which had a dominant culture of language, ruling from the capital city and the Hindu Brahmins[4] who were the center of state power (Ahuti, 2014; Bista, 1991; Lawoti, 2010).

There is another example which represents the negative scenario of Nepalese media practices towards Dalits (Untouchable) groups. When the Terai region of Nepal was inundated by the rains in the monsoon of 2017, a photograph got enough space in the newspapers (see picture 1.2) to publish a photo. In this photo, taken by Narendra Shrestha, Dev Kumar Sada of Saptari District can be seen flowing the dead body of his eight-month-old nephew Kamal Sada into the river. The reason for flowing the dead body into the water was stated in the media: that there was no dry land to bury as rain-soaked everywhere. Later on, the photo was declared the best photograph in the Nepal Photo Competition 2018 organized by the Photojournalist Club. Dr. Mitra Pariyar who has been advocating the issue of

[4] Brahmins are a class in Hinduism around South Asia including Nepal. They are taken as priests or teachers and protectors of sacred learning across generations. The traditional occupation of Brahmins was that of priesthood at Hindu temples (Lochtefeld, 2002).

Dalits for a long time, dissatisfied with the details used in the photo wrote on social media (18 August, 2017).

Figure 0.2. The screenshot of the facebook status of Mitra Pariyar



"According to unconfirmed reports, as depicted in the popular picture of a Madhesi throwing his dead child into the flooded river, the real reason was caste. Although the news said he did not find any dry piece of land to cremate the child, it seems he was not allowed to cremate because he was a Musahar[5]an untouchable. Could friends in Nepal dig it further...?"

[5] Musahar is a tribal Dalit community from Terai region of Nepal who is literally rat eater and also known as Banbasi with poor social and economic status.

Figure 0.3. A photo published in different newspapers in August 2017



Photo credit: www.myrepublica.nagariknetwork.com (visited on 17 December 2020).

Nepal itself is a 'world' which has diversity in every aspect. Multicultural, multilingual and ethnic diversity are the major features of the country. And the most amazing factor is the tolerance between the people and the harmony within the society. Nepal is an underdeveloped country according to the world-bank (The world bank in Nepal, 2018). Media has been misused, misbehaved and misguided in such underdeveloped countries (Panday, 2007). Ethnic minorities are shown in the media negatively and sometimes they are neglected by the mainstream media. Ethnic minorities are frequently to have a disproportionate low status or dubious role in the society, even if the situation seems to have 'improved' in the United States (McQuail, 1983).

> Conspiracy or hegemony theory can, with little exercise of the imagination, be found to account for many of the findings about content as reflecting exercise of societal control by self-interested elites or classes. Their power is likely to be reinforced by public ignorance of social reality, emphasis on the legitimacy of the state and established class institutions, de-legitimation of challenges to the social order and diversion of discontent and frustration towards the scapegoat deviants, militants and con-conformists. The weakness, noted already, is the lack of a good explanation of how ruling classes achieve such favorable tendencies in the media, and indeed the difficulty if establishing that they do so at all (McQuail, 1983, p. 197).

As McQuail explained in the conspiracy and hegemony theory of the media, the power is likely to be misused by the authorities and used against the marginalized people. Dominant groups such as Nepali language speakers, Male Hindu Hill Brahmins are the ones who have a stronger control over the press (Ahuti, 2020). Previously studied data explains that the majority of media businessmen and media workers are from the ruling caste called Brahmins and the religion called Hindu of Nepal who are the habitant of Hilly region (Onta, 2001).

Newspapers sometimes make unfair portraits of the lower class that can origin disaster situations (Panday, 2001). Panday considere that the newspapers of Nepal are incouraging yellow journalism and that they miscommunicate the message to those who don't know whether the news is real or fake. The general people totally depended on the newspaper to make their decisions on the current topics of news and they don't know the inner intention of the communicator to manipulate the news contents based on their interests, beliefs and faiths. Even though, these days, means of information are wider, finding the truth is still hard for general audiences.

Mainstream media personnel are from the group from Brahmin, Chhetri and the Newars (BCN) (Onta, 2001), whereas the numbers of journalists and the editorial members or the management manpowers from ethnic groups (Janajati) are rare (Onta, 2001). The survey conducted by CSRD (Centre for Social Research and Development) in 2018 on 114 major national daily publications indicates that the numbers of Dalits in the media house constituted less than two percent in managerial and editorial level and less than one percent of regular columnists (Sharma, 2019).

From ethnic communities, only 14 percent of the editorial staff in mainstream publications adopted them and 12 percent of columnists are covered. The picture of participation of minorities and marginalized people is unsatisfactory according to the recent CSRD research report. The overwhelming presence of upper caste male in the media industry represents the minority concerns and voices of woman, Dalit's (untouchable) and ethnic (Janajati) are not representing, both textually and numerically in all the media products and the institutions (Sharma, 2019).

Even the governing body of professional journalists such as, Federation of Nepalese Journalists (FNJ) or Press Council of Nepal (PCN) never realized or taken any action to this condition as a problem. Not any media institution has as a policy the hiring of human resources from the deprived group (Sharma, 2019). Onta (2001) observes that the biases of the group from which the editor comes (Brahmin, Chhetri and Newar) and even among them means that the critical issues do not get coverage,

particularly in relation to issues raised by the social movements of women, ethnic groups, Dalits and Madhesis (people live in lower plain land of Nepal). However, this research dates from two decades ago and the scenario of minorities representations as journalists isnot sufficient to date. The scenario has been changing in terms of inclusiveness and participation of deprived groups, however it is not satisfactory (Vishwakarma, 2002), so this study has been conducted with the purpose of studying the the minorities communities in the Nepali media.

According to Lawoti (2010), the second mass movement (2006) against monarchy transformed the society into an inclusive and fair towards lower caste people, the Maoist civil war was the real cause of this result. No one can ignore the role of ethnic groups for the country's development and change but still they seem to be boycotted in the news contents from the news media (Ahuti, 2020). Ahuti (2020) explains with an example, if one candidate from ethnic group wants to participate in civil service, all of the examinees are asked the question in Nepali language which causes the ethnic minority to be excluded in the bureaucracy, consequently minorities are dominated by majority native speakers. Likewise, major Nepali national dailies are published in Nepali language which causes the exclusion of minority ethnic groups in media practices (Lawoti, 2002). Even in the capital city, some ethnic groups such as Jyapu do not understand Nepali language. They rather understand their mother tongue called Newari or Nepal Bhasha. In the Far Western region of Nepal, people use their regional language instead of Nepali even if they are from the Khas Arya community. Several media are operating in themother tongue of ethnic minorities but they are not sufficient at all.

Race and ethnicity/ethnic group; Caste and Tribe: A quick look

According to Barth (1998, p. 10), the traditional definition of ethnic group refers to the people with some distinct features: “is largely biologically self-perpetuating; shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural form; makes up a field of communication and interaction; has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order”. A new definition describes the ethnic group as a race which is equal to the culture of a certain society and the culture is equivalent to language (Barth, 1998).

In the context of Nepal, Barth’s definitions (1998) do not suit completely where the ethnic group accepts the cultural values and beliefs of the others and respects each other but try to be unique on their traditions. But the difficulties between these groups occurred in some manners such as, language, cultural practices, and social norms and in general way of life.

In Nepal, ethnic groups are derived by a specific caste that has distinct patterns of daily life activities. As the division of caste, they are distinguished by their mother tongue or mother language (Byram, 1996) which is different from dominant Nepali language and with other languages spoken inside Nepal. Also, they have their own traditional values and the costumes. At some level, they have their own festivals as well, which are different from others. In terma of religion, too, they have their own local and caste-based religions (Bista, 1994).

Likewise, race is a group without any genetic background, just a social-made separation of human societies (Wade, 2010). Wade (2010) has explained that race has a political discourse of western ideology. In Banton's (1998) view, 'race' as a word has existed in Europe since the sixteenth century. In his central idea about race that describes the role of common ancestor's quality to make a certain group with common features. Banton accepts that the definition and the use of the word 'race' is changing in every century. The United States of America have used this word to categorize the people in its constitution in the nineteenth century as they divided the people in 3 main groups such as Whites, Blacks and Indians (Banton, 1998). This categorization was revised, and nowadays the census and statistical data include 5 categories for "race", according to the 1997 OMB standards: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. But, according to Wade (2010), the term "Black" refers to a "race" and "Indian" refers to an "ethnicity". Some authors distinguish processes of racialization from processes of ethnicization, but in both cases there is a process of essencialization: both 'racial' and 'ethnic' groups are perceived as fixed essences.

According to Natrajan (2022, p. 298), there is a "cultural-ideological work to make 'peoples' by 'fixing' meanings around socially construted identities". Analysing the Indian context, Natrajan (2022) consideres that is occurs through two processes – "'racialization' of Muslims and 'ethnicization' of Dalits", however this "'ffixing' is unstable, rife with contradictions and tensions" (p. 298). Both racialization from processes of ethnicization have serious implications in peoples lifes and activist movements are increangly ask for a societal change in order to dismantling the material and symbolic structures of inequality.

The question of racial and ethnic categorization is full of ambiguity. Sometimes the same label has different meanings according to geographical and cultural context, and the meanings change with time. Generally, it is considered that there no racial conflict exists in Nepal where ethnicity has a strong presence. In doing this research we faced an enormous challenge concerning translation. Different

words in Nepali, with different meanings, are translated as “race” in English (the same for Portuguese). Doing this research in English one must be very carefull with translations and comparisons with other contexts.

In the article ‘Caste and intellectual confusion’, Malla (2022) explains the confusion on the meaning of caste, nationality and ethnicity. He has tried to focused more on the “real” meaning of caste and he prescribed not to mislead the debate about these terminologies. Translation of English word “race” is taken as “breed”, caste is translated in Nepali as “surname” and “ethnicity” are translated and used as “indigenous”. But Malla (2022) is not satisfied with these translation and use of these words in Nepalese political debates. He has described on the ground of the Article 6 of the preamble to the 1969 UN convention on the elimination of all forms of Racial discrimination. It says that “the doctrine and practice of ‘ethnicity’ is scientifically false, morally reprehensible, socially unjust, dangerous and unjustified’ (s/p). According to Malla, in today’s world, only populists emphasize the relationship between race, ethnicity and nationality.

In Nepalese context, ethnicity is not a representative word of janajati (Janajati is normally used for ethnic minorities) instead, it is human community and the basis of linguistic-cultural identity. In the case of Nepal too, Jayasthiti Malla and Ram Shah had institutionalized the caste system. The idea of caste is not only discriminatory but also inhumane (Malla, 2022). The classification of citizens on the basis of caste and the constitutional recognition of caste is not valid in Nepal of anywhere else. Such a system is against constitutionalism too. But some of the political parties are still demanding reformation of the nation on the basis of Caste. Malla has been reflected strongly against this on his article as well.

In the article ‘Racism without races: Reflections on racialization and racial projects’ (Bader, 2010) explain that racialization is a process that differentiate the group of people to various forms which sometimes is a base for distributing resources. The main idea of the Nepalese caste system is reflected in negative way on the use of resources and the access to the power. If race and racism is counted on material value, it will handle and control the society and try to distribute the material to whom the social status is strong (Bader, 2010). The main idea of this research reflects on this statement where the access of minorities in the social institutions like media is rare or none. Malla (2022) and Bader (2010) both agreed that “caste” and “race” are not biological determinations rather than the socially constructed ideologies.

As Ratnamala (2022) explains about the caste system in India, Caste continues to play a crucial role in the sociological, political, cultural, educational and economic existence of Indian society. The cultural, social and political scenario of Nepal is not so far from the Indian practices. Caste is a deeply ingrained societal problem equally in Nepal and in India. Caste creates hierarchical social relationships, which result in inequality, discrimination, and social injustice in which Nepali civil war was started and reached in its climax. Caste attempts to regulate and govern all aspects of life, including higher education institutions in India. Likewise in Nepal caste is taken as a base for all of the institutional formation and caste is an important element of the society in Indian sub-continent.

Caste in media is also excluded matter both in India and in Nepal. Content wise, caste is a forgotten issue and the participation as the work force in media is rare from certain untouchable castes groups in Nepal and in India according to Ratnamala (2022). Ratnamala compared the situation of Dalits in the media contents in India with the situation of Black American in US media coverage. One can compare the situation of Nepalese Dalits and ethnic minorities with Indian Dalits and with US Blacks, but the last comparison can be misleading since the US Blacks are seen as a "race" while in Nepal, and in other countries in the SubIndian Continent when one speaks about "racism" it is to refer to the racial discrimination practised by Westerners against other peoples of the world, or the attacks on the "black people who live or travel in India"[6].

As explained by Kikon (2021, p. 292), "caste hierarchies inform taste, spatial order, and produce everyday racism" but are not perceived as "racism", but as a social order that is taken for granted. In recent years, with the activist movements for social change, other word started to be mobilized: "casteism", to refere to the social discrimination based on "caste". Analysing the situation in Northeast India, Kikon (2021, p. 286) states that "although Dalit assertions for equating caste discrimination with racism were rejected (...), the growing culture of racism and hate crime in India have been brutal". The practices of racial profiling, harassment, public humiliation and raids carried out by the police and neigh-bourhood vigilante groups have become routine. According to Kikon (2021), the caste logic about "contamination" has powerful and pervasive ways of perpetuating everyday racism and casteism across India. What about in Nepal? To our kowledge no previous studies looked in-depth to these complex issues.

The literature available on "race", "ethnicity", "caste", and "tribe" in the Indian Sub-continent is full of ambiguities.

[6] See: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-47042681.

For exemple, “tribe” is a social division in a traditional society consisting of families of communities linked by social, economic, religious, or blood ties, with a common cultural and dialect, typically having a recognized leader. Cambridge dictionary (www.dictionary.cambridge.org) defines tribe as “a group of people, often of related families who live together, sharing the same language, culture, and history, especially those who do not live in towns or cities”. These definitions of tribe best suit in the context of Nepal where different ethnic groups share the same caste category and same language. They used to live in the hilly and mountain region with typical tradition but nowadays, because of the economical enhancement, they migrated into cities as well (Bista, 1972).

Caste, as in many societies in the south Asian region (Indian sub-continent), is taken as a pertinent category of social hierarchy and classification of the people (Subedi, 2010). In the context of Nepal and other Indian sub-continent, caste concept is taken as a component of hierarchy and labor division which is sometimes used by clevers to be a superior in the society (Sinha, 1967) to dominate the “inferiors”. According to Article 6 of the preamble of the 1969 United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, the “doctrine and practice of ‘ethnicity’ is scientifically false, morally reprehensible, socially unjust, dangerous and unjustified” (Malla, 2022, s/p). In today’s world, only populists emphasize the relationship between race, ethnicity and nationality.

This research aimed to discover the answer for the following Questions focusing on inequality issues.

Research Questions

In order to investigate the existing ethnic inequality in Nepalese media, the study has been addressed the following research questions:

- What kinds of ethnic stereotypes prevail in Nepalese media?
- How do the media represent the ethnic minorities and low caste people in news and other contents?
- How do the negative stereotypes and negative framing carry on the inequality in Nepalese media?

Research Objectives

This study aims to meet the following research objectives:

- To investigate the kind of ethnic stereotype existing in Nepalese media.

- To investigate the way of presenting or portraying ethnic minorities or low caste people in news and in other contents.
- To find out the representation of ethnic minorities and low caste people in Nepalese media in comparison to the higher caste people.

Brief description of the chapters of the thesis

This thesis is composed by eight chapters, including introduction and conclusions. The beginning chapter corresponds to the introduction of the thesis, with several sub headings that introduce the thesis in detail. Within this chapter, the introduction of the study context and other reliable sub-topics are helpful for being introduced with the thesis. Likewise, research questions and the objectives are noted in this chapter. Rationale of the study in the context of Nepal with general information about the country in regards with diversity has been described for the readers unfamiliar with the Nepalese context.

The first chapter includes the historical background of the caste system with detailed information of Nepalese caste system and its implications and consequences in the diverse society. Discrimination and untouchability on the basis of caste has been drawn critically in this unit with the definition of ethnicity and caste. This chapter has included the list of Dalit (untouchable) castes and the legal recognition of caste system with the brief account of other caste groups. Practices of exclusion in social institutions and caste-based development practice are also described in unit first.

Additionally, the next chapter includes media history and major practice in ethnic inequality in Nepal with media perception on ethnicity and race. This unit two expands with the descriptions of racist culture of media and analysis of media as a source of power. Likewise, unit two includes the sub-chapter about the trend of Nepalese daily newspapers that addresses the matters of caste. In general, this chapter is a detailed account of Nepalese print media with relation to caste base issues.

Likewise, chapter three is about theoretical background including the definitions of three major theories implied in the study such as, mass communication theory, social identity theory and social inclusion theory with some more information about other communication theories. Unit four is holding literature reviews including the sub-chapters which describe existing literature related to the field of this study. Critical accounts of inequality, minorities, stereotypes and news portrayals are analysed with the previous studies related to this research.

Similarly, research methodology is described in chapter five with the reliably drafted definitions of research methodology components such as, design, nature and source of data, method of data collection, sampling, data analysis and the ethical issues with the general introduction of the newspapers that are chosen for the study. The definition of content analysis and in-depth interview has been drawn with the definition of focus group discussion. This chapter also includes socio-demographic studies of the population. Another chapter is about the data analysis which includes the different sub-units like, analysis of news contents, analysis of in-depth interviews and the focus group discussion. And the last, not the least chapter includes the findings of the study, conclusion and some recommendations for further studies related to the field of media coverage of ethnic minorities and lower caste people. This thesis ends with references and appendices.

1. Caste system and its consequences in different social institutions

1.1. How caste matters in Nepal?

The word 'caste' is derived from Portuguese language during the colonial period in India in the fifteenth century. It refers to a small group with native and hereditary character (Subedi, 2010). Caste system is a pertinent category of social hierarchy likewise; class, gender, ethnicity and religious beliefs are the different bases for order of the Nepal society (Gupta, 2000). The group might have their special professional skills, unique traditions and the color. Caste system is defined as a birth-ascribed stratification, of socio-cultural pluralism, an/or hierarchical interaction (Berreman, 1967).

It is mentioned in Nepalese context that the caste system was formed for hierarchy on the basis of their biological characters. Critics developped the arguments about the caste system, either it is simply a social division for hierarchy or the division of the labor force (Yengde, 2019). In Hinduism, caste refers to 'a fundamental institution' (Gerth & Mills, 1974). Socio-Cultural institutions are the common definition of the caste system all over the universe.

There are some examples of the caste system within Muslims in India and Buddhism in Nepal as well. In the 14th century, when the rulers made occupations as Brahmins, Chhetriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras, folks carried a heavy burden of caste. The same caste, which was made 'pure' and 'impure' in the 'Civil Code 1854'[7], became Khas-Aryan and Janajati after 1990 in Nepalese history. Workers, peasants, traders and Dalits were divided by the rulers. And a portion of the geographical and biological population turned to dynastic political-economic (Ahuti, 2014).

According to Ghurye (1964, p. 28), the notion of the caste is fundamentally based on following concepts:

1. Segmental division of society;
2. Hierarchy;
3. Restriction on feeding and social intercourse;
4. Civil and religious disabilities and privileges of the different sections;
5. Restriction in marriage;
6. Lack of unrestricted choice of occupation.

[7] The Nepali Civil Code 1854 was commissioned by Jung Bahadur Rana the prime minister after his European visit and enacted in 1954. It was an attempt to include the entire Hindu as well as non-Hindu of Nepal at that time into a single hierarchic civic code from the perspective of dominant Khas rulers.

Similarly, Sharma (2004, p. 13) defines that normally caste conforms to the following criteria:

1. A caste endogamous;
2. There are restrictions on commensality between members of different castes;
3. There is a hierarchical grading if castes the best recognized position being that of the Brahmin at the top;
4. The various kinds of contexts, especially those concerned with food, sex and ritual, a member of 'high' caste is liable to be polluted by either direct or indirect contact with a member of a 'low caste;
5. Castes are very commonly associated with traditional occupations;
6. A man's caste is originally determined by the circumstances of his birth, unless he comes to be expelled from his caste for some ritual offence.

1.2. Caste and ethnicity in Nepal

It is necessary to be very careful with the use of the words 'Caste,' 'Nationality', 'Ethnicity' or 'Tribe'.

The issue of removing the word 'Caste' from the constitution is currently being debated in France and Sweden (Malla, 2022). According to Malla (2022), nationality is a stable community with historically developed different language, geography, economy and psychology while caste is a discriminatory structure of Hindu caste system.

During Ram shah, the king of the then Gorkha province divided the people into various groups for social hierarchy and for labor management (Gurung, 2006). He divided people with four major castes, Brahmin, Chhetri, Vaishya and Shudra with respected work classification. Junga Bahadur Rana, first declared the *Muluki Ain* (Civil Code) 1854 which formalized the caste system in Nepalese history (Bista, 1972). Caste system has a significant relationship with society till the date.

There is some confusion about the definition of Varna system and the caste system, but Ahuti, in his book intiled *Varna system and class struggle in Nepal* (2014), clarifies that there are not any distinct differences between these words. He explains that untouchability or caste system is defined only as a cultural phenomenon by the so-called intellectuals but the negative aspects of the caste system are not only the problems of cultural subjects rather than socio-political and socio-economical components.

Brahmins were supposed to be of higher caste, whereas Shudra were taken as the lowest caste (Vishwakarma, 2002). The low caste people were charged for a higher degree of punishment by the

same level of offence by law (Bennett, 2005). Brahmins and Chhetries were supposed to own the land, work as priests, army and police and administrators (Gellner, 1997). Similarly Untouchable 'artisan' people called 'Dalits' (Broken People) were categorized for making weapons (Kami or Vishwakarma), sewing clothes (Damai) and making shoes (Sarki). Along with these specific works, some Dalits have to work as cleaners who have to clean cities and to manage the dead body of cattle. Ethnic indigenous people, called Matawali, (liquor users) were taken as brave and aggressive by nature (Gurung, 2006).

Still so-called higher caste communities are suppressing the lower caste people as treated in history. Traditionally, education is the prior privilege of the so-called upper classes; being educated is an indicator of the social class hierarchy (Bista, 1991). Ever since the Dalit class was humiliated in the social structure, it has probably not breathed a sigh of relief. Activists do not agree with the word Dalit, however, the practice of calling artisan people by the word Dalit has given legitimacy by the constitution itself. In some aspects, the word Dalit is itself a movement of inclusion (Ahuti, 2014).

The constitution and the civil right act 1955, clearly mentioned against discrimination on the basis of caste, religion, sex, tribe, etc (David, 2016). At the same time, untouchability and the prohibition of entering the people in any public place is still remaining (Bennett, 2005). Later on, the caste system was badly used for the negative exercise of social class within the groups. From the beginning of the fifth century Nepal had a caste system (Vishwakarma, 2002). It was just the starting era of racism and caste based social hierarchy which led Nepal as a caste-based country with ethnic diversity that somehow excluded the people being involved in mainstream politics.

Caste sometimes was a respectable identity for the higher-class people but at the same time lower caste people had to hide their caste in order to not be identifyied among the higher caste people because of feelings of embarassment, which result of discrimination (Ahuti, 2020). As per the report of census (2011), 125 castes are indicated with 123 languages. Most of the ethnic people follow their own indigenous language, which is the indicator of their caste identity, eg. Tamang, Newar, Rai, Gurung, Limbu have their own unique languages. The system of 64 castes in Nepal dates back to the 14th century. The National Commission of Dalit identifies 22 of these as Dalits. They have traditionally been referred to in a number of derogatory terms, including "untouchables" (Carlsen, 2008). India author Dipankar Gupta (2000), in his book Hierarchy and Differences: An introduction, defines social classification as; social forms are classified on the basis of certain criteria, using caste, class, colour and gender. It also has a stratified system in the society. The fact that this stratified system has brought the so-called Dalits to the bottom in Nepali society cannot be denied.

According to the last census (2011), 61% of Nepalese people speak Nepali language, whereas 41% of people speak their own language following Nepali language as a second language (PMN, 2014). The National Dalit Commission identifies that 26 of the castes are Dalits who have traditionally been referred to a number of derogatory terms including untouchability. Dalit commission also poinst out that Nepal still has 58 discriminatory laws against Dalit. The Dalit community, which makes up 13.8% of Nepal's population, has long been economically, socially, politically, educationally and humanely excluded, neglected, oppressed and deprived. According to the 2011 Nepal Living Standards Survey, about 41% of Dalits are below the poverty line. In the Hills 15.32% and in the Terai 44% Dalits are landless. The participation of the Dalits in the civil service is only 2% (PMN, 2014).

Different NGOs working on the field of Untouchables presented a report to the government of Nepal (February 2018) that included the caste-based discrimination which shows ground reality of discrimination and the unequal treatment to the so-called lower caste community. Despite legal restrictions, caste-based segregation is still in practice in a form of marriage segregation, inter-caste marriage harassment, denial of access to the temples and other religious places, denial to public utilities and education facilities, blocking access to residential areas and occupational segregation (NGO, 2018). Inter-caste marriage is socially not accepted although it is legal in the law. 90% of the people do not want to engage in an inter-caste marriage because of the threats from the so-called upper caste families. Government of Nepal has declared some finantial incentives for encouraging the inter-caste couples but still because of the social discrimination and stigma, people hesitate to marry someone from another caste.

The caste system of Nepal can be understood as a motto of 'unity in diversity' on the one hand but on the other hand, critics take this scenario as a vast controversy within the ethnic groups. Caste system is not in the same practice in Nepal, what it was like before the restoration of democracy in the country in 1990 (Subedi, 2010). Phenomenon has been changed as the political system is driven towards the new discourse of social inclusion after restoration of democracy in 1990 and onwards (other political and social movements for change). Every incident against ethnic minorities and other so-called lower caste groups were hidden by generalizing the contexts in the past (Ahuti, 2020).

1.3. Adibasi/Janajati (Ethnic groups/Nationalities)

The National Committee of Nationalities has noted 59 distinct cultural groups as Janajati (Published in Nepal Rajpatra (Gazette), February 2, 2002). The definition of Adibasi/Janajati (or nationalities) by

Adibasi/Janajati Utthan Rastriya Pratisthan (AJURP) is as follows: “Nationality (Janajati) is that community which has its own mother tongue and traditional cultural and yet do not fall under the conventional fourfold Varna of Hindu or Hindu hierarchical caste structure”. Historically, many of these Janajati groups used to occupy a particular habitat or territory, and thus many of them claim that they are the true “First Settlers" (Adivasi) of Nepal. But the question of who should be treated as Adibasi/Janajati group is under contention among academics (Dahal, 2003). The definition of Adibasi/Janajati seems extremely elusive and arbitrary in the context of Nepal as many of the “Adibasi/Janajati groups" are Hindus. For example, the Newar group, whose Hindu population was 84.1% according to the 2001 census has increased to 97.4% of the Hindu population in the 2011 census (Population Monograph of Nepal, 2014).

Similarly, 94% of Tharus and 79% of Magars were reported as Hindus in the 2011 census. In fact, many Adibasi/Janajati groups have claimed to be Hindus in various proportions. The Janajati groups are divided regionally into two distinct cultural groups: Hill Janajati and Terai Janajati. Some of the Hill Janajati groups are: Newar, Magar, Gurung, Rai, Limbu, Sherpa, Sunuwar, Bhote, Raji, Raute and others. Some of the Terai (Madhesi) Janajati are: Tharu, Dhimal, Gangai, Sata/Santhal, Jhangar, Koche, and others. Some scholars do not consider Tharus and other Terai Janajati groups within the Madhesi groups as they are the real sons of the soils of the area (Chaudhary, 2007).

The total population of Adibasi/Janajati groups (50 Hill and Mountain groups and 13 Terai groups) is 34.97% of the total population of Nepal. Among the Adibasi/Janajati groups, the CBS has reported many sub-cultural groups which could easily be labeled within the Adibasi/Janajati category but ye are recognised as Adibasi/Janajati by the Janajati Utthan Rastriya Pratisthan, a government organization. The updated list of Adibasi/Janajati groups by Om gurung and others (Gurung et al., 2009) has yet to be approved by the (AJURP).

Table 1.1. Ethnic/caste groups of Nepal based on nine broad cultural categories, 2011 Census

S.N.	Broad cultural groups	Number of Ethnic/caste groups
1.	Caste-Origin: Hill groups	4
2.	Hill Adibasi/Janajati groups	50
3.	Hill low caste or Dalits	5
4.	Madhesi caste origin groups (Socio-economic level 1)	3
5.	Madhesi caste origin groups (Socio-economic level 2)	31
6.	Madhesi low caste groups (Socio-economic level 3)	15
7.	Madhesi (Terai) Adivasi/Janajati groups	13
8.	Musalman (Muslim)	1
9.	Other cultural groups	4*
10.	Unidentified (noted within these broad cultural categories)	
	Total	**126**

Table 1.2. Some distinct ethnic/caste features reported in the 2011 census (CBS)

Region	Census 2011
Total Ethnic/caste group reported	125
Mountain	9
Hill	55
Terai	61
Addition of ethnic/caste groups from previous census	25
Ethnic/caste groups listed in the previous census were not reported in following census	2
Ethnic/caste groups' population counted in 'other' category (%)	1.04
Number of ethnic/caste groups whose population size declined than the previous census	10

1.4. Ancient history of caste system (Varna Vyavastha) in Nepal along with South Asia

If you ask Nepalese people about the caste system, they are well aware of it and they also of the hierarchy of their caste group (Gellner, 2007). Gellner (2007) explains that even in India, people are not as aware of the caste system and of the practice of untouchability in comparison with Nepal. Bishwabhakta Dulal aka Ahuti (2014) explains that the Varna system, as a caste system, is a whole system of the Nepalese Hindu society.

Class is determined by the caste and the aesthetic contemplation is also set as caste hierarchy. For instance, the Brahmin mind set is that there would not be a beautiful lady in the Sudra family. For example, if you see a beautiful lady from the Pariyar (an untouchable caste which is traditionally a tailor) community, you will say that 'how gorgeous a lady is that even is from the Pariyar community'. Nepali caste system is not a unique system of division of the population (Ahuti, 2014). It has a long relationship with the history of Indian Hindu stratification of the ancient society.

The word 'Hindu' is derived from the word 'Sindhu' a river flows between India and Pakistan. Iranian used to pronounce the word Hindu for Sindhu because they did not have the sound (Sa) in their alphabet. People who used to live across the Sindhu River were called Hindu in the ancient time; Ahuti (2014) draws an account of the ancient history of Hindu in his book.

1.5. Civilization of Sindhu Valley which is the root of Nepalese Caste system

Sindhu valley had two types of civilizations before 5000 years named Mohenjo-daro and Harappan. Harappan civilization is also known as Saraswati Sindhu civilization (Ahuti, 2014). Sindhu Valley civilization was one of the three early civilizations along with Mesopotamia and Egypt; it stretched from present day Afghanistan to north-west India through Pakistan (india.com, 2016). It was preached that those civilizations were structured by Aryan but later on, this publicity had not enough proof to establish this fact. The real constructor of these civilizations was Dravids, who were red and black with short noses in gestures (Ghurye, 1964).

Aryans were shifted from Europe 5000 years back to Sindhu valley fought with Dravida and defeated them in the battle. After victory, Aryans in the South Asia started slavery system for the first time in the history. Defeated Dravidas were made slaves by Aryans. History was built to preach the Aryans as never being a defeated group (Ghurye, 1964). After the rapid and dense growth of population, conflict started within the Aryan communities as well. Defeated Aryans were also converted into slaves. The War of

Mahabharata is the sufficient example of war between different Aryan groups. It was the first stage of slavery era (Ghurye, 1964).

Along with the growth of population, people were into different working classes. While Aryans were expanded to Ganga plain land, they divided the society into 4 different classes and categories. It happened 3500 years ago while Rigveda, the first book in the world was written (Regmi, 2026 B.S.).

In the 10th chapter of the Rigveda[8], a religious text of Hinduism in Sanskrit script written by Bedbyas, there is a myth that Brahmin was born from the mouth from the creator of all the creatures named Brahma. Likewise, Chhetri was born from his stomach and the lowest Sudra was born from the foot of Brahma. It was a sort of labor division. Brahmins were taken as priests, learners and the agent of God to take people with. Chhetris were given the job of governance and security of the state. The third group called Vaisya was introduced for commerce of that time and for agriculture with animal farming. Music, technology and other sorts of services were for Sudras (Ahuti, 2014).

It was the primary model of social stratification for labor division at Ganga valley of India, which later on entered into present Nepal. The labor division was inviolable so that no one was allowed to skip their traditional profession, which used to transfer from generation to generation. Labour division was not a unique practice in the South Asian region as in the global context but the practice of labor division in the South Asian region was different, and stills the same in the sense of inviolability (Aryal, 2024 B.S.). Inviolability in labor division is the rule that could not be changed as per their desire of shifting from the profession which they have had distributed in the past to their ancestors.

The cruel side of this practice is remarkable. For instance, if someone belongs to the singing profession, he/she has to sing as a profession forcefully even without interest and the singing vocal. Because of this unequal practice, Vaishyas and Sudras were not satisfied with their ancestry profession which was comparatively hard in nature and socially disgusting. So, they became a rebellion against Brahmins and Chhetris who already had respectful jobs and socially upper hierarchy (Ahuti, 2014).

Manusmriti[9] an ancient legal text of Hinduism written in Sanskrit language which later on translated in English and some other holy books from Hinduism are proof of discriminatory punishments against Shudras and Vaishyas. Manuscript later on became the source of law in Indian subcontinent (Olivelle, 2005). 'Manusmriti' encouraged scolding the suppressed group without hesitation. There is a sentence

[8] The Rigveda or Rig Veda is an ancient collection from Indian subcontinent which is a collection of Vedic Sanskrit hymns. It is one of the four sacred canonical tests of Hinduism known as the Vedas.

[9] The Manusmriti is an ancient legal text among Hinduism which was one of the first Sanskrit texts to have been translated into English in 1776 by Sir Williams Jones and was used to formulate the Hindu law by the British Colonial government.

that says, you (Brahmin and Chhetri) are allowed to beat the animals, drum and Sudras as you like. As the result of ancient practices against suppressed groups of people, they became a rebellion by the time. Unequal punishment against suppressed groups was intentionally cruel and unlawful but so-called upper-level communities started repressing their movements of equality (Ahuti, 2020).

The then states started discrimination and stigmatization to those who were against the state as suppression. Brahmin and Chhetri stigmatized Vaishya and Sudra by differentiating them to the public water resources and then boycotting to reside in easy access (Bista, 1991). At last, the practice of untouchability was established. Untouchability was the form of punishment against violation of the rule made by the so-called ruler group as per their needs. There is not an exact date of the beginning of untouchability but in the era of Buddha before 2600 years, there was a practice of untouchability, which is mentioned in the story of Gautam Buddha in the book 'Jatak'.

1.6. Untouchability and discrimination based on caste: A cruel practice

Caste discrimination and untouchability are defined by various documents. Ethnic discrimination and untouchability mean discrimination and untouchability including control, ban, expulsion and contempt which is what a cause of social distraction (NHRCN, 2076 BS). The 1965, International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, defines caste discrimination as political, economic, social, cultural or other in the realm of human rights and fundamental freedoms or any form of discrimination, exclusion, control or preference based on ethnic origin (NHRCN, 2076 BS). Likewise, Nepal has declared an act called 'Ethnic and Other Social Untouchability and Discrimination Offenses and Punishment Act 2068 BS' to eradicate the practices of caste-based discrimination. The New Country Act 2020 BS made some effort to end caste discrimination and untouchability. Judicial Provision no. 10 (a) of the act stipulates that anyone who boycotts or prohibits discriminatory practices of untouchability on the basis of caste, religion, clan, class or work will be punished with imprisonment for three months to 3 years or a fine of Rs. one thousand to twenty thousand (NHRCN, 2076 BS).

Untouchability insults the victims as well as under ranks them and hurts them emotionally (Ahuti, 2020). Additionally, untouchability has its political value whereas the entire world is motivated and driven by politics. Political essence of untouchability is what divides the community internally. Specially, it hurts and harms the working class and infinitely perpetuates the process of bursting. Untouchability is a practice which was established with the efforts of upper-level ruler class and they did not desire to eradicate the practice of discrimination so they made the practice as an organ of the state. It was not

sustained automatically as a cultural practice rather than the intentionally planned policy for sustaining their rule for a long-time span (Ahuti, 2020).

The word 'Dalit' is taken widely in national and international level. However, the government of Nepal, NGOs/INGOs and academics use different terms to refer to Dalits (Bhattachan et. al, 2009). Some terms, such as *pani nachalne* (water polluting), *achoot* (untouchables), *doom, pariganit* and *tallo jaat* (low caste) are derogatory while other non-derogatory terms are also used such as, *uppechhit* (ignored), *utpidit* (oppressed), *sosit* (exploited), *pachhadi pareka* (lagging behind), *bipanna* (downtrodden), *garib* (poor), *nimukha* (helpless), *simanta krit* (marginalized), *subidhabata banchit* (disadvantaged), *alpsankhyak* (minorities), *banchitikaranma pareka* (excluded), *harijan* (god's people) (Bhattachan et. al, 2009). To gain universal acceptance, it took several hesitations among Dalits and non-Dalits. The term Dalit represents struggle for equality and equity, which is agreed by all the movements of untouchability and discrimination based on caste group. A report of World Bank and DFID 2006 notes that a lingering hesitation to use the term Dalit or to name caste-based discrimination head-on and a preference for euphemisms only serves to confuse issues pertaining to Dalit rights. The term Dalit need to be accepted universally (World Bank and DFID, 2006).

The National Dalit Commission (NDC) has defined Dalits as those who were listed as 'untouchables' in the national law code of 1854 (Kharel & Suji, 2019). The term 'Dalit' is used mostly in official documents and by politically conscious and aware people, which in everyday usage is not very common. Hindu society carrying on untouchability and discrimination based on castes by centuries in Nepalese societies. Discrimination is a differentiation (Pradeep & Hasini, 2020). In contrast in the case of Buddhism, caste operates behind a veil of public denial and serves as a 'filtering' function in ritualistic gatherings and the organization of the Buddhist order (Pradeep & Hasini, 2020). Pradeep and Hasini had studied among 4 Asian countries where untouchability practices were deep rooted in the society for a long time. And found that Hinduism is not only the religion which forcefully carries on the discriminatory features of untouchability and differentiation on the base of caste. Yengde (2019) noted on his book 'Caste Matters' that majority Hindu Brahmin community choose the arrange marriage because of the fear of 'Dalit love'. He also addresses that capitalism in India is already infected by 'caste'.

'Dalit love' is a symbolic terminology which expresses the deep-rooted practice of unfairness to the untouchable communities. Fear of being related with the suppressed group is the cause that isolates these communities from mixing up with.

1.7. List of Dalit (Untouchable) Castes in Nepal

Dalits are divided into two sub categories such as Hill origin and Terai origin. The practice of untouchability and discrimination based on caste is almost same in hilly region and the Terai region but different castes are existed in both regions. They have their own distinctive job categories based upon castes (Bhattachan, et. al, 2009). We can divide these into two categories such as, Hill origin and Madhesi origin:

A) Hill Origin:
   i) Gandharva (Gaine);
   ii) Pariyar (Damai, Darji, Suchikar, Nagarchi, Dholi, Hoodke);
   iii) Badi;
   iv) Vishwakarma (Kami, Lohar, Sunar, Wod, Chunara, Parki, Tamata);
   v) Sharki (Mijar, Charmakar, Bhool).

B) Madhesi Origin:
   i) Kalar, Kakaihiya, Kori, Khatik;
   ii) Khatbe (Mandal, Khanka);
   iii) Chamar (Ram, Mochee, Harijan, Rabidas);
   iv) Chidimar;
   v) Dom (Marik);
   vi) Tatma (Tanti, Das);
   vii) Dusadh (Paswan, Hajara);
   viii) Dhobi (Hindu, Rajak);
   ix) Pattharkatta, Pasi Bantar, Mushar;
   x) Mestar (Halkhor);
   xi) Sarvanga (Sarbaraiya).

1.8. How did it enter Nepal?

History of Nepal is not a complete history which has been taught since long ago (Ahuti, 2014). Only the total account of the ruler class from Bagmati Valley which is known as Kathmandu in present time is taught as a total history of modern Nepal since ancient time. Rest part of the country is neglected by the central history of the country. For example, how many kings ruled over the Bagmati, how many queens were married by certain kings, where was the family of queens from are the major subjects of

the past history of Nepal. Nepalese history always left the core part of the ancient society. No one was taught the hidden story of black smith's working place named 'Aran' which has a significant meaning of technological contribution to modern Nepal (Bajracharya & Malla, 1985).

'*Aran*', a workshop of metal, especially iron, is the first technology ever in feudal society that is not mentioned in ancient history. History of abandoned mines of copper and iron is not dug out because of the social classification which always served the upper class. History of Nepal is like a genealogy of ancient kings and emperors. To understand the Varna system and class system, it should be understood that there was a country Nepal that was expanded outside of Kathmandu Valley as well.

The Varna system entered Nepal from three different directions at three different time periods. Specially, East from the Koshi River until Kapilvastu, there was a civilization of 'Kosh' without discrimination on the base of caste (Ahuti, 2014). Gautam Buddha from this region was also a 'Madhesi' (Madhesis are black in color) but who drew his picture in modern times was perhaps white so the image of Gautam Buddha remained white in peoples' minds. Gautam Buudha used to wear 'Dhoti', a typical dress of Madhesi (Ahuti, 2014).

Gautam Buddha, some people take him as a god, was a practitioner of 'Pali'[10] language whose lineage was shifted from Ganga valley of India to Southern part of Nepal. It was the period when the land was already densely populated. Caste system from Indian Hindu communities was spread across Narayani River. East of Narayani River, modern time Janakpur was known as Mithila. Janak was the king of Mithila and Janakpur was the capital of Mithila province. There is a story of Janak who called Brahma Sabha (Congress of Brahmins) in the past as the conference of intellectual frontiers. It means Mithila practiced a caste system as there were other castes as well as Brahmins. With these prior examples, we can prove that there was a caste-based community in Eastern Terai region before 2800-3000 years (Ahuti, 2014).

There is a written document of 1014 A.D. where registration of castes is clearly mentioned as a government draft. Sociologists claim that there was a king named Sahalesh in Mithila before 1800 years who was a reformist who did some movements for eradicating the caste system which discriminated against people from lower castes. Caste system was expanded to Eastern Terai region of Nepal from central India with the migrant people automatically. So, features of the caste system in Terai region of Nepal are similar to Hindu Indian caste system (Ahuti, 2014).

[10] Pali is a Middle Indo-Aryan liturgical language native to the Indian subcontinent which is widely studied because it is the language of the Pali Canon and is the sacred language of Theravada Buddhism.

2000 years ago, in Bagmati valley, there was a rule of the Kirat dynasty, who ruled over Bagmati for 32 generations. Kirats were from 'Mundhum' (a holy book of Kirat) tradition, like Brahmins are from Veda and Muslims from Kuran. Mundhum now has been in written form but in the past, it had been continued by the oral transformation to generation, having different philosophy, tradition and beliefs. Present day Rai, Sunuwar, Limbu from Matwali group were Kirats who did not practice caste system in their ruling time in Kathmandu valley (Banarjee, 1969). King Prithvi Narayan Shah had a dream to make his state a Hindu dominant Kingdom so that he made an obligatory order to all the citizens to follow Hinduism. No caste system was practiced within Kiratis but to be forced to follow Hinduism with caste system (Ahuti, 2014).

Hindu Lichchhivi who already practiced Hinduism from Vaishali India attacked Nepal in 171 to 200 A.D. and Kirats were defeated. Defeated Kirats were chased from Kathmandu valley to the East of Nepal. Some Kirats who had lands could not leave their land so they were hid and who ran away from the valley still waited for the chance to re-enter into the valley sheltering in Banepa a city nearby Kathmandu. Jyapus (farmers) in the valley now were from Kirat who were hidden rather than escaped. Kirats were chased next time as well from Banepa crossing Tamakoshi River in the East part of Nepal (Regmi, 2026 B.S.).

That was the last era of Kirats in Bagmati valley, present day Kathmandu. The Lichchhavi dynasty was next to rule over Bagmati in 200 A.D. after Kirats. Amsuvarma, Mandev and Bhrikuti were the major names of the Lichchhavi regime. Lichchhavi brought the caste system from Vaishali to Kathmandu and they established the caste system with 4 Varnas and 18 castes. This dynasty ruled over Kathmandu until 879 A.D. The Mallas were another dynasty after Lichchhavi who ruled over Kathmandu (Slusser, 1983).

Population was grown up adequately in Kathmandu valley until 1305 so King Jayasthiti Malla called 5 priests for reforming the caste system established by Lichchhavi in the past. Mahinath Bhatta and Shreenath Bhatta were main Brahmins to reform the caste system in Kathmandu Valley (Bajracharya, 2030 B.S.). Mallas also formalized the caste system in their period and practice of hierarchy and untouchability existed. Caste system in Kathmandu valley was started by the Lichchhavi dynasty regime and was organized and formalized more strongly by Jayasthiti Malla, a Malla King (Bajracharya, 2030B.S.). The number of castes increased as the population grew up rapidly.

Caste with certain work divisions was the salient features of the stratification of ancient Nepal. The city area had a special lower caste segment for cleaning purposes. 'Pode' lower caste in Newar community still exists and the main task is to clean streets and to clean toilets. Likewise, Janakpur was also a city so they had a caste named 'Dom' for cleaning the city. Caste system of Kathmandu valley belongs to the Newar Community (Bajracharya, 2030 B.S.). What is clear from the historical facts is that the caste system and the oppression of Dalits and ethnic minorities is not only a remnant of feudal society now but has also been happily adopted by capitalism. The caste system is a basic part of the capitalist system of South Asia. Therefore, the caste system is a capitalist system these days (Ahuti, 2014).

Present day caste system is known as '4 Castes and 36 Varnas' (Char jaat chhattis barna) which was established in the tenure of king Prithvi Narayan Shah. Here is a detailed account of this caste system which has 4 castes and 36 varnas. Late king Prithvi Narayan Shah (1743-1775) expressed some sermons; among them there is a famous quote that says, Nepal is a beautiful garden of 4 Varnas and 36 castes. Karnali to Doti of Western Nepal had Dotyali civilization. Name of Bagmati valley turned into 'Kathmandu' and originated from the Dotyali language which means a wooden temple. There is still a Gorakhnath temple in Kathmandu which is said to be made by a single tree. Civilization of Jumla and Doti was a famous civilization at that time (Ahuti, 2014). Now these are two districts of Nepal which are considered backwarded.

There were 2 types of population in Western Nepal. First, a group of people who were from Europe spent thousands of years in Ganga valley of India and in Mansarovar who belong to 'Khas' society. They used to drink alcohol, worshiped nature and they did not follow Hinduism. Likewise, they did not have a caste system at all. Historians explained that Khas entered in Western Nepal around the 2nd century. Nepalese society has always followed its tradition and religious beliefs since the beginning (Joshi, 1998).

Various religious schools were developed simultaneously so all the schools like that of Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Shaktism and Buddhism flourished at the same time in Nepal with their own religious beliefs, cultural values and arts.

Sankaracharya[11], the then principle of Hinduism from India visited Western Nepal through Mansarovar in the 5th century to spread Hinduism. At the same time, people from the Veri River of Western Nepal used to go to Mughal and were attracted to Hinduism and carried the religion to Nepal as well. A group

[11] Shankaracharya was an Indian philosopher and theologian who consolidated the doctrine of Adwait Vedanta credited with unifying and establishing the main currents of thought in Hinduism.

of Vaidik Arya people from India were in search of suitable land to settle on and to escape from Muslims from Iran, came to Nepal where the climate is perfect for settlement and to cultivate. They had crossed Satluj River to Mahakali River who established a caste system with the help of Khas. Khas and Arya are a caste these days but they had a different history of their origin. For instance, people who worship Masto (Nature) were Khas and the people who worship Hindu's god and goddesses were Vaidik Aryas in the beginning (Ahuti, 2014).

The expansion of Khas Hindu state was started to Eastern Nepal from the West until Dharan the eastern city of modern Nepal. It expanded the religious empire of Hinduism and also established the caste-based society where they ruled over (Ahuti, 2014). After the unification of divided Nepal in a great state, King Prithvi Narayan Shah started to rule the united modern Nepal from Kathmandu Nhuchchhe Durbar, started Varna system again with the provision of compulsion that was to obey by all who were not in practice of caste system in the past.

For instance, Limbu who had not followed the social stratification was also ordered to obey the caste system and the hierarchy of the society based on caste. In the past, caste system only existed in Newar community and Hindus from Terai but after unification, it was expanded all over the country drastically and compulsorily which is now the principal reason for social violence and the central debate of politics (Shrestha & Singh, 1972). None of the political parties exist without addressing caste inequality these days in Nepal.

1.9. Legal recognition of Caste system in Nepal

Caste system was run within the society informally but was strong enough to perform the hierarchy in the feudal society. At the empire of king Surendra Bikram Shah (1816-1847), Junga Bahadur Rana appeared as prime minister with full strength to rule over the country boycotting kingship. Junga Bahadur Rana later on promulgated civil code (Muluki Ain 1854) 1910 B. S[12] (Nepali calendar) as a constitution which was the first legal monument of modern Nepal, where the caste system got formal recognition. Book of civil act 1910 is not available anywhere, neither in the library of university nor any chapter in the course book. The only reason is to hide the real fact of the exclusive character of the act (Ranabhat, 2050 B.S.).

[12] B.S. is an abbreviation of Bikram Sambat, a Historical Hindu Calendar used in Indian subcontinent which is the official calendar of Nepal since 1958 BS. It is 56.7 years ahead of the Gregorian solar Calendar.

Civil code 1910 B.S. clearly institutionalized the Hindu hierarchy of castes and the punishment provisions for different caste groups (Tamang, 2020). Muluki Ain, general civil and criminal code ruled the nation until reformation of King Mahendra was extremely discriminatory against caste and the women (Hofer, 1979). Muluki Ain (Civil Act) imagined the three major groups of people in Nepal. The first one is 'Tagadhari' who used to wear a sacred thread called 'Janai' inside Brahmin and Chhetriya, the first in the rank. The legal aspects were very loyal and soft for this group.

The second one is called Matwali, who used to drink alcohol as their tradition, and was split into two sub-groups as 'Masinya' and 'Namasinya'. The meaning of Masinya (enslavable alcohol drinkers) is, the one to whom death penalty is natural and could be sold and bought as slave. No legal aspects were affected to them. Tamang, Bhote and Tharu were in this group. Likewise, Namasinya Matwali (non-enslavable alcohol drinkers) are Rai, Limbu, Newar, Gurung, Sunuwar and Magar who used to drink alcohol as a tradition. Namasinya Matwalis were those who helped King Prithvi Narayan Shah in his unification campaign. Masinya is an insulted word itself for socially weaker communities (Tamang, 2020).

The rest of the people were categorized as untouchable and so-called lowest group, also split into two sub categories. The first one is untouchable but a bit of loyal and soft law for them at their fault. The other one with the hardest legal punishment provision was the group of untouchables who were at the bottom of the society. Muslims, Christians, Kulu, Kapali and Khadgi from Newar community belonged to soft legal provision, who are 'Dalits' in present society were categorized for hardest legal provisions like, Bishwokarma, Pariyar and Sharki (Hofer, 1979).

Table 1.3. Caste/Ethnic Groups with their Hierarchical Structure, Legal Code of 1910 B.S. (1854 AD)

S.No.	**Caste/Ethnic Groups**	**Classification P/N/E**
1.	Tagadhari (Twice born castes-wearers of sacred thread)	
	Upadhyaha Brahmin (Bahun)	P
	Thakuri (The royal caste/warrior)	P
	Chhetri (Kshatriya)	P
	Rajopadhyaya Brahmin (Deva Bhauju)	N
	Indian Brahman	Other
	Sanyasi (ascetics)	P
	Lower Jaisi Brahman	P

S.No.	Caste/Ethnic Groups	Classification P/N/E
	Certain High Shrestha Group (e.g. Joshi)	N
2.	Matwali (liquor consuming castes)	E
2.1	Namasine Matwali (non-enslavable alcohol drinkers)	
	Non-thread wearing Shrestha	N
	Vajracharya/Sakya/Uray	N
	Maharjan	N
	Various Newar service Castes	N
	Hill Tribes (e.g., Gurung, Magar, Sunuwar, Rai, Limbu)	E
2.2	Masine Matwali (enslavable alcohol drinkers)	
	Tibetans (including Tamangs); some Hill tribes; Tharu	E
3.	Pani nachalne chhoi chhito halnu naparne (water unacceptable/impure but touchable castes)	
	Khadgi (butchers, milk sellers)	N
	Kapali (death specialists, musicians)	N
	Rajak (washermen)	N
	Charmakar (drum makers)	N
	Muslims (bangle sellers)	Others
	Westerns/Europeans (Mlechchha)	Others
4.	Pani nachalne chhoi chhito halnu parne (untouchable castes: water unacceptable/impure)	
	Hill Dalits- Kami (metal workers), Sarki (Leather workers), Damai (tailor/musician), other Hill Dalits	P
	Dyaula (sweepers)	N
	Chyamkhalah (sweepers, scavengers)	N
	Halahulu (Scavengers)	N

P=Parbatiya of Hill Groups; N=Newar, the original inhabitants of Kathmandu valley; E=Ethnic groups which now are known as indigenous nationalities (Kharel, 2010).

Ranas, who still are known as cruel and unfair rulers of Nepalese history, distributed land as grant to their followers. Only Brahmins and Chhetriyas got land called 'Birta'. Birta is the granted land by the state to the individuals for their bravery or loyalty usually on a tax-free and either heritable or inheritable

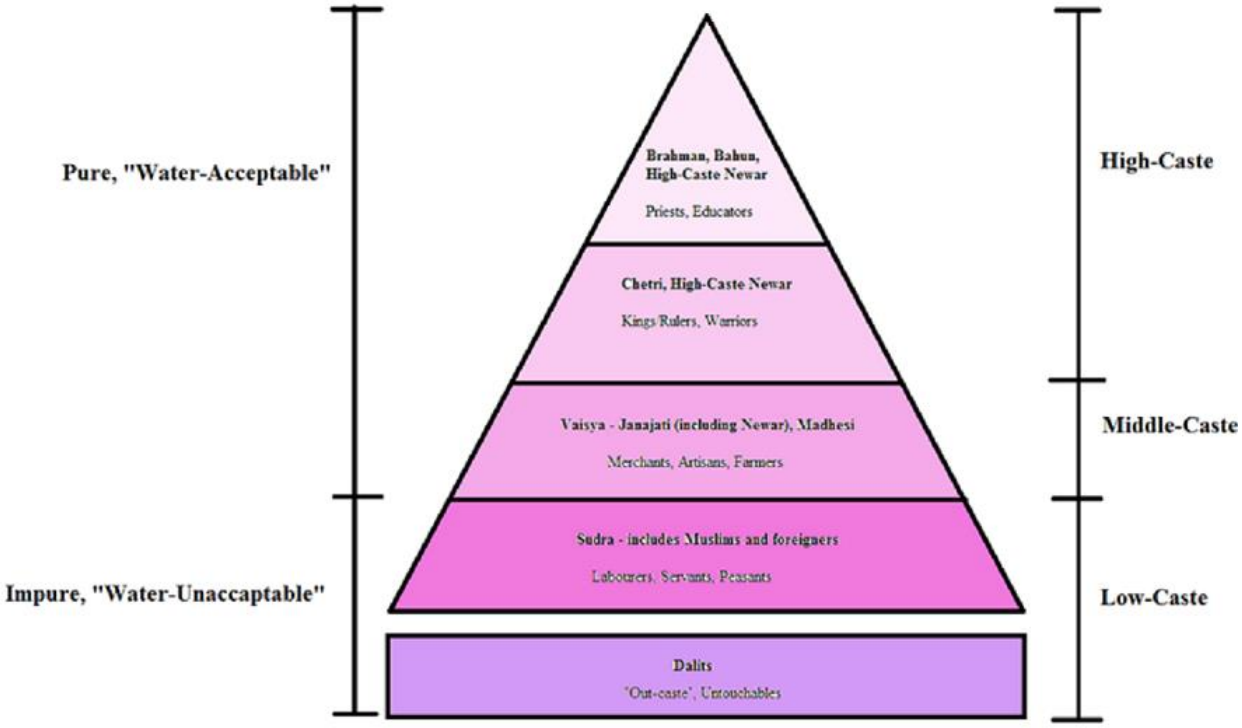
basis. Birta was the symbol of high social and economic status and more than one third of the farmland was under this tenure before the 1950s (Acharya, 2008).

Study shows that most of the Prime ministers after the 1950s are from the family who had given the land from the state as grant for their bravery. Caste system is basically a total system of the Nepali society. Caste determines the position of the person. How much property is allowed to keep was also determined by the caste and still the effect of this system exists in contemporary society.

Because of the caste system, aesthetic value is also determined in the entire society, which is the bottom line of class creation (Ahuti, 2020). Untouchability and discrimination are not practiced only for the Dalits rather than all the society has different form of discriminations. There is not any Hindu society without discrimination on the base of caste and hierarchy. It is not only the cultural phenomena and status instead of socio-economic and political problems. The bad tendency of the caste system for 3500 years back still exists in contemporary capitalist society in Nepal is a shameful practice (Yengde, 2019).

These days, ethnic and suppressed group politics has been in the forefront since the second republican movement in 2006 over the nation. For a long, poor farmers from ethnic minorities and Dalit communities were against the state which treated minorities unfairly. Minorities who were suppressed, demanded their identity, dignity and to end state torture with inclusion in social activities. After the 1980s, ethnic agendas were established as a developmental issue and now this issue is a dominant landscape (Poudel, 2016).

Figure 1.1. Caste category on the base of Purity



Source of picture: en.wikipedia.com (caste system in Nepal) (Visited at 5th January 2021).

Castes of Nepal could be categorized in different perspectives, such as, Pure and Impure. In the group of pure, people from Brahmin, Chhetri and Vaishya are included. Untouchables are in the category of impure in terms of unacceptance of water. Pure and Impure is categorized by the practices of touchability and untouchability. Likewise, society is stratified on the base of hierarchy where there are three main categories like, High caste, Middle caste and the low caste. Brahmin and Chhetri and High caste Newars are included in this caste category. Matwalis are middle in the rank and the untouchable Dalits are known as the lowest caste people in Nepalese mind set.

1.10. Practices of exclusion in Nepalese social institutions

The features of the newly declared constitution 2015 discriminate the marginalized communities in various ways, on the one hand, and favor the Khas-Aryan caste on the other hand by giving comparative advantage to its members (especially men). Hangen (2010) considered that Nepal was practicing mono-ethnic power. Only after the restoration of multi-party democracy in 1990, alternative political power rose with the establishment of the ethnic political party in the Eastern part of the nation. It was the necessity of the time when Dalits and Janajatis were totally neglected by the nation which was ruled over by so-called higher caste groups since long in the history. Social exclusion and inclusion is the term

of policy exercise in Europe in the 1980s. Inclusiveness is the key term of developmental practices (Rawal, 2008).

The preamble of the new constitution 2015 clearly states the principles of proportional inclusion and the participation to ensure economic equality, prosperity and social justice by ending class, ethnic, regional, linguistic, religious, gender discrimination and all forms of ethnic untouchability. In addition to guaranteeing various fundamental rights to build an egalitarian society and embodying social inclusion, laws related to fundamental rights have been approved by the federal parliament. In addition, the Constitution of Nepal has provided for seven more constitutional commissions for inclusive development. Ethnic and gender representation has been provided in various posts at the local level, preservation and promotion of one's religion, culture and language. This is only the provision guaranteed by the legal documents but practice in the media is quite dark as still there is not any space for excluded groups.

For many centuries, feudalism ruled Nepali society by developing persuasive principles, policies and Methods (Bista, 1991). Anthropologist Dor Bahadur Bista of Nepal in his Book *Fatalism and Development* wrote that, therefore, negative perceptions and discriminatory attitudes towards ethnic minorities and Dalits are prevalent in the society. Manuvad, a following of book called *Manusmriti* written by Manu and an ancient legal text of Hinduism, has spread feudal thinking land beliefs that Dalits should be discriminated and humiliated by considering them as lower caste, making them illiterate, rude, suffering from hunger and deprivation. It was the government that imposed the same thoughts, beliefs and culture on the Dalit community (Bista, 1991).

Junga Bahadur Rana made this community inhuman by enacting a law in the Civil Code, 1854 (Bista, 1991). In this way, the psychology of the Dalit and ethnic minority community was deeply hurted and their participation in every body of the state was reduced. Still the scenario is not completely been white. Discrimination and exclusion with poverty faced by these suppressed groups are problems created by the state. The prime minister, ministers, leaders and many other state bodies, journalists are all educated in humanistic education and culture which reflect the cruel behavior against them. Due to 'Manuwadi' education and culture, no matter how great a leader is, whether he/she has reached a higher rank or responsibility, or whether he is a scholar or even abroad, the attitude and behavior towards Dalits is discriminatory. The state and its organs are not free from such views and behavior (Bista, 1991).

In the background of Nepal's first legal document (1854) writing, there is an unfair history of domination by a single caste group, and the latest one is also not untouched by that trend. It is a fact that the single caste (Khas-Arya) was as decisive in the drafting of the new constitution 2015 as it was when the American constitution was written in the past by Whites. In particular, the three parties, the composition of the Constituent Assembly, the constitution-drafting process and the contents of the constitution are plagued by Brahmanism. It is not only the blame towards the ruling class in spite of the reality. It was not just a coincidence; it was an inevitable result of the social structure and behavior created by the Khas-Aryan racial state structure and the Hindu caste system. Therefore, the identity and rights of the ethnic minorities along with Dalits were thrown in the trash even though it was said to take ownership of the work done by the first Constituent Assembly. Indirect racism has to be seen in the results and effects (Article 1 of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965). Nepal's practice of racism is unseen directly but the effect of the practices is seen especially, towards minorities and untouchables. Even in Nepal, every constitution after the Civil Act 1854 has a statement that never allows discriminating the people on the basis of caste. No person shall, on the basis of caste, be discriminated against as untouchable (Bhattachan et al., 2009).

1.11. Caste: Base of Class and Nepalese Development practices

Nepal remained a medieval society until 1950, then democracy was established (Bista, 1991). Formally, Nepal started its development practices only around the Panchayat era. Unfortunately, development as a modernization, class inequality was established and certain class groups only benefited from it (Lawati, 2010). The main theme of the development was as universal where the goal of elimination of poverty individually through modernization. But the policy maker forgot that excluding the deprived groups since the past even in the present day might be costly. Hill Hindu Brahmins were always in the center of the state whereas ethnic nationalities and untouchables were marginalised and discriminated against formally by the state. Dominant group drafted all the policies on behalf of themselves.

Sociologist Mahendra Lawati (2010) presented an example of a Commission for Civil Servant (*Lok Sewa Ayog*) who recruits human resources as per the necessity of public firms. The language for taking exams is, no doubt, the dominant Nepali language, which is not the native language for ethnic communities who have their own indigenous language in daily practices. As a result, most of the public employees are selected from the group whose native language is Nepali. Lawoti (2010) blames that state itself creating the domination of the majority in bureaucracy. Lawoti in a newspaper article argues

that, although the Constitution 2015 is somewhat progressive on political issues (republic, improved parliamentary system, strong local government), it is not only discriminatory on the issue of marginalized communities but also backward on some issues.

Nepal spread nationalism based on Hill Brahmin, Hill dress up, Nepali Language and Hindu religion with the guardianship of Hindu monarchy which always neglected ethnic minorities and sometimes forced them to accept the norms of Hinduism to those who never followed the religious beliefs. Studies always left the issues of exclusion within ethnic minority groups. Academic and political discourse did not take the exclusion issue before 1990 as an issue of discussion (Lawoti, 2010).

After restoration of the multi-party democracy in Nepal, a handful numbers of political parties related to the certain marginalized group such as, Rashtriya Sadbhavana Party, Mongol National Organization and Rastriya Janamukti Party were risen demanding inclusion in the mainstream of the nation (Lawoti, 2010). Some other ethnic associations and the non-governmental organizations of Dalits were founded and pointed out the exclusion from socio-economic, cultural and political participations. The state, then, felt that the exclusionary nature of governance. These organizations pointed out that the previous model of development and modernization model was totally biased and discriminatory.

New model of nationalism was formed after 1990 within the society itself challenging the domination of Hindu Brahmanism ensuring the empowerment of ethnic minorities. Brahmanism essentially is that which perpetuates fatalism: whatever you have now is what you have earned through your previous lives, and your efforts now won't result in anything (Bista, 1991). The victims of suppression are the products of Brahmanism. After the Maoist conflict during 1996-2006, Nepali print media also were conscious about the demands of marginalized communities. Numbers of writers started writing on the issues of inequality, exclusion and discrimination towards the deprived and suppressed groups. Media felt that there are several reasons for the conflict that the state is facing. Racial and ethnic issues are being prioritized by the media these days but not in a formal way.

The major issue of the nation is how to overcome the critical condition of exclusion which is based on ethnic and caste system. Every sector of the social organization is facing the same environment of exclusion. Ethnic and racial minorities themselves are the key component of the inclusion process while the media might be the major part for social change. Even though, the so-called high caste people are taking themselves as a superior agent of the current power game (Vishwokarma, 2002).

Ruling group, at first thinks for economic growth but at the same time marginalized ethnic minorities have an equal voice for social inclusion. Some of the events that show the ethnic and caste exclusion have never been easy for all Nepalese, even for the higher caste who are benefiting from them (Bennett, 2005). After restoration of democracy in Nepal the exclusive scenario of the low caste people, religious minorities have the same. Political bias is the major factor for not having an equitable social structure and social culture. Those who were outside from the margins are untouchable (now they called themselves as Dalits), indigenous community and people from geographically remote areas.

Dalits were facing caste-based discrimination with practice of untouchability whereas indigenous nationalities and Madhesis had a problem of language, religion, citizenship and other forms of cultural discriminations. State and society were fully represented by dominant Hill Brahmins and Chhetriyas. Discussion on inclusion marked that bodily representation is a mandatory process to address the issues of victims and to establish their values equally. Formal institutions like the government and other organizations were involved in exclusion in the past. For an instance, discrimination against native language, neglecting the religious values of minorities, unitary state is enough example of exclusion in the past decades. Ongoing political changes are taking initiatives on the way to an inclusive society and the state where the discriminatory practices have been deep rooted since long ago (Lawoti, 2010).

2. Media practices of Ethnic inequality

2.1. Media represention on ethnicity

Political scientist Mahendra Lawoti (2010) mentions two major issues towards the extent of social and political inclusion of diverse ethnic groups (ethnic/national, caste, religious, linguistic and regional identity) and forms of democratic structure for the "New Nepal". He recites these issues as important for affecting a majority of Nepalese, and the state failed in both fronts in the past history. The majority of the Nepalese community from ethnic groups had faced discrimination from different ways in politics, economics and social inclusiveness terms from the beginning of the history (Lawoti, 2010).

Nepalese media started rethinking the way of dealing with the issues of ethnic minorities instead of portraying them negatively as they have done traditionally in the past decades. The 1990s was the decade of expansion of media and free media, they gave potential platforms for Maoist war which was mainly targeted to the inequality that existed in the society towards ethnic minorities, the untouchables and marginalized people (Mishra, 2004).

At the beginning of the 21st century, most of the democratic countries started to seek common ground for solving the racism and ethnic unresolved issues. Most of the racial and ethnic groups, who are less in number and socially called minorities, are more victimized groups in the society even in the United State of America, a developed and democratic country with diverse populations (Wilson & Chao, 2008). Likewise, in Nepal the debate of inclusion and equality was raised during this period. Nepalese racism is still a mystery that cannot be seen in the legal texts but exists in the practical ground.

Nepali society has a very long way to go towards ethnic equality where the first step is to accept ethnic people's voice equally in the media. Since the newspaper itself is a strong medium of communication, it has a great role for social inclusion. Although, since the beginning of media history, they have been separating people as 'us' and 'them' creating boundaries between people from different classes and traditional caste groups. The character of societal behavior is being reflected in the social institutions which can be taken as a step of exclusionary exercise by the media.

Language is the major component to avoid the ethnic people by the media in Nepalese context. Media selects the dominating language for dissemination of news to cover a larger number of audiences, so that advertisers choose the largest circulating media for publicity of their goods or service. Journalists and their knowledge also affect the content of media and the framing of the news. Shoemaker & Leese

(1996), stated that “the way in which journalists define their job will affect the contents they produce” (p. 47). The practice of Nepal is quite relevant to this quote, where the news is disseminated with the choice of journalist on the basis of organizational framing and most of the reporters represent the higher social status with dominant caste groups with some exceptional cases.

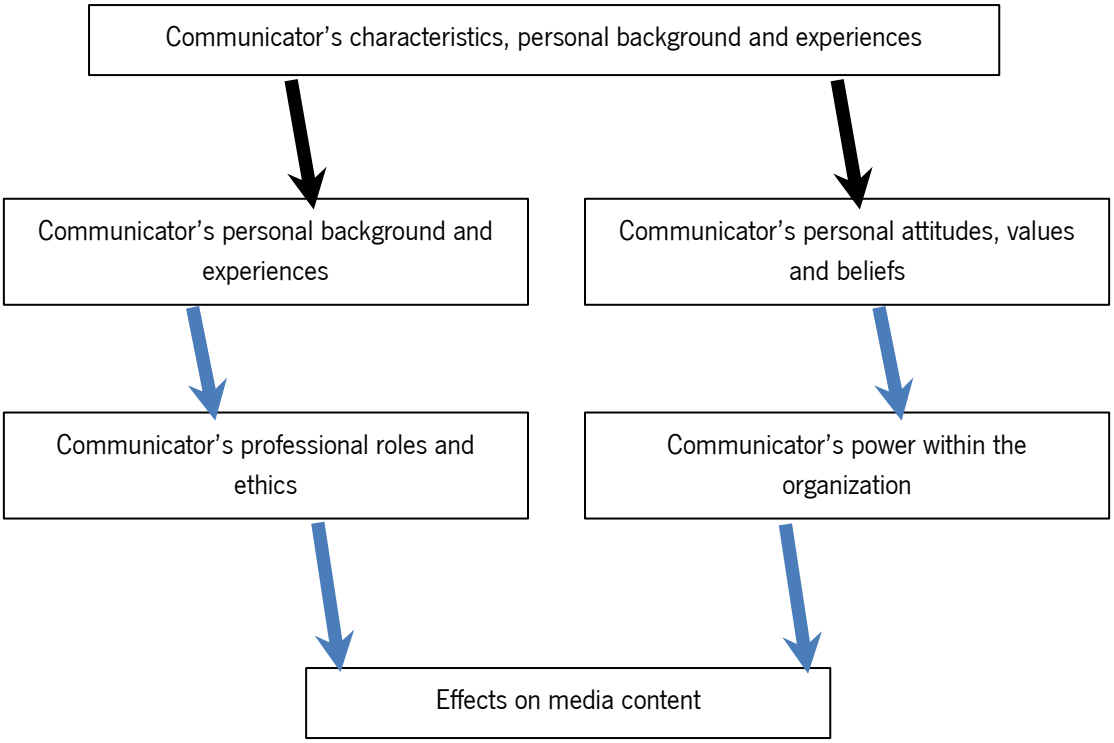
Some of the studies say that minorities might have been feeling discrimination and exclusion by the main stream leading newspapers. According to Morley (1992), American mainstream Television presents their content in the interest of majority elites, at the same time minority Black and migrant people feel excluded by leading Television. Morley again says that ethnic minorities might feel of discrimination and lack the information about their tribe and festivals. In the case of native people of America as Leavitt et al. (2015), they also have dissatisfaction in the media portrayals about them. Their experience is relatively invisible in the US media practices. So-called Indians are presented as horse riders wearing buckskin as the historical character of the 18th and 19th century in a humiliating way (Leavitt, et al., 2015). The research team had examined the news contents, TV shows and other media to conclude that the American media perpetuation against native people is not satisfactory.

The quality and the quantity of the content is not visible enough and even presented in the wrong way. The diversity of cultures and their way of lives are represented narrowly (Leavitt, et al., 2015). Nepali ethnic minorities also have the same experience like in America as the journalists sometimes present the materials about the rituals and traditions of ethnic people with little knowledge, narrow representation and in the negative form. Karl Marx once said that the media hides the crime of the elites and exaggerates the crimes of the poor (Morley, 1992). Negative portrays can be harmful towards the group which led minority people to violent ways of defence or failed to be flown on mainstream (Morley, 1992). The percentage of news and other content of Native American is much less than the ratio of their population even though they are lower in population in comparison (Leavitt, et al., 2015). The number of different ethnic caste groups is higher in Nepal but the coverage of their issues and their representation as a media person is lower in comparison with dominant Brahmins.

Research conducted by some scholars on the topic of affecting factors to control the freedom for the flow of news dissemination found out that the newspapers set their policy according to the rule of their organization or the pressure from power groups (Gans, 1979). At first, the media should feel the diversity of the society and then the state has to be equal for all the citizens. According to Preston (2009), gatekeeping is the other factor to control the news and issues against the ethnic group. It is

also determined by the interest of elites. Rejected or accepted, shaped and scheduled are the focuses of reliable studies.

Figure 2.1. How media contents are influenced by? (Shoemaker, 1991; see also McQuail, 2000, p.267)



2.2. Development of Nepalese Print media

Nepalese media has the same history concerning political development as the other countries. Major political changes in Nepal have directly affected the state of media. Media are immensely influenced by political movements (Nepal Press Institute NPI, 2010). According to NPI (2010), Nepali media has seven phases in history which directly paralleled politics. Issues of ethnic minorities have rarely been sensitized in the past decades whereas the current years are showing some silver line of hope.

- Period of Traditional communication system
- Rana regime (1864-1951)
- After establishment of democracy (1951-1961)
- Panchayat period (1961-1990)
- After restoration of democracy (1990-2005)
- Period during king's direct rules (2005-2006)
- Period following people's movement 2006

2.2.1. Traditional communication era

The so-called Traditional communication era began before the Rana regime in Nepal started in 1846 and lasted until 1951. The world was already in the developed form of mass communication tools and activities where Nepal was practicing traditional ways of communication for informing people at the mass level (Koirala, 1986). The written history of mass communication is not available during this period but local tales and some historical monuments are the proof of traditional ways of communication. No print or electronic media were in existence in the period of traditional communication systems.

Traditionally, the current ruler used different means of communication for publishing mass information e.g., '*Jhyali pitne'* (An instrument playing for grabbing the attention of the folk), '*Katuwal'* (A person appointed for shouting from the highest part of the city) are the major way of communication for large audiences. And the dark part of this fact was that all the communicators were from Dalit community. Gandharbha and Pariyars were appointed as messengers for certain communities.

Written history says that, *Bengal Gazette* was the first newspaper published from India around South Asia in 1780. Nepal was just crawling for its identity as a sovereign country as it was divided into smaller states to be unified (Bista, 1972). Bengal Gazette did not have any direct contribution on the development of Nepali media history (NPI, 2010). The education system was not established in the country at that dark era and no activities occurred during the unification campaign of the divided states by Gorkha King Prithvi Narayan Shah.

Traditional practices remained for a long time as Katuwal Karaune, Panchayat Basne, Sankha Fukne and Gandarbha Gaune. Geographical difficulties played a crucial role in every field like communication and also faced the same barrier to its development. Dalits, so called untouchable people were used as the media persons in this era to play different instruments. There were not any specific moments mentioned in the history of media in Nepal. The inequality and the inclusion debate were not established while the society was on the move of civilization from the medieval era.

2.2.2. During Rana Dictatorship (1846-1951)

The Rana regime has been portrayed as a cruel and dark period of history in Nepali politics starting from 1846. It was autocratic and nine prime ministers from the dynasty ruled as the state head while the king from the Shah Dynasty had not their supreme power, lasting for 104 years until 1951.

Restriction on public rights and directly monitored public activities of people by Rana ruler was limitting the journalistic exercise entirely in the country at this era (Koirala, 1986).

Despite this, some of the important incidents had been held during the Rana regime. The first Rana Prime minister Junga Bahadur Rana brought the first printing press in Nepal from England on his official visit to Europe in 1850 (Koirala, 1986). The press called '*Giddhe Press*' used for official publication of the government only was settled in Thapathali Palace. The first constitution of Nepal named 'Muluki Ain' (Civil Code) was printed by Giddhe Press[13].

There were not any journalistic publications in Nepal until this period but some of the revolutionary youths started to raise their voice against cruel and autocratic Rana rule from India. 'Gorkha Bharat Jivan' was the first reported magazine published from India in Nepali language edited by Ram Krishna Barma initiated by Motiram Bhatta, based on literature (Koirala, 1986).

According to the 'Press commission report 2015' the first publication date of Gorkha Bharat Jivan is 1886. This magazine has two major roles in Nepalese media history; the first one is to serve the Nepali language and the second is to inspire the youth to journalism. *Sudha Sagar*, the first magazine published in 1898 from Nepali land was the literary magazine. It was printed in Pashupat Press, Kathmandu. Till date, there were not any regular publications in Nepal (Koirala, 1986).

Gorkhapatra is the first Nepali newspaper published from Nepal on May 6, 1901. It was possible because of the liberal and loyal Prime Minister Dev Shumser Rana who was comparatively reformist (Rana, 1998). The first press 'Giddhe Press' was handed over to Gorkhapatra but the direct supervision from army generals did not let it publish any material against the Rana regime.

The next Prime Minister Chandra Shumser Rana took over the administration by killing his brother who was cruel to the citizens against their rights so only 200 copies of every issue were allowed to be published. There were not enough educated human resources; illiterate people and lack of finance were the reason to limit Nepal's journalism and media growth. The period of the Rana dynasty can be mentioned as the dark side of history for many reasons (Rana, 1998).

Newspapers and magazines published during Rana period includes: Sudha Sagar, Gorkhapatra, Sarada, SahityaSrot, Uddhyog, Shiksha, Kathmandu Municipal Patrika, Ankha, Nepal Shiksha, Purushartha, and Jagaran. However, except Gorkhapatra (a state-owned media house) none of these newspapers even

[13] The first printing press of Nepal was brought from England by Jung Bahadur Rana in 1851 later on named Giddhe Press which was used to print government documents.

exists today. Media directly, had not any role of inequality at this time but the first amended constitution (1910 B.S) was a mile stone of discrimination and the segregation of certain caste groups from the mainstream dominant politics.

2.2.3. After establishment of Democracy (1951-1961)

Nepal got multiparty democracy after a long course of political movement in 1952 which dissolved the deep rooted 104 years long Rana regime. It is taken as the golden opportunity for Nepalese journalism to grow up quantitatively and qualitatively as well. In the same year of democracy, Nepal started a national radio station called *Radio Nepal* and many of the newspapers were established in parallel. The next day of declaring democracy, the first daily newspaper was published named *Awaj* (The Voice) (Koirala, 1986). The chief editor of Awaj was then famous poet Siddhi Charan Shrestha and it sustained only for two years and then closed. In 1955 a second daily newspaper was published named *Samaj* (Society). *Nepal Guardian* was the first English newspaper published in Nepal in 1955 from Kathmandu even though it was not a guardian for all Nepali citizens. Likewise, some Hindi and Newari (An ethnic language) newspapers were published in this fertile period for journalism. Establishment of a national news agency named *Nepal Sambad Samiti* in 1961 played a vital role for growing the newspapers. Nearly 200 newspapers were established during this period publishing political awareness materials in different languages (Koirala, 1986). Daily newspapers focused on political affairs likewise weekly focused on opinion and views and monthly magazines covered language and literature. This period has been taken as a gateway for modern Nepalese journalism. Thus, Nepalese media did not give space for marginalized people as they were suppressed for a long time formally.

Publications at this period can be categorized in 5 sub-groups (Dahal, 2013):

1. Daily (News oriented);
2. Weekly (Views oriented);
3. Monthly (language and literature);
4. House journal (political party and other institution);
5. Government publications.

2.2.4. Panchayat period (1961-1990)

Rarely established democracy was overtaken by the then king Mahendra in 1961. It was again the dark night in political history as well as in journalism practice. But the period is known as the starting point of partisan journalism (Koirala, 1986). Newly established system was called Panchayat which was

autocratic and directly ruled by king Mahendra. Publics were divided into two groups; Panchayat supporters and anti-panchayat groups. Both of the groups had their own mission newspapers which advocate in favor of their supporting group.

No press freedom was exercised during the period so that missionary journalists and publishers operated their paper being undergrounded. In the last decade of Panchayat, it declared a referendum in the country and newspapers from anti-panchayat groups were more popular for publicity against Panchayat. Press council Nepal was founded in this period and Tribhuvan University began to teach journalism academically led Nepali journalism in a professional way.

Gorkhapatra the state-owned newspaper started to publish in 1962 as a daily and it started to publish its English version *'The Rising Nepal'* in 1966 edited by Barun Shumser Rana. *Hamrodesh* (Our nation), *Nabin Khabar* (Novel news), *Naya Samaj* (New society) were the major daily newspapers. *Samiksha* (Review), *Saptahikmanch* (weekly forum), *Nepal review*, The Nepalese perspective are examples of leading weekly newspapers of the Panchayat period. Those newspapers were keys to change the society and political environment. Nepali press played a vital role in the reestablishment of democracy in Nepal in 1990 (Koirala, 1986; Rana, 1998).

2.2.5. After Restoration of Democracy 1990-2006

As a result of the people's movement 1990, Nepal got a new constitution (1990) with press freedom and the right to information. Media utilized such an open environment professionally and some business groups invested a huge amount in the press. Multiparty democracy was the key to empowering freedom of speech and preservation of human rights. In the past, the media, especially the newspapers, were just for a political mission but the time after restoration of democracy, it was accepted as an industry (Onta, 2001). The practice of inclusiveness and the participatory media exercise and the debate was begun at this period.

Private sectors were ready to invest in the media industry, Kantipur Publication was established as the first private publication house professionally and started publishing a broadsheet national daily named *'Kantipur national daily'* on 18th February 1993 with its sister publication *'The Kathmandu Post'* which is an English daily. After the publication of Kantipur and the Kathmandu Post daily many other broadsheet dailies came out in the media market. Entry of computers and offset press and free political environment let them grow at an easy pace. Except Kantipur most of the newly established newspapers were stopped because of financial conditions.

But Kantipur was growing day by day as it had spread its publication out of Kathmandu valley and from 2006 it has been published from Qatar where half million of Nepalese people are working. *Nepal Samachar Patra*, *Rajdhani, Annapurna Post* are the major daily publications after restoration of democracy. At the same time the country faced the decade long Maoist civil war so the time was somehow so difficult for journalists because of the threats and fear of donation from Maoist insurgents. As a whole this period was so fertile to grow and develop the media in Nepal. In this period many of the FM radios and the Televisions were established as well (Ghimire, 2016). The first community radio in South Asia named *Radio Sagarmatha* (102.4 mhz.) was established in Nepal during this period.

2.2.6. During king's dismissals of elected government (2005-2006)

King Gyanendra took over the executive power on February 1, 2005. The Royal coup harassed journalists, so many media organizations were closed. Maoist civil war and unstable politics was badly affecting the country when the Royal massacre made Nepali people fear and sadden. After the royal massacre 2001, ex-king Gyanendra formally became the king of Nepal. This event played a crucial role for Nepali journalists and the media industry as no press freedom was entertained (Hutt, 2005). Some of the journalists were killed during the king's direct rule and some of the journalists were prisoned. Maoist insurgents and the government army personnel took action against journalists (Ghimire, 2016).

Nepal was known as the biggest prison for journalists all over the world. Kantipur Publication was standing against the king's direct rule while the then editor Yubaraj Ghimire and the entire management team were arrested by the government (Hutt, 2005). The reason was to publish an article of rebel leader Baburam Bhattarai after the royal massacre. No new newspaper was registered in this period but the situation against existing media was very difficult. Stand of Kantipur daily was subject to praise from the public as it was taken as one of the major parts of the movement against kingship. Finally, in April 2006 joint movement with Maoist and major political parties succeeded to overthrow the direct rule of the king and Nepal became a democratic federal republican country.

2.2.7. Second People's movement onwards

Peoples' movement II (2006)[14] was the turning point to eradicate the 240 years long Hindu Monarchy and led Nepal as a republican secular country (Adhikari, 2008). No doubt, Nepalese media especially, print media had played a vital role against King's direct rule and played a role to bring Maoist to the mainstream of politics and some peace process as well. Constitutional assembly election 2008

[14] Peoples' movement II also known as Loktantrik Andolan is a name given to the political agitations against the direct and undemocratic rule of King Gyanendra of Nepal. The movement is also sometimes referred to as Jana Andolan II, implying it being a second phase of the 1990 Jana Andolan.

declared the nation as a secular, federal and inclusive republican country. The first Constituent Assembly overthrew the 240 years long Hindu Monarchy through its declaration on 28 May 2008 and established a Democratic Republican federal state (Darnal, 2009). At the beginning of this phase, newspapers were the main authentic sources for the folks although electronic media also existed at a slow pace. The decade-long civil war (1996-2006) was the main hurdle of media development as it ended with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement CPA 2006 (Paudel, 2017). Promulgation of the interim constitution 2007 was the milestone of the press freedom restoring process which was abused by.

High Level Commission for Media Recommendation (HLMC) (2006) was founded for development of the media industry by the government. The free environment is upgraded in this period for journalists. Many of the new media houses are founded. Development of online media, FM Radios and Television is noticeable and professionalism is developed, as journalists have the rule of minimum pay rate by media houses (Paudel, 2017).

Print media and specially, Kantipur national daily is praised for its contribution for peoples' movement and for making constitution process onwards. Social inclusion of threatened people has been the dominant issue of social institutions after the new stage of the nation and it leads the media house for their responsibility of making an inclusive society (Bennett, 2005). People are able to raise their voice against violation of their rights and suppression of their freedom. During this period, the organization oriented to social inclusion has been established on the basis of race and ethnicity (Adhikari, 2008).

The newly promulgated constitution of Nepal 2015 guaranteed the media rights and freedom of speech including right to information (Paudel, 2017). Article 17 of the constitution ensured citizens' right to freedom of expression; likewise, article 19 is about the assurance of press and publication rights and article 27 delivered the right to information. There are so many laws and regulatory articles which are the backbone of constitutional rights. The press and publication Act -1991, The press council Nepal Act-1992, the national broadcasting Act-1992, working journalists Act-2007 and the right to information Act-2008 are the principal laws and regulations to insure the right constitutionally (Acharya, 2019). Rights to express in the sense of freedom of speech are only a reserved privilege for the so-called higher caste/class people in Nepal. Violation of the law by the elites is taken as natural.

2.3. How do National daily newspapers address matters of caste?

Forty-eight percents proportion of Dalits who report that their complaints are ignored by prejudiced police officers (Dalit Human Rights Organization, 2005). In this situation, covering the issues of minorities by the media is just a hope but in practice, there is a vast lack of equality. At present, as the state is federal republican and the regulatory acts are loyal and smooth for media industries, a large number of print media exist in Nepal (Acharya, 2018). Total numbers of newspapers including weekly, daily and fortnightly are 3865 by the end of 2017, according to a Press Council Nepal report. Press Council Nepal annual report 2017 said that 863 newspapers have been publishing regularly. Among them most of the newspapers have been published from the capital city Kathmandu and the rest are from outside of Kathmandu but from the city area. That is because of the availability of facilities, firms for providing advertisements and the huge numbers of population (Acharya, 2018).

Nepali language is the dominant language of Nepalese newspapers followed by English. Dozens of indigenous languages are also serving their communities as publishing in the news forms. Growing literacy rate, purchasing power of the readers, spread of technological innovation and the other reasons that bust up the Nepalese newspaper market rapidly these days. But political influence is the major obstacle of Nepalese journalism that divided the Nepalese community and reduced the accountability of the press (Paudel, 2017).

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights 1948 announces in its article one that "*All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights"* (www.un.org). This is the powerful document that guarantees the right of every single human being as a member of a certain society. The United Nations also denied the society which is based on caste. Inequality is a violation of Human rights (Acharya, 2018).

Nepalese societies are constructed on the basis of different caste groups either they are higher in the rank or the lowest in the hierarchy. Discrimination on the basis of ethnicity is notably a dark picture of the civilized society. UN had studied that a number of human rights violations was held in the world related to the caste-based discrimination. Social inclusion is the undefined topic for media to be reported. Recent days research practices by media studies researchers are densely focused on the issue of social exclusion and the media (Ewart & Snowden, 2012).

Even now, in the mind of marginalized ethnic people, the Nepali government and Nepalese Media which is dominantly handled by majority Hindu Brahmins is understood to be a watchdog of a certain

class, a watchdog of its vested interests and a claimant of the dominant destiny (Acharya, 2019). While the constitution was being drafted, the ethnic minorities were struggling to escape the mire of non-existence. It was hoped that the controlling intention would not stand up to the moral force gained from the struggle, but that did not happen.

Media always played a crucial role to assist the power elites at this time. State itself continued to institutionalize the neo-conservative culture on behalf of Hindu Brahmins (Acharya, 2019). Politics is a mechanism for liberation from all forms of discrimination including ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious and economic exploitation in the country. But the bitter truth of Nepalese context is vastly different from this notion. All politics is surrounded by the interest of majority Hindus and Brahmins (Ahuti, 2014).

But that is not possible as long as the leadership of political parties is against class inclusion. Nepal still has a long debate of inclusion of ethnicity in the mechanism of the state. The media itself became a disaster for the ethnic minorities at their rights-based movements. The fact that ethnic minorities were subjected to social oppression and political exclusion was ignored. All these are naked realities of the recent past and these same pains are reuniting the ethnic groups.

Activists from ethnic groups and from the Dalits analyse that the current state structure is feudal and racist, which can be dismantled to find a place for the minorities in the new economic-social-cultural structure. Current constitutional bodies are independent only on paper. The main reason for this is the over-integration of power in the executive. When an institution becomes too powerful, state systems become a reflection of its own arbitrariness.

Identity is the central issue of contemporary society, where different groups of people seek their participation at every level of the social mechanism. The politics of racism become vulnerable to discourse if ethnicity and the ideology of ‘race' can be effectively disguised and embedded in the language of ethnicity (Downing & Husband, 2005, p.78).

Different activists and the journalists from ethnic communities blame Nepalese mainstream print media for presenting their materials without any seriousness and without accountability. Journalist and the founder president of Indigenous Television Mr. Jagat Dong Tamang argued that Nepalese print media select their news headings very biased. He gave an example that there are several people involved in the crime from different caste groups and from different surnames but in a hurry, newspapers write the surname of the criminal if the criminal is from indigenous community. This is the very common fact of daily print media.

In the past Tamangs were not allowed to write their surname as their hereditary identity. Junga Bir Tamang in the past requested Rana Prime minister to make an order to make Tamang caste legal to be written. There is still a negative stereotype about certain castes that they are criminal as their caste identity. It is not a sudden practice. Activists accept the fact of society where all the institutions are the reflections of social behaviours.

Discrimination and exclusion is also practiced by the media organizations (David, 2016) as the reflection of the societal phenomena. Sometimes, it is seen that the media are not accepting the diversity of the society. Still people have the same mind set up from the era of the then Gorkhapatra and the Radio Nepal. People, even these days, have the same mind set-up for starting the new radio station with the same format of Radio Nepal which starts its day with prayer of Hindu religion. Structure of the state and the functioning mechanism of the government lead the media towards inequality.

President of Indigenous Television Mr. Jagat Tamang in the interview explains that on an average, covering issues of the marginalized community, the ratio is looking equal with Dalits and ethnic minorities but Dalits are more vulnerable groups of media coverage. In the case of Tamang who has been deprived since the past, the media has a heterogeneous mind set up which takes Tamang as 'Taxi Driver' and 'the leader of the crime'. Media still has a preoccupied mind set against indigenous community, which is not a proper threat for a certain group.

Senior Journalist and the respondent of the in-depth interview of this study Ranjit Tamang has the same opinion in this regard. He says that the so-called upper caste journalists enjoy writing by mentioning minorities' surnames in the headlines of criminal incidents involving Dalits and other ethnic groups. He added that most of the people convicted by the Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA) are from Brahmin and Chhetri groups but the news headlines are written by giving priority to post as much as possible to hide their caste identity. If we look at the Tamang's statement, it is found that in the practice of Nepali journalism, there is a bitter reality of classifying criminal groups and innocent groups on the basis of caste and ethnicity.

After the second mass movement against active monarchy in 2006 or up to the first constituent assembly 2008, the media were playing positive roles on behalf of marginalized communities. First constitutional assembly was dismissed because of the disagreement between the political parties on the issue of inclusion and the state restructuring on the basis of caste. Around the 2nd constitutional assembly, the media were totally against and biased towards certain minority communities openly and

formally (Paudel, 2017). There is blame in the media for starting a negative campaign against caste groups who were in the movement for equal rights and for justice.

Ethnic groups seek their identity at the restructuring process of the nation instead of spreading racism. They only asked for preservation of their cultural identity respectively. Instead of that, the media presented their materials in a negative way. Some renowned newspapers had a negative campaigning against certain caste groups. For instance, a newspaper had a formal packaging of the article on the historic proof of the ancient 'Tamsaling' state of Tamang. There are several examples of news and articles presenting in a negative way towards the minority's groups such as different caste groups' organizations working on equality.

2.4. Media has racist culture

Racism is a discriminatory practice (Wal, 2002) which translate it self in a hierarquization of humans being allegedly on the basis of their own caracteristics. The dominant group is placed in the top of the hierarchy and prejudiced beliefs are mobilized to justify the status quo and the asymmetries of power. Racism draws on fixed boundary between different human groups - perceived as "races", "ethnic minorities groups" or "castes" - subjected to an historical process of racialization – differentiation, essencialization and hierachization. Different factors are playing role within the media as an agent of racism (Dijk, 1991). Dijk (1991) words explain that ethnic beliefs and experiences are shared, shaped and reproduced by media in multiple ways. The relationship between the politics and the media, background and affiliation of the journalists in ethnic groups and the editorial policies plays vital role in the media contents as the creator of racism (Wal, 2002). While media deliver its contents of ethnic minorities as social representation, racism is transferred and spreaded.

According to our informants, the Nepalese print media has played all these roles mentioned above as an active actor of racism. Racism in media is not done in a bad way intentionally but the existing stereotypes and the lack of presence of the ethnic minority group reflect in the contents frequently. Nepalese media might deny their role in racism with the help of some power elites. The past experiences in the daily newspapers of Nepal have shown their attitudes and conceptions about the ethnic minorities to cultivate the racism (we can take it as 'castiesm').

Development of the world is possible by the development of media. No one can ignore the role of mass media in the development of society and social change. The whole world has been a 'global village' (McLuhan, 1964) because of the rapid development of media (Blumler & Gurevitch, 1996). There is no

society without any means of communication and we cannot imagine communication without any media and social agents.

Media are considered as a very powerful medium for knowledge transfer (McQuail, 1983). It can be a very strong means for overall development of the society. However, the media does not necessarily impact society positively every time. If the journalistic work is not done with care and impartiality, it can have a detrimental impact over society. Media induced or influenced racism is one way through which media is impacting society detrimentally. We sometimes hear debates about the Western hegemony in the media. The news in the small and powerless countries is highly influenced by the news from the powerful western countries and big media like BBC, CNN, etc. (McQuail, 1983) and the global media giants like Facebook and YouTube (Birkinbine et. al, 2017).

The news media have become a primary platform and source of modern political discourse. Nepal starts public discourses on inclusion of ethnic people with the political debate aroused by Maoist (A major political party of Nepal) since it started the civil war in 1996. This is in part due to weakening of state-based political institutions, and the media's eagerness to organize political information in a way that is interpretive and profitable (Patterson, 1997). The powerful political leaders and elites own the media in our society and they run the media house as a corporate house with the only motive of making profit. These media bear the unlimited power of influencing modern life and governance.

According to Patterson (1997), media may only have helped the people for public debate by giving information but now the media is influencing the consumers to develop new understandings of public events and social policy. While looking at today's media, it is clear that media coverage is significantly focused on political affairs rather than good governance and on controversies rather than social issues.

An illustrative example in Nepalese context is the stand of *Kantipur* national daily (www.kantipur.ekantipur.com). During the second people's revolution in Nepal in 2006, the newspaper set the agenda in such a way that it used to be acclaimed as an eighth political-force; seven major political parties were involved in the movement. It clearly indicates that the powerful media can highly influence its readers or viewers. So, it is said that the media can be a strong source of racism and ethnic inequality (Willson & Chao, 2003).

2.5. Media as a source of power

In today's world the media bears the power of shaping public opinion through framing of news events and through analysis with agenda setting. As defined by Williamson (2011), framing is the conscious and strategic effort to fashion meaningful accounts of events and the issues at hand in order to legitimate certain perspectives and actions. Thus, it is true that framing of news or analysis and discussion has been developed as powerful tools to formulate public opinion. Media can construct social reality by guiding the people to act in the ways that are most beneficial to those who control the media. Thus, the media can formulate and frame the issues in such a way that reinforces dominant understandings about race and justifies existing racial hierarchies. In Nepalese context the big media houses, which bear the power of framing the news and discussion, are owned by the political or social elites where the voices of minorities are always suppressed hence legitimizing racism and ethnic inequality.

News is formal information with the opinion of power elites and the head of government officials rather than the 'lower-level', ordinary people. News represents the voice of power holders and social elites. The main reason for collecting information for news is likely to be for those who have the linkage of power with political elites (McQuail, 1987). Danis McQuail draws those themes of reporting are likely to show a bias towards dominant social and community values. Mainstream media always tend to be nearer with the power center rather than dissemination of the facts. The minorities normally are presented negatively as they are in the real facts. Exaggeration and misrepresentation of the fact is another panic truth of the present media practice (McQuail, 1987). Especially, ethnic minorities in Brahmin societies of Nepal appear to share some of the disadvantages and distortions of untypical treatment in a sympathetic way rather than apathetic. In the news, higher status occupations are over-represented than those who are from lower status.

Downing & Husband (2005) described 'race' as a social category which does not have any scientific support. They defined 'ethnicity' as a transient concept which is being carried out for some purpose of class division. Our society takes these practices as a stratification of the society where superiority could rule over the so-called lower caste or ethnic minorities (Kraidy, 2007). Again, it is recommended that- There is a huge amount of research to be done on the mesh between corporate culture in the media industries and the production of 'racially'-inflated news, entertainment, ads, computer games, popular music and the rest (Kraidy, 2007).

Patricia Hill Collins (2005, p.9) describes this evolution of racism with some specific ideas. Collins describes that the new racism is defined by three contemporary social realities:

1) Corporatization and the concentration of capital;

2) Globalization and the concentration of political power;

3) A heavy reliance on mass media manipulation of ideas and perpetuation of hegemonic ideologies indicating that racism is no longer a problem.

Many researchers have demonstrated this trend in their research papers by analyzing the news in the media. For instance, research on American Television and the impact on Black people, impact of news on migrant people in Canada.

The media portrays the ethnic minorities issues in negative ways by which the new racism can clearly be seen (Wal, 2002). According to Wal (2002) the media produce biased social representations of ethnic minorities in the society. Negativity and the common character of the minorities groups are published frequently in the media contents. Many of the previous research held in the USA and European countries have helped to illuminate the racial tools used by the media. This study has tried to update and expand the understanding of the racial framing and perpetuation of new racism of the media in policy discussion. The racism and ethnic inequality in the media can be proved by some case studies. In 2008, the United States made history by electing Barack Obama as its first Afro-American President. Unsurprisingly, racial frames and racial rhetoric were an important part of the presidential race, with the media spending extensive time on Obama's racial background, religion, and the question of whether native American would vote for a Black person as president (Cobb, 2010; Hughey, 2012).

Satyal (2011) writes that there are several forms of social and cultural inequalities and injustices in contemporary Nepal and this results from differences mainly based on caste, ethnicity, gender, language, religion, race, culture and region (geography). These inequalities and injustices can be felt in every sector of the state including the media. Media in Nepal are biased in the name of race, ethnicity, gender, religion, culture, caste or social class. This reflection of inequalities is deeply rooted. One of the research projects carried out by IFJ (2015) says that today's Nepalese media industry is overwhelmingly male. The research is mainly based in Kathmandu, the capital city. According to the research only 24 percent of journalists are women. The top-level management of most of the media organizations is dominated by men. The environment and policies of media workplaces are not yet

conducive for women to advance in their professional careers. There is so much research and studies which show that racism and inequalities exist in the media. Racism, ethnic inequality and social inequality are worldwide phenomena.

Racism and ethnic inequality exist in the media in many of the developed countries of the world. Canada can be taken as an example. James Crawford (1998) writes racism continues to exist in Canada despite Canada's official policy of multiculturalism and tolerance. Minorities are still ascribed negative traits as the 'other' and used to infer goodness and normalness on whites without actually defining them as such. Media has played an active role in perpetuating this racism through negative stereotypes. He further argues that news reporting is often guilty of omitting positive roles and focusing on negative ones.

Under the guise of merely reporting the facts, news tends to create negative images of groups. American media are the main reason to discriminate against minorities. She writes in her research paper that Black people are merely involved in American Television, as black people were not allowed to participate as media workers or as the media content. Issues on minorities involvement in media is still a debatable subject for scholars. What we see in the media or what the media presents is the reflection of majority interest, where the majority can violate the reality due to the power exercise within the media organizations.

In Nepalese context, the news media is run by elites. Elites use their political or social status as a major political actor in order to influence the general people by using over discriminatory language or by using images that implicitly reifiy the dominant caste social order. Media discriminatory practices are done in subtil ways, embedded in the societal "casteism", and some of these practices remain unnoticed by lay people. The following image illustrates the complex matter of how caste hegemony operates in media.

If all of the matters within the society are guided by the structure of the society, media contents are also controlled by the socially strong groups. As Nepal is pre dominantly a Hindu-Brahmin ruled country, the reflection of casteism is a normal phenomenon in the media. We can take an example of hegemony of Hinduism and Brahmanism in image used in an article written by Katak Malla published in Kantipur national Dailly on 20 March 2022.

Figure 2.2 - 'Caste and intellectual confusion', *Kantipur* on 20 March 2022



Here in the sketch drawn by Deepak Gautam (Gautam is a surname of Brahmin) reflects the majority domination to the minorities. In the article 'Caste and intellectual confusion', the image is used as title picture where a woman and a man are holding a banner with the text of multi-identity and Humanism and down to those some couples of hands are shown as the solidarity. Here, some questions are raised such as, why two men in the sketch are using attire of Hindu Brahmins? why the hands are only of the men (Because Nepalese women usually wear bangles in their hands)? Here in this sketch, the mind set of the artist who made this illustration is implicit – it can be seen clearly for someone with critical awareness about caste issues in Nepalese context, but probably remains unnoticed for someone who has no such awareness.

The presence of other caste is still denied in the media-materials because it is practiced since the starting of the media in Nepal. These matters are taken as 'normal' practices in daily life. The consciousness in the contents in terms of equality on every aspect is still a forgotten matter in Nepali media contents so it is repeating till the date. If one take into consideration gender and age asymmetries, this situation becames even more complex. However, due to time constrains, the focus of this dissertation is the written discourse about the ethnicity and Dalits in the Nepaleses print media.

This research proposes that ethnic inequality and casteism in Nepalese media is studied under the following concepts:

- Caste and ethnicity (Brahmins and non-Brahmins);
- Language (Nepali speakers and non-Nepali speakers).

Under these concepts, this research has observed the presentation of news and views against the ethnic minorities and the volume of news representations of the groups who tend to be excluded.

3. Social inclusion, social identity and mass communication: Theoretical perspectives

Theories engage with critical thoughts of a researcher who tries to find out the facts from society. Scientific findings are compared with theoretical backgrounds from which it carried and to which the findings may contribute (Silverman, 2000). Theories constitute our understanding about some phenomenon and give a proper way to analyze the conditions that we tend to define in a new pattern (Ruler, 2018). Social Theories are made within the society and serve the societies in a scientific way. We have to be dependent on theories to address the basic issues in social research (Silverman, 2000). In early age, mass communication was determined as a one-way process and theories were described as the sender sends some messages for one or more audiences but the reality these days is quite different as the communication process is developed on a two-way process with interactions, where the sender is responsible for receiving feedback (Ruler, 2018).

Caste, culture and language are the principal components of ethnic identity where people feel group membership and a sense of belongingness (Appadurai, 1996; Hall, 1996; Hogg, 2006) with respect to other groups. This feeling of belongingness is developed in the process of ethnic involvement in social participation and cultural practices and creates emotional attachment to the group. Language can make a common tool of understanding between different cultures as it functions with representational system (Hall, 1997). On the other hand, ethnic conflict developed when a particular set of factors and conditions converge (Blagojevic, 2009). Every movement of a certain ethnic group has a single aim of establishing the identity which they have missed or even not recognized in the society. In this ground, the research has applied the theory of identity as a guide of the study with some acceptance of previous recognition and future suggestions.

The issue of inclusion comes after the existence of exclusion in certain communities depending on several characteristics such as, caste, religion, gender, etc. Nepal, as a country with multi-cultural, multi-ethnicity and multilingual, characteristics has a broader conflict beyond the society but in silent mode. Finding out the root cause of dissatisfaction of minorities groups including untouchables is one of the main purposes of this study depending on the coverage and angling their issues in the mainstream print media. Business of journalism occurs in society with several responsibilities of drawing the attention of governing authorities which could be the means of control and influence (McQuail, 2013). Inequality in the society is the normal process but the media is presumed as a tool of intelligence expecting equality between several groups. Hence, the media is reproducing the stereotypical reporting towards the ethnic minorities.

The problem arouses, while the media itself practices with the negative stereotypes and portrays the pictures of suppressed and underprivileged communities. The study aims to focus on such kinds of practices and to draw the attention of the media practitioners who are involved formally or informally in the rustic way. Institutionally the media is a source of power that can motivate and affect the whole system of the society.

Theories themselves are made on the basis of practical experiences within the society. Primarily, it has explained some media related social theories on the ground of their applications and secondarily, they are tested in the practical field. These theories are adequate to the task of explanation posed by the data (Stinchombe, 1968). This study has collected data and analyzed them based on the identity theory, social inclusion theory and mass communication theory.

3.1. Roles of Mass communication in the society

Newspaper, radio, television, and the internet are the most common mediums of mass communication in this age of technology. The information reported in the media comes from many sources such as company press releases, stakeholders, individuals who write opinions to the editor, government agencies, and media workers/reporters/columnists (Deephouse, 2000). According to the paradigm, the media have certain functions in society, and their effects on audiences are direct and linear (McQuail, 2010). Relationship between information and changes in societies is directly observable and sometimes notable.

The recent debate on communication process and theory is about strategic communication which sets the goals for certain mission (Paul, 2011). It is based on the meaning making process of the message sent by the media towards the receivers (Ruler, 2018). The term of 'strategic communication' in which Paul (2011) describes the process as not the limited functioning of the communication in which the media has to send messages with some strategic planning. Paul (2011) argues that communication should not be limited to messages rather than to make a meaningful debate. Strategic communication is still not formalizing as the theory but has started the debate of its necessity. Classically, theories were made and described on the basis of a one-way communication process and still there are some examples that show the traditional practices of sending messages with no responsible manners by the media but in present, all the messages need to be disseminated with some goals of the media which sometimes harm certain groups. Nepalese practices of news dissemination are also based on a

formality aspect where most of the serious cases are just reported for the first attempts and being neglected in the future ignoring the follow up process.

> Functionalist sociology views the media as the new tools of modern democracy as playing a decisive role in regulating society and hence could only advocate a theory in which they reproduced the social system's dominant values (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1998, p. 57).

While tools of mass communication are taken and described as a principal medium of production and transfer of cultural values and beliefs, it became the tool of power and the tool of domination on minorities and the under-privileged communities (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1998). The context of this study also shows that the ruling class elites have been using print media as a tool of expanding their hegemonic thoughts and ideas. A suitable example is that, critics argue about the role of print media during the period of forming a new constitution in Nepal by constitutional assembly, they argue that the materials of mainstream print media were totally transferring the wrong information about the originality of ethnic minorities. The power of the movement of inclusion dragged the state for a drastic change on the behalf of their rights and the acceptance of their existence but the media owned by the ruling class did not allow assuring the right and identity of ethnic minorities and other under-privileged groups in the newly forming constitution (Ahuti, 2014).

According to Ruler (2018) communication theories give mainly three dimensions that show the different views of the process. The first one is the process that occurs in a single way where the media tend to construct the meaning as per their objectives and no feedback from the audience is expected. Likewise, the next approach of the theory is the two-way process of the communication, in which two or more receivers construct the meaning of the information from the sender. There is another dimension of the theory that says the communication process occurs with the continuous process of making meaning. As this definition of the communication theory, Nepalese media are spending their efforts to establish the meaning in the target groups as per their benefits. There are some blames to the media that they try to be more comfortable to the I/NGOs and their campaigning against the stability of the society.

This study has been used the media-society or functionalist theory under the dominant paradigm or mass media (McQuail, 2010), which specifies the social functions of media as "providing information about events and conditions in society and the world, indicating relations of power, and campaigning for societal objectives in the sphere of politics, war, economic development, work and sometimes religion"

(McQuail, 2010, p.97). Hence, this research study has been analyzed on the basis of functionalist theory of mass media particularly in print media.

Denis McQuail (2013), in his book *Journalism and Society*, identifies that journalism has a crucial and inviolable relationship with society. What society aspects are the duty of journalism to fill up by the potential information provided in a regular and credible way. Journalism in some forms is a compulsory tool for every individual as a primary medium of public expression and an equal source of information which later on became a tool of opinion (McQuail, 2013). Journalism provides public spaces for debate in a large-scale society as it is taken as a medium for the "voiceless". Media and society are two sides of a single coin in which media exerts pressure for accountability and society exerts pressure in kind in return (McQuail, 2013).

Functionalism is a structural perspective, regards society as an interdependent organization which is studied with different aspects beyond the society and the interrelationship of these institutions within the society as a whole (Rai, 2005). Exercise of this theory in the society is recognized by the need for guidance, guardianship and internal cohesion of social structures (McQuail, 1987). Mass media is taken as a component of social process; it plays a commanding role of warning and control of different activities within the society. Behavior of the society is ruled by shared values which later can become norms of the society's functionning (Parsons, 1964). Media should have a formal and sometimes informal relationship with society.

McQuail (2013) defines that there are several factors that affect the conduct and performance of journalism at the level of the news organizations. He found that the legal and regulatory system is one of the affecting factors. Similarly, the structure of ownership and control of the media and the link between media and the politics also affects the news. Nepal as a country with political instability, the media are being close with some instances to the political elites to be established as a business conglomerate in the market that is why the necessity of the society has been killed by media contents. Market forces and the general influences of organizational requirements and work routines on reporting, processing and distribution of news are the rest factors that are evident of relation between news and society (McQuail, 2013). In the context of this research, experts from racial minorities and activists from Dalit community blame that media is not avoiding the chance of being excluded. They accept that the media somehow has some influences on socio-culture.

News, nowadays is not only the source of information and sometimes entertainment (infotainment) for those power elites who already have the control over all means of communications and the sources of information. In spite of the control, the media are serving those who only can buy a newspaper and can read it. Minority groups and linguistic or ethnic minorities expect essentially the same quality of news provision as majority audiences, although with different criteria of relevance and policies for access (McQuail, 2013).

Applying the structural functionalist approach, the definition of function of media refers to three separate things. Here comes the first function: the *media tries to inform people*. McQuail (1987), explains it as a purpose of the media. The next function is that people *learn from the media*; meaning that is a consequence and the last, not the least is, *media are supposed to inform people;* it has a broader meaning with the requirement and the expectation. Contributions from the media to society are primarily the needs and demands of participants in society, whether as individual members, or collectivities (McQuail, 1987). Thus, this theory does not need any ideological directions of the media as they have their own direction of responsibility negotiating with political institutional rules (McQuail, 1987).

Media are likely to be a mediating channel for those who have not any access to be informed and to be entertained. Media influence people's views by connecting them within the society for an objective. Correlation of the part of the society in responding to its environment and to transmit the cultural heritage is the major function of the media (Lasswell, 1948). There is a major debate that Nepali media are only operating for the interest of power elites and always neglecting the marginalized communities. This study also agrees with the debate where certain groups are benefited by the mainstream media who serve for the dominant group. Preserving the cultural aspects of the minorities is a major concern of them in an inclusive way but the practice is not supporting the ethnic minorities and Dalits. Language is also taken as an institution of the society in structuralism thought but the dominant language only exists as a ruling language which is not allowing the ethnic tongue to be a medium of communication for native audiences. So, what they do not understand is the core meaning of the message they are receiving daily.

The inequality compulsorily exists in the class-based society where each and every institution is in the favor of elites, power holder groups or the dominant class. Mass dissemination of the content is always shaped by the interests of the ruling class. Nepal has, for a long, ruled by the so-called higher caste

Hindu Brahmins so, the contents are serving them in every aspect. The dominance by the media can thus have different causes.

The scenario of Nepal can be taken as a cultural imperialist approach. Culture has not a particular and absolute meaning but if it is taken as a community of equal sharings and the beliefs, culture is the common idea (Hall, 1997). In Nepalese context where majority of the population belongs to Hindu Culture, Dashain, a major festival of Hindu is celebrated for 15 days in a year, given public holidays for public servants and educational institutions during the festival. All of the Nepalese News media cover the activities during the festival, photo features, experiences of celebrities and many more of Dashain. Ethnic minorities also have several festivals with public holidays but media do not pay attention to their activities or media show just a formality with minimum coverage. Sometimes wrong information is published because of the journalists who represents the higher castes. Lack of knowledge on the culture of minorities and the intention of the journalists make it happening.

If the mainstream news media are more responsible to public interest ignoring the concerns towards the investors, the democratic role of the media would surely be established and the press would be the watchdog of democracy (Bennett, Lawrence, & Livingston, 2007). Bennett et al. (2007) is serious about the failure of American media presentation democratically and focused on the healthy discussion about public responsibility of the press. Like the United States of America is being apparently involved to isolate media from the public interests, Nepal also has a chance to be motivated towards miss behavior to minorities isolating their genuine issues and interests. As constructionism takes all the institutions of the society to have equal and unconditional responsibilities, the media has to perform their role as an agent of the unification of these different sub groups. McQuail (2013) takes equality as a principle of news performance. In his definition of equality, it refers to the equal chance of access, of representation and as impartiality to 'little people' (McQuail, 2013 p. 65).

3.2. Media and Social Identity

Identification is the process that is done by someone during the interaction with the society (Kittelsa, 2015). A person's identity is made by the interactions along with the relationships and the immediate environment of the society and has a unique character of changing pattern along with the nature of life (Gergen, 1991; Shweder, 1990). The new born baby gets the unique name as an identity within the family which later on goes through the society as social identity.

The Social Identity Theory was developed by Tajfel (1978), by connecting three fundamental concepts: social identity, social categorization and social comparison. According to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978), groups give us a sense of social identity: a sense of belonging to the social world. The meaning of the identity ascribed to people is an important source of pride and self-esteem. One seeks his/her identity individually at first but to protect collectively, might reserve the identity with the group. Social Identity theory is a classical psychological theory that explains the intergroup identity and the group-based self-definitions. Here in this research, the main idea is that the media should be equal and respect the identity of each citizen whether they are from lower caste or they are minorities.

Sonia Kruks (2001) defined the identity politics as below where she explains that every person who was denied to be recognized in the past might demand for recognition.

> .....demand for recognition on the basis of the very grounds on which recognition has previously been denied: it is qua women, qua blacks, qua lesbians (in this research: it is qua Dalits or qua ethnic minorities) that groups demand recognition. The demand is not for inclusion within the fold of "universal humankind" on the basis of shared human attributes; nor is it for respect "in spite of" one's differences. Rather, what is demanded is respect for oneself as different (Kurks 2001, p.85)

During an in-depth interview for this research, an interviewee, Dr. Bishnu Maya Pariyar, an activist and an employee of United Nations headquarter answering a question that the society has not taken the Dalit as a human being; Dalits are not given the value as a member of the society. As a result, nobody wants to promote and cover the issue of Dalits. She takes this matter as a power issue. The reality is not denied to express this ground but still in the society, the marginalized communities are in search of the recognition as Kurks (2001) defines identity politics. Human beings want to live with dignity with recognition and then seek for inclusion.

At present, Nepalese traditional names are adopted by lower caste people as a pride to be established in the society, which in the past were the unique identity of the so-called higher castes' Hindu Brahmins. Majorities of the traditional names were taken from the names of the Hindu gods and goddesses like, Ram, Krishna, Sita etc. Once, given names were the automatic identity of a certain caste group. Although caste is viewed as a structural entity with an assumed hierarchy, occasionally in traditional times individuals did change their social status by moving into a caste that was regarded as being of a higher level (Yalman, 1960). While Yalman (1960) was presenting the scenario of Srilanka, Nepal, at the same time, was practicing the bitter truth of caste identity as a social hierarchy. While meeting with strangers, every conversation starts with asking the surnames which reflects the caste and

the status. This is because many of the Dalit castes are being modified or being hidden as the Dalit people are discriminated if the real caste is acknowledged. There are so many celebrities they have changed their caste publicly. And Nepalese people has a mind set that if someone does not publish the real surname instead of a title is definitely the person represents the lower caste.

The concept of identity is a much-contested issue as it functions in complex ways. The socio-cultural nuances behind the identity construction have to be explored in order to analyze the caste or ethnicity-based identity in Nepalese Hindu Brahmin society particularly for analyzing the role of media in constructing or using the stereotype for people from particular ethnic groups or caste. Normally, dominant majority (quantitative minorities) caste groups always discriminate the status of the minorities with cultural bias, linguistic hegemony and the caste identity (Natarajan, 2012).

Media, especially Television and the print and, nowadays the media online are the key agents for passing information to the normal people by messaging about the world's activities (Happer & Philo, 2013). Similarly, caste groups and other racial minorities seek their news apparently and equally in the public media. Nepalese context, unfortunately, rarely raises the voices of Dalits as a slogan of inclusion, and in the movement of identity, at least, ethnic minorities are forming their unity to include themselves in the mainstream of the society (Folmar, 2007). Folmar has a strong belief that Nepal is still ignoring the Dalits, putting in practice a pervesing casteism.

According to Yalman (1960, p. 19), "Caste is not just appellation, but quality of blood", tells the identity itself of one's pride to belong from a certain genetic group. In contrast with this statement, in this thesis we consider identity as a socially constructed concept. A person's identity is formed by his/her interpretation of place in the society (Kittelsa, 2015). Identity is formed in relation to 'significant others', who mediated to the subject that values, meanings and symbols 'the culture' of the worlds he/she inhabited (Hall, 1996). Hall explains the process of identity formation as identity is actually something formed through unconscious processes over time, rather than being innate in consciousness at birth. To make the concept clearer, Hall (1996) further describes those identities are constructed within, not outside which provides meaning to people's psychological feelings of belongingness.

Eradication of social and political obstacles of Dalits and other ethnic minorities groups is the current debate of Nepal. The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007 declared the rights and the equality-based society by exercising their indigenous identity. (UNDRIP, 2007) Article 2 explains that "Indigenous peoples and individuals are free to all other peoples and individuals have the

right to be free from any kind of discrimination in the exercise of their rights, in particular that based on their indigenous origin or identity." Practicing right to information, many of the minorities have been neglected in Nepali journalistic practices. We can take an example of news casting of several rituals and traditions of ethnic groups which are taken as marginal; are not appropriately disseminated in the news forms as they have so many errors in the contents.

In many cases, external pressures have a huge influence in the process of caste and cultural identity construction. Identity can be reshaped with respect to time and it is always in the process of reformation and a subject to change under social, political and economic pressure (Singh, 2010). Thus, social identities are sometimes reshaped by the media in their news or other stories by other groups of people. Some negative stereotypes about one particular ethnicity or caste are always playing in the mind of other caste or ethnic people. For an instance, Brahmins are defined as the brilliant group whereas other ethnic and Dalit minorities are taken as dull (Bista, 1991). As in the word of Bista (1991), the dominant ideology of Brahmanism led the society backward and into underdevelopment. Many have noticed that different kinds of languages or salutations are used for the higher caste or people or for the highly reputed people than for the minority people or low caste people.

Representation of the minority people or low caste people in the media house is also highly influential in this regard. It can be seen clearly in most of the Nepalese media houses that the majority of the people working are representing higher caste groups which are quantitatively minority groups. It is obvious that these people present the low caste people or minority disadvantaged people in different ways than their social identity is formed. Hence, this research has been analyzed through the perspective of social identity theory.

Social identity is a generic term which covers all forms of socially constructed identities, namely ethnic identity, cultural identity, caste identity, gender identity and many more. Every movement of Dalits and ethnic minorities seeks inclusion in national and local political processes, opening economic and educational opportunities and equalizing social status. The process of inclusion is not possible in a blink but to take a long time to dig out the deep-rooted beliefs and practices (Folmar, 2007).

The Preamble of Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 has a statement, which says, "Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world". This concept has a dream of equal

society with justice, freedom and peace but before that every human being seeks the identity within the society and then the opportunity and many more options.

3.3. Social inclusion and role of media

The term 'social inclusion' comes around where exclusion exists so far. In Europe, the practice of reducing social and economic exclusion was raised for the first time. In the United Kingdom (UK) in 1996, social inclusion was discussed at the policy level (Chamberlain, 2011), even though the term was used across Europe and Australia very earlier aiming to include all the targeted groups which were excluded in the past into integration. The excluded groups are different from their characteristics in Europe or in Australia such as, disables, mental ills and refugees or homeless people but in the context of Nepal, Ethnic minorities and specially, the untouchable communities are being excluded from the state and from the societal structures. Labonte (2004, p.117) has taken this issue as a power practice with raising the question that:

> "....to what extent do efforts at social inclusion accommodate people to relative powerlessness rather than challenge the hierarchies that creates it?"

Social inclusion is a basic character of the democratic and liberal state with responsibilities of making a society full of justice and providing all the opportunities to all equally. Media as an agent of change, here in this study, tried to examine how media is facilitating with the state and with the society and how it has been emphasized to reshape the historic view about exclusion. In every society, there are certain groups of people who are facing some barriers towards identity, beliefs and advantages (Labonte, 2004). In an article of World Bank Group, it is said that social exclusion is derived by several components like, age, sex, religion, ethnicity, occupation and disabilities. Exclusion is a factor that can lead an individual towards poverty and lack of dignity.

The World Bank Group (2013) has a special definition of social inclusion which is as follow:

1. The process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in society;
2. The process of improving the ability, opportunity and dignity of those disadvantaged on the basis of their identity to take part in society.

Similarly, United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has set a slogan for Sustainable Development Goals 2030 (SDGs) that "leaving no one behind", which is meaningfully based on inclusion of the society, helping the countries which are planning their sustainable development goal (SDGs) with the

principle of social inclusion. It is also an integral part of the World Bank Group's twin goals of 'poverty alleviation and increasing shared prosperity'.

If the media expects the equal society, it should contribute as an agent of societal harmony. McQuail (1987) raised a question: is the media either socially fragmenting or unifying? This is the genuine remark that the media should be able to construct a 'healthy' society where every individual should have a prosperous life. Journalism as a tool of uniting different interest groups in a single garland, Nepalese media sometimes have missed the chance to be the agent of unifying campaigns rather than segmenting each other (Rai, 2005). A society is known as an inclusive society where all the people are recognized and accepted equally in all the streams of state and have a sense of belonging.

Nepal as a socially, culturally, geographically, ethnically, linguistically diverse country, on the other side exercises a high magnitude of social inequality and social exclusion (Bennet, 2005). The social order in Nepal was created on the basis of Hindu caste system and the power was consolidated by interlinking it with the Hindu caste system (Bennet, 2005). Social inclusion is a part of the theory of social change, where almost all of the social institutions are playing a positive role for making an inclusive society (Rai, 2005). Media has the greater power of being the role model for change including every citizen as a particular component.

The social order, thus created was exclusionary because it classified the people into different groups as different castes within the broad framework of Hindu caste system hence making a social hierarchy (Bennet, 2005). The social exclusion on the basis of caste, ethnicity, race, gender, and/or economic status is still remaining in Nepal and that can be seen in some way in the Nepalese media too. The issue of social inclusion gained special attention when the Nepal Government recognized inclusion as a policy issue as one of the four pillars of the 2003 Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. The debate of social inclusion/exclusion is significant particularly for social harmony and human and economic development and revolves around several groups such as Dalit, women, ethnic communities and disadvantaged people.

The 10th five-year plan (2059-2064 B.S) of Nepal had given extra emphasis to gender equality and the social inclusion as cross-cutting issues. As the interim constitution of Nepal (2063 B.S), formulated to resolve the existing class, ethnic, regional and gender differences in the country through progressive restructuring of the state, the issue of social inclusion was adopted as a major debate for the first time in Nepal formally (Social Inclusion Policy (SIP), 2076 B.S). In this context, in order to address the

backward communities some of the commissions were formed institutionally for Adivasi Janajati (Tribal-nationalities) and for untouchables (Dalits).

If media is a means of motivation for those who were historically excluded and intended to be included, it has served for five centuries with motivation (Chamberlain, 2011). Chamberlain suggests that social change is possible with immense influences of social movement and their access to the means of communication. All media should be 'citizen media' in the sense of contributing towards the fair representation of all elements of the society (Chamberlain, 2011). Mainstreaming of women, Dalits, ethnic-nationalities, Muslims etc. has been attempted in Nepal since the past and have made a significant contribution to the empowerment of the target groups. Media together should be a part of this movement to overcome the injustice and inequality of society. Media has to function as a tool for increasing social inclusiveness, social cohesion, and social development by developing inclusive culture.

In addition, International Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination (1965) oblige the government of Nepal and the state to make various state bodies and organs inclusive in terms of gender and social inclusion have done. Similarly, the International Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), ILO Convention (1989) article 169 also contains provision of concerned communities and groups and Nepal is a party to all above conventions. How Nepalese print media are following these articles on a practical basis is critically analyzed. Hence this research has been focused on the social inclusion theory too. Making a fair, lawful and equal society with harmony is a composition of shared beliefs, thoughts and experiences is the main idea of social inclusion theory.

4. Media and Inequality: Stereotyping and news coverage of ethnic minorities and dalits

News 'framing and coverage' is the term that represents the way of presenting the information as in news form and the volume of news that represents certain groups. Ethnic and untouchable groups are taken as minorities in Nepal even though the number is higher in total (PMN, 2014). Dominant caste and the ruling class is, no doubt, the Hindu Brahmin who has a lower population in comparison with the rest of the marginalized folks (Bista, 1991). Structural discrimination and exclusion is the emerging discourse of the society with the demand of inclusion and the equitable society. Globally, the inequality issue hits the attention of critics with the concern of immigrants, ethnic minorities and other issues of women as a whole.

Stereotype refers to the mental image of social groups and the members whether as in positive aspects or in negative aspects (Lippmann, 1922). Stereotypes are sometimes linked prejudices based on race, caste, religion, gender, sexual orientation, nationality and just about any other social category. A stereotype is a socially constructed phenomena into which individuals can be listed (Paudel, 2013, p. 79). This study aims to find the present trends of inequality in mainstream print media of Nepal with special emphasis on the ethnic minorities and the Dalits who are historically represented in media contents stereotypical way. There is a bombardment of the literature with related arguments, findings and recommendations to the scholars of the field of 'inequality in media'. Reviewing this literature from previous studies, one can agree that there are at least some gaps in the Nepalese print media and the targeted groups who are feeling some tragedies.

Negative media portrayals, media bias in terms of social access, negative stereotypes, inequality and the responsibility of the media are the main ideas of the literature review that elaborated the current status of the minority communities including Dalits in Nepali print media. Compared with the global trend of news coverage of minorities, Nepalese minorities based on caste are almost equal in Nepalese national dailies. Self-esteem (Tajfel, 1978) is the major issue of human beings as they are taken with a highly prioritized state but the literature shows the poor representation of dignity. I have not any arguments more about negative stereotyping and the negative portrayals as the previous studies have established the definition. There are some differences in the definition of minority of Nepal with the global definition of minorities. Nepalese society is based on the caste system with a constructed hierarchy where ethnic and untouchable people are taken as minority groups even if the quantity is higher (Ahuti, 2014).

In Nepalese context, the studies about media coverage of ethnic minorities and the Dalit issues are very scarse. Organizations related to Dalit and other ethnic community has paid a bit of attention to these issues but they all are motivated and driven by I/NGOs' interest. Since half a century, Nepal has been practicing legal reformation against the caste system but the ground practice is not satisfactory in every institution of the society. The constitution of 2047 B.S had stated that:

> ..... no one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his/her privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation; will such acts be punishable by the law.

Article 24 of the present constitution of Nepal (2015) also has a clear declaration about right of the people under the title of 'Right against untouchability and discrimination' as follows:

> a) No person shall be subjected to any form of untouchability or discrimination in any private and public places on grounds of his/her origin, caste, tribe, community, occupation or physical condition;
>
> b) In producing or distributing any goods, services or facilities, no person belonging to any particular caste or tribe shall be prevented from purchasing or acquiring such goods, services or facilities nor shall such goods, services or facilities shall be sold, distributed or provided only to the person belonging to any particular caste or tribe;
>
> e) Any act of untouchability and discrimination in any form committed in contravention of this Article shall be punishable by law as a severe social offence, and the victim of such act shall have the right to obtain compensation in accordance with law.

It has been declared for three decades but still the newspapers are full with the news of caste discriminations and exclusion practice in news coverage. After the restoration of multi-party democracy (1990) in Nepal, a tremendous number of newspapers and other forms of media have been established but the nature of these media always have been equal to 'not to be equal to all'. In the context of historical caste system with discrimination and the hierarchical practice and the feudalist media practice, the study has explained the similarities and dissimilarities of the findings with global scenario.

4.1. Inequality: In the media as well as in the society

Most of the aware and educated people accepted that Nepalese mainstream print media, for instance, the daily newspaper published from Capital city (Onta, 2001; David, 2016) are contributing as an active agent of inequality. I have not argued on the statement that describes the unequal behavior of

newspapers towards racial and ethnic minorities and the untouchable community in the context of Nepal. Study found that the current scenario of the society is still biased and discriminatory. Nepalese contemporary print media are the real representation of the current structure and the phenomena of the society. They are despising the deprived group to ensure the comforts of power elites. There is always an over-representation of the 'upper' as the sources of the news where suppressed are ignored even on the genuine issues (McQuail, 1987). As McQuail's view Nepalese media are also following this type of practices of ignoring the suppressed and paying over attention to the power elites. It seems that, unnecessarily, representing the issues of the dominant group has occurred in Nepalese media business.

Inequality is itself a dangerous state of human behaviour which destroys human civilization (Therborn, 2009). Therborn, author of the article *'Killing field of inequality'*, explains the inequality in three different categories: vital inequality, existential inequality, and material or resource inequality. In his definition, vital inequality refers to the inequality of health and death. Therborn again clarifies that every human being is mortal by nature but the distribution of the health service as the tool of life expectancy can make a benefit for certain accessible groups. Child mortality rate is higher and life expectancy is shorter in poor countries than in the rich. Nepal also has vital inequality where people from the capital city have a higher life expectancy in comparison to the remote districts. According to the report of World Health Organization 2016, life expectancy of Nepal is 68 years of Male and 71 of Female (WHO, 2019, www.who.int/countries/npl/). Vital inequality is killing a huge number of people every time from the entire world, and can be measured through life expectancy and survival (Therborn, 2009).

Likewise, the second category is the existential inequality which hits personally. It breaks you to be familiar with the mainstream and rejects your personal identity. For an instance, in some societies, women are not allowed to debate with men. In the definition of Therborn in his article, existential inequality denies respect and the participation with recognition, pushes to humiliation (Therborn, 2009). According to Therborn, it refuses for black people, women in patriarchal society, migrant poor, ethnic minorities and lower caste groups in the public spheres. Nepalese context is not much different from this definition where still in the 21st century, women are treated as laborers and the inhuman behaviors against Dalits still exist. Caste based discrimination is a never-ending tradition. Existential inequality is not only a cause of discrimination but also the creator of micro hierarchies (Therborn, 2009).

The last, not the least category of inequality is the inequality of material or resources which mean that different human beings are attracted by different resources. Therborn divided this category in two

aspects such as, access to 'social capital' and rewards. In the comment of Bourdieu, Social capital plays the vital role within the society to win the game of economy (Richardson, 1986). It is taken as 'inequality in opportunity' which refers to access to education, job opportunity or social contacts. Similarly, reward is a kind of outcome, meaning the benefit and wealth. Social outcomes are in the capture of power elites and the lower-class marginalized people are suffering from inequality. All the categories are interrelated to functioning within the society affecting the elements. It is strongly supported by these definitions of inequality with different categories. These definitions are equally related to the theme of the study. Definitely, Nepalese print media refers to inequality by different ways to the ethnic minorities and the untouchable community.

McQuail again accepts the fact that the entire objectives of the news reporting are more political and social power centric. He is dissatisfied with the western media that they are more biased to certain communities. Similarly, on the one hand, Nepalese media do not have the unique characteristics rather than the universal trends upon the marginalized groups. Nepalese print media are in the favor of Brahmins, Chhetris and Newars with the representations on the media house and on the base of covering issues (Onta, 2001). Rest of the caste groups are taken as excluded groups in the sense of priorities, opportunities, participations and many more options for inclusion. Main idea of the news reporting is always to provoke the minorities and to promote the dominant social values (McQuail, 1987). For instance, activist and writer Sarita Pariyar (respondent of in-depth interview of this research) in an interview says that journalists always complain to the political leader from untouchable caste which is why they do not follow them as a source of reporting. The reason is, in Sarita's words, that the leader from the lower caste community is not a source of power.

It happens not only with human beings but also with countries as well. Different studies have found that the cultural strength and the language spoken by the numbers of the population don't give a big priority to cover the issue. Regardless of size and proximity, international media tends to report the news only from countries which are nearer by culture, politics and the economy. Rests of the countries are not given the priority (McQuail, 1987). Similarly, the media are not giving enough space for women for their roles in the news (Baehr, 1980 in McQuail, 1987). Helen Baehr's opinion on women and the media is a real reflection of the current media practice as they are biased for the superiors. Women are being controlled for their presence in different roles, Baehr (1980) says; women figures and roles are less frequent than the man in news contents.

According to the previous studies, not only social minorities receive small attention by the media and the number of their population is ignored as they appeared in the society (Shoemaker, 1984), but the publics also tend to pay less attention to the information concerning disadvantaged or dominated social groups, such as women and ethnic minorities (Cabecinhas & Amâncio, 1999), contributing to reinforce the process of symbolic exclusion or symbolic annihilation (Tuchman, 1978).

After three decades of the declaration of Shoemaker, the behavior towards deviants is still the same and in some of the cases even worse. In the words of Fedler (1973), minorities are ignoring groups which have never been a problem of the society, treated as troublesome and provided space and attention rarely and unequally. The centre idea of this research roams around this statement of Fedler (1973). Honesty with a hard-working group for survival is ethnic minority group, to whom the society and the other institutions are treating rudely even these days. Ethnic minorities, especially the untouchables in the Hindu Brahmin societies, are treated unequally as well as negatively; the practice may lead to the misrepresentation of the reality (Cohen, 1972). Ethnic minorities in some forms of reporting are presented as an obstacle to society even though they are actually victims (Hartman & Husband, 1974).

Poverty eradication with developing infrastructures and establishing an equal society by including every human being in the systematic and participatory way is the burning issue of the country. Caste discrimination, exclusion on the base of racial origin and the structural caste system is the root cause of all the problems of the society in Nepal (Bista, 1991). While remaining the inequality and discrimination on the basis of caste, true form of development, establishing and strengthening the democracy and eradication of poverty is not possible. As a source of inspiration, the media should never hesitate to behave equally towards all the caste groups whether they are ethnic minorities or they are untouchables. Ethnic issues were raised densely only after the country was declared a republican in 2007 (Paudel, 2016). Politically, this issue is a dominant issue among the innumerable demands of different marginalized people historically. Decades long struggles and practices of deprived groups are to include respectively within the society, no more than that they need all. Hiding the issue is more dangerous than misrepresentation is a debate but, in my opinion, the contrast, misrepresentation is more painful than ignorance.

Existing inequality beyond the society is the key cause of the social distance between ‘upper’ and the ‘lower’ which destroys the social cohesion (Therborn, 2009). Which is why, society would be in trouble for resolving several problems. In the explanation of Therborn (2009), inequality and difference have a vast controversy where difference has a horizontal effect that doesn’t have any hierarchy being ‘bigger’

or ‘smaller’. At the same time, inequality has a vertical effect where the hierarchy exists. In the context of Nepali society, the long-rooted practice of caste base hierarchy has a significant role in creating inequality between the human kinds. Analyst and politician Ahuti (2014) claims that the mindset of the Nepalese people is totally based on the Hindu Caste system, which allows people to think and act as their ancestors did. Every single human being in the structured hierarchy does not want to be lower than the others.

Therborn (2009) describes that inequality is not only the behavior of making difference but also violates the norms of equality and makes a society a place of conflicts. Maoist Conflict (1996-2006) in Nepal was based on social inequality and against caste-based discrimination, which was the major cause of class conflicts. Covering around 15% of the population, untouchable communities still have not sufficient representation in politics and in other social institutions. Likewise, other ethnic minorities have the same picture of participation in social activities as the society is ruled by dominant caste groups. The unequal behavior in different social functions is the reflection of societal behavior toward certain inferior groups. The behavior of inequality certainly destroys the informal social norms which provide order and predictability in the society and harms the social harmony and the beauty of so-called civilized society (Therborn, 2009).

4.2. Minorities vs. Majorities

Minority groups of people are defined in various ways with relevant examples. Socially, the group who has ruling power is considered as a majority who has ruled over the rest of the group and minority is the group who has less power and the access to the resources. In the book ‘*Poverty in the United Kingdom’* Townsend (1979, p. 586) described the term ‘social minority’ as follows:

> A social minority is defined as a group of households of families which have some characteristic in common which marks them off from ‘ordinary’ families and prevents them from having access to, or being accorded, certain rights which are generally available.

As the definition of Townsend (1979), social minorities are less likely to receive certain kinds of benefits from the resources, and can be denied to be the mainstream of the society. Nepal is a country of minorities which is ruled and regulated by a single caste autocracy (Ahuti, 2014). The debate of the rights of minorities has been raised for a long time in the international forums but in Nepal, it is still an emerging issue that hits public attention. And the coverage of their issues in the media is still a subject of debate and demand. The groups who have entire resources in their hand such as, the ownership of

media, dense presence in political positions and the business positions are taken as a majority even with the lower number of populations.

Quantitatively, the majority groups of the people are listed as minorities in Nepal (Ahuti, 2014). In this way, we can say that the country is of minorities. Hence, who wants to introduce oneself as a minority, even has different problems and the status. Dalit is a community covering more than 13% of the population. Similarly, 59 of indigenous communities exist in Nepal (PMN, 2014). The majority numbers of the people of Nepal are living in the status of a social minority (Bista, 1991). Those who do not understand the real fact about the minorities, define it on the base of numbers but the right way to define the terminology 'minority is to base on 'dominance' and 'discrimination', likewise access to power and prestiges (Bhattachan et al., 2009).

Bhattachan (2009) argues that the traditional way of describing minority on the base of the number is a big mistake. It seems that the number of women in the entire world is larger than men but the condition of dominance is cruel over women. From this point of view, women seem to be the quantitative majority but the social minority and men seem to be the social majority. When it comes to discrimination against women, men with less population are dominating them. Minority concept is more discussed as a political debate in the world (Ramaga, 1992). Early decision of the Drafting Committee of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities (SCPDPM, 1947) stated that:

> Protection of 'minorities' is the protection of non-dominant groups which, while wishing in general for equality of treatment with the majority, wish for a measure of differential treatment in order to preserve basic characteristics which they possess and which distinguish them from the majority of the population. The protection applies equally to individuals belonging to such groups and wishing the same protection, it follows that differential treatment of such groups or of individuals belonging to such groups is justified when it is exercised in the interest of their contentment and the welfare of the community as a whole. The Characteristics meriting such protection are race, religion and language. In order to qualify for protection a minority must owe undivided allegiance to the Government of the state in which it lives. Its members must also be nationals of the State. If a minority wishes for assimilation and is debarred, the question is one of discrimination and should be treated as such.

Commission on Human Rights, Definition and Classification of Minorities: Memorandum submitted by the Secretary-General on 27 of December 1949 stated that, 'As a provisional orientation, it will be recalled that in modern times the term 'minority' has been applied to more or less distinct groups, living

within a State, which are dominated by other groups. The definition is a real reflection in Nepalese context where certain groups with distinct features are dominated by certain ruling groups'.

The League of Nations Minority System defines that only the religious, linguistic and racial minorities exist. However, the concept of the term 'minority' was neither then nor now confined to groups which constitute national communities, it was and still is extended to include also groups who either by a common religion, a common language, or a common ethnic origin, or by any two or all three of these characteristics, even when such groups do not from national communities. Such groups are not concerned so much with preserving their national existence apart from that of the predominant group as with keeping alive their own language, culture, religion or traditions. From a purely theoretical point of view, even the smallest group which meets the various qualifications set forth above should be considered a minority. However, for practical purposes, only those groups which represent a considerable proportion of the population of a State are usually referred to as minorities.

Such descriptions of minorities are mostly available in social psychological literature. When we define the term majority or minority, numeric size, social status or the power with position but the number is the most common aspect in experimental research to discuss minority status (Seyranian, Atuel & Crano 2008).

In the context of Nepal, minority is defined as the smallest number of a certain caste and ethnic group as well as the social status of a respected group has also been determined as an aspect of minority. According to Seyranian et al. (2008), majority and minority groups are conceptualized with eight different dimensions including power, number, distinctiveness, social category, group context, dispositions, and the agent of the resources. As their definition, minorities were associated with more divergent thinking and viewed more negatively than were majorities. And, Ramaga (1992) urges that the numerically inferior group is comparatively vulnerable from the other groups. In Nepalese context, segregation of castes does not allow them to unite against the injustice of social majority groups.

Apart from these definitions of minority on the base of number, Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (16th December 1966) gave a definition (Ramaga, 1992, p. 105) with the components of religion, language and ethnicity:

> In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right in community with the other members of their group to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

The main question of this research is the forceful dissemination of the contents in so-called national language Nepali with neglecting the native language of ethnic minorities by the national level media. Not to deny the cultural and religious value and beliefs by the media run by the majority is another concern of this research. Nepal has around 12.2% of Brahmins and 16.6% of Kshatriyas population according to the last census (CBS, 2014). Adding these two is around 29 percent. But these caste groups also have sub castes, if we look at these two together at 29 percent; the total number of tribes is 40 percent (CBS, 2014). The ground reality of Nepal is the tribes are divided into many groups and the Brahmins and Chhetri are joint even though they have so many differences in rituals and traditions (Ghale, 2014). He adds that number should not be interpreted and analyzed. Based on the population, Brahmin's dominance is greater than anyone else's, so, from the point of dominance and the discrimination, we can conclude that they are the most dominant and the others are the minorities (Bhattachan, 2010).

Bhattachan argues that there are two misconceptions about the so-called minority. If only one number is taken as the basis, Brahmins, Chhetris and Kusunda (the caste with least population PMN, 2014) are also the minority. Bhattachan takes it as a wrong concept. He has a strong belief that, on the reality ground, if we cannot describe the real meaning of the status, it could lead to violence and retaliation. Another thing to be aware of is that in the case of the Adivasi Tribes, they are a minority as they are victims of domination and discrimination. But since the minority has limited rights, the human rights of the Adivasi/ Janajati are also enjoyed within it (Bhattanchan, 2010). In the words of Bhattachan, Adivasi and Janajati should have the identity of a social minority with privilege.

The rights movement of the minorities got a chance to flourish only after the change of 1990 in Nepal. From the period until now, due to the constant pressure of not-partisan rights activists, a separate sub-committee had been formed in the new constitution to ensure their rights (Ghale, 2014). The issue of the minorities, before the mentioned time, was not a subject of concern. It was a neglected issue that never caught the attention of the ruler. According to the concept of the sub-committee, Nepal has three types of minorities based on caste, language and religion (Ghale, 2014). If someone is excluded from the mainstream because of the low number, then the issue of numbers comes up. It is necessary to differentiate between the minority and dominant community by looking at their representation, participation and influence in all spheres of political, socio-economic and cultural sectors of the state.

The rights of minorities must be ensured in the constitution so that the community, which is dominated by numbers in the federal state system, does not infringe on the rights of others (Ghale, 2014). Ghale suggests that if one tries to run one's own ruling in the name of majority, a constitutional provision is

needed to stop it. Due to their access, participation and dominance in national life, Dalits are a minority and their rights should be protected as a minority. Ghale mentions these points as the rights of minority which are as follows:

- To practice and protect one's religion;
- Use and protection of language;
- To participate effectively in the policy making level of the state;
- To organize and operate it;
- To establish contact with its communities and members outside the geographical boundaries.

In addition to certain basic human rights, other ethnic, religious, socio-linguistic and cultural rights are equally necessary for human beings to live as human beings in the true sense of the word, including their original identity (Bhattachan, 2010). This is equally emphasized by international human rights documents as well. Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) 1966 states that in countries where socio-religious or linguistic minorities exist, such minorities shall not be deprived of the right to use their culture, propagate their religion or use their language in association with other members of their group. Thus, the Declaration of the Rights of Persons on the Basis of National or Ethnic Religious and Linguistic Minorities 1992 reaffirmed the basic human rights, values and dignity of the individual and the belief in equal rights for men and women and for the equal rights of the majority and the minority (Bhattachan, 2010).

To ensure the rights of the minority community, international documents assure two types of provisions (Pandit, 2009). The first one is the right against discrimination and the second one is the special rights of minority. Both of these provisions should be engaged to ensure the rights of minorities. All the provisions of discrimination are extra emphasized by all the international documents of human rights. This includes any form of discrimination against any person on the ground of caste, creed, language, gender, sexual or gender identity, political or other ideology, national or social origin, property, birth or region or any other condition such as physical or mental disability or any other status, what should not be done should be ensured (Pandit, 2009).

The second one is that special rights include the issue of guaranteeing certain other special rights required by the minority community (Pandit, 2009). As the statement from Pandit, historically marginalized minority community should ensure some positive discrimination to entitle them in the mainstream. The definition of the minority is relative, rather than absolute (Pandit, 2009). Pandit

verifies his statement with the example of Africa where in the past, majority Blacks were ruled by the minority whites by numbers. Therefore, the identity of the minority community should be based on their role and status in the state system (Pandit, 2009). Traditionally, a minority exists on the combination of some elements such as, the awareness of the membership of the minority group. The group minority, that's why existed because of the member's willingness to stay longer within the group. Aim to start a group with different features compared with the so-called majority and significantly creating a distinct identity are the major challenges for minority groups (Heinzen & Goodfriend, 2017).

All above definitions and the descriptions of the minority are acceptable and suitable in the context of Nepal. Certain caste groups with a higher number of populations are defending themselves as minorities and always been discriminated against by the so-called majority. Studies show that the larger population always takes the big informational flow rather than the minority (Stromberg, 1999). He defines that the politics is emphasized by the systematic political influence by the media so the media rarely focus on the numerically and socially minority groups. Study of equal rights of minorities in every aspect of society was rare until recently. Media representations over the ethnic minorities still seem to be neglected and biased. The study tried to explore the ground reality of the media coverage of the deprived group and to explain the established stereotyping against the ethnic group.

In terms of media bias, there are some aspects to be explained. Every media has an intention of making a reputation disseminating fact-based information (Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2006). According to them, a competitive market is the reason that leads the news media towards 'lower bias' (p. 282). If we take news as a commodity, this statement of Gentzkow & Shapiro (2006) appears as a truthful explanation. When the market is determined by the consumers (readers), Nepalese context is so vulnerable towards minorities. Bias of media started with reporting certain events and lasted until it was published. The volume of bias differs from the country and the society (Mackey, 2019). The common media bias is based on politics and it occurs when certain media extremely support or neglect a certain political party or ideology (Eberl, et al., 2015).

In Nepal, in terms of ethnic bias, three main biases occur in the news media such as, religious bias, ethnic/language bias and the geographic bias (David, 2016). Religiously, Nepal is a Hindu dominated country where minority groups follow other different religions but the numbers of followers are very lower. In this context media often cover the events and issues related to the out-group religions. Fortunately, no legal restrictions were practiced even though the country was legally declared a Hindu country in the past decades while favoring to Hindu and bias against any other religions. Likewise, as

Nepali language is a dominant language, other ethnic languages are often prioritized by the media as the medium of publication.

The other bias that occurred in Nepalese media is a geographic bias (David, 2016). Geographically Nepal can be divided into 3 regions Himalayan, Hilly and the Plain land called Terai. Most of the administrations are located in the Hilly region as the capital city lies here. Almost all of the national level media are operated from Capital city (Onta, 2001). That is why the genuine issues of Terai region and the Himalayan region are being neglected by the capital city centric media. Radio Nepal was a first and reliable source of news and entertainment in the past which was the main source of publicity of Hinduism to the citizens (Bista, 1991). Radio Nepal still starts it's broadcasting with the chanting of Mantras of Hindu religion and sometimes critics blame that National radio station was established intentionally to cultivate Hinduism.

Dalits have been resisting the existing caste discrimination and exclusion in Nepali society for the last quarter of the century (Kharel, 2010). In this process, as the words of Kharel, on the one hand, Dalits want to reinterpret their traditional identity and on the other hand, they want to use it effectively. Likewise, after restoration of democracy in Nepal, the issues of identity, inclusion and the rights of the marginalized community are the major demands of ethnic minorities. The study tends to find out the role of the media to enhance these movements. This study also shows the intersecting and heterogeneous nature of many levels of suffering suffered by Dalits and indigenous communities.

From a methodological point of view, this study is also a sample of many complexities within a category. Its essence reveals the complexity of the living experience of Dalits and ethnic minorities. Studies have shown that ethnic identity is still an important social identity for Dalits and minorities. Despite the legal possibility to neutralize caste, the social and economic lives of the minorities included in this study have not improved much. Hindu feudalism always keeps certain clans and castles above the socio-economic, cultural and political level on the basis of caste system in the face of insoluble caste division and puts certain castes at the bottom (Bista, 1991). According to conventional wisdom, Nepali Hindu Monarchy and Brahmanism were the major groups to isolate certain lower classes. Brahmanism is not only led and represented by the Brahmin caste (Bista, 1972). Bista's justification is more reliable and more justifiable where Brahmanism has institutionalized the conspiracy to deprive the possibility of intermingling and unity among different castes.

Despite this ethnic and cultural diversity, which is known as unity in diversity, is an important national heritage, which needs to be further strengthened. More attention and efforts are needed to promote and develop these languages and cultures on an equal basis. The law of the land has clearly prohibited discrimination on the ground of language and ethnicity and guaranteed equal treatment to all languages and cultures. However, some anomalies and contradictions do exist in translating these constitutional provisions into practice.

Minority communities must be constitutionally guaranteed the same rights and dignity as individuals from other communities. The state and the law have constitutionally ensured equal treatment for minority people but the media should monitor the practical aspects of these provisions of equality. The constitution of Nepal prohibits any kind of discriminations based on untouchability and ethnicity but the ground reality is different from the practice. Even, the media portrayal of minorities is not as they are presented in the articles as a helpless and a weaker group (Kharel & Suji, 2019). The common portrayal of the media against the minorities is always the same. But according to Kharel and Suji, they want to be an agent rather than a passive victim. The movement of April 2006 was the turning point for the movement of marginalized people and was the challenge for centralized power of the Hindu Monarchy (Kharel & Suji, 2019). They accepted that there was a significant role of the democratic movement II *(loktantrik andolan)* to enforce the minorities to pressurize for their demands of inclusion and mainstreaming themselves. The success of democratic movement and after drafting the new constitution, has created a new sense of enthusiasm among all sections of the society, including Dalits and other ethnicities, as the state has declared it will institutionalize inclusive democracy. State always should be sensitive to ensure ethnic and Dalit representation and to assure the anti-discriminated society in every aspect. Preserving the language, culture and religion of every group of citizens is the main duty of the nation and to monitor the social institutions whether they are inclusive or not.

The following suggestions were made by the Committee on the Rights and Protection of Minorities and Marginalized communities for the Constitution of Nepal 2015:

- It must be constitutionally ensured that any form of discrimination or behavior on the basis of untouchability and ethnicity is completely prohibited and punishable and should be monitored the social practices by the legal body;
- It must be ensured that the same rights and dignity as citizen of other community, including ethnic or religious or linguistic identity;

- Minority communities must be guaranteed the rights to use, utilize, protect and promote their traditional art, knowledge and skills;
- It must be ensured that the state and the law do not in any way disqualify or deprive the community of the benefits of exercising the rights associated with its community;
- To ensure the right to establish and operate organizations for the protection and promotion of the ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural and fundamental identity of one's community.

In a way, the inter-caste hierarchical system among the Dalits and the other indigenous communities are a minor reproduction of the larger caste system institutionalized in Nepal (Kharel, 2010). Kharel further writes that the inter-caste hierarchical system increased the caste discrimination between Dalits and non-Dalits and within Dalits themselves. Sometimes, minority Dalits do not accept this fact but the ruling classes are playing on the ground of this reality to escape from the problems. Kharel (2010) argues that, as long as the lower castes and the other ethnic minorities continue to support the theory and practice of the caste category within themselves, they will continue to accept their inferiority in the social class. Present scenario of the Nepalese society is the same as Kharel describes in her writings. Class discrimination within Dalits is actually accepted as a general problem of the Dalit community but this allegation is often refuted by Dalits. Minorities with Dalit argue that the legislature and the rulers have used the term 'divide and rule' so that so-called upper castes can retain their power and the place of the minorities will always be secondary. Even today, the minorities are suffering the consequences.

4.3. Social Stereotypes: A continuous trend in the Society and in the media

Lippmann (1922) explained the term stereotypes as 'pictures in our heads' (p.78). Likewise, sociologists take stereotypes as the perception of one social group against another counterpart (Elligan, 2008). There are also stereotypes about the own group, generally more positive stereotypes that are the outgroup. However, there are exceptions that sometimes dominate view and endorse self-hate (Lewin, 1948). Stereotypes evaluate other people and culture according to the standard of one's own culture (Lebedko, 2014). In the teaching of intercultural communication, stereotypes can be taken as the tool of understanding. Lebedko suggests that using polite language and cultural understanding is enough for managing stereotypes. The means of mass communication pervade society and are an important link in helping people learn from each other, but they remain equally active in reproducing and perpetuating ethnic stereotypes negatively (Ross, 2019). Ross has accepted the fact that different news media in different genres such as, news, drama and gaming are marginalizing the minorities prevailing discrimination.

Nepalese society is continuing the negative stereotyping against each other in blaming and stigmatizing ways. For instance, Brahmins have a mind set about Matwalis (liquor drinkers) who are taken as ethnic minorities in this research, that they drink alcohol every time and remain dirty but are physically strong. Likewise, Matwalis have the same mind set about Brahmins that they are greedy and physically weaker but are intelligent. This perception based on caste reflects on everyday activities in the society. There are several proverbs that are against caste base discrimination in Nepali society. For instance, '*Kamiko palama kamini nachchhe'* means that the wife of a blacksmith dances during the term of blacksmith.

In the words of Ross (2019), very rarely do the media present the role of minorities in the narrow sense and they are demonstrated as the problem creator and weaker than the dominant groups. In the context of Nepal Dalit and other ethnic minorities are represented as they are helpless. And most of the times they are represented as the poorer, uneducated and dumb. (Quayle & Sonn, 2009) also agree with the notion that media are unlikely to be more discriminating means and the agent of inequality. Media perpetuation on ethnic minorities is always on the same path of not being changed. Media should criticize the behavior of the society towards the marginalized but the way of them is different.

Ross (2019) has suggested the alternative media practice for defending the negative portrayal of mainstream media against the ethnic minority with the suspicious concept of 'narrow typecasting' of alternative media run by the minority groups. The low presence of minorities in the media, the complexity of the content production process, and the low presence of alternative media due to profit motive media business fueled the negative stereotyping against the ethnic minorities and the untouchable Dalit community. Even, the significance of the alternative media run by the minorities is potentially remarkable. The media is effective in breaking down existing negative beliefs in the society, building collective identity and improving inter-group relations within the caste-based organizations. The deliberate unequal treatment of the media leads to public accidents and also hurts the self-esteem of ethnic minorities (Ross, 2019).

It is definitely a difficult task to interact with the broader societies without any means of communication. Stereotype is a generalization process of certain groups' identity and the characteristics. For instance, in the context of Nepal, especially, print media are the principal and authentic sources of information. Even the country is in the lower position of literacy rate; people use to buy newspapers for authentic news. Dalits and ethnic minorities already have suffered with the discrimination in the structural manner and more because of negative portrayal, they are stigmatized as well. The construction of ethnic minorities and the Dalits of Nepal is not a different phenomenon either on the historic perception

or on the present scenario. As indicated in various studies, they are perpetuated as the 'weaker', 'causes of the social problems' and 'violent or criminal'; Nepalese deprived groups have also been broadcasted as abnormal groups. Print media presentation against minorities is as similar as others do with impartiality and in stereotypical ways (Maslin, 2002).

Media itself has a power of influencing (McQuail, 2013) which has a direct impact on society and can influence the folks. The use of 'Press' is compulsory to strengthen the society with various components within it. In the definition of McQuail (2013), journalism is not a power itself. Media can control the power and the power holders could take over and miss/use the tool. Likewise, opponents as well could handle the media as a source of 'power'. Other institutions of the society have rare chances to influence the public than the media. The basic aim of the media is to inform rather than to make rumors and to exaggerate the facts. Similarly, the media is not free to be biased and to neglect certain groups in the interest of the ruling class. Neither to ignore nor to pay extra attention is the basic principle of journalism. McQuail believes that the position of the media was peripheral and now it has shifted in the center of the power exercise of the society.

> ...usually views the mainstream news media as acting on behalf of state or ruling class interests as a means of hegemonic control on behalf of the state or a ruling class elite, often without a deliberate intention to do so (McQuail, 2013, p.209).

According to this study, the notion of the above statement by McQuail is absolutely correct with the observation of certain practices of power elites and dominant caste groups in Nepal. During the period of the study, the first phase was quite different with the beliefs that dominant ideologies were totally against the marginalized communities but at the last phase of the study, it did not happen as expected; and the ethnic minority and Dalits had to leave their demands of inclusion, strong legal provision against caste discrimination and the proportional participation in different sectors of the nation. Critical theory, as described by McQuail (2013) is based on the 'modern society' where power elites control the means of production.

Beyond the 'homogenous national identity' (Ferrer & Retis, 2019), a Hindu dominant Brahmin society always hesitates to accept the multicultural and diverse society; as a result, the media represents the mono-linguistic practice with single caste dominant characteristics in their contents. Nepali language is a dominant official language by which more than 100 indigenous languages are not used in the mainstream print media regularly. In this regard, generally the issues of the marginalized minority community have been given reasonable space in the mainstream media. The current debate of the

Nepalese society is based on inequality, exclusion, suppression, ignorance and negligence; either the media is not untouched. The mainstream media has not been able to provide adequate coverage to the issues of ethnic minorities and has also failed to highlight their burning issues of inclusion.

Compared with the studies during the 1970s and 1980s (Signorielli, 2009), when Blacks were represented as weaker than Whites and less useful than white in a consistent way. Likewise, in Nepal, even these days, mainstream print media who serve the citizens with a large circulation, repeat the same incidents behaving towards the minorities. The article on African American portrayals on television by Punyanunt-Carter (2008) shows that the perceived realism of the negative portrayals of Black and in the stereotypical way of presentation as they have the occupational role of weaker. Within the one decade of the period, the situation is still the same in Nepal that the mainstream media presents the contents in a sympathetic way. The study dug out that the contents are flown with a sympathetic way. Globally, while it come the issue of ethnic minority, the issue of emigrant comes together (Forrer & Retis, 2019); likewise, in Nepal the issue of Dalit comes together with the ethnic minorities' groups.

Literature shows that the media identifies different practices of exclusion in the mainstream media towards minorities which refers to the politics of representation of the minorities in the media (Forrer & Retis, 2019). There is a blame for the media for not presenting the contents appropriately regarding the issue of minorities. Forrer and Retis also agree that the media are presenting through biased and criminalizing the images of minorities. Media bias is taken as an activity of discursive exclusion (Forrer & Retis, 2019). According to Herzog (2013), rambling in the exclusion of minorities has a bitter meaning that they are not accepting the excluded people as a human being and it is a structural irrelevance. Thus, the irrelevant people are also the concern of the rest of the society. Herzog (2013) stresses that the prohibition of participation is not the cause of exclusion rather; the structural bias is the reason.

Among the various reasons for this are the private ownership of the media, limited access to the resources of lower-class people and the debatable language and the way of presentation that favors the dominant class (Forrer & Retis, 2019). Even the public media which is owned by the government and some community media in Nepal also are excluding the minorities through their contents and through ignorance. Nepalese ethnic minorities and the Dalits are frequently portrayed with personality characteristics that are stereotypically negative as African Americans were presented in the past decades (Punyannut-Carter, 2008). We can see some characteristics in the Nepalese serials that the indigenous characters are presented as a dumb, rude and uneducated and especially the potter.

Stereotypes are globally recognized terms but it varies from territorial, social, ethnicity, politics and gender base (Lebedko, 2014). The author takes the racial and ethnic stereotypes to be more harmful and dangerous. Some of the ethnic groups are being publicized as criminals, poachers or smugglers in the context of Nepal that led respective caste groups to the crime and to violation. Researchers take a valuable initiative to break some sorts of existing stereotypes beyond the caste-based society in Nepal. Accepting the cultural beliefs of others is a key to reducing the negative stereotypes against ethnic minorities. Lebedko (2014) suggests eliminating the stereotype by erasing the slurs and different slangs against ethnic groups from the dictionary to pretend that the stereotype never exists. But that is not a complete way to get rid of the problem of ignorance and stigmatization. Stereotypes exist in the words, our thoughts and beliefs of our existing mind set. This study has a conclusion based on all the above examples and the incidents that ethnic stereotypes are a common characteristic globally with certain differences but have the same negative role against ethnic minorities. Nepalese print media are not untouched from carrying on the negative stereotype against Dalit and ethnic minorities.

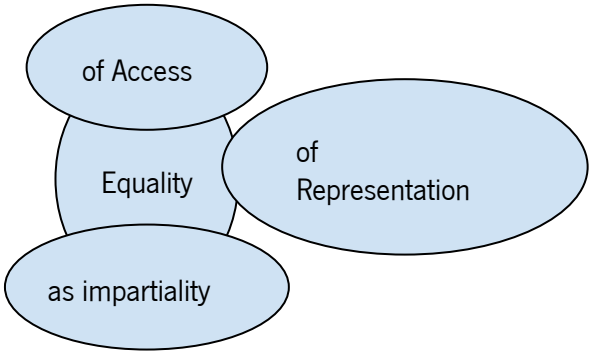
4.4. Equality, Solidarity and Diversity: Should be the basic principle of media

In the definition of McQuail (2013), the media should have an especial principle with the components of equality, solidarity and diversity. In his description, equality is a discipline of freedom and justice. Mass media as a tool of information with certain responsibility has to grab the faith of the folks. According to McQuail, every person has an equal right to be informed with the prior notifications and to inform others even lacking the means of information. Journalists always cannot offer an equal approach to all audiences but the audience should have the right to be informed equally. We cannot say that journalism or the press is responsible to maintain social and economic norms and value ignoring certain groups disrespectfully. McQuail accepts that the media business is always committed to its target goal but does not harm and discriminates against society by segregating the market. The access to the general people as sources and the access to the media is a cross-relational process of media business. According to Ramasubramanian et al. (2017), the content has a super power to misinform the lower-class people which have been published in mainstream print media in a negative stereotypical way.

Media are not free to neglect the audience rather than to celebrate the close relationship with general people and to serve them equally. As suggested by McQuail in his principle of news performance, representation is another component that carries the themes of volume and the diverse contents of all stakeholders. Media should not neglect and pay attention towards all the groups. Media is not given extra rights to control any ideology or to focus extra on certain groups or their interests. Nepalese

minority community is facing the challenges of covering issues of their daily activities in the sense of qualitative value and quantitative counts. In the explanation of McQuail, absolute lack of representation in the media is often seen as detrimental, while in less adverse terms than unnecessary representation. Normal 'powerless' folks are also waiting for the equal attention by the media to them as the 'powerful' are given by. Media tends to be equal towards the marginalized people but in practice they are not as the myth of journalism (McQuail, 2013). No discrimination is expected in any form which breaks the social norms and the rule and regulation by the state. Journalism is a profession with more responsibility and sensitivity.

Figure 4.1. Equality as a principle of news performance according to McQuail (2013, p.65)



Media business has become more controversial in recent years. Giant media houses have controlled the media market by influencing the power centers (McQuail, 2013). During the period of transition in Nepal, the media had been misused, misbehaved and misguided by certain interest groups (David, 2016). Professor Ram Kumar Panday (2007) in an article accepts that the media can destroy the politics as well as the society by diverting the mind of people as the ruling class tends to be. He also adds that maturity is lacking in Nepalese newspapers. When media have the single goal of making profit, the news would be with the selling value and the media house entertains to become a profitable enterprise (Maslin, 2002). Day to day journalism does not require any forms of theory within but the outcomes of the journalism have guided by potential rules and they form certain principles (McQuail, 2013). As journalism is more complex and more significant in its potential consequences, it has to explain the truth and to justify the complexity.

McQuail again suggests that journalists have to follow the self-regulatory norms when the action becomes controversial. Journalists' freedom has never been justifiable without paying responsibility. In Nepal, the aristocracy is making a concerted effort to maintain its monopoly empire by sidelining ethnic politics (Paudel, 2016). This argument of Paudel has some aspect of reality that during the period of

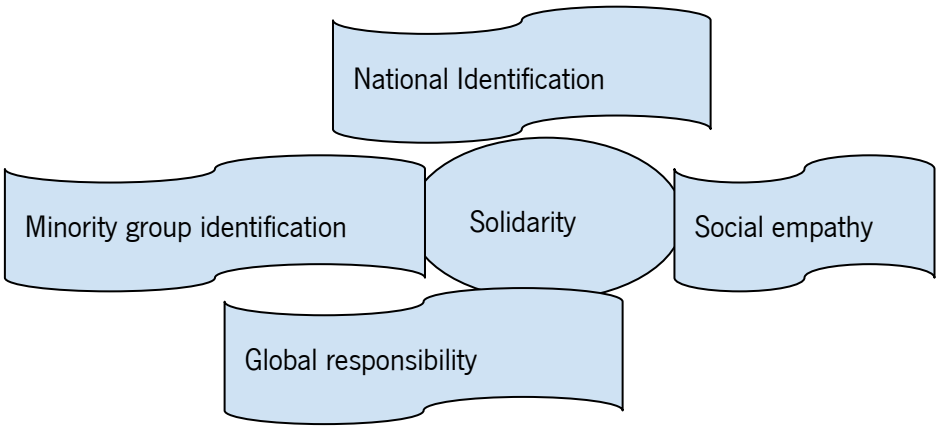
drafting the constitution by constituent assembly, the effort of minority political groups was remarkable but the power elite spent more to deactivate it.

Mass media can and should pay extra efforts for solidarity on the issues of minorities. Media has a potential of being diverse in terms of contents and in terms of sources. As all the cultural groups have their distinct features, media would be the catalyst for enhancing and cooperating with them. The first duty of the media is to work with different caste groups to expose the problems within them and the positive aspects within them (McQuail, 2013).

It is the common duty of all the institutions to accept the presence of different castes and treat them equally, to show solidarity on their demands and to accept the diversity within the society. But the fact sometimes is not true in practice. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the current media has failed to remove the existing inequality in the society and maintaining equality is a far cry.

McQuail (2013) believes that access, representation, content and audience are the elements of diversity as a criterion of news quality. In a democratic society, it is necessary that the diverse contents of the information and the diverse audience to consume the information are the key elements of diversity. Maintaining diversity within the society is a regular process of modern society where mainstream media play a vital role with cooperation of the public institutions. For instance, a general public should have access to information with his/her representation in the content is the complete and qualitative news. Either he/she represents the dominant ideology or the minorities in the sense of number or the opportunity.

Figure 4.2. Dimensions of the solidarity principle according to McQuail (2013, p.68)

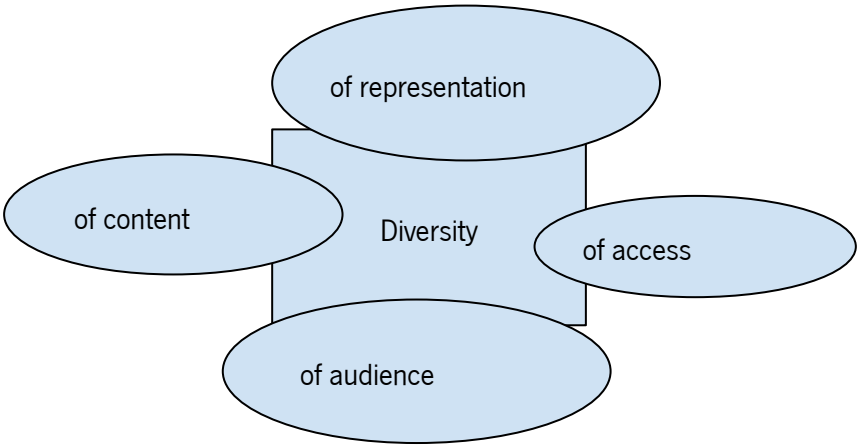


Media provide the space for dominating social class that make social conflict at last and support for discrimination (Quayle & Sonn, 2009). Quayle and Sonn on their article about Australian Muslim

present the real fact of the media representation and construction about the Muslims after American led war against Iraq and Afghanistan. They write that the Western and the supporter countries of American 'war on terror' media intensively present minorities Muslim as 'Others'. Nepalese print media rarely present the issue in a negative form but they have been neglected and ignored adequately. As Australian Muslims were presented as having the link with terrorists, Nepalese ethnic minorities have a negative portrayal in the media as they have been criminals since the past. For example, Tamang and other Matwalis (liquor drinkers) have an image of criminals and smugglers in the society. Nepalese media are giving extra focus to the dominant groups as they have been given the 'structural dividends' since the past. Caste based discrimination is an inhuman practice which we can take as 'the stain on civilization'.

It is possible to change the law whenever you want, but it is difficult to change the state of mind which has been carried out with permanent set up. As an alternative to the traditional mainstream media, ethnic minority communities have become more active in developing their own media (Ferrer & Retis, 2019). In the context of Nepal, a practice of alternative media establishment has been started from different caste-based organizations and the Dalit movements. They are trying to break the old notions. 'Jagaran Media' and 'Indigenous Television' are the examples of alternative media practices from ethnic and Dalit communities. Mainstream media plays a publicly representative role in the game of unequal social relation and cultural power (Cottle, 2000). As Cottle, the interest of the power group propagated by the media only differentiates between different strata and sections of the society and it leads to a state of discrimination. But the media can play a role in preserving social existence and promoting cultural diversity.

Figure 4.3. Diversity as a criterion of news quality according to McQuail (2013, p.66)



4.5. News portrayals

> ... that news media are one of the key factors having an impact on the public's negative opinion and attitudes toward minority groups such as refugees and immigrants (Joris & Cock, 2019, p.159).

The above description of media portrayal and the effect on the public is a reality-based statement of this study related to Nepalese mainstream print media which are representing the negative opinion and attitudes towards ethnic minorities and the Dalits in a sympathetic way. News media already set the frames to understand the content they disseminate,and its intention (Joris & Cock, 2019). The argument of Gamson & Modigliani (1989) has supported the notion that media has a pre-dominant power of influencing by which they publish a certain issue in the way they want to and underestimate the others. As media have a direct relationship with politics and the opinion of people, it can have an active role In contributing to the fight against stereotypes about ethnic minorities (Joris & Cock, 2019). The study wanted to understand how the media portrays ethnic minorities and Dalits and in what context, national daily newspapers report them?

Very rare incidents are likely to be published in the mainstream news media where innumerable issues are neglected or be missed. Only the mega-stories (Chung, 2018) are the serious concern of the news media. For instance, the Twin tower attack 9/11, Japanese Tsunami and devastating earthquake 2015 in Nepal are the content that attracts the media attention globally (Chung, 2018). Media as a business enterprise has a single motive of making profit so the basic intention is guided by the commercial value. The productions (news materials) of news media are not only based on the communicational theories but also reflection of the structure of media industries and the involvement of the power elites as the founder (Cottle, 2000). For example, if a publication house of a newspaper is owned by Brahmin, it would never publish a content that scolds Brahmanism. News media are sometimes, if not, taken as a medium of spreading ruling ideas of minorities, are highly hyping the constructed beliefs about ethnicity (Ross, 2019).

News media are misusing their influential capacity to build an unnatural relation with the power elites of the society in a formal way. They only give an answer of 'what' rather than 'why' on distribution of resources but neglect the traditional and structural inequalities towards the ethnic minorities (Abel, 2004). Lack of manpower in the news rooms and the commercial driven news media neglect the issues of 'minor'. Erigha's (2015)research raised the issue of stereotyping and lacking of social diversity in Hollywood film and television contents. The result of the study informs that the lower presence of

stakeholders differs the volume of contents and the frequency. Nepalese print media are predominantly Hill Hindu Brahmins sphere, where ethnic minorities and the Dalits are highly under-represented in various roles, including reporting, editing and in the subjects of the stories. The lower number of the participants always differs in the contents.

No numbers of the issues and the contents are counted as the representational quantity at all rather than, the quality of the characters in the content is also a debatable issue. As in Hollywood, the representation of the Black is always within narrow roles and among under-privileged roles (Ross, 2019), Nepalese news contents as well represent Dalits and ethnic minorities as a deprived and underrated group. It is important to shape the views of certain caste groups that they are being discriminated by different forms in a positive way . Media have a crucial potential to expose the social behavior towards the minorities and to contibute to favour equality in their contents. Therefore, media need to be more conscious and not to reproduce the negative stereotypes towards ethnic minorities (Mastro, 2015).

Mastro (2015) presents the fact that mainstream media, either it is television news or advertising; the contents are not accurate for ethnic minorities. Media similarly, reproducing the power of the dominant class. For instance, the nature of media involvement in the production of materials regarding festivals of Hindu as a campaigning never has been serious on the festivals of indigenous communities. News media are drawing a clear line between power elites and the marginal people by neglecting and ignoring; behaving as 'us' and 'them'. Mastro (2015) again explains that audiences have various choices on media contents depending on the nature of the media and might have chances to exaggerate the image of ethnic and racial minorities. He has taken an example of American television practice that is in improving mode but still in news channels and in print, Blacks are being presented as violent and criminal. Nepalese examples are quite different from western exercise of portrayals that present minorities in a negative way.

Audiences expect reliable information about all the groups from the news so ethnic minorities should have accurate and balanced presentations in the news media. Still all the studies based on inequality in the media have shown the issue as problematic and as an 'unsolvable' issue. Dukes and Gaither (2017) express that news reporting frequently telecasts ethnic minorities as the negative characters of the society. Nepalese print media show them as helpless, marginalized, excluded in an empathetic way. Ethnic minorities are presented as uneducated, deprived from health service and as poor as the other dominant groups. Only some sub-castes are presented as criminals such as Tamang and Chepang.

Ross (2019) has stated that the examples of Australia were news media representation of Chinese Australians, Lebanese Australians and Sudanese Australians as violent, criminal, terrorists and illegal immigrants. This is as cruel as the bomb barding towards the victims indicating them as criminals.

Nepalese print media has not any special editorial policy to disseminate the fact that represents ethnic minorities and Dalits as criminals and in other negative forms. Hence, some surnames are presented in headlines of news that have been constructing the minorities as a criminal group. For an instance, news heading tends to be like, 'Tamang arrested for killing youth', 'Chepang accused of poaching rhino absconding', 'Badi women active in prostitution' and Sherpas are presented as potters of Mount Everest climbers. Here in this example the surnames 'Tamang', 'Chepang', 'Sherpa' and 'Badi' are frequently presented as murderers, smugglers, potters and prostitutes respectively. (Bishop, 2016) writes that ethnic and racial minorities have been criticized for their destructive influence on public opinion. We can agree on this statement of the Bishop (2016) with some arguments that are not properly reliable in the context of Nepal.

Researcher Ross (2019) shows that the suddenly changed media representations can uplift the antagonism towards ethnic minorities groups. Of course! Some sorts of examples of Nepalese media practices are also fertilizing the public antagonism within the society. Studies show that in societies where Black people have a significant presence, the news stories published on the victims as a rude mentality of crime and most of the time negative portrayals to prove them as guilty. There is a clear barrier in the print media contents and the ethnic minority which represent them as 'lower', 'weaker' and 'problematic' (Ross, 2019, p. 5).

Concluding the analysis of different literatures related with this study, Nepalese print media almost have the same scenario of media portrayals with the global trends of inequality. Comparing Black minorities with Nepalese ethnic minorities and the Dalits, we findsimilar experiences of media representations that hurt and exclude them from the mainstream of society. Some differences with international media practices towards racial and ethnic minorities are noticeable. Nepalese print media have a lower volume of coverage but the way of presentation is satisfactory compared with American, European and Australian examples. Criminalization is not held in Nepalese mainstream daily newspapers forcefully. Some coincidence happens in Nepalese context that one can imagine the media portrayal as in a negative form but, intentionally, the media seem to be balanced.

Compared with neighboring countries like India and China, Nepalese media are more responsible towards the public. Caste based discrimination is an equal practice of Indian sub-continent. Likewise, media performance is neither balanced nor in a critical mode in this region. The core result of the media representation which limits the resources of ethnic minorities is that they are neglected and they are missing the chances to be respectful members of the society. Regular marginalization of the minorities is the reasons that drag the underprivileged group into discrimination and exclusion and the media are witnessing this critical situation. Ethnic minorities are underrepresented in the news in terms of their achievements, their social roles and their professionalism while they are overrepresented in negative stereotypical ways such as, being poor, uneducated, in poor health status and many more negative views. In some cases, media contents seem to focus mainly on negative aspects of caste identity.

5. Research Methodology

To address the research questions of this dissertation, a qualitative research methodology has been adopted. Both qualitative and quantitative methods have their own distinctive features but, in this research, qualitative natures of data are implicated as per the character of this research. Denzin & Lincoln (2008) in their book *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* write the definition of the qualitative research and the methodology that:

> Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive; material practices that make the world visible. These practices... turn the world into a series of representations including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to sense, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (p. 4).

Qualitative methods are best for describing, interpreting, contextualizing and gaining in-depth insight into specific concepts or phenomena (Stake, 2010). Generally, qualitative research aims to find out the new thoughts by explaining the existing states of certain phenomena which are taken as data. Applying such methods was essential for this research. Doing qualitative research is not always a theoretically driven undertaking (Silverman, 2010). Some practical knowledge best suits this method.

In order to investigate how ethnic minorities and low caste groups are presented in the news or in other contents and how frequently or adequately the issues of ethnic minorities, marginalized, disadvantaged and low caste peoples (untouchable) are presented in the newspaper, is the main task of this research. The research has used the qualitative method to capture both immediate connections as well as the broader context for the research. The qualitative methodology has been compromised by different methods such as content analysis of selected print media, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews of informants to address the research questions (Patton, 2002).

According to the literatures, in qualitative research, the analysis should be based on language, image and observations (Silverman, 2010) that's why certain daily newspapers, which are the leading media, have been chosen for textual observation in this research. The various dimensions of the news have been analyzed in this project. Discourse analysis has its significant role to find out the relation between the text with the society (Carvalho, 2008). To find out the pattern of discrimination and exclusion in

social process by the media, one can use the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a tool of refining data.

As a complementar approach, in order to contextualize and prepare the sripts for the focus groups and in-depht interviews, this project monitored several news and opinions related to the ethnic minority and Dalit issue shared on Facebook and on Tweeter for 4 months (November 2020 to March 2021) as reference since they were very useful for understanding the current debate on inclusion. Likewise, some YouTube channels are also visited frequently which cast contents upon ethnic minorities and Dalit issues. 'Samata Foundation' is one of the most visited channels in this period. Other relevant YouTube Channel is *Dalit lives matter Nepal* which broadcasts the contents about Dalits. Most of the Nepalese online media are observed and some of the major international media also monitored for this purpose.

This reflects the volume of news that replicates the way of presenting issues of minorities. Around 3 dozen related materials have been saved on Facebook and then studied thoroughly. Observing social media is just to gain an idea about the news which covers the issues of ethnic and racial minorities and to know the sense of the media house towards the targeted community.

5.1. Research Design

To address the questions raised by the research, three major methods have been designed. At the time of data collection, all methods as mentioned in the research proposal are used. Texts from two leading national dailies, focus group discussion as well as the in-depth interviews are used as data collection tools.

A discourse analysis method is generally used to address research questions by analyzing news stories published on defined study period. The headlines or the main text has been analyzed. The legislation and historical records could also be used for analysis in this method in accordance with the relavance. The method, content analysis is widely accepted for analyzing the textual data. However, the method is sometimes criticized (Silverman, 2003). But textual analysis is the principal method in this research as it is a sufficient way to be in findings. Descriptive as well as exploratory study may serve as a basis for clarifying concepts, establishing priorities for further research. Gathering information about practical possibilities for carrying out research in specific real-life settings has been done.

Jointly, focus group discussion aims to focus on the topics of research questions among the stakeholders. Population has been selected from the ethnic/racial minority group and other samples as

demanded according to the study. Large numbers of the population represented the so-called untouchable community. The identity of the population such as gender, ethnicity, age, race, education, profession and level of marital status are participatory in the phase of sample selection.

In-depth interviews have been taken with the respondents (see the name list and their organizational affiliation in Appendix A), who are directly or indirectly involved in the production phase of news. Likewise, who actively monitors the contents from the respected newspapers and the activists from the civil society who are actively participating in the equality movements for marginalized communities, are the respondents for interviews. All of the interviews have been taken by social sites like messenger, because of the distance. Average time of the interview is around 40 minutes each.

For the research purpose, four focus groups have been organized in Nepal and one in Portugal with Nepalese community. All of the participants were pre-informed for the discussion and signed an informed consent. As possible as I could, the participants for the focus group discussions were selected proportionally on the basis of caste representation. Gender balance was also tried to be maintained but there is always an issue of rare representation of women in social discussion in Nepalese context.

5.2. Nature and Source of Data

Primary data are collected directly by the researcher himself from various data sources. The data which are used by others in their previous research are called secondary data (Vitor, 2017). Using different tools, I have collected primary data and have used secondary data from various resources.

Collected data always have been in rough forms, so data needs to be organized and to be processed for analyzing with the best possibilities (Cragg & Malkiel, 1982). To make quick accessible, qualitative data should be made smaller in size, need to be familiar with the data and it needs to be coded in various aspects. That is why data would be easily readable, understandable and easy to modify for various titles and themes (Lune & Berg, 2017).

Specific data required for this research is based on both primary and secondary qualitative data sources. Collected data are qualitative in nature. Archives from the respective newspapers and records of Press Council Nepal's library, are the major source for primary data. Interviews from different respondents and focus groups were also used as a source of primary data. Database of CBS (Central Bureau of Statistics) Nepal has been used as a secondary data source. Likewise, video clips and other

audio-visual materials are used as reference. Database of Tribhuvan University (TU), central library is also used as another source of secondary data.

Raw data might be in the form of field notes, recorded interviews or in the form of illustrations (Lune & Berg, 2017). Data are organized as they require their specific form, for instance, recorded interviews are transcribed; selected newspapers are cut down as per the need of the numbers of news to be analyzed. Likewise, recorded audio from the focus group is also transcribed.

5.3. Methods of data collection

5.3.1. Texts from Newspapers for Content analysis

Linda Haggarty (2009, p.99) in her article 'What is content analysis says' that,

> Content analysis is a research method which allows the qualitative data collected in research to be analyzed systematically and reliably so that generalizations can be made from them in relation to categorizations of interest to the researcher.

Likewise, Berg & Latin (2008) describe content analysis as a systematic examination of certain content to explain patterns, themes, assumptions and meanings. Both of these definitions declare that contents from certain subject areas are examined by using different guidelines called content analysis.

To capture and represent the trends of ethnic inequality in news framing and representation in Nepalese media, the study has analyzed the news from Kantipur Daily (total 70 issues) based on its contents between 2004 and 2013 and the contents of Gorkhapatra National daily from 2005 to 2014 (The Rising Nepal, English version of Gorkhapatra daily).

This study has chosen the Nepali publication of Kantipur Media House, *Kantipur Daily* because of its high coverage of daily issues as well as for its accessibility for most of the Nepalese readers compared to its English edition *The Kathmandu Post*. *Kantipur Daily,* the co-publication of media giant Kantipur Media Group, which was established in the following year of first people movement 1990, is taken as an agenda setter (Paudel, 2017), it is more reliable to choose this newspaper than others. 10 percent of total news in Nepali language has been translated in English as per the request of the supervisor. The study randomly selected one week per year over ten years to analyze the contents. Total of seventy-seven news are selected from Kantipur Daily (see news headlines on Appendix B).

Similarly, this study has chosen the Nepali publication of Gorkhapatra Sansthan, *The Rising Nepal daily* for analyzing its relevant texts, articles and pictures. *Gorkhapatra publication house* is considered as one of the suitable media for content analysis on the basis of state-owned media and its reach to each and every government and private office. It is said that Gorkhapatra only serves the government. The status of this newspaper is more liable to be compared with any other privately owned news media as its fairness and inclusiveness. Similarly, all the government notices and information are published in *Gorkhapatra*. For the content analysis of *Gorkhapatra*, the study has randomly selected one week per year over a ten years period (total 70 issues) between 2005 and 2014 in the ordered sampling frame. Total 42 research topic related headlines of news from The Rising Nepal have been selected (see news headlines on Appendix C).

The period is selected because it was the base year to the second people's movement in Nepal called 'Loktantrik Andolan II' (Democratic movement, 2006) and the time before the promulgation of new constitution and implementation by constituent Assembly for the first time in Nepal in 2015. Caste/ethnic/racial identity-based violence or movement and the issues were most talked about and raised in this period. Nepal was almost on the central political debate of state restructuring based on ethnicity.

Gorkhapatra Corporation publishes several newspapers and some monthly magazines such as *Muna* for children, *Yuva Manch* for youth. Among them *Gorkhapatra National Daily* is most popular among Nepalese community. It has a century-long history. Most of the older people used to say GORKHAPATRA for all the other newspapers. Kantipur publication has also made a great contribution to Nepali newspapers history because of its professionalism and the previously played major role on republican movement.

Both the publication houses and newspapers are the leading media houses and newspapers of Nepal. Both of these media houses have the widest coverage in Nepal. Still, both of the media houses are the benchmarks for the news materials. In contrast, according to Djankov et al. (2003), ownership of the media is the first condition to recognize the functioning of the media. The following statement on private and state-owned media best suits to Nepali context.

> ... holds that a government-owned media outlet would discord and manipulate information to entrench the incumbent politicians, preclude voters and consumers from making informed decisions, and ultimately undermine both democracy and markets. Because private and independent media supply alternative views to the public, they enable individuals to choose among political candidates, goods and

> securities-with less fear of abuse by unscrupulous politicians, producers and promoters (Djankov et al., 2003 p.342).

Selecting state owned and private media is more significant as we can analyze the trend of news framing and coverage in terms of ethnicity in both types of media houses. A state-owned media house represents the government policy as well. More affluent people or the people from higher economic class are more engaged with English journalism as low caste people and people from minority groups have very hardly have that quality of English language capacity. On this ground it would be important to select the Nepalese newspaper for the investigation of inequality among higher caste and lower caste, majority and minority, higher class and lower class.

5.3.1.1. Brief introduction of Gorkhapatra

Gorkhapatra is a publication of *Gorkhapatra Sansthan* (corporation), owned by the Nepal government since a century back in Nepali language. The first date of publication of Gorkhapatra is 6th May 1901 which is the milestone of Nepalese newspaper history and still a reliable source of information. It speaks specially the voice of the government but trying to be balanced. During Rana rule Gorkhapatra was directly operated under Rana and the journalists had to work only in the favor of the government (Malla, 1983). In terms of inclusion, Gorkhapatra comparatively includes the voice of all citizens, published in different languages of Nepal. It was a weekly but it took 60 years to become daily until 1961.

Gorkhapatra itself is a movement of Nepalese journalism history. Gorkhapatra has its sister publication named *The Rising Nepal* in English language. It has launched its online version as well to cover the audience all over the world. Gorkhapatra is the first broadsheet daily newspaper in Nepal (Kharel, 2014). In the era of autocratic Panchayat, only the government owned media had a strong monopoly in the country. Gorkhapatra and The Rising Nepal (English Edition of Gorkhapatra) were the only source of information for the folk (Onta, 2001). Gorkhapatra does not have any alignment with any of the interests directly but being as a state-owned newspaper, it is always serving the interest of the government. The ownership of the particular media has a significant role in agenda settings (Djankov et al., 2003). Currently the editor of Gorkhapatra is Shreedhar Acharya. Devanagari is the official font of Gorkhapatra but *Rising Nepal*, edited by Bhimsen thapaliya since 17 of August 2020 serves the readers who entertain with English language. A grade 'A' newspaper of Nepal as categorised by the Press council of Nepal, Gorkhapatra can be visited on www.gorkhapatra.online.com .

5.3.1.2. Brief introduction of Kantipur

Kantipur broadsheet daily is no doubt the number one selling newspaper in Nepal as the publication claims the circulation of 360,000 daily. According to the Press Council of Nepal (2018), Kantipur is the 'A' graded national daily newspaper. The year 1993 is the new era in printing journalism in Nepal, when Kantipur started its daily publication challenging the state-owned newspaper (Onta, 2001). A Nepali language (Devanagari script)[15] the newspaper was established after the restoration of multiparty democracy under 'Kantipur media group' (KMG) on 20th February 1993.

It has several sister publications as well like, *The Kathmandu Post edited by Sanjeev Satganiya (21 February 2020)*, *Saptahik, Nepal magazine* and *Nari magazine*. The newspaper has a wide range of circulation in the country and diaspora focused publication from Qatar and an online version along with English language. The newspaper does not have any direct alignment with political parties or any other interest groups. Wider circulation of this newspaper could be the role model for agenda setting for others as well. Sudheer Sharma is the current Chief Editor (August 6, 2019) and Kailash Sirohiya is the president of Kantipur Media Group which operates the radio station and the television station. Kantipur can be visited on www.kantipur.ekantipur.com . All of the publications of KMG are published in colorful pages.

5.3.2. In-depth Interviews

In-depth interview is one of the suitable techniques for qualitative research. It involves conducting intensive one to one talk with the selected respondents to explore their views and ideas on certain subjects (Boyce & Neale, 2016). It is used when we need personal knowledge on a certain subject area. In-depth interview is a reliable source of different data then other general methods of data collection. In-depth interviews have been taken as one of the key techniques in this research. Interviews have taken with the social activists, leaders of the different ethnic groups, journalists working in study selected daily newspapers, political leaders and selective readers of newspapers. Some of the retired journalists are also taken as respondents (Name list and their designation are listed in Appendix A).

These people could display their knowledge on this ethnic politics and they could share their exclusive experience of practice of inequality in Nepalese society as well as in the Nepalese print media. They could share their experience on the stereotyping towards low caste people and indigenous and other people from minority groups. Considering the selection of the populations for conducting the interview,

[15] The Devanagari script is the fourth most widely accepted writing system in the world with the composition of 47 primary characters including 14 vowels and 33 consonants and being used over 120 languages around Indian subcontinent.

the questionnaire was semi-structured. Major questions addressing the core idea of the research were made while conducting the interviews. Meanwhile, some additional questions were also asked to dig out their ideas and experiences so far. The language of the interviews is Nepali. Large part of the respondents spoke their mother language but most of them were comfortable in Nepali language too.

5.3.3. Focus group discussion

Simple meaning of focus group is the assembly of certain general people, who would be asked for their views on certain subjects. Sometimes people might be dedicated to their knowledge. This method aims to collect required data from a purposefully selected group of people rather than from a broader population which seem larger but not worthy for the study (Nyumba et al., 2018).

The study has taken a total of four focus group discussions around Kathmandu region. Kathmandu, as a capital of Nepal has the great diversity of the caste and ethnicity (Ahuti, 2014). The focus group discussions have been carried out in Kavrepalanchok, and Bhaktapur districts as these districts are known for great caste/ethnic variety. In addition, one other focus group has been conducted in Lisbon, the capital city of Portugal. The first reason for conducting the events in a different setting is to take the opinion on the national issues by the expats and the reason is because of the time constraints. I raised the issues during the focus group discussions as a moderator. The focus group discussion included people from various caste/ethnicity groups as much as possible and from different gender and occupational groups. Even though they are from different castes carrying their mother tongue, the discussions were held in Nepali language. As a moderator, I floored the questions related to research objectives which were prepared earlier.

5.3.3.1. Questions of focus group discussions

This study has floored some reliable questions as assistance for the participants which are closely related with the principal questions of the research.

- How Nepalese print media cover the issues of ethnic minorities and the Dalits?
- Do you think that the coverage is in the favor of minorities?
- Do you think the representation is on behalf of ethnic minorities?
- Do you agree that Nepalese mainstream print media portrayed negatively for minorities?
- Do you have any examples that the media treat towards minorities as ‘them’?
- What do you suggest the media do to cover the issues of ethnic minorities and low caste people sufficiently in a positive manner?

- What do you want to suggest to the editorial team and the media persons to behave equally towards ethnic and Dalit minorities?

The focus groups discussion would be fruitful, if the process is taken properly (Morgan & Spanish, 1984; Lobo & Cabecinhas, 2010). The outcome from the process depends on its discussion so as possible as I can; I have maintained the general rules of informed consent. I made the environment comfortable for the participants, that's why they participated openly in the interaction and shared their experiences and feelings as they were the witnesses of the social behavior. For my record, all the participants were requested to sing in the attendance sheet and they agreed to do so. No special socio-demographic has to be described separately for focus group discussion because the participants represent the common nature of the Nepalese social demographics.

5.4. Sampling

The purposive sampling method has been applied for the sampling. Purposeful sampling is being used broadly in qualitative research for reorganization and filtering information-rich cases during the most effective uses of limited resources (Patton, 2002).

The required study populations were contacted via direct approach. The population living in the study area (especially low caste people, ethnic minority people and people from higher castes) has been the universe of this study. Local leaders, leaders from particular ethnic groups/castes, local governance personnel also were used as study samples.

Various stakeholders working in social institutions or I/NGOs, social scientists, social advocates, and social leaders; likewise, journalists from major media operating nationally were requested for interviews as key informants. The sample has been determined on the base of purposive sampling which means that the participants will be able to answer the question with their experiences. A former correspondent of different international media was also interviewed during the study as he has a good knowledge of international practice of inclusiveness in contents.

Choosing samples from enormous numbers of newspapers is another difficult task but it has been done scientifically and systematically. Systematic sampling is a method of selecting required and desired samples from the total population in a constant interval. All the variables are given the equal opportunity to be selected (Lavrakas, 2008). At first, I confirmed the years for selecting the newspapers and then started choosing samples. Unfortunately, the library of press council Nepal did not have an archive of all

volumes of the newspaper. So, I had to skip the targeted week and to take the following week of the same year and the same month.

5.5. Data analysis

The data were analyzed on the Discourse analysis methods. Discourse analysis method is a useful modality of data analysis on qualitative research. Usually, it is used in a set of texts, such as interview transcripts as well as the text from selected news cuttings (Wal, 2002). Researchers closely examine the data to identify common themes, topics, ideas and patterns of meaning that come repeatedly (Carvalho, 2008). Critical discourse analysis is taken as a single method by which media contents are evaluated but this method is not a complete method itself. Critics say that this method interprets rather than analyzes. First of all, the collected data have been transcribed and translated into English because they were in Nepali language and then analysed in different themes and then they are justified into different patterns. Predetermined research questions are always in the centre while analyzing the data.

Over the dates between 2004 and 2014, the numbers of caste/ethnicity/race-based news or stories were counted, on what pages the news or stories were published are noted. The thematic areas covered are coded, and the impact factor is recorded (that is, whether the story was negative and had the potential to increase caste conflict or whether the news or stories had presented the caste or ethnic issues in negative ways). It was also noted whether the media presented the issues of ethnic minorities and low caste people adequately or sufficiently. The codes used were the same for *Kantipur* and *Gorkhapatra (The Rising Nepal)*. These consistencies are taken into account as they are significant for comparison in order to demonstrate similarities and differences between the print media's coverage and presentation of caste/ethnicity-based issues from public and private outlets. The unit of analysis was the same as for the both cases of private owned or state-run or state-owned newspapers.

Likewise, the same method of discourse analysis modality has been applied in the case of focus groups and in-depth interviews. I have closely examined the common themes such as- topics, ideas and patterns of meaning that came repeatedly. In the words of Silverman (2000), small numbers of text or the headlines are analysed in qualitative research for various reasons. Different news headings are analyzed in this research to gain the satisfactory answer for research questions as well as full texts of the story also are discussed.

5.6. Ethical issues

Avoiding the contamination of the researcher's personal ideology and beliefs (Weber, 1946), some ethical issues should be addressed during the research period. While conducting the research on certain subjects, the researcher must ensure the privacy, welfare and the rights of the people themselves and communities related to the studies (Lune & Berg, 2017). The ethical issues related to this study have been greatly considered. Ethical issues are taken as a process and elements of reducing harm to the participants of a particular research project. Trustworthiness of researchers sometimes made ethical review unnecessary tasks (Wassenaar, 2006). The anonymity of the study population and informed consent might be taken into account as per the rule but in my case, it was not so mandatory to take consents from participants.

All the study populations and key informants have been given the full information about the research questions and objectives of the research. The written consent form was given to everyone and requested to sign the form to gain their consent for taking part in the study but the respondents did not take this issue seriously. The information the participants provided has been kept confidential and only be used for this research purpose. Only the researcher and the supervisor will have access to the information they have provided. The anonymity of the participant and confidentiality of the data have been highly performed (Kvale, 1996).

The perception of the study population is linked to many cultural aspects as well as past events related to caste/ethnicity-based identity issues in Nepal. The cultural and traditional issues are always highly sensitive as they have interconnection socio-cultural and historical discrimination. Therefore, the study has taken special precautions about the cultural and social sensitivity in the process of focus group discussion and other interview sessions. In the process of focus group discussions, I had played the role of moderator so that each participant had an opportunity to express their views equally. Moreover, as Creswell (2003) mentioned, participants would not be purposefully put at risk and Babbie (2015) urged social research should never injure the people being studied. As a researcher, I have given a high priority to any socially and culturally sensitive issues. All data will be kept confidential.

Here are some points that are usefully accepted as ethical manners during this research (Ekeanyanwu, 2012 p.143).

1. Never cook up the data to reflect your expectations of what you think may be considered acceptable by your peers.

2. Never falsify the fudge date of results of your research for whatsoever reasons, which is highly unethical and unacceptable.
3. Get the consent of research participants before involving them in your research project which could be a serious violation of privacy.
4. Report all legitimate alterations you made in the data in the final report.
5. Plagiarism is to be avoided and always acknowledge sources and references used and cited.

5.7. Socio-demography of the populations

According to sociologists, socio demographic is a combination of social and demographic factors. As they defined the term, different characteristics are the components of socio demographics. I have chosen a total of 139 people directly for different purposes. 16 people for an in-depth interview were selected and 123 people were involved in focus group discussions. In the research, the population has been chosen from different geographical areas. Likewise, age, gender, marital status, religion, income level, level of education, caste/ethnicity, political involvement, and profession are the basic characteristics of the populations. The study population has covered all the characters that are defined as the characters of the demographics.

According to the CBS (Central Bureau of Statistics), Nepal had approximately 26.5 million of population in the census of 2011. Nepal does census at every 10 years of interval so that the formal data is little bit lower than the actual data. But the number has increased up to 28 million this year, says a report of the United Nation. Even though the 'population watch' set by CBS claimed that the population has crossed the line of 30 million in June 2020.

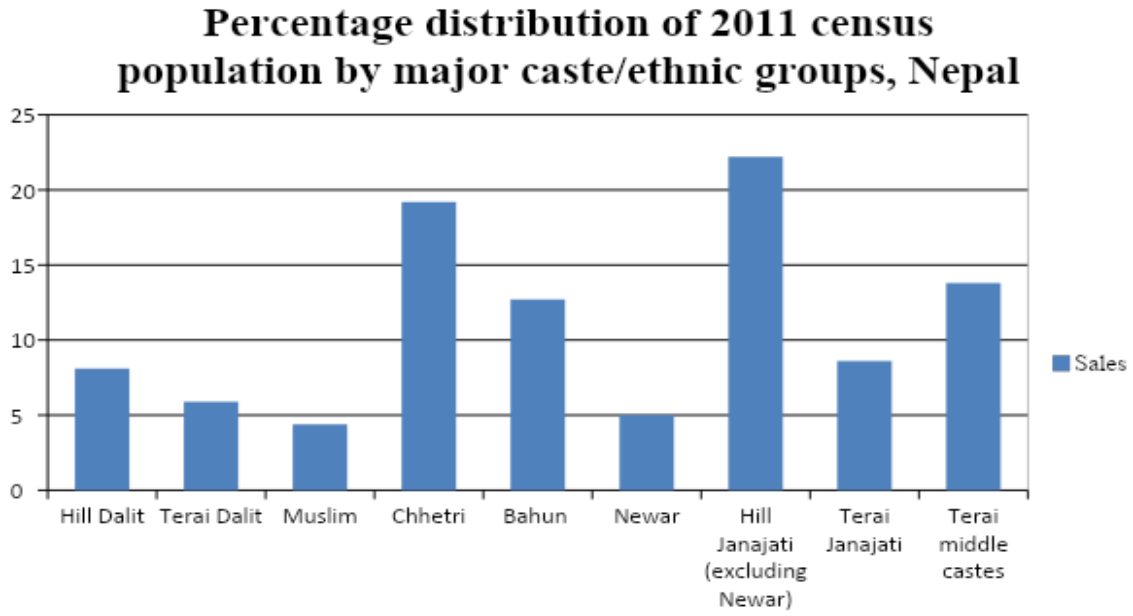
The census of 2011 identified 123 languages around the country, which was an increased number from 92, reported on the previous census in 2001. 96% of the total population speak 19 mother tongues whereas 4% of the population converse with 104 languages. Nepali language is used by 44.64% of the total population in the 2011 census. It was reported 48% in the previous census. The large portion of the total population of Nepal is monolingual and 41% of the population has at least a second language (PMN, 2014).

Literacy rate was 54% in the last census, which increased with 67% in the present counting. Kathmandu, the capital city has the highest literacy rate and the lowest is in the district of Rautahat. Literacy rate of women is lower than the man following 54% from 43% in the previous census. According to a CBS report 2014, 125 castes were identified in the 2011 census which number was increased

from 100 in the previous census of 2001. Because of the peoples' movement of 1991, people had taken the identity issue seriously, so following years are more conscious in terms of caste identity. Chhetri is the largest caste in terms of their number with 16.6% followed by Hill Brahman, Magar, Tharu, Tamang, Newar, Kami (untouchable), Musalman, Yadav and Rai (PMN, 2014).

These 125 castes/ethnic groups are grouped into 9 broad major groupings: Chhetri, Bahun, Hill Janajati, Terai Janajati, Terai other castes, Hill Dalit, Terai Dalit and Muslim. In addition to the identified groups, CBS has codes for (1) Dalit others, (2) Janajati others, (3) Terai others, (4) Undefined others and (5) Foreigners. The first three are added to the above relevant categories, while 'unidentified others' and 'foreigners' have been excluded due to their very low size (Population Situation Analysis of Nepal, United Nations Fund, 2017).

Graphics 5.1. Percentage distribution of 2011 Census: Population by major caste/ethnic groups, Nepal



Source: National Population and Housing Census 2011

Nepal has diverse cultures, languages, religions as well as the geography. Despite those diversities, Nepal has an identity of 'unity in diversity' all over the world. For the first time in the history of the first democratic constitution 1991, the state had declared the nation as a multi-religious, multilingual and multi-ethnic country. There are still some arguments from activists that the country is not yet an inclusive state as mentioned in the legislation (PMN, 2014).

Nepal's social inclusion discussion is mainly based and focused on caste and ethnicity issues. While the inclusion issue is taken as a key component of the equality of the society, this study started a debate of inclusion in the media and by the media.

Table 5.1. Demographics of Nepal according to the census 2011 (Demographic Profile 2014)

Most Populous Caste/Ethnic groups	**Number of populations**	**Percent**
Chhetri (Khas)	4398053	16.6
Brahmin (Khas)	3226903	12.2
Magar	1877733	7.3
Tharu	1737470	6.6
Newar	1539830	5.9
Tamang	1321933	5
Sanyasi/Dasnami	1287633	4.8
Khas-Kami	1258554	4.7
Muslim (taken as a single religious group)	1164255	4.4
Yadav	1054458	4
Rai	620004	2.3
Gurung	522641	1.9
Sherpa	472862	1.8
Thakuri	452623	1.6
Limbu	387300	1.44
Sarki	374816	1.41
Teli	369688	1.4
Chamar/Harijan/Ram	335893	1.3
Kori/Kushwaha	306393	1.1

Most Populous Caste/Ethnic groups	**Number of populations**	**Percent**
Musahar	234490	0.88
Kurmi	231129	0.87
Dhanuk	219808	0.82
Dusadh/Pasawan	208910	0.79
Kumal	121196	0.46
Damaii/Dholi	112946	0.42
Sunuwar	100000	0.38
Other (more than 100 caste/ethnic groups	4229290	15.96

6. Analysis of the data and findings

Different qualitative data are analyzed in this chapter to find out the way of news casting of ethnic minorities of Nepal and of untouchable groups. Balanced behaviour of the reporters could make media equal towards ethnic minorities but group interest of the journalists is one of the obstacles of fair reporting on ethnic activities and their day-to-day reporting (Rai, 2005). This study aims to find out the trends of contemporary Nepalese print media concerning their coverage and the way of representing the ethnic minorities and low caste groups. In general, how Nepalese mainstream print media disseminate the issues of ethnic minorities and the dalits issues is the main task of this study.

Reportings about minorities rarely are positive, sufficient or do not have discriminatory factors (Ross, 2019) the media practitioners are also to be blamed of these practices. This research has analyzed different data in a relative way. Previously, several researches in this field found out that media have missed the chance to be balanced. Rather than delivering equal representation, positively narrating as problem solving, and with no negative stereotypes (Pietikainen, 2005), definitely, the coverage of ethnic minorities is often biased or partial favouring majority groups (Ross, 2019). This research mainly aims to find out the kind of ethnic stereotypes, way of presentation, comparison with upper caste and continuation of inequality in Nepalese print media.

To analyze the results, data are essential factors of the research process. Data analysis is a process of refining the data to generate new ideas and a new principle by Ih one can easily explain the pattern of the scenario (Vans, 2002). Since data analysis is the processIwhich data is analyzed systematically and in a logical way, all collected data are interpreted with the theme of the study. Data themselves are raw without refining them (Obikeze, 1990). In the words of Obikeze, unanalyzed data have no meaning at all. In this research, generally data is collected by three ways such as il-depth interviews, news contents and from the focus group discussions. News cuttings, transcript of the interview and the focus group discussion are raw data of thItudy which are analyzed in a logical manner respectively.

Collecting a large amount of data itself is a big challenge during the analyzing phase. Here in this study, the discourse analysis method is taken as a key to analyzing the data critically. QualIive data which are approximate rather than accurate and are utilized just to characterize the problems are the main in this research project. Normally, qualitative data alon-numerical which are collected by observation and are stored in a recorded form with words. According to some literature, qualitative data are describedIcategorical data which can be categorized by the requirements of the phenomena.

In recent years data analysis is generally and on a regular basis used by the market analyst for business purposes (Xia & Gong, 2015) but the importlof data analysis is always equal in the field of social research as well. Qualitative data is taken as the word form and easy to evaluate the patterns and easy to compareI (Wong, 2008). There are always some debates between quantitative and qualitative data concerning the Ieliability, accessibility and the importance with ease even though both have their own distinct featIres and utililation. Data analysis is carried out in several steps according to Silverman (1984).

Data can be reduced by selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming. Reduction of data helps a researcher to generate initial focus on targeted results (Silverman, 1984). Likewise, data display is supportive tolw a conclusion and to take action which can be in the form of charts, graphs etc. According to Silverman (1984), conclusion drawing and the verification are the rest of the steps that apply in the data analysis process.

All textual data from this study such as transcripts of in-depth interview and focus group discussion and the text from newspapers are analyzed systematically (Cragg & Malkiel, 1982) under previoI fixed 3 different research questions which represent the current debate of media negotiation in the Nepalese society. Each research question is analyzed by providing examples of news texts and the headlines and the answers of in-depth interviews along with the focus group discussion. Data iI this study are recorded around the theme of inequality, bias, ethnic stereotypes and discriminating form.

6.1. Representation of ethnic minorities and dalits in Nepalese print Media

In order to analyse the representation of ethnic minorities and dalits in Nepalese print Media I have discussed qualitative data derived from different sources such as in-depth interviews, focus groups and media texts. As qualitative data, interview scripts, transcripts of focus groups and the sample cuttings of news and other articles are analyzed in a scientific and systematic manner. It has already drawn some lines on what kind of stereotypes prevails in Nepalese mainstream print media. Ethnic identities are often used as proverbs in Nepalese society such as Newars are known as merchants, Rai, Limbu and Gurungs are called 'Lahore[16]'. There is noI any offence with these words or adjectivIs to identify these groups but most of the time in daily life they are presented with negative meanings such as they are being humiliating with the words like 'greedy' for Brahmins, 'alcohol drinkers' for other matwali castes.

[16] Lahore is the word to call those who were involved in the military of British India Company in the beginning but these days this word does not have any relation with the army. All those who are abroad are called Lahore in recent years. Especially, people from Rai, Gurung and Limbu caste groups who are recruited in different military forces even now are called Gurkhas because of their bravery in world wars. Around 45,000 Nepali Lahore Gurkhas were killed in the world wars (Aryal, 2008).

News coverage of marginalized ethnic communities are continuously and homogeneously unchanging since the lecades (Pietikainen, 2005). Bias, misleading and incomplete reporting are still prevailing in news contents with negative stereotypes in Nepalese media. Journalism in previous stages seems to have a doubtful role toward ethnic minorities (Pietikainen, 2005). In this context, this research has been conducted in a society where the caste system is still a political tactic and a form of ignoranle.

Stereotypes definitely exist and are practiced in negative aspects to humiliate the minorities and low caste groups in Nepal. Media contents also are not untouched from the continuous practice of social behaviour. Bandura (1971) in social learning theory, stated that media is a part of our life so we are acting with what media is disseminating. Our social behaviour is somehow shlped by the media influence. Here in this research, I have tried to find out the patterns of media that cultivate to spread negative stereotypes against ethnic minorities and the low caste people of Nepal. By analyzing public text such as newspaper contents written on ethnic minorities, I have tried to find out whether or not the mainstream print media of Nepal reinforce negative stereotypes regarding to ethnic minorities. In addition to finding out the way of repreSeltation and thl perspective of certain news stories, it needs to be identified with the themes respectively (Kulaszewicz, 2015).

6.1.1. Analysis of selected news from Kantipur National daily

Kantipur National Daily is a highly recognized and best circulating newspaper of Nepal. Professionalism in media business was started in Nepal with the establishment of Kantipur Media Group after restoration of democracy in 1990 (Onta, 2001). Generalizing the fact was the common problem of Nepalese media in the past but after the political movements in several time made aware on certain issues sucl as inequality, exclusion and discrimination situated in the society. Stereotypes of ethnic minorities and low caste people deeply existed in the societal structures that were carried out in the media contents somehow (Lal, 2014). It is extremely difficult to eradicate the social practlces that harm certain groups based on caste. Hierarchy is the most common and established practice that led so-called upper caste people to capture resources and to be senior (Bista, 1991).

Ethnic stereotypes prevail while mainstream media gives them extra emphasis with intention. According to Ross (2019), there are many studies on ethnic stereotyping by the media that prove that media reproduce and continue this practices with harmful effects. Worldwide, stereotyping is a common practice. Ethnic identity in Nepal is based on their caste groups with certain distinct features such as physical appearance, cultural beliefs and values and religious affiliation (Bista, 1991). The Civil War (Maoist movement 1996-2006) is taken as a milestone for awakening folks against exploitation by the

feudal state (Ahuti, 2014). This study has aimed to find out the media practice of presenting the deprived ethnic minorities and low caste groups.

Here are some headlines from news contents that were published in Kantipur National Daily after the end of the civil war and before the promulgation of new constitution of Nepal 2015 (September 20) which was drafted by the Constituent Assembly for the first time in Nepalese political history. These headlines are analysed to find out what kind of ethnic stereotypes existed in the Nepalese mainstream print media between 2005 to 2014. News headlines indicate the entire nature of the news story so one can easily assume the main idea of the news. In many cases, headline is enough to understand the text from the news so that readers can skip from the pages. Kantipur is a newspaper that is accepted as a newspaper with credibility and accuracy so what it publishes is worth a lot.

Table 6.1. News headlines which refer to caste identity published in Kantipur National Daily from 2004 to 2013

S.N.	News Headlines	Published Date	Page no.
1.	Darji forced to sew Maoist combat dress; Dozens leave village	May 14, 004	8
2.	Free distribution of goats to Dalit women	June 15, 005	9
3.	Endangered tribes without citizenship	June 16, 005	2
4.	Five-year-old Tulku as Autari Lama	June 18, 005	1
5.	Misuse of scholarship amount for Dalit	June 18, 005	4
6.	Chepang stopped looking for Gittha (wild food)	June 19, 005	12
7.	Training for Dalits	June 20, 005	8
8.	Citizenship to Chepang	June 15, 005	8
9.	Sit-in by Tamang Front	August 22, 007	5
10.	Half-naked protest by Badi[17] women	August 23, 007	5
11.	Dalit children deprived of education	August 23, 007	9
12.	First music album from Manange language	August 23, 007	18
13.	Food to Chepang	August 23, 007	8
14.	Awakening of Newars	August 24, 007	S
15.	Bote youth to India	September 18, 008	11
16.	Celebrity from Sunuwar	September 19, 008	S

[17] Badi is an untouchable caste from Western Nepal with a population around 38 thousand. The women of the Badi community historically a musician group but are taken as prostitutes in practice (PMN, 2014).

S.N.	News Headlines	Published Date	Page no.
17.	Bee keeping a boon to Chepang	September 21, 008	16
18.	Gandarbha siblings of Kutumba Band	September 22, 008	4
19.	Army officer from Chepang community	September 22, 008	18
20.	Tharu story of infertility	September 22, 008	4
21.	Child marriage practice continues in Chepang community	April 14, 009	16
22.	Cinema on Tamang language	April 16, 009	6
23.	Single teacher from Gandarbha community	October 20, 010	5
24.	Kohar seeking alternative profession	October 20, 010	5
25.	Magar film in Myagdi	October 21, 010	9
26.	Anu as 'Miss Dhimal'	November 21, 011	11
27.	Gurung Lhosar being celebrated	December 26, 012	4
28.	Bote spends the night heating the fire	December 26, 012	5
29.	Gurung film in Hong-Kong	April 16, 013	11
30.	Admission campaign starts from Thami village	April 20, 013	5
31.	Magar culture in the city	April 15, 013	10

News headline is the interesting and meaningful summary of the full texts which drag the reader to the main story (Jose, 1997). Representation of caste in the news headlines has a significant meaning in both aspects; either negative or positive. Either the caste has been presented on the positive aspect or on the negative aspect, audience will be well known on the headlines according to their mind set (Dijk, 1991). The reality of relevant texts is created, supported and contested through the production, dissemination and receiving of texts and it is discussed between the different social groups and the structures of the society where the discourse is produced (Hardy, 2001). These samples of headlines are produced and distributed in the form of texts which relate the meaning of social behaviours towards the ethnic minorities (Hall, 1997). These 31 news headlines from Kantipur daily are the selected texts out of 76, which directly represented the caste with certain aspects of media houses and the way of representation of ethnic minorities.

It has been discussed already in different chapters that Nepal has distinct work division by the basis of caste. Such as the word 'dalit' used in the news headlines are the people who are lowest in the caste hierarchy but they are important because of their work of artisan and the cultural heritages. Most of the

news headlines used the word 'Dalit' is in the sympethetic way. The global practice of representing minorities is on the basis of either race or religion. In the context of Nepal, inequality is drawn in the media with caste stereotypes and majorly, reproducing and spreading negativity. Here in the news headlines under following themes are presented for ethnic minorities and low caste groups of Nepal.

Sympathetic representation

The theme especially represents the news of untouchable and tribal communities. Media covers their issues just to show sympathy rather than to solve the historic cruelty against them. For instance, many of the news are written about tensions between the so-called upper caste and the untouchables in public places like public water resources and temples ignoring the cause of these tensions. Below is the English translation of a news from Kantipur daily which is an example of sympathetic representation of the media and also an example of negligence as the news is very short in its size in comparision with the importance. The reality is being displayed in this news but there is a lack of advocation to the victims in the news contents. It seems that this news is just to fill up the space and to advertise the NGO. This news has shown that the indicateded community is suffering from hunger which has to be addressed by the government level but no words are written for solving their sufferings. Although sympathetic, this kind of report implicitly reinforces the ideia of low cast groups as depending of others, lacking agency and unable to survive without charity.

Food for Chepang

August 23, 2007 Page 8

Hetauda Kantipur Correspondent

The Family Planning Association has provided food and money to the pregnant and lactating Chepang who have been eating wild groundnut. 6 women from Manahari VDC-3 Ramantar were given 20 kg of rice, 1 liter of oil, 2 kg of iodinated salt and soybean 2.5 kg and 400 rupees each. Murari Raila, head of the office said that the participants of the awareness program on HIV, collected the money saved from their breakfast and gave it to the hunger who has been eating wild groundnut.

Figure 6.1 News cutting with heading *Food for Chepang*



चेपाङलाई खाद्यान्न

Source: Kantipur, August 23, 2007, Page 8

Cultural and traditional beliefs and values

Most of the Nepalese mainstream print media are full with the materials of cultural aspects and celebrations of festivals excluding their daily life problems. Even, the festivals of dominating Hindu are published regularly and in details in comparision with other minorities groups. An example of a news from Kantipur national daily which is translated in English has not printed the related photo with the story. If it was the news of the majority hindu religion, would publish a color photo in the first page.

Gurung's Lhosar is being celebrated
December 26, 2012, Page 4
Kathmandu, Kantipur Correspondent

Gurungs (Tamu), living in the capital city have started celebrating Lhosar. Gurungs who celebrete Lhosar on the 15th of Paush every year, have started celebrating Lhosar this year by organizing a week-long program.
On the first day of Lhosar celebrations, Gurungs have interacted on different aspects of Lhosar. Interacting on the religious, cultural and social significance of Lhosar, Gurungs stressed on the need to promote Lhosar as a national festival. Anthropologist Dr. Om Gurung accused the results of the national census is trying to wipe out the existence of Gurung and other indigenous communities. He remarked that reduction of population was reprehensible.
Acting Chief Commissioner of the Election Commission Dolakh Bahadur Gurung said that all should be aware of fundamental rights while decorating Lhosar. He also requested to register the name on the voter list to participate in the election process.

In the interaction program chaired by Chandrakala Gurung, President of Nepal Tamu Association, Pachu (Religious Guru) Human Gurung presented a working paper on the religious aspect of Lhosar. He said that more than 100 thousand people will participate in the Lhosar program, which is being celebrated under the slogan of "Lhosar 2069, Federal Constitution with Identity".

Figure 6.2 news cutting with headings of *Lhosar of Gurung starts*



गुरुङको ल्होसार सुरु

काठमाडौं (कास)- राजधानीमा बसोबास गर्ने गुरुङ (तमू) हरूले ल्होसार मनाउन सुरु गरेको छन् । हरेक वर्षको पुस १५ गतेका दिनलाई ल्होसारका रूपमा मनाउने गुरुङहरूले यस वर्ष भने साताव्यापी कार्यक्रमको आयोजना गरी ल्होसार मनाउन थालेका हुन् ।

ल्होसार मनाउने कार्यक्रमअन्तर्गत पहिलो दिन गुरुङहरूले ल्होसारका विभिन्न पक्षबारे अन्तर्क्रिया गरेका छन् । ल्होसारका धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक र सामाजिक महत्त्वबारे अन्तर्क्रिया गरेका गुरुङहरूले ल्होसारलाई राष्ट्रिय चाडका रूपमा प्रवर्द्धन गर्नुपर्नेमा जोड दिए ।

मानवशास्त्री डा.ओम गुरुङले राष्ट्रिय जनगणनाको परिणामले गुरुङलगायत आदिवासी जनजाति समुदायको अस्तित्व मेटाउने खोजेको आरोप लगाए । उनले जनसंख्या घटाउने काम निन्दनीय भएको टिप्पणी गरे ।

निर्वाचन आयोगका कार्यवाहक प्रमुख आयुक्त दोलखबहादुर गुरुङले ल्होसारको तामझाम गरिरहँदा आफ्ना मौलिक अधिकारप्रति सचेत रहन सक्नुपर्ने बताए । उनले निर्वाचन प्रक्रियामा सहभागी हुन मतदाता नामावलीमा नाम दर्ता गर्न समेत आग्रह गरे ।

नेपाल तमू महिला संघका अध्यक्ष चन्द्रकला गुरुङको अध्यक्षतामा भएको अन्तर्क्रिया कार्यक्रममा पच्यु (धार्मिक गुरु) हुमन गुरुङले ल्होसारका धार्मिक पक्षबारे कार्यपत्र प्रस्तुत गरिन् । 'तमू (गुरुङ) ल्होसार २०६९ को आह्वान, पहिचानसहितको संघीय संविधान' भन्ने नाराका साथ मनाउन लागिएको ल्होसार कार्यक्रममा एक लाखभन्दा बढीको सहभागिता रहने जनाए ।

Source: Kantipur, *December 26, 2012, Page 4*

Negative stereotyping

Deep rooted mind-set of journalists from so-called upper caste groups can be seen in their writings. Most of the time, news on ethnic and untouchable communities displays them as inferior and sometimes as criminals or with the bad habits like drinking alcohol. Here is an example news cutting from Kantipur national daily of the study period which is the perfect example of exploration of negative stereotyping against ethnic groups. The news says that the woman has died because she drank a lot of alcohol. The news tried to indicate that the mentioning caste in the news is habitual for drinking alcohol uncontrolablely. Even in the case of mortality, the prioritization of the news is less as the news is not in details. It is confused that either the news is for information of for the domination of certain caste. Translation in English of news cutting is as below:

Consuming too much alcohol...

Ghorahi (Dang), 1 Jeth,

Kantipur Correspondent,

A woman died of a heart break after consuming too much alcohol. 42 years of Laxi Gurung from Lalmatiya VDC 3 died on Friday after drinking alcohol, said RD Shah, inspector of primary health center of Lamahi. Her postmortem was done at the center.

Figure 6.3 News cutting with the headline of *Consuming too much alcohol...*



धेरै रक्सी खाँदा...

घोराही (दाङ), १ जेठ (कान्स)- अत्यधिक मादक पदार्थ सेवन गर्दा एक महिलाको मुटु फुटेर मृत्यु भएको छ।

लालमटिया गाविस-३ भालुबाडकी ४२ वर्षीया लक्ष्मी गुरुङको रक्सी धेरै खाएकाले शुक्रवार मृत्यु भएको प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र लमहीका जनस्वास्थ्य निरीक्षक आरडी शाहले बताउनुभयो। केन्द्रमा उनको पोस्टमार्टम गरिएको थियो।

Source: Kantipur, May 4, p. 5

Supportive to right based movements

Some of the articles seem to be supportive to the right based movements of minorities. Here is an example news from the study period taken as supportive news for right base movement of minority community.

Registration office for Indigenous

April 20, 2009, Page 3

Kathmandu, Kantipur Corespondent-

A separate office will be set up for the Adivasi Janajati Re-listing task force constituted by the government. The decision was taken at a meeting of the task force held on Sunday in the special presence of Local Development Minister Ram Chandra Jha. The office will be located at the local development instructor training institution at Jawalakhel.

Sociologist Dr. Om Gurung, the coordinator of the task force, said that a theoretical concept would be prepared for the necessary physical infrastructure and start of a work. The meeting has decided to include anthropologists, linguists, historians, demographers, geographers and culturologists in the task force.

Figure 6.4. News cutting with the heading of *Registration office for indigenous*



009) www.ekantipur.com 3 समाचार

जनजाति सूचीकरण कार्यालय

काठमाडौं (कास)- सरकारद्वारा गठित आदिवासी जनजाति पुनः सूचीकरण कार्यदलका निम्ति छुट्टै कार्यालय स्थापना गरिने भएको छ । स्थानीय विकासमन्त्री रामचन्द्र झाको विशेष उपस्थितिमा आइतबार सम्पन्न कार्यदल बैठकले उक्त निर्णय गरेको हो । कार्यालय जावलाखेलस्थित स्थानीय विकास प्रशिक्षक प्रशिक्षण प्रतिष्ठानमा रहनेछ। आवश्यक भौतिक पूर्वाधार तथा कार्यचालनीका निम्ति वैद्धान्तिक अवधारणा तयार पार्ने कार्यदलका संयोजक समाजशास्त्री डा. ओम गुरुङले बताए । बैठकले कार्यदलमा मानवशास्त्री, भाषाशास्त्री, इतिहासविद्, जनसंख्याविद्, भूगोलविद्, संस्कृतिविद्समेत समावेश गर्ने निर्णय गरेको छ।

Source: Kantipur, April 20, 2009, Page 3

Extra focused on rare achievements

If a member from a certain ethnic group became an officer of a government office, thisis interesting news for Nepalese media. The existing mind set has been working in this sence as well. The stereotyping about the indangered caste community reflects in the news. The news is comperatively detailed and published with photographs but the same repetition is that the negative stereotyping about the minorities. The news highlighted that he was grown in the jungle eating wild fruits but now is an army officer. An example is shown below as an English translation of a Nepali news from Kantipur national daily to prove this statement.

Army officer from Chepang community

By, Pratap Bista, 2005 September 22, Page 18

Hetauda, 5 Asoj - A youth from Chepang community has been succeeded to be an officer in Nepal Army. Resident of Raksirang-8, Kokil Chepang got an army logo being first officer from his community.

Proficiency certificate level passed from Hetauda Campus Kokil 23 was selected as a cadet before 18 months. He was in the cadet training in Military College at Kharipati Bhaktapur since Baisakh 2064.

After receiving the logo of army officer completing one and half years of training, he said happily by telephone to Kantipur Daily that his dream of defending the nation by becoming a Nepal Army has been fulfilled.

Army chief Mr. Rukmangat Katwal gave army logo to 346 trainees including him, among them 31 are women. Kokil was born in Chainpur, a 3-hour walk from Manahari Bazar on the Narayangadh-Hetauda road section. His

father Rambahadur is working in a sub-health post at Raksirang. He said that the children should be educated. He said that he taught his son Kokil by feeding him wild groundnuts.

Family members are happier than Kokil while he has been selected as an army officer. 'My son became a fame of Chepang community', said Rambahadur.

There are less than 10 youth in Nepal Army from Chepang community and not higher than soldiers. According to National census 2001, total numbers of Chepang is 52237. Less than 20 got higher education from this community.

Figure 6.5. News cutting with the headline of *Army officer from Chepang community*



२ ६ असोज २०६२ विविध

चेपाङबाट सहायक सेनानी

■ प्रताप बिष्ट

हेटौंडा, ५ असोज- नेपाली सेनामा पहिलोपटक एक चेपाङ युवा सहायक सेनानी बन्न सफल भएका छन् । राक्सिराङ-८ का कोकिल चेपाङले आइतबार दर्ज्यानी चिह्न लगाएर चेपाङ समुदायबाट पहिलो सहायक सेनानी भएका हुन् ।

हेटौंडा क्याम्पसबाट शिक्षाशास्त्रमा प्रमाणपत्र तह उत्तीर्ण २३ वर्षीय कोकिल १८ महिनाअघि सहायक सेनानी क्याडेटमा छानिएका थिए । भक्तपुरको खरीपाटीस्थित सैनिक महाविद्यालयमा ०६४ वैशाखदेखि तालिममा थिए ।

डेढ वर्षको तालिम सकेर सहायक सेनानीको दर्ज्यानी चिह्न पाएपछि टेलिफोनमार्फत खुसी हुँदै उनले कान्तिपुरसँग भने, 'नेपाली सेना बनेर मुलुकको रक्षा गर्ने धोको पुरा भएको छ । जंगलमै हर्केर र गिठा भ्याकुर खाएर सेनाको अधिकृत बन्न पाएकोमा औधीखुसी लागेको उनले बताए ।

प्रधानसेनापति रुक्मांगद कटवालले उनीसहित ३ सय ४६

'गिठा-भ्याकुर खाएर जंगलमै हुर्के पनि सेनाको अधिकृत बन्न सकेकामा औधी खुसी छु'

जना तालिमेलाई सहायक सेनानीको दर्ज्यानी लगाइदिए । त्यसमध्ये ३१ जना महिला छन् । नारायणगढ, हेटौंडा सडक खण्डमा पर्ने मनहरी बजारबाट ३ घन्टा पैदल हिँडेर पुगिने चैनपुरमा कोकिल जन्मेका हुन् । उनका बाबु रामबहादुर राक्सिराङ उपस्वास्थ्य चौकीमा सेवारत छन् । अधिकांश समय उनले उपस्वास्थ्य चौकीमा आएका बिरामीलाई दिने गरेका छन् । छोराछोरीलाई दुःख सुख गरेर पढाउनुपर्छ भन्ने उनले जंगली कन्दमूल खुवाएर छोरा कोकिललाई पढाएको बताए ।

सहायक सेनानी बनेर कोकिल जति खुसी छन्, त्योभन्दा बढी परिवारमा खुसियाली छाएको छ । 'मेरो छोराले सहायक सेनानी बनेर चेपाङ समुदायकै नाम राख्यो' रामबहादुरले भने ।

नेपाली सेनामा जागिर खाने चेपाङको संख्या १० जना पनि पुग्दैन, कोही हवल्दारभन्दा माथि छैनन् । ०५८ सालको जनगणनाअनुसार देशभरि चेपाङको जनसंख्या ५२ हजार २ सय ३७ छ । उच्च शिक्षा हासिल गर्नेको संख्या २० भन्दा बढी छैन ।

Source: Kantipur, 2005 September 22, p. 18

Awareness oriented

Sometimes, media are awareness oriented. Biasness is a common trend of Nepalese media. Media bias depends on several categories like ethnicity, religion or geography. News and other materials of media are written for awaring the minorities as they are "uneducated" and "backwarded", apparently fullfilling the need that they have to be oriented.

There is a lot to work out for marginalized minorities groups but the media has not paid sufficient attention to enable them.

More conscious: towards endangered caste such as Chepang[18] and Bote[19]

The exceptional model minority stereotyping is discussed as a very much debatable topic in which ethnic minorities is the emerging issue and the most influential and wide ranged issues these days (Kawai, 2005). According to Onta (2001), Nepalese print media have rarely had a strong influence on changing the society by which a society could run smoothly. The reproduction and spread of negative stereotypes is carried out without planning but the issue therefore is always in the debate. Generalization of the issue is another reason that led the media to negative portrayal of the ethnic minorities and the Dalits.

Historic, economic and political contexts are the main reasons for this type of stereotypical representation of ethnic minorities in Nepalese mainstream print dailies. History is not sufficiently described about the exclusion and exploitation of the deprived group but one can say that the social behaviour was not equal to all in the past as the signs still remain in some sort of rituals and cultures. On the basis of social inclusion theory, social institutions should provide sufficient access to the underprivileged groups to take part in. Those who are disadvantaged need to be given opportunity, improve their ability and to live with dignity (Kawai, 2005). Emphasizing negative perpetuation of minorities Muslims and other immigrants in the Western countries, Remmers (2014) argued that the negative stereotyping caused the ethnic minorities to shift from mainstream national media to the international satellite media. Ethnic, cultural and religious identities are more sensitive and vulnerable compared with other majorities groups. Mass communication is the influential medium of shaping the culture within the society so every message sent by the mainstream media has a responsibility of unifying the society rather than to destroy it.

The headlines above are not only the samples that represented the ethnic minorities and low caste group as an excluded group which do not have right to participate in the social activities equally but also a group with the perception of discrimination and stigmatization. The media trend to sketch the minorities as 'them' significantly an active agent of exclusion of the ethnic group.

Analyzed news headings show the real picture of Nepalese mainstream media practice as an active agent of discrimination. Some sociologists urge that the disadvantaged group can be costly because of losing identity in the social structures. The other problem within the media is to simplify the stories,

[18] The Chepang are an indigenous Tibeto-Burman ethnic group from the rugged ridges of the Mahabharata Mountain range of Central Nepal with a population of 68,399 (PMN, 2014).

[19] The Bote is one of the least known and dwindling indigenous groups in Nepal, only around 28 hundred people speak their mother tongue according to the 2011 census (PMN, 2014).

conflicts and the culture in a narrow view of ethnic minorities (Remmers, 2014). Nepalese context of media coverage of ethnic minorities and Dalit especially focused on poverty, illiteracy, crime, social conflicts and cultural identity of indigenous nationalities. The existing value and the practice of the society is transformed by the media which is carrying the negative stereotypes towards the ethnic minorities and the Dalits.

News headlines of Kantipur national daily during the study period showed that even a very few numbers of incidents are covered but not in a satisfactory way from the side of low caste groups. The Dalits are presented more in a sympathetic way compared with other ethnic minorities groups (Lohani, 2016). In informal discussion with some activists from Dalit groups, they say that they only have the right to be sympathised rather than being appreciated as active agents in the society. Dalit are eagerly awaited to be in the mainstream of the society since the long but long rooted feudal society takes their problem as a natural or normal happenings.

These news headings seem like a positive aspect of identity theory (Carter & Mireles, 2015) rather than stigmatized to these deprived groups. In some cases, presenting the identity of a certain group or person is not a meaningful way of positivism. Here in the news headlines, surnames tend to represent negative aspects. For example, Chepang, Badi and Bote are the caste as well as surnames are presented as a symbol of poverty, illiteracy and unawareness. These characteristics of certain groups based on ethnicity are not absolute since the so-called upper caste Brahmin is poorer than ethnic people in some regions of Nepal, far from the capital city.

Ethnic cultures and religions are still not in the mainstream of the nation. In this situation, some of the news headlines are enough to represent the cultural and religious activities of ethnic minorities. It seems covering the stakeholders of the cultural activities in the news heading is a prioritization of the news media. It is for sure a fruitful step for mainstreaming the marginalized groups.

These news headings represented the messages of the marginalized ethnic and low caste groups who are involved in their right based movements. This could be taken as the example of supporting the ethnic group in their movements. A rare achievement of the ethnic community is another interest of the media to publish. For instance, “Army officer from Chepang community” is the headline which delivered the message of an achievement of the endangered community Chepang which still lives in the low quality of life searching for wild food for survival. To be an army officer is a rare dream from this community.

Among all the headlines, some of the headlines are more biased compared with others. For example, here are two news headlines about the 'Bote' community saying that "Bote spend the night heating the fire" (December 26, 2012) and "Bote youth to India" (September 18, 2008). One of the news is supposed to explain that there are not sufficient clothes for Bote in the winter that is why they are spending their night with fire. It is true that the Bote community is lacking basic needs but it is not true that only the Bote community is suffering with poverty.

Even the dominant caste Brahmins from the Far Western Region of Nepal are very poor. Every year they are killed by hunger. In the other headlines "Bote youth to India" refers that it is only the obligation of the Bote community which has to cross the Indian border to earn some money for survival. This news also has a truth that Bote has to go to India as a seasonal worker in winter every year but not only the Bote but also the other caste groups have to migrate to the Indian cities for their survival.

Brief review of the news headlines has drawn the roadmap of the news that has some thematic meanings which can be a role model for the further study. Analysing the news headings, we can describe the priority given by the media. Out of 78 news headlines, only 5 news related to the ethnic minority are published in the front page. Similarly, two editorials ("Sensitivity of State restructuring" and "National Shame") during the period were written on the issue of ethnic minorities in Kantipur National Daily. We can say that the value of the news and the effect of the news are determined by the placement. The front page is more important (Kim & Chung, 2017) to place important messages to deliver for a wider audience. News placement in the corner with fewer words without any illustration is taken as negligence.

In general, image of the ethnic minorities and the Dalit comunities are set by the media these days. People used to think and analyse referencing with the media. Analysing 31 news headlines out of 78 (see Appendix B) focusing on the ethnic minority's issues on stereotypes, representation, biasness and framing model, no especial negativity is spread by the headlines as well as by the texts inside. Since mainstream media are rising by the influence of market force, ethnic minorities are automatically ignored on serious matters as well (Deb & Charvak, 2015). In this study, the analysis on the research question focusing on stereotypes and way of representation has reflected some ground reality of existing knowledge of journalists and the media trend following history.

In the words of McGarty et al (2002, p. 2) there are three types of 'guiding principles' a) Stereotypes are aids to explanation b) stereotypes are energy saving devices and c) stereotypes are shared group

beliefs. Relating with these categorizations, Nepali National Daily newspapers are carrying the stereotypes as they are pre-existing in the society which do not need to be explained in an alternative way. What day-to-day activities occurred in the society is reflected in stereotypical ways in these news headlines. Stereotypes against certain groups are usual in the global perspective but to break the illusion from the preoccupied mind of the general people is a great responsibility of national level news media on which readers are depended on is a missing part of Kantipur.

Total numbers of news in *Kantipur* per issue are 80 on average (Minimum of 68 and maximum of 101). The pages are divided into different titles such as, Cover page, valley, nation, oped, Variety, Economy, South Asia, World, Sport, Art & Culture and Saturday Supplement. Among 5600 news in the 70 issues of 10 years of the KP, only 78 (1.4%) of the news are related to the ethnic minority and the Dalit community. This means that *Kantipur* is giving very less space and priority to the ethnic minorities and the Dalit community. Proportionately, the given data shows the negligence of *Kantipur* to ethnic minorities who are literally higher in numbers but classified as a minority. The words are very low in most of the news contents of *Kantipur* as they are published in the short news category. Some of the news is covered by 32 words. An example of a very short news is shown below with English translation which has huge political value but the less priority in presentation.

> *Sit-in by Ethnic minorities*
>
> *2007 August 24, Page 9*
>
> *The Dalit Janajati Party has staged a two-hour sit-in at the district administrarion on Thursday demanding reservation. The party has demanded constitutional provision of proportional reservation for Dalits, tribal groups, ethnic minorities, Backward classes, women and Muslims on the basis of population.*

Figure 6.6. News cutting with the heading of Sit-in by ethnic minorities



जनजातिद्वारा धर्ना

सर्लाही (कास)- आरक्षण माग गर्दै बिहीबार दलित जनजाति पार्टीले जिल्ला प्रशासनमा दुई घन्टा धर्ना दिएको छ । दलित, आदिवासी, जनजाति, पिछडा वर्ग, महिला र मुसलमानलाई जनसंख्याका आधारमा समानुपातिक आरक्षणको संवैधानिक व्यवस्था गर्न पार्टीले माग गरेको छ ।

Source: 2007 August 24, p. 9

6.1.2. Analysis of selected news from The Rising Nepal

The Rising Nepal (TRN) is a co-publication of *Gorkhapatra National Daily* as an English version. *Gorkhapatra* (GP) contributed a lot in Nepalese history of journalism for a century but always in the controversy as it is not fair as the government interfare it in its contents. Being a state-owned media house, *Gorkhapatra* is always standing to support the government and the ruling party. Literally, *The Rising Nepal* is not sensitive on ethnic issues even though it publishes some materials in different ethnic languages. Publishing materials of minority groups with the negative stereotyping is an injustice rather than to neglect them. Since stereotypes are a 'set of associated beliefs' about a given social group (McGarty et. al, 2002, p. 7), some representation of certain caste groups is reproduced by the Nepalese print media. *The Rising Nepal* also is not untouched by this practice of continuing the associated beliefs of the folks. Here are the selected headlines from *The Rising Nepal* from 2005 to 2014.

Table 6.2. News headlines which refer to caste identity published in *The Rising Nepal* from 2005 to 2014

S.N.	News Headlines	Published Date	Page
1.	Bote community children suffering from malnutrition	September 7, 005	3
2.	Lhosar: Here comes Sherpa's New year (Feature)	January 29, 006	3
3.	Radios help Dalits to know about election	March 1, 008	3
4.	Upper caste man humiliates Dalit	April 4, 009	3
5.	Palpa's Botes lack toilets	July 6, 012	3
6.	Danuwar woman receives land ownership certificate	August 1, 013	3
7.	Dev Tamang mastermind of Babarmahal explosion: Police	August 3, 013	1
8.	Women from Tharu community still away from safe motherhood program	August 7, 013	6
9.	Age no bar for Magar to work as postman	January 2, 014	3

News about ethnic minorities and Dalits in *The Rising Nepal* seem to be lower than the *Kantipur* in numbers, however the general trend of covering and framing in all of the Nepalese newspapers on usual beats like crime, politics, business, foreign affairs etc. are almost equal. Pages of newspapers in a single day are full with similar news headings on covering the previous day's incidents.

The Rising Nepal itself is a history of English language news daily in Nepal (Koirala, 1986) where almost all people follow Nepali newspapers. Published in English language, *The Rising Nepal* is an authentic source of Nepalese information for foreigners as well. Continuing the existing stereotypes of the society is the common practice of Nepalese news media with no intention of reformation. David (2016) in his article blames that Nepalese mainstream media skewed public perception on ethnic minorities.

Among several related news, here are two headings and the texts from *The Rising Nepal* that are as common trend of bias, spreading negative stereotypes and misleading headlines. *Upper caste man humiliates Dalit (April, 4 2009, p. 3) (see Figure 6.7.1)* and *Dev Tamang mastermind of Babarmahal explosion: Police (August 3, 2013, p. 1) (see Figure 6.7.2).*

The first headline of the news from *The Rising Nepal* just mentions the word 'upper caste' but hide the surname of the higher class which could be the identity of certain caste group from higher or lower in hierarchy. If the criminal was from higher caste, according to the existing blame, media tries to modify or to hide the truth. Placement of the news can be taken as negligence as it is published in 3rd page whereas another example news was published in the first page with detailed information. The news

cuttings below are enough to prove the blame. Likewise, the next headlines from August 3, 2013 which indicates the *Tamang* caste as the designer of the bomb blast in Capital city of Nepal, Kathmandu. Which is why the minorities are not satisfied with the presentation of media professionals. Here in this news, Tamang caste is shown as a criminal which is supporting to re-establishing the negative stereotypings against this caste.

Figure 6.7.1. News cutting with the title of *Upper caste man humiliates Dalit*



Upper caste man humiliates Dalit

RSS

Dadeldhura, April 3

Despite government announcement to end all forms of caste discrimination and punish the perpetrators, a teastall owner, who is also an employee of the government, has mistreated a Dalit here.

The teashop owner Digambar Mishra, who is also the chief of weather record centre under the department of Department of Hydrology and Meteorology here, verbally abused Mahabir Sarki, a peon at Mahendra Namuna Higher Secondary School in Khalanga.

Sarki said Mishra called him a Dalit and asked him to clean the teacup in which he drank tea on his own. Saying that Mishra humiliated a Dalit in the public, Dalit rights activists have lodged a complaint in the district police office here yesterday, demanding action against Mishra.

Rights activists said the perpetrators must be punished, as lack of punishment for him would promote others to discriminate against the Dalits in the future.

Police chief in the district SDP Krishna Prasad Mainali said the incident would be probed and the accused would be punished if found guilty.

Source: *The Rising Nepal*, *April, 4 2009, p. 3*

Figure 6.7.2. News cutting with the title of Dev Tamang mastermind of Babarmahal explosion: Police



Dev Tamang mastermind of Babarmahal explosion: Police

By A Staff Reporter

Kathmandu, Aug. 2:

Police Friday revealed that coordinator of Samyukta Jatiya Mukti Morcha Dev Raj Tamang aka Bishwokranti, who has been behind bar after the Babar Mahal explosion on February 27, 2012, was mobilizing his cadres to detonate bombs and extort money from the industrialists in the valley.

After the police arrested five cadres of the SJMM with explosives from different parts

See Page 6

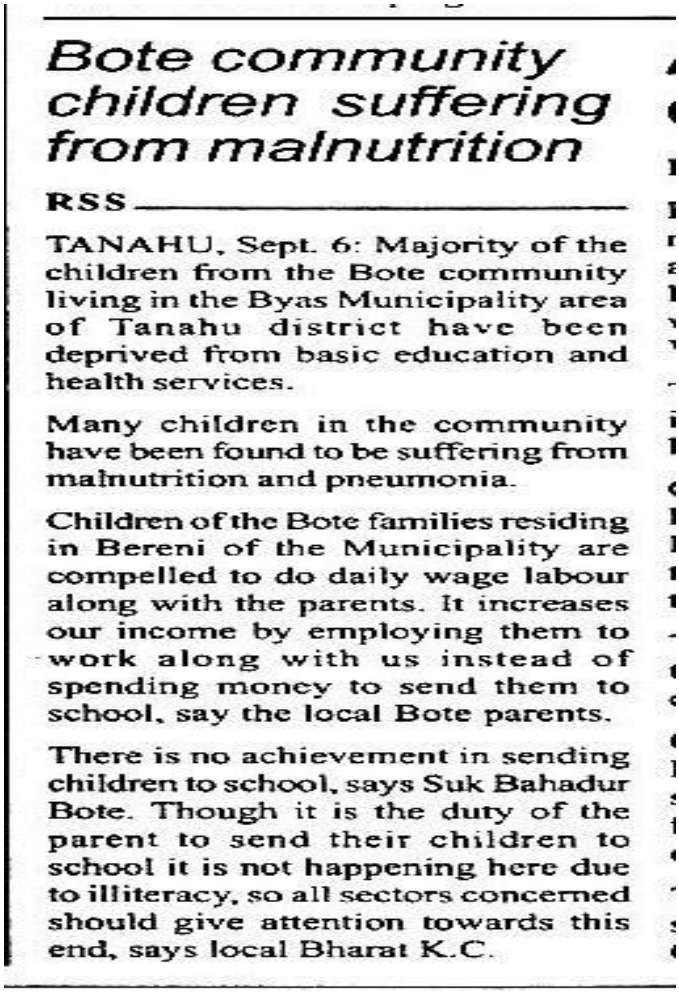
Source: *The Rising Nepal*, *August 3, 2013, p. 1*

It is unfortunate that the number of news contents of ethnic minorities and Dalits during the research period in *The Rising Nepal* are very less compared with Kantipur. Counting 70 issues of *The Rising Nepal*, only 42 contents including photos of ethnic minorities and dalit have been found hardly. Among these 42 news headlines (see Appendix C), 9 are taken to analyze the type of stereotypes prevailing in *The Rising Nepal*, way of representation and equality perspective as well. Categorically, four main themes are developed to discuss these news headlines from *The Rising Nepal*.

Problem oriented

News which only carries out the problematic information of the minorities group. The news below can be taken as an example under this theme. The equal problem is facing by even the higher caste people from Far-Western region of Nepal at the same time but the media is habitual to write these issues only as of the minorities.

Figure 6.8. News cutting with the title of Bote Community Children suffering from malnutrition



Bote community children suffering from malnutrition

RSS

TANAHU, Sept. 6: Majority of the children from the Bote community living in the Byas Municipality area of Tanahu district have been deprived from basic education and health services.

Many children in the community have been found to be suffering from malnutrition and pneumonia.

Children of the Bote families residing in Bereni of the Municipality are compelled to do daily wage labour along with the parents. It increases our income by employing them to work along with us instead of spending money to send them to school, say the local Bote parents.

There is no achievement in sending children to school, says Suk Bahadur Bote. Though it is the duty of the parent to send their children to school it is not happening here due to illiteracy, so all sectors concerned should give attention towards this end, says local Bharat K.C.

Source: The Rising Nepal, 2005, p. 3

Stereotyping

News with repetition of historic negative stereotypes of ethnic minorities. Here is an example news from *The Rising Nepal* which is trying to illustrate the Dalits as uneducated community as a remaining stereotyping of the mind set. At the same situation most of the Hill Brahmin women are not well educated about the election and even they rarely can pronounce the proper words. That is not highlighted by the news media because the stereotyping works strongly.

Figure 6.9. News cutting with the title of Radio helps Dalits to know about elections



Radios help dalits to know about elections

RSS

MYAGDI, Feb. 29: Seven Dalit families of Lareni of Bhakimli VDC of Myagdi district have fulfilled their desire for information after buying radio by selling firewood.

It is learnt that they are making their livelihood by selling the firewood.

They were deprived of not only communications and information but also their basic needs such as education, health, nutrition and so on.

They said that they were encouraged to buy the radio as they heard about new Nepal and the Constituent Assembly election from people gathering in various

In Myagdi

places of Benibazzar when they were there to sell the firewood.

Thuli BK, 36, who had returned to her home after buying a Chinese radio at Rs. 240 said that she had no money even for surviving; the children are compelled to wear rags, but she bought the radio to learn about CA elections not for any entertainment.

Similarly, they were interested to attend the election gathering of CPN- UML organized at Danda Khani of Bhakimli but were sad that they could not attend it as they have the compulsion to go for collecting the firewood for the next morning.

Source: The Rising Nepal, 1 March, 2008, p. 3

Over Generalization

Highly important issues of discrimination, victimization and the cruel behaviour of the society towards ethnic minorities are presented as 'natural'. The news below has a sigficant meaning under the theme

of generalization. The news is about the murder of a youth from Dalit community but the headline only stated as the common youth. And the blame from the activists from this community is that if the crime is held by the marginalized group would be stated in the headline.

Figure 6.10. News cutting with the title of *Youth murdered in Siraha*



Youth murdered in Siraha

RSS

LAHAN, Jan. 27: Few unidentified persons have murdered a dalit youth using knife at Lahan municipality, last night.

Bindi Sadaya, 22, a resident of Ward No. 8 of the municipality was murdered, the Area Police Office, Lahan informed.

According to information received, he was killed with a khukuri by striking on his head when he was going to his home from Lahan bazaar around 8:30 pm.

He died at the hospital soon after the police admitted him.

The investigation into the incident is undergoing and the accused was caught twice in a theft case and was a drunkard, and the cause of the murder may be personal enmity, police inspector Tanka Mani Shrestha said.

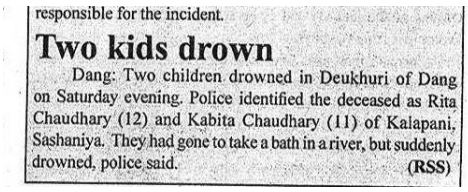
Source: The Rising Nepal, 28 January, 2006, p.3

Formality

Some of the events and the issues are presented just for formality that is with lower priorities. The news published in *The Rising Nepal* on 3 May 2010 in 3rd page is the perfect example of the theme above. And we can take this example of misrepresentation where death of 2 young persons is supposed to be with a high priority in the state-owned media but the truth is totally negative in practice. Chaudhary is the caste with lower income and lack with land as well as uneducated caste of Terai region of Nepal. Geographically, Terai is neglected in the news media (Onta, 2001) and at the same time certain caste

groups of Terai region are more marginalized from state and other social organizations. The news below with 40 words is itself a picture of negligence to minorities.

Figure 6.11. News cutting with the title of *Two kids drown*



responsible for the incident.

Two kids drown

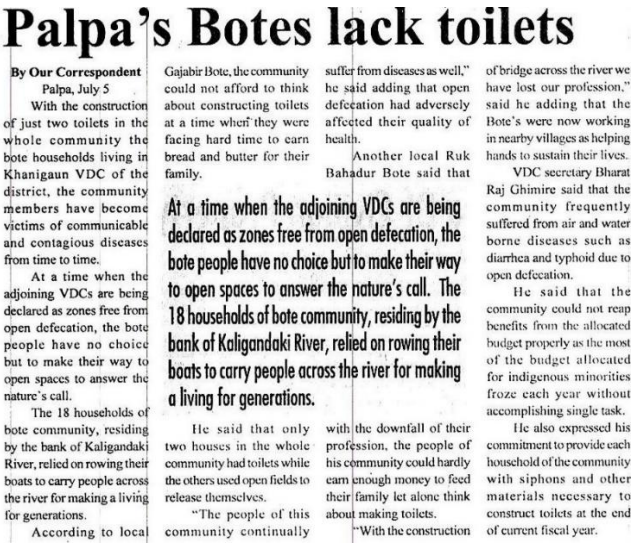
Dang: Two children drowned in Deukhuri of Dang on Saturday evening. Police identified the deceased as Rita Chaudhary (12) and Kabita Chaudhary (11) of Kalapani, Sashaniya. They had gone to take a bath in a river, but suddenly drowned, police said. **(RSS)**

Source: The Rising of Nepal, May 3, 2010, p.6

News in *The Rising Nepal* represents the common aspects of ethnic groups and low caste people with problem centric views. Very rare incidents of ground level people are covered to encourage them at their achievement. For instance, 'Damai[20]' are very talented in playing musical instruments and they have an ancestry profession of tailoring. None of the contents in the newspapers praised their skills rather than publishing their negative aspects such as poverty, dirtiness and vice versa. Deep rooted discriminatory behaviour of the society is still influencing the social institutions and political forces to neglect the Dalits and ethnic minorities. "*Bote community children suffering from malnutrition"* (September 7, 2005) and "*Palpa's Botes lack toilets*" (July 6, 2012) are the live examples of problem oriented and negatively stereotyped news headlines from *The Rising Nepal*. Still there are innumerable households from so-called upper caste groups that do not have modern toilets.

[20] Damai is considered as an untouchable occupational caste group of Nepal with 1.8% of the population (PMN, 2014) continuing their profession of tailoring and playing musical instruments during the rituals and festivals. They were considered as messengers as they used to convey information in the community.

Figure 6.12. News cutting with the title of *Palpa's Botes lack of toilets*



Palpa's Botes lack toilets

By Our Correspondent

Palpa, July 5

With the construction of just two toilets in the whole community the bote households living in Khanigaun VDC of the district, the community members have become victims of communicable and contagious diseases from time to time.

At a time when the adjoining VDCs are being declared as zones free from open defecation, the bote people have no choice but to make their way to open spaces to answer the nature's call.

The 18 households of bote community, residing by the bank of Kaligandaki River, relied on rowing their boats to carry people across the river for making a living for generations.

According to local Gajabir Bote, the community could not afford to think about constructing toilets at a time when they were facing hard time to earn bread and butter for their family.

At a time when the adjoining VDCs are being declared as zones free from open defecation, the bote people have no choice but to make their way to open spaces to answer the nature's call. The 18 households of bote community, residing by the bank of Kaligandaki River, relied on rowing their boats to carry people across the river for making a living for generations.

He said that only two houses in the whole community had toilets while the others used open fields to release themselves.

"The people of this community continually suffer from diseases as well," he said adding that open defecation had adversely affected their quality of health.

Another local Ruk Bahadur Bote said that with the downfall of their profession, the people of his community could hardly earn enough money to feed their family let alone think about making toilets.

"With the construction of bridge across the river we have lost our profession," said he adding that the Bote's were now working in nearby villages as helping hands to sustain their lives.

VDC secretary Bharat Raj Ghimire said that the community frequently suffered from air and water borne diseases such as diarrhea and typhoid due to open defecation.

He said that the community could not reap benefits from the allocated budget properly as the most of the budget allocated for indigenous minorities froze each year without accomplishing single task.

He also expressed his commitment to provide each household of the community with siphons and other materials necessary to construct toilets at the end of current fiscal year.

Source: The Rising of Nepal, 6 July, p. 5

Untill date I have not met anyone from the Bote community but I am informed of the negative aspects about Bote by the newspapers even though they might not be the same in reality. This is how the media are reproducing and re-transferring the stereotypes among the people. Brahmanism always despises the ethnic minorities and the Dalits to make them powerless (Bista, 1991) but the mainstream media has a crucial role to be a part of their right based movements. Analysing the facts, private owned Nepalese mainstream print media are more focused on profit-making and the government media (Djankov & McLiesh, 2003) spend their time and space to make the government authority happy. Hence, state owned media are quite irresponsible and harder to freedom.

In common, all of the news headlines from *The Rising Nepal* are 'natural' for its practitioners. In the case of *The Rising Nepal* as it is an English language newspaper, it is not blamed for neglecting the mother languages of ethnic population. *The Rising Nepal* seemed to be mostly focused on political news based on the ruling party neglecting the contemporary subjects of marginalized people. Counting the news, *The Rising Nepal* is more focused on Hindu religions and cultures rather than other minority religions. Interestingly, the Chepang, Bote and Badi community are commonly represented in both of the newspapers *Kantipur* and *The Rising Nepal* in the same angle that their features are drawn. Placement of related news in *The Rising Nepal* is comparatively valued than in *Kantipur* by placing several news and photos in the front page. Similar to *Kantipur*, *The Rising Nepal* also has contributed a little to the community by promoting the religious and cultural values of ethnic minorities and the Dalits.

Kathmandu centric publication houses are always responsible for Hill Hindu Brahmins neglecting regional coverage with equal representation of ethnicity proportionally (David, 2016). In contrast, Nepalese news media are not only biased for ethnic minority and low caste groups, although for upper caste Brahmins from far Western regions are also neglected.

Analysing all the selected 42 news headlines from *The Rising Nepal*, it is concluded that stereotyping is a common practice of state-owned media as well. Without any special steps from the media house, it is not possible to turn the long-rooted practices towards certain groups instead of reproducing the stereotypes. And *The Rising Nepal* until the date has not played any special role for reducing the inequality to minorities formally. For example, the Teej festival of Hindu women is celebrated for three days and the brightness of this festival is published for extra highlights but during the study period, none of the festivals of ethnic minority groups is covered properly.

Total numbers of news in *The Rising Nepal* per issue are 76 on average (Minimum of 68 and maximum of 93). The pages are divided into different titles such as, Cover page, Business page, National news, Op-ed, World, entertainment, sports, short-cut and Friday Supplement. Among 5320 news in the 70 issues of 10 years of the *The Rising Nepal*, only 42 (0.8%) of the news are related to the ethnic minority and the Dalit community. This means that *The Rising Nepal* is giving very less space and priority to the ethnic minorities and the Dalit community. Proportionately, the given data shows the negligence of *The Rising Nepal* to ethnic minorities who are quantitatively higher but classified as a minority.

6.2. Analysis of focus group discussions

To understand a social phenomenon, and how people make sense of it, focus group discussion is the qualitative approach which best suits social research (Nyumba et al, 2018). According to Morgan (1998, p. 9) "focus groups are fundamentally a way of listening to people and learning from them. Focus groups creates lines of communication". This methodology is particularly suitable in studies about how the publics perceive and positioning themselves regarding media contents on critical social issues, as the ones concerning social asymmetries (Lobo & Cabecinhas, 2010).

In this research, participants for focus group discussions were from different sectors proportionally such as media students, media practitioners, activists from ethnic groups and Dalits community. Group discussions took place at different times and places. As possible as I could, gender balance also tried to be garanted, but in all group discussion the vast majority of participants were man. The number of the participants were recorded formally in total of 101, minimum of 8 and the maximum of 33, but certain

people were participating formally in the discussion where rest of them were just as audiences. According to the standard of focus group discussions (number of participants should have 8-12) the average number of formal participants was accurate. It was compulsion for allowing all of the media students and members of FNJ Kavre in the focus group discussions made it a bit unusual.

Flooring the questions with the general information on the study, participants started to share their experiences. Despite no understand the terminology 'stereotype', participants tried to express their views including their dissatisfaction, feelings of humiliation/ignorance and the isolating within the society. The participants from ethnic and Dalit community were more overtly offensive than the participants from dominant groups; this is because of preoccupied mind set of both the rival groups. The discussion was held in Nepalese language in which participants were from multi-ethnicities.

What participants spoke on the questions is recorded and transcribed even though the non-verbal presentation of them also has been noted as the participants were active and excited. Nodding their head, accepting the questions or the disagreements on it were noticeable.

Four different focus group discussions (FGD) are given the name of FGD1 to FGD4 with the location being held and the nature of the participants. The focus group sessions lasted for 50 minutes in an average and established following themes:

1. **Representation**: The contents of Nepalese national print media seem to be biased is the background of the study. On this ground, responses of the participants are analyzed whether the media represents equally if they ignore the ethnic minorities.
2. **Favourable:** Are Published materials of the media in the favor of marginalized groups?
3. **Negative/positive portrayal:** How media portray the issues of ethnic minorities and dalits in their contents? Either positive or in a negative perspective?
4. **Biasness:** Do they show the nature of biasness on their materials?
5. **Equality/inequality:** This theme represents the perspective of the media under the idea of equality and inequality.
6. **Sufficient/insufficient:** Published materials are either sufficient or they are insufficient in comparison with other ruling higher caste groups?
7. **Common/natural:** the participants from majority caste groups have taken the unequal behaviours of the media as natural or common.

6.2.1. FGD1, Journalists of Kavre district

FGD 1 was organized in Banepa city of Nepal which is 25 kilometres far from the capital city Kathmandu, with the working journalists from Kavre District during the picnic program organized by Federation for Nepalese Journalists (FNJ) Kavre branch. Total number of 30 journalists from Kavre District were attended the picnic on the date of December 4, 2017. The picnic program was choosen for the availability of the ideal participants as planned before because, collecting such respondents is much more difficult as they are always in the field for reporting. The group was unbalanced, both in terms of caste and gender, reflecting current asymmetries in the journalism sector. Only 3 of the total population in the picnic program were from the ethnic minority groups including Dalit. 2 of them were females where 28 were males. Only seven persons (5 males and 2 females) were the active participants of the discussion and rest of the people were as the audience. FGD1 was more discussing events compared with others because of aware participants as they were active journalists from different natures of the media. Even representing the dominant group, participants recognised that the Nepalese mainstream media are biased and continuing stereotypes on ethnic minorities and on the Dalits. Generally, journalist themselves are unsatisfied by the news coverage and by the way of news dissemination about the minority groups even though they are practicing such experience since the social and other institutional behaviour are taken 'natural'.

For each focus group discussion, a sample of relevante remarks made by the participants were selected. In the following excerpts from FGD1, the participants who has given the fictional names but the age and the gender (mentioned as M for male or F for female):

> **Ram (31 M):** In the case of Dalits, such incidents are covered which are common in Nepalese journalism. For example, news related to violence, entry restriction into the house of the upper caste community etc.
>
> **Hari (28 M):** None of the social groups is satisfied with media coverage. Even the dominant Brahmin community also has a complaint to the media. Definitely, issue of ethnic minority and dalit are not enough though.
>
> **Rita (39 F)**: Politics is in the transitional phase so that the concentration of the media is diverted into politics neglecting social issues.
>
> **Krish (45 M):** State itself is not responsible to socially vulnerable communities such as untouchables and the ethnic nationalities. Sometimes, the media reflects the state characters in the news and other materials.
>
> **Kiran (28 M):** Structure of the society sets up the mind of the people which directly reflects on the reporting of the journalists. Your reporting is redirected by your mind set-up.

Ram (31 M): After establishment of the democracy, no incidents have occurred against Dalits and ethnic minorities. They themself try to colour the incidents with caste issues. Some INGOs are cultivating for ethnic conflict. While reporting, I never have discriminated on the basis of caste.

Anjila (32 F): Dalits and ethnic groups sometimes seek sympathy and extra privilege but the fact might be the opposite as so-called upper caste groups are suffering though.

Santosh (41 M): I am a photographer. My specialization is anthropology. While taking photos, I realize that we are human beings at first and then we bear different caste identities. My camera does not see the caste identity in the face of victims.

Depending on the discussion, no black and white result has been confronted for research questions. A mixture of opinions from the participants shows that there is a grey line between the society which reflects that it is not absolutely a dark status for neither the minorities nor a good behaviour by the media. All of the participants have a single voice that Nepalese print media never shows the accuracy that's why the credibility is rare. As all of the above participants are media practitioners, they wanted to save the media from public blamings.

They tended to assume that not only the media are biased to ethnic minorities but also the state is unequal in its nature. But they have accepted that there is a gap between the social groups and the media. Some of the participants have also blamed that ethnic and untouchable minorities seek extra privilege and sympathy in a wrong way. Nepalese mainstream print media are under pressure from minority groups as well as from the dominant groups.

6.2.2. FGD2, Lecturers of Kavre Multiple Campus

The FGD2 was held in the campus building of Kavre Multiple College on the date of January 1, 2018 with the presence of 30 staff members, where I spent 3 years as a lecturer of journalism and mass communication. Nine out of 30 people have actively participated in discussion and presented their views on the issue of the study and rest of the people were just as audience of the discussion. 3 of them represented from ethnic minority groups where 2 were from untouchable communities and 4 were from so-called upper caste groups. FGD2 lasted only 30 minutes but the discussion was strong enough in the sense of understanding of the participants as they are active media users.

Important remarks from the participants who is given the fictional names but the age and the gender identity are accurate of FGD2:

Kumar (49 M): In my opinion, Nepalese Court and the media are not bias in serious cases of violation of human rights of certain caste groups and discrimination but the organizations related to the caste groups are not ready to accept the reality.

Uddhav (45 M): No extra privilege has been given to these groups (ethnic minorities and dalits). Available information is being published whether it is for or against the ethnic minorities.

Sita (39 F): Public interests of the events such as violence, untouchability and abuse are the main stories that we are more interested in. Media disseminates what the public seeks for.

Nabin (54 M): Media are selling negativity instead of positive messages. If there is a conflict between the so-called upper caste and so-called lower caste, the media decorates the incident in an interesting way for selling rather than to resolve the problem.

Nirajan (35 M): Media are focused on destruction in Nepal rather than the construction.

Jiwan (28 M): Most of the incidents of violation of the human rights of lower caste people are reported to the police but they are skewed by journalists. It means, they don't want to publish it.

Dilu (43 F): As a media user, I always run my eyes onto the negative news contents. My experience is quite different. I never watch the news with caste views.

Raju (60 M): News stories should be published to encourage the people based on their work instead of humiliating them by their caste identity.

Chetana (30 F): Journalists should be educated comprehensively. I represent ethnic community but I do not feel that the media is neglecting us. I know that the media is a business corporation so high an expectation from the reader leads to dissatisfaction.

Depending on the comments from participants, it could be concluded that Nepalese print media has to be corrected in terms of participatory representation and inclusiveness. In some cases, as the participant, such as serious human rights violations, the media and the court are not neglecting on the basis of caste identity. It does not mean that Nepalese mainstream print media are serving equally for all groups of people. In some aspects, journalists are not perfectly aware of reporting the ethnic groups incidents and their daily life activities because of the language problem. The trend of adding caste identity in every moment is a negative practice even for the minority groups. Finally, the statements from the participants can be summarized as dissatisfaction from the victims of media misrepresentation and the clarification from the privileged dominant caste groups from the mainstream of the state.

6.2.3. FGD3, Students of journalism and mass communication

FGD 3 was with the media students of higher secondary level in Bhaktapur district on 5th of January 2018. Duration of the event was 37 minutes with 33 students altogether but only 10 were participated actively. 4 out of ten represented ethnic groups where 6 of the participants were from so-called upper caste groups. As every focus discussion this event was also a free discussion without any interest of certain groups. Journalism and mass communication students have expressed their experiences on what they have seen in the present practices of media business being a witness. Some of them used to work in the media as trainee journalists so they have also shared their experience as media practitioners.

Important remarks from the participants who are presented here with fictional names and the accurate age and the gender of FGD3:

> **Shyam (17 M):** News stories should be published in the newspaper to encourage the grass level people, not to humiliate them. Negligence is the bitter truth of Nepalese Newspapers. Sometimes the media prioritizes covering the same issues depending on the caste basis.
>
> **Pritam (18 M):** Definitely, I feel, we are stereotyped by our community as we are uneducated, poor and marginalized.
>
> **Rachana (19 F):** Political news domination exists in every type of media. Agenda setting depends on the nature of the media; it is a profit motive, no one can aspect equality. No intervention to the ethnic issues has been done.
>
> **Gauri (17 F):** Very superficial to the Dalits' issues. No investigation is done on hidden issues of Dalits and ethnic minorities.
>
> **Bharat (17 M):** We can not ignore the fact of the involvement of Tamang in every crime. Compulsorily, the Tamang caste is portrayed negatively as the criminal group.
>
> **Prakash (17 M):** News of disable are not published frequently but not the Dalits' and the ethnic minorities. It seems like ignorance but the political domination in agenda setting and in news dissemination is the main reason for minimal representation.
>
> **Pravu (19 M):** Coverage of ethnic minorities and dalit is not sufficient.
>
> **Laxmi (18 F):** Discrimination is the common practice of the society even though the laws dont imagine doing so.
>
> **Ranjan (20 M):** What the media covers is not negative in the sense. No formal policy has been adopted to discriminate and to isolate. Traditionally, the media are following politics as a news source so that many emerging issues of minorities might have been left.

> **Sajan (18 M):** No blame to the media is needed while the media treats all the citizens equally. Minorities groups have a negative mind set to the media.

Media students in this discussion were quite young but they have matured-thought about our discriminatory society. Participants are aware that the Nepalese law does not allow discriminating on the basis of caste but they have witnessed how ethnic minority groups and the dalit communities are being ignored. No state is participatory for every group of people and no one from the minority groups could feel safe in the society. Media materials are bi-product of the social structure of inequality.

The future generation is also preparing themselves for being neglected from the rulling class and from the higher caste groups. As these participants blame the media that are following politics as a principal source of news, social issues definitely faded up. In Nepalese context, as participants, untouchable communities are not getting much attention from any sectors of the society. No deeper initiation is paid to their emerging issues. Analyzing these statements from the participants of this focus group, it can be concluded that still Nepalese mainstream print media are not serving the society equally. They are spreading the concept of 'us' and 'them'.

6.2.4. FGD4, Non-Resident Nepalese (NRN), Lisbon, Portugal

Last FGD4 event was held in Lisbon Portugal on 12 August 2018. Working Journalists from ethnic minorities groups who are more conscious of unequal issues of the society and the other media persons from the majority Brahmin/Chhetri community were the participants for this event. 8 participants in the age group of 30 to 554 at the event discussed it for around 2 hours. Unfortunately, none of the women were there. Both types of the participants had a preoccupied mind-set that they blamed each other.

The discussion was a bit biased because of the interests of the participants. According to the duration it was a long discussion but only a few representative-statements of the participants are taken as the data for analysis. FGD4 is taken as a more debatable event because of its pattern of discussion with pre-occupied mind-sets. This discussion was formally continued after the allegations were made but after all participants took part seriously on the topic. Interestingly, despite being far from their home country, they expressed a lot of concern about the nation's issues.

Important remarks which are taken as sample from the participants who has given the fictional names but their age and gender is accurately presented of FGD4:

Kuber (54 M): Brahmins/Chhetris (Khas-Arya) are higher in the population of Nepal so it is normal that they are covered more by the media. Sometimes personal bias might be the cause of inequality.

Ganesh (38 M): Since I represent the Tamang group, I feel ashamed when news is published with the caste identity in the headlines. Only negative aspects of the headlines come with caste identity of ethnic and dalit groups.

Himal (45 M): Majority media owners are Brahmins, which focus more about the issues of their community. If there are some conflicts between the caste's groups, media owners shall take the side of their community.

Paras (30 M): The media is also continuing the historical behaviour of the society. Our society still is cruel towards dalits. There are so many hidden reasons for the incidents but our media surfacially produce the material to maintain the formality.

Sagar (36 M): Minorities' issues are less common in print media but are relatively equal in other sorts of media.

Yogi (33 M): In my opinion, the news of minorities and low caste people has come more now than ever before.

Sagar (36 M): There is a tendency of disseminating the issue of minorities in a more negative rather than positive way and in a disgusting way.

Ganesh (38 M): No matter how modern the society is, casteism still exists. This trend is also reflected in news writing as well.

Ram (39 M): Ethic minorities can sometimes be hidden because news is written for fame rather than revealing the truth. The media tells us what our ears want to hear.

Highlighted comments from the participants of FGD4 show that the media coverage is not sufficient on diversity and is biased to the ethnic minorities and to the untouchable community. Number of the population does not matter if the issue is of higher value but the pre-occupied mind-set of the majority is that what is happening is a normal process. There is a famous proverb, "The wearer best knows where the shoe pinch" can tell the truth. Headlines are decorated with negative aspects and seem to spread hatred.

No news is published in the Nepalese newspapers to reveal the truth nor are they accountable. According to the participants, ownership of the media is a major reason for neglecting the minority groups where majority of the media are owned by Brahmin and Chhetris. Core idea of this discussion is that casteism still prevails in Nepali society so the media reflects what society teaches us.

Table 6.3. Comments of participants (P) on different themes of the questions floored on different FGDs

S.N.	Themes	Comment FGD1	Comment FGD2	Comment FGD3	CommentFGD 4
1.	Presentation	P4	P5	P9	P7
2.	Stereotyping	P1	P2	P2, P5	P2
3.	Negative portrayals	P4	P3, P4	P6, P1,	P3
4.	Biasness	P4	P3	P6, P10	P3, P8
5.	Equality/inequality	P4	–	P4	–
6.	Sufficient/insufficient	P2	–	P7	P5, P6
7.	Common/Natural	P1, P5	P1, P7	P3, P8	P1, P4

Table shows the response of participants from all focus group discussions on all questions floored on. Here, in the first column, 'themes' refer to the core idea of the discussion topic of FGDs. Seven different themes such as presentation, stereotyping, negative portrayals, biasness, equality/inequality, sufficient/insufficient and common/natural are the major terms that cover all the statements of them.

On the other columns, Comments refer to the responses of participants (P) which is given with the numbers (with P1, P2, etc). Each column of FGD presented the responses of the participants naming P with numbers. Depending on the volume of numbers of responses from the participants on different themes analysis has been done.

According to the data extraction from the transcript of the focus group discussion, previously set seven themes are analyzed respectively. Analyzing the response on different questions that participants (P) addressed can draw a clear picture that the Nepalese national daily newspapers are not fair to all the caste groups equally. Media is a co-production of the society so that it is continuing the existing stereotypes on ethnic and other minorities (Castaneda, 2018).

As it can be related to the world scenario of stereotyping and misrepresentation of the racial and ethnic minorities, the historical colonial exercise to exploit the marginalized groups in terms of their numbers has an important role(Castaneda, 2018). Depending on the facts, Nepalese media are also following the common trend of the word media practices as they always favour the ruling class. A common finding is the low visibility or marginalizations as well as their negative generalization and contextualization of ethnic minorities (Trebbe et al, 2017).

Ethnic minorities' issues should be highly presented to mainstreaming the minorities in the society. The Study on Nepalese print media shows that they are often biased to certain powerless groups whether they are from the caste groups or from the religious groups. According to Castaneda (2018), the US neglected the blacks' interventions in the colonial era to exclude them from history. The views of the participants of FGDs reflect that there is a big mistake of media that take the issues of discrimination, issues of ignorance and the issues of negative portraying as 'common' or 'natural' as it is happening since our ancestors practiced in the past. Black leaders were more aware about the power of the media so that they wanted to enter into the media materials (Castaneda, 2018). Nepalese ethnic minorities' people are just aware about their social status and stereotypically, complaints against upper caste groups but they are not well prepared to start their right based movement to ensure their existence into the society.

Unbalanced negative media portrayal of ethnic minorities and the Dalits can damage their social image and the space in the society. A study on Muslim representation of UK media done by Aljazeera in 2019 says that the UK media are presenting the Muslim community with negativity so it is spreading Islamphobia. In some cases, in the Nepalese print media, some caste groups are presented with typical identity. Spreading negativity seems a common trend of Western media to the Muslim community but South Asian caste base community also dominating minorities in the media contents. Established recognition in the society serves for the inequality and unfair behaviour of the media. Establishing networks between different media is an idea to start a movement of equal representation.

Analysing the data, it shows that Nepali mainstream print media are not unequal to different caste groups. Apart from mainstream media, certain victim groups have started a practice of an alternative media which aims to maintain equality on contents and erase the mind set against marginalized groups. Like the media control of white people in the West (Kulaszewicz, 2015), Brahmins have a strong control on media industries. However, the study shows that, according to participants, even the media with a majority control is not so biased.

Only 2 participants have commented under the theme of equality and inequality which is symbolically less comparatively. Caste based inequality ingrained in every sector of the society where dividing the opinion is compulsory. Kulaszewicz (2015) explains that, in the USA if the Black is shot by the police, the media tries to clarify that the white police officer as the justified actor of the event. Some remarks of the discussion were notable that the media tries to criminalize certain groups as it is a shameful matter of the "voice of the voiceless".

With a few exceptions, people who represent with a preoccupied mind set, we come to this conclusion that there is something missing in the Nepalese media practice which draws a line of unbelief between dominant and the minority groups which led the society to casteism (Paudel, 2013). Paudel in his article says that regular stereotyping negatively can irritate ethnic issues which led the society to disintegration, xenophobia and to the conflict. Negative stereotypes exist but not in the serious stage. Most of the participants of FGDs agree that the issues of ethnic minorities are taken surfacely. News reporting and dissemination depend on the personal bias of the journalist and the investment of the media has a key role to frame the matters. Media is a profit motive business at present, so the participants all have a single voice that media sells what we want to consume or what our ears want to hear.

6.3. Analysis of in-depth interviews under different themes

In-depth interview is significantly a comprehensive package of qualitative data. The answers of the predetermined questions are detailed accounts of actions, attitudes, perceptions, beliefs, feelings and so on. Exploring the particular idea and experience on any subject is the main task of the respondents who usually are selected according to their field of experiences. In this study 16 in-depth interviews were held with different persons including from ethnic minorities groups, from the Dalits groups and females as well. Professionally, respondents were from various categories bearing various experiences and knowledge. In-depth interviews provide an open environment to explore the respondents with open-ended questions. In this research, questions were semi-structured but asked around the main theme of the study and the research questions as well as the objectives of the research.

Data from in-depth interviews are analyzed in inductive strategies which are comparatively open to create new ideology rather than to tie with predetermined theories and methodologies. It can be easy to generate new explanations on the basis of data. Hybrid Techniques of data analysis of interviews transcripts is accepted in this study. For example, literally, this is a content analysis but effects of some other techniques such as, discourse analysis and thematic analysis are also used along with. Analysis is roaming around four main ideas created for this research.

1. Kind of ethnic stereotypes/Comparison of representation with higher caste/class.
2. Way of presenting ethnic minorities and Dalits/Continuation of inequality.

Table 6.4. Categorization of the respondents on the basis of Caste representation and gender

sn	Brahmin/Chhetri	sn	Ethnic Minorities	sn	Dalits (Untouchables)
1.	Dhruba Adhikari (DA) (Male)	1.	Jagat Dong (JD) (Male)	1.	Sarita Pariyar (SP) (Female)
2.	Ramsaran Bajgai (RB) (Male)	2.	Fulman Bal (FB) (Male)	2.	Bishnu Maya Pariyar (BP) (Female)
3.	Ram Lohani (RL) (Male)	3	Bhesh Raj Dhanwar (BD) (Male)	3.	Gauri Nepali (GN) (Female)
4.	Deepak Sapkota (DS) (Male)	4.	Naresh Khapangi (NK) (Male)	4.	Prakash Sundas (PS) (Male)
5.	Lekhnath Pande (LP) (Male)	5.	Ganesh Yonjan (GY) (Male)	5.	Prakash Baraili (PB) (Male)
-	——	6.	Ranjit Tamang (RT) (Male)	-	——

This categorization of the respondents helps to identify them as per their group representation and to evaluate their response whether these are biased or not. Definitely, selection of the respondents seems to be scientific and proportionately equal so that the findings would be more authentic, justified and more discussed in the ground of reality. Here, I have tried to sort-out the response of the respondents under three themes that represent the different objectives of the study which have to be found during this research.

6.3.1. Ethnic stereotypes and asymmetries

Under this theme, the answers of different respondents on the question of 'what kind of ethnic stereotypes prevail in Nepalese print media?' are carried on. Stereotypes as a definition are a generalized representation that reduces a person to a set of magnified and often derogatory traits of people as a group (Lippmann, 1922). It implies that a given category (for instance, Tamang or Brahman in Nepal) has universal characteristics that are applied to every member of the group (Paudel, 2013, p.79). According to Paudel, Magars are taken as braver but less intelligent and the Brahmans are taken as intellectual but weaker physically. These examples seem simple but the cause of the conflict and the casteism is prevailing in the country by this type of stereotyping (Lawoti, 2011). In this context, this research project has focused deeply on the theme of ethnic stereotypes and the role of national print media to reproduce it. The names of the respondents have been presented in the short form. Let's have a look at the response as they are extracted as codes (abbreviation of their names) and gender (M for male and F for female) to analyze with.

Respondents from ethnic minorities (so-called "lower castes") and Dalits ("untouchables") denounce the lack of attention tha tthese groups receive from the media and the overgeneralizations which reinforce negative stereotypes concerning the underpriviligied groups ingrained in Nepalese society:

> **JD (M):** .... yes, there is still a stereotype about Tamang that they are criminals and taxi drivers. It is the continuity of history. Media also has the same mind set.... media is also one of the main components of society. .... the main theme of this type of stereotype is .....the media are not accepting the fact of a diverse society. ...sources of inequality are ....., stereotyping of policy makers and....
>
> **PS (F):** Nepalese print media publish Dalits as poorer.... Media is spreading only negativity of the minority communities... Dalits are victimized twice...by the society then by the media
>
> **NK (M):** Stereotypes exist in print media.... Caste based generalization on certain groups are carried on by government media as well.
>
> **FB (M):** Journalists are not presenting negative stereotypes knowingly... the social background of the reporters sometimes reflects in their news.
>
> **SP** (F): .... always cast the news about untouchability with negative stereotypes...resistance by the dalit never take place in the contents. There was a stereotype about writing tradition that only adults, from upper caste/class man can write and are eligible to publish. It has changed a bit.
>
> **BP** (F): obviously negative stereotyping is prevailing in the case of dalit....my sisters are beautiful but the so-called upper caste people whisper that 'how beautiful even they are from dalit community'....it is a very common stereotype in the society since a long. Nepali people think that dalit should not be rich, educated, and beautiful and clean....
>
> **GY (M):** media are following the same stereotyping about the caste groups as it surrounds in the society.
>
> **RT (M):** Yes, there are still negative stereotypes towards ethnic minorities in mainstream media...media try to recall that only indigenous people are criminals instead of Brahmin who are arrested for abusing the authority.....existing mind set up helps to retain these stereotypes. People have a negative stereotype about the Tamang community that they only drink alcohol and do nothing.... weaker in Nepali language.... helps to set an agenda about our community.

Brahmin and Chhetri respondents tend to agree that media is a reflexion of the society. Social stereotypes are come from the past, but there are still stread in society nowadays and shape people's minds. Some participants from the so-called upper classes have pointed out that there are not only stereotypes about the lower classes, but there are also stereotypes about the upper classes.

> **RB (M):** Ethnic group has a mind set that Hill Brahmins are emperors who are cleverer..... A big investment in the media business has perpetuated the negative stereotypes.
>
> **DA (M):** The media nowadays gives the colour with stereotypes in the events... It was not in practice in the past.
>
> **RL (M):** ... the stereotyping that exists in our mind is the reality of every behaviour within the society. It is not only the stereotypes of the so-called upper caste group but also the lower caste as well...last week Kantipur published a news with a heading of 'two Tamang arrested accusing rape'... this type of headlines are repeating stereotypes.

The fact that the "headlines are repeating stereotypes" have serious consequences in people's lifes, but these headlines do not exist in a social vaccum. They express very widespred stereotypes. As pointed out by a Dalit journalist:

> **GN (F):** So-called upper caste man thinks that Dalit women are for rape.....it is a continuous stereotyping of the feudal society. Media should not be the witness of such practices.

Extracting the codes from different respondents' responses in the theme of 'kind of stereotype', a straightforward idea has been drawn. Analyzing the answers of 12 out of 16 respondents, they have accepted the truth of existing negative stereotypes against ethnic minorities and the Dalits that are presented repeatedly. The other 4 have not drawn any account on ethnic stereotypes and its kind prevailing in the media. Caste identity of some ethnic groups are taken as negative forms of stereotypes so we can conclude that the stereotypes based on caste are reproducing in Nepali mainstream print media. As we have discussed in detail about this theme already in the literature review, the worldwide phenomenon of stereotype is considered in Nepalese print media as an unknown behavior of the society which has been carried on since a long.

Stereotypes are images about groups stored in the peoples' minds and tend to be expressed automatically (Lippmann, 1922). The respondents of the in-depth interview of this study also accepted the fact that it is happening automatically that the mind set is preoccupied by the negative sorts of imaginations to certain caste groups. Social structure has enhanced the negative mind set towards the marginalized community such as Dalits and some ethnic groups. Some argue that historical distribution

of the resources is unfair to the ethnic minorities along with Dalits. Being deprived, these communities are still without access to the basic services of the state. '.....the media are following the same stereotyping about the caste groups as it surrounds the society.' This statement from the interview shows that the reuse of the stereotype is a reflective exercise of the society. Some examples of stereotypes on ethnic minorities according to the response of the respondents are, Tamang are alcohol drinkers, criminals and taxi drivers like wise Dalits are ugly by their face, dirty, poor and uneducated, powerless. Caste/class stereotypes (Fiske, 2017) are more recurring terms in Nepalese print media.

Some of the respondents from the Brahmin community Illustrate their thoughts on prejudice with their existing experiences. Social classes have predictable stereotypes that do not vary much by culture (Fiske, 2017). In Nepal class can be defined by the caste groups so the relation of caste stereotype is similar to the class. The revealing stereotype in the media is a product of the societal behavior that occurs endlessly. Finally, under the theme of 'kind of ethnic stereotypes' it is concluded with the latest literature that Nepali national print media has to bear the blame of reproducing the negative stereotypes against ethnic minorities and the Dalits. According to Fiske (2017), stereotypes on ethnic minorities can be categorized as 'variable stereotypes', since the social status ascribed to different 'ethnic minorities' depends on the cultural and historical context. Fiske (2017, p. 791) explains that some stereotypes shared cross-cultural patterns, but others are more variable. Meta-analyses of empirical studies about stereotypes contents in diferent cultures, evidency that social class stereotypes often share some similarities ("poor" are seen as warm but incompetent while "rich" are seen as cold but competent). However, "other stereotypes are more variable and culture specific (ethnicity, race, religion)" as responses to specific cultural and historical trajectories.

To find out the media representation of ethnic minorities and the Dalit is another task of this study. Definitely, there is some mismatch between the dominant and dominated groups' representation in Nepali mainstream print media. Likewise, in Western media practice, ruling whites have hegemony in every aspect of the contents of newspapers, Nepali media run due to the expectation of ruling elite Khas-Aryans. The numbers of journalists from ethnic minorities groups and from the dalits community are very low but it doesn't matter if the media house has a policy of inclusion and equality then the output will always be on behalf of the suppressed (Fonseca et al., 2019). Fonseca et al. (2019) also drew an outline of the Indian representation of journalists in the news room which shows the large number of Brahmin community working as journalists in the media house. Nepali context of representation is equal and similar with India. According to the response of the respondents, the

representation of the ethnic minority in Nepali mainstream daily newspapers is very low in terms of the issues and in terms of the manpower working as a media person. Below are the comments of the respondents of the interview which could assist to compare the representation with dominant groups.

6.3.2. Way of presenting ethnic minorities and Dalits/Continuation of inequality

Continuation of inequality and the way of presenting ethnic minorities and Dalits is the theme which will find out the way of presentation and the unequal behavior of the media to ethnic minorities and untouchables. This theme hypothesized that the unequal presentation of minorities is existing in the media practices. In Nepali context, covering the issues of certain groups is decided by the political scenario. While caste is a central subject of the politics, the newspaper has to shift their opinion as the politics guide (Cobb, 2018).

Not only the politics but also the social structure and the involvement of the people in journalism are supporting the media to present the ethnic minorities and Dalits with negative manners and insufficient volume. Misleading, incomplete, negative, surficial, formality are the words which are being used in the study of news representation of certain media in global practices. Globally, black/white, American/African, Christian/Muslim, East/West are the categories that are either served or neglected by the media biaslly. Nepalese mainstream print media categorize the groups by caste such as higher versus lower, touchable versus untouchable. Ethnic minorities are silenced by the mainstream media in many ways (Alia & Bull, 2005) until they have taken legal action in such boycotts.

Profit motive media are always in a rush to sell the 'valued' contents neglecting the 'grass level' issues. Hence, the media never run on a regular basis on certain issues rather they skip to the most valuable content by the time (Alia & Bull, 2005). Alia and Bull (2005) are convinced that the journalist has a power to challenge anti-social behavior and the power to promote and perpetuate the negativity of the society. Even in the Trump and the Brexit era, marginalized poor working groups are not given the space to share their scarcity of survival in the developed countries (Thomas, 2017). Immature democracy and irresponsible politics are the major reason of Nepales unequal behaviour to the marginal groups. According to Thomas (2017), inequality is a phenomenon of race and class which is denying the lower caste group to be a full citizen.

Here are the extractions forms the respondents' response as the code on the theme of 'way of presentation/inequality' which later on would be the pathway for analyzing the theme.

JD (M): include only a few issues... no inclusive institutionally... negatively portrayal... discrimination on news headlines... Hindu Brahmin dominated contents... structure of the society and functioning of the government led media to inequality... it was good enough during the first CA then it became worst during the second CA... some national media had formal campaign against the movement of ethnic minorities... media try to establish that minorities are worse than others...

PS (M): ...inequality in the mainstream media is true... manipulating and neglecting are common... journalists cover the issue of minority just to be highlighted... inequality is reflection of national politics... Dalits are victimized twice... mislead the information... media neglect and ignore... negative portraying... hide the issues of marginalized community... reporters have to change the angle.

NK (M): ... mainstream print media do not behave equally to marginalized people ... lack of roadmap... media neither covers nor neglects the issues of minorities... media mislead... what we want to express is always hidden... media exclude the minorities.

GN (F): media are raising the issue not to enforce the minorities but to promote their business... currently a less is improved... Dalits are presented differently... media are not so serious to victims... not paying attention to rape cases of lower caste women... Editorial team is not supportive ... surficial coverage instead... absolutely, there is inequality in media contents.

BD (M): ... here are some problems in framing and coverage...after drafting the new constitution, rare issues of minorities are covered... ethnic bias depends on benefit... present not to uplift the deprived... media has a fear of power transfer to the minorities... no special efforts to publish our identity... insufficient materials... media contents are under control of higher class...

FB (M): ...issues of dalit and ethnic minorities are covered just as formality... what media publish is not a real coverage... no editorial policy to be equal... reporters literally are not against to ethnic minorities... distribution of the beat is quite funny... equality is not just the recruitment of the reporters from caste groups... not cultivating racism formally... market oriented professionalism is the main reason of inequality... media are following borderless capitalism...

RL (M): newspapers are giving equal priorities to ethnic minorities. Newspapers are more sensible to use the words for untouchables as 'Dalit'. More focused on caste based discrimination...intercaste marriage are covered in the news... media are not in the favor of minorities... Kantipur follows the selling value not the events... push the news to start conflict between upper caste and the lower caste... problem and sympathy oriented issues are covered... more correspondents more coverage.

SP (F): In the cases of untouchables, print media covers only the issue of public access in public places... extremely dominating narratives are used... investigative journalism is not in practice... Coverage is very rare... no follow up.... bias is existed... contents are disseminated in terms of making profit.....negligence is the main problem...no voice of voiceless are listened... only Nepali language is being promoted instead of ethnic mother tongues...

DA (M): media are pressurized by society... Media are extra conscious on ethnic issues... the media are colouring the caste issues... Media represents the society which is cruel to low caste people... *Gorkhapatra* is more responsible to the society...

BP (F): ...rarely cover the minority issues... media forcefully accused dalits... media are biased to ethnic minorities ... ignoring the issues of Dalits... media are focused on power...are not responsible to minorities... discrimination on the base of caste is a sort of racism... dalit issues are published in the corner of the page...

GY (M): ... coverage is just for formality... mainstream print media never are responsible to indigenous communities... divert the movement of inclusion... this is a negative portraying...forcefully pushing the negative articles against the movement... expressing rumors... media are dividing the society...

LP (M): 4 perspectives are followed by Nepalese print media, Madhesh, indigenous, dalits and women... tactfully creates the icon from minority community...surficial news domination... bias in terms of geography, race and class....

PB (M): ... select the content with higher selling value... media focus on contemporary national context...elites do not want to share the power with marginal groups... 80% of the media owners are Brahmins... representation of dalit in the print media is rare... low representation of news contents...discriminate and neglect... spreading racism to make profit... challenge the religion, caste of the editor makes the news inilligible...

RT (M): using surnames that are established as criminals... journalists' interest is serving... vast difference in current situation... they neglect the issue of minorities... untouchable issue is taken as sensitive... very short news is made and to place in the corner... Dalits' issues have higher selling value than other ethnic groups... Chepang are pointed as a poacher of rhino... media presents intentionally in some cases of minorities... major newspapers are serving the political parties.

RB (M): ... media are serving INGOs... the inclusive movement hid some facts.... Brahmins are taken as feudal rulers... media are sowing conflicts... media rarely follow the code of ethics of journalism... interest groups are using the media for or against the national issues... media are promoting only for power holders... media are not very serious on the topics of social deprived groups... Nepali media are failed to endorse the voice of voiceless...

DS (M): insufficient coverage of ethnic minorities... unbalanced... dalits views are more covered in the articles in the present... profit motive media bias the marginal issues... informative and motivational articles about fdiscrimination, untouchability and stigmatization are being published... blaming the total structure of the society... quality is being improving in the writings...

Analyzing these responses of the respondents in a short form, it can be concluded that Nepali mainstream print media has incalculable problems with the ethnic minorities groups as well as with the Dalit community. According to all 16 respondents, the way of disseminating the news contents about

ethnic minorities and the Dalit is inequal, bias, insufficient, misleading, and negatively portrayed with no inclusivenes and many more negative aspects. Globally, ethnic minorities, women, lower class people are underrepresented in the media content (Gill, 2013). Compared with Hindu Male from the Hilly region in Nepal, rest of the categories are neglected in the news contents in Nepalese print media (David, 2016). Thomas (2017) presents an example of media inequality of India which humiliates the lower caste people. While I analyzed the news contents of *Kantipur* and *The Rising Nepal*, negligible texts were found related to the ethnic minorities and the Dalits. Caste still matters in every field of the society in Indian Subcontinent (Yengde, 2019). The shade of casteism destructs the regular social movements. We are living in a society where inequality and injustice is seen as natural (Gill, 2013). Professional media are supporters of the unequal treatment of the mainstream groups of the society such as, higher caste, higher class and the Hindu male.

Respondents of the interviews from the so-called upper caste group have a little bit of prejudices against marginal groups but most of them have accepted that Nepalese mainstream print media are not presenting the issues of ethnic minorities and the untouchable low caste group. I claim that all of the respondents of this research are directly involved in the media and the right base movements so whatever they said during the interview is the real fact of contemporary Nepalese mainstream print media. I might be biased but the respondents depending on their experience and on social goodwill likewise their horizon of knowledge does not allow them to be biased. Misleading the news is a "social crime" which leads the community into the conflict (Grambo, 2019). Available latest literature of Grambo (2019) says that disseminating news with wrong information (Fake news) is wrapping the minorities into the fake world.

Discrimination on news headings refers the concepts of ethnic minorities that they do not feel comfortable using their surnames and caste identity in. It is comparatively a way of segregation of the society with a variety of castes identity. According to the social identity theory, only by positive manner one might be satisfied to be published with the caste identity. If not, it would be the catalyst of social conflict. Media is trying to draw a line between 'us' and 'them' to segregate the dominant groups and minorities. Manipulating and neglecting the issues of ethnic minorities are common in Nepaese context. Analysing the fact, one can say that mainstream print media do not have any roadmap to be balanced to all the groups of the society. Media excludes the minorities as they do not have monetary value. Media are covering the subjects not to enforce the socially weakest groups but to promote the business of giants.

Here, language is also a component to be analyzed in general. Language (Mother tongue) is also an identity of the ethnic minorities of Nepal (Bista, 1991). It is as important as other aspects to be studied in this research to find out the inequal behaviour of the media towards the minorities. Proximity in news is sometimes determined by the language. For instance, the ethnic caste who has its own languge seeks the information on its own language. Language can be described in another hand which is used in the news headlines and in the full texts and the meaning that creats or incode by the readers. Hall (1997) explains that language works with representation.

Covering the issues of certain cultural groups, language might be the key component of representation. Analyzing texts, transcripts of in-depth interviews and the focus group discussions in this study, language is not used properly for all the groups. Sometimes media are failed to use the proper words which later on the negative meaning. Several examples are already shown above which are bias for ethnic minorities and for Dalits. Similarly, reproducing the stereotypes by using different words are more common in the news stories. Language can make a news with different meaning and perspective. Nepalesse print media are suggested to be more concious on using the language on ethnic minorities. Humiliating by news is not lawfullnes practice so that media have a huge responsibility on choosing the words in their contents. The interviewee of the in-depth interviews and the participants of the focus groups were dissatisfied with the media houses for using unproper language.

Wrapping up the analysis, media has a common nature worldwide which tends to be profitable. Social structure is a main source of journalists' knowledge so it reflects in their writings. Nepali print media have an unequal character to marginalized groups that is an influence of caste politics. Thousands of examples could be presented to prove that the media have a discriminatory practice. During the first CA in Nepal, the media had a campaign to support the ethnic minorities; after that the media never showed solidarity to these groups' movements. Nepali elites have a fear of power sharing with the deprived group so that they use the media to suppress them by misleading the contents. Ethnic bias depends on benefit. Media are following borderless capitalism. The way of presenting the issue of ethnic minorities is finally, a continuation of inequality, negligible, discriminating against the minorities, negatively portraying the issues and the ignorance of the deprived. And, at last, the total reflection of the caste-based society with discrimination and marginalization is represented in Nepalese mainstream print media.

CONCLUSIONS

Major findings and general discussion

This study was held to anlayze practices of the national daily newspapers of Nepal towards ethnic minorities and Dalits. News texts carried out from the samples, transcripts of focus group discussions and transcripts of in-depth interviews were the assets of this study. The structure of the society, the level of consciousness of the society, level of education, strength of government, politics and the historical domination of Khas-Arya are pointed out as the major causes of the inequality in the media towards the ethnic minorities and Dalits.

In this dissertation it has been demonstrated through various research techniques that Nepalese mainstream print media frames and covers the issues of ethnic minorities with inequality. And it was also found that the social condition of Dalits is even worse than other ethnic groups. More study is needed in the particular subject of the Dalits of Nepal. When writing news about Dalits, the news of "untouchability among Dalits" seems to be gaining importance. What this means is "there is untouchability among you, what do you tell us?" This kind of news is understood to be more of a challenge than a positive message and a latent support for the untouchability of the upper castes. It is important to understand that untouchability is not just a division of two classes, it is a hierarchy so far. Even if the idea that Dalits should get together first is considered right for the benefit of Dalits, it must be acknowledged that it is a problem of the whole society.

According to the research questions and the objectives of the research, the project aimed to find out the stereotypes in Nepalese daily newspapers along with the continuation of the inequality towards ethnic minorities and the Dalits and the way of representation of the issues of ethnic minorities along with the comparison with dominant groups. This study followed different theoretical backgrounds, including communication sciences, cultural studies, sociology, policital sciences, and social psychology.

Relating with literature, the study was not a new topic. There are some relevant studies about the social discrimination based on caste in the South Asian region, but most of the studies were conducted in Indian. Specifically in Nepal, to our knowledge, no study has been done in detail about this subject area. Inequality is not just an instant result of social behaviour instead of a long rooted discriminatory practice. Followings are the findings of this study:

- Ethnic stereotypes are still prevailing in the Nepalese mainstream daily newspapers in negative forms which pinch the victims;
- Media stereotypes do not opperat in a social vacuum; they express widely spread and ingrained prejudiced beliefs in Nepalese society and operate as legitimizers of the hegemonic social order. As such, they are being reproduced by Neplese newspapers in the news contents and in other materials.
- Social stereotypes describe certain socially deprived groups as uneducated, poor, less powerful, dull, alcohol drinkers, etc.; In doing so, they tend to reinforce the status quo.
- Very low volume of the contents of ethnic minorities and the Dalits are published in national daily newspapers; The low volume of the contents is expressed both in the low number of new pieces and the very short space these pieces get in the print media as well as the superficial coverage.
- Around 1% of the total space of Nepali newspaper dailies are occupied by the news of "minorities".
- Exclusion in coverage in terms of caste is the common practice of Nepalese national dailies; In addition to the lack of coverage, it is extremely rare for news stories to include sources from the so-called lower castes.
- Partial information/misinformation of the allocated communities is being disseminating;
- The vast majority of journalists working in Nepalese print media are from the upper castes. Although there are some journalists from a lower caste background, they do not occupy top positions in the structure of the media houses. The editors are overwhelmingly from the upper castes. So, it is not surprising that the media sometimes fail to be accurate when they publish about minorities' issues;
- Most of the times, newspapers are doing their business instead of showing solidarity to ethinic minorities and promoting social justice;
- Nepalese Print media is functioning according to the interest of power elites;
- Society is unequal and media tend to reinforce this inequality. As agents in the social construction of reality, media have the potential to promote societal transformations; So, it is extremely important to foster a newsroom culture of respect for cultural diversity. However, this is easier said than done.
- Nepali national dailies are portraying marginalized communities negatively and most of the times spreading negativity of ethnic minority;

- Caste based conflict is being perpetuating by the media;
- Negligence from the media is a bitter reality of marginalized groups;
- Generally, caste system is considered as a component of the social degradation;
- Media hide the false of the ruling group;
- Taking every negative step towards minorities and dalits are seen as “normal”;
- Presenting certain caste as criminal is not a crime for Nepalese daily newspapers.

Violence and inequality against the ethnic minorities and Dalits has been increased due to the generalization of caste-based discrimination and “untouchability” based on the “Hinduism” hegemony. It is important to discuss from a sociological point of view the questions of how caste discrimination and untouchability are made common, “natural” or “normal” by the people in the Nepalese society, how caste discrimination is considered to be related to power separation. The study was based on the caste which is the key component of the Nepalese society and has found different aspects of exclusions and unfairness as well as unequal behavior towards ethnic minorities. The volume of the words in the news contents and the priority given by the media to so-called lower caste groups, who are the majority of the population, is so worse compared with the ruling elites and so-called upper caste groups. But the common problem of this type of social practice is the generalization of the problem.

Generalization refers to a social process where human thoughts and practices are taken as “normal”, “simple”, “always-done” and “natural”. Religious and social values determine what human thoughts or practice are considered “normal” and what is “deviant”. Since human practice is based on these values, it is predetermined. Therefore, human beings are encouraged to repeat the practice they have been doing over and over again. Repetitive practices are associated with habits or diaries in such a way that over time, people begin to take them as “normal”, “done” and “necessary” practices rather than specific prevailing religious-social values. Following everyday practices of discrimination in social structures, the media are operating with the same nature in their contents and in the organizational structures. As an agent of social reformation, the media are lacking in creating equal space for ethnic minorities and Dalit communities. The representation of journalists is always to the same degree in every kind of media with little room to improvement, unless there is a change in mindsets. Education can play a crucial role, but the necessary change in mindsets do not operat in isolation, it is necessary to provide the material and symbolic conditions for a sustenaible change.

Religious-social hegemonic values force human beings to be disciplined by controlling them. In such a society like in Nepal, any disciplined practice is not uncommon. Therefore, the social practice specified

by religious-social values, no matter how inhuman, when linked to the human diary, ultimately seems "natural", "general" and "unavoidable". This is why it is called the process of generalization in sociology. In some aspects, the victims themselves don't know the incident that is forcefully harmful to them but they have been accepting these incidents as natural. Nepalese print media are cultivating somehow to generalize this type of practice against the ethnic minorities and Dalit communities. The negative stereotypes of the society which has been taken as a natural process against these communities sometimes reflect in the media contents and the organizational behaviors of the media house. Even, most of the proverbs using caste are being used for describing the "weakness" of a person or to describe him/her as a manner-less human.

For example, discrimination and untouchability of Dalits within the Hindu caste system is the result of prevailing religious, social and cultural beliefs. Discrimination against Dalits and untouchability based on these beliefs has been associated with the so-called upper caste diaries for thousands of years around the South Asian regions. Another example reflects more clearly that pouring water on Dalits, not allowing them to enter the house of the so-called upper caste and not allowing them to engage in religious and social activities in public places is old, which is still part of the daily rituals of elites. From the point of Hinduism, untouchability and discrimination based on caste is not seen as an immoral act. As the culture of caste discrimination and untouchability has been generalized in the name of Hinduism, its acceptance and effectiveness are still strong. As a result, there has been an increase in the widespread reproduction of ethnic violence and exclusion and crime against ethnic minorities and Dalits. Centuries long mind set against minorities is difficult to change within a short pace of political change.

The concept of generalization, as stated by the French philosopher Michel Foucault, is linked to the relation of power (Yengde, 2019). With the words of Foucault, Yengde (2019) argues that the generalization of values has played a major role in the emergence, legitimacy, growth and spread of modern power. According to Yengde (2019), the generalization of caste discrimination and untouchability based on Hindu religious values has helped the so-called upper caste community in Nepal to dominant society and expand the potential for power creation within the state. Finally, through the generalization of caste discrimination, Nepalese ethnic communities have been living in the state power. The generalization of inhumanity such as caste discrimination and untouchability does not help to stop the exclusion practice of the society rather than encouraging it to flourish.

How can ethnic violence be stopped when the state, the media and the intellectuals are the protectors of caste discrimination and untouchability by generalizing it? With the generalization of any violation against ethnic minorities and Dalits on the one hand, their power relations with the state are getting stronger day by day, on the other hand, the social justice of the ethnic minorities and of the Dalits is at stake. It is certain that the deprived groups will not get social justice unless they revolt against those who rejoice in society and state power by depriving them of their natural right to live as human beings. The media themselves have to support them and to treat them equally in their contents.

The ethnic and the Dalit movement have developed as a qualitative political movement in Nepal than in neighbor country India. According to Ahuti (2020), it is clear from the historical fact that the Hindu rulers of India and Nepal have done a lot of injustice and atrocities especially against Dalits and other lower caste communities. In the modern age, the media are playing some positive role against the discrimination and against exclusion of ethnic minorities.

The eight-decade long movement of indigenous and Dalit in Nepal has succeeded in enshrining some of the rights of these communities in the constitution. It is necessary now to enhance them by their contents and solidarity by the national level media respectively. The inclusion movements of ethnic minorities which have been involved in the socio-cultural reform movement for a long time, has been transferred into political movements and the compulsory issue of the media as well in the present.

Why is the ethnic minority's movement of Nepal not able to become strong even though it has taken on a political character? Why is it that even the constitutional rights derived from great sacrifices and sacrifices have not been effectively implemented? Why can't the movement be concentrated and result-oriented with the resolution of political issues? Politicians, activists and journalists should give strategic and tactical answers to these questions. Nepalese media have a big role to establish and flourish equality in the society. The main task of the movement is to fight, even if only partially enshrined in the society and the media, to be the assistant of the marginalized communities.

The struggle against inhumanism in terms of caste that has prevailed in Nepalese society for centuries should be broadened by the media. The so-called upper caste always despises the ethnic minorities and the Dalits to make them powerless but the mainstream media has a crucial role to be a part of their right based movements. Brahmanism is the idea and tendency that creates a chasm of inequality and discrimination. In Nepali society, Brahmanism has strengthened the caste system and on the basis of this system deliberately pushed these communities back from the overall sphere of life.

The newly promulgated constitution 2015 does not have any articles that help to exclude the minorities but to implement all the acts is still a challenge because of the deep-rooted mindset against ethnic minorities and "untouchables". Media have several roles to implement the constitutions on one hand and on the other hand media should guarantee equality in their contents and the manpower as well. Definitely, representation of the caste groups in the newsroom increases the fact base reporting towards respective minorities. Lacking the accurate information in the news stories sometimes creates the misunderstanding that led the society to the violence.

All of the participants of this research agreed with the main idea of the project which aimed to expose the inequality phenomena of mainstream print media during news dissemination. The media draws the line between the people as ingroup and outgroup without any hesitation. Hindu Brahmin and Chhetriya are drawn as ingroup and rest of the ethnic and "untouchable" groups are taken as outgroups in Nepalese journalistic practices. Most of the media emphasize the majority perspective. To avoid the biases, the mainstream media should focus on maintaining balance to their audiences. Brahmins and Chhetris unknowingly represented as social actors and decision makers likewise ethnic castes are represented as powerless and nameless. Without accepting the fact of multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-linguistic social structure, such types of stereotypes always prevail in the organizations. Respecting the existence of all citizens is the single way of inclusion.

Media tend to serves to the elites neglecting lower status groups, but publics also tend pay less attention to members of these groups (Cabecinhas & Amâncio, 1999). Media use their words and angle the incidents on the basis of elite group interests. Moreover, Nepalese mainstream print media are operated by power elites to serve the political parties of their interests which make the media a puppet on serious issues. Likewise, INGOs also have played a crucial role to make the media bias in their nature because of their investment in certain issues. As a small country with lower literacy rate, Nepal is a small market for media so that the investors of media always are operated by different groups. To avoid this critical situation, they must show solidarity on the serious issues such as national integration, social cohesion and social harmony. There were lots of examples of INGO's investment on media during the drafting phase of the constitution 2015 against the social harmony. Media, as a watchdog of the society has to maintain certain duties (Social responsibilities) rather than to make profit.

Suggestions for promoting social inclusion and justice in the media

Exclusion is the common problem of Nepalese society as well as of the political parties which has been reflecting in every aspect of the human life of ethnic minorities and low caste people. To avoid the exclusion in the media, it is recommended that the media pay attention to the diverse nature of the nation. Media should be inclusive in terms of caste representation. Caste based discrimination and untouchability is a criminal offense in our country. Such crimes are punishable, whether in public or in private but the media has also been accused of failing to take this fact seriously. Today we are in the age of information and communication. The media is deciding what kind of commentary to make in public circles. In this regard, the role of the media remains important in ending ethnic violence.

Ethnic minorities and low caste people are presented in a sympathetic way in news and other media contents rather than to carry out the reality. Showing just sympathy on the contents is not the solution against inequality and exclusion. This practice of covering their issues should be skewed by preparing the materials in credible and accurate form and to be solution oriented. Different ethnic groups have their distinct cultural traditions and religious practices. To avoid the misinformation about these cultural and religious practices, the media should appoint reporters from such groups who might have general information on.

Nepal is a multilingual country with 123 ethnic languages but the media are disseminating their contents only in Nepali language except some exceptional cases. Complaints against Nepalese media by the ethnic groups might be barred by publishing some special issues in different ethnic languages respectively and frequently.

Media is not paying attention to the festivals of ethnic groups compared with dominant Hindu Brahmin. Media should cover the festivals of ethnic groups with special emphasis which would be the milestone for maintaining equality in media contents. Media should be inclusive. To maintain the equal representation in human resources in the media house, they should be prepared for hiring the reporters proportionately from different caste groups which can be the practical example of inclusionary practices.

Profit motive media always concentrate on doing business but media as a carrier of consciousness should have some social responsibility as well. Bearing social responsibility by the media is a key to making a society inclusive and fair. There are a huge number of unlawful practices especially against

low caste people in the society these days. To implement the laws and to make folks follow the constitutional provisions, the media could play a crucial role with organizing media campaigns with awareness.

Editorials and other opinion-based articles related to the ethnic minorities and low caste communities should be prioritised for creating pressure on the authorities. News should be covered in a positive manner rather than formality. Regularly following-up of the events is the best way to compensate for the under-privileged groups. Mainstreaming the marginalized communities is the central problem of Nepali politics which has long been debated but the scenario still is worse. Editorial privileges could be used for those deprived groups to raise them. Editorial on ethnic minorities and Dalit issues should be written frequently.

Practices of alternative media have just been started in Nepal. They could be the exceptional medium for communities whose voice has not been heard. Some of the indigenous groups and Dalit groups are practicing alternative media. The Authorities should encourage them formally. Investment of NGOs against right base movements is a bitter experience in the past. Media houses should not neglect the ground reality of the society and should not forget human dignity.

Press council Nepal regularly should monitor the media to make them responsible and to follow journalistic regulations. Editorial desk should prioritize the ethnic issues with sensibility and to develop the editorial policy to be progressive in the sense of equality. Affirmative action (providing extra opportunities for historically marginalized groups) in the newsroom is the better way to make a media inclusive. Changing newsroom culture is essencial but it is not sufficient to fight against social inequality and ethnic discrimination, however, it is an important and decisive step. With this dissertation, we hope to have contributed to make it clear the need for change.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A – Participants of in-depth interview with their organizational affiliation and their caste group

S.N.	Name of participants	Designation	Caste	Gender
1.	Jagat Dong 40	President of Indigenous Television	Tamang	Male
2.	Naresh Khapangi 40	President of FNJ UK chapter	Magar	Male
3.	Prakash Sundas 35	Correspondent, BBC Nepali	Pariyar	Male
4.	Gauri Nepali 30	Member, Dalit Reader	Pariyar	Female
5.	Ves Raj Danuwar 40	Founder, Radio Namobuddha	Danwar	Male
6.	Phulman Bal 42	General manager, Nepal Television (State owned)	Tamang	Male
7.	Ram Lohani 53	Writer/Professor	Brahmin	Male
8.	Sarita Pariyar 37	Writer/Dalit Activist	Pariyar	Female
9.	Dhrubahari Adhikari 65	Former Correspondent of BBC/Reuters/IPS	Brahmin	Male
10.	Dr. Bishnu Maya Pariyar 48	President, EDWON	Pariyar	Female
11.	Dr. Ganesh Yonjan 55	CCM, Janata Samajwadi Party/ Sociologist	Tamang	Male
12.	Lekhnath Pandey 40	Professor/Freelancing journalist	Brahmin	Male
13.	Prakash Baraili 34	Research Coordinator	Pariyar	Male
14.	Ranjit Tamang 37	Senior journalist	Tamang	Male
15.	Ramsharan Bajagain 47	Media expert, office of the PM	Brahmin	Male
16.	Deepak Sapkota 33	Coordinator, Kosheli (Saturday Supplement of Kantipur Daily)	Brahmin	Male

Appendix B – Selected News Headlines from Kantipur National Daily

S.N.	News Headlines	Date	Page
1.	When drinking too much alcohol.....	May 14, 004	5
2.	'Kumal' dancing Sorathi in Dhading (Photo)	May 14, 004	8
3.	Agitation by Federation of Indigenous	May 16, 004	3
4.	Married to brother-in-law for support	May 17, 004	5
5.	Darji forced to sew Maoist combat dress; Dozens leave village	May 14, 004	8
6.	Free distribution of goats to Dalit women	June 15, 005	9
7.	Endangered tribes without citizenship	June 16, 005	2
8.	Five-year-old Tulku as Autari Lama	June 18, 005	1
9.	Misuse of scholarship amount for Dalit	June 18, 005	4
10.	A sit-in by pregnant girlfriend	June 18, 005	5
11.	"The media does not cover the voice of indigenous"	June 19, 005	3
12.	Chepang stopped looking for Gittha (wild food)	June 19, 005	12
13.	Consensus on Dalit beating controversy	June 20, 005	5
14.	Training for Dalits	June 20, 005	8
15.	Citizenship to Chepang	June 15, 005	8
16.	Children go to school instead of killing rats	June 15, 005	8
17.	The issue of ethnic liberation	July 25, 006	7
18.	Campaign against discrimination	July 31, 006	8
19.	Participants of a seminar on 'Role of dalit women on reforming the nation' (Photo)	August 22, 007	1
20.	Sit-in by Tamang Front	August 22, 007	5
21.	Half-naked protest by Badi women	August 23, 007	5
22.	Dalit children deprived of education	August 23, 007	9
23.	First music album from Manange language	August 23, 007	18
24.	Food to Chepang	August 23, 007	8
25.	Awakening of Newars	August 24, 007	S.*[21]
26.	National shame: (Editorial)	August 24, 007	6
27.	Sit-in by Indigenous	August 24, 007	9

[21] *S= Saturday Supplement

S.N.	News Headlines	Date	Page
28.	Nine killed in landslide (Dalit family)	August 25, 007	1
29.	God and Dalit Bishwarkarma (Opinion)	September 17, 008	6
30.	Memorandum submitted by Indigenous	September 18, 008	5
31.	Bote youth to India	September 18, 008	11
32.	Celebrity from Sunuwar	September 19, 008	S.*
33.	Anthem of indigenous	September 19, 008	4
34.	Color of Jitiya	September 21, 008	4
35.	Bee keeping a boon to Chepang	September 21, 008	16
36.	Government-Newar community agreement	September 22, 008	2
37.	Gandarbha siblings of Kutumba Band	September 22, 008	4
38.	Army officer from Chepang community	September 22, 008	18
39.	Tharu story of infertility	September 22, 008	4
40.	Shankar as Dalit president	September 23, 008	11
41.	Demand for Dalit minister at land reform ministry	September 23, 008	13
42.	Lama Guru is ill	April 14, 009	15
43.	Child marriage practice continues in Chepang community	April 14, 009	16
44.	Tamang assembly in Capital	April 15, 009	2
45.	Cinema on Tamang language	April 16, 009	6
46.	Identity: Dominance and Discrimination (Opinion)	April 16, 009	9
47.	Listing office of indigenous	April 20, 009	3
48.	Minority: Based on number or issues? (Opinion)	April 16, 009	9
49.	Single teacher from Gandarbha community	October 20, 010	5
50.	Kohar seeking alternative profession	October 20, 010	5
51.	Tribal nationalities: Invalid noun (Opinion)	October 21, 010	7
52.	Magar film in Myagdi	October 21, 010	9
53.	The ancestral profession in crisis	October 23, 010	10
54.	Dalit villages of Salyan becoming man-less	October 25,010	13
55.	Regional convention of Tharu has been held	October 21, 010	10
56.	Banner Photo of press meet where a Dalit is complaining about misbehave on him by so-called upper caste	November 17, 011	1

S.N.	News Headlines	Date	Page
57.	Halt on forming expert committee	November 17, 011	1
58.	Dalit headmaster beaten in discrimination controversy	November 17, 011	2
59.	Immobility of 88 hundred thousand in indigenous foundation	November 17, 011	3
60.	Dalit: Identity and Resistance (Opinion)	November 17, 011	6
61.	Tighten KAKAS	November 19, 011	3
62.	Sensitivity of State restructuring (Editorial)	November 20, 011	6
63.	Inequality, movement and the rights (Opinion)	November 21, 011	6
64.	Anu as 'Miss Dhimal'	November 21, 011	11
65.	Four arrested (Follow up news)	November 23, 011	14
66.	Gurung Lhosar being celebrated	December 26, 012	4
67.	Bote spend the night heating the fire	December 26, 012	5
68.	Demand of Yomari by singing songs	December 29, 012	4
69.	Udhauli in Capital city	December 29, 012	4
70.	Depending on wild food	April 15, 013	9
71.	Gurung film in Hong-Kong	April 16, 013	11
72.	Congress of Indigenous federation on 27	April 16, 013	16
73.	Leadership debate in Indigenous federation	April 17, 013	2
74.	Miss Tamang as conservation ambassador	April 18, 013	13
75.	Admission campaign starts from Thami village	April 20, 013	5
76.	Magar culture in the city	April 15, 013	10
77.	'Definition of Indigenous is wrong'	April 18, 013	3
78.	Seminar on Kirat music	April 18, 013	9

Appendix C – Selected News Headlines from The Rising Nepal (English Edition of Gorkhapatra National Daily)

S.N.	News Headlines	Date	Page
1.	Nepalese women in Teej mood	September 5, 005	3
2.	Man arrested with illegally imported goods	September 5, 005	3
3.	Haritalika Teej being observed today	September 6,005	1
4.	Action against culprits demanded	September 6, 005	3
5.	Teej festival celebrated	September 7, 005	1
6.	Bote community children suffering from malnutrition	September 7, 005	3
7.	Youth murdered in Siraha	January 28, 006	3
8.	Health for all (Editorial)	January 28, 006	4
9.	Lhosar: Here comes Sherpa's New year (Feature)	January 29, 006	3
10.	Lhosar greetings	January 30, 006	1
11.	Girl dies	February 5, 007	3
12.	Radios help Dalits to know about election	March 1, 008	3
13.	Fifth Sarangi day marked	March 1, 008	7
14.	Have you ever tasted oil from fried mustard in Khokana? (Feature)	March 3, 008	3
15.	Khaling Rai: People and language (Feature)	March 7, 008	*S.
16.	For indigenous music	March 7, 008	*S.
17.	Photo: women from Badi community in Banke	April 3, 009	3
18.	Upper caste man humiliates Dalit	April 4, 009	3
19.	Youth murdered	April 7, 009	3
20.	Photo: Girls play flute in Prajapati conference in capital	May 1, 010	7
21.	Two kids drown	May 3, 010	3
22.	Nepal's cultural diversity (Editorial)	May 7, 010	4
23.	Law against caste based discrimination welcomed	June 4, 011	1
24.	Disability not a curse	June 4, 011	3
25.	Experts against forming local bodies on basis of ethnicity	June 5, 011	6
26.	Caste based laws limited only on papers, lip services	June 6, 011	3
27.	PM stresses strong legal provision to end untouchability	June 5, 011	6

S.N.	News Headlines	Date	Page
28.	Premier holds talks with janajati leaders	July 4, 012	1
29.	Janajati leaders decide to form new political force	July 6, 012	1
30.	Palpa's Botes lack toilets	July 6, 012	3
31.	Janajatis all set to launch new party	July 7, 012	1
32.	Protect Dalit rights documented by the CA	July 7, 012	6
33.	Danuwar woman receives land ownership certificate	August 1, 013	3
34.	Dev Tamang mastermind of Babarmahal explosion: Police	August 3, 013	1
35.	Inter-caste marriages up in Far-West	August 4, 013	3
36.	Women from Tharu community still away from safe motherhood program	August 7, 013	6
37.	Limbuwan state council warn of split from 33 parties alliance	August 1, 013	3
38.	Issue of ethnic states raised with ill-intention, says KP Oli	August 4, 013	1
39.	Age no bar for Magar to work as postman	January 2, 014	3
40.	'Pole endorsed multiple-identity based federalism' (Interview)	January 5, 014	3
41.	Photo: Tharu girls on their traditional attire	January 6, 014	6
42.	Photo: Children of free-Kamaiya from Banke playing	January 7, 014	6