

Spiral of Violence: A Study of the Model on Perception Pattern and Aggression Expression in Nepalese Press by Tibetan Refugee

Achyut Aryal*

Mewar University (MU), Gangrar, Chittorgarh, Rajasthan, India

Abstract

This study examined spiral of violence by Tibetan refugee as the model of opinion expression in minority community with studying news coverage of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press and their aggression expression pattern. The method adopted was content analysis and survey. The findings of the study however, revealed that Nepalese media concentrate heavily on coverage of Tibetan refugee's aggressive activities worldwide. This study shows spiral of violence as minority community's opinion expression model from analysis of the news coverage of Tibetan refugee by the Nepalese press. Furthermore, the paper observed that due to fear of isolation Tibetan refugee remain almost silent, such behavior compels them to express their voices through different modes of aggression which creates spiral of violence within certain time period and that affects: media, society and the refugee themselves.

Keywords: Aggression; Refugee; Expression; Violence; Spiral

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 18th 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 [1].

The Nepalese political arena changed dramatically in 1990 when political parties were re-realized following pro-democracy movement. Under the 1990 constitution, Nepal became both a multiparty parliamentary political system and constitutional monarchy with a directly elected lower house of parliament (205 seats) and an upper house (60) seats elected by an electoral college and nominated by the king. Nevertheless, these constitutional provisions were halted following the November 2001 state of emergency, which hoped to combat the Maoist insurgency. The constitutional provisions were officially suspended in May 2002 when parliament was dissolved following heightened political instability [2].

Following the 1991 election, the 1990s were characterized by political instability in Nepal, reaching an apex in 2001 with the murder by Crown prince Dipendra of most of the Royal family. Another king Gynendra took power in February 1, 2005 [2]. There was a crisis of stability because of the dissolved parliament restored following the success of people's uprising in April 2006. The Nepali army had been brought under civilian control, an interim constitution was drafted which is now working after the failure of CA in 2012. And discussion are under way for new elections to a constitute assembly and now Maoist has left government after giving power to Chief judiciary's leadership under Khila Raj Regmi.

After the revival of democracy in 1990, there was a quantum growth in media in Nepal [2]. This has been played a decisive role in promoting and strengthening news coverage practice of press for all, including minorities like Tibetan refugee as well. Press freedom was ensured by the constitution, and the national Communication policy of 1992 had promised greater autonomy of the government-controlled

broadcast media and privatization of electronic media industry through the issuing of license. However in reality, writing that is perceived as undermining the monarchy, national security and public order was broadly suppressed by both the constitution and press and publication Act. The country's main television and radio station was owned and operated by the government and favors the ruling party [2].

Although the institutional history of Nepali press could be traced back to 1851 when Rana prime minister Jung Bahadur Rana installed a printing press (Giddhe Press), or in 1901 when the state-owned newspaper, the Gorkhapatra, was launched, its practical history begins in 1950s, after the fall of Ranas, when several pioneering journalist took to publishing newspaper in a transitional democracy. Thirty years after the royal takeover of 1960 represented a repressive press system. During this time, press enjoyed limited right sand lobbied, to some extent, for multiparty democracy that could guarantee press freedom. After the restoration of democracy in 1990 a drastic change came in the Nepali media particularly in the private sector. Liberal provision and guarantee of press freedom enshrined in the constitution opened up avenues for the private sector to involve on the media sector. The 1990's democracy yielded by the people's Movement also established rights and freedom of the press. The constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal (1990) formally guaranteed the freedom of the press and publication [3,4].

With the restoration of multiparty democracy in 1990, the media environment in Nepal took a dramatic turn [5]. 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

*Corresponding author: Achyut Aryal, Mewar University (MU), Gangrar, Chittorgarh, Rajasthan, India, Tel: 9779741060086; E-mail: aryala4dk@yahoo.com

Received August 11, 2013; Accepted September 03, 2013; Published September 10, 2013

Citation: Aryal A (2013) Spiral of Violence: A Study of the Model on Perception Pattern and Aggression Expression in Nepalese Press by Tibetan Refugee. J Mass Communicat Journalism 3: 159. doi:10.4172/2165-7912.1000159

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followed were of different nature and pattern however [5]. The interim constitution 2006 has followed the same pattern of before [6].

The refugee problem has existed since the emergence of the nation-state. The process of nation-building and state-building has been itself responsible for producing a vast number of refugees. Besides, war, famine and political oppression have been the other reasons contributing to population displacement.

From a theoretical perspective, there are six broad 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. However, Muni and Baral identify three broad categories of refugee-generating factors in South Asia which obviously applies to Nepal as well.

In the last few decades, Nepal has experienced a steady tension of Tibetan refugee 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 has 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. It indicates that Tibetan refugee in Nepal are in minority number among Nepalese, even after 54 years of influx from Tibet. In this context, how Tibetan refugee minority of Nepal express their perception among majority Nepalese connects theory of opinion expression pattern of minority as 'spiral of silence'.

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

The spiral of silence theory propose that, in order to avoid isolation on important public issues (like political party support), many people are guided by what they think to be the dominant or declining opinions in their environment. People tend to conceal their views if they feel they are in the minority and are more willing to express them if they think they are dominant. The result is that those views are perceived to be dominant gain even more ground and alternatives retreat still further. This is the spiraling effect referred to. And same test has been done here regarding Tibetan refugee opinion expression pattern in Nepal.

The aim of this research was to establish the spiral of violence theory by study of Tibetan refugee's aggression expression pattern after 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 refugee and Nepalese media's coverage since they were directly concerned with the media and its coverage. Based on the conceptual framework and its purpose, the following research questions were addressed by this study:

1. What Tibetans do speak in Nepalese press?
2. If not, why?
3. What reasons behind it?
4. Is it spiraling of silence?
5. Is there any factor for such spiral of silence?
6. If yes, what it is?
7. Is spiral of silence the end? Or there is something more after?
8. If there is more, than what it will be?
9. Why minority like Tibetans express their expression violently?
10. Is it model minority stereotype regarding Tibetans?
11. Where does it affect after all?
12. Is there any model which represents all this phenomena?

Methodology

Method I: content analysis

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

Newspaper content survey: It is difficult to analyze all available print media of Nepal of all years regarding to know effects of 1990's democracy on news coverage of Tibetan refugee. The years from 1959-2012 AD had been divided in two parts, before 1990 and after 1990, each part including time frame of years which had been written on 53 different small sheets of paper as: 1959,1960,1961,1962...1989 and 1990,1991,1992,1993...2012; all written paper sheets are made small ball and put in two different container, one including before 1990's years other including after 1990's years, after shaking both container one after another three-three balls had been taken from two containers, and from doing so the the years 1959, 1974 and 1989 had been appeared in hand for the newspaper content survey as time frame before 1990. Again the years 2004, 2008 and 2012 had been appeared in hand for the newspaper content survey as time frame after 1990.

Sample size: In the context of this study, there is no doubt that it is impracticable to study over all daily newspapers of 53 years after the influx of Tibetan refugee in Nepal considering the time frame, constraint and most especially unavailability of some of the members of the population to the researcher is another reason. Therefore, only 3 newspapers were purposefully¹ selected for the study of the each year. They are namely (Table 1): As doing survey of the print content; researcher personally had been visited the different libraries available in Kathmandu valley; National library of Pulchowk, Central Library of Tribhuban University, Keshar Library of Education Ministry, Martin Chautari library and American Embassy Library etc. To collect printed reports, news, views and other materials on selected newspapers Samsung Galaxy Tab-2, diary and pen had been used for documentation. Furthermore one coding-sheet² had been prepared and coded the quantitative data under different titles, which had been used during the analysis phase. It took almost 8 months to do so. During content collection the focus had been given on Tibetan refugee materials, published within the print, news and views all. Both qualitative and quantitative data had been received through it. In order to know the frequency of reporting Tibetan refugee news/views in the press, intensive research work was carried out by researcher and an assistant researcher (Trishna Acharya, MA student of Journalism). As part of the PhD project, media were analyzed for the six consecutive months in 2012-13. Media were analyzed of before and after restoration of democracy in 1990. The data was analyzed by using normal word/SPSS program. The research questions of this study are focused on examining the effects of 1990's democracy on news coverage of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press and the common sectors that are influenced by news coverage. It is also focused on linking news coverage of print with effects on Tibetan refugees at policy making, settlement, security, trade, international relations as well as other usual socio-economic-cultural aspects. Further research question addresses the Tibetan refugee's perception of about Nepalese media's treatment over them in relation to their settlement process.

Sampling technique: For the purpose of this study, 6 different years (1959, 1974 and 1989 of before restoration of democracy and 2004, 2008 and 2012 of after restoration of democracy) were selected by chance 15 years differences for pre-1990 and 4 years for post 1990. Further, 3 national daily, of each year, totally 9 from pre-1990 and similarly 9 from post-1990, of each year 3, totally 18 were selected. It is assumed that the declaration of democracy in 1990 heavily affected Tibetan refugee News coverage and further people's movement in 2006 and end of monarch also affected Tibetan refugee news coverage by Nepalese press. The reasons for the selection of these newspapers were based on their national coverage, popularity, readership, rating and large extent of specific positions on national issues. More so, a probability sampling technique was adopted for the selection of the years to be studied each

3 from two phases, pre and post 1990 time frame. This is because the sampling technique allows every unit of the population an equal chance of being selected from the sample. For the purpose of emphasis, the years selected were arrived at using the format. Essentially, all the years of two phases were assigned identical cards, for the selection of the sample. The identical cards were placed in enclosed containers (two) with a lid whenever the cards were reshuffled. As the first container was opened after been reshuffled, the first card that was picked was 1959 followed by 1974 which was the second card. Same had been done with second container of after 1990. This particular method is referred to as 'hand drawing balloting'. The method/technique gives equal opportunity or chance to issues selected each year without any form of bias.

Unit of measurement/analysis: To get answer of effects of 1990's democracy on news coverage of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press and their perception as independent variables; news tone/frame/angle (anti-China, one-China and unspecified), Perception (news with a quote of TR: quotes of Dalai Lama and exile Govt. representative, quotes of general TR and news without a quote of TR), news source (agency and non-agency), total news item, total space (cm²), pre-democracy and post-democracy coverage are searched and answered as dependent variables in respect to news and views content. The content was coded according to both quantitative and qualitative variables. The parameters for this study unit of analysis in collecting data included news, stories, features articles, editorials, special reports and news sources, etc. In addition, in terms of content(s) of the units of analysis, frequency slant/direction and prominence, etc was tested after a smart coding-sheet analysis. In the case of frequency, it was determined or tested based on the volume of reports on issues about pre-1990 vis-à-vis post-1990 coverage. Altogether, 779 contents (news and views) of those presses 165 before 1990 and 614 after 1990 were reported at the 6 different time frames. All the daily newspapers were selected purposefully because they were leading press on locate time reference. I've conducted a two-part content analysis of the 3 different newspapers published in 1959, 1974, 1989, of before 1990's democracy and of 2004, 2008 and 2012 of after 1990's democracy by probability sampling techniques. I've divided the content by format: one part of the analysis examined the news stories that appeared in these newspapers and editions, whereas the other part examined the editorials. It did, however, cover a period that included several major events in politics and world affairs. When I looked at the news stories, my unit of analysis was the news angle, news source, quote, space; when I looked at the editorials, my unit of analysis was the editorial tone including before's too. For news stories that addressed refugee, the coding scheme identified the presence or absence of issue framing (defined on the coding sheet as "discussion of a debate or controversy over public policy"). Coders also noted what refugee figures and news media figures were targeted with jokes in each story. Last, coders determined whether each story included (a) content from another paper that was clearly identified as such (e.g., by same photos, cartoons), and (b) a quotes from a news media figure (excluded the reporter, correspondents, and news analyzer from counting as targets or sources). I'd developed a separate coding scheme for the news and views. First, coders categorized content in the print by type; here, the categories included news angle, news source, quote, and centimeter. News was coded on the basis of how the tone introduced and could fit more than one category (e.g., news which contains one china element). Next, coders identified what topic(s) the print covered. Here, I used the same topic categories as in the analysis of news stories: News, world affairs, and the news media. If the media covered refugees, then coders also identified the presence or absence of issue framing in the coverage. A team of eight trained coders conducted the analysis. To maintain the

SN	Years and Press					
	1969	1974	1989	2004	2008	2012
1	Samaj=39	Naya Samaj=7	Samaj=29	THT=83	THT=141	THT=107
2	The Commoner=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

Table 1: TKP: The Kathmandu Post; TRN: The Rising Nepal; THT: The Himalayan Times Source: Content Survey 2012.

¹All newspapers are daily newspapers and they are influential newspapers in different time frame.

²Available in Appendix.

integrity of the coding procedure, I used a variation of the consensus approach employed. Each coder independently examined 779 contents, with the materials distributed so that each was examined by two coders. For each material; the relevant pair of coders compared results and resolved as many inconsistencies as possible. The authors subsequently resolved all remaining inconsistencies. The coder pairings were rotated so that each coder was paired with four different coders rather than always checking results with the same coder. My coding procedure did not allow for the calculation of inter-coder reliability coefficients, but it ensured that no coding judgment depended on a single coder.

Study variables: Two kinds of variables were examined in this research phase: background variables and news coverage pattern variables. The background variables included size, area, type, origin, and history. Coverage pattern variables included news angle (one_ China/Anti-China), news sources, quotes in news and space. The variables were identified based on the conceptual framework used in this research.

Method II: survey

The study was based on quantitative methods, but it also applied qualitative methods to cross check the findings received from the quantitative methods based on the conceptual framework and its purpose. Target Population and Sample Selection Process

Study population: 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 13514 consisting of total male 6543 and female 6971. 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 12224 with male population 6319 and female population 5905. According to the Demography survey 2009, there are altogether 3265 Tibetan household in Nepal, number of normal household is 3083 and 182 household consist of institutional household like (school, monastery, institution, elders home etc) (Table 2).

ANS: Age Not Specified

Pre-test: Researcher conducted pretest including 50 questionnaires in three refugee camps. Out of 50 just 25 person returned filled up

questionnaire. This was done by taking help of volunteer refugee youth. This has been critically analyzed and improved further for broad questionnaire survey.

Estimation of sample size: The required sample size for each domain was estimated using the following expressions: Yamane (1967:886)³ 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=0.5 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 (Figure 1).

The study had been carried out in two phases; the first phase had been concentrated in content analysis, where some mainstream print had been selected regarding their news content on Tibetan refugees living in Nepal. Based on the result of this content analysis work, effects of 1990's democracy on news coverage of Tibetan by Nepalese press had been finalized.

In the second phase, the news perception of Tibetan refugee on news coverage by Nepalese press and their status had been evaluated through perception survey and in this phase the perception pattern had been finalized for future use. In this phase, respondents had been Tibetan refugees of three different camps of Katmandu valley.

Regarding external validity or the generalization of the result of this work, the researcher had emphasized right from the sampling design (Figure 2).

³Yamane, Taro. 1967. *Statistics: An Introductory Analysis*, 2nd Ed., New York: Harper and Row.

Settlement	Location	Age group					ANS	Total
		0-14	15-24	25-39	40-59	>=60		
Samdupling	Jawalakhel, Lalitpur	156	176	224	202	197	29	984
Delekling	Solukhumbu, Sagarmatha	23	118	317	162	88	20	728
Geygeyling	Shyabrubesi, Rasuwa	62	41	24	37	36	1	201
Sampheling	Walung, Taplejung	261	10	11	3	0	1	286
TashiPalkheil	Hyamja, Pokhara	119	204	170	129	163	9	794
Tashiling	Chorepatan, Pokhara	159	172	160	104	62	11	668
Norzinling	Dhorpatan, Baglung	35	42	46	30	30	0	183
Manang	Manang	74	38	69	41	26	25	273
Nubri	Manang	16	10	9	10	10	0	55
Paljorling	Prithvichowk, Pokhara	58	42	102	43	83	1	329
Jampaling	Dorphirdi, Tanahun	95	114	160	82	136	1	588
Tashigang	Hyamja, Pokhara	10	13	17	9	9	0	58
Jorpati	Jorpati, Kathmandu	87	127	174	125	82	10	605
Boudha	Boudha, Kathmandu	744	830	1618	911	537	206	4846
Kathmandu city	Kathmandu/Pharping	93	128	234	196	130	18	799
Phakshing	Swoyambhu, Kathmandu	277	396	555	335	269	35	1867
Namgyaling	Chairo, Jomsom	57	50	57	33	35	18	250
	Total	2326	2511	3947	2452	1893	385	13514

Table 2: Settlement-wise Tibetan population in Nepal by Age group.

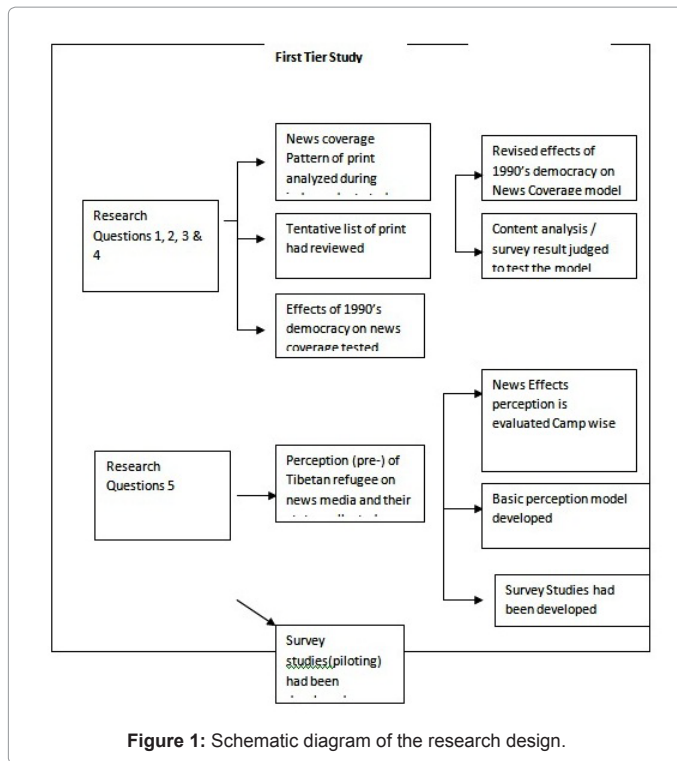


Figure 1: Schematic diagram of the research design.

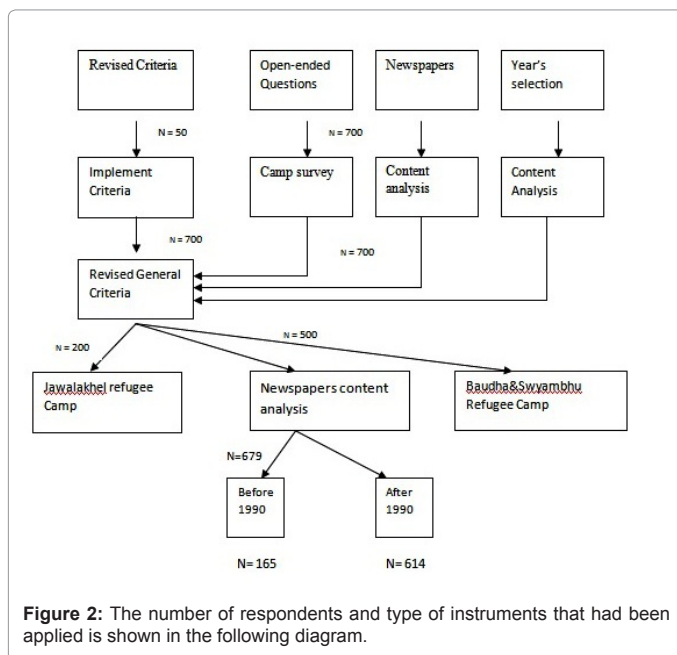


Figure 2: The number of respondents and type of instruments that had been applied is shown in the following diagram.

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 of before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 to judge model minority stereotype. The study explored how and to what extent effects of 1990's democracy had happened on 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 cross check the findings.

What tibetans do speak in press?

The media gives voice to various sections of society through one channel or another. They attract public attention, persuade people, influence their behavior and help define many issues. Access to media is an important factor for enhancing media access to readers, listeners and viewers [5]. And it is possible only in democracy. Here is a table of data which reveals about Tibetan refugee's perception in Nepalese press in authoritarian era and in democracy both (Table 3).

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. Nepalese media reporting Tibetan refugee matter without quotes from concerned sector? Is it fair? Why it is happening? Who are responsible for it? Do Tibetan refugee speak in Nepalese press/or press are being biased for quoting them? What is the reality, as a media researcher I felt responsibility to search it. The following quote pattern results definitely forces everyone to search why? (Figure 3)

Use of quotes is a very widely accepted practice among journalist. Without quotes, news stories are generally not complete. They add life to a news item [5]. In case of Tibetan refugee reporting this does not apply. Another result more surprisingly presents the perception representation of Tibetan refugee in Nepalese press: Figure 4

Prajapati [7] sows that the Rising Nepal, has used 0 quote of Tibetan refugee in 2008. From above explanation and data it is proved that very few perception from Tibetan refugee is being covered in press. In few among them too belongs to the head of the exile-government Dalai Lama and exile-government representative. Where are other general

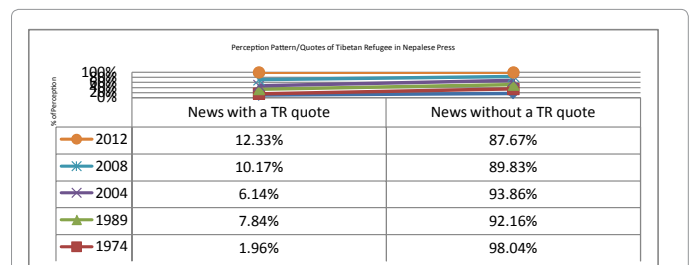


Figure 3: Source: Content Survey 2012.

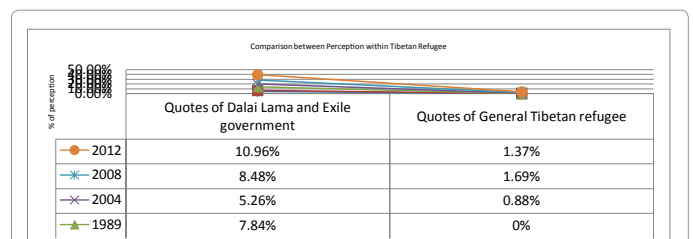


Figure 4: Source: Content Survey 2012.

refugees who are in great number? Why such few general refugees are being quoted in press? What is the reason behind it? Why they are not speaking in both periods; in dictatorship and in democracy or in other word; before 1990 and after 1990's restoration of democracy period? Following section is for it.

Test

Is restoration of Democracy in 1990 is useful for Tibetan refugee to express their perception in Nepalese press as coverage? The answer of this question has found like this: On the basis of data available for quotes the expected frequency corresponding to the number time period and types of news quotes would be 14.615. The χ^2 analysis of news with Tibetan refugee quotes table data of between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results $\sum (O_{ij}-E_{ij})/E_{ij}=4.164$. Where 69 news with a TR quote, and 710 news items without a TR quote s with total 779 examined. Here in this case degree of freedom is $(c-1)(r-1)=1$; and the table value of χ^2 for 1 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance is 3.841. So, the calculated value of χ^2 is much higher than this table value which means that the calculated value cannot be said to have arisen just because of chance. It is significant. Hence, the H_0 hypothesis doesn't support. This means that H_1 : Restoration of democracy in 1990 is useful (effective) in case of Tibetan refugee to express their perception in Nepalese press as coverage ($H_1=\mu<\mu_2$) has been accepted (Figure 5).

Have your voice ever taken on Nepalese media as coverage because of your beliefs and expressions? The question was asked during survey. And most of the refugees' opined no. 100% said they have never taken in Nepalese media. No refugee till now got chance to express themselves in Nepalese press. It means no Nepalese media came towards them with space and time. Moreover Nepalese media never come to cover their voice as opinion (Figure 6).

Do you have any plan to write and say something of yours problem in the Nepalese press in future? When this question was asked, 57% said yes probably. 29% said yes definitely and just 14% said no probably not. It shows in clear perspective most of the Tibetan refugee are in dilemma to express their perception through Nepalese press in any given chance.

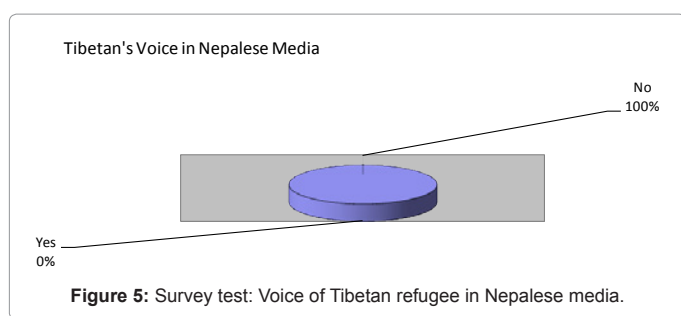


Figure 5: Survey test: Voice of Tibetan refugee in Nepalese media.

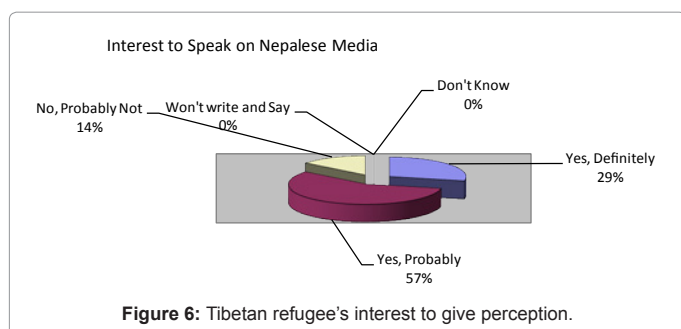


Figure 6: Tibetan refugee's interest to give perception.

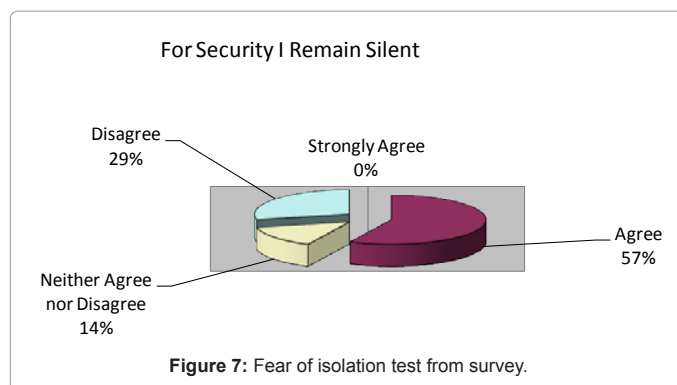


Figure 7: Fear of isolation test from survey.

Why Tibetans do not speak?

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

Theory

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

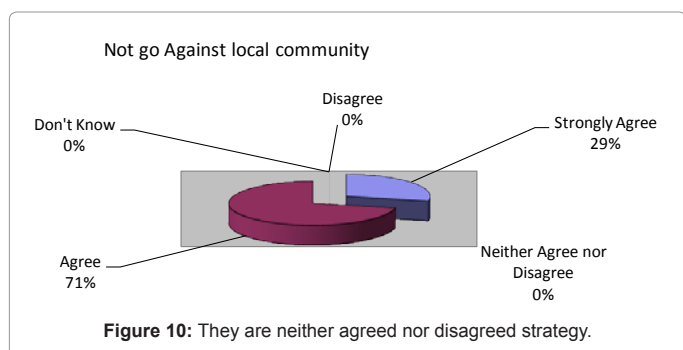
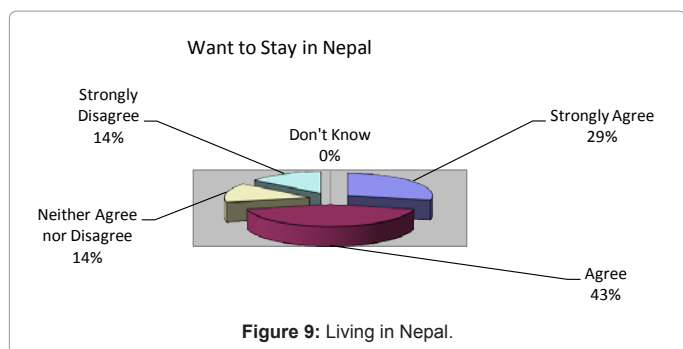
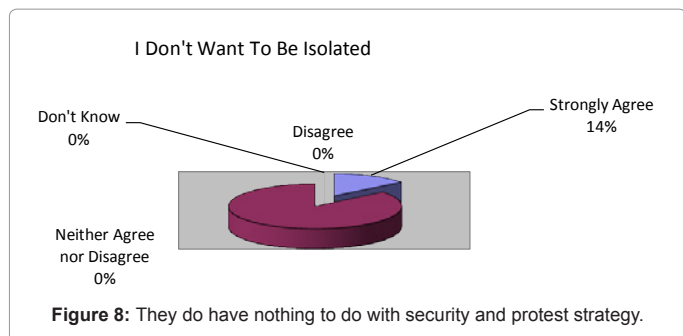
- Society threatens deviant individuals with isolation.
- Individuals experience fear of isolation continuously.
- This fear of isolation causes individuals to try to assess the climate of opinion all at times.
- The result of this estimate affects their behavior in public, especially their willingness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

Core assumptions and statements

The phrase "spiral of silence" actually refers to how people tend to remain silent when they feel that their views are in the minority. The model is based on three premises: 1) people have a "quasi-statistical organ," a sixth-sense if you will, which allows them to know the prevailing public opinion, even without access to polls, 2) people have a fear of isolation and know what behaviors will increase their likelihood of being socially isolated, and 3) people are reticent to express their minority views, primarily out of fear of being isolated. The closer a person believes the opinion held is similar to the prevailing public opinion, the more they are willing to openly disclose that opinion in public. Then, if public sentiment changes, the person will recognize that the opinion is less in favor and will be less willing to express that opinion publicly. As the perceived distance between public opinion and a person's personal opinion grows, the more unlikely the person is to express their opinion (Figure 7).

There are 57% Tibetan refugee who said they are agree on such situation for security purpose they remain silent but another 29% said they disagree on it or to remain silent in unjust. Rest of the 14% are neither agreed nor disagreed on it. They do have nothing to do with security and protest strategy (Figure 8).

Whatever the condition is 86% Tibetan refugee are agreed on don't



want to be isolated from existing community. It means they do not want to remain in isolation from Nepalese community in the name of freedom. They want to run freedom movement remaining in harmony within Nepalese community. Another 15% are strongly agreed on it. In any cost Tibetan refugee do not want to go way by leaving everything here in Nepal and the community far behind (Figure 9).

Some people say that they are living now in Nepal in full of 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? On such condition 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 (Figure 10).

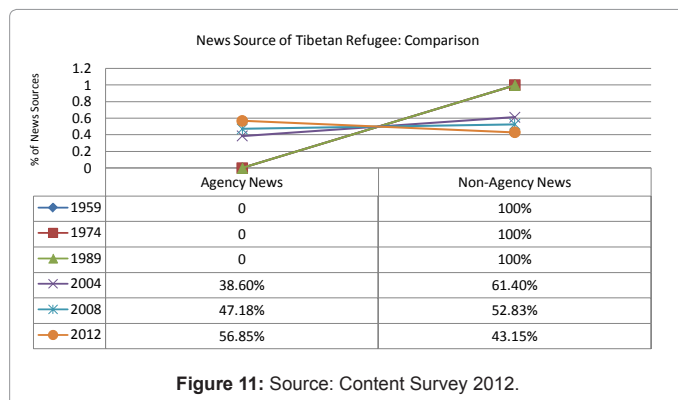
There are 29% Tibetan refugee who said they are strongly agreed to remain safe in Kathmandu we should not go against local community and people. But in this case 71% are agreed. Which means Tibetan refugee living now in Nepal does not want to go against local people. This means they want to remain here in friendly manner. It proves that they are in fear of isolation which resulted spiral of silence. This supports the reasons behind their silence is spiral of silence due to fear of isolation.

Year A.D.	Perception Pattern/Quotes of Tibetan Refugee(TR) in Press		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

Table 3: Perception Pattern/Quotes of Tibetan Refugee (TR) in Press.

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

Table 4: News Sources of Tibetan Refugee (TR) in Press.



News source is a factor?

We can argue that spiral of silence does not apply in this case, if so let us try to search another answer. Sources are one of the most influencing factor on determining news value [3]. To search the answers of previously raised questions lets opine that may be the source is a factor and let us look the pattern of source used on Tibetan refugee news: Table 4.

Source: content survey 2012

From the data it is clear that before restoration of democracy in 1990 Nepalese press had not been used agency while reporting Tibetan refugee, the 0 use of agency news as source itself is a great surprise. And if we compare it with the few quotes available in Nepalese press of Tibetan refugee it can be said that if the use of agency rate grows the use of Tibetan refugee quotes also grows. But when we look towards another factor of general Tibetan refugee we surprise again. They are not speaking again. It means growth in use of agency as news source does effects on Dalai Lama and exile-government's perception but not with general Tibetan refugee who are staying in Nepal. The figure below proves the same: Figure 11.

The result is that agency news is also not the factor behind Tibetan

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

Table 5: Angle/Frame/Tone of Tibetan Refugee News.

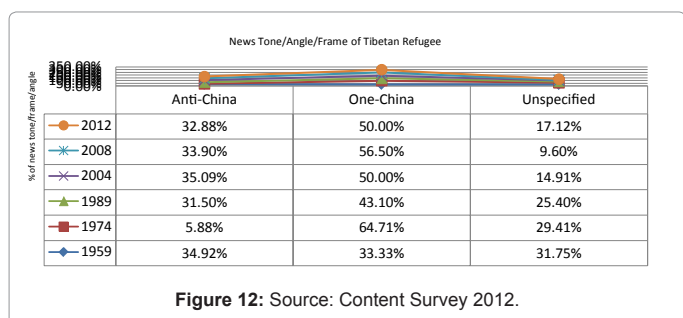


Figure 12: Source: Content Survey 2012.

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

Foreign policy is a factor?

Nepal's foreign policy to China is by and large respected by the Nepalese press. The influence of the foreign policy of the country on Nepalese media is high when the issue of Tibet is reported. It is highly unlikely that news media can hardly avoid the sensitivity of the country's foreign relationship with its immediate neighbors and Nepal's geopolitical situation. But the result data surprise us again, let us look: Table 5.

Source: content survey 2012

But, the outcome of research makes us surprise again. This shows anti-China reporting in Nepalese press does have no difference in between pre-1990 and post-1990. This means there is no effect of foreign policy on Nepalese press for covering Tibetan refugee with anti-China perspective. Let us compare: Figure 12.

Test

What restoration of Democracy in 1990 is effective to control anti-China news (content) coverage by Nepalese press? The answer of this question has found like this: The χ^2 analysis of One-China and Anti-China table data of between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results $\sum (O_{ij} - E_{ij})/E_{ij} = 1.47$. Where 117 One-China news, 249 Anti-China news with total 655 examined. Here in this case degree of freedom is (c-1) (r-1)=1; and the table value of χ^2 for 1 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance is 3.841. So, the calculated value of χ^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 ($H_0 = \mu = \text{which is equivalent to test } H_0 = D = 0$).

Test by expert's view

Even party affiliated journalists mention that Nepal's policy in viewing Tibetan protest is their newspaper policy; however, the political party's 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". 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. Secondly, 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 states policy is not to accept any sort of separatist movement from Nepal so being a part of state, we should follow it. But humanitarian approach and democratic movement, or their genuine concern, which they raise coming in 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".

However, one of the journalist even argue 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 (Figure 13).

"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 as 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 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 it is, Kathmandu intelligentsia and media have evolved therefore, in giving China a very privileged place, where it is not critiqued".

However, there are journalists who defends that state policy does

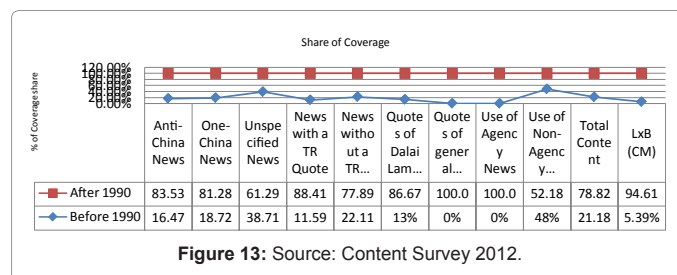


Figure 13: Source: Content Survey 2012.

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

Table 6: News Coverage in CM.

not have influence. Ameet Dhakal calls it's a decision of conscience of journalist. His argument is:

“In an authoritarian state, they may say not to write this story, but in our case no minister of 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 as China was less assertive, there was loose policy, as China is more assertive, I think state and political parties, and the media, it is believed that in 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”.

Likewise, Akhilesh Upadhaya assert, “We are free press, and press of democratic country. If my position and the foreign secretary views are the same, I may not be the editor of TKP but TRN. I feel so deeply in my democratic values, I don't live in authoritarian society”.

Kanamani Dixit points out two reasons for having less coverage about the issue of Tibet. One of the reasons behind is that there is too much happening in Nepal and other is influence from the Nepalese intelligentsia in how they perceive China thinking that China should not be made 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, that 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”. Coverage comparison: pre-1990 and post-1990. To search answer of previously raised question, it is better to know coverage pattern of Nepalese press before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 first. Here is a table which shows total coverage pattern: (Table 6)

Test

What restoration of Democracy in 1990 does have effect on news coverage pattern of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press? The answer of this question has found like this: Because of the matched pairs we use t-test and work out the test statistic of all categorized data. To find

the value of t, first needed to calculate mean and standard deviation after suddenly D~ has been found=-169.33. Where calculated value of $\sigma_{diff} = 172.46$. And in this context the t-analysis of news coverage of all aspects table data of between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results $t = -2.405$ Where total 779 examined. Here in this case degree of freedom is $(n-1) = 6-1 = 5$. As H_1 is one sided, we shall apply a one-tailed test(in the left tailed because H_1 is of less 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 ($H_1 = \mu < \mu_0$) 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 then this table value and as such A-statistic is significant. This means we should reject H_0 (Alternatively we should accept H_1) and should infer that H_1 :

Restoration of Democracy in 1990 does have effect on news coverage pattern of Tibetan refugee by Nepalese press ($H_1 = \mu < \mu_0$) has been accepted (Table 7).

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 between before and after Democracy of 1990 by Nepalese press? The answer of this question has found like this: The χ^2 analysis of news tone/frame/angle table data of between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 results $\sum (O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2 / E_{ij} = 27.61$. Where 406 One-China news, 249 Anti-China news and 124 not specified news with total 779 examined. Here in this case degree of freedom is $(c-1)(r-1) = 2$; and the table value for 2 degree of freedom at 5% level of significance is 5.991. So, the calculated value of χ^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

Coverage Pattern		1959 AD			T	1974 AD			T	1989 AD			T	2004 AD			T	2008 AD			T	2012 AD			T
		S.	T.C.	M.L.		N.S.	G.P.	H.D.		S.	D.S.	G.P.		THT	TRN	TKP		THT	TRN	TKP		THT	TRN	TKP	
News tone/angle/frame in Press	Anti-China	15	3	4	22	3	0	0	3	10	6	0	16	30	0	10	40	70	0	50	120	40	0	8	48
	One-China	10	5	6	21	3	25	5	33	10	2	10	22	40	2	15	57	60	30	110	200	50	8	15	73
	Unspecified	14	2	4	20	1	12	2	15	9	2	2	13	13	0	4	17	11	5	18	34	17	1	7	25
Perception/Quotes of TR in news	Quotes of TR	2	1	0	3	0	1	0	1	2	2	0	4	4	0	2	6	18	0	12	30	14	0	2	16
	D.L. & E.G.. General TR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	14	6	1	0	1	2
	Without TR	37	9	14	60	7	36	7	50	27	8	12	47	78	2	27	107	121	35	162	318	92	9	27	128
Source of news/views	Agency	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	0	14	44	93	2	72	167	70	0	13	83
	Non-Agency	39	10	14	63	7	37	7	51	29	10	12	51	53	2	15	70	48	33	106	187	37	9	17	63
Total		39	10	14	63	7	37	7	51	29	10	12	51	83	2	29	114	141	35	178	354	107	9	30	146

Note: Short Form used in table means: TR=Tibetan refugee; S=Samaj National Daily; TC=The Commoner National Daily; ML=Mother Land National Daily; NA=NayaSamaj National Daily; GP=GorkhaPatra National Daily; HD=Hamro Des National Daily; DS=DainikSiddhartha National Daily; THT: The Himalayan Times National Daily; TRN: The Rising Nepal National Daily; TKP: The Kathmandu Post National Daily; EG: Exile Government; DL: Dalai Lama; T: Total

Table 7: Data (Coding Result) of Media Content Analysis.

after restoration of democracy differ and are not similar in volume too. Naturally then news coverage volume of one phase must be higher in quantity and space than that of other. The H_1 : There are differences in Tibetan refugee's news coverage between before and after restoration of democracy in 1990 by Nepalese press ($H_1 = \mu < \mu_2$) has been accepted.

What next: the end???

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

Psychological tendency of silenced voices

In terms of psychological analogies we could justify the stress with the reference of frustration and conflict which are "unresolved" inside the mind. We must look at Tibetans with their stressful state of mind which resulted different modes of conflict either in the form of resistance or with the desire of revolution. It was lead with the sense of frustration. Frustration is the behavioral aspect that causes "aggression and repetitive" behavior among other behavioral consequences. It is not only the psychic factor but also resulted from the social needs. It is explained that "frustration is displaced elsewhere, usually to some less threatening object or to oneself, when it is impossible or dangerous to direct the aggression toward the frustrating event" [8]. Here we need to notice that aggression is resulted in the mode of displacing the threatening and frustrating event. When we discuss about Tibetans aggressive behavior, we could identify their frustration on the context of social values as well. So, we could refer psychological factor to the modes of repetitive and aggressive movements that Tibetans made in their places as their convenience.

But, the question arises about the factor of silenced nature of those people who didn't come across public provocation, but protested with aggressive and repeated protests. In this case we should understand the fact that voice is a great tool for psychoanalysis which deals the facts of unconscious mind. The factors related to voice are "manifestations of unconscious conflicts and tensions which it was the purpose of psychoanalysis to release. 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". It means that the silenced behavior consist the voices of the unconscious mind which is 'enigmatic' part of human behaviors. So, silence does not mean the total wordlessness. Silence has bigger and serious realm of expression that they kept inside all the time.

Analyzing such different behavioral factors, we could confirm that the human beings have meaningful approach of relating the events and experiences. In this case, Freud has declared that "nervous symptoms arise from a conflict between two forces-on the one hand, the libido (which has as a rule become excessive), and on the other, a rejection of sexuality, or a repression which is over-severe". Amidst these two forces human behavior is regulated. Whereas in the case of repression, the pattern of repression becomes more serious as it grows with a strong personality type. In this pattern 'mental events' are regulated with 'pleasure principle'. It is believed that different tension gets higher with the repressed psychic event which is an unpleasurable tension.

Freud claims that "it takes a direction such that its final outcome coincides with a lowering of that tension-that is, with an avoidance of unpleasure or a production of pleasure". Here we find the pleasure principle is succeeded with reality principle which brings the mode of unpleasurable experiences. So, the mode of repeated violent activities of Tibetans could be analyzed in the form of reality principle which is the outcast of pleasure principle i.e. intensity with their real need of nation. The outburst is not only the factor of social provocation but the need of the individual's psychic reality.

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

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

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

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

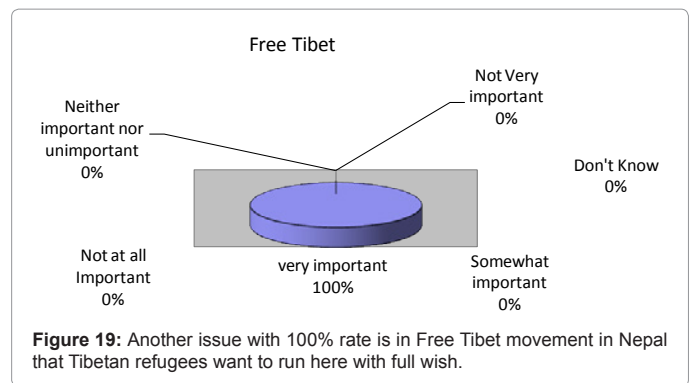
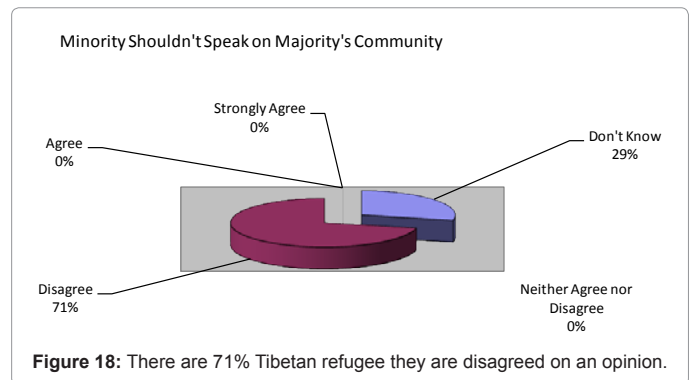
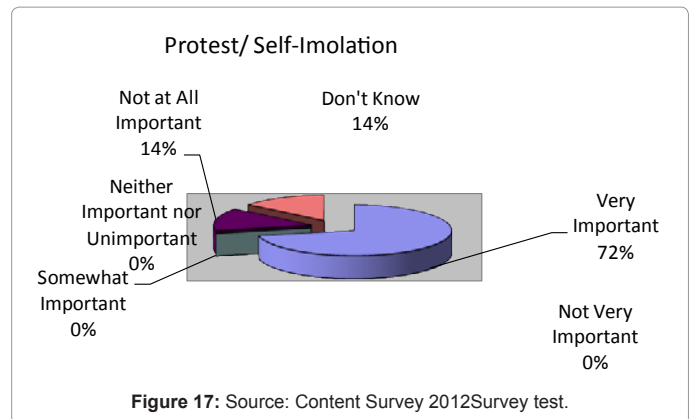
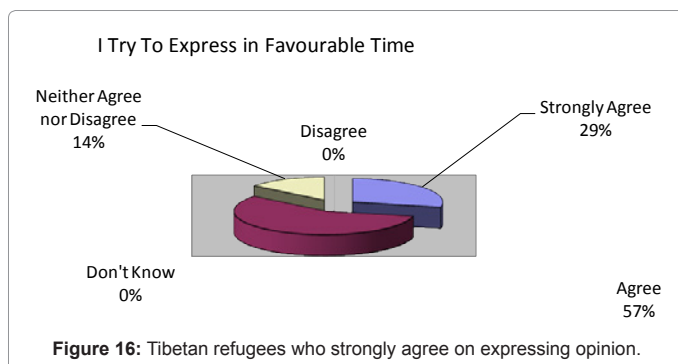
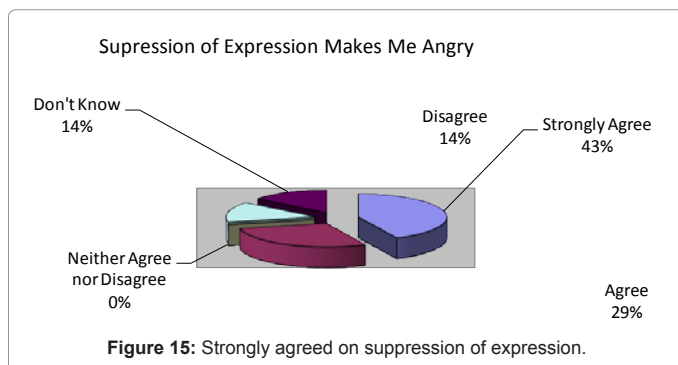
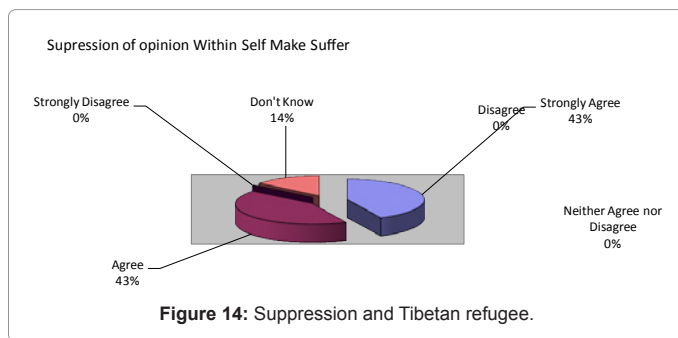
Besides, as it has been discussed about the psychological framing of violent behavior of Tibetans, we should not avoid the concept of violence which is expressed as: There are at least two ways to become the dupes of violence that should be of paramount concern. First, there is the tendency to expect too *much* from violence, to look to violence either to express a decisiveness of purpose, or to provide a proof of authenticity that violence cannot in fact sustain. [...]. Second, there is a tendency to come to expect too *little* from violence, to believe that violence will simply wither away, due either to the weight of our moral vigilance or the effectiveness of the political, legal, social, or ethical instruments that we employ in the hope of avoiding the destruction of war. 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 (Figure 14).

In an opinion-‘Some expert says that when a person suppress their feelings and wish they suffer a lot. When a person suppress their opinion and remain silent also suffer a lot. What would you think?’ 43% Tibetan refugee said they are strongly agreed on it. Another 43% refugee are agreed on it and rest of the 14% said they don’t know about it (Figure 15).

There are 43% Tibetan refugee who strongly agreed on suppression of expression within self makes them angry day by day. It increases the degree of angriness within self, they feel so. Another 29% agreed on it. 14% said they are disagree, suppressions doesn’t make them angry. And rest of the 14% doesn’t know about it (Figure 16).

Tibetan refugees who strongly agree on expressing opinion only in

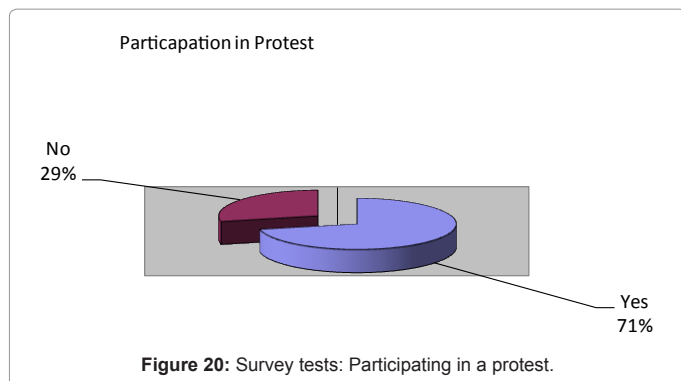


favorable time are 29%. There are 57% who said they agree on it. And rest of the 14% neither agreed nor disagreed.

What is collectively expresses aggression?

From previous analysis of Tibetan refugee’s news coverage it has been revealed that after remaining certain period as in silent mood, they’d gradually started to speak, and that is not in press but with collectively in open society. This has been heavily covered by Nepalese press time and again in their news and views genre. Some of the major collectively expressed evidence found from content analysis in between pre and post restoration of democracy of 1990 can be outline like this: (Table 8 Figure 17)

Self-immolation or protest is very important for Tibetan refugee. They want to do it. 72% refugee says it’s important for them to conduct it. And 14% says it is not at all important. Moreover rest of the 14% doesn’t know about it (Figure 18).



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

Table 8: collectively expressed Aggression by Tibetan Refugee.

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

Table 9: Aggression by Tibetan Refugee, Linkage with Internal Crisis of Nepal.

There are 71% Tibetan refugee they are disagreed on an opinion 'it is better that community with less population better not to speak in press of majority'. It means Tibetan refugee eagerly want to take part in media to raise their voice and to give some opinion through it. Rest of the 29% said doesn't know about it (Figure 19).

Now again what is it? Is spiral of silence not the end? Or what, is it the beginning? Yes, the evidence says it is the beginning not the end. Imposed wish by self-compelled them to express their individual perception collectively after certain time frame, usually when they felt safe for the opinion climate. Most on those periods Nepal seems to near on serious internal affairs (crisis) like this (Figure 20) (Table 9).

There are 71% Tibetan refugee who said they took part in protest with 'Yes' answer. Rest of the 29% said 'No'. It means majority Tibetan community take part in any kind of protest that they organize for freedom and free Tibet. During survey most of the protest participant said they mostly take part on those protest of: March 10, Tibetan Uprising Day, Most of the time- India, Kathmandu; Beijing Olympic Protest for Human Rights of Tibetan refugee, 2008, Kathmandu. Peace March, End of August, 2008, Kathmandu; Free Tibet (Political Protest) , March 10 and December 10, Pokhara, Kathmandu; Candle Light Vigil, February 13, 2013, Jawalakhel etc (Figure 21).

On situation of above 43% Tibetan refugee agreed in try to gather groups from Tibetan community to tackle against unjust and to raise voice as opinion.29% Tibetan refugee disagreed in it and rest of the 28% has nothing to do with it (Figure 22).

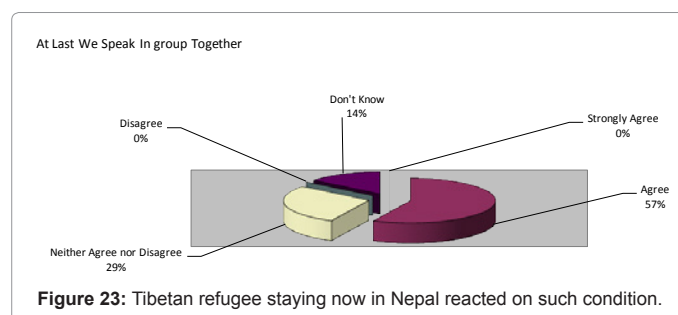
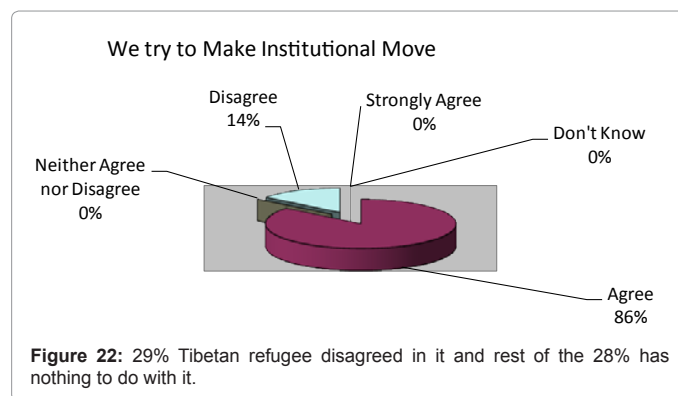
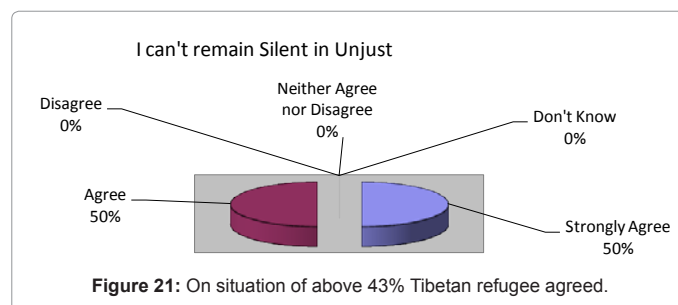
In case of indifference, torture and humiliations towards the

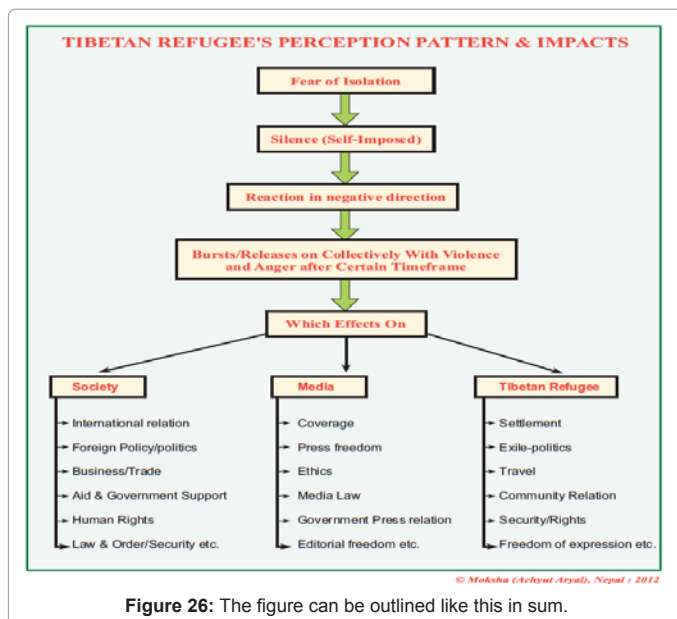
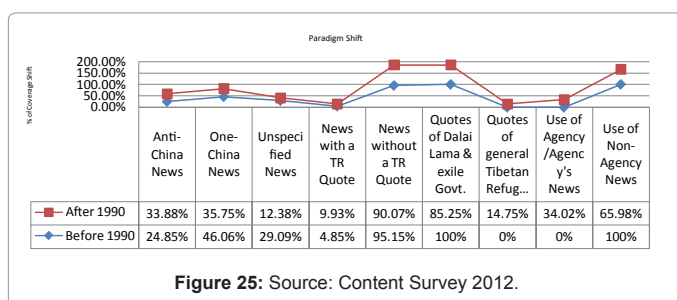
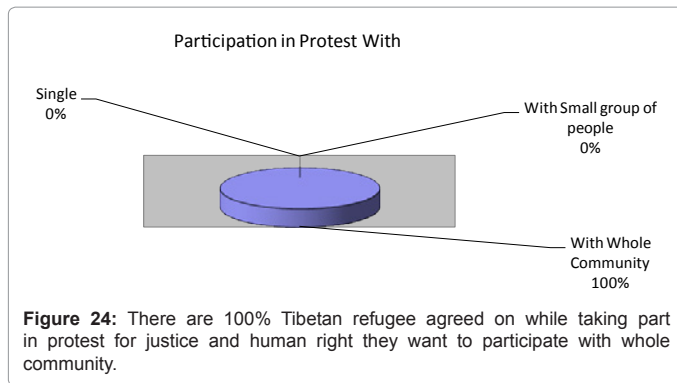
pathetic condition and the voice wouldn't have listened by concerned body long time Tibetan refugee staying now in Nepal reacted by saying 'we try to make institutional move against it' agreed 86%. Rest of the 14% disagreed on it. They are against institutional move. But they are very few (Figure 23).

In case of indifference, torture and humiliations towards the pathetic condition and the voice wouldn't have listened by concerned body long time; Tibetan refugee staying now in Nepal reacted on such condition, 57% said they speak in group together against it through protest. There are 29% they have nothing to do with speaking in group, they are neither agreed nor disagreed. Rest of the 14% doesn't know about the matter (Figure 24).

Conclusion

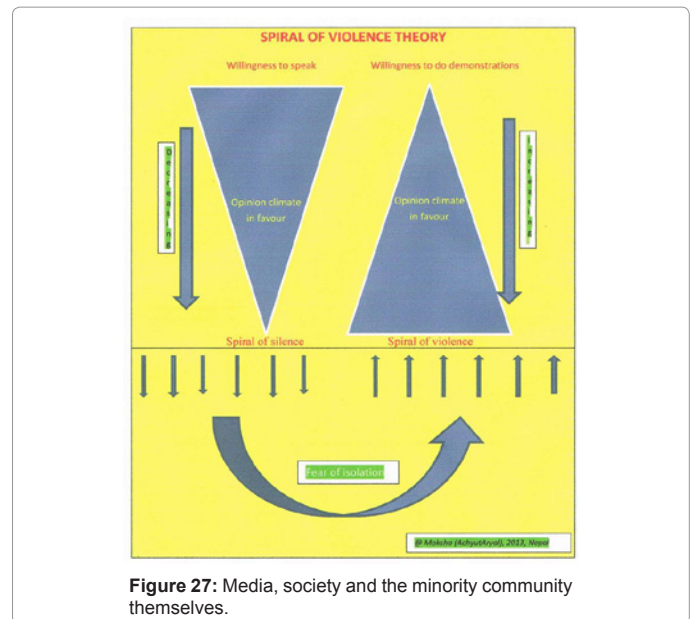
The focus of this study was to test spiral of violence as model minority stereotype regarding Tibetan refugee living now in Nepal, as they are minority community. Due to fear of isolation Tibetan refugee in Nepal do not speak even in press; whether the condition is favorable or unfavorable to them. Even in full democracy they are being afraid to speak in press and express their opinion freely. Such behavior of Tibetan refugee creates/produces a mass silent of minority community Tibetan in Nepal as a model stereotype. And further it pinches them within self-





day by day. The struggle happens within for not expressing the thoughts, opinions and feelings as perception compels them in situation of mass anger after certain time frame; which releases as a anger after certain time, through demonstrations, which may go violent some time. Such phenomena creates spiral of Violence in a long time frame which affects society, media and Tibetan community themselves on various aspects. Two research instruments such as survey questionnaires and content analysis were applied. The effects of news coverage and perception pattern were assessed using a Likert scale (Figure 25).

So, after long discussions the conclusion can be made- by fear of isolation Tibetan refugee do not give perception openly even in press on controversial issues as model minority stereotype, they imposed



their voice within self. And this action starts negative reaction in rapid way; after certain period of imposition it bursts with collective manner and which affects everything, basically three aspects in relation to Tibetan refugee: 1.effects on society, 2. effects on media,3.effects on Tibetan refugee themselves. The figure can be outlined like this in sum: (Figure 26).

Generalization and further research: fear of isolation of minority community force them to remain almost silent as model minority stereotype (even in existing press) and such behavior compels them to express their voices through series of protest after certain time frame(period), and it comes with spiral of violence form; which affects: media, society and the minority community themselves (Figure 27).

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