The Makii	ng and Implementation of Media Policies in Nep	oa
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Prakash Acharya

List of Acronyms

ACORAB Nepal Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal

BAN Broadcasting Association of Nepal

DÉCORE Development Communication and Research Consultancy Group

FNJ Federation of Nepali Journalists

IIDS Institute for Integrated Development StudiesINGO International Non-Governmental Organisation

JICA Japan International Cooperation Agency

MeP Media for Peace Project

MoIC Ministry of Information and Communications

NMC National Media CommissionNPC National Planning Commission

NTV Nepal Television

PCN Press Council Nepal

PSB Public Service Broadcasting

RSS Rastriya Samachar Samiti

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The Making and Implementation of Media Policies in Nepal:

Experiences of an Emerging Democracies

ABSTRACT

In 1990, Nepal underwent a political change that marked the beginning of the state's transition from an autocratic Panchayat system to a multi-party democracy. The period since has seen major changes in the media sector mainly due to an adherence to freedom of press, one of the underpinning principles of a democracy. The Nepali government has introduced several policies related to the burgeoning media sector as an indication of the changing dynamics of the sector and its role in an emerging democracy.

This paper examines three specific media policies introduced in Nepal since 1990. The nature of the policy outputs and the entailing agendas has been indicative of the expansion of the media policymaking domain. The agendas set out to address various factors such as the privatisation of media, the degree and level of participation of stakeholders in the policy process, the relationship between the media and the state and the nature of regulation suitable for a sector as dynamic as media.

The purpose of this study is to assess how media policies were formulated and implemented in Nepal during its transition to a democracy. The paper specifically analyses the media policies of 1992, 2002 and the media policy of 2013 which is still in its draft stage. These policies try to address the media sector and its diversity in regards to type, reach and diversity. However, the paper suggests that despite the positive policy outputs, the entire policy making process, including improved stakeholder participation and completion of the policy cycle is yet to be fully realized. By critically assessing Nepal's media policy processes this paper puts forth the problems and challenges that exist in the policymaking domain. The issues noted and discussed affect the entire policy cycle and the paper highlights them by relying on invaluable information collected from some of the key stakeholders involved in the media sector and in the policymaking mechanism in Nepal. The paper offers suggestions to improve the formulation, design and implementation of media policies by highlighting the disconnect that exists between the various stakeholders and the involved agencies. It goes on to make recommendations that should be considered if the policymaking domain in the media sector is to undergo a complete structural and procedural change as suggested in the paper.

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Introduction

Since the restoration of democracy in 1990, the Nepalese government has issued and brought into effect two media-related policies and is in the process of introducing a new policy that is still in its draft stage. The National Communication Policy 1992, and the Long Term Policy of Information and Communication Sector 2002, were brought into effect and many provisions from those policies were implemented. The National Media Policy 2012, which aimed to be an all encompassing policy document, evolved into becoming the 2013 draft media policy and is yet to be finalised.

After the political changes in 1990 the government issued, "His Majesty's Government's Press Policy 1990", which was a short, five-page document formulated to address the immediate aftermath of a country transitioning from an autocratic rule to a multi-party democratic system. The document itself was more of a directive due to its brevity and missing elements needed for it to be considered a comprehensive policy. Issuing directives masked as policies has been a habitual practice for the MoIC to appease and address immediate demands. However, they have lacked the basic ingredients needed for a sound policy. This paper analyses the making and the implementation of the media policies of 1992 and 2002 and looks at the drafting process of the media policy of 2013 with a view to providing a critical analysis of the policymaking cycle in the media sector.

In the past, policymaking in Nepal has remained purely in the hands of politicians and bureaucrats but in recent years the policymaking domain has expanded to include donor agencies, INGOs/NGOs, and pressures groups. With a range of stakeholders involved in the policy making process, the policy content can be seen as a reflection of the multiple policy concerns that are addressed and consequntly influence the final outcome. However, to better understand the process itself and to be able to offer any analysis or observations one has to look at how the decision-making process works by looking at the policy concerns that are addressed and those that are be sidelined. Thus, the assessment of the entire media policy domain is required to understand the agenda setters, actors, their influence, and eventually the actual implementation of the policies.

As mentioned above, the policy making cycle in Nepal has undergone a lot of progressive changes such as the increased participation of multiple stakeholders as opposed to the top-heavy dominance of the ruling elites and their own interests. However, the involvement of multiple stakeholders in the policy making cycle has inevitably been marked by a clash of interests between the different parties, as reflected by contesting demands and the complexities affecting the implementation of the policies.

This paper assesses the making of the National Communication Policy 1992 and the Long-term Policy of Information and Communication Sector 2002. It also looks at the formulation of the

2012 media policy which later evolved into a new National Media Policy in 2013 and is still in its draft stage. The paper specifically looks at policy provisions related to print and broadcast media with the aim to track and analyse the way these provisions have emerged or changed in the three policies under review. By looking at these policies, it aims to understand who the key actors are behind setting the policy agenda and how the agenda is reflected in the content. It also aims to look at how the policies of 1992 and 2002 have been implemented and what recommendations should be taken into consideration in order to inform the existing draft media policy so it can be more effective during its implementation phase. By reviewing the content of the identified polices, along with input from policy experts and policymakers, this paper aims to provide a better understanding of the media policy-making domain in Nepal and how it has changed over time.

This study finds that although the policymaking domain has expanded, the policy output or the policy content still lacks empirical evidence, supporting the agendas set out. It has also found that a clear disconnect exists between the policymakers and the implementing agencies, resulting in the inept execution of major policy provisions. There is a lack of theoretical clarity in policies related to media especially around the issue of ownership of state-controlled media which is reflected by the incoherent and often inconsistent shift in the content of each of the policies reviewed.

The paper concludes with recommendations which largely point towards the need for critical thinking on the part of the policymakers. It also highlights the importance of conducting need and resource assessments before any new policy is introduced. The paper recommends a thorough identification of essential stakeholders; the importance of maintaining strong interministerial agency coordination; developing a strong monitoring mechanism in MoIC; avoiding frequent changes of bureaucratic leadership of MoIC and enabling organised pressure groups such as FNJ for necessary policy intervention during policymaking and implementation phases of media policies.

Media Policy shifts: Setting the agenda

The fundamental changes to the media landscape of Nepal in the last two decades can be attributed to increased privatization, advancement in technology, new mediums for content distribution and the emerging varitey of content. The government of Nepal has responded to these changes by introducing three media related policies to date, one of which is still in its draft stage. The introduction of these policies is indicative of the timely regulatory mechanisms required to address a burgeoning sector. Before assessing the media policies in detail, it is important to gain an understanding of how each of the reviewed policies came into existence against the changing landscape of media and politics.

The National Communication Policy 1992

The National Communication Policy 1992 was formulated to replace His Majesty's Government's Press Policy in 1990 which was announced by the interim government after the restoration of democracy. The 1990 interim policy was an immediate response by the government to the demands made for press freedom, and was meant to facilitate a media environment that was complimentary to the new democratic style of governance. The policy was seen as a signal towards encouraging an autonomous media sector which would be open to privatization. However, it was issued without any consultation with journalists or other stakeholders who were outside of the political and bureaucratic domain. Manmohan Bhattarai, who was the communications advisor to the then Prime Minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai said in an interview, "It was an immediate yet interim response by the then prime minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai and his team to the demands for press freedom." ¹ However, there were many individuals who were critical of this policy. Some saw it more as a directive issued by the government to conduct press affairs for the interim period rather than a long-term policy. Gokul Pokharel, a senior journalist recounts, "The Press Policy 1990 was not a policy, but more like a directive. The document was superficial and lacked structure or the institutional set up required for implementing it within a specific time framework. Governments in power often issue such directives to simply address people's wishes but they are not enforceable as they are not codified in law."²

The five-page document lacked depth and did not include anything regarding policy design or the legal and organisational arrangement required for its implementation. It also did not touch on the monitoring and evaluation mechanism necessary to ensure the effective implementation of the policy. However, this policy document did elevate the status of the Premier as second in hierarchy after the King in news coverage. The 1992 media policy, however, was meant to address the shortcomings of the 1990 policy by being more comprehensive in nature. However, as observed by Mukunda Acharya, the former joint secretary of MoIC, "We can argue that the 1990 media policy was introduced just for face value as it was quickly replaced by a new policy in 1992. Like the 1990 directive, this document was also a response to the changed political scenario, but it still was not supported by serious research and discussions on grave policy concern issues."³

Narahari Acharya, the co-ordinator of the 15-member taskforce formed to draft the National Communication Policy 1992, explained that the policy of 1992 was a by-product of the diverse opinions expressed by various stakeholders and experts. He further went on to say that the policy did not assess the past policies minutely nor was it backed by research work done to

¹ Manmohan Bhattarai, Interview by Prakash Acharya, Kathmandu, December 29, 2013.

² Gokul Pokharel, interview by Prakash Acharya, Kathmandu, December 19, 2013.

³ Mukunda Acharya, interview by Prakash Acharya, Kathmandu, December 12, 2013.

assess the need and feasibility of policy alternatives. It was simply a collection of opinions collected from different stakeholders and experts.⁴ The policy was lacking in many ways and as pointed out by IIDS, the 1992 policy ignored two major issues; one was the absence of a clear conception of what role the mass media must play in the new political framework in order to democratize and consolidate the emerging changes and the other was how they should function to accomplish the objectives of national development.⁵

Therefore, even though the 1992 policy was supposed to be comprehensive in comparison to the interim policy of 1990 it was still lacking in many ways. The policy content was put together without the backing of any serious research around need or feasibility. Though it was a move forward in terms of expanding the policy making domain by making the process more inclusive of other stakeholders, there was no logical or transparent approach to decision-making. This clearly shows the absence of evidence-based policy making as the opinions of interest group, civil servants and politicians were deemed more important than research-based findings. We can find many similarities between the media policymaking mechanism in Nepal and the UK. Freedman's observation of the British process states, "Debates and disagreements do take place in the process of policy formation but both the terms of these conflicts and their eventual resolution in specific policy instruments remain in the hands of a small decision-making elite." This is true in the context of Nepal as well where there is a lack of clarity regarding how agreement is reached on contentious issues. Is it through a consensus? Or, does the decision-making power eventually fall in the hands of those in power?

The Long-term Policy of Information and Communication 2002

The Long-term Policy of Information and Communication Sector was introduced in 2002. This policy was primarily meant to address the telecommunications sector, but the media sector was later incorporated into it. The policy was a result of the National Planning Commission's Ninth Five-Year plan which announced its intent to prepare long-term policies spanning twenty years for all sectors, media being one of them. It nearly took four years for it to finally come into effect since the drafting process began in 1998. Though official records of the making of the policy are not available at the ministry, the making of this policy was highly bureaucratic. The panel was headed by Prem Nidhi Gyanwali, the then MoIC Joint Secretary, and was comprised of officials from the MoIC and the Chiefs of state-owned media. Mukunda Acharya observed that the policy content related to media included the compilation of opinions of consulting journalists and media personnel before finalising the content. The Chiefs of the state-owned media and representatives from privately owned media were asked to put forward their recommendations separately, that were later incorporated into the 2002 policy. Therefore, instead of getting the stakeholders

⁴ Narahari Acharya, interview with Prakash Acharya, Kathmandu, December 22, 2013.

⁵ IIDS 1996

⁶ Freedman 2005

⁷ Mukunda Acharya, interview.

together and discussing different aspects of the issues related to media, the formulation of the policy was done in isolation by private and state-owned media. As both types of media are intrinsically linked, the parallel and isolated consultations were a sure way of inviting conflicts in the future.

Former FNJ president Suresh Acharya observes, "The 2002 policy was basically drafted by bureaucrats. They did not discuss the content with media stakeholders in detail. We, the journalists and the media people, were invited only during the discussions of the topics that were directly related to us. While discussing state-owned media, only the authorities of the government-owned media were invited ignoring FNJ and other media stakeholders." Therefore, even when their opinions were sought, it was done in an isolated way, which fragmented the policy making process.

Rajendra Dahal, one of the members of drafting committee of the 1992 policy, said that there were areas of the 2002 policy that invited strong opposing views from the individuals who were involved in the consultations, specifically around the issue of foreign investment in media. Dahal outlined that few people involved in policy discussions were strong advocates of allowing a certain percentage of foreign investment in media, but the political leadership did not accept it stating that it could be a threat to national interests and could encourage undue foreign interventions. Some individuals from the media community were strongly opposed to it as well as they were threatened by the possibility of competing with media outlets with foreign investment.⁹

The Draft National Media Policy 2013

An agreement between Nepal's government and JICA was signed on 21 July 2010 to launch a project for promoting peace building and democratization through capacity development of the media sector in Nepal. After necessary groundwork, the project was launched in April 2011 during a seminar. The draft of the Media Policy 2013 was originally written by MoIC and JICA and was posted on the website of the ministry accompanied by a call for feedback and comments. This instigated protests by the Federation of Nepali Journalists (FNJ) and other media stakeholders who blamed the government of ignoring the media fraternity while drafting the policy. The draft policy was formulated with the assistance of JICA and NGOs such as Equal Access which further aggravated the media community who were unhappy about the influence these organizations had on the formulation phase. Former FNJ President Suresh Acharya¹⁰ observed that some media networks such as Broadcasting Association of Nepal (BAN), Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal (ACORAB) and FNJ were opposed to the access given to the I/NGOs at the expense of minimizing their role in the policy making stage.

⁸ Suresh Acharya, interview by Prakash Acharya, Kathmandu, December 23, 2013.

⁹ Rajendra Dahal, interview by Prakash Acharya, Kathmandu, December 26, 2013.

¹⁰ Suresh Acharya, interview.

However, Naoaki Nambu, JICA team leader of the Media for Peace Project, explained, "It was not JICA's proposal to the draft media policy and related laws, but it was actually at MoIC's request that JICA agreed to support the Nepalese government during the process of democratization and capacity development of Nepal's media sector". There were specific areas where JICA wanted to exert its influence by relying on its experience of the media sector. According to Naoaki Nambu, "We wanted to introduce self-regulation mechanism in the media sector.. It is a totally new mechanism for Nepal. Many of the countries have adopted it to ensure media independence. Nepal does not have a suitable environment to establish healthy media society and we wanted to establish it through the policy by creating an independent regulatory body because this job is not possible for the government. We also wanted to introduce different licensing systems from our own experiences." 12

Suresh Acharya asserted that there were visible signs of Japanese influence in the making of the draft policy. 13 "The Japanese influence was reflected on two issues – crushing the media centralization or monopoly and developing public service broadcasting. However, some of the suggestions from the Japanese team were not incorporated in the draft policy as they were deemed impractical in the Nepalese context."¹⁴ The draft, under the broadcasting section mentioned that, the investment and share holding ratio by any organizations or individuals interested in any broadcaster shall be limited to 15% for maintaining its independence. As this provision required the investment from at least seven organisations or individuals to operate a broadcast media, it was deemed impractical and was thus ignored in the final draft. JICA also suggested restricting a company to have just one broadcaster under its ownership stating that a company should not control the broadcasting company terrestrially more than 10 percent by voting rights and 1/5 on additional officer post. However, the Newspaper Publication Act 2012, which was drafted to implement the policy, allowed 15 percent investment in a newspaper company by a person, group or their close relatives. Although such suggestions were made to avoid media concentrations, they were seen as impractical in the Nepalese context and were thus disregarded or amended in the draft.

The exclusion of the local media community created a backlash against the government which resulted in MoIC withdrawing the draft from the website and forming a consultative committee on the 13th of June 2013 to begin a consultation process that would include stakeholders such as FNJ members and individuals from pressure groups and media organizations. The new team submitted a new draft policy in October 2013 along with six media related laws: Advertisement Promotion and Regulation Act 2013, National Broadcasting Act 2013, National Media Commission 2013, Press and Publication Act 2013, Public Service Broadcasting Act 2013 and

¹¹ Naoaki Nambu, interview by Prakash Acharva, Kathmandu, July 10, 2013.

¹² ibid.

¹³ Suresh Acharya, interview.

¹⁴ ibid

Radio Communication Act 2013. The formation of the new panel which was more inclusive and representative of all stakeholders marked a real shift in policy making in Nepal. Previously, consultations with concerned parties outside of the power centre of politicians and civil servants, had been conducted just for face value, whereas now all stakeholders, including foreign NGOs had a dominant presence in shaping the new draft of the media policy. The participation of the different stakeholders' interest groups challenged the traditional modes of policy formulation in Nepal. The inclusion of the different stakeholders had a direct influence on the shaping of the content of the draft policy of 2013 and on how it differed from the 2012 policy. Some of the key areas that underwent changes are listed in the table below:

Table 1: Distinctions between content of Media Policy Draft of 2012 and 2013

MEDIA POLICY DRAFT 2012 MEDIA POLICY DRAFT 2013 **Foreign Investment** • Limit foreign investment in media to 49 percent • Limit foreign investment in media to 25 percent **Advertising** • Abolish government paid advertising to all • Provide welfare and government advertising in a proportionate manner media **Public Service Broadcasting and Ownership** • No provisions • To provide PSB production and intellectual property rights to private media broadcasters • To comply with anti-monopoly and ownership • To make laws to control media limitation during the transition period of 2-5 monopolies and media concentration • Limit the investment and shareholding ratio by Discourage cross subsidy for healthy and competitive media environment an organisation or an individual to 15 percent in any broadcaster to maintain media independence • Limit ownership of any broadcasters except PSB for the desirability of avoiding monopolies in control of news to only one state or province of • To formulate a general rule allowing only one broadcaster under one company, and limit the company's control over the broadcaster to 10 percent by voting rights and 1/5 on additional officer post, with the exception of PSB

Changes in the policy making process

Table 2: Major Stakeholders in drafting Media Policy

	National Communication Policy 1992	Long Term Policy of Information and Communications 2002	Media Policy 2013 (DRAFT)
TEAM LEADER	Narhari Acharya Chairman Politician	Prem Nidhi Gyawali Joint Secretary,MoIC	Suresh Acharya Coordinator Journalist
COMPOSITION OF THE TEAM	Total: 16 Government Agency: 11 Private: 5	Total: 12 Government Agency:12	Total: 14 Government Agency: 1 Private and Pressure Group: 12 International Project Representative: 1
	Government Agencies	Government Agencies	Government Agencies
E MEMBERS	MoIC: 1 Radio Nepal: 1 Printing and Publication Department: 1 Postal Service: 1 Gorkhapatra: 1 National News Agency: 1 Nepal Telecom: 1 Nepal Television: 1 Royal Nepal Film Corporation: 1 Press and Information Department: 1	MoIC: 3 Nepal Telecommunication Authority: 2 Postal Service: 1 Printing Dept: 1 Department of Information: 1 Radio Prasar Sewa Bikash Samiti: 1 National News Agency: 1 Gorkhapatra Corporation: 1 Nepal Television Corporation: 1	MoIC: 1
	Private		Private and Pressure Groups
REPRESENTATIVE MEMBERS	Weekly Newspaper Editors : 4 Publisher: 1		Chairperson and three representatives including at least one women representations: 4 ACORAB: 1 TBN: 1 BAN: 1 Sancharika Samuha: 1 Media Society: 1 Saptahik/ Pachik Sanjal: 1 TV Editors Guild: 1 Minimum Wage Fixation Committee: 1
			Intl Project Representative
			Representative from JICA: 1

The media policymaking domain that was limited to and remained in the hands of political units and bureaucrats has expanded to include pressure groups such as FNJ, ACORAB, etc., as well as media investors and donor agencies that have emerged as key players. The government is slowly changing into a ratification body where the inputs and suggestions of these stakeholders have become mandatory for the policy to be accepted by all the stakeholders, as made evident by the decision of the government to revise the draft of the media policy 2012. As shown in the table above, we can see how the number of representatives and the type of stakeholders involved in the policy making process has evolved over time.

The influence of the stakeholders can be further substantiated by the changes reflected in the draft policy of 2013 from the original contents of the media policy of 2012 as shown above. For example, broadcast media owners objected to the provision of allowing an organisation or an individual to limit share holding by 15 percent and as a result the provision was removed from the draft of 2013. Similarly, the provision to limit foreign investment in the media sector by 49 percent was later changed to 25 percent. The issue of foreign investment in media has always been a contentious issue. The long term policy of 2002 allowed foreign investment in broadcast media up to 25 percent and also allowed local media to seek support for making programs for the broadcast media. The role of potential foreign investors in the preceding media policy could be seen as crucial as their investment in Nepali media market and also their support in developing content in the broadcast media were on the increase.

Owners of weekly papers and some dailies objected to the proposed provision of gradually reducing the government's welfare advertising provided to media. This was thus changed to the government providing welfare advertising proportionally. With the involvement of more stakeholders in the policy process and debates, many other provisions objected by the media owners and media workers were removed.

This shows that media stakeholders' pressure and influence has been gaining momentum, especially when it comes to issues that are of economic concern to the media organizations. FNJ Secretary Jagat Nepal explained that during the rounds of discussions and negotiations those points which were agreed upon were included and those that were not agreed upon were removed from the draft. ¹⁵

While the mushrooming of multiple stakeholders in making of media policy in Nepal, and the lobbying for their interests is vividly reflected in the policy content as shown above, the questions of how decision makers reach a consensus still remains unanswered. Furthermore, the question of whether the policy documents are supported by and based on empirical evidences is yet to be explored.

¹⁵ Jagat Nepal, interview by Prakash Acharya, Kathmandu, July 12, 2013.

The following analysis of the 1992, 2002 and 2013 policies aim to show what areas of the policy content were retained and what changes were made over time.

Table 3: Continuation and Changes in Media Policies

1992 Policy	2002 Policy	2013 Policy (DRAFT)
Support participation of private sector investment in print media with the option to grant licenses to private broadcasters	Support participation of private sector investment in all forms of media	Support participation of private sector investment in all forms of media
 State support to private media through advertising, etc. 	 State support to private media through advertising, etc. 	 State support to private media through advertising, etc.
With respect to RSS and Gorkhapatra Corporation, decrease state participation, increase private sector participation and provide shares	• Increase private sector participation and provide shares in first stage (Gorkhapatra Corporation), whereas for RSS the provision remains the same as in the policy of 1992	Gorkhapatra (Release GC from state ownership and allow it to run independently) RSS(extend scope and capacity of RSS, review existing laws and develop it in a effective and competitive news agency
No mention of foreign investment	 Foreign investment to be allowed but should not exceed 25 per cent in broadcast media, citing the use of new technology which cannot be fulfilled by the domestic market yet and until the situation improves foreign investment should be allowed No foreign investment in print media because there are sufficient native investment in the print journalism sector 	• Foreign investment in broadcast and print media by 25 per cent with the clause that all the journalists, workers, employees should be Nepali citizens and there should be a guarantee of editorial independence
Policy silent over the case of Ownership of media	• To give permission to any person, organization or company to operate a maximum of two mediums out of publication house, news agency, radio broadcasting institution and television broadcasting institution; and in so giving permission, to have a provision that only up to 40 percent of the total investment may be invested in the second medium	To make laws to control media monopolies and concentration

While looking at the major policy provisions related to print and broadcast media in the 1992 policy, it is clear that the policy generally agrees in principle to the provision on freedom of speech as guaranteed by the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990. The policy on print media recognises the print media sector as an industry with the need to enhance the role of private news media by creating a suitable environment for sustenance of the businesses. The policy clearly supports privatization. However, the policy also lays the ground for state intervention or state support to private media by providing them advertising, discount on transportation of newspapers and offering them low interest loans to help install printing press in media houses. Even though it was the first concrete policy document after the restoration of democracy, the lack of theoretical clarity in the policy content cannot be ignored. On one hand, the policy encourages private ownership but on the other it invites state support, establishing a contradiction in the type of media system the policy wants to instil.

Binod Bhattarai, a media expert, argues, "These contradictions could have resulted from the lack of serious thought put into the type of media landscape we want in Nepal; is it one that is fully free like those in Western democracies, or do we want something that is closer to socialist economies? These types of issues have to be clarified by doing a need-based analysis because if it is a free market model we want then the government should not be subsidising the media. If it is a balance between the two, there should be clear limits on government's support because too much of it could encroach on media independence. There is a need to start looking at the media policy with a clean slate bringing all the issues that matter on the table, negotiating and finalising a document that can then guide legislation." ¹⁶

In the case of the overall broadcasting policy from 1992, it paved a path to open Frequency Modulation (FM) radio stations in the private sector, with an emphasis on educational and entertainment programs. The policy was, however, silent on providing broadcasting rights to private television companies. This created a need for using programs outsourced from private companies and broadcasting them on Nepal Television. This section of the policy failed to acknowledge the need to grant licenses to private television broadcasters and reflected on the lack of far-sightedness among the decision makers formulating the policy. By restricting the private media houses from broadcasting their content, the state was inadvertently restricting the plurality in media content and also restricting choice for the audience. The policy content failed to address and assess long-term problems like foreign investment, media ownership and media concentration issues. The short-sightedness of the policy showed that the lack of research to establish empirical grounds led to an oversight of the futuristic dimension of the media sector. Even with respect to state-owned media like Gorkhapatra, RSS, NTV and Radio Nepal, the policy goals were aimed at providing national and international news and programs of

¹⁶ Binod Bhattarai, interview by Prakash Acharya, Kathmandu, January 9, 2014.

educational and entertainment nature. The policy did set out objectives for RSS, NTV and Radio Nepal to become independent entities in the future. In the case of RSS and Gorkhapatra Corporation the policy set out to decrease the state's participation by increasing private participation and providing shares to the public. With respect to Gorkhapatra Corporation, the policy stated that the corporation was to be developed into a publishing house. This policy strategy relating to Gorkhapatra and RSS was also included in the Long-term Information and Communication Policy 2002. Whereas the draft policy of 2013 only referred to Gorkhapatra running as an independent corporation.

The 2002 policy, with respect to Gorkhapatra Corporation and RSS shows a significant policy shift after the restoration of democracy in 1990, even though they have not materialised yet. Mukunda Acharya, the then MoIC official involved in making the policy asserts, "There were no reasons provided as to why such a policy was adopted. Decisions were taken to show that the government wanted to make the state-owned media independent. However, these were farfetched projects that remained unattainable due to two reasons: first, there was no budget and resource assessment done while drafting the policy and the persons in the ministry's leadership never really wished to implement the policy announcements as they didn't want to lose their hold over state-owned media by making them autonomous. Most of the time the ministers made policy-level decisions just for face value." ¹⁷

Former FNJ President Suresh Acharya observes, "The media community and the political parties, mainly in opposition, continuously raised the agenda of whether the government should control the media. They were of the view that the government should not have control over print media and moreover the state-owned electronic media should gradually be given autonomy. But, the political parties would often change their positions depending on whether they were in power or in the opposition." This goes to show that the government in power sees state-owned media as a powerful tool to further its own interests. The reasons behind not allowing foreign investment in media are also controversial. As stated by former FNJ President Suresh Acharya, "The issue of foreign investment came to the fore after the set up of the Asia Pacific Communication Associates Nepal (Pvt) Ltd and International Media Network, the marketer and publisher of The Himalayan Times. Some Nepali media owners protested foreign investment fearing possible negative effects on their own business as a result of competing with stronger foreign investors. Later, a taskforce was formed to assert how much foreign investment should be allowed. The idea of 25 percent was originally borrowed from India that allowed the same level of foreign investment in print media. However, there have been no empirical studies conducted to determine what level of foreign investment should be allowed and is suitable for

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¹⁷ Mukunda Acharya, interview..

¹⁸ Suresh Acharya, Interview.

Nepal."¹⁹ This goes to show that devising a policy without empirical research and need assessment has been a common phenomenon in Nepal.

The draft media policy 2013 outlined 25 per cent of foreign investment in broadcast media as per the long term policy and also incorporated the same policy for print media but included a clause that stated that organizations with foreign investment in print and broadcast media, all the journalists, and employees had to be Nepali citizens with guaranteed editorial independence.

This shows a shift in the policy provisions related to foreign investment in print media of Nepal. The long-term policy of 2002 clearly prohibited foreign investment in print media because it noted that there were sufficient native investments but the 2013 policy opened print media to foreign investment. Former FNJ President Acharya asserts, "The political independence ensured by the introduction of the democratic system created ground for foreign investment as concerned people believed that foreign investment could not be prevented in the long run as it could enter indirectly from back door, even if it was not permitted legally."²⁰

The draft of the National Media Policy 2013 as compared to the earlier two policies shows certain level of maturity and understanding in respect to the burgeoning media sector. The policy has incorporated an online media policy, which had been left out in earlier policies. Although this policy has recommended revising existing laws to recognize online media on par with print media and calls for regulating electronic media, it is still not comprehensive enough to cover all aspects of this medium. Online media practitioner Keshav Prasad Koirala who works with a leading news portal thehimalayantimes.com, observes, "The policy should treat organized and non-organized media differently. For example, blogs and other social media portals covering Nepali news content but from outside of the country cannot be regulated by the same policy. Regulating all these mediums under the same umbrella is neither possible nor pragmatic." 21

In certain cases, the policy content of the 2013 draft is too idealistic. In one section, the policy sets out the following objectives: ensure that there shall be no interference on the subject matter regarding journalism or control journalists' professional activities; develop media which shall be supportive of the furtherance of democracy and peace. Though principled, these objectives can be easily undermined especially when deciding on how much control the state wants to exercise over media. For example, Narahari Acharya in the course of an interview said, "The leadership of the past governments always wanted to keep the state-owned media within their grip and thus the governments failed to play a constructive role in creating an appropriate environment for the

¹⁹ ibid

²⁰ Suresh Acharya, Interview.

²¹ Keshav Koirala, interview by Prakash Acharya, Kathmandu, January 13, 2014.

effective implementation of the policy, which created an agenda for a free and independent media "22"

However, the draft policy has clearly addressed areas such as the need for transparency within the media industry, regulation of ownership and concentration of media, foreign investment and the need for a self regulating mechanism within media organizations. These issues were introduced in the policy on the back of suggestions offered during the course of discussions with various media stakeholders, and ideas borrowed from foreign experience but there has been no empirical research done to support these policy provisions.

In order to support the media organizations with respect to registration, licensing, and other activities the policy includes plans to set up the National Media Commission (NMC). The role of NMC had been considered crucial as pointed out by the policy document in order to support the development of media institutions, to develop code of ethics and prepare editorial directives as well as monitor the status of working journalists.

Implementation of policies and their limitations

Each of the policies in question can be assessed on their effectiveness by looking at whether or not they completed their policy cycle. Overall, one can easily conclude that the implementation of the policies has been less than satisfactory. There are many factors that have attributed to the lack of implementation of these policies and these factors have been discussed in detail below:

Evidence-based approach

Evidence-based policymaking is "an aspiration rather than an accomplished outcome." Evidence-based policy helps in the evaluation and improvement of programs by further improving their reliability and effectiveness in policy setting and exploring possible alternatives. In the context of Nepal, "a sustained meaningful process of policy research has never been devised or applied in the overall national context, let alone communications or mass media." IIDS conducted a comprehensive study on mass media in Nepal over a period of three years and published a complete report authored by Aditya Anand in 1996. One specific objective of the study, as stated in the report, was to formulate a workable framework for media planning and policy making that is geared toward greater autonomy of the public sector media and full, independent growth of the private sector media. After examining the communication plans of 1971, 1988 and 1992, the report came to the conclusion that the plans had no visionary anchor, nor any empirical basis. The report further stated that changes were often introduced abruptly in successive documents without any reasoning and were then abruptly dropped in the next policy

²⁴ DECOR 1991

²² Narahari Acharya, interview.

²³ Head 2010

documents. The documents varied significantly in their content, and the objectives laid out in the agendas lacked coherence or consistency.²⁵

The overall analysis provided by the report can help in identifying the problems that exist and the need for research before making a media policy.

Policy research thus appears to have been taken here more for its face value than for the serious technical work it demands. ... As far as the traditional policy planning in Nepal goes, many of these steps and procedures are either bypassed or ignored. One clear anomaly is the strategy gap. In the case of the mass media, if the approach to use strategies to fulfil the objectives stated in a plan is consistently missing, another major failing is the absence of a clear statement of the values pursued or promoted."²⁶

So, studying the policy content would help to identify whether informed decisions have been made based on research or whether they are merely the experienced voices of the experts or of those in power.

The policies of 1992 and 2002 were mostly directed at the state-controlled media houses, with the view to opening up avenues for privatization of news media and also acknowledging media as an industry in Nepal. Both the policies had separate plans and strategies for the Gorkhapatra Corporation, the National News Agency, Radio Nepal and Nepal Television which are still under state control. But the draft policy of 2013 does not focus as much on state-owned media. This shows that it has been largely accepted that a national policy on media can no longer just be limited to state-owned media but should incorporate an overall strategy and plan that looks at the entire media landscape, both public and private.

Empirical evidence in policymaking is highly desirable, but making it too technical might restrict the policy making domain to just experts. Freedman argues that, "the privileging of highly selective empirical and evidence-based approaches to policymaking fails both to de-politicize and to make any more objective the decision-making environment. Policymaking in a sphere of such cultural and political significance is bound to be highly political and the fetishizing of 'scientific' data is one means of marginalizing the public from the public policy process and safeguarding it for the economists, lawyers and executives who are in a prime position to furnish the sort of information that policymakers are demanding." However, in the context of Nepal, Freedman's argument may not be applicable because there is clearly a dearth of empirical evidence to support the claims made by the policymakers, let alone 'highly technical' evidence. Even the idea of including the public in the policy making process is not tenable in the current

²⁵ IIDS 1996

²⁶ ibid

²⁷ Freedman 2005

context. As a starting point, however, it is essential that a certain level of empirical evidence and research is used to support the policy making process.

Lack of implementation of specific policy provisions

After the 1992 policy came into effect, laws and regulations were formulated to implement the policy. Radio Nepal began to broadcast news in eight different languages and government offices gradually became accessible to the press for information. The existing complex newspaper registration process was relaxed. However, these changes met with hindrances especially in the case of private sector participation in radio broadcasting. The 1992 policy and the National Broadcasting Act 1992, which came into effect in June 1993 announced the decision to permit licenses for private radios. However, the act imposed a complex set of requirements that needed to be met before a private radio station could receive the license. There were regulations controlling the type of broadcasting content that could be used as well. Since the promulgation of the law, it took almost five years for the first independent FM station, Radio Sagarmatha, to receive its license in May 1997. However, despite dealing with the licensing issue, there were still restrictions on the type of broadcasting content that the radio stations could produce. When the government, under King Gyanendra's direct rule, restricted FM radios from broadcasting news, a case was moved to Supreme Court on October 28 2005, by advocate Tulsi Ram Niroula. The apex court, on 30 November 2005, gave a verdict ordering the government to stop obstructing the private FM radios from broadcasting news.

Many of the major policy clauses of the media policies of 1992 and 2002 that were outlined are yet to be implemented. This could be attributed to the lack of will or intent of the political and bureaucratic leadership. The policy regarding the setting up of a Broadcasting Authority which would be responsible for regulating and monitoring electronic media as well as developing Radio Nepal and Nepal Television as Public Service Broadcasters with the support of the government, has not been implemented yet. Narahari Acharya during the course of the interview, argued that, the policy had envisioned a separate Broadcasting Act to govern all (private and government) electronic media, however they were not implemented as Radio Nepal is still governed by a separate act.

The case is the same with the policy of 2002. Provisions which were part of the media policy such as developing the Department of Information as a national information centre, allowing the privatization of government-owned Gorkhapatra and establishing a National Broadcasting Authority to regulate electronic media were inherited from the previous policy but were never implemented.

Another provision of the 2002 policy which allowed a person, organisation or a company to only invest in two media channels across press, news agency, Radio or Television and permitted only 40% of investment in the second medium is yet to be implemented. According to the PCN report

from 2003, a single company is permitted to run three media channels.²⁸ Moreover, while the policy completely forbade foreign investment, the PCN report stated that foreign investment had already entered the Nepali media sector, but the government bodies were turning a deaf ear to calls for monitoring.²⁹

Major provisions which were included in both the policy documents 1992 and 2002 but were not implemented suggest a severe failure in the process. The failure can be attributed to many reasons whether it is the lack of empirical evidence supporting the need and feasibility of the provisions or the political context in which these provisions were made. For example, the fact that there hasn't been a stable government in power since the mid-term elections in 1994 could be the reason behind the lack of political will and intent behind implementation of the policies. In between 1992 and 2002, 19 ministers and 8 secretaries took to office and likewise, between 2002 and 2013, 20 different ministers and 12 secretaries took to office. Such frequent changes in leadership are disruptive and make it very difficult for those in power to take ownership of any policy and implement it effectively.

The announcement of new policies without letting the previous policy complete its cycle is also one of the factors affecting implementation. Within six years of introducing the 1992 policy, a decision was made to design a new long-term policy. And as far as the long-term policy of 2002 is concerned, when it was formulated the country was in the middle of a civil war. In 2006, when peace was brokered there was a debate about the need of a new media policy. These disruptions often undermine the initial enthusiasm or will which comes with the formulation of a new policy. While the lack of political will, stability and strong leadership can be blamed for the state of implementation, the relationship between the government and the media is also one of the contributing factors to the poor state of policy implementation. Often the government in power does not want to antagonise media houses who might oppose certain provisions that are not beneficial to them in order to avoid criticism. Or, the government itself sees the provisions as limiting its influence over media. Former FNJ president Rajendra Dahal argues that, "media operators and owners have a dominating influence on the process of making media related laws and implementing them. The fear psychosis prevails in the minds of the political and bureaucratic leaders in power. The authorities fear from media criticism of their failures and frailties and thus hesitate to regulate the media as required by policies and related laws. They try to appease the media by not activating regulatory mechanisms to curb irregularities such as not maintaining financial transparency and abiding to employment standards and regulations to negate any form of labour exploitation."³⁰

²⁸ PCN 2003

²⁹ ibid

³⁰ Rajendra Dahal, interview.

The table below highlights the major provisions of the 1992 and 2002 policies that were never implemented:

Table 4: Major Provisions of Policies never implemented

1992 Policy **2002 Policy** Decrease state participation in RSS and Decrease state participation in RSS and Gorkhapatra Corporation, and increase Gorkhapatra Corporation, and increase private sector participation and provide private sector participation and provide shares shares To develop Gorkhapatra Corporation as • Develop Gorkhapatra Corporation publishing house publishing house. Develop Information Department as the No foreign investment in print media national information centre because there are sufficient native investment in journalism sector Security of Journalists To give permission to any person, organization or company to operate a maximum of any two means out of publication house, news agency, radio broadcasting institution and television broadcasting institution; and in so giving permission, to have a provision that only up to 40 percent of the total investment may be invested in the second means To establish a broadcasting academy as an autonomous body to do develop human resources by organizing trainings and symposiums from time to time, enhance broadcasting materials and study and research timely broadcasting on technology.

Contradictions and Inconsistencies

The repeated contradictions in policies, government plans and programmes also hinder the consistency with which media policies might be implemented. Old policies are replaced by new without any justifications. Policies that have been formulated are not included in the government's plans. For example, the common provisions from the policies of 1992 and 2002 were not included in the Tenth Five Year Plan of 2003, the Three Year Interim Plan of 2007, the

Three Year Plan of 2011, or the Thirteenth Plan Base Paper of 2013. They were not incorporated into NPC's yearly development programmes of the Fiscal Year 2002/2003 and 2013/2014 or the MoIC's yearly plan and programmes during the same period. There have been instances when policies that are already in effect have been sidelined or ignored. For example, although provisions of both the policies of 1992 and 2002 announced the issuing of private shares in government-owned Gorkhapatra and Rastriya Samachar Samiti (national news agency), the High Level Media Recommendation Commission Report 2006, mentioned the privatization of Gorkhapatra but did not talk about RSS's privatization. Similarly, a directive labelled as a policy announced by the Information and Communication Minister Krishna Bahadur Mahara on the 5th of June 2007, was contradictory to the existing policies as it talked about expanding and improving government-owned media, namely,Gorkhapatra and RSS, instead of talking about their privatization as outlined by the policies of 1992 and 2002.

Unlike previous policies, the High Commission report supported foreign investment in the media. However, it failed to provide any reasoning behind why these changes were needed. This goes to show the disconnect that exists between policy makers, the government and the various planning institutions making it impossible for any policies to be created with the view of implementing it over a long term.

Lack of Evaluation and Monitoring mechanisms

Effective implementation of a policy depends on evaluation and monitoring of the policy. As there are no proper monitoring mechanisms, the policies have become almost redundant. MoIC, the authority responsible for enforcing and monitoring media policies, is itself lacking in transparency. While doing research for this paper, MoIC was approached for information on the policy process that shaped the 2002 media policy. However it was necessary to file a right to information petition to even get a response from the ministry. And the response was that they could not find any records of the planning sessions that took place when formulating the Long term Communication Policy of 2002. One would think that preserving documents related to the policy making process would be a requirement for shaping future polices but it does not seem to be the case.

The Parliament Development Committee is responsible for monitoring the performance of MoIC. However, not a single meeting was called to discuss the performance and policy implementation issues related to the ministry. Joint Secretary of the Legislature Parliament Secretariat, Him Lal Subedi said, "During the four-year Constituent Assembly period, no meetings were called to discuss the issues regarding the ministry. Even the parliamentarians did not have any interest on the policy issues as they were all focused on the new constitution." ³¹

³¹ Him Lal Subedi, interview by Prakash Acharya, Kathmandu, December 24, 2013.

Other bodies including CIAA, FNJ or I/NGOs were also not found to have carried out any evaluation of the implementation status of media policies. No systematic evaluation of the implementation of the 1992 policy was conducted before launching the new Long-term Policy of Information and Communication Sector 2002. The concerned parliamentary committee rarely talked about the policy implementation status. Baldev Khadka, Joint Secretary at the Parliament Secretariat and former secretary of the Development and Communication committee, where he worked for fifteen years since 1991 shared that the parliamentary panel used to be active only when someone made a complaint regarding certain activities of the ministry, but was never concerned about policy implementation issues.³²

Therefore, as shown above, the lack of research and need assessment, identification and inclusion of stakeholders, proper plans and programmes for implementation, delegation of responsibilities to the line agencies and the absence of a proper monitoring mechanism are some of the major causes of the problem in policy implementation.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The entire policy cycle of media-related policies in Nepal has been fraught with problems, whether it is the extent of inclusiveness in the formulation stage, the fair representation of the multiple interests in the policy content or the lack of political will and intent to enable effective implementation of the agendas outlined. It is evident that the type of stakeholders in the media policy making domain has diversified. Observing the range of representatives involved in making of media policy in Nepal indicates the shift from government or state representatives to private sector representatives and international donors. Their influence is also notable, especially in the draft media policy of 2013. It shows that the scope of media policy making is getting bigger but as a result can be more complicated because of diversification of stakeholders.

The diversification of stakeholders does imply that the media policy-making process is becoming open, accountable and can be up for scrutiny. Key parts of the media policy process are better publicized; however, what is still lacking is an insight into how decisions are made. As Freedman states, "Without detailed information about whose arguments are more persuasive and how competing arguments are settled, and with no evidence of the government's willingness to provide such information, claims that the media policy-making process is a model of transparency and openness are exaggerated" In the context of Nepal, where the government is not willing to provide information about the decision-making process, despite the expansion of the policy making domain, the question of transparency still remains.

³² Bal Dev Khadka, interview by Prakash Acharya, Kathmandu, December 24, 2013.

³³ Freedman, 2005

The fact that the policy output is not backed by empirical evidences is evident as decisions made by policymakers are based on opinions and experiences rather than being shaped by evidence or research. If one observes the policy content of 1992 and 2002 with respect to Gorkhapatra Corporation and RSS, the policy content has remained exactly the same. This shows that between the period of 1992 and 2002 there was no research done to really test and challenge the feasibility and relevance of the policy objectives. The ambiguity and confusion around the best approach to foreign investment and media ownership could have been addressed if the policymakers did some research into what type of practice was most suitable to Nepal's context.

The case of foreign investment is a clear example of how decisions are made without any backing research. The 2002 policy allowed for 25 percent of foreign investment in broadcast media for technological advancement but did not allow any foreign investment in print media. Whereas the draft policy of 2013 has allowed 25 percent foreign investment in broadcast and print media. To take such a different stance on an issue so controversial has to be supported by some reasoning or logic. Why does the 2013 draft policy depart from the earlier belief that print media has enough native investment and therefore has no need for foreign support? Is it to ensure that both forms of media get equal access to funding or is to increase the overall investment in media? Such arbitrary changes in policies show how policymaking in Nepal lacks the initial research required to produce evidence that supports the direction the policy is taking. Major provisions of media policies that were not implemented can be considered as policy failures as they did not take effect in the lifetime of the specific policy. According to the 1992 policy, the Gorkhapatra Corporation was meant to engage with the private sector and issue ownership shares. This provision has also been included in the draft policy of 2013. But one can easily question whether the state is really willing to privatize the corporation? And if it is not, then why include it in the most recent policy? If the state is willing to privatize state-owned media, then it should clearly set out the procedures to make it possible, and then implement them.

One of the other reasons behind the poor implementation of policy provisions is the lack of evaluation and monitoring. There is no strong indication of a monitoring and evaluation process in practice. The Parliament's Development Committee responsible for monitoring the performance of MoIC has not given due attention to policy formulation and implementation aspect. MoIC itself has a PolicyPlanning Monitoring and Evaluation Section,however, the section is almost defunct in monitoring its media policies and in taking necessary steps for revision and implementation of policies.

The effective implementation of policy is linked to the will of the state machinery. The frequent changes in the government, the political turmoil, frequent changes in bureaucracy, and readiness to introduce new policies before the existing policies have had a chance to take shape pose a challenge to the implementation of the policy.

Therefore, the making of media policies in Nepal and their implementation is affected by factors that influence the entire policy cycle whether it be the lack of research-based policy formulation, a true engagement of policy stakeholders, the implementation of the polices or their evaluation and monitoring. In order to address these issues, the following recommendations need to be considered while making media-related policies.

Recommendations

- With the increase in the media arena, there has been a predictable increase in the stakeholders and interest groups in media. Despite the generic rise in the numbers, the policymaking aspect is often at mercy of a few well-connected interest groups. On important issues such as media ownership and foreign investments, this representation of vested interests from a select few is especially undesirable. In order to ensure that multiple viewpoints are heard and that a balanced outlook is presented in the policies, the circle of policymaking needs to widen and be inclusive of all interests in media.
- The current practice of limiting research to consultations with a few stakeholders fails to take
 into account other useful sources such as data and empirical evidence. Hence, in order to
 correctly assess the needs and demands for policy formulation, the research aspect needs to be
 strengthened.
- In addition to soliciting the views of the experts and wider range of individuals who can contribute to the issue, the policymaking institutions need to reach out to a larger demographic of the journalists and the general public through surveys and polling methods to gather evidence.
- There is no clarity on the vision for the media policies and this has resulted in policies that do not include a well-thought-out role or functions for the media. The policymakers need to take stock of the current usage of media and what needs improvement to formulate practical and implementable policies.
- Given the distance between reality and the formulation of policies, implementation of the said policies is a major challenge. The capacities of the implementing agencies need to be clear at the formulation stage and mechanisms for proper coordination of the implementing agencies need to be clarified in the policies.
- There needs to be a strong monitoring mechanism to oversee the implementation of policy being addressed. The role of pressure groups is important to oversee the implementation aspects and raise concerns to the authorities in this regard.
- Implementation should be time bound and envisage the completion of policy cycle.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Interviewee

 Baldev Khadka, Joint Secretariat, Parliament Secretariat Binod Bhattarai, Media Expert 	24/12/2013 01/09/2014
 Dhan Raj Gnawali, former Under Secretary of MoIC Dharmendra Jha, former President, FNJ Gokul Pokharel, Media Expert Harihar Birahi, Senior Journalist Himlal Subedi, Joint Secretariat, Parliament Secretariat Jagat Nepal, Secretary, FNJ 	27/12/2013 27/11/2013 19/12/2013 14/12/2013 24/12/2013 12/07/2013
 J.P. Gupta, former Minister for Information and Communications Keshav Koirala, Online Journalist, The Himalayan Times Manmohan Bhattarai, Communication Advisor of then PM Krishna Pra 	25-26/12/2013 13/01/2014 sad Bhattarai in 1990 29/12/2013
12. Manoranjan Jossee, member of Drafting Committee of the Communica 12/12/2013	
 13. Mukunda Acharya, former Joint Secretary of MoIC 14. Mukunda Sharma Paudyal, former Secretary of MoIC 15. Naoaki Nambu, JICA team leader 16. Narahari Acharya, Chairman of Drafting Panel of National Communica 	•
17. P. Kharel, Professor, Media Critic18. Pralhad Pokharel, member of Drafting Committee of policy 200219. Purushottam Dahal, Journalist and Co-ordinator of taskforce formed b	2
make recommendations regarding the Journalism sector in 2000 20. Purushottam Ghimire, National Planning Commission Spokesperson 21. Radheshyam Adhikari, Senior Advocate and Coordinator, High Level M Recommendation Commission 2006, and Senior Advocate	25/12/2013 15/12/2013 Media 24/12/2013
 22. Raghujee Panta, Former Member of Parliament, Communist Party of N Leninist) 23. Rajendra Dahal, Senior Journalist and member of Drafting Committee (epal (United Marxist 21/12/2013
24. Shiva Gaunle, President, FNJ25. Suresh Acharya, former president, FNJ, member of Consultative Comm	26/12/2013 22/12/2013
2013 Draft) and Media Consultant, MeP 26. Taranath Dahal, former president, FNJ 27. Uttam Nepal, Under Secretary, MoIC 28. Yub Raj Pande, former secretary	23/12/2013 16/12/2013 20/12/2012 22/12/2012

Appendix 2: Representation in Drafting Panel of National Communication Policy 1992 Source: Narahari Acharya: The taskforce completed its task on 27 July 1992

A. Drafting Taskforce:

1. 2.	Narahari Acharya Uttamlal Shrestha	Member Additional	National Assembly MoIC	Chairman Member
3.	Ghananath Ojha	Secretary Executive Director	Radio Nepal	Member
4.	Ramchandra	Director	Printing and	Member
	Upadhaya	General	Publication Department	
5.	Naina Bahadur KC	Acting Director General	Postal Service Department	Member
6.	Purushottam Basnet	Executive	Gorkhapatra	Member
		Chairman	Corporation	
7.	Gobinda Prasad	Chairman &	National News Agency	Member
	Pradhan	General		
		Manager		
8.	Bhupa Raj Pande	General	Nepal	Member
		Manager	Telecommunication	
			Corporation	
9.	Tapanath Shukla	General Manager	Nepal Television	Member
10.	Dr. Subodh Kumar	General	Royal Nepal Film	Member
	Pokharel	Manager	Corporation	
11.	Ganesh Ballav Pradhan	Editor	Janmabhumi Weekly	Member
12.	Nagendra Sharma	Editor	Week End Weekly	Member
13.	Harihar Birahi	Editor	Bimarsha Weekly	Member
14.	Kishor Silwal	Publisher	Janamanch Weekly	Member
15.	Rajendra Dahal		Deshantar Weekly	Member
16.	Shailendra Raj Sharma	Acting	Press Information	Member
	•	Director General	Department	Secretary

B. List of individuals invited for suggestions:

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.	Dr. Yugeshwor Sharma Sindhunath Pyakurel Basudev Risal Hiranya Lal Shrestha Jhalanath Khanal Hridayesh Tripathi Dr. Prakash Chandra Lohani	Member Member Member Member Member Member Member	National Assembly National Assembly National Assembly House of Representatives House of Representatives House of Representatives House of Representatives
8.	Arjun Narsingh KC	Member	House of Representatives
9.	Basanta Kumar Gurung	Member	House of Representatives
10.	Kuber Prasad Sharma	Member	House of Representatives
11.	Dr. Binayak Bhadra	Member	NPC
12.	Dr. Lok Raj Baral	Professor and	Nepal Political Science
		Chairman	Federation
13.	Dr. Dhruba Chandra	Literati	
14	Gautam Dr. Chudamani Bandhu	Due ferren en d	Namel Del Cabitan Camai
14	Dr. Chudamani Bandhu	Professor and Chairman	Nepal Bal Sahitya Samaj
15.	Dr. Ramesh Adhikari	Physician	TU Teaching Hospital
16.	Dr. Surya Dhungel	Advocate	To reading Hospital
17.	Dr. Devendra Raj Pande	Former Finance	
	J	Minister	
18.	Dr. Prayag Raj Sharma	Professor	Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies
19.	Devendra Raj Upadhaya	Writer	
20.	Manoranjan Josee	Editor	Independent
21.	Hom Nath Dahal	Senior Journalist	
22.	Chandra Lal Jha	Senior Journalist	
23.	Mani Raj Upadhaya	Senior Journalist	
24.	Gopal Das Shrestha	Senior Journalist	
25.	Madan Mani Deekshit	Senior Journalist	
26.	Hem Bahadur Bista	Environment Journalist	
27.	Kamalmani Deekshit	Literature	
21.	Kamamam Decksiit	Journalist	
28.	Lal Deosa Rai	Chairman	Journalism Teaching
	_u		Committee, Ratna
			Rajyalaxmi Campus
29.	Gokul Prasad Pokharel	Senior Journalist	Nepal Press Institute
30.	Krishna Bhakta Shrestha	Chief Editor	Gorkhapatra
31.	Shyam Bahadur KC	Chief Editor	The Rising Nepal
32.	Tej Prakash Pandit	Journalist	
33.	Rishikesh Shah	Chairman	Human Rights Organisation

34. 35.	Kapil Shrestha Prakash Chandra Joshi	Vice Chairman Member	Human Rights Organisation Social Service National Coordination Council
36.	Dhanush Chandra Gautam	Member Secretary	Royal Nepal Academy
37.	Rishi Shah	Member	Royal Nepal Academy of Science and Technology
38.	Radheshyam Adhikari	Chairman	Nepal Bar Association
39.	Suprabha Ghimire	Chairman	Nepal Professors Association
40.	Karna Shakya	Member	Board of Directors, Nepal Television
41.	Surendra Prasad Singh	Former Chairman	Press Council Nepal
42.	Piyush Bahadur Amatya	Industrialist	
43.	Binod Kumar Chaudhari	Industrialist	
44.	Jagadish Ghimire	Literati	
45.	Bhogya Prasad Shah	Former Director	Radio Nepal
46.	Bishnu Pratap Shah	Former Secretary	Ministry of Communications
47.	Kali Prasad Rijal	Former Secretary	
48.	Krishna Khanal	Vice Chairman	Nepal Political Science
40	A :		Federation
49.	Arjun Junga Bahadur Shah		Economic Administration and
50	IZi-la - Nana1	I11:4	Investigation Centre
50. 51.	Kishor Nepal Manmohan Bhattarai	Journalist	World View International
31.	Manmonan Bhattarai	Chairman	Foundation Nepal
52.	Mathabar Singh Basnet	Journalist	•
53.	Kamal Koirala	Editor	Drishti Weekly
54.	Janardan Acharya	Editor	Nepalipatra Weekly
55.	Narayan Dhakal	Editor	Pratipakshya Weekly
56.	Bharat Jangham	Publisher	Nepali Awaj Weekly
57.	Shree Acharya	Editor	Deshantar Weekly
58.	Shiva Adhikari	Publisher	Suruchi
59.	Gopal Thapaliya	Publisher	Chhalphal
60.	Mukunda Parajuli	Editor	Janamanch
61.	Chandreshwor Giri	Journalist	Janakpurdham
62.	Rajeshwor Nepali	Journalist	Janakpurdham
63.	Subas Dhakal	Journalist	Biratnagar
64.	Tara Baral	Journalist	Chandragadhi, Jhapa
65.	Shrikrishna Amatya	Journalist	Birgunj
66.	Basanta Dhoj Joshi	Journalist	Butwal
67.	Madhav Sharma	Journalist	Pokhara
68.	Liyakat Ali	Journalist	Nepalgunj
69.	Bijay Kumar Gupta	Journalist	Nepalgunj
70.	Narayan Sharma	Journalist	Dang
71.	Binaya Kumar Kasaju	Journalist	Tansen, Palpa

72.	Tirtha Raj Tuladhar	Journalist	Former Secretary, MoIC
73.	Jiban Lal Satyal	General Secretary	Parliament Secretariat
74.	Manik Lal Shrestha	Senior Journalist	
75.	Indra Kanta	Senior Journalist	
76.	Manindra Raj Shrestha	Senior Journalist	
77.	Barun Sumsher Rana	Editor	Sunday Dispatch
78.	Nir Bikram Shah	Former Chairman	Nepal Television
79.	Manju Ratna Shakya	Editor	Arpan Weekly
80.	Krishna Prasad Sigdel	Environment	-
	_	Journalist	
81.	Purushottam Dahal	Journalist	
82.	Gobinda Biyogi	Journalist	
83.	Bharadutta Koirala	Director	Nepal Press Institute
84.	Nutan Thapaliya	Chairman	Press Council Nepal
85.	Bishwa Bimohan Shrestha	Chairman	Sahityik Patrakar Sangh
86.	Binaya Rawal	Coordinator	Nepal Sahityakar Sangh
87.	Coordinator	Batabaran	
		Patrakar Samuha	
88.	Coordinator	Reporters	
		Muviers of Nepal	
89.	Chairman	Nepal Press	
		Union (Congress)	
90.	President	Working	
		Journalist	
		Association	
91.	President	Advertising	
		Association	
92.	Chairman	Nepal Film	
		Association	

Note: Suggestions from some of those, who were called for, could not be received.

C. List of individuals invited for discussion (held on 15 July 1992):

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	Dr. Yugeshwor Barma Subas Nembang Sindhunath Pyakurel Suresh Malla Hridayesh Tripathi Dr. Prakash Chandra Lohani	Member Member Member Member Member Member	National Assembly National Assembly National Assembly National Assembly House of Representatives House of Representatives
7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15.	Jhalanath Khanal Arjun Narsingh KC Hiranya Lal Shrestha Kuber Prasad Sharma Binayak Bhadra Nutan Thapaliya Rajeshwor Nepali Kishori Raman Rana Manmohan Bhattarai	Member Member Member Member Member Chairman Member Member Chairman	House of Representatives House of Representatives House of Representatives House of Representatives National Planning Commission Press Council Press Council Press Council Worldview International
16. 17. 18.	Dr. Chudamani Bandhu Dr. Tulsi Prasad Bhattarai Jagadish Ghimire	Professor and Chairman Literati Literati	Foundation, Nepal Nepal Bal Sahitya Samaj
19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24.	Ramesh Bikal Binaya Rawal Ashesh Malla Homnath Dahal Madanmani Dikshit Gopal Das Shrestha	Literati Coordinator Literati Senior Journalist Senior Journalist Senior Journalist	Nepal Sahityakar Sangh
25. 26. 27. 28.	Gobinda Biyogi Shiva Adhikari Saradchandra Basti Purushottam Dahal	Chairman Editor Editor Journalist	FNJ Suruchi Weekly Punarjagaran Weekly
29. 30. 31. 32. 33.	Suprabha Ghimire Yadav Kharel Radheshyam Adhikari Indra Prasad Shrestha Krishna Bhakta Shrestha Durga Nath Sharma	Chairperson Member Chairman Vice Chairman Chief Editor Acting Deputy	Nepal Professors Association Nepal Film Association Nepal Bar Association Nepal Film Association Gorkhapatra Daily Nepal Television
35. 36. 37.	Chet Prasad Bhattarai Mahesh Prasad Adhikari Kamal Prasad Rimal	General Manager Manager Chief Engineer Station Manager	Nepal Telecommunication Corporation Radio Nepal DHL International Express

38. 39. 40. 41.	Kapil Shrestha Neer Shah Bishnu Pratap Shah Jay Prakash Anand	Vice Chairman Former Chairman Former Secretary Advisor (Press and Public	Human Rights Organisation Nepal Television Ministry of Communications Office of Prime Minister
42.	Ram Prasad Sharma	Relations) Advisor	National Planning Commission
43.	Shreehari Aryal	Advocate	2
44.	Chandra Lal Jha	Senior Journalist	
45.	Mani Raj Upadhaya	Senior Journalist	
46.	Hem Bahadur Bista	Environment Journalist	Batabaran Patrakar Samuha
47.	Shyam Bahadur KC	Chief Editor	The Rising Nepal
48.	Kishor Nepal	Editor	Swatantrata Weekly
49.	Kamal Koirala	Editor	Drishti Weekly
50.	Janardan Acharya	Editor	Nepalipatra Weekly
51.	Balmukunda Dev Pande	Editor	Nepali Awaj Weekly
52.	Kundan Sharma	Editor	Chalphal Weekly
53.	Krishna Prasad Sigdel	Environment Journalist	
54.	Rishi Shah	Member	Nepal Rajkiya Bigyan Tatha Prabidhi Pragna Pratisthan
55.	Karna Shakya	Member	Board of Directors, Nepal Television
56.	Dr. Lokraj Baral	Professor and Chairman	Nepal Political Science Federation
57.	Krishna Khanal	Vice Chairman	"
58.	Kamalmani Dikshit	Literature	
		Journalist	
59.	M.L. Shrestha	Industrialist	
60.	Adityaman Shrestha	Environment Journalist	Batabaran Patrakar Samuha
61.	Basudev Basnet	Operator	Contract Kuriyar Pvt. Ltd.
62.	Suresh Bahadur Malla	Chairman	Printers Association
63.	Bharadutta Koirala	Director	Nepal Press Institute
			-

Note:- Some of the invitees were not present during discussions.

Appendix 3: Long-term Policy of Information and Communication Sector 2002 Drafting Committee:

Source: Harihar Birahi

1.	Prem Nidhi Ganwali	Joint Secretary	MoIC	Coordinator
2.	Hem Raj Paudel	Joint Secretary	MoIC	Member
3.	Prabhakar Adhikari	Chief Technical Officer	MoIC	Member
4.	Bhupa Raj Pande	Chairman	Nepal Telecommunication Authority	Member
5.	Mukunda Sharma Paudyal	Director General	Postal Service Department	Member
6.	Narayan Prasad Lamsal	Director General	Printing Department	Member
7.	Yub Raj Pande	Director General	Department of Information	Member
8.	Shailendra Raj Sharma	Acting Executive Director	Radio Prasar Sewa Bikas Samiti	Member
9.	Chet Prasad Bhattarai	General Manager	Nepal Telecommunication Authority	Member
10.	Indra Bahadur Shrestha	General Manager	National News Agency	Member
11.	Benu Prasad Prasain	General Manager	Gorkhapatra Corporation	Member
12.	Durga Nath Sharma	Acting General Manager	Nepal Television Corporation	Member

Appendix 4: High Level Media Recommendation Commission 2006

Source: Report of the Commission

S.N	Name	Involvement	Position
1	Radheshyan Adhikari	Senior Advocate and Parliament Member	Chairman
2	Bishnu Nisthuri	President, FNJ	Member
3	Murari Kumar Sharma	Chairman, Nepal Press Union	Member
4	Bal Krishna Chapagain	Chairman, Press Chautari Nepal	Member
5	Raghu Mainali	Coordinator, Independent Radio Saving Movement	Member
6	Babita Basnet	Chairperson, Sancharika Samuha	Member
7	Binay Kasaju	Senior Journalist	Member
8	Dhruba Hari Adhikari	Chairman, Nepal Press Institute	Member
9	Ram Rijhan Yadav	Editor, Purba Saptahik	Member
10	Rajendra Dahal	Himal Khabar Patrika, later, Chairman, Press Council Nepal	Member
11	Prateek Pradhan	Editor, The Kathmandu Post	Member
12	Shiba Lal Malla	Chairman, Broadcasting Association Nepal	Member
13	Mukunda Prasad Acharya	Director General, Department of information	Member Secretary

List of Organisations that provided Suggestions:

Source: MoIC

S.N Organisation

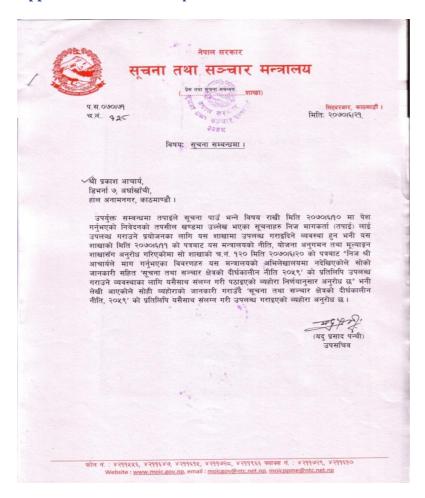
- 1 Federation of Nepali Journalists
- 2 Nepal Press Institute
- 3 Press Chautari Nepal
- 4 Editors Society Nepal
- 5 Nepal Editors Federation
- 6 Nepal Press Union
- 7 Online Media Association Nepal
- 8 International Mission for Press Freedom and Freedom of Expression
- 9 Print Media/Print Journalism
- 10 Image Channel
- 11 Community and Commercial FM Radio
- 12 Media Point
- 13 FNJ (Sindhupalchwok Chapter)
- 14 Nepal Literary Journalists Association
- 15 Information and Communication Movement for Development Nepal
- 16 Chaitanya Jyoti Publication
- 17 Dibya Chetana Sahityik Samaj
- 18 Budhanilakantha Ashram
- 19 Front Against Exploitaion
- 20 Association of Nepali Indigenous Journalists

- 21 Mechi-Mahakali Media Society, Nepal
- Nepal Journalism Students Association
- 23 Rastriya Janadabab Samuha (national people's pressure)
- Nepal Sadbhawana Party (Anandidevi)
- Nepal Sadbhawana Party
- 26 Jana Biswas Saptahik (Dhankuta)
- 27 Tribhuvan University, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication
- 28 Independent Radio Saving Movement
- Nepal One (TV)
- 30 Nepal Batabaran Patrakar Samuha
- 31 SAFMA
- 32 Nad Bindu, Ardha-Barsik
- 33 Drisya Nepal, Pakshik
- 34 Mechi-Mahakali Media Society, Kaski Chapter

Appendix 5: Representation in drafting Media Policy 2013 (Draft):

- 1. Chairperson and three representatives including at least one women representation, FNJ-4
- 2. Chairperson/Representative, Association of Community Radio Broadcasters Nepal (ACORAB)-1
- 3. Chairperson/Representative, Broadcasting Association of Nepal (BAN)-1
- 4. Chairperson/Representative, Television Broadcasters Association (TBN)-1
- 5. Chairperson/Representative, Sancharika Samuha-1
- 6. Chairperson/Representative, Media Society-1
- 7. Chairperson/Representative, Saptahik/Pachik Sanjal-1
- 8. Senior Journalist, Suresh Acharya-1
- 9. Chairperson, Mahendra Bista, TV Editors Guild-1
- 10. Chairperson, Govinda Acharya, Minimum Wage Fixation Committee-1
- 11. JICA MeP Expert-1
- 12. Under Secretary from MoIC-1

Appendix 6: MoIC's Responses on Status of Policies:





नेपाल सरकार

सूचना तथा सञ्चार मन्त्रालय

पेस तथा सचना समन्वय

सिंहदरबार, काठमाडौँ

प.स.०७०।७१ च.नं. ८८४ मिति २०७०।०९।३०

विषय:- प्रतिलिपि उपलब्ध गराईएको सम्बन्धमा ।

श्री प्रकाश आचार्य, अनामनगर,काठमाडौं, सम्पर्क ठेगानाः मोवाइल नं. ९८५११९७५२६

प्रस्तुत विषयमा सूचना अधिकारी, सूचना तथा सञ्चार मन्त्रालयलाई सम्वोधन गरि मिति ०७०।०९।०४ को पत्रवाट माग गरिएको नेपाल सरकार र जापान सरकारको संलग्नतामा मस्यौदा भएका मिडिया नीति २०७० र मिडिया सम्बन्धी कानूनहरुको मस्यौदा, सञ्चार माध्यम सम्बन्धी नीति तर्जुमाका कममा हालसम्मको खर्चको विवरण र सो परियोजनाको सम्पूर्ण वजेट विवरण तथा परियोजना बारे जापान सरकार र नेपाल सरकारिबच सम्पन्न सम्भौता, सो परियोजना अन्तर्गत स्वदेशी एवं विदेशी विशेषज्ञको नामावली उनिहरुको विशेषज्ञताको क्षेत्र तथा विशेषज्ञ सेवा प्राप्त गर्न अवलम्बन गरिएको कार्यविधिको विवरण तथा सेवा सुविधाको विवरण ,नीति तर्जुमाका कममा सरसल्लाह र सुभाव लिइएको संघ संस्था, व्यक्ति तथा सञ्चारमाध्यम एवं पत्रकारहरुको नामावली विवरण तथा त्यसका आधारहरुका साथै नीति तर्जुमाका कममा कुनै व्यापारीक परामर्श सेवा कम्पनी, संस्था वा व्यक्तिलाई कुनै काम दिइएको भए कामको विवरण तथा छनौट विधि र करारका शर्त सम्बन्धी विवरणको सम्बन्धमा जापानी येन 280,000,000/- बजेट भएको Media for Peace Project को कार्यान्वयन अवधि November 2010 देखि October 2013 सम्म रहेको थियो। यस मन्त्रालयका सचिवज्यूको संयोजकत्वमा गठित संयुक्त समन्वय समिति (JCC) को सामान्य मार्गदर्शन तथा रेखदेखमा सो परियोजना संचालित थियो तर वजेट खर्च गर्ने अब्तियारी र खर्चको हिसाव कितावको कार्य जाईका नेपालवाटै भएकाले खर्चको विवरण मन्त्रालयमा नरहेकोले सो को प्रति उपलब्ध गराउन सिकएन । परियोजना अवधि भित्रमा राष्ट्रिय संचार माध्यम नीति, २०७० र देहायका छवटा ऐन तथा छवटा नियमावलीको मसौंदा तर्जुमा भई परियोजनाका तर्फवाट मन्त्रालय समक्ष पेश गरिएको छ:-

फोन नं.: ४२९१९६६, ४२९१४४६, ४२९१६४७, ४२९१६१४, ४२९१७२८, फ्याक्स नं.: ४२९१७२९, ४२९१६९० Web site: www.moic.gov.np, Email: moicgov@ntc.net.np, moicppme@ntc.net.np



🎤 🧸 नेपाल सरकार

स्चना तथा सञ्चार मन्त्रालय

(....र्शाखा)

2088

सिंहदरबार, काठमाडौं

- . विज्ञापन (नियमित गर्ने) ऐन, २०७० २. राष्ट्रिय प्रसारण ऐन, २०७०
- ३. राष्ट्रिय सूचना माध्यम आयोग ऐन, २०७०
- ४. पत्रिका प्रकाशन सम्बन्धी ऐन, २०७०
- . सार्वजनिक प्रसारण प्रतिष्ठान ऐन, २०७०
- ६. रेडियो सञ्चार ऐन, २०७०
- . विज्ञापन (नियमित गर्ने) नियमावली, २०७०
- २. राष्ट्रिय प्रसारण नियमावली, २०७०
- ३. राष्ट्रिय सूचना माध्यम आयोग नियमावली ,
- ४. पत्रिका प्रकाशन सम्बन्धी नियमावली, २०७०
- ५. सार्वजनिक प्रसारण प्रतिष्ठान नियमावली, २०७०
- ६. रेडियो सञ्चार नियमावली, २०७०

उक्त नीति, ऐन तथा नियमावलीहरु मस्यौदाका क्रममा जापानको सम्बन्धित क्षेत्रका विज्ञ तथा नेपाल पत्रकार महासंघका सभापितको संयोजकत्वमा गठित परामर्श समितिले सम्बद्ध सरोकारवालाहरुसँग विभिन्न चरणमा छलफल गरी अन्तिम मस्यौदा तयार पारिएको व्यहोरा अनुरोध छ । साथै मन्त्रालयमा विचाराधीन रहेका उपर्युक्त मस्यौदाहरु सार्वजनिक गर्न परिपक्व भई नसकेका हुँदा तत्काल ती मस्यौदाहरुको प्रति उपलब्ध गराउन सिकएन ।

साथै, परियोजनामा सम्बद्ध स्वदेशी एवं विदेशी विशेषज्ञको नामावली, सुभाव लिइएका संघ संस्था, व्यक्ति तथा सञ्चार माध्यम एवं पत्रकारहरुको नामावली सम्बन्धी विवरणको प्रतिलिपी समेत यसैसाथ संलग्न गरी पठाइएको तर परियोजना बारे जापान सरकार र नेपाल सरकारिबच सम्पन्न सम्भौताको प्रतिलिपि निकै ठूलो भएकोले त्यो पठाउन सम्भव नभएको तर हेर्न चाहेको खण्डमा यस मन्त्रालयको ऐन, नियम परामर्श शाखामा आएर हेर्न सिकने व्यहोरा अनुरोध छ ।

(यदु प्रसाद पन्थी) उपसचिव

फोन नं.: ४२९९९६६, ४२९९६४६, ४२९९६४७, ४२९९६९४, ४२९९९२८, फ्याक्स नं.: ४२९९७२९, ४२९९६९० Web site: <u>www.moic.gov.np</u>, Email: <u>moicgov@ntc.net.np</u>, <u>moicppme@ntc.net.np</u>