

# THE SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE: A STUDY OF TIBETAN REFUGEES' AGGRESSION EXPRESSION IN NEPAL

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## ABSTRACT

This study delves into the spiral of violence by Tibetan refugees as a model of opinion expression in a minority community through an examination of news coverage of Tibetan refugees by the Nepalese press and their aggression expression pattern. The methodology adopted is based on content analysis and survey. The findings of the study, however, reveal that the Nepalese media concentrates heavily on the coverage of Tibetan refugees' aggressive activities worldwide. Further, the paper posits that due to fear of isolation, Tibetan refugees remain almost silent, and such a behavior compels them to express their voices through different modes of aggression, which create a spiral of violence over time, affecting media, society and refugees themselves.

Keywords: Aggression, communication theory, Expression, mass media, Refugee, Spiral of Violence.

## INTRODUCTION

Nepal's role as a bridge between China and India for Tibetan refugees highlights the country's strategic location between its two giant neighbors. The political and security situation within Nepal cannot be understood without reference to the relationship between India and China. There is an oft-quoted metaphor attributed to an 18<sup>th</sup> Century Nepali king that describes Nepal as "a delicate yam between two boulders". This aptly describes the country's potentially vulnerable position between the two great regional, and increasingly global, powers of India and China (Campbell: 2012, p.4)

After the revival of democracy in 1990, there was a quantum growth in media in Nepal (Dahal and Timsina: 2007, p.78). This has played a decisive role in promoting and strengthening news coverage practice of press for all, including minorities like Tibetan refugees. The Freedom of Press was assured by the Constitution, and the National Communication Policy of 1992 had promised greater autonomy to the government-controlled broadcast media and privatization of electronic media industry through the issuing of license. However, in reality, writing that was perceived as undermining the monarchy, national security and public order was broadly suppressed by both the constitution and press and publication Act. The country's main television and radio station was owned and operated by the government and favors the ruling party (Dahal and Timsina: 2007, p. 33).

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With the restoration of multiparty democracy in 1990, the media environment in Nepal took a dramatic turn (Kharel: 2006, p.154). The issue of freedom of speech and expression first found specific recognition in the country's first Constitution in 1948 but it was never implemented. All subsequent four constitutions in 1951, 1958, 1963 and 1990 made similar recognition with varied wordings and provisions. The acts that followed were of different nature and pattern however (Kharel: 2006, p.159). The interim Constitution of 2006 has followed the same earlier pattern (Aryal: 2012b, p.150).

The refugee problem has existed since the emergence of Nepal as a nation-state. War, famine and political oppression contributes to population displacement.

From a theoretical perspective, there are six broad causal factors responsible for refugee creation namely (i) anti-colonial wars and self-determination movements; (ii) international conflicts; (iii) revolutions, coups and regime changes; (iv) ethnic, communal and religious conflicts; (v) creation and restructuring of state boundaries, and (vi) population transfers (Noilot, 1987). However, Muni and Baral identify three broad categories of refugee-generating factors in South Asia (Muni, S.D. and Baral, Lok Raj, 1996) which obviously applies to Nepal as well.

In the last few decades, Nepal has experienced a steady tension of Tibetan refugees as a major problem. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Global Appeal 2010-11, there are 20,000 Tibetan refugees living in Nepal, with an additional 1,500 Tibetans living in "refugee like situations," although the real number is likely to be far higher. Since 2006, when slightly less than 2,600 Tibetans made the crossing, the number of Tibetans making the perilous journey into exile had declined. Between January 1 and December 31, 2009, only 838 Tibetans were recorded by the Tibetan Refugee Reception Center (TRRC) as having made the dangerous crossing from Tibet to Nepal. Estimates suggest between 2,500 and 3,000 Tibetans escape Tibet and enter Nepal each year after a perilous journey over the Himalayas on their way to Dharamsala (Aryal: 2012b, p.5).

#### THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE SPIRAL OF SILENCE THEORY

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

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

People tend to conceal their views if they feel they are in a minority and are more willing to express them if they think they are dominant. As a result, the views perceived to be dominant gain more traction, and alternative viewpoints retreat into oblivion. This creates the spiraling effect.

Introduced in 1974, the 'spiral of silence' theory is one that explores hypotheses to determine why some groups remain silent while others are more vocal in forums of public discourse. The theory contends that the silence displayed by certain groups is due to the unpopularity of their opinions in the public sphere. While the majority groups are supported by and consequently have the willingness to speak out on their issues, the minority groups remain silent due to a fear of isolation (Neill:2009, p.5).

The spiral of silence is a mass communication theory introduced by Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann (1974) to describe the process of public opinion formation. Noelle-Neumann defines the “spiral of silence” as the process an individual experiences when “he may find that the views he holds are losing ground; the more this appears to be so, the more uncertain he will be of himself, and the less he will be inclined to express his opinion”. The lack of self-certainty that the author speaks of, is fueled by how an individual perceives his social environment. Noelle-Neumann calls this the “quasi-statistical picture of the distribution of opinions.” The author also says that how an individual’s views about his social environment is strongly influenced by mass media. If the individual observes spread of the more prevalent opinion (not his own), he becomes less inclined to voice his own opinion publicly. As Noelle-Neumann puts it, the tendency of the one to speak up and the other to be silent starts off a spiraling process which increasingly establishes one’s opinion as the prevailing one. Thereby, public opinion is identified, by the silenced individual as the opinion that is generally acceptable by the public and can be voiced openly with no fear (Neill: 2009, p.7).

The role of reference groups has also evolved as a source of criticism over the years. Some researchers say that reference groups provide an individual with bias in terms of how he/she views the actual social climate. For example, Moy, Domke & Stamm (2001), state that when asked to assess the broader climate of opinion, individuals may project from their experiences in reference groups to the world around them. Recent adaptation of the role of reference groups finds that they are the primary threat to the individual experiencing fear because the opinions of the reference group can become more important than that of the societal climate of opinion. This particular theory regarding reference groups was successfully tested using the topic of affirmative action (Neill: 2009, p. 17).

Frances Bowen and Kate Blackmon (2003) used the spiral of silence theory to support their writing on the dynamics of gays and lesbians choice to speak out or remain silent within workplace organizations. The authors address the willingness to speak- out dynamic by positing that there is a second spiral of silence that exists on a “micro level within the workgroup and organization”. This sub- spiral comes from an existing “negative climate of opinion” in the work environment that renders the gay or lesbian individual to hide their sexual orientation. The authors call such phenomena as “organizational silence”. The opposite of organizational silence is organizational voice, which the authors describe as a voluntary and open disclosure of personal views in order to affect change within and organization (Neill: 2009, p. 17).

The aim of this research was to establish the spiral of violence theory by studying Tibetan refugee’s aggression expression pattern after the spiral of silence in reference to Nepalese press coverage before and after restoration of democracy in 1990. The study identified such effects by examining the response of Tibetan refugees and Nepalese media’s coverage since they were directly concerned with the media and its coverage. Moreover, current knowledge on various areas of Tibetan refugee and Nepalese media in Nepal was studied by examining the related and latest literature from Nepal and other countries. The study was based on quantitative methods, but it also applied qualitative methods to cross check the findings received from the quantitative methods. Thus the study helped in expanding the current body of knowledge on refugee study, media study, human rights study, international relation study, political study etc. Based on the conceptual framework and its purpose, the following research questions were addressed by this study: What do the Tibetans speak in Nepalese press? If not, why? What are the reasons behind it? Is it spiraling of silence? Is there any factor for such a spiral of silence? If yes, what it is? Is spiral of a silence the end? Or, there is something more after? If there is more than what it will be? Why minority like Tibetans express their expression violently? Where does it affect after all? Is there any model which represents the entire phenomena?

## METHODOLOGY

Two methods such as survey with questionnaires and content analysis were used in this research. The respondents were Tibetan refugees (n=700). Analyzed contents were news and views published in newspapers (n=779). Total 778 questionnaires had been distributed on selected refugee camps of Kathmandu on January, February, March and April 2013. A total of 700 samples were randomly collected from three refugee camps namely, Jawalakhel, Boudha, and Swyambhu representing the entire refugee for their aggression expression pattern analysis.

### CONTENT ANALYSIS: METHODOLOGY I

According to Berelson (1952), content analysis is a research technique for the objective systematic description of manifest content of communication. Similarly, Kerlinger (2000) defines content analysis as a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables cited in Wimmer and Dominick (2009). Therefore, content analysis was used in this study as a tool to extract data from the content of the selected newspapers of respective years.

#### Sample size

In the context of this study, there is no doubt it is an impossible task to study all daily newspapers of 54 years after the influx of Tibetan refugee in Nepal. Considering the time frame, constraint and most especially unavailability of some of the members of the population to the researcher is another reason. Therefore, only three newspapers were purposefully selected for the study of each year. These are namely:

Table 1: Sample Size, Years and Press

S. No.	Years and Press					
	1969	1974	1989	2004	2008	2012
1	Samaj = 39	Naya Samaj= 7	Samaj= 29	THT= 83	THT= 141	THT=107
2	TheCommoner= 10	Gorkhapatra=37	Dainik Siddhartha=10	TRN= 2	TRN= 35	TRN= 9
3	Motherland= 14	Hamro Des= 7	Gorkhapatra= 12	TKP= 29	TKP= 178	TKP= 30
Total	63	51	51	114	354	146

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

Source: Content Survey, 2012

### UNIT OF MEASUREMENT/ANALYSIS

To get answer of the previously raised question as independent variables; news tone/frame/angle (anti-China, one-China and unspecified), Perception (news with a quote of TR, quotes of Dalai Lama and Government –in-exile representative, quotes of general TR and news without a quote of TR), news source (agency and non-agency), total news item, total space (cm<sup>2</sup>), pre-democracy and post-democracy coverage are searched and answered as dependent variables in respect of news and views content. The content was coded, verified and validated according to both quantitative and qualitative variables.

### SURVEY: METHODOLOGY II

The sampling population for this study was comprised of Tibetan refugee community of different camps. Total Population of the Tibetan refugee living in Nepal as per Tibetan Demography survey in exile done in the year 2009 (TDS) is 13,514 consisting of total male 6,543 and female 6,971. But certain media and organization says that Tibetan population in Nepal is around 20000. Total population of the

demography survey done in the year 1998 is 12,224 with male population 6,319 and female population 5,905. According to the Demography survey 2009, there are altogether 3,265 Tibetan household in Nepal, number of normal household is 3,083 and 182 household consist of institutional household like (school, monastery, institution, elders home etc)(Aryal: 2012).

#### ESTIMATION OF SAMPLE SIZE

The required sample size for each domain was estimated using the following expressions: Yamane (1967:886) provides a simplified formula to calculate sample sizes. This formula was used to calculate the sample sizes shown below. A 95% confidence level and  $P = .5$  is assumed with following Equation:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

where  $n$  is the sample size,  $N$  is the population size, and  $e$  is the level of precision. Under these assumptions, the total number of required samples turns out to be 389 and judging this figure with pretest recommends making double the sample, which becomes 778. During the pretest time, response rate was 50 % after caring pretest and its response rate. Thus, altogether 778 samples were drawn from three refugee camps. So that proper result will be carried out to get generalization. This number was allocated to different camps and locations with different volume.

#### LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study had several limitations. First, perceptions of Tibetan refugees on news coverage by Nepalese press as well as perception of their status and effects of 1990's democracy on news coverage of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press may not equate actual situation of the specific media coverage as well as Tibetan refugee's condition. Second, data were collected on a specific group of people and belonging to a specific work environment. Third, because of the legal procedure (foreign policy of Nepal is One-China) during the survey period, data were collected from Kathmandu and three refugee settlements only by using volunteer researcher. Lastly, the scope of this study is also limited in terms of budget and time available for this kind of study. Therefore work was focused only in the content analysis of 3 newspapers of 6 years' time frame before and after restoration of democracy. The research has several other limitations. The study includes only content analysis of three broadsheet daily English newspaper from Kathmandu. As compared to the total number of the potential print, the sample size is small. The survey study includes participants from three Tibetan refugee camps of capital city Kathmandu (Boudha, Swyambhu and Jawalakhel). As compared to the total number of the potential respondents, the sample size is small. The study gives more focus to the quantitative study than qualitative study. It focuses only on News coverage by Nepalese print media before and after 1990's restoration of democracy and aggression expression pattern on it by Tibetan refugee living now in Nepal.

#### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This study examined statistically significant differences that exist in the effects of 1990's democracy in news coverage of Tibetan refugee and their aggression expression pattern especially before and after restoration of democracy in 1990. The study explored how and to what extent 1990's democracy had impacted Tibetan refugee news coverage and what sort of factors they perceived important for it. It also examined whether the suggested criteria were relevant for the Nepalese context or not. The research focused on four issues (a) before 1990's news coverage of Tibetan refugee (b) after 1990's news coverage of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press (c) 1990's democracy effects on News coverage and (d) aggression expression pattern of Tibetan refugee. This research is based primarily on quantitative methods but qualitative methods were also used to crosscheck the findings.

## WHAT DO TIBETANS SPEAK IN PRESS?

The media gives voice to various sections of society through one channel or another. They attract public attention, persuade people, influence their behavior and help define many issues. Access to media is an important factor for enhancing media access to readers, listeners and viewers (Kharel: 2006; p. 89). Table 2 reveals about Tibetan refugee's perception both in Nepalese press in authoritarian era and in democracy .

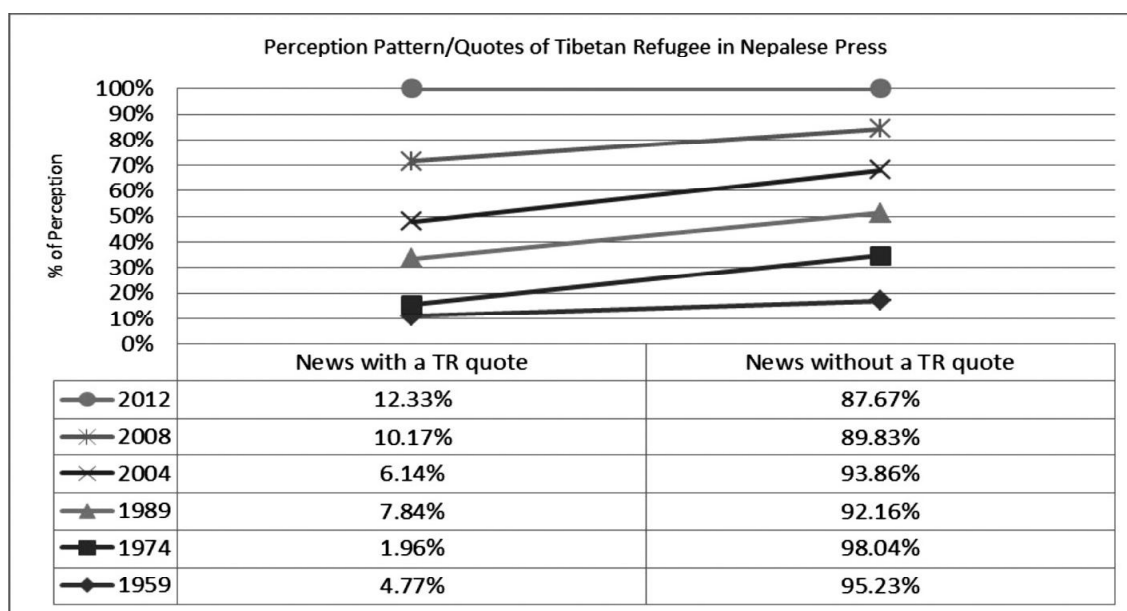
Table 2: Perception Pattern/ Quotes of Tibetan Refugee (TR) in Press

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

Source: Content Survey, 2012

The available data proves that Tibetan refugee community in Nepal is not speaking in front of Nepalese press. Nepalese press quote except Tibetan refugee while dealing with Tibetan refugee news. The following quote pattern results definitely raises questions.

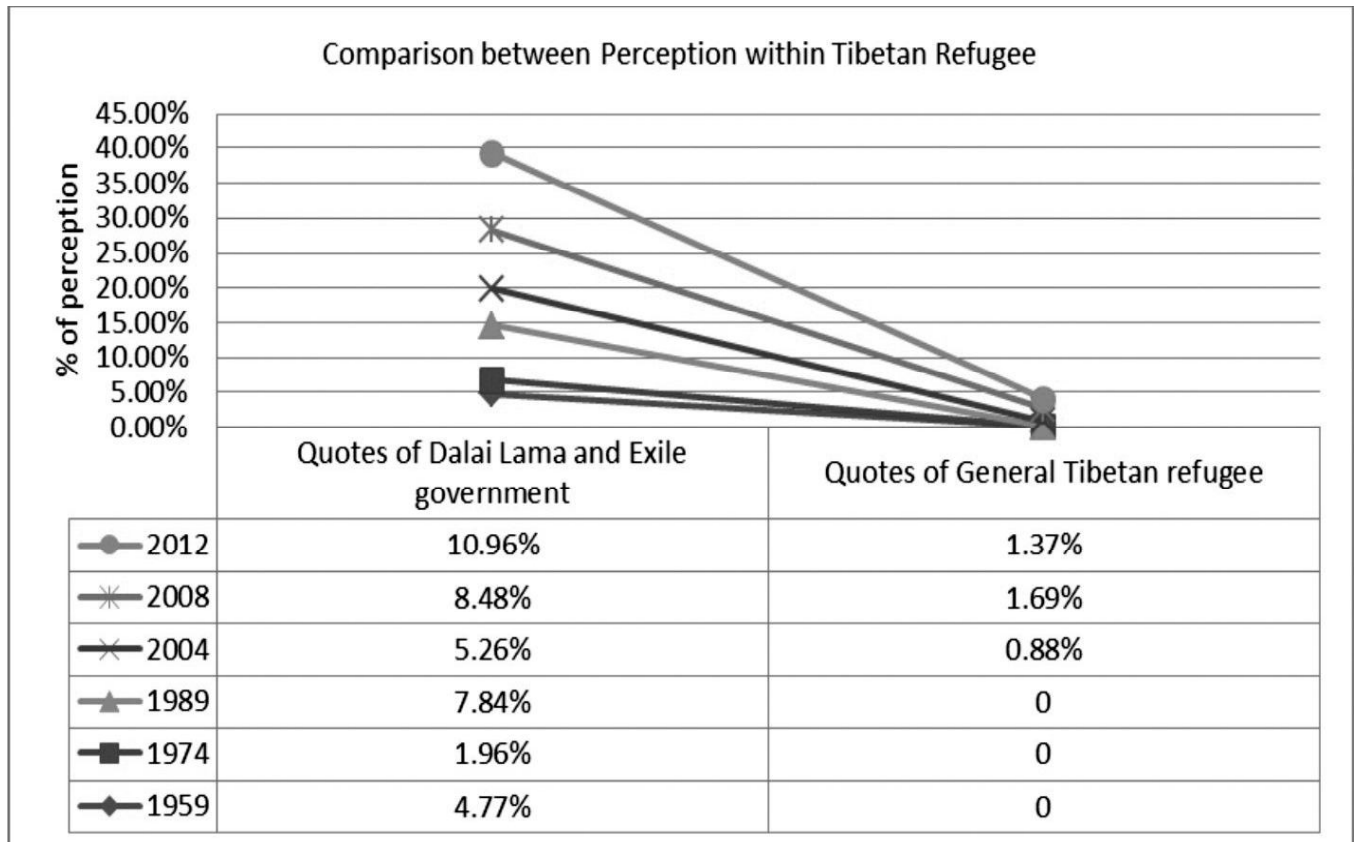
Figure 1



Source: Content Survey, 2012

Using quotes is a very widely accepted practice among journalist. Without quotes, news stories are generally not complete. They add life to a news item (Kharel: 2006, p.80). In case of Tibetan refugee, such reporting does not apply. Another surprising result about the perception representation of Tibetan refugee in Nepalese press is as follow:

Figure 2



Source: Content Survey, 2012

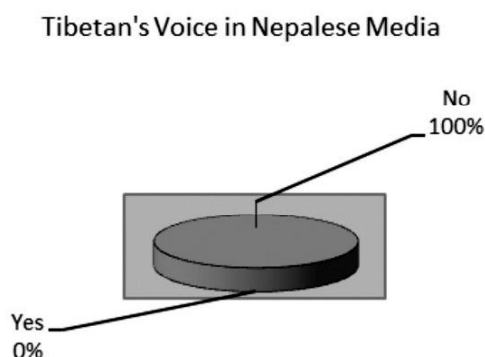
Prajapati (2011, p. 46) shows that the Rising Nepal, has used nil quote of Tibetan refugee in the year 2008. From the above data, it is amply clear that very few voices from the Tibetan refugees are being covered in the press. Most of them belong to either the head of the Government-in-exile, Dalai Lama, or their representatives. But, what about other general refugees who are in great number? Following section covers these issues.

#### TEST

Has restoration of democracy in 1990 been useful for Tibetan refugees in terms of enabling them to express their opinion in Nepalese press? On the basis of available data for quotes, the expected frequency corresponding to the number time period and types of news quotes would be 14.615. The  $\chi^2$  analysis of news with Tibetan refugee quotes before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results into  $\sum (O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2 / E_{ij} = 4.164$ . This calculation is based upon 69 news with a TR quote, and 710 news items without a TR quote with total 779 quotes examined. Here in this case, degree of freedom is  $(c-1)(r-1) = 1$ ; and the table value of  $\chi^2$  for 1 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance is 3.841.

## Survey Test: Voice of Tibetan refugee in Nepalese media.

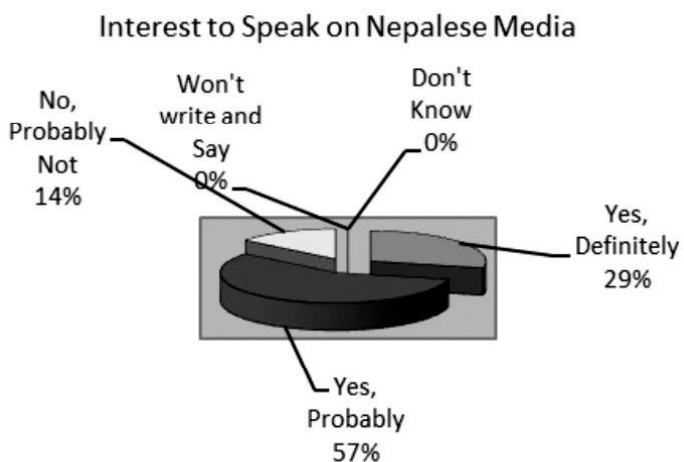
Figure 3



Have your voice ever been taken on Nepalese media as part of coverage because of your beliefs and expressions? The question was asked during survey. Most of the refugees answered in the negative. Hundred percent respondents said they have never spoken to Nepalese media. No refugee till now got a chance to express themselves in Nepalese press. It means no Nepalese media came to them to provide enough space and time. Moreover, Nepalese media never come to cover their voice as opinion.

## Survey Test: Tibetan refugees' interest to express their opinion

Figure 4



Do you have any plan to write and say something about your problems in the Nepalese press in future? When this question was asked, 57 % said 'yes', 29 % said yes definitely and just 14 % said no, probably not. It reveals how most of the Tibetan refugees are in dilemma to express their perception through Nepalese press at any given time.

**WHY TIBETANS DO NOT SPEAK?**

The restoration of democracy in 1990 is useful (effective) in terms of Tibetan refugees expressing their



opinion in Nepalese press as coverage. But, still they are speaking less and quoted rarely in the Nepalese press. This stems from the theory of spiral of silence.

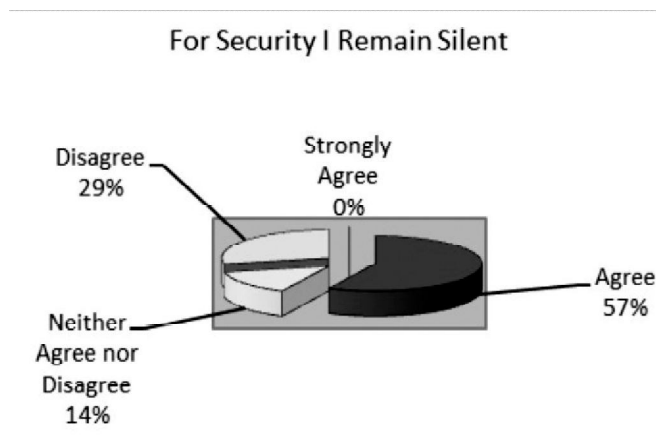
#### CORE ASSUMPTIONS AND STATEMENTS

The phrase “spiral of silence” actually refers to how people tend to remain silent when they feel that their views are in the minority. The model is based on three premises: 1) people have a “quasi-statistical organ,” a sixth-sense if you will, which allows them to know the prevailing public opinion, even without access to polls, 2) people have a fear of isolation and know what behaviors will increase their likelihood of being socially isolated, and 3) people are reticent to express their minority views, primarily out of fear of being isolated.

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

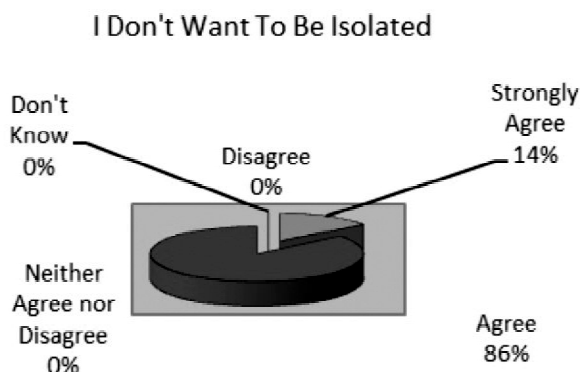
Survey Test: Fear of Isolation.

Figure 5 :Fear of Isolation test



There are 57 % Tibetan refugee who said they agree on such a situation for security purpose. Another 29 % said they disagree on it or to remain silent is unjust. Rest of the 14 % neither agreed nor disagreed on it. They donot have anything to do with security and protest strategy.

Figure 6



Whatever the condition is, 86 % Tibetan refugees agree that they don't want to be isolated from the existing community. It means they do not want to remain in isolation from Nepalese community in the name of freedom. They want to participate in freedom movement harmonizing their struggle with the majority Nepalese community's struggle for authentic democracy. Another 15% strongly agreed on it. Tibetan refugees do not want to go away by leaving everything in Nepal at any cost and the community far behind.

Survey Test: Living in Nepal.

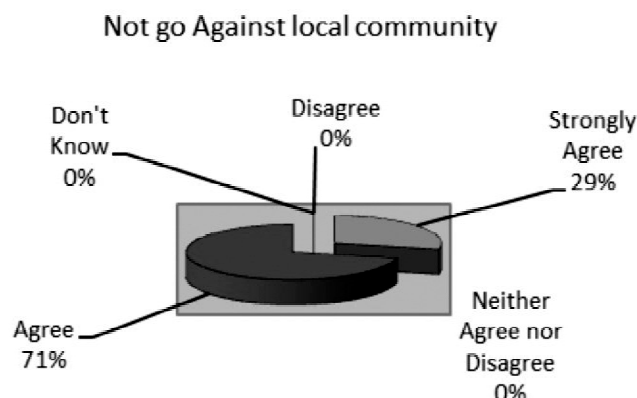
Figure 7



Some people say that they are living now in Nepal in fear, and they say we don't want to leave and say goodbye to Nepal, because everything of ours is here, so want to live here with full of respect, please tell me what you think? Upon such question, 29 % said they are strongly agree. 43 % said they are agreed. 14 % said they are neither agreed nor disagreed. And rest of the 14 % strongly disagreed on it.

Survey Test: Not go against Local Community.

Figure 8



There are 29 % Tibetan refugee who said they are strongly agreed to remain safe in Kathmandu and should not go against local community and people. But in such case, 71 % are agreed. This clearly indicates that Tibetan refugee living now in Nepal does not want to go against local people and want to remain in Nepal in friendly atmosphere. In fact, they are aware about the impact of isolation which generates spiral of silence.

## NEWS SOURCE AS A FACTOR

Sources are one of the most influencing factor on determining news value (Bhandari: 2008, p. 295). Let us look at the pattern of source used on Tibetan refugee news:

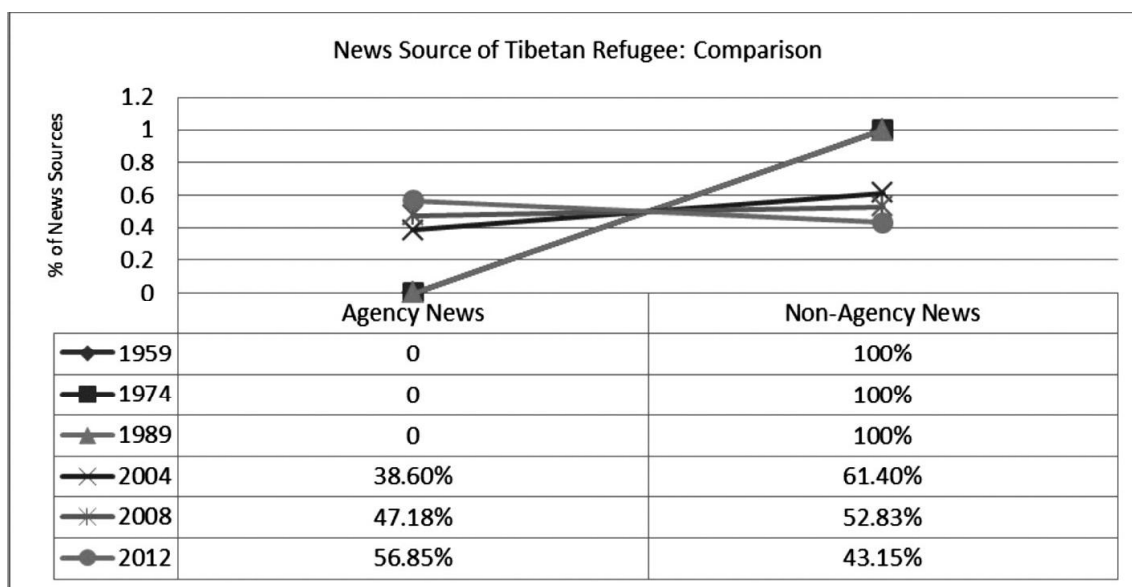
Table 3: News Sources of Tibetan Refugee (TR) in Press

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

Source: Content Survey, 2012

From the Table 3, it is clear that before restoration of democracy in 1990, Nepalese press was hardly using agency news while reporting on Tibetan refugee. When we compared it with the quotes of Tibetan refugees available in the Nepalese press, we found that whenever the use of agency news grow, the use of Tibetan refugee quotes also grows. But, it is not the general Tibetan refugees who are speaking. The quotes are from the higher ups of the community. This indicates that growth in use of agency as news source spread the effect of Dalai Lama and government-in exile's perception, but not that of general Tibetan refugee who are staying in Nepal. Figure 9 reflects the conditions.

Figure 9



Source: Content Survey, 2012

The result indicates that agency news source has no effect on minority's perception coverage.

#### FOREIGN POLICY AS A FACTOR

Nepal's foreign policy towards China is by and large respected by the Nepalese press (Prajapati: 2011, p. 18). The influence of the foreign policy of the country on Nepalese media is high when the issue of Tibet is reported. It is highly unlikely that news media can avoid the sensitivity of the country's foreign relationship with its immediate neighbors and Nepal's geopolitical situation (Prajapati: 2011, p. 79). But the result data is surprising us again, let us look.

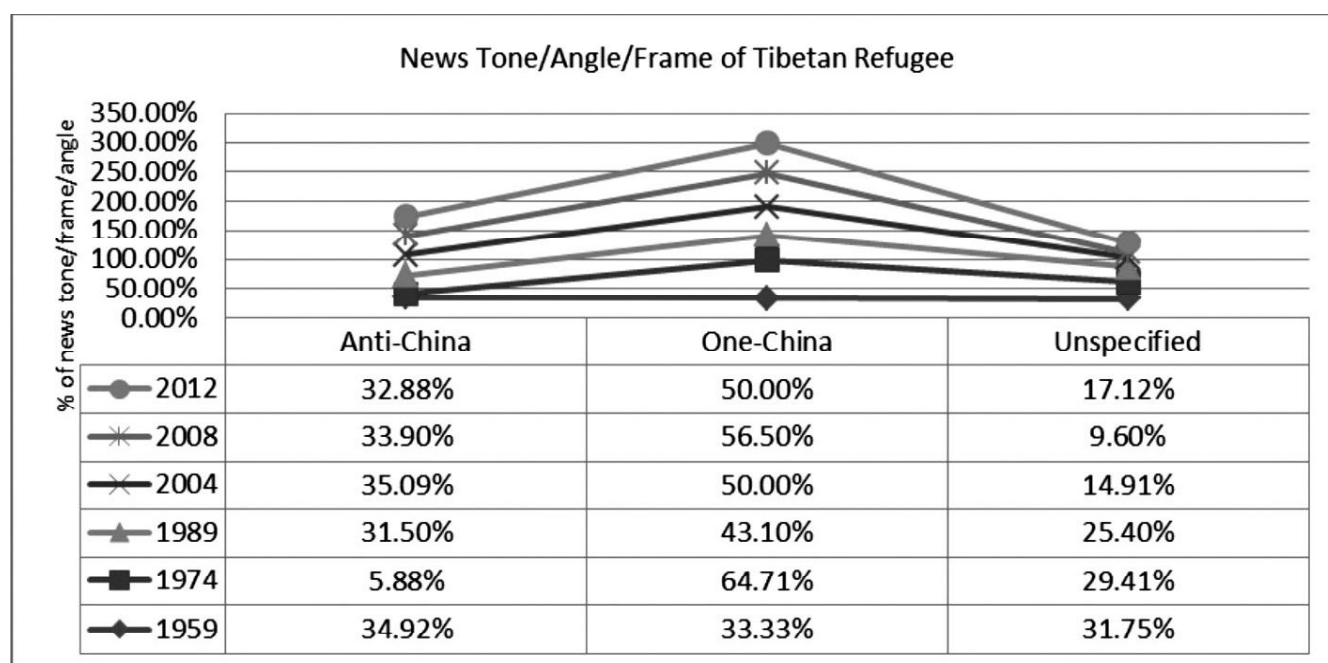
Table 4: Angle/Frame/Tone of Tibetan Refugee News

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

Source: Content Survey, 2012

Table 4 reveals how anti-China reporting in Nepalese press has no difference during pre-1990 and post-1990 period. In other words, there is no effect of foreign policy on Nepalese press for covering Tibetan refugees with anti-China perspective. et us compare:

Figure 10



Source: Content Survey, 2012

## TEST

Whether restoration of democracy in 1990 is effective in controlling anti-China news (content) coverage by the Nepalese press? The answer has to be based upon following assumptions: The  $\chi^2$  analysis of One-China and Anti-China news before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results into the figure of  $\sum (O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2 / E_{ij} = 1.47$  considering 117 One-China news, 249 Anti-China news out of total 655 news items having been examined. In this case, degree of freedom is  $(c-1)(r-1) = 1$ ; and the table value of  $\chi^2$  for 1 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance is 3.841. The calculated value of  $\chi^2$  is much lower than this table value and hence the result of the experiment does support the  $H_0$  hypothesis. We can thus conclude and accept  $H_0$ : Restoration of democracy in 1990 is not effective in controlling the anti-China news (content) coverage by Nepalese press ( $H_0 = \mu =$  which is equivalent to test  $H_0 = D = 0$ ).

## TEST BY EXPERT'S VIEW

Even party affiliated journalists mention that news on Nepal's policy towards Tibetan protest is their newspaper policy; however, the political parties play a dominant role in developing a policy towards presentation. In case of China, Manarishi Dhital, editor of Janadesh weekly said that party line is used in defining their understanding of Nepal-China affairs. "We have concerns about the problems and challenges that China is facing and if there are any anti-China activities, we write to discourage such activities, it is our basic understanding" (Prajapati: 2011, p. 70).

Sudheer Sharma, editor of Kantipur daily points out that Nepalese press handling Tibetan issue is covered in three ways:

"First, when there is simple protest, which becomes news. Second, Tibetan community has lived in Nepal for a long period of time and is linked with Nepali culture. Third, separatist movement in Nepal, though we don't much highlight, as our state's policy is not to accept any sort of separatist movement from Nepal so being a part of state, we should follow it. But we do cover under humanitarian approach and democratic movement, their genuine concern, which they raise coming into the street. As we cover the issue of other community, we also provide space to Tibetan cause. As Tibetan issue is a concern inside Nepal and also internationally, it falls under our priority" (Prajapati: 2011, p. 71).

However, one of the journalists even argued that there should not be policy as such in handling reporting of China or foreign policy in general but should have independent and professional approach. Kanakmani Dixit points out that the issue must be treated case by case:

"One should go as much as professional independence spirit, and in that sense with India of course there is absolutely no bar. Coverage of China is limited by the diffident of Nepali intelligentsia. Nepali intelligentsia feels at ease criticizing India, but it does not feel at ease critiquing China. There are two reasons for that- one reason is that overall, Nepali national world-view is so overwhelmed by India, that we have to make China very important in our life as a balance, as a counter-weight. And we even exaggerate the importance of China like a geo-political tool, to balance India's overwhelming presence. As a result..., Kathmandu intelligentsia and media have evolved therefore, in giving China a very privileged place, where it is not critiqued" (Prajapati: 2011, p.71).

However, there are journalists who defend that state policy does not have much influence on media coverage. Ameet Dhakal terms how it is merely the decision of the inner conscience of the covering journalist. His argument is as follow:

"In an authoritarian state, they may say not to write this story, but in our case no minister or PM has said us not to publish such news of Tibetan issue. If that is said, then it means that state policy has dictated and

has coerced it. But, when we have decided that our national stake is more with China and we have decided not to write about it, it is decision of our conscience. As in the past when China was less assertive, there was loose policy, as China is now more assertive, I think state and political parties, and the media, believe that in handling issue of Tibet, China's sensitivity should be addressed and seen as a unanimity. That's why I don't think that state policy has influenced us" (Prajapati: 2011, p. 72).

Kanamani Dixit points out two reasons for having less coverage about the issue of Tibet. One of the reasons is that there is too much happening in Nepal and another is the influence from the Nepalese intelligentsia in how they perceive China and also avoiding the ways that might make China unhappy. But he explains that media is not directed by the government not to write about Tibetan protest:

"It is not that media have not been able to write but they do not. The point is nobody is stopping them, we have not reached such a level of lack of freedom of press, that if anybody wrote about with this angle, then the Nepali government will stop it. "No". It is more that the media being influenced by weak intelligentsia feels that it is the duty not to challenge the Chinese too much. So, it is more of a philosophical mindset of various individuals in a media, rather than our government telling our media don't. It is a kind of self-censorship, it is not there all the time, you find it coming up so often, media don't write about" (Prajapati: 2011, p. 73).

#### COVERAGE COMPARISON: PRE-1990 AND POST-1990

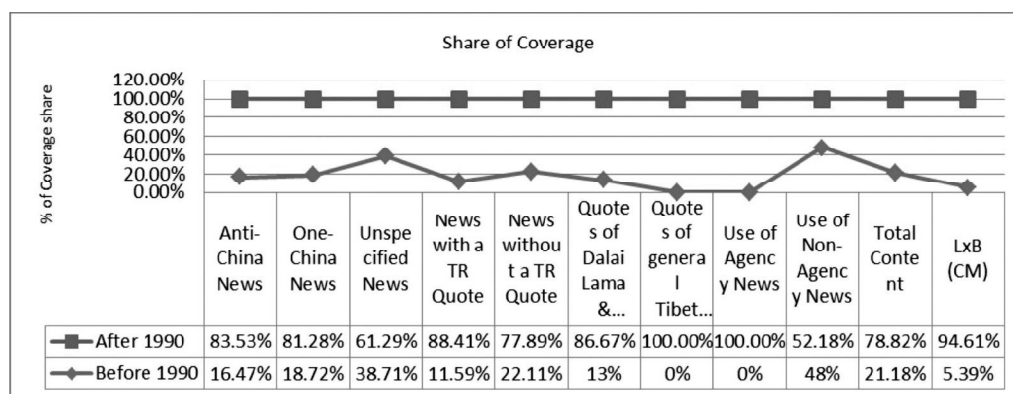
To search answer of previously raised question, a glance at the coverage pattern of Nepalese press before and after restoration of democracy in 1990, is necessary. Table 5 shows total coverage pattern:

Table 5: News Coverage in CM

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

Source: Content Survey, 2012

Figure 11



Source: Content Survey, 2012

## TEST

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

## FINDINGS FROM MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS

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

## TEST

Is there any differences in Tibetan refugee's news coverage before and after Democracy of 1990 by Nepalese press? The answer to this question has been found like this: The  $\chi^2$  analysis of news tone/frame/angle table data of before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results  $\sum (O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2 / E_{ij} = 27.61$ . The sample had 406 One-China news, 249 Anti-China news and 124 not specified news with total 779 news items examined. In this case, degree of freedom is  $(c-1)(r-1) = 2$ ; and the table value for 2 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance is 5.991. So, the calculated value of  $\chi^2$  is much higher than this table value which means that the calculated value cannot be said to have arisen just because of chance. It is significant. Hence, the hypothesis doesn't hold good. This means that the news coverage patterns of Nepalese press between and after restoration of democracy differ and are not similar in volume too. The news coverage volume of one phase must be higher in quantity and space than that of the other. The  $H_1$ : There are differences in Tibetan refugee's news coverage before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 by Nepalese press ( $H_1 = \mu < \mu_2$ ) has been accepted.

## WHAT NEXT?

Why Tibetans are silent in press? After different evidence and tests, the answer is: it is spirals of silence. The paper will now elaborate the spirals of silence theory in the present context based upon the analysis of data to understand minority's perspective.

## PSYCHOLOGICAL TENDENCY OF SILENCED VOICES

In terms of psychological analogies, we could justify the stress with the reference of frustration and

Table 6: Data (Coding Result) of Media Content																			
Coverage Pattern SCJ	1959 AD			1974 AD			1989 AD			2004 AD			2008 AD			2012 AD			T
	M.I..	N.S.	G.	G.H.D.	S.	D.S.	G.P.	THT	TRN	TKP	TRN	TKP	TRN	TKP	TRN	TKP	TRN	TKP	
News name/ angle frame in Pt	15	4	22	3	0	3	10	6	0	16	10	30	40	70	50	40	8	48	
	10	5	21	3	25	33	10	2	10	22	15	40	57	60	200	50	15	73	
	14	4	20	1	12	15	9	2	2	13	4	13	17	11	34	17	7	25	
Reprint/ Quotes of TR in news	2	0	3	0	1	1	2	2	0	4	2	4	6	18	30	14	2	16	
Sent news views	37	14	60	7	36	50	27	8	12	47	27	78	107	121	318	92	9	128	
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	6	1	0	2	
Total	39	10	63	7	37	7	29	10	12	51	15	53	70	48	187	37	9	146	
	39	10	63	7	37	51	29	10	12	51	29	83	107	141	354	107	9	146	
Note: Short Form used in table means:																			



conflict which are “unresolved” inside the mind. We must look at Tibetan refugees in Nepal with their stressful state of mind which result in different modes of conflict either in the form of resistance or with the desire of revolution. Aggression results in the mode of displacing the threatening and frustrating event. When we discuss about Tibetans aggressive behavior, we could identify their frustration on the context of social values as well.

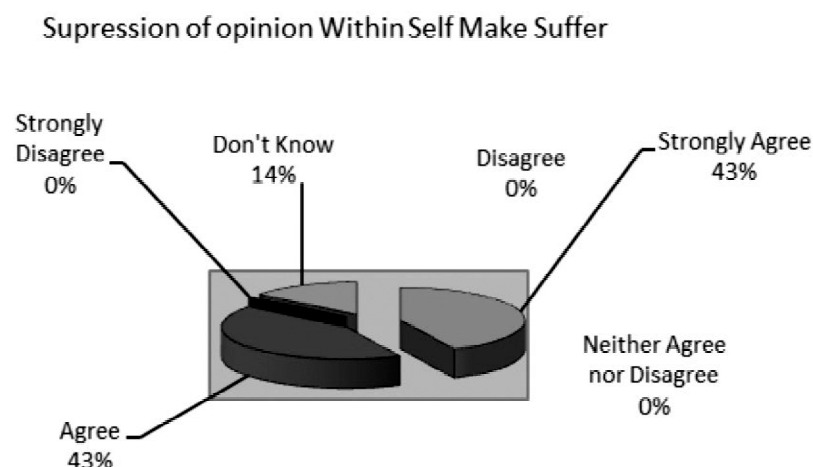
But, the question that seemingly arises pertains to the factor impacting silenced nature of those people who didn't come across public provocation, but protested with aggressive and repeated protests. In this case, we should understand the fact that voice is a great tool for psychoanalysis which deals the facts of unconscious mind. The factors related to voice are “manifestations of unconscious conflicts and tensions which it was the purpose of psychoanalysis to release.” (Alice Lagaay:2008, p. 54). Similarly, Lacan presents voice as “objets a”. It is essential to observe the categories made by Lacan as “needs (“besoins”), wishes (“demandes”) and desire (“désir”)” which refer different aspects of psychoanalysis such as “physical nature,” “symbolic realm of language” and the most “enigmatic” aspect of behavior respectively. Alice Lagaay explains that “according to Lacan's theory, voice belongs to the realm of desire,[...] the voice is actually devoid of phonic substance” (Lagaay:2008,p. 59). It means that the silenced behavior consists the voices of the unconscious mind which is ‘enigmatic’ part of human behaviors., Silence does not mean the total wordlessness. Silence has bigger and serious realm of expression that they kept inside all the time.

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

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

Survey Test: Suppression and Tibetan refugee.

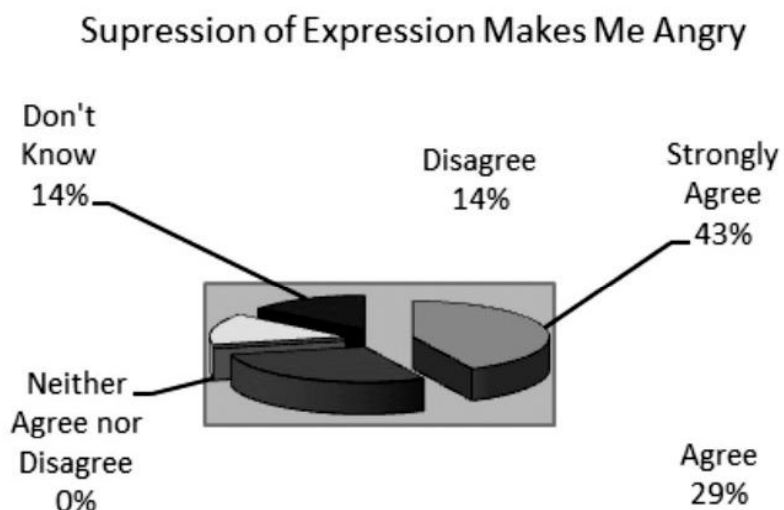
Figure 12



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

## Survey Test: Suppression of expression and Anger.

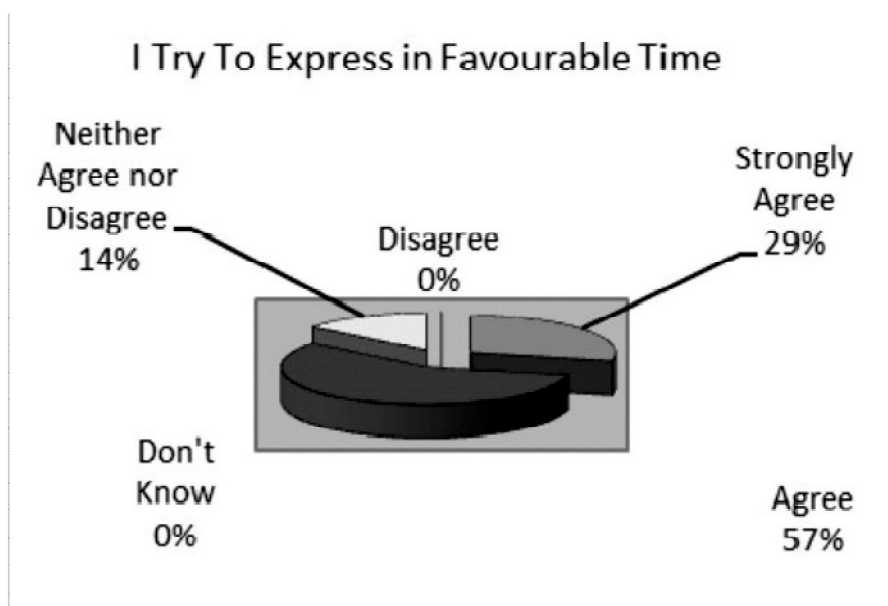
Figure 13



There are 43 % Tibetan refugee who strongly agreed that suppression of expression within self makes them angry day by day. Another 29 % agreed on it while 14 % said they disagree, and suppressions don't make them angry. Rest of the 14 % don't know about it.

## Survey Test: Favourable time and expression.

Figure 14



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

### WHAT IS COLLECTIVELY EXPRESSED AGGRESSION?

From the previous analysis of the Tibetan refugee's news coverage, it has been revealed that after remaining in silent mood for certain period, they would gradually start to speak, and though it is not covered by the press, the debate rages collectively within open society. Sometimes though, these has been being covered by the Nepalese press. Some of the major collectively expressed evidence found from content analysis in between pre- and post- restoration of democracy of 1990 can be outlined below:

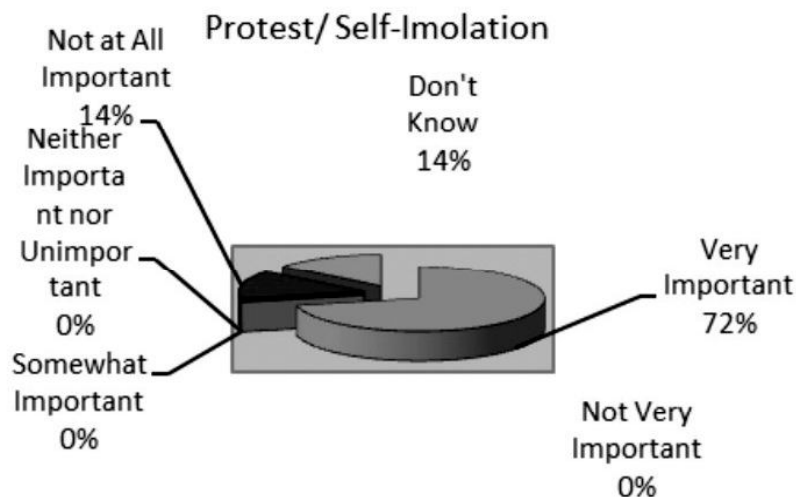
Table 7: Collectively expressed Aggression by Tibetan Refugee

S.No.	Year	Collective Perception
1.	1959	Tibet Uprising & plight for Exile
2.	1974	Khampa war, Mustang
3.	1989	Tibet Uprising-II & celebration of Nobel Peace Prize to Dalai Lama
4.	2004	Free Tibet Movement & protest in Kathmandu began
5.	2008	Beijing Olympic & Tibet Uprising
6.	2012	Self-Immolations

Source: Content Survey, 2012

Survey Test : Self immolation as protest.

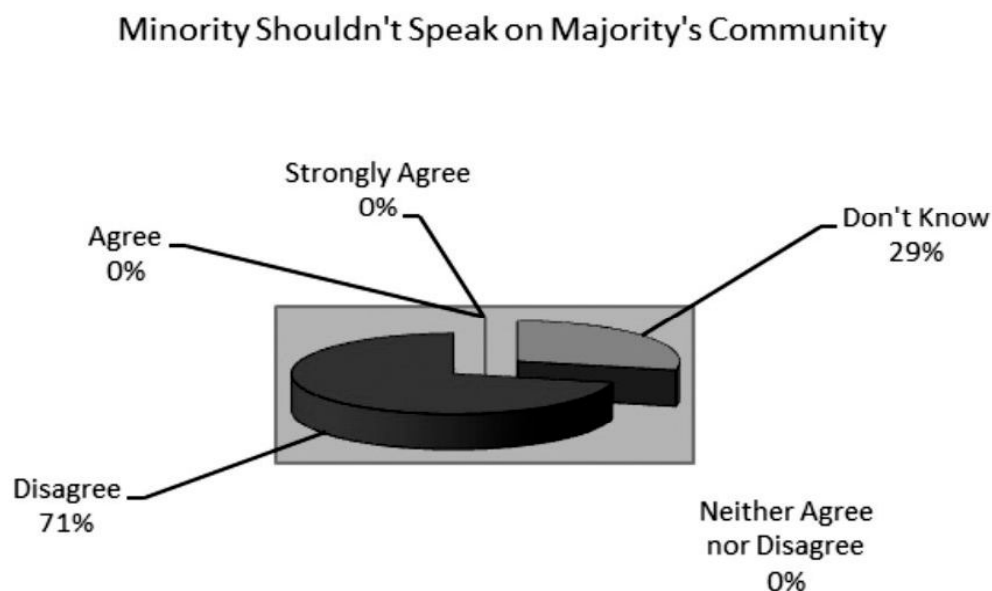
Figure 15



Self-immolation or protest is very important for Tibetan refugee. They frequently take recourse to this action to grab worldwide attention towards their plight. In the survey, 72 % refugee says it's important for them to conduct it. And 14 % says it is not at all important. Rest of the 14 % doesn't know about it.

## Survey Test: Majority minority Dialogue.

Figure 16



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

The survey points to the fact that Tibetan refugees' individual perception find expression collectively after certain time frame, usually when they feel safe for the opinion climate. Most during the periods when Nepal is caused in the throes of serious internal crisis.

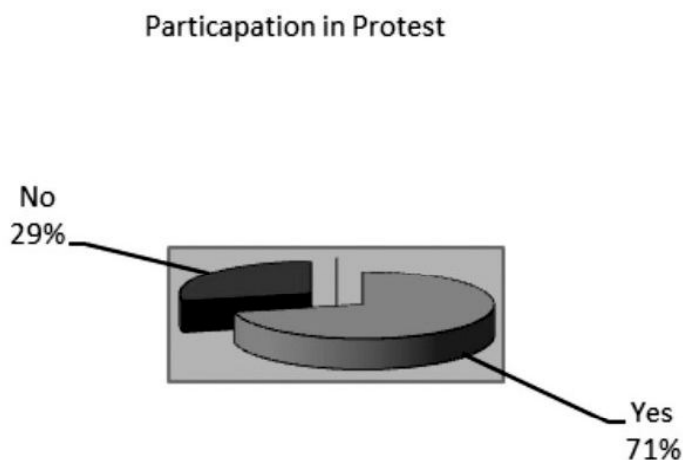
Table 8: Aggression by Tibetan Refugee, Linkage with Internal Crisis of Nepal

S.No.	Year	Internal crisis
1.	1959	King Mahendra vs. political parties for Panchayat
2.	1974	King vs. political Parties for Referendum
3.	1989	King Birendra vs. political parties for restoration of democracy
4.	2004	King Gynendra vs. political parties for Republic
5.	2008	CA election and new constitution
6.	2012	Failure of CA

Source: Content Survey, 2012

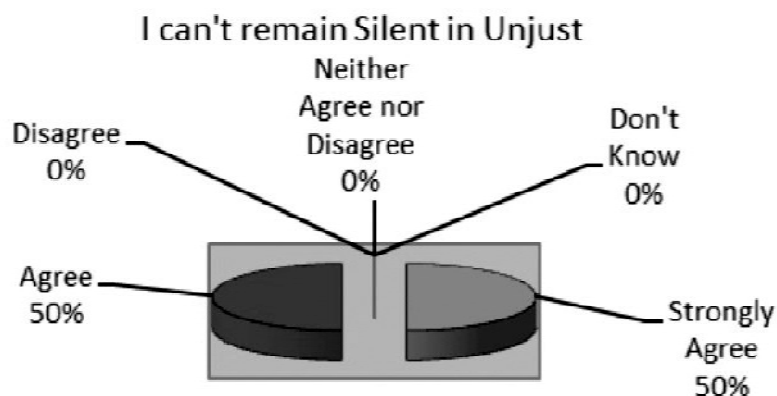
## Survey Tests: Participating in a protest

Figure 17



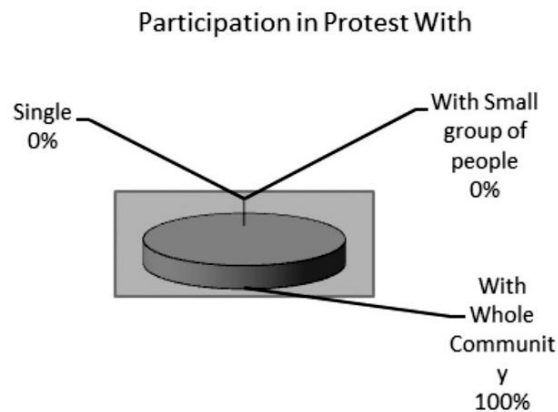
There are 71 % Tibetan refugee who said they took part in protest with 'Yes', while 29 % said 'No'. That means majority of Tibetan community take part in any kind of protest that they organize for freedom and free Tibet. During survey, most of the protest participant said they mostly took part in following protests : March 10, Tibetan Uprising Day, Beijing Olympic Protest for Human Rights of Tibetan refugee, 2008, Peace March at the end of August, 2008, Kathmandu; Free Tibet protest, March 10 & December 10, Pokhara, Kathmandu; candle light vigil, February 13, 2013, Jawalakhel.

Figure 18



The survey reveals that 43 % Tibetan refugee agreed that they tried to gather groups from Tibetan community to fight against injustice and to raise their voice. 29 % Tibetan refugee disagreed and rest 28 % mentioned they have nothing to do with it.

Figure 19

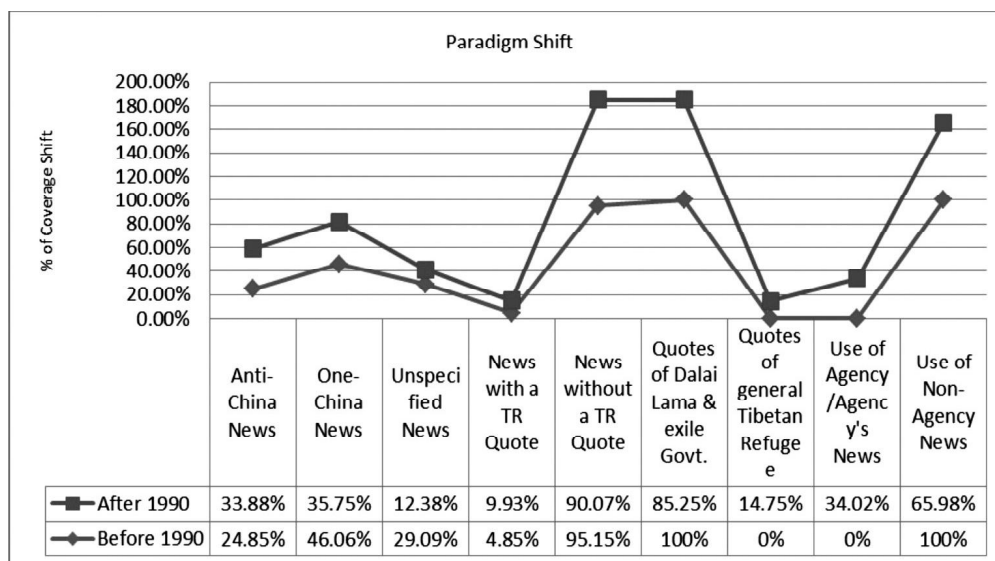


Hundred percent of the Tibetan refugees agreed that while taking part in protest for justice and human right they want to participate along with the whole community.

### CONCLUSION

The focus of this study was to test spiral of silence theory regarding Tibetan refugee living now in Nepal, as they are a minority community. Due to the fear of isolation, Tibetan refugees in Nepal, hardly speak even to the press whether the condition is favorable or unfavorable to them. Even when democracy has dawned in Nepal, they are afraid to speak to the press or express their opinion freely. Such behavior of Tibetan refugee create a silent community of Tibetans in Nepal unwilling to express their opinion freely in the press. The struggle happens within for not expressing the thoughts, opinions and feelings as perception compels them in situations of mass anger after a certain time frame; which releases as angry expression after certain time, through demonstrations, which many a times turn violent. Such phenomena create a spiral of violence in a long time frame, which affects the media and Tibetan community. To get this result, a survey questionnaire and content analysis were applied. The effects of news coverage and perception pattern were assessed using a Likert scale.

Figure 20



Source: Content Survey 2012

The figure indicates how the fear of isolation among Tibetan refugees act as a break against expression of their perception or opinion openly even to a free press on controversial issues. In fact, they conceal or suppress their voice within themselves. Such internalization turns into a negative reaction in a rapid way. After a certain period of suppression, it bursts collectively, which affects their isolation further creating a full spiral of silence.

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