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Framing of Nepal's Constitution: How Indian and Nepali National Media Covered the Controversy Surrounding the Ratification of Nepal's Constitution in 2015

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Framing of Nepal's Constitution: How Indian and Nepali national media covered the controversy surrounding the ratification of Nepal's Constitution in 2015

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the framing of the ratification of the Nepali Constitution and the disagreement it raised in newspaper articles published in two countries, Nepal and India, for six months. Using framing analysis, this study compares the way in which Indian and Nepali newspapers differed in terms of frames, tone, and news sources while covering the ratification of Nepal's constitution and the conflict raised after that in the form of an economic blockade (embargo). The content analysis reveals significant differences in the conflict frames between the two countries' newspapers. Newspapers differed also in how they presented the stories, as Indian newspapers used an anti-constitution tone, while Nepali stories were more likely to use a pro-constitution tone. And both countries heavily relied on their official sources for the news.

Keywords: Framing, Nepal India Relation, Constitution, Madhesh Protest

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Ratifying a nation's constitution is a matter of pride for every country. It was a historic day for Nepal as well on September 19, 2015, when an overwhelming 507 members of the parliament passed the constitution (BBC, September 17, 2015). The ratification of the constitution was a sign that the country was uplifting after a 65-year-long wait following people's war (Rai, 2015) that lasted more than 10 years and led to the overthrowing of a century-long monarchy (Pokhrel & Essald, 2015).

The national and international media gave coverage to this event. While the national media were praising the event as historical with headlines like, 'CA makes history, endorses the new constitution of Nepal' (*The Kathmandu Post*, 2015), BBC on same date mentioned 'Nepal's parliament has overwhelmingly approved new constitution.' At the same time, there was mixed and critical response from few other countries, like from the neighboring country of India that had different insights on this event. India, who had been a key player in Nepal's politics during the time of overthrowing its monarchy, was now unhappy, which could be seen from the coverage in media after the ratification of the constitution. *The Times of India* wrote 'Nepal snubs India, adopts constitution amid protest.' Similarly, *The Hindu* in one of its articles presented it as a 'highly controversial constitution and clearly flawed.'

After the ratification, the country was soon further hurled into political disturbance caused by a 'unofficial' economic blockade (economic embargo) at the border between India and Nepal. The embargo was claimed by Indian press to have been led by the angered ethnic minority group 'Madheshi' of Nepal (Pokhrel & amp; Essald, 2015), who felt discriminated with the new provinces in the constitution, which sparked protests. The same incident was referred to as 'unofficial' economic blockade done by India (Nepali Times, 2015) in the Nepali press.

According to the Human Rights Watch Report (2015), before the ratification of the constitution, there had already been 45 deaths reported between August and September 11, 2015, during protests against the drafting of Nepal's new constitution. While both countries' media were covering this event from their own perspective, notable differences in the presentation in the news could be seen. So, this study aims to provide empirical support to this observation

The gap in literature is evident when talking about Nepal-India relations and its coverage in media. To fill that gap, this study will analyze how newspapers in the two countries covered the disagreement surrounding the ratification of the constitution. The study also analyses how media coverage is influenced by politicians, as suggested by the prominence of these actors as news sources in the coverage, and examines the tone of the news. Using a systematic content analysis of the leading newspapers in both countries, the study sets out to establish whether there are any significant differences in the way the event was portrayed to the Nepali and Indian public. Some of possible reasons for the difference are discussed, including the political and economic contexts as well as the country's foreign policy stances, which might explain the framing, tone, and sources in the stories under scrutiny.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Significance of Study

Scholars argue that foreign policy interests are a key factor that determines manipulation of news media by governments to serve their purpose to the extent of structuring the ways stories are to be written (Malek & Weigand, 1997). India's foreign policy and its internal political interests are discussed later in detail. Most of the times, media's presentation of any country's image "is based largely on how journalists present the country's image in our mind'' (as quoted by Noshina Saleem, in Zelizer & Allen, 2002). The initial idea of the study was to compare the coverage of Nepal's constitution and how that was framed in U.S. media and compare that to with Indian media and do a comparative study with Nepali newspapers. But from the pilot study, there were not enough samples with *The New York Times* and technical difficulty finding out archives for *The Washington Post*, the idea to include U.S. samples was dropped.

The theoretical framework for this study is framing. Socio-economic research related to India's role in Nepali politics has shown that India has some vested interest in Nepal. Mishra (2004) writes, especially while shaping the past 60 years of Nepali political history, India has played a crucial role. Whether it be while removing Nepal's 104-year-old *Rana* dynasty in 1951, the restoration of its multiparty democracy in 1990, or the Maoist insurgency to people's movement in 2006, India has been a decisive player in Nepali's internal affairs. In this regard, framing of Nepal's dispute after the ratification of its Constitution in 2015 and differences in presentation of news in two different media could have mirrored the two countries' political stances and disagreements. By applying the framing theory to a less explored region of the world, this study brings new references in the field of framing studies.

Also, international media play an important role in determining the image of any country. Not everyone gets an opportunity to travel around the world and get acquaintances regarding every single country. In that scenario, coverage by international media plays an important role in bringing news and information from around the world. Especially developing countries' news generally don't generally get attention in the international news arena or are the topic of discussion. As a study by Poornanda (1998) suggests, the developing countries of South Asia become a point of interest only during crises or epidemics, crimes, disasters, and conflicts and failure of government, all of which have a negative news element. Poornanda (1998), after analyzing framing of different countries by U.S. media, concludes that coverage substantially favors "those countries where its political, economic and military interests are involved." Geographically and economically, Nepal is an insignificant country for the world, but India isn't. Due to its rising economic power and sheer size, what its media conveys about its neighboring countries does matter to the wider audiences as it presents the world view from India's perspective. There have been studies regarding Nepal and India relations by scholars from political science (e.g. Mishra, 2004; Singh, 2011); studies related to Nepali journalists (e.g. Ramaprasad & Kelly, 2003); foreign policy and domestic conflict (Miklian, 2008); protests concerning Tibetan protestors in Nepal has been studied extensively by Nepali scholars like Prajapati (2011), along with local media research organization called *Martin Chautari* does lots of Nepali media related studies. But studies concerning India-Nepal disagreement and its coverage in the media are scarce firstly because of being a less developed country and secondly, because of its reduced significance in terms of economic and political relations with the U.S. (Poornananda, 1998). But, that scenario is different today. New media technologies have made the whole world a global village, with news circulating faster and farther than before. This study

is also an attempt to introduce how media functions differently between a rising economic power and a less significant developing country. Another objective of this study is to find if classic media theories that are popular among Western scholars, like framing, have some significance in the Eastern part of the media world, which has been less explored and have not been given interest.

This purpose of the study is to provide empirical support to the proposition in the theory that two different media systems from two different countries have a profound impact on the way vital political events get framed in mass media. Yang (2003) argues that each country's media have their vested interest behind presenting their national image "based on their reporting methods, organizational routines, organizational culture, national interest and other factors." So, the study examines if there is a significant difference in the way two countries' newspapers portray the same event using framing techniques. The study is also significant as it attempts to analyze framing of an issue by media in developed countries like India while covering stories about developing countries like Nepal and presenting it to the international arena.

Brief overview of India - Nepal relations and border issues:

Nepal lies in the subcontinent of India, along with Pakistan, Bhutan, Bangaladesh and Sri Lanka. Nepal is sandwiched geographically and demographically between two of the most populous countries, India and China. The population of Nepal is just above 30 million, according to the latest statistics, which is equal to 1/46 of India's population size and 1/60 of China's. The India-Nepal relations date back to the days during the colonization of India under the British crown (Kansakar, 2012). Nepal shares political neutrality as its foreign policy with its neighboring countries India and China. But with the open borders, Nepal shares a very complex bilateral relationship with India, governed by several treaties. Nepal expects India to be liberal in

regards to trade and transit problems, while India expects Nepal to be sensitive to its security interests (Subedi, 1994). As Nepal and India share an open border with free and unrestricted movement of population on either side of the boundary, it has been creating problematic situation in the past until today. As the number of foreign born population are maximum in number within Nepal born population. Several studies concerning this issue can be found in foreign policy and political communication literature (e.g., Singh, 2013).

The Nepal-India relations have been studied in social and political science, especially the history of the Nepal-India border disputes and consequences (Kansakar, 2001). These studies claim that Nepal has not been under any colonial power until today and has maintained political neutrality in its foreign relations along with Indian government considering 'special relationship' with Nepal under the 1950 India-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship (Subedi, 1994). The treaty emphasizes the close strategic relationship between the two South Asian countries. Since 1950, the Nepal-India border is an open one with no restriction on movement of people of Nepal to India and vice versa. As cited in Subedi (1994), Pamulaparti Venkata (P.V.) Narsimha Rao's 1989 speech in Lok Sabha (lower house of India's Bicameral –Parliament) explains that the 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship was "a vision to have both independent, sovereign and free but indissolubly linked by unbreakable bonds between two countries." India's interference acts in the past have been studied in political science literature (Rajan, 2005) related to diplomatic relations, as India and Nepal have a long history of coalition and support when it comes to forming a government.

The Indian government helped Nepal's new ruling elite (King and political parties) to come to power and assured them to support for establishment of a democratic system since February 1951 (Singh, 2009). Similarly, the open declaration on the importance of Nepal from

former Prime Minister (1947-1964) of India Jawaharlal Nehru in the past still seems relevant. Between 1950 and 1959 when US and China were planning to open embassies in Nepal, he said, "we have 'special interest' in Nepal and we are not going to tolerate other countries' interest there" (Singh, 2013). India's special position regarding foreign affairs in Nepal has been recognized thereafter.

Constitution – Nepal-India Ties

Nepal-India relations and the core reasons for India's concern in Nepal's constitution dates to a long friendly relationship and treaties between these countries, which is not part of this study. But to briefly describe the background information on Nepal's geopolitical relations and a brief history of the Nepal-India ties particularly as they relate to Nepal's constitution, we need to recall some of the key events from timeline of 2015 that are directly or indirectly related to the ratification of the constitution.

Nepal's neighboring country India had been a supporter and 'major backer of the process of writing and ratifying the constitution' (Majumder, 2015). The importance shown by India towards Nepal with which it shares 1,150 miles (1,850 kilometers) of open border is proven by Prime Minister of India Narenda Modi's two consecutive visits to Nepal within six months of taking the responsibility of head of state of India in 2015 (Jha, 2016). He then emphasized his views regarding forming constitution by consensus rather than majority while delivering a speech to Nepal's constituent assembly on August 3, 2014 (Indian Express, 2014). While Nepal was planning to take a leap from monarchy to multiparty democracy with eight broad ethnic regions in 2006 representing ethnic groupings, India was a major supporter. But after the first failed constituent assembly in May 27, 2012, the country got a second mandate for constituent assembly on November 19, 2013, to give their citizens a fresh new constitution within two years.

Soon after the devastating April 2015 earthquake in Nepal, political parties hurriedly decided to sign a deal on a new constitution that had been waited for long time (Jolly, 2015). Unsatisfied with this decision, the Indian government wanted Nepal's constituent assembly to make necessary amendments concerning the "Madhesh issues, electoral constituencies based on population, geography and special characteristics" (Roy, 2015), before ratifying it. The request was ignored by Nepal's government, which caused the friendly relationship between the two countries to get agitated. This resulted in a border dispute, protests and 'unofficial' economic embargo in Nepal by India.

Madhesh and Minority Issues

One of the reasons for the border dispute is demands presented by Madeshi people's rights in the constitution. Madheshis are the ethnic groups and descendants of Indian origin. Nepal is geographically divided into three parts: northern himalayan, middle hilly and southern plains called Terai. It is ethnically diverse and has a culturally hierarchical society with a unique phenomenon where numerically all groups are minorities and the ones considered largest, *Chhetri* (Hindu Nepali cast), constitute 15.80%, and *Brahman* and *Chhetri* together make a population of 28.54%, which is considered a majority population. This population lives in the hilly areas where most of the people are identified either by Nepali language (46.61%) or Hindu religion (46.61%), per 2001 census. Besides this major population residing in the hilly areas, Madhesi and Janajati (neither Hindu nor Nepali speaking populations) who reside in the southern plains Terai are considered minority groups. So, this majority-minority division exists in Nepali hierarchical society, which has been presented as the division of superior - inferior groups. According to Hofstede cultural dimensions, power distance for Nepal is 65, which means that

Nepali people accept and expect a hierarchical order in which everybody has a place and which needs no further justification, which is slightly higher in the case of India, at 77 (Hofstede, 2017). Hence, the majority groups are Bahun and Chettri groups in the hills while the rest of the groups are considered minorities, like the Madhesi and Janajati (Hachhethu, 2003).

Conflict and Media

The way we learn about conflict is through media, as the media serve as the main channel of communication between political elites and their publics (Lee & Savigny, 2009). It is common to find conflict-related news in media content. Mass media have always played an important role in bringing those stories to the public. Bonta (1996) defines conflict as "the incompatible needs, differing demands, contradictory wishes, opposing beliefs or diverging interests which produces interpersonal antagonism and at times hostile encounters" (p. 405). Knauft (1987) finds that scholars believe that conflict and violence are normal aspects of societies. When it comes to covering international news coverage, its primary focus would be conflict. Global media pay attention to conflict as a central news value and tend to present another nation as "the other" with enemy images, while presenting messages that unify its nation and its rulers (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2002). This study uses Lengauer et al. (2012) definition of conflict, which is the two-sided depiction of disagreement between individuals or groups of people about an issue. The diplomatic conflict between Nepal and India following Nepal's constitution ratification in 2015 fits this definition.

Framing Theory

Mass-communication research found that news content is not objective and is largely dependent on "social, ideological, political or psychological influences" (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). These influences lead to a phenomenon is news coverage called framing. Media studies

(Goffman, 1974, Entman 1991, Gitlin, 1980) use the concept of framing to explain the role of the news media in defining issues for the public. Framing has been defined differently by different scholars and has been a subject of study for a very long time, being one of the most used mass communication theories (Bryant & Miron, 2004). Entman (1993, p.52) defined framing as selecting "some aspects of a perceived reality to enhance their salience in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and /or treatment recommendation." According to him, "frames are information processing schemata (Entman, 1991. p.7) that operate by selecting and highlighting some features of reality while omitting others" (Entman, 1992, p. 53). The framing of any issue affects how individuals perceive information that is presented to them by highlighting some aspects of reality by either placement or repetition of words or by using culturally familiar symbols. Framing is also a term that describes how an event is portrayed in a story or article.

Entman's (1993) definition of media frames fullfils four major functions: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments and suggesting remedies, which credits the news as influential in political decision making and public opinion. Similarly, other framing literature indicates that media frames can play a vital role in stimulating opposition to or support for an event or issue. Media frames, including words, metaphors, phrases etc., also help in determining the tone of the media coverage of an event or issue. According to Scheufele (1999), frames exist everywhere in the communication process, not just with the communicator but also the message, text, as well as within the receiver of the message where the message is circulated. A 1999 study by Scheufele suggested five factors that influence how journalists frame any issue: a) social norms and values, b) organizational pressure and constraints, c) pressure of interest groups, d) journalistic routines, and e) ideological and political orientation of journalists. So,

how people come to know about the news has to do a lot with how the news is shaped or framed by the mass media.

Despite decades of studies focusing on framing, there is no one single and common way of determining frames. Some studies examine issue-specific frames like that of Galtung (1986), which introduced the concepts war and peace journalism. Diplomatic disagreements between two countries cannot be studied under the war or peace journalism framework. They can be studied, however, using generic news frames (de Vreese et. al, 2001), which are broadly applicable to a "range of different news topics over time potentially in various cultural contexts". Generic frames offer less possibility for examining the framing of an event in fine detail but allow comparison between frames, topics and potentially framing practices in different countries (de Vreese, 2001). Generic frames are defined by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) as "conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information" (p.94). They reviewed previous studies and grouped generic frames in five categories: the *responsibility* frame, the *human interest* frame, the *conflict* frame, the *economic consequences* frame, and the *morality* frame. This study does include four of the generic frames, and since the morality frames deal mostly with religious or moral tenets which can be detected by checking whether the article contains a moral message or makes reference to morality, or also to God or other religious matters, this category will not be included as both countries share common culture and religiously they are almost identical. Hofstede cultural dimension scores indicate similarities between the two countries, with only minor variations of 0-20% (Geert Hofstede, 2017).

Differences in frames used and problems raised by local and Indian newspapers were further examined for the study. Media frames are important to study because they affect

individuals' attitudes, opinions and construction on individuals' frames as well (Scheufele, 1999). Of the inductive and deductive approaches to content analyzing the frames, deductive method was used to examine the generic media news frames used in the coverage of disputes surrounding the ratification of Nepal's constitution and the conflict thereafter.

According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), these generic frames commonly used in media coverage of political issues. They are defined below.

Conflict frames:

According to Lengauer et al. (2012) definition of conflict frames, we consider them to be present in a news article when there is at least two-sided depiction of disagreement between individuals or groups of people about an issue, which according to studies in past is one of the most used generic frames (Canel, Holtz-Bacha, & Mancini, 2007; Neuman, 1992; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Journalists are seldom accused to be conflict driven and to search for a conflict angle too often (de Vreese, 2005), although conflict may be inherent to certain news facts (e.g., a labor strike) as well. Also, the conflict frame can include blame attributions (Thesen, 2012), which implies a certain degree of conflict.

Human Interest Frames:

This frame brings a human face or an emotional angle to the story while presenting an issue or problem (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Cho and Gower's (2006) study shows that this frame influences audiences' emotional response and is a significant predictor of blame and responsibility attribution. Human-interest frames focus on the person and the emotional elements of a story. As articles cast light on people and their circumstances, they can arouse readers' sympathy as well as interest by introducing a case of a person affected by or witnessing some news event in the lead of a complicated article.

Economic Consequences Frames:

The economic consequences frame deals with the economic impact or economic benefit/detriment of a larger issue. As quoted by An and Gower in their 2009 study, Graber's (1993) study concluded that the wider impact of an event is an important news value, and economic consequences are often considerable.

Responsibility Frames:

This frame presents issues or problems in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). In their study on the framing of European politics, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) found that attribution of responsibility was the most commonly used frame in Dutch national media, followed by conflict. Similarly, An and Gower (2009) found that the responsibility frame tends to dominate crisis news coverage in U.S. elite newspapers.

"Framing refers to the methods by which the mass media organize and present issues and events" (Dimitrova & Stromback, 2005). So, in the case of dispute raised after the ratification of the Nepal's constitution, journalists can focus on several generic frames, such as on the conflict between Nepal and India, on Nepal's internal conflict with the Madhesi groups, on the human interest stories of those people whose life is affected from the economic embargo and the family members' stories affected by police officials in the borders, on the economic consequences of the disputes between two countries and how that affects the economies of the two countries, or on those who are responsible for the crisis (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Sufficient researches have focused on issues related to war – peace journalism (Dimitrova & Stromback, 2005) but very few scholarships can be found on framing diplomatic conflicts between two countries.

Earlier research, such as Sevens and Vliegenthart (2016), considers "conflict framing to be present in a news article when there is at least a two-sided depiction of disagreement between individuals or groups of people about an issue" and the conflict frame is one of the most often used generic frames in media coverage in many different countries on a wide range of political issues (Canel, Holtz-Bacha, & Mancini, 2007, Neuman, 1992, Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The ratification of the Nepal's constitution created tension between the economic giant India and the developing country Nepal because of the long history behind India's unseen yet significant presence in Nepal's political development since 1951. The first research question hence aims to examine differences in framing among newspapers in the two countries:

RQ 1: How did the framing (in terms of conflict, human interest, responsibility and economic consequences) of the dispute following the ratification of Nepal's constitution in 2015 vary between local and Indian newspapers?

Similarly, two other commonly used generic framing techniques when covering news stories is by employing episodic or thematic frames. Based on Iyengar and Kinder (1991) study, framing can be distinguished between episodic or thematic, which explains how media influences people's attribution of responsibility. Episodic frames fail to look over larger social circumstances and lacks details and context, and the audiences don't get the insight behind the story that contribute to problems. In short, episodic frames decontextualize events and treat them as discrete happenings (Rudd, 2016). The use of simple episodic framing presents selected idiosyncratic and non-necessarily representative cases without context, which has a risk of obscuring reality and misleading the readers. On the other hand, thematic frames look more into the origin of the problems by providing readers with the background, consequences and other important information such as the social, economic and political context behind the problem.

This will help general audiences to recognize the problems faced by government, other institutions and the general population. It places events in their broader context and looks for probable solutions to the problem (Dorfman, Wallack, & Woodruff, 2005). Previous research suggests that that during times of conflict and disagreements simple episodic framing techniques are used to present selected idiosyncratic cases without context, in vivid and emotionally evocative ways that have high chances of presenting issues vaguely to the audiences (Niner, Ahmad, & Cuthbert, 2013). Therefore, the second research question asks:

RQ 2: How does story treatment (in terms of thematic or episodic framing) vary between local and Indian newspapers while covering the news story of the ratification of Nepal's Constitution?

Tone

According to McQuail (2005), "framing is a way of giving some overall interpretation to isolated items of fact. While doing that it is unavoidable for journalists to do it with full objectivity raising the question of introduction of unintended bias" (p. 379). Reporters have the power to decide on how to report any news based on the value it gets and they have the privilege to give that news an angle. Even though the tone of news coverage, whether positive/negative or neutral, has not been formally integrated into frame analysis, many studies (e.g. Parry, 2011) have adopted tone analysis as part of news framing research. How journalists present any issue has a lot to do with how they write it. Recent studies claim that there has been shift in a number of Western democracies towards more negative media coverage with focus on conflict, scandal and attack frames (Soroka, 2014).

So, another variable related to framing is the tone of coverage, which is generally done by examining the valence of the articles. Tone refers to the bias in favor or against a group, party, issue, idea, or, in this study, a country's new constitution. Every story has its positive as well as negative sides. Stories can be in supporting or opposing sides, and empirical research has confirmed that negative presentation of any issue is more powerful than positive. The attitude with which the message is presented is determined by how any story is presented in favor (supporting) or going against (opposing) the issue. In most studies tone, has been detected by a combination of quantitative and qualitative (impression) methods, especially by qualitative evaluation of quantified language used. Bizer et al (2011) analyzed valence framing effects by comparing the tone of stories about 1960s' opponents of the Vietnam war who protested against the war and how the supporters of war were referred to as "silent majority," whereas opponents of abortion were framed as resorting to violence and abortion rights supporters were hardly provided space in headlines (Bizer, Larsen, & Petty, 2011).

In this study, issues related to the 2015 India-Nepal economic embargo leading to border dispute after the ratification of Nepal's constitution can be covered in a positive tone indicating ratification of constitution as a success of Nepali citizens (pro-Constitution), or in a negative tone (anti-Constitution) if the news coverage presents the ratification of the constitution as the key reason behind the problems raised, like economic blockade and the later crisis. Finally, neutral instances can also be present based on analytical reasoning where the journalists do not take any particular sides. A story will be considered neutral if the article does not present any stance on Constitution and economic blockade, and the coverage merely explains the chain of events.

To examine the presence and differences in tone/valence in the coverage of the dispute, the following question is asked to determine if the articles were pro-Constitution or anti-Constitution or neutral:

RQ 3: How does the tone (pro-Constitution, anti-Constitution, neutral) vary between Indian and Nepali newspapers while covering disputes after the ratification of Nepal's Constitution in 2015?

News Sources

Finally, sources are an important aspect of any valid and authentic news story that provides credible information. The choice of sources is one of the devices that influences news framing (Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007). Previous studies on news sources have found that they do influence the framing of stories by journalists (Hamilton & Lawrence, 2010). The study concludes that sources provide evidence, legitimacy, authority and credibility to the story. As Entman (1993) noted, journalists engage in news framing by selecting certain sources and making them more salient than others. Similarly, how media from two different countries present the news depends on the selection of news sources because readers tend to form perceptions of places and events abroad depending on the diverse nature of sources used while covering the international news (Cozma & Kozman, 2016). Selection of sources thus plays an important role in producing the final product. Years of research on news sources provide enough evidence that people in positions of authority get their voices in the news more often (Gans, 1979; Cook 1998; Bennett 1990; Cozma, 2015). While covering international conflict and war between two countries, it has often been noted that official sources dominate. As this study is analyzing a diplomatic conflict between two countries, it is particularly interested in knowing how often politicians and government officials from two countries are quoted in the news. This study will

also examine the relationship between news sources and framing. Previous studies have found that during times of conflict and war, the most commonly used sources are government officials. For example, in a comparative analysis of media coverage of a Greek terrorist group in two newspapers, *Toronto Star* and *The New York Times,* the most commonly used sources were U.S. government and Greek government officials (Zaharopolous, 2004). Similarly, a comparative study of online news sites in Coalition countries and the Arab World during the Iraq War found that the most frequently used sources were the government officials and military sources (Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007). In a study focusing on the onging Syrian crisis, Cozma and Kozman (2015) found that newspaper stories that relied more on U.S. and international officials tended to use more conflict framing, while stories citing more Syrian rebels registered an increase in the attribution of responsibility frame. Using the Nepal-India diplomatic conflict as a case study, the final two research questions ask:

RQ 4: What were the main sources that newspapers in Nepal and India relied on while covering the dispute after the ratification of Nepal's Constitution?

RQ 5: What is the relationship between sources and framing of stories about the ratification of Nepal's Constitution?

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

The current study uses comparative content analysis because this method has been used for studying the presentation style of news and issues in the past (Rudd, 2016, p. 148). Cultural differences can be studied using this process and since content analysis has a "potential to identify developments over long period" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 152), this method helps in determining contrasts in content between different media systems in two countries. It also helps in checking reality while comparing it with what is presented in the media to discuss about the difference between real situations to that of what is portrayed in the media (Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). Content analysis is an extremely useful method for identifying latent and manifest messages in media texts that allows to infer who is responsible for helping to construct the messages, either journalists, editors, media owners, government, and spokespeople (Rudd, 2016, p. 149).

Sample and Unit of Analysis

The study analyzes generic frames, story treatment, tone and news sources used by newspapers from two countries, Nepal and India, while covering the dispute after the ratification of the constitution of Nepal in 2015. For this analysis, the four most read newspapers from the two countries were analyzed starting two days before the ratification of the Constitution (September 17, 2015) until the month after the end of the crisis (also referred to as the end of 'unofficial' blockade / embargo) on February 23, 2016 (Nepali Times, 2016). The diplomatic disagreements between the two neighboring countries India and Nepal could be tracked in the coverage patterns in local as well as in Indian media. Based on the initial analysis of news articles, the coding scheme captured four different generic framing techniques (conflict,

economic consequences, responsibility, human-interest frames) that were examined by human coders.

The quantitative content analysis examined two of the mostly circulated, elite and read newspapers in each country. *The Times of India* and *The Hindu* were selected from India and *The Kathmandu Post* and *Republica* were selected from Nepal (World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers South Asian Newspaper Directory, 2016). All stories concerning i) 'Nepal Constitution 2015', ii) 'Economic Blockade', iii) 'Madhesh crisis' were closely analyzed in all four newspapers. A keyword search of 'Nepal' AND 'constitution' in LexisNexis Academic database produced a total of 63 relevant stories in *The Times of India* and 56 in *The Hindu*. Similarly, a total of 1307 news articles were found in *The Kathmandu Post (ekantipur.com)* and *Republica (my republica)* had 948 news articles. The sample from Indian newspapers included a few articles that were irrelevant for the study, so they were excluded from the samples. In order to make the number of articles from all the newspapers comparable, the study sampled every twentieth article from Th*e Kathmandu Post* and every sixteenth article from *Republica*, which resulted in a sample of 125 news stories in the Nepali sample making it a total of 244 stories that were used for the analysis. The study focuses on the ratification of the Constitution of Nepal and the diplomatic conflict it produced. So, the disagreements and conflict raised beyond the official lifting of the blockade will not be part of the study.

For analyzing the frames used, overall articles along with headlines were closely analyzed and coded. Coders then looked for framing patterns according to the categories mentioned in the codebook.

Operationalization of Frames

The coding of the articles included more subjective measures (presence or absence of frames), which was accompanied by the objective characteristics (like date of publication and frequency of the coverage). The unit of analysis is the individual text news article, including editorial, opinion pieces, and so forth. Each frame was coded based on the presence and absence of the frame per article described in codebook. For story treatment, the entire story was examined to see if the subject is framed episodically or thematically, and valence was coded to see if there is a significant tone in each story. This was followed by analyzing types of sources cited in the article to see how the four newspapers differ in terms of attributing information to sources. The sources were then counted and later converted to ratios to give more sense while analyzing.

The generic frames were ascertained by analyzing the complete article asking three to five specific questions for each frame. The five generic frames and most of the measurements were adopted from Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) study. From the original measurement, the morality frame was not suitable for this current study, as it refers to morality or God or other religious matters, which to this case is not applicable due to religious autonomy and lack of any conflict created in the name of religion or god or morality. So this study did not include the morality frame for analysis. Each question was coded on a presence/absence basis per news article: if present, yes will be coded as 1, if absent, no will be coded 0.

1.   The **conflict frame** includes articles that emphasize conflict and disagreement between two groups or individuals, in this case the two countries' governments' dissatisfaction with the ratification of the constitution of Nepal. Both countries emphasize two different stands. India focuses on Constitution being incomplete, which is the core reason for raising tension and

protest in the border area, while Nepal emphasizes Indian government's unseen role in supporting the protest by implementing economic embargo to Nepal. This frame also includes disagreements, protests and conflict raised in border areas started by the Madheshi population who are fighting for equal opportunities in the constitution, which follows the blockade (economic embargo) in the India-Nepal border. The questions for the conflict frame are the following:

i.   Does the story reflect disagreement between two parties/individuals-group-countries (especially India – Nepal perspective, Madhesh – internal conflict of Nepal)?

ii.   Does one party-individual-group-country criticize another?

iii.   Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?

iv.   Does the story refers to winners and losers?

2.   The **human-interest frame** includes news emphasizing individual stories of people suffering from the dispute as well as broader coverage of individuals' experience of how constitution has changed or harmed their personal lives. Stories focusing on daily lives and on stories of citizens facing unnecessary trouble due to turmoil situation created after constitution was ratified are also captured here. The human-interest frame was measured by these following questions:

i.   Does the story provide a human example or 'human face' on the issue?

ii.   Does the story show or discuss how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?

iii.   Does the story go into the personal or private lives of the actors?

iv.   Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy/caring, sympathy, or compassion?

3.   The **responsibility frame** includes articles emphasizing the blame game for who is responsible for the disturbance in the general life of people, whether the Indian side (blamed for 'unofficial' economic blockade) or the Madheshi protestors at the Nepal-India border who were blamed for creating the problem. Articles discussing and assigning blame, such as on the government of Nepal, Indian police, Nepali police or the Madheshi protestors, were captured under the attribution of responsibility frame, which is measured by the following five questions:

i.   Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?

ii.   Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?

iii.   Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/ issue?

iv.   Does the story suggest that an individual or a group of people in society is responsible for the issue/problem?

v.   Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?

4.   The **economic consequences frames** focus mainly on monetary losses or gains. They can emphasize a country's economic losses due to the protests in the border area or to the unofficial economic embargo; how that impacts economic situation between two countries; and how the ratification of the constitution turned out to be a financial loss for the countries. It was measured by questions:

i.   Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?

ii.   Is there a mention of cost/degree of expense involved?

iii.   Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

The unit of analysis used for content analysis of episodic or thematic story treatment is based on the overall articles. By using a thorough analysis of each article and using Dimitrova and Stromback's (2005) definition of episodic/ thematic framing, each article was first read thoroughly to find a pattern of framing used to describe the incident episodically, as an isolated news event, or thematically, providing broader societal context to that issue or event.

Similarly, the other variable studied is the tone of the article, which is generally done by examining the valence of the articles. It can be either positive, negative, or neutral. In this issue under examination, a positive tone portrays the ratification of the constitution as a success for the country and its people after several years of fighting for democracy. A story similarly shows negative tone if the news coverage presents the ratification of the constitution as the key reason behind the main problems and denies the economic blockade or if it criticizes Nepal's government for forcefully implementing the constitution without thinking about the consequences. A story will be considered neutral if the article doesn't present any stance on the constitution and economic blockade, and the presentation is merely focused on the chain of events. The number of positive, negative and neutral tone stories of those four newspapers will be tabulated to determine where they stand predominantly in terms of being positive, negative and neutral on the issue.

1.   **Positive (Pro-Constitution):** Articles in support of the new constitution, regards it as people's achievement and criticizes economic consequences after the blockade

2.   **Negative (Anti-Constitution)**: Articles that criticize various aspects of the Constitution and bring up the issue of incomplete constitution and support to some extend the Madhesh protest.

3.   **Neutral**: Articles talking about Nepal's Constitution without taking any stance towards government's move of implementing the constitution. This can include both positive and negative aspects of the new constitution and doesn't give its dominating views of any type. If both issues come in same article, then the story is treated as neutral.

Importance of Sources in Framing:

Sources are referred to as persons, national or international organizations, documents from government offices, data and information from agencies and public offices. Sources were coded as string variables, such as 'Prashant Jha a journalist at *The Hindu* in India' under the 'Indian Experts' category. Later the sources were broken down into categories and percentage of sources were coded and those with at least one source cited were included in the study. Based on the rough study of news articles, the following nine types of sources are initially categorized. So, the sources were initially coded based on following instructions.

1.   Nepali Officials: (local and public officials from Nepal like Nepal Police, officer from Nepal Government, Prime Minister's office official)

2.   Indian Officials: (public office and officials from India like Indian Police Indian Ambassador to Nepal, Border officials of India, Indian Government officials)

3.   Nepali Politicians: (Nepali politicians of different parties following their ideologies, e.g. United Marxist Leninist, Nepali Congress, Unified Maoists etc.)

4.   Indian Politicians: (Indian politicians from different parties following their ideologies, e.g. B.J.P., Congress etc.)

5.   Nepali Citizens: (Nepali citizens, Victims of the economic crisis, individual party cadres of Nepali political parties)

6.   Indian Citizens (Indian citizens, victims in the borders, Indian drivers of cargo vehicles)

7.   Nepali Experts: (local journalists from Nepal, Constitution specialists and other experts in the field from Nepal)

8.   Indian Experts: (local journalists and Constitution specialists from India)

9.   Others: Any source that is not included from 1-8 especially those not included in 1-8 group international humanitarian organizations including U.N., Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International etc.

Analysis Method:

Since the questions in each frame category were already proven reliable by Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) study, the value of each frame was calculated by averaging their corresponding questions, with scores ranging from 0 to 1 for each.

To examine the coverage difference between the two countries' newspapers, the mean value of each frame and the presence proportion of each source type were compared using independent sample t-tests, while treatment of story and tone differences were measured by chi-square test. Since mean scores for each type of sources were difficult to interpret (less than one such source per story), each source was converted to its ratios (relative to the total number of sources) to get a broader, easier-to-understand picture.

Inter-coder Reliability

According to Wimmer & Dominick (2006), "inter-coder reliability refers to the levels of agreement among independent coders who code the same content using the coding instrument"

(p. 156). In this study, an undergraduate student and the author coded some articles, then revised the codebook and repeated coding until a good inter-coder reliability was reached. The coders were trained to do the content analysis, and 56 articles were selected from the total of 250 articles to measure the inter-coder reliability, which represents 22% of the news articles and they were used to pretest the coding protocols.

Krippendorff alpha was adopted to test the inter-coder reliability and was estimated at an average of 0.934 for all categories. Krippendorff (2013a) argued that Alpha is a more useful coefficient than others because it adjusts for small sample sizes and can be used with more than two coders and all levels of measurement (nominal, ordinal, interval, and ratio). The average Krippendorff's alpha of .80 and above is considered high and adequate to proceed with coding.

The breakdown of the inter-coder reliability results is detailed in Appendix II.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

This study aims to compare different types of frames applied, story treatment,

tone/valence in news stories, and most frequently used sources by Nepali and Indian newspapers

covering news related to the ratification of Nepal's constitution and the protests that followed.

The study also set out to determine the relation between the frames and the sources quoted. The

results presented below are based on a content analysis of a total of 244 news articles from the

LexisNexis database that were published in two Nepali newspapers (*The Kathmandu Post,*

Republica) and two Indian newspapers (*The Times of India, The Hindu*) from September 17,

2015, till end of March 2016. Distribution of the stories is presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Breakdown of stories gathered from four newspapers

Newspaper	N	% of Total
The Kathmandu Post	64	26.23
Republica	60	24.59
The Times of India	63	25.89
The Hindu	57	23.36
Total	244	100

Frames

Since the coding questions in each frame category were already proven reliable by

Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) study, the value of each generic frame was calculated by

averaging the corresponding questions so all frames were measured on a scale from 0 to 1.

To examine the coverage difference between the Nepali and the Indian newspapers, the

mean of each frame and the average proportion of each source type were compared using

independent samples t-test while the tone towards ratification of constitution was measured and

compared using chi-square test.

Table 2
Differences in framing between Nepali and Indian stories
(Independent sample t-tests and cross tabulations)

	Nepal		India		
Frame	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	*t*
Conflict	.50	0.23	.70	0.19	-7.253****
Human Interest	.21	0.29	.18	0.31	.874
Economic consequences	.37	0.40	.44	0.37	-1.299
Responsibility	.51	0.31	.54	0.26	-.887

****$p<.001$

RQ 1 asked about the differences in dominant framing of news related to ratification of

constitution of Nepal in newspapers from two countries. Article level analysis found that the

most employed frames in both countries were conflict and responsibility. By comparing the

mean values of each frame, the study suggests that responsibility (M=0.51, SD=0.31) and

conflict (M=0.50, SD=0.23) frames dominated the coverage in Nepali newspapers (see Table 2).

They were also prevalent in the Indian newspapers, but the frame scores were higher for both

conflict (M=0.70, SD=0.26) and responsibility (M=0.54, SD=0.19). An independent samples t-

test shows that the difference was statistically significant (t=-7.216, p=0.001, df=241). While

covering the news related to who is responsible for the border blockade to India, Nepali

newspapers blamed India for "interference in another country's internal matter and its embargo

on Nepal" (*The Kathmandu Post*, 2015, Oct. 11), which ultimately hampered the good

relationship and business partnership between two countries. As an example, while talking about

conflict, Nepali newspapers extensively covered the "protest in the southern plains and

obstruction from Indian border areas as results of India's embargo(blockade)," which was

regarded as a "punishment to Nepalis" who were facing hardship (TKP, 2015, Oct 31). A part of

conflict framing, Nepali stories also emphasized the Nepal-India's blame game, which was

growing anti-India sentiments among Nepali masses (TKP, 2015, Nov 25).

The Indian newspapers as well focused their coverage mainly on conflict and secondly on the responsibility. The Hindu on 2015, Sept. 21, wrote "As Nepal adopted its first democratic constitution, but it has already exacerbated division in some places, with 40 people killed in protests against it in recent weeks." Also, the news coverage mainly included incidents related to conflict, such as, "A Nepal based student organization with Maoist leaning has threatened to set Indian vehicles crossing the border on fire to protest India's intrusion into that country's new constitution" (*Times of India*, 2015, Sept 30).

Economic consequences frames were the third most frequently used frames as the whole situation was revolving around two countries' economic flow of goods (Nepali M=0.37, SD=0.40, and Indian M=0.44, SD=0.37). Although both newspapers were similar in terms of using economic consequences frames, they presented the issue in contrasting terms. Nepali stories (*Republica,* 2015, Oct 16) blamed "India for undeclared blockade and hindrance in supply of fuel and other essential goods, after the ratification of constitution. That very economic blockade was presented by *The Hindu* (2015, Oct 25) as*,* "blockade of a key trade point with India mainly by Indian origin Madhesis against division of their homeland who were protesting against the new Constitution."

Although it is worth noting that while the whole situation brought about a humanitarian crisis, the human-interest frame was the least dominant frame: Nepal M=0.21, SD=0.29, and Indian M=0.18, SD=0.31. The few times when human-interest frames were used, the coverage was about how life of the general Nepali public was hampered due to the crisis in the border areas. Giving example of hotel owners like Rajan Sakya and further explaining the effects of the blockade, *The Hindu* on January 8, 2016, quoted a middle-aged woman running a shop whose prices were hiked due to the blockade of the Indian border imposed by Madhesis.

Table 3
Differences in story treatment
(Cross-tabulations)

Treatment of stories	Nepal	India
Thematic	25 (19.7)	36 (30.8)
Episodic	102 (80.3)	81 (69.2)
N	127	117

χ^2 (1, N=244) = 3.99. p<.050, Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

The second research question asked about how story treatment varied in terms of thematic or episodic framing between Nepali and Indian newspapers while covering the news story of Nepal's Constitution ratification. In terms of subject treatment, descriptive analysis (crosstabs) found that Nepali newspapers treated a high proportion of their stories episodically. A major proportion of Nepali news stories, 80.3%, were episodic. On the other hand, 69.2% of the stories in the Indian papers covered the ratification episodically. Pearson Chi-square found the difference was statistically significant (Table 3). To answer the second research question, both newspapers overwhelmingly relied on episodic coverage. Nepali newspapers had almost 20% of their stories thematic, but Indian newspapers had around 30%. Indian newspapers tended to focus more on giving in-depth and detailed news reports related to the series of events and the reason behind the crisis. Nepali newspapers tended to cover mainly disparate events relating to the ratification of constitution and its implementation while Indian newspapers were covering news giving background information about the importance of Indian government's role in overall Nepali politics and India's major role in the historical process of passing the constitution and solving the political crisis. Indian Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj's statement on 2016, Feb 19, illustrates that point: "From involvement in government formation to meddling in Constitution drafting, New Delhi's emissaries and agents have kept Nepal on the boil."

Time and again, Indian newspapers kept justifying Nepal government's lacking points and India's role as a moderator giving historical time lines. Former ambassadors' and politicians' views were quoted to give thematic justification of India's interest in the ratification of Nepal's constitution. For example, while justifying India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi's aide Jayashankar's last minute visit to Nepal with suggestions to resolve the crisis, Times of India (2016, Feb 26) wrote, "India had repeatedly called on Nepal to make its constitution more inclusive by addressing the grievances of the plain people and India had always wanted Nepal to address these issues in a time bound manner."

The third research question asked about the difference in tone in the two countries' newspapers.To answer RQ3, a crosstab between two countries' newspapers and overall tone was conducted. Descriptive (crosstabs) found statistically significant differences in tone by country, $X^2(2, N=244) = 77.98$, $p<0.001$. The ratification of the constitution was presented as positive news in the majority of Nepali stories (52.8%), and about 30.7% of stories were neutral. Nepal presented the constitution ratification day as a "historic and momentous day" (2015, Sep 17). Only 16.5% of the stories in Nepali newspapers had an anti-constitution tone; these were stories that presented the constitution as the prime cause for the dissatisfaction among two countries and the dispute created in the border areas. On the other hand, Indian newspapers presented most their coverage in an anti-constitution tone (66.7%), followed by neutral (25.6% of the stories). Right from the day of ratification, Indian newspapers blamed the "constitution as the main reason for all the troubles and crisis then after." Only a handful of Indian articles were pro-constitution (7.7%) in tone. This can be explained because Nepal's Prime Minister was planning to visit India and few amendments in the constitution bills were made to smoothen the relationship between the two governments before the first Prime Minister's visit and they were

presented as positive news. On January 26, 2016, three weeks before Nepali Prime Minister Oli's

visit, Times of India quoted Indian government's statement, "India welcomed two amendments

made by Nepal to its constitution, describing them as positive developments," which was

considered as paving the way for Prime Minister Oli's first visit to India. Post-hoc analysis with

Benferroni method found that the proportions of pro- and anti-constitution stories were

statistically significantly different between the Indian and the Nepali newspapers (with no

significant difference in the percentage of neutral coverage).

Table 4
Differences in tone/valence between Nepali and Indian newspapers
(Cross Tabulation)

Tone	Nepal	India
Pro Constitution	67 (52.8%)[a]	9 (7.7%)[b]
Neutral	39 (30.7%)[a]	30 (25.6%)[a]
Anti-Constitution	21 (16.5%)[a]	78 (66.7%)[b]

Note: Letters next to column percentages represent results of post-hoc tests. Same letters indicate similarity while different letters indicate significant difference between two groups.
χ^2 (2, N=244) = 77.98, p<.001, Numbers in parentheses indicate column percentages.

RQ4 examined the main differences in sources cited in Nepali and Indian newspapers

covering the ratification of Nepal's Constitution in 2015. The average Indian story cited a total of

2.05 sources, while the average Nepali story relied on 1.94 sources on average. Given the low

total number, ratios were computed for each type of source by dividing the total number for each

type by total number of sources and multiplying the result by 100. The results are shown in Table

5. In each article, nine categories of sources were coded by counting the numbers of sources

present: Nepali and Indian officials, politicians, citizens and experts. The rest of the remaining

sources that appeared were noted and then combined in one group and called 'others' and

comprised national and international organizations, interest groups, media reports and documents

that appeared less frequently. It is worth mentioning that sources were not regularly used in either of the two countries' newspapers. Some articles did not even cite any people at all. For example, a *Times of India* (November 6, 2015) article did not cite a single source but instead used pseudo attributions along the lines of "The view of Delhi points out their argument". Following a similar path, Nepali stories as well quoted sources difficult to ascertain. *Republica* (October 7, 2015) writes, "The Indian side thinks." While there were articles which cited as many as seven to eight sources per article like TOI on December 13, which cited 2 Nepali citizens, 2 Nepali politicians and 3 Indian officials, while TKP on September 29 cited 3 Nepali officials, 1 Indian official and 2 Nepali experts.

Table 5
Differences in use of sources between Nepali and Indian newspapers
(Independent samples t-tests)

	Nepal		India		*t*
	M (%)	SD	M (%)	SD	
Nepali Officials	.61(33.3)	.76	.60(32.56)	.70	.170
Indian Officials	.27(13.29)	.58	.61(28)	.87	-3.59**
Nepali Politicians	.61(33.13)	.97	.30(13.10)	.72	2.804*
Indian Politicians	.24(0.66)	.27	.12(6.08)	.46	-2.022*
Nepali Citizens	.04(2.43)	.20	.11(4.77)	.38	-1.842
Indian Citizens	0.00(0)	0	0.03(1)	.182	-2.11**
Nepali Experts	.25(9.94)	.75	.10(4.07)	.40	1.92
Indian Experts	.02(0.70)	.12	.02(1.23)	.13	-.08
Others	.13(6.56)	.42	.16(9.18)	.41	-6.83
N	129		116		

*p<.1. **p<.05, Numbers in parentheses indicate percentages of each source

The descriptive statistics show that sources were used 127 times by Nepali newspapers and 117 times by Indian newspapers. In both Nepali and Indian newspapers, Nepali officials were the most prevalent sources and accounted for 33.31% and 32.56% of all sources respectively. A significant difference was found in the citation of Indian officials and Nepali

politicians by newspapers in the two countries. Indian officials where more prevalent in Indian newspapers (28%) than in Nepali newspapers (13.29%). Nepali politicians were cited more by Nepali newspapers (33.13%) than by Indian newspapers (13.10%). Citation of other sources were similar in nature, which appeared in lower proportions between 0-10 percent.

When Nepali and Indian officials, politicians and experts were combined to form a new variable 'Nepali Authorities' and 'Indian Authorities,' Nepali newspapers relied massively on Nepali authorities (76.38%) while Indian newspapers relied only half the time (49.73%) on this type of source. On the other hand, Nepali newspapers cited very few Indian authorities (14.65%) while comparatively Indian newspapers cited more Indian authorities especially Indian foreign ministry, Indian border officials, and former ambassadors (35.31%).

To answer the final research question about the relationship between sources and framing in the stories about the ratification of Nepal's Constitution, regression analysis (Table 6) found stories that quoted Indian officials tended to have a higher proportion of conflict frames. Indian experts also showed a positive relationship with conflict framing (p=.063). Those stories that cited Nepali citizens and experts tended to have higher preponderance of human-interest frames. Indian citizens (p=.09) predicted an increased rate of human-interest framing. Stories that quoted Nepali officials and experts had an increased rate of economic consequences frames. On the other hand, reliance on Nepali politicians has a negative relationship with economic framing.

Finally, stories that quoted Indian officials, Nepali experts and other types of sources (NGO/ INGO) tended to have higher responsibility frames. It is worth mentioning that there is a high tendency of using pseudo attributions as sources in both countries' newspapers (that is, the news stories used vague attribution while reporting, such as "the Indian/ Nepali sources have told", "it is said that") and still, the conflict frames were dominated by Indian officials and

experts and that relationship was found statistically significant. Another significant relationship

that is worth mentioning here is the 'others' with responsibility frames. The views and

suggestions from international humanitarian organizations and pressure groups play an important

and sometimes decisive role in the internal politics of Nepal.

Table 6
*Linear regression analysis with generic framing as independent variable and sources and
country as predictors*

Variable	Conflict	Human Interest	Economic Consequences	Responsibility
	B (SE)	*B (SE)*	*B (SE)*	*B (SE)*
Nepali Officials	.02 (.02)	-.03(.02)	.13****(.03)	.05*(.03)
Indian Officials	.05** (.02)	-.01(.02)	.03(.03)	.06**(.03)
Nepali Politicians	.01(.02)	-.04**(.02)	-.06**(.03)	.03(.02)
Indian Politicians	-.03(.04)	.00(.04)	-.09(.06)	-.06(.05)
Nepali Citizens	.01(.05)	.56****(.05)	.13*(.08)	.03(.06)
Indian Citizens	-.01(.11)	.23*(.12)	.43**(.18)	-.26*(.15)
Nepali Experts	.01(.02)	.08***(.03)	.15****(.04)	.06**(.03)
Indian Experts	.21*(.11)	.03(.12)	.02(.18)	.24*(.14)
Others	.00(.03)	.06*(.04)	.03(.06)	.09**(.04)
Country	.20****(.03)	-.08**(.03)	.05(.05)	.04(.04)
Constant	.28****(.05)	.29****(.05)	.23***(.08)	.37****(.06)
R^2	.23	.42	.22	.11

Note: For Country, 1 = Nepal, 2 = India
*p<.10. **p<.05. ***p<.01. ****p<.001

Mass communication theory, and the indexing hypothesis in particular, predicts that

sources feed news frames, but the study reversed the independent and dependent variables to

examine if journalists have a predetermined frame in their mind and then go to sources that help

them build that frame. After running the regression model in reverse to see if the use of specific

frames correlate with use of official sources, the analysis (Table 7) found a significant

relationship between economic consequences frames with Nepali Officials and Nepali Experts.

That means that reporters who wanted to cover the disagreements from an economic perspective

were more likely to rely on these types of sources. A significant relationship was also found

between conflict frames and Indian officials; journalists who wanted to emphasize the conflict

frame were more likely to draw from Indian officials; human-interest frames and Nepali

politicians and officials had a significantly negative correlation, while human interest had a

positive significant relationship with Nepali experts.

Table 7
Linear regression analysis with official sources as dependent variables and generic frames and country as predictors

Variable	Nepali Officials B(SE)	Indian Officials B(SE)	Nepali Politicians B(SE)	Indian Politicians B(SE)	Nepali Experts B(SE)	Indian Experts B(SE)
Conflict	.04 (.23)	.50**(.24)	-.02 (.28)	-.03(.12)	-.22(.19)	.06(.43)
Human Interest	-.30* (.15)	-.09(.16)	-.36***(.18)	.00(.08)	.33**(.13)	-.01(.28)
Economic Consequences	.52**** (.12)	.16(.12)	-.41*(.14)	-.11*(.06)	.38**** (.10)	-.01(.02)
Responsibility	.26(.18)	.11(.19)	.26(.21)	-.11(.09)	.23(.15)	.02(.03)
Country	-.08(.10)	.22**(.10)	-.30(.12)	.11**(.05)	-.13(.08)	-.01(.02)
Constant	.41**(.16)	-.30*(.17)	1.03****(.20)	.02(.09)	.16(.14)	-.01(.03)
R2	.10	.09	.09	.04	.13	.02

*p<.1. **<.05. ***p<.01. ****p<.001

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The study has found that, although having similarities in terms of culture, political systems, and media systems, the major newspapers of two countries differed in many aspects when covering the same story. This study applies framing analysis to explore frame usage in newspapers in Nepal and India. It aims to reveal the dominant frames underlying the news coverage in Nepal and India's newspaper about the issue of ratification of Nepal's constitution, and to assess the differences in the presence of frames across two countries' newspapers.

This study aims to i) identify the news frames present in Nepali and Indian newspaper's articles about the ratification of constitution of Nepal in 2015 and the disagreements raised thereafter; ii) ascertain differences between two nations in terms of treatment of the story; iii) distinguish the tone in which the articles were covered; and iv) the sources used in the story and how they were related when it came to framing of the issue. The study captures the time during the ratification of the constitution, which in turn brought a six-month-long economic embargo at the Indian-Nepali border, which later got resolved with multiple changes and amendments to the constitution.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the applicability of the framing theory's tenets on generic framing, which has been developed mostly based on analysis of Western media, to the political disagreements between two Asian countries' governments that share similar political, cultural and media systems but differ greatly in geography to observe the variance of frames, tones, sources used in their newspapers' coverage of a major regional political development.

News Frames

The first research question talked about the dominant frames in elite newspapers from Nepal and India. The dominant frames were measured as the frequency with which the frames

were observed within a story. The four news frames studied were: 1) the conflict, 2) the human interest, 3) the economic consequences and 4) the responsibility frames. These generic frames were identified based on the results of previous studies (e.g., Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The findings show that all the four frames were present although human interest and economic consequences frames were seen the least. The results indicate that papers in two countries show commonality in the use of these frames although the valence and content of such frames might have differed. Here the frames perform two of Entman's (1993) four functions; "defining problems" and "to suggest remedies."

The major points discussed in McDougal (1982) study argued that conflict frames dominate news coverage of political news and Semetko and Valkenburg, (2000) noted that conflict is often considered to capture the interest of audiences. Supporting both studies, stories in both Nepal and India relied most heavily on conflict, but the Indian newspapers covered the event with maximum stories using conflict frames. Although in many aspects (e.g. culture, politics, media system), India and Nepal share commonalities, still Indian newspapers primarily portrayed the ratification of Nepal's constitution with conflict frames, emphasizing the inflating violent protests in border areas. For example, a headline in *The Times of India* reads, "Outbreak of violence amid first signs of Nepal's reconstruction in decades" (September 22, 2015). Similarly, *The Hindu* writes, "Both police and protesters blamed for brutality in Nepal protest." This is also in line with the definition of Lengauer et al. (2012), which suggests that conflict framing will be present in a news article when there is at least a two-sided depiction of disagreement between individuals or groups of people about an issue. On the other hand, while still emphasizing conflict, Nepali newspapers focused more on the 'constitution' as an achievement of the people and presented the 'crisis' from the viewpoint of the government's

diplomatic efforts to lessen the disagreements with the people residing in border areas, and India's obscure role in supporting the agitating mass in border area for crisis. *Republica* writes, "Delhi's open support to Madhes unrest will aggravate Nepal's situation." While discussing conflict in the border area, Nepali newspapers focused more on government's assurance that the constitution incorporates every group from society including the minorities: especially the Indian origin Nepali population Madhesis.

Since diplomatic conflicts can include multiple dimensions of disagreements, this study found that the conflict frame alone failed to capture the nuanced and sophisticated types of conflict frames where the two countries were not typically talking about same aspect of the conflict. Nepali newspapers were considering the Indian economic embargo as a major reason for the diplomatic dispute and the protests in the border, while Indian news stories were treating the Nepali constitution as a major reason for the crisis in the border, including the Madheshi protest. The overall scenario creates a high degree of confusion as it talks about same issue from a dual perspective. Future studies, using textual analysis, could use an inductive approach to build issue-specific frames.

Like in the case of covering war, diplomatic disagreements (here the border conflict) as well presented a major challenge to be covered by journalists as truthfully and impartially as possible, due to each country's propaganda efforts and each country's foreign affairs, time, money and pressure that were involved in this major political event. While the rest of the world was welcoming the constitution of Nepal, there were criticisms from both neighboring countries as well as from humanitarian organizations and international communities. Thus, Nepali stories seemed to blame the Indian government for increasing the tension at the border and Indian stories kept denying India's role in the protests and in the embargo at the border.

Both sets of newspapers used responsibility frames in similarly large proportions to discuss their respective country's diplomatic efforts to end the crisis and solve the ongoing protest. The responsibility frame is one that presents a topic in such a way as to identify who is responsible for the cause or solution to the problem, be it government, individual, party, politicians or interest groups (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The blame game between two countries, where one country considers the other responsible for the crisis is the second most frequently noticed in the coverage by the two countries' newspaper. For example, the story in *The Kathmandu Post* on October 27 blames the Indian government for the whole crisis and writes, "while creating history by writing its first 'people's' constitution, India should have respected the democratic process, which would have been much helpful, but it did not play constructive role." Quoting Indian ambassador to Nepal Ranjit Rae, *The Times of India* on October 3 story focuses on Indian government's goodwill towards Nepal and Nepali people by emphasizing that Indian government was not against the constitution and has not suggested any amendments but rather that India has always stood firm regarding the dismissal of ongoing agitation in the border area through rigorous dialogues and consensus. Similarly, *The Hindu* on October 5 stresses in a story that India wasn't responsible for the embargo and instead the "protesters angry with the new Constitution adopted by Nepal have blocked the crossing-point." These findings can explain the political limbo for around six months that was perpetuated by blaming each other for the crisis and increasing tension in the border.

Although not a significant difference, Nepali newspapers most commonly used responsibility frames compared to Indian newspapers mainly when Madhesh protests and disagreements in the border were discussed. This can explain Nepali politicians' years-long practice of blaming Indian government for all the problems in the name of nationalism and

getting carried away with the crisis scenario which could have been solved through minimal diplomatic dialogue.

In both countries' samples, human interest frames and economic consequences frames were the least used frames which could be explained by the fact that hardly any citizens' voices made it in the sample. Economic embargo directly affected life of general people residing in border areas, lack of life supporting supplies agonized the whole country but the media did not cover any of these stories because of the centrality of politics and politicians and importance given to these frames and sources by journalists. There were few Nepali sources in both countries coverage but Indian citizens were not given voice at all even though they were affected as well because the market across the border is highly dependent on Nepali buyers for everyday living.

Story treatment

There was not much of a difference between two countries in terms of treatment of the story as both countries tended to treat stories in episodic frames and focused heavily on event-centered coverage. Many the stories were presented as dramatic events and lacked thematic presentation of the cause behind the disagreements and the rise of the economic and political crisis. More Nepali (80.3%) stories were treated episodically than Indian stories (69.2%). What contributed to this episodic treatment seems to be the newspapers' focus on the blame game where each country accused each other for the economic embargo without giving details about who were the major actors behind the event. Event specific coverage emphasizes breaking-news events but does not provide enough details to make judgement about the situation. Bennett (1988) describes episodic frames as reporting that parachutes the journalists and audiences into the middle of an already developed situation, without much consideration to what led up to the

specific incident and what its ramifications might be. Studies by Niner et al. (2013), Lawrence (2000), and Iyengar & Simon (1994) indicated that articles using simple episodic framing and run the risk of leading readers to misunderstand the situation or to support radical and not necessarily helpful solutions. In the present case, episodic framing failed to address patterns of phenomena as the situation evolved and the core reasons and factors behind the crisis in the border area. It must be noted, however, that while the number of episodic stories is high in both countries, this finding is in line with story treatment patterns found in U.S. political coverage where the primary focus is on the here and now and blaming the other party. For example, Dimitrova (2005) study found that episodic frames dominate early coverage of Iraq war in the US newspapers while comparing it with Sweden (p. 412).

News Valence

Indian newspapers showed a very high incidence of anti-constitution tone towards Nepal's new constitution. From the present data, 66.7% of stories in Indian newspapers showed an anti-constitution tone, compared to only 16.5% in the Nepali newspapers. Similarly, Nepali newspapers used a positive tone in 52.8% of stories while Indian newspapers had only 7.7% positive stories. However, both newspapers were less likely in presenting the stories in neutral tone, at about a quarter each. As previous studies conducted in Western contexts (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Moon & Sung, 2006, Pak, 2016) concluded, negative-toned news arouses cynicism or negative perceptions against the object of the news. It seems plausible that the prevalence of anti-constitution tone in Indian newspapers may lead readers to have more negative perception of the Nepali constitution, the Nepal government and politicians. The agitated mass in the border could get provoking ideas with the negative messages they can get from the negatively toned stories.

News Sources

As evident in previous research conducted on U.S. media (Bennet1990; Dimitrova & Stromback, 2005; Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007; Cozma, 2015), this study as well found that newspapers in both India and Nepal overwhelmingly relied heavily on their respective government officials, with notable differences in Nepali newspapers that didn't quote many Indian officials as compared to Indian newspapers quoting Nepali officials. Although the 2015 constitution gives freedom of expression, the Freedom House's (2016) country profile considers Nepal a partly free country as politicians still tend to interfere in the media. Most politicians after winning election handle offices and become powerful sources and they are quoted most of the time in the news.

Scholars have emphasized the importance of using different sources on media frames (Entman, 1993; Tankard, 2003). This study found that news sources were not frequently used in the coverage of ratification of constitution in either Nepali or Indian newspapers. The average Indian story cited only 2.05 sources, while the average Nepali story cited on 1.94 sources total, illustrating different professional standards and routines than in U.S. journalism, where reporters are more likely to triangulate their sources. The most common sources in the two countries were Nepali government officials. This type of sources was shown to have contributed predominantly to the responsibility and conflict framing. An interesting observation is that both Indian and Nepali newspapers interviewed or cited almost the same number of Nepali officials. Entman (1989) suggested that, "highly placed government and corporate spokespeople are the safest and easiest sources in terms of giving stories legitimacy." This explains why Nepali newspapers highly relied on Nepali officials and Nepali politicians while Indian newspapers relied on Nepali

and Indian officials most of the time which illustrates that Indian newspapers did their due diligence and tried to be fair to include Nepali voice in their stories.

Indian officials are quoted the second highest and there is significant difference between Nepali and Indian newspapers in quoting Indian officials, a finding that makes sense given the availability of these sources in India. Entman (1993) as well suggested that most frames are defined by what they omit as well as include, and the omission of potential problem definitions, explanations evaluations and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusion in guiding audiences." In short, the news articles offered mainly the views of officials and politicians and failed to provide equivalent perspectives from the citizens in the border areas who were affected by the economic blockade and crisis. This explains why so few stories have human-interest frames. There was no single Indian citizen's view present in the Nepali newspapers, while Indian newspapers quoted only a few Nepali citizens' views. Another notable finding was the quoting of sources from 'other' categories, which includes various international non-governmental and humanitarian organizations. The analysis on the relationship between framing and sources found that the other categories sources were quoted in increased responsibility framing. This can be explained by international humanitarian organizations vested interest in developing countries' like Nepal whose view matters most of the times during crisis to build moral pressure to the government.

The main findings of this study, which focuses on news coverage from two countries less explored by mass-communication research, are presented below.

Contributions

While most of the academic literature on the media and conflict focuses on wars led by western countries, Hawkins (2008) argues that it is important to note that clear majority of

conflicts and conflict deaths occur in the developing world. To the knowledge of the author, no research has analyzed the coverage of diplomatic disputes between Nepal and India and the various related issues concerning foreign policy and border issues in media, although the dispute has been going around for more than 68 years now. Along with this assumption, countries like Nepal and how media work in the Eastern world have been less explored. Thus, it can be said that this study uses generic frames to study an underreported nonviolent conflict between two nations. This study as well examines if Western media theories could be used to analyze Eastern world conflict or disputes.

The study provides empirical evidence to the theoretical proposition that there were differences in conflict framing, tone and use of sources in the coverage of the ratification of the constitution of Nepal and the disagreements following that in newspapers from countries with different media systems. The significant difference in framing was found in the use of and conflict frames. In this study, it was found that Indian media used conflict frames to emphasize the country's concerns regarding the possibility of turning the India-Nepal border into a battleground as the country was in a political limbo with 'unofficial' blockade (embargo) imposed by Indian government which was seen supported by the members of the ethnic Madheshi community who were protesting with demands of more constitutional power. Indian newspapers emphasized on the crisis and incidence related to conflict and protest in border, while Nepali newspapers kept on blaming the Indian government for the crisis. The possible consequences of such differences in presentation of the same issue by two countries' media could be seen in the coverage of international media, divide neighboring countries and international aid organizations. *Aljazeera* on December 24, 2015 writes "blockade imposed by

Indian government", while *The New York Times* on September 30, 2015 writes "Nepali officials accuse India of imposing an economic blockade."

Only a fraction of the articles in both newspapers used human-interest frames, although the major events were revolving around citizens and their struggle for daily existence. This presents a sympathetic situation of journalism in Nepal where the Western style of doing journalism is rising.

The study found similarity in how the disagreements were presented episodically to give event centric news to their respective readers. This showed similarity with international pattern of reporting news related to conflict and disputes, which is used to create misunderstanding of the issues.

Many conflicts arise from unresolved minor disagreements between two countries. The significance of the study is in its analysis of the ratification of the constitution in Nepal and the crisis and less covered conflict in border areas from the perspective of media studies scholarship. As this problem, can rise as a major crisis between two diplomatically friendly countries, understanding how media have delivered the issue to audiences and the way they framed it is meaningful to study. By doing this study in a less explored context, the analysis shows that framing theories could be applied to Eastern countries' media and used to analyze diplomatic disputes as well.

The study shows that Nepali newspapers presented half of their stories using positive tone, which means the positive aspects of the constitution and amendments that are possible. Moreover, both countries' newspapers served their audiences with what they wanted to know. Nepali newspapers focused more on the ratification of the constitution as a milestone in Nepal's history, blaming the Indian government for the economic embargo at the border. The findings

can be justified using Ramaprasad & Kelly (2003) survey of 132 Nepali journalists which suggests that Nepali journalists practice development journalism whose Western perspective is to portray positive image of the country, community and development of nation. Also, they served the function of media by giving what readers wanted rather than what they needed to know to function as good citizens. While the Indian newspapers critically commented about the constitution and stressed more on security issues at the border which was raised due to violent reaction to the constitution in low-lying southern plains adjoining India. Indian newspapers thus framed the constitution ratification from conflict angle with negative tone, which could have contributed in growing cynicism regarding political change and resulting in disengagement from ongoing politics. Both countries' newspapers omitted some important aspects that were important to be mentioned in order to give a clear picture of the issue and events surrounding it.

Both Nepali and Indian newstories heavily relied on political and government elites' view and neglected the general people's voice. The reason could be explained by Prajapati (2011) findings which concludes that due to pressure of deadlines and the professional demands of objectivity, journalists rely mostly on elite sources and here in both countries case, it was government officials. Instead of presenting the problems of general people who were suffering the consequences of the economic embargo, politicians and government officials got involved in blaming each other for the crisis. This finding supports the claim of the indexing hypothesis that the media coverage of foreign policy-related news reflects political elites' discourse (Bennett, 1990). Whenever foreign policy issues emerge, journalists tend to go to sources considered credible to gather information for framing their stories. Political elites' prestigious views are considered credible and reliable sources at the expense of more diverse sources that could propose a different interpretation of the events.

Another contribution of this study is the uncovering of an interesting sourcing pattern in both India and Nepal, where journalists are less inclined to seek out several sources for a story and often don't cite any source at all. In many instance, the analysis found reliance on so-called pseudo-attribution, a practice that is unacceptable in journalistic standards in the West and should be targeted for extinction, as it allows reporters to maintain an air of transparency without being transparent about who fed them the information.

Limitations and Future Research

The disagreements raised after the ratification of the constitution continue as of the writing of this thesis, and the debate is likely to last for some time. This content analysis included only six months of news coverage. Thorough study over a longer period of time would provide a more in-depth picture of how this political issue has been framed by media other than newspapers. Comparative interviews with international journalists and local journalists could be conducted to see what determines the difference in patterns of coverage of news related to conflict in developing countries.

This study does not present any empirical evidence demonstrating that negative toned anti constitution coverage by Indian media arouse negative perceptions regarding the relation between the two countries, which remains as an important but unproven assumption. This can as well be studied in the future through surveys or focus groups.

It is important to acknowledge that this study focused on print media only. There were highly heated debates in television programs related to the conflict and the crisis raised thereafter. Similarly, social media like Facebook and Twitter were trending negatively about India-Nepal friendly relationship with posts #backoffindia, #notmyconstitution. It is possible that television coverage of the issue might have adopted different kinds of frames, such as the human

interest and economic consequences frame. Future research can focus on comparing print and television and social media to inform scholars about the characteristics of messages disseminated by various media in these less studied countries.

Eastern world media have advanced highly in terms of technology and practices, which appear similar to Western centric theories. So, to better understand the dynamics of developing countries' journalism and learn how Eastern world media operate, future studies should examine if other Western theories are compatible and generalizable in other parts of the world, which will give us additional insights into the news production routines and help scholars understand whether framing patterns are constant at different times.

Future research can as well look after the core reasons of the diplomatic conflict and analyze the foreign policy between two countries to get a detailed view regarding the constant differences in the views reflected in the media in order to limit the crisis and solve the disagreements between these two countries. Uncovered minor conflicts have the potential to turn into a deadly war in the future. Studying those conflicts and disputes can help politicians find points of negotiation and solve the crisis beforehand. As of the writing of this paper, there still is tension between Nepal and India not particularly concerned with constitution but other minor issues in the border areas, demands related to the Madhesh issues have still not been addressed which increases displeasure between two countries politicians and among citizens as well. Some of the drawbacks of this study can be addressed in future studies. Two nations' conflict and disagreements can be sometimes challenging, so cross-national studies in future can help in giving a better picture. Most important limitation of this study remains in coding of the newspapers. As it was done by Nepali native and American student, so it would be interesting to find the results of comparative coding done by Indian and Nepali on same samples. In addition,

this study hasn't presented empirical evidence stating that negative toned news arouse negative perceptions which remains a plausible yet unproven assumption. The study thus expects future research to analyze India Nepal relations coverage trend in media or comparative analysis of international media presentation of similar issues to address the drawbacks of this study.

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APPENDIX

I.   CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SHEET

Variable Name	Variable Label	Coding Values
Article ID	Number of Article	Number of each article
Coder ID	Initials of coder	Enter coders initials
Date	Date of publication of news	Enter as MM/DD/YY
Newspapers	Name of the newspaper	1. The Kathmandu Post 2. Republica 3. The Times of India 4. The Hindu
Headlines	Headlines of the article	Enter as that appear on the article

Conflict Frame	Does the story reflect disagreement between two parties/individuals-group-countries (especially India – Nepal perspective, Madhesh – internal conflict of Nepal)?
	     i. Does one party-individual-group-country criticize another?
	     ii. Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?
	     iii. Does the story refers to winners and losers?
		1 – Yes
		0 – No

Human Interest Frame	i. Does the story provide a human example or 'human face' on the issue?
	     ii. Does the story show or discuss how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?
	     iii. Does the story go into the personal or private lives of the actors?
	     iv. Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?
		1 – Yes
		0 – No

Economic consequence Frame	It can be measured by questions:
	     i. Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?
	     ii. Is there a mention of
		1 – Yes
		0 - No

	cost/degree of expense involved? iii. Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?	
Responsibility Frame	i. Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem? ii. Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem? iii. Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/ issue? iv. Does the story suggest that an individual or a group of people in society is responsible for the issue/problem? v. Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?	1 – Yes 0 – No
Framing of News story	Presence of Thematic Frame or Presence of Episodic	1 - Thematic 2 - Episodic
Valence/Tone	Orientation of the story towards Constitution of Nepal 2015	1 – Pro Constitution 0 – Neutral -1 – Anti- Constitution
Source 1 Nepali Official	# of Nepali official cited	Count
Source 2 Indian Official	# of Indian official cited	Count
Source 3 Nepali Politicians	# of Nepali politicians cited	Count
Source 4 Indian Politicians	# of Indian politicians official cited	Count
Source 5 Nepali Citizen	# of Nepali citizen cited	Count
Source 6 Indian Citizen	# of Indian citizen cited	Count
Source 7 Nepali Experts	# of Nepali experts cited	Count
Source 8 Indian Experts	# of Indian experts cited	Count
Source 9 Others	# of others sourcescited	Count

APPENDIX

II.   CONTENT ANALYSIS CODEBOOK

Frames: The analysis of frames used in the articles should be done by reading the article and see if the following frames are present or absent. The best way to get the idea about frames is by looking for key words or phrases which are listed under each frame presents in overall articles. An example for each frame analysis is included in the coding sheet to decide which frames are present. (For this study photographs, illustrations or charts were excluded along with Letters to the editor)

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1. Article ID: Each newspaper is assigned a particular id (eg: for The Kathmandu Post: TKP; Times of India: TOI) followed by number in numerical order with appropriate identifier (TKP1, TKP2; TOI1; TOI2)

2. Coder ID: Initials of each individual coders is used respective ID. (eg: Ian Martin = IM)

3. Date: Enter the date on which the article is published as mm/dd/year (eg:12/23/15)

4. Newspaper: Include the number assigned 1.The Kathmandu Post, 2. Republica, 3. The Times of India and 3. The Hindu

5. Headlines: The headlines should be entered exactly as it appears on the news articles.

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6. Conflict Frame: Articles emphasizing about: India-Nepal conflict as a result 'unofficial' **economic blockade** after ratification of Constitution of Nepal, **unofficial blockade** by imposed by India, **Indian government's dissatisfaction** towards Nepal's constitution, **Madhesh protest**"

Examples:

i. The *Times of India* – 01/24/16: Headlines: Ethnic protesters in Nepal reject constitutional amendment

Keywords/ Phrases in the article: "conflict in Southern Nepal" "Madhesi members boycotted the vote", "The Madhesis in south Nepal have been protesting for months"

ii. *The Kathmandu Post* – 09/29/15 : Headline "Nepal, India standoff may be resolved in a couple of days"

Keywords/ Phrases in the article: "southern neighbor has imposed unofficial blockade on Nepal by showing dissatisfaction over Nepal's constitution", "constitution promulgation and subsequent political turmoil", "resolving the difference between Nepal and India as India imposed 'blockade' is making"

7. Human Interest Frames: Article emphasizing on personal stories of the people, difficulty faced by general public, issue of petroleum crisis hampering general life of public through which audiences can relate it to difficult condition.

Examples:

ii. *The Times of India*: 01/23/16: India's unofficial border blockade hits business hard

Keywords/ Phrases: "Fifty-five people have been killed"

iii. *The Kathmandu Post* – 09/28/15: Misleading publicity of Nepal's constitution behind blockade: Mahat
    Keywords/ Phrases: "A commoner Sabitra Tuladhar, who lives in Anamnagar, said that essentials are scarce to find in the market."Or else essentials are priced higher than normal price," she said.

8. Economic consequences frame: Articles emphasizing on country's economic losses due to blockade; how that impacts economic situation between two countries and
    Example:

    i *The Times of India*: 02/17/16: Make constitution more inclusive, India to tell Nepal PM
    Keywords/ Phrases: "five month blockade of the India Nepal border, crippling essential supplies"

    iii. *The Kathmandu Post* – 09/25/15: Government defends contents of new constitution
    Keywords/ Phrases: "which has cost the country a lot in terms of political stability, economic development and social progress",

    9. Responsibility Frames: Articles emphasizing on blame factor towards who is responsible for the situation for disturbance in general life, whether it was the government of Nepal, Indian policies or the Madheshi protestors, who does the article blame the responsible for the situation

    i. *The Times of India*: 11/15/15: Constitution drafting is our internal matter : Nepal
    Keywords/ Phrases: "due to the amid protest by Indian-origin Madhesi people", "India has firmly denied imposing the blockade" "staged demonstration opposing the 'undeclared blockade' imposed on their country by India"

    ii. *The Kathmandu Post* – 12/04/15: Delhi defends Nepal policy
    Keywords/ Phrases: "India denies blockade and Madhes-centric parties were to blame for obstruction"

    10. Episodic/Thematic Framing: Coding of this framing will be done on the article level.
    i. Episodic Frames: Those articles to be termed as episodic if it summarizes or overall constitution and issues raised after that as an individual case studies and discrete events
    ii. Thematic frames: Those articles which presents issue of Constitution from deeper understanding of coverage of the issue, focusing on trends over time and highlighting contexts and environment behind the cause of the event.

    11. Tone/ Valence:
    The second purpose of the study is to find the tone of the article where the articles are either Pro – Nepal or Pro – India.

1.   **Positive (Pro Constitution):** Input '1' if the articles gist is in support of the new constitution, regards it as people's achievement and criticizes economic consequences after the blockade. If not in

2.   **Negative (Anti Constitution)**: Input '2' if the articles that criticizes various aspects of Constitution and brings issue of incomplete constitution and demands and supports to some extend to Madhesh protest

3.   **Neutral**: Input '0' if the articles talk about both positive and negative about the constitution and doesn't give its dominating views of any type. If both the issues come in same article then they need to treated as neutral.

12. Sources Cited:

Based on the rough study of news articles, following 9 sources can be categorized. So, sources were initially coded based on following instructions. If a pattern of new source arose during the study, they were included in the 'other' group. Following sources were found:

Examples:

Nepali Officials: (local and public officials from Nepal like Nepal Police, officer from Nepal Government, Prime Minister's office official)

Indian Officials: (public office and officials from India like Indian Police Indian Ambassador to Nepal, Border officials of India, Indian Government officials)

Nepali Politicians: (Nepali politicians of different parties following their ideologies, e.g. United Marxist Leninist, Nepali Congress, Unified Maoists etc.)

Indian Politicians: (Indian politicians from different parties following their idologies, e.g. B.J.P., Congress etc.)

Nepali Citizens: (Nepali citizens residing in border areas, general Nepali citizens affected by crisis, victims of the economic crisis)

Indian Citizens (Indian citizens, victims in the borders, Indian drivers of cargo vehicles)

Nepali Experts: (local journalists from Nepal, Constitution specialists and other experts in the field from Nepal)

Indian Experts: (local journalists and Constitution specialists from India)

Others: Any source that is not included from 1-8 especially those not included in 1-8 group international humanitarian organizations including U.N., Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International etc.

APPENDIX

III. INTER-CODER RELIABILITY TABLE

Variables	Krippendorff's Alpha
Episodic/ Thematic Framing	1.0*
Tone	0.939*
Conflict 1	0.839
Conflict 2	0.870
Conflict 3	0.889
Conflict 4	1.000
Human-Interest 1	0.910
Human-Interest 2	0.929
Human-Interest 3	0.888
Human-Interest 4	0.917
Economic consequences 1	1.00
Economic consequences 2	0.9298
Economic consequences 3	1.00
Responsibility 1	0.8700
Responsibility 2	1.00
Responsibility 3	0.902
Responsibility 4	0.840
Responsibility 5	0.839
Nepali officials	0.8410
Indian Officials	0.948
Nepali Politicians	0.879
Indian Politicians	1.00
Nepali Citizens	0.994
Indian Citizens	1.00
Nepali Experts	0.998
Indian Expert	1.00
Others	1.00
Average	0.933844

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