



Sahina Shrestha

This year, Nepal leapfrogged to 76 among 1 180 countries, up from last year's 106, in the Press Freedom Index. Reporters without Borders ranked India 150, down from 142 last year. Pakistan slipped to 157.

Nepal has one of the freest media in a region where the mediascape is increasingly constricted by state and corporate control. But this does not mean it will stay that way. Nepal has seen periods of direct press censorship in the past when successive governments tried to regulate the public sphere.

The state has left the mainstream press alone, but there are ongoing attempts to restrict freedom of expression through draft bills and laws, often in the guise of controlling hate speech, fake news, or misand dis-information on the internet.

To be sure, Nepal's cybersphere is rife with harmful and often manipulative interaction, misogyny, misinformation, incitement to violence, conspiracy theories, and content with toxic overtones. These have real-world implications for democracy, as we have seen recently in neighbouring countries.

DIWAKAR CHETTRI

But the internet is double-edged. Social media provides a platform for the traditionally neglected and discriminated to be heard. It has leveled the field so everyone has a voice. The downtrodden do not have to fight for access to the national press anymore.

However, those voices are often lost in the long tail of digital information overload. Search engine algorithms still give priority to mainstream sites and blue ticks.

Social media is now the primary source of raw information, serving as both a producer

and a disseminator of content. This reliance on social media has also meant that, for better or worse, it has affected how journalists and their media outlets perform their job.

For news publishers and readers, social media has decreased market entry costs and expanded reach. But at the same time, there is no distinction between the role of content creators and news curators.

Whereas journalism draws a clear line between news and views, the same is not true for internet content. Still, most Nepalis do not draw a distinction between comments on Facebook and links to news pieces on the Facebook wall of mainstream outlets.

On the other hand, print-centric attitudes pervade newsrooms. Many editors and reporter regard digital content as being of inferior quality, not as credible and not 'serious journalism'.

PRESS FOR

Surveys may show that the Nepali audience has high trust in print and broadcast outlets, but most get their news and information through the social web.

Journalists often bemoan the rise of YouTubers and TikTokers and other influencers, but rarely analyse why that is happening. On online social spaces, people now have the power and platform to discuss issues that are ignored by the mainstream press, and set their own agenda.

Nepal's legacy media still has one foot in print or tv, and a toetip on the internet. Most have not yet figured out whether their digital identity is a continuation of their traditional role, or a transformation.

For legacy media to gain trust and traction in the digital space, it needs to shift focus from attention grabbing sensational headlines to credible insight, explainers, and a focus on what users want and need to make sense of what is happening around them. Call it public service media in the digital age.

To maintain public trust and keep its numbers up, we need to engage with users, make news production more inclusive, participatory, transparent and human. 🔽

Sahina Shrestha is Editor Online of Nepali Times.









Laxmi Premium Motors (an entity of Laxmi Group)

Address Tinkune, Kathmandu, Nepal

Email info@bmw-laxmi.com.np Tel +977 1 4111776, 4111628



Internet of everything

On World Press

Freedom Day on

3 May, a look

at the role of

Nepal's media as it

and retain its

independence

The past two years have accelerated trends that were already buffeting the media industry pre-Covid: the migration of readers and advertisers from legacy to digital media, entertainment replacing information, the losing battle against fake content, and so on.

Kitty videos went viral even as the virus shut society down. Social media became the new mass media.

Till three years ago in Nepal, 'Facebook' was synonymous with 'Internet'. But in 2019 YouTube users overtook Facebook, and now a TikTok takeover means dance routines on the platform consume nearly a quarter of the country's bandwidth.

The power and reach of digital platforms and online portals have transformed the way people stay informed, while some prefer to be deliberately disinformed. Digital content can be easily manipulated and multiplied

As algorithms radicalise voters, elected demagogues threaten democracies, and despots get voted to power.

The print media in Nepal went fully digital during the 2020 lockdowns, and even though revenue plummeted, readership soared. Newspapers like this one resumed print editions and reclaimed loyal hardcopy readers. The pandemic also changed the economics of the media business, possibly forever.

Nepal was just beginning to recover from the Covid downturn when the war in Ukraine scored a direct hit on fuel and food prices, reducing hard currency reserves and the country's balance of payments.

New restrictions on bank loans and imports have hit businesses hard, and this has had a direct impact on advertising which is the main source of revenue for media companies.

Just when its role in safeguarding democracy and press freedom is more vital than ever, journalism is struggling to survive. This could ultimately undermine the independent check and balance role of the fourth estate in defending democracy.

Nepal's media practitioners need to be more vigilant than ever -- especially at a time when we see the largest, oldest and most vibrant democracies in the region and around the world being undermined by leaders who have co-opted democratic institutions to propel themselves to power and remain there. All this may look pretty discouraging for

20 YEARS AGO THIS WEEK

The Peace Dividend

those who believe in an open society, value tolerance, inclusiveness, and the freedom to express themselves. But the Internet has always been a double-edged sword, like all other technologies that preceded it.

Fake news, disinformation and gossip did not begin with the social web. They are as old as the written word itself. The only difference today is that online posts with their instantaneous amplification and reach can even incite genocide.

The cancel culture, trolling and cyberlynching by bot armies dampen voices calling for moderation, science-based decision making, and acceptance.

Attempts to regulate Internet content collides with free speech. Where does one draw the line? It might be important to distinguish between 'journalism' broadly defined, and posts inciting violence or troll factories manufacturing assembly line hate.

These and other issues will be the subject of the daylong 'Connectivity in the Age of Disinformation' conference at the Himal Media Mela on 7 May (page 12). Practitioners will be taking stock of the media's role in these changed circumstances.

The death of print media is exaggerated. There is still power in print because the powerful read it. A survey in 2020 also showed that most struggles to survive Nepalis were not reading print media, not because they had switched to phones, but because roadside shops had stopped stocking newspapers

and magazines. A survey by Sharecast Initiative Nepal in

2019 showed that 96% of Nepalis had mobile phones, and with the spread of mobile data they will have more social media accounts. But that same survey showed that 94% of those following the mainstream press are still reading the paper newspaper because they found it 'trustworthy'. Nepalis may use social media platforms, but more than 90% say they did not believe everything in it.

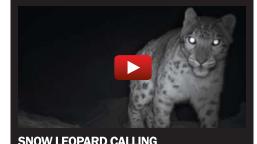
That is the niche Nepal's mass media now needs to fill: to be the credible source of news, present verified facts, explain, interpret and analyse events and trends.

Social media platforms will continue to be useful dissemination tools, Internet sites will be more and more entertainment-driven, and it will be the portals and papers with higher credibility and exclusive multimedia content that will be rewarded with clicks.

ONLINE PACKAGES



The unique one-day conference is by the media for the media and will have more than 200 senior editors, digital journalists, media educators discuss and dissect fake news in the time of elections, digital journalism and the political-economy of the media. Ravish Kumar of the NDTV India will present the keynote. Stories on pages 1, 2, 4-5, 9, 10-11 and 12.



SNOW LEOPARD CALLING

Snow leopard researcher and conservationist Tshiring Lhamu Lama spent three winter months in 2020 in Phoksundo to research and plan for a conservation trek. Her personal journey of documenting this elusive cat in the Nepal Himalaya is in this special feature on pages 8-9. Also watch the trailer of her film.

ELECTIONS

I have a question for the Nepal government. Do textbooks for students in Humla also arrive on time like the ballot papers as shown in the picture (below)? Please clear this up. Also, if



the ballot papers are to be delivered to the polling station by the Nepal Army, then why were temporary police recruited in the first place? Subalda Rai

ELECTION POLITICS

We have such inept leadership ('Coalition collision', Shristi Karki, #1109). Progressing under them is a daydream Lal Bahadur

 Deuba has turned the local elections into a race for the Prime Ministership—his own

Paramendra Kumar Bhagat

SONAM LAMA

Great work, well deserved recognition ('Nepal conservationist wins Whitley Award', Nepali Times, www.nepalitimes.com). Thanks for sharing this news, and the inspiring video too! Amazing how much can be communicated in 2 minutes. Darlene Foote

FOREST FIRES

Fire ecologists today are near unanimous in that western science was wrong about fire suppression and they now advocate reintroduction of fire to land in order for the forests to be climate resilient ('Protecting Nepal's forests from fires', Dev Narayan Mandal, www.nepalitimes.com). Fire suppression leads to forest growing denser, and is a time bomb for a catastrophic fire.



Working our asses off

For workaholics bemoaning the new 5-day work week, relax. A two-day weekend means government offices will go from a 42hour week to 35-hour week which will have an impact on reducing corruption. Fewer bribes will be given and taken if there are fewer hours in a week to do so. Follow The Ass on nepalitimes.com

Most reached and shared on Facebook



It is getting hotter on the roof of the world by Kunda Dixit

The Tibetan Plateau is heating up faster than the global average due to climate change, and scientists say this will ultimately reduce the flow of Asia's mighty rivers originating there. Join the online discussion

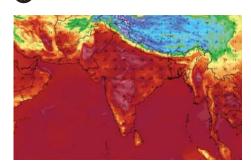
Most popular on Twitter



Nepal conservationist wins Whitley Award

Nepali conservationist Sonam Lama of the Red Panda Network has won the prestigious Whitley Award for protecting endangered mammals of the Himalayas. Lama was recognised for training 100 citizen scientists to help restore the red panda habitat.

Most commented



North Indian heat wave hits Nepal

Sher Bahadur Deuba for flatly refusing to negotiate with the

During the height of the Maoist insurgency, fed up with everyday news of death, gore and general mayhem, all people ever wanted was peace so economic development would follow.

Alas, that was not the case, it still is not two decades down the line. We have peace but no stability. Equitable and decentralised development is still a dream. Remittance money continues to run Nepal's economy.

Excerpts from the editorial published in issue 3-9 May 2002 #92 from 20 years ago this week:

Everyone is talking about the rewards on the heads of the Maoists. But there is a greater reward no one talks about: the reward of peace. The Nepali peoples' prize for anyone who brings an end to the conflict.

But is it going to be the deathly peace of a ruined land, or a peace that salvages what is still left? Yes, talks. But talk about what? You can't really blame Prime Minister

Red carpets in Thimpu

Being a plain-speaking, straight forward guy, he takes betrayals personally. And he is not likely to forget how the Maoists used the three months of the last truce to upgrade

their fighting machinery. ... Those favouring talks are right about one thing, though. There is no point insisting that the Maoists disarm before talks: that is like asking them to surrender. Why should they? However, it is also true that if both sides are truly serious about peace. there can be secret talks even without a ceasefire. The talks can't be the public circus we had the last time, they have to be serious, secret and sincere. This impasse needs to be broken with a dramatic new initiative.

That's a tall order. We don't see any signs of a visionary leadership in the ranks of any of the parliamentary parties. Nepalis are fed up with the deaths and devastation.

From archive material of Nepali Times of the past 20 years, site search: www.nepalitimes.com

Phuntsho Namgyel

CLIMATE CHANGE

Climate change is a big challenge right now especially as some people try to get rich by illegal logging, others are involved in sand mining ('Holding up 1/2 the sky on climate action', Navanita Sinha and Pertti Anttinen, nepalitimes.com). Then there are those that try to dam rivers or are running industries by emitting toxic pollutants. Climate change mitigation has become a slogan at best, the world will go on as it is. Shankar Lawati Limbu

VIEW TOWERS

There is no commission money attached to building a heath post but the opposite is true for view towers ('Born by the roadside in Nepal', Prakash Singh, nepalitimes.com). The prime ministers and ministers are focused on erecting view towers because that seems to make all the politicians, contractors and the government officials happy.

Gajendra Man Shrestha

TIBETAN SALT

This article has paved the way for a study of Nepal's salt politics, its changing direction with links to Tibetan salt and how it has affected the country's prosperity ('The salt of the earth', Jag Bahadur Budha, nepalitimes.com).

Rc Baral

• The fact that this article is by the author from outside the Bhote community makes it even more important. Maybe it could have also shed light on the future of people in the high mountains who had previously gained international access due to the salt trade.

Balkrishna Mabuhang

Kathmandu sweated through the hottest March on record, but there is more searing heat in store. This impact of increased heat will have consequences for public health agriculture, energy generation, migration and the glaciers. Read the full story on our website.





Nepali Times @NepaliTimes Nepal's red panda conservationist Sonam Lama (@ SonamTaC) wins Whitley Award (@WhitleyAwards). Read story and watch video narrated Sir David Attenborough (@AttenboroughSir).#Nepal #redpanda #conservation #WhitleyAward @RedPandaNetwork



Nirmal Ghosh @karmanomad Huge congratulations @SonamTaC of #Nepal on this prestigious award...



Lok Mani Sapkota @sapkotalok Huge congratulations @SonamTaC! You are source of pride and inspiration. Keep up your great work!!



Nepali Times @NepaliTimes Spending time with a dog can significantly lessen one's negative emotions because they make you feel loved. Plenty of studies have proven that canines make people happier. But how do you make the right choice when choosing a dog? https://nepalitimes.com/ opinion/canine-therapy/



sharad pandey @sharadp37206698 Yes I agree ...and reflects your overall personality..



Mepali Times on Facebook Follow @nepalitimes on Twitter

Editor Online: Sahina Shrestha Executive Editor: Sonia Awale Lavout: Kiran Maharian Publisher: Kunda Dixit, Himalmedia Pvt Ltd | Patan Dhoka, Lalitpur | GPO Box 7251 Kathmandu



Solow @nepalitimes on Instagram editors@nepalitimes.com www.nepalitimes.com www.himalmedia.com Tel: +977 1 5005601-08 Fax: +977 1 5005518



TURKISH AIRLINES

01-4438363 | 01-4438436 | ktmsales@thy.com Products and services are subject to change depending on flight duration and aircraft.

0

Interview



A S Panneerselvan is executive director of Panos South Asia, which fosters public debate in the region. He has been the Reader's Editor of *The Hindu*, and a strong advocate of ethical and responsible journalism. He teaches media studies at the Asian College of Journalism in Chennai. The following are excerpts from a recent conversation between him and Shekhar Kharel on the challenges facing old and new media.

Nepali Times: As a frequent visitor to Nepal, what do you make of the mediascape here? A S Panneerselvan: In the 1990s

Nepal set a standard for South Asian media when it came up

with the finest decentralised media environment through its community radio revolution. But the digital disruption has completely changed that. While it has given a voice to everyone, no one is actually listening. We have concurrent monologues, not dialogues. There is also no supporting revenue stream for this new model.

With mobile connectivity even in rural areas, the digital divide itself is an obsolete concept. But the global media is also extremely centralised. A handful of Silicon Valley multinationals control our information ecosystem. Governments can switch off connectivity as we saw in Jammu and Kashmir in 2021 when its

special status was abrogated.

Traditional media played an empowering role during Nepal's People's Movements I and II. But there are new questions today: Is the media going to get caught up in the social media cacophony, or play a leadership role?

How are these changes going to affect the sustainability, credibility and independence of Nepali media? The Nepali media now has reach, but it needs revenue to survive. This is crucial because the media has a dual role: bearing witness and making sense. Bearing witness means journalists have to travel to gather news and that costs money. The budget

to bear witness is shrinking. So, broadsheet publications retain their respectability by focusing more on making sense by writing editorials explaining a particular issue. Making sense has taken precedence over bearing witness. This is why the digital disruption is hurting us.

MONIKA DEUPALA

How does this revenue model then affect the digital media?

When the Arab Spring happened, we thought the digital media would become an enabler. But Trump and Brexit showed us that it is also a curse. Today, the trend is towards clickbait journalism since algorithms decide what is going to get amplified and what is not. Editorial judgment has no place in

this environment, the content can be misogynist, ultra-nationalistic jingoism, war-mongering, spewing hate. It does not matter, as long as it gets the reach. When you ask Silicon Valley companies to regulate such content, they say they are not a media organisation but purely a platform. Yet they want all the credibility and reach of media organisations. When it suits them they become a media organisation, when it doesn't they become a platform. The fact that these trans-border organisations are not governed by conventional laws is causing further harm.

The political economy of these platform companies is that they give money to the carriers, not the content generators. But carriers are not neutral. Whether they are ISP providers, DTH platforms or search engines, they are heavily loaded and discriminatory. And carriers have become so powerful that content companies are now dependent on them, and this is against the spirit of an independent media elsewhere and in Nepal.

So what is the role of journalists in this new environment?

Journalism is different from all other forms of communication because at its core is the act of verification. It is different from blogging or posts on social media with no filtration. This act of verification is mediated by editorial judgment — the two things that give journalism its credibility. Social media is destroying this and denying citizens the democratic right for credible information.

Whose responsibility is it to uphold the media's credibility?

It is the responsibility of citizens who have to invest in credible information that is the building block of democratic rights. People's spending on media in the last 5-10 years has gone up, but the money is going to the carriers. We pay internet service providers, DTH companies and for mobile connectivity. Money spent on those creating content for media has gone

Barbaros actor in Nepal

urkish actor Engin Altan Düzyatan who **L** starred in the Netflix hit *Barbaros* and Diriliş: Ertuğru is on a 4-day visit to Nepal sponsored by the Ministry of Tourism as it tries to revive tourism after the pandemic.

"I am very excited to be in Nepal, to see the nalaya and meet people in Kathmandu and Pokhara. I am glad to see that Nepal is open again for tourism, and people have started coming back," Düzyatan said on arrival at Kathmandu airport on Monday."Nepal is just so beautiful everywhere you look. I am very excited and am going to tell all Turkish people that they should visit Kathmandu and Nepal." Düzyatan also took a Mt Everest sightseeing flight. Nepal's stunning mountain scenery could also provide a backdrop for Turkey's

🚓 prabba Bank

No Internet?

Internet service providers have warned that connections across Nepal could be disrupted from next week, as they have been unable to pay upstream partners for bandwidth purchase due to government restrictions on foreign currency. The Internet Service Providers' Association of Nepal says it has been facing problems for the past six months with the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology dilly-dallying on providing recommendations to release foreign currency.

5.8% growth The Central Bureau of Statistics has projected

Nepal's economic growth this year at 5.8%, and that the Covid-19 pandemic will not affect the fiscal year 2022-23. This figure is lower than the one projected by the government at 7% but higher than the World Bank's 3.7%, Asian Development Bank's 3.9% and International Monetary Fund's 4.1%.

DishHome schemes

DishHome customers can win a one-year worth of service after recharging with DishHome's Fund Transfer service. They can also win Rs100,000 under the new lucky draw scheme. DishHome Fibernet is now offering 50Mbps Internet at a monthly rate of Rs699. Elsewhere in Tulsipur, it is providing packages of 100Mbps, 300Mbps and 600Mbps at Rs899, Rs1,799, and Rs2,999 respectively.

Tourism picks up International tourists have picked up in the past four months

with more than 137,015 visitors entering Nepal during that



period. In 2021, only 22,450 tourists visited Nepal due to Covid-19 lockdowns and subsequent travel restrictions. Most visitors are from India, while UK and US arrivals have rebounded.

2-day weekend

The Nepal Overseas Export-Import Association has opposed the government's decision to grant a two-day weekend, as it means reduced business hours with government administrative bodies, banks, financial institutions and insurance companies. A two-day weekend will also delay customs clearance of imported goods and raw materials as well as financial transactions.

Loadshedding

The Federation of Nepalese Chambers of Commerce and Industry has urged the government to supply regular electricity or draw up a loadshedding schedule as industries are facing 12-16 hours of daily power cuts without prior notice. With the Ukraine crisis, the NEA has been unable to purchase power from India due to a shortage of coal.

Video KYC

Global IME Bank has started a video KYC service by collaborating with Digital Network Solution. Customers can update their KYC form online with a video for verification.



'Pahilo SIM' scheme for SEE students under which those who

subscribe to Ncell prepaid SIM cards can get 4GB bonus data. The SIM costs Rs48 and students can get 1GB of social media data for every Rs50 recharge.

Nepovit Tiles



Industries has launched Nepovit tiles, the first Nepali tile brand with its factory in the Bara district.

Nepal Ceramic

Qatar Airways QVerse Qatar Airways has introduced QVerse, a virtual reality experience where visitors can navigate the premium check-in area at Hamad Int'l Airport, the cabin interior of the aircraft and the business and economy class cabins. The airline is also introducing Sama, the first-ever MeetHuman cabin crew which offers an interactive customer experience by presenting the business and economy class and other areas in a narrated script.

Samsung Galaxy A Samsung Nepal has unveiled its Galaxy A series

smartphones: A73 5G, A53 5G and A33 TG. The series has a brand-new processor, an AI camera with OIS, an IP67 rating and a long-lasting battery life.



vibrant film industry as a location for shooting future series. The group also includes Mehmet Koruturk, grandson of the 5th president of Turkey Fahri Koruturk.

Turkish Airlines flies four times a week directly between Kathmandu and Istanbul with connections to destinations around the world. It is the only European airline serving Kathmandu, and plans to resume daily flights as Nepal's tourism picks up.

fooled all the time"

down. Credible information is a public good, we must reinvest in it.

But will a public hooked on TikTok invest in credible information?

People don't think twice about paying IPSs or for DTH connections, why would they not also pay a part of it to news outlets that they trust? Trusted institutions need a certain amount of financial leeway. Since 2006 we have witnessed a huge squeeze on the traditional media model. This is hurting us in two ways. One, the most credible information has become the most expensive, while the most salacious is the most accessible. For example in the UK, those who want credible information, say the Financial Times, have to pay, but the tabloid *Daily Mail* is free. Tabloidisation of news is the biggest challenge for us, and we don't have a language to confront that. But we can't expect the government to act either, their response is censorship. Silicon Valley corporations already account for 80% of digital revenue. If Facebook, Google and Twitter are going to take it all away, what is the role for professionals across the world working to produce credible information?

Doesn't this erode the independence of the press?

We have to make a distinction between what was happening till 2010 and after. Until 2010, the mainstream media had its own problems, but were still largely independent. Post 2010, the ownership has gone over to big corporations who do not mind losing money as long as they prevent others from entering the field. The rules

have changed in such a way that the political economy has become the corporate economy.

So, is there a future at all for the printed media?

Digital media is here to stay, and we have to negotiate our space within this new environment. But digital platforms do not have a sustainable revenue model. We have a hybrid entity controlled by corporates, and whatever they give is what we receive. Large content generators have been reduced to an appendix. People often cite The New York Times and the Financial Times as examples of successful transitions, but they are only mimicking the Silicon Valley giants. The better model was that of Nepal's community radios which decentralised credible information produced by and for the people. But even that has been eroded with corporate takeovers.

This is the year of elections in Nepal. Three Ms are considered important for the polls: Money, Muscles and Media. Are there lessons from India? Back in the day, the media used to come up with difficult questions. Now it presents only easy answers. Social media like TikTok are leading this trend by producing content with simplified narratives which rob the reality of its complexities. The misuse of media is not new. During India's emergency from 1975-77, the government controlled the media and yet the people eventually voted against Indira Gandhi. Recently we saw media manipulation in West Bengal, but the public voted against the BJP there. The thing is, the will of the people cannot be underestimated or manipulated beyond a point.



CONNECTIVITY IN THE AGE OF DISINFORMATION Keynote Speaker: Ravish Kumar, Group Editor, NDTV India 20 speakers | 200+ participants | Impactful Dialogue

7th May 2022 | Hyatt Place, Red Cross Rd, Tahachal शनिबार, २४ वैशाख | हायट प्लेस, रेडक्रस रोड, ताहाचल





Real Time Cash

तपाईको भरोसा

विदेशबाट आएको रकम नेपालको ३५,००० भन्दा बढी स्थानबाट तुरून्तै प्राप्त गर्नुहोस् ।



IME Pay

IME गरिएको रकम सजिलै आफ्नो IME Pay मोबाइल वालेटमा प्राप्त गर्नुहोस् ।

Account Deposit

नेपालभरि जुनसुकै बैंक, वितीय संस्था, सहकारी संस्थाको खातामा रकम सजिलै जम्मा गर्नुहोस् ।



+977 1 4217600, 4430600 📫 4425800 (Fax) ☑ info@imeremit.com.np A /imeremit @ www.imeremit.com.np







6

Election infowar

Social media, more than the mainstream press, now has the power to make or break candidates

Ramesh Kumar

The use of the social web has found a dominant role in campaigning for local elections, especially as the countdown to the 13 May local elections ticks away.

Wall posters have been replaced by Facebook posts, loudspeakers on jeeps by jingles, and soundbites from candidates on YouTube, and even TikTok music videos.

More than in the previous election in 2017, Nepal's political parties, activists, and the general public have gone online to campaign or promote their preferred candidates. And like in elections of old, this new medium is also used for calumny, fake news and personal attacks.

In April, a video went viral on social media of K P Oli and Bishnu Poudel of the UML apparently being chased out of Butwal by angry locals. The story of the video was that two leaders had gone to Butwal to inaugurate a view tower that had been built instead of a hospital.

But the watchdog group Nepal FactCheck flagged the video as

being from a protest in March 2021 when then Finance Minister Poudel was laying the foundation of an industrial zone in Butwal.

Another video showed Nepali Congress leader Gagan Thapa being harassed by crowds, interspersed with out-of-context clips of him poking fun at the government headed by his own party.

Targeted content such as these show that Nepal is also suffering from the misuse of social media platforms by political parties at election time to further their populist agenda. In the 2013 Constituent Assembly elections, only a quarter of Nepalis had access to the internet, and smartphone use was still very low. Things picked up in the 2017 federal elections, but in 2022 mobile telephony has changed the election landscape.

Deepak Adhikari, editor of South Asia Check, sees an increased impact of social media on elections. Political parties have woken up to its power and are using it to the fullest for propaganda as well as slander on opponents.

"Increased effort by parties to influence voters through social media in campaigning also means that there is a greater risk of the public getting false and misleading information," says Adhikari, adding that political parties, activists, hate groups, foreign powers, as well as digital portals are active participants in the process.

Last July, UML leader Prabhu Sah set up the 'IT Army', after Mahesh Basnet of the same party and former disgraced Information Minister had announced plans to form a 'cyber army'. These troll

Hero

HH H91-96 OIL COOLIN Born for the

toughest



Corporate 9801902885 • Kathmandu Valley Balaju 4961786 • Balkumari 5186184 • Bhaktapur 6613112 • Buddhabari 4104540, 4104541 • Gatthaghar 6638444 • Gyaneshwor 4428970 • Kantipath 5325377, 5366517 • Kumaripati 5408781 Mitra Park 5241224, 5241033 • Ravibhavan 4670812

Outside of Valley Attaria 551244 • Baglung 520174 • Bardaghat 580727 • Bardibas 550552 • Bharatpur 526697 • Bhairahawa 523930 • Bhairahawa 524290 • Biratchowk 545227 • Biratnagar 463754 • Biratnagar 503095 • Birgunj 529667 Birtamod 590195 • Butwal 542725 • Butwal 542725 • Butwal 542725 • Butwal 542725 • Butwal 540739 • Damak 580690 • Damauli 560477 • Dang 563442 • Dhading 9860306631 • Dhangadi 417115 • Dhanushadham 414063 • Dharan 526522 • Gaidakot 502399 Gaur 521109 • Gaushala, Mahottari 556186 • Golbazar 540327 • Gulariya 420099 • Gulmi 520142 • Hetauda 525386 • Inaruwa 566498 • Itahari 587580 • Jaleshwor 521095 • Janakpur 523644 • Janakpur 527426 • Kalaiya 551526 Kapilbastu 550160 • Kawasoti 541001 • Kohalpur 540280 • Lahan 562202 • Lalbandi 501628 • Lamahi 540863 • Malangawa 521711 • Mahendranagar 520745 • Mirchaya 550803 • Narayanghat 532255 • Nepalgunj 551598 • Palpa 400639 Parsa 582862 • Parsa 561825 • Pokhara 589389 • Pokhara 522905 • Pyuthan 460464 • Rajbiraj 523542 • Simara 521520 • Siraha 520442 • Surkhet 525196 • Surunga 551010 • Taulihawa 561330 • Tikapur 560426 • Trisuli 9851105677 Tulsipur 522050 • Urlabari 540074 • Waling 440610

Nation

90%

goes digital

factories were designed to support Prime Minister K P Oli when he was under attack from Pushpa Kamal Dahal from within his own NCP in a power struggle.

The digital media landscape has changed dramatically since 2017, with 65% of Nepalis connected to the worldwide web and 91% owning mobile phones, 65% of which are smartphones. (See graph) Parties are now delivering speeches and holding public meetings on Facebook Live, releasing election songs and campaign materials on YouTube, and lobbying on Facebook and Twitter.

The Sharecast Initiative survey put the number of Facebook users in Nepal at nearly 13 million. Twitter and Instagram accounts are far fewer, but continue to grow. One-third of Nepalis now use Wi-Fi to access the net and 91% mobile internet. Half of Nepali mobile phone users have 4G services,

while three-quarters of the population has access to some form of the internet. Nepalis are therefore relying less and less on the mainstream press for information.

The two major parties have racked up a significant digital media following since the last election. The UML's Facebook account has 357,000 followers while the Nepali Congress has 308,000. Independent mayorial candidate Balen Shah boasts 465,000 followers on Facebook.

The Maoist Centre has lagged behind, and has even fewer followers on the platform than the newly-minted Unified Socialists.

The UML has seven IT experts employed full-time at its headquarters in Kathmandu. The party's official website contains a systematic documentation of its history in government and Parliament, other relevant documents, up-to-date information on party events, while its social media accounts regularly share interviews and live speeches.

It has also launched a separate

"The app is designed so that

 $\mathbf{0}\mathbf{0}\mathbf{0}\mathbf{0}$

13 MAY

LOCAL

ELECTIONS

The Nepali Congress is not as prolific but has also ramped up its social media campaigning as election day closes in. The party used to put

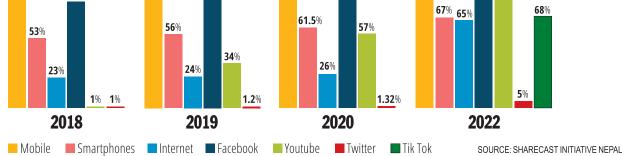
Facebook, but is now concentrating on its 'Let's go door to door' voter campaign on social media.

The alternative Bibeksheel Sajha Party has 107,000 followers on Facebook and 35,000 on Twitter and also uses social media extensively for campaigning. Says IT expert Prakash Jha: "Use of social media has contributed significantly to the political success of Bibeksheel Sajha Party."

Rabindra Mishra (Bibeksheel Sajha), Baburam Bhattarai (JSP) and Gagan Thapa (NC) all prefer Twitter to Facebook, and have more than 1 million followers each. On the

DIGITAL MULTIPLY is dramatic, but TikTok has been snapping at their heels since 2020. All this is due to the steady rise in smartphone usage. 91% <mark>94</mark>% 91% 88% 88.7% 83.7% 81%

Sharecast Initiative Nepal surveys tracked the use of devices and platforms. The dominance of Facebook and rise of YouTube



other hand, the UML's K P Oli who is known for his pithy repartee, is popular on TikTok. His personal account has 17,000 followers, and his videos have received more than 1.2 million likes

Subash Adhikari, an election strategist for the NC in 2017, says targetted Facebook advertising yielded dramatic results, especially as the NC reached out to Facebook consultants in India.

"We took his advice to form our election strategy with Facebook at the centre," Adhikari recalls. "We were able to target demographics in specific geographical areas.

Samriddha Ghimire, who has worked on Indian elections with noted strategist Prashant Kishore. says party leaders in Nepal have no idea or vision on how to conduct an effective digital election campaign.

"All they know is how to spend some money in order to boost Facebook posts," says Ghimire. "There is no election strategy in general, and specially in using digital platforms."

No matter how much social media is used for electioneering in Nepal, Ghimire adds, much of the work is in vain without the collection and analysis of data on voters crucial to charting a strategy.

Says Ghimire: "Statistics is the raw information that drives an electoral strategy, as it is planning on what kind of message to send to potential voters."

Social media, after all, he adds, is just a medium.

"Prashant Kishore's team chose to categorise their target voters from specific communities in a way that the election-related messages were catered to voter's interests and opinions," he remarks. "It is a successful exercise in influencing the vote."

Prakash Jha of GAMA Nepal agrees, adding that most of the candidates and parties lack even the basic skills to listen to voters, or even write up election manifestos.

"Electoral and political communication in Nepal lack the professionalism required to influence voter behaviour," says Jha.

Because of this, electoral communication falls back on misinformation and fake news to attack rivals, rather than to

highlight the party's election agenda.

To this, adds Kundan Aryal at the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at Tribhuvan University: "Although social media has provided an opportunity for a two-way communication, dominance of certain groups has led to the misuse of the platform,"

When social media is used as a propaganda tool to spread false information, it threatens to undermine the very fabric of a liberal democracy, he says.

According to Madhu Acharya of Sharecast Initiative social media has been misused to spread misinformation because mainstream media has not done enough to inform public opinion, making way for the likes of 'reporters' on YouTube to fill the information gap by making a mockery of serious public issues.

"Not everything that one sees on the internet is to be believed," Acharva says: "If media users consider their source of information, it could stop the spread of misleading and false content to a great extent." 🔽



app for its cadre after last year's general convention.

communication among party cadres is centralised," explains Bishnu Rijal, head of the UML's publicity department. "More people on social

media prefer to watch short videos or live speeches, to reading long content."

up paid advertising on

Trekking to save Nepal's snow leopards

With the mountains rested after Covid-19, trekkers return to Dolpo for the big cat conservation

• Sonam Choekyi Lama in Dolpo



t is morning here at 4,000m, and an overnight blizzard has left everything white. All around us, the outlines of the mountains of Dolpo have been softened by new snow. Below, Phoksundo Lake shimmers inky blue.

The slushy snow makes it easier to look for snow leopard tracks. The cats are elusive enough, but their fluffy camouflage makes them hard to see even if they are nearby.

'That the Snow Leopard is, that it is here, that its frosty eyes watch us from the mountain — that is enough. And in the not-seeing, I am content.' These lines from Peter Matthiessen's *The Snow Leopard* echo in my mind. What does this creature that is so hard to see look like in person?

It is the Zen-like idea of the 'notseeing' that holds such symbolism in Matthiessen's book. Its powerful description of the animal that is there but not there, that you look for but cannot see. It reminds us of our own ephemeral presence in the eternity of nature: of being here today, gone tomorrow.

Like the tracks on the snow that indicate that the being is nearby, its proof will be erased soon enough by the warmth of the sun. All that will remain is the memory of its presence, and the flash of spotted fur on an icy crag.

The snow leopard (*Panthera uncia*) is the world's most elusive and rare cat. It is sparsely distributed across 12 countries in Central Asia and the Himalaya, adapted to its high and rugged range at elevations of 3,000-4,500m.

The snow leopard has become not just a professional quest for my sister Tshiring Lhamu Lama, but also a personal journey. She is a snow leopard researcher and conservationist, and founder of Snow Leopard Journeys.

She invited me to join her to for three winter months in 2020 in our birthplace near Phoksundo Lake to document her research, and to plan for a Snow Leopard Conservation Trek which is now gradually picking up as trekkers return after the Covid-19 hiatus.

There is an easier way to see a snow leopard: through camera traps that we installed. But there is nothing to beat the sight of a snow leopard in the flesh. It was after a month of stalking and tracking that I had my first encounter.



Cats come out of their cra

Nepal records first sightings of three wild cat species outside protected areas

Researchers have recorded three species of wild carnivores in Upper Humla in north-west Nepal, marking the first time they have been seen outside protected areas in the country.

Sightings of the Steppe Polecat, (*Mustela eversmanii*, actually a weasel) Pallas's Cat (*Octolobus manul*), and Eurasian Lynx (*Lynx lynx*) were documented on the Limi Valley from July to September 2021, representing the westernmost distribution range of the three species in Nepal.

Scientists from the Himalayan Wolves Project and Resources Himalaya Foundation recorded the sightings during the fieldwork of their research, 'Sustainable



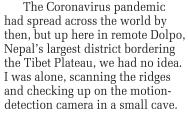


ecosystem protection: Conservation of the wildlife communities of Upper Humla through an understanding of wolf behaviour and local communities'.

Nepal's Department of Forest and Soil Conservation, Department of National Parks and Wildlife Conservation, Green Governance Nepal, and the Division Forest Office in Humla's Namkha Rural

PHOTOS: HIMALAYAN WOLVES PROJECT

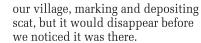




It was 6pm and already getting dark when, right at the cave's entrance, was a large shadowy shape trailing a long curly tail. We were face-to-face. The leopard was as surprised to see me as I was. My happiness at seeing this apparition overcame my fear. Was it real? Was it an illusion? Did I really see it?

In slow motion, I stretched my hand to grab my camera. The leopard noticed my movement, and leapt away noiselessly, disappearing among the cliffs above. I did manage a grainy photo as it bolted off – visual proof for myself that I had actually seen what I had just seen.

We sighted snow leopards four more times that winter, its haunting yowl echoed from the cliffs overlooking Phoksundo Lake. Even when we did not hear it, the leopard's ghostly presence was all around us. It would pass through



KATHMANDI

"It looks like he is challenging us, teasing us, playing hide and seek," Tshiring said.

My sister has been to every corner of Dolpo to research snow leopards. We were all inspired by George Schaller and Peter Matthiessen, who passed through our village of Phoksundo in 1973, long before either of us was born.

Schaller's study of the blue sheep and Matthiessen's *The Snow Leopard* have been the inspiration for Tshiring's conservation work. In 2016, she joined Schaller's team which was retracing his 1973 trip, and had a chance to carry forward her study on snow leopards.

"People in Dolpo would ask me why we need to save predators that kill our yaks and sheep, and which do not give us milk and food," Tshiring said. She tried to explain to the herders the importance of keeping an ecological balance, and how the snow leopard is at the top of the food chain.

She has seen two snow leopard cubs being dragged out of the lair and killed, and we have a camera **SPOT THE SPOTS:** Snow leopards are masters of camouflage, as evidenced by this cat on a crag in Dolpo (*left*).

Conservationists set up camera traps along paths above Phoksundo Lake and the endangered Himalayan feliness took these selfies and videos of themselves. This one (*above*) is eating a blue sheep it just killed.

Tshiring and Pamma Gurung returning to camp after tracking snow leopards in Dolpo. (*below, left*).

shot of another snow leopard trailing a nylon rope from a trap around its waist. This has given her work even more of a sense of urgency, and she is convinced that snow leopard conservation can only happen if the local communities are involved in protecting the animal.

As trekking is becoming the mainstay of Dolpo's economy now, it can attract premium tourists from all over the world, bringing jobs and income to locals. That may convince them about the importance of conservation.

https://snowleopardjourney.com/ snowleopardjourneys20@gmail.com



Watch the trailer for the documentary about conservationists tracking and camera trapping the elusive mountain ghosts of Dolpo with rare footage of the snow leopard on patrol over Phoksundo Lake.

Fishing felines

• Rama Mishra

In January this year, my husband sent me an image of a small dead cat. A forest officer in West Nawalparasi had emailed it to him to find out what it was. I recognised immediately from its pelt that it was a fishing cat (*Prionailurus viverrinus*) possibly male.

As a researcher of fishing cats, I was shocked by the discovery. Early next morning, I left for Nawalparasi to inspect the site at Pratappur where forest guard Ram Piyari led me to where he had buried the carcass of the cat.

The cause of the death could not be determined, but when Piyari had found it, he said there was blood coming out of its mouth. Based on the size and other physical features, it was possibly a young (sub-adult) male weighing less than 5kg. It was found on a downward slope some 20m from a gravel road, and did not have any scars that suggested a struggle or fight. So the most logical

conclusion was that the cat

them to the District Forest Office in Bara, which then transferred them to PNP.

From there, the kittens were taken to National Trust for Nature Conservation, Biodiversity Conservation Centre in Chitwan, but only one of them survived (*pictured below*). The good news is that the cat will soon be released into the wild.

This, however is proof of a chronic lack of awareness about small cat species and proper rescue centres that could provide optimum care and safely rehabilitate them into the wild.

Another similar case is from April 2021 when a fishing cat was trapped in Gurusinghe in Kapilvastu. The locals had set up the snares to capture a wild boar, but it caught the cat instead. Fortunately, it was safely rescued and released into the wild.

These endangered cats face threats in Nepal's densely populated Tarai either because of unplanned infrastructure or traps laid by animal poachers. Most incidents go unnoticed



was a roadkill. Growing up, my dog had died in similar circumstances after an autorickshaw ran over it. Since then, I have witnessed other wildlife being killed on highways.

Fishing cats are mediumsized wild cats from South and Southeast Asia, living near wetlands and are found 'fishing' for prey at ponds, rivers and lakes. They are an indicator species, meaning their presence signifies that the body of water is ecologically RAMA MISHRA

due to limited knowledge about the species and its significance.

As the name suggests, fish make up a large part of the fishing cat's diet, but they also prey on smaller animals and insects harmful to agriculture. But lack of awareness means farmers and fishermen consider them a nuisance and kill them.

Globally, over 90% of the fishing cat's potential range lies outside the protected areas. In Nepal as well, around 70% of its potential habitat in Tarai is outside national parks, adding to the anthropogenic threats Even within their native habitat, the cats are much less wellstudied than their charismatic cousins, the tiger and the leopard. To ensure the long-term survival of fishing cats and other small cats, we need to remove the threats to their existence by raising awareness about their species, ecology and behaviour. This might deter people from randomly picking the kittens up from the farmland forest. Similarly, drivers should be mindful not to over-speed to prevent roadkill. And more importantly, we need to discourage bushmeat. Fishing cats are integral to the ecosystem, and the only way to help them thrive in the wild for future generations is to educate and involve the local communities in their conservation. 💟



auiuu



municipality supported the project. While the Steppe Polecat (*pictured left*) was documented through live observation, records of the Pallas's Cat and Eurasian Lynx were found through cameratrapping surveys.

The research is the first sighting of the Steppe Polecat since it was recorded as a new species for Nepal in Upper Mustang within the Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA) in 2014. Furthermore, this is the first live observation of the species, with previous records having been nighttime cameratracked images.

The Steppe Polecat is a native species despite Nepal not being included in the IUCN range map of the species. Indeed, its sighting marks the southernmost recording of the mammal in all of Asia.

Meanwhile, three Pallas's Cats — two adults with a cub — were found during camera-trapping surveys — the first family photo of the species in Nepal (*pictured left*). Previous images had only been able to capture single mammals.

The Pallas's Cat was recorded as a new species from Nepal from ACA two years before the Steppe Polecat in 2012. The wildcat was named *Tashi biralo* in Nepal after conservationist Tashi R Ghale, who captured the species near Tilicho Lake in Manang while installing camera traps to monitor snow leopards. The mammal has been sighted in Dolpo as well.

Unlike the Steppe Polecat and the Pallas's Cat — which have been categorised as 'Data Deficient' in Nepal — the Eurasian Lynx is a 'protected priority species', and is assessed as being vulnerable. Confirmed records of the animals have been made from ACA, Dhorpatan Hunting Reserve and Shey-Phoksundo National Park, but while local sightings from Upper Humla were documented as early as 2013, scientists had been unable to find conclusive evidence of their presence in the region until 2021.

The Steppe Polecat, Pallas's Cat and Eurasian Lynx add to the diverse range of wild mammals in the Trans-himalayan habitats in Upper Humla, which include the Tibetan argali, Tibetan gazelle, Tibetan fox, Himalayan wolf, musk deer and the snow leopard.

The region is home to the largest population of the Kiang (Tibetan wild ass) as well as to the last remaining wild yaks in Nepal.

mu.

But habitat loss, destruction of wetlands and poaching have contributed to their rapid decline in Asia, and the species is listed as Vulnerable on the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) Red List.

In December 2021, I was involved in collaring fishing cats in Sunsari district to understand their ecology in the human dominated landscape. The research included their movement patterns between fish farming communities along the Kosi River.

One day I received an image of two kittens from the Parsa National Park (PNP) Office, asking to verify their species. They were unmistakably *P. viverrinus* kittens, recognisable through their yellowish-grey fur and black lines and spots.

Some farmers in Bara had taken them to their house from the sugarcane field where the kittens had been found. After a few days, the farmers handed

Rama Mishra is a PhD Candidate at the University of Antwerp, Belgium, and is involved in the Terai Fishing Cat Project, Nepal.

EVENTS



Machhindranath Festival Colloquially known as Bunga dyo jatra, the annual month-long Machhindranath chariot festival starts this week from Gabahal after two years of relatively low-key celebrations. 4 May onwards, Patan

Sound Healing

The 20-hours professional sound healing and singing bowl meditation course over three days organised by Kaivalya yoga and meditation. 8am-12pm, 15-19 May, Paknajol, 9851060049

The Art Market

Showcase your creativity and artistic skills at the Art Market, attuned to live music. 7 May, 3pm-7pm, Piano Piano South, Sanepa

Book Launch

Check out Mera Publication's latest Daring to Dream: Sherpa Women climbing K2, Nuptse & Lhotse in Nepal and Gaiety of Spirit: The Sherpas of Everest at the launch event. 8 May, 4pm-5.45pm, Taragoan Museum, Boudha



NepalQuake

Attend photographer Kevin Burbriski's exhibition of pictures taken in the aftermath of the tragic 2015 Nepal earthquake. 7 May, 2pm onwards, Taragoan Museum, Boudha

MUSIC

Enjoy Friday night with five bands: Cheese,

6 May, 5pm onwards, Beers N' Cheers

Open Mic Night

Los Ktm Gatos

their best songs

01-5409070

Spend your weeked with Los Ktm Gatos

Spaghetti Westerns as they jam and rock

7 May, 7.30pm onwards, Shisha Lounge and Bar

taking the stage this Friday at Uptown Music

6pm onwards, 6 May, free entrance, bookings:

members Dark Surf, Spy, Spooky and

Music fest with Balen

Festival with some of his biggest hits.

Bibhuti, kidsandheroes, Harip Tatwo and The

Himalayan Connection, all at Beers N' Cheers.

Attend the first ever Open Mic Night hosted

showcase your talents on the stage yourself.

by Rumi's Bistro and, if you feel like it,

8 May, 6.30pm onwards, 9849537947

Bangwagon

(01) 5524860





Hotel Baha

For those who don't want to venture far, book a stay at this hotel located in the heart of Bhaktapur and surrounded by temples. Explore the cultural heritage of the old town, enjoying the peaceful ambience. Bhaktapur, (01)6616810

Temple Tree Resort

A boutique hotel that promises world class service, relaxing atmosphere, comfortable accomodations and great food. The rooms are designed in traditional architecture with modern touches. Lakeside, Pokhara, (61) 465819



Jagatpur Lodge

The lodge nestled in 8 acres of jungle grassland has special tents which equals 5-star rooms with a private viewing deck. Jagatpur, Chitwan, (01)4221711

Dhulikhel Mountain Resort

This resort blends together culture and comfort seamlessly with well-designed bungalows and Newa flourishes visible throughout the establishment. Dhulikhel (01) 4420774

The Old Inn

The bed and breakfast place is a cozy getaway with a scenic view of Annapurna, Langtang and beyond. Its timber and brick designs are reminiscent of old Newa houses. Bandipur, Tanahu, (065)520110



Sam's One Tree Cafe Sam's One Tree Cafe has mouthwatering appetizers, perfect atmosphere and a big tree like the name suggests. Their sizzlers are a must-have.

12pm-9.30pm, Darbar Marg, (01) 4222636

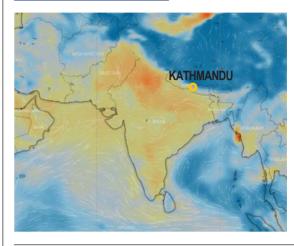
WEEKEND WEATHER



The record April heat wave in the India-Pakistan plains this year has raised the water vapour concentration in the atmosphere. And as the hot air rises up the Himalayan foothills it turns into convective systems that brought thunderstorm and rain this week all over Nepal. This much-needed rain was good for the corn crop, doused forest fires and brought down the mercury. There is a cyclonic circulation developing over the Bay of Bengal that is expected to make landfall on the Odisha-West Bengal coast on 7 May. This system will bring more pre-monsoon showers next week, falling mainly in the evenings and night



AIR QUALITY INDEX



Kathmandu's Air Quality Index (AQI) saw a marked improvement this week with the first pre-monsoon showers that washed down smoke from wildfires and the Valley's own pollution. With more rain forecast into the weekend and next week, Kathmandu's AQI will steadily improve after being in the hazardous red zone all of the past month. However, there is much farm fires in the grain belt of India and Pakistan as the wheat is harvested and fields prepared for paddy. Northern India also saw some severe dust storms this week. This combination of smoke and dust will still be keeping Nepal's skies hazy despite the rains.



this time he brings friends along (talk about character development). Set a few months after the events of Spider-Man: No Way Home which saw Strange flying over the Statue of Liberty, sewing back the rips in space and time, this 28th follow-up in the MCU places the familiar neurosurgeon-turned-Master-of-the-Mystic-Arts in entirely unfamiliar territories – yes: territories, in plural. Allies, both old and new, appear (we are mostly talking about Wanda here, and Wong) as the superheroes travel into the explosive psychedelic ride that is the Multiverse, and Strange faces a mysterious adversary. Directed by Sam Raimi of the original Spider-Man trilogy, Multiverse of Madness also marks the appearance of Marvel's gay teen superhero America Chavez – a first for an MCU film. Starring Benedict Cumberbatch, Elizabeth Olsen, Chiwetel Ejiofor, Benedict Wong, Xochitl Gomez, Rachel McAdams and Patrick Stewart

Doctor Strange returns for stranger adventures – and

कोभिड-१९ विरुद्धको खोप सरकारले नि:शुल्क लगाइरहेको छ।



अबैध रूपमा खोप बेच्ने र किनेर लगाउने दुवैलाई प्रचलित कानन बमोजिम कडा कारबाही हनेछ । कोरोना विरुद्धको खोप बेचबिखन भएको थाहा पाउने जो कोहीले स्थानीय प्रधासन, प्रहरी कार्यालय, पालिका वा स्वास्थ्य कार्यालयमा यथार्थ जानकारी गराउन् हन अनुरोध छ ।

DINING





(01) 5443554, 9813556945

Music classes

details

Sign up to learn bansuri, madal, tabla

and western instruments including piano,

guitar, drum, bass, saxophone and violin at

Kathmandu Jazz Conservatory. Call for more

Tantalise your taste buds with Attic's signature Royal Aloo and other tasty dishes from the comfort of home. 7am-9pm, Gvaneshwor, Kathmandu, (01) 4417843



Kathmandu mayor candidate Balen Shah is

Everest Arirang Enjoy variety of Korean dishes seen in K-dramas including tteok-bokki, gimbap and samgyeopsal at Everest Arirang. Ihamsikhel, (01) 5438548



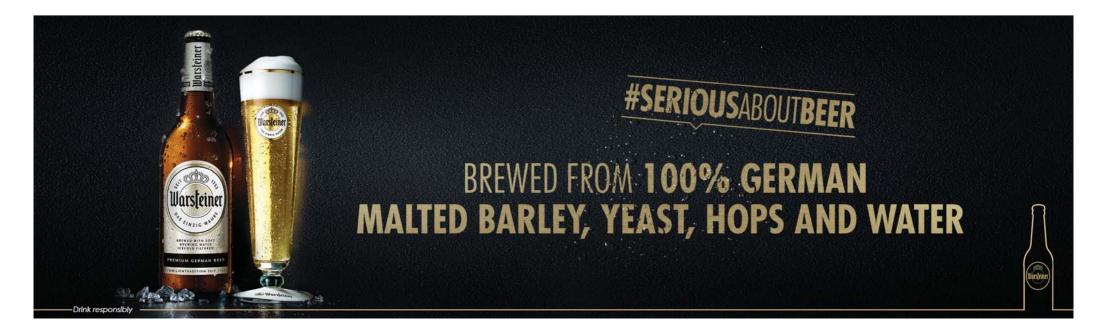
Belgian Waffles Get delightful waffles delivered to your doorstep from the Belgian Waffles. Call them, or order through Foodmandu. 9843108194

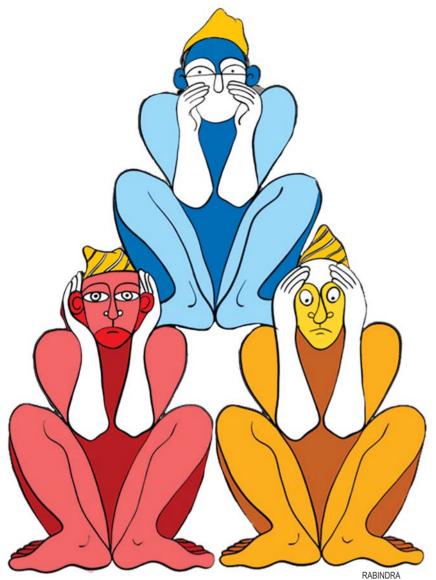
Anatolia

Anatolia's Indian and Turkish are packed with spices and an unforgettable assortment of flavours. From the Mutton Kofta Curry to the Baklava, you will keep wanting more. All the food is halal. Thamel, (01) 4258757









J B Biswokarma

O n 25 May 2020, George Floyd was murdered in the US city of Minneapolis by a white police office Derek Chauvin. Witness and security camera videos showing Chauvin kneeling on 46-year-old Floyd's neck quickly went viral across the internet, prompting worldwide protests against police brutality, lack of police accountability and racism.

Two days prior in Nepal, six young Dalit boys were chased by a mob in Rukum district, pelted with rocks, into the Bheri River where they drowned. This too led to widespread outrage in the country. Activists mobilised through social media against caste-based discrimination and classism in Nepal.

Nepal's mainstream press has also started making up for lost time by covering structural discrimination against those marginalised and traditionally excluded by society.

This change has come about because it is the discriminated communities themselves which have Madhesis and religious minorities are taking to the internet to voice themselves, as are social justice activists not necessarily from those communities.

Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and TikTok are populated with voices of those who are struggling against injustice and discrimination, and to highlight unfair and unconstitutional laws. They no longer have to depend on the mainstream press to speak out.

However, the internet is a double-edged knife. The same platforms that give us a voice are also used by bigots, chauvinists, racists and misogynists to spread hatred and intolerance.

The rapid spread of mobile telephony in Nepal means that the devices platforms that can be used to share information, opinion and points of view are in many hands. Unfortunately it also means that it is in the hands of those who cannot tolerate diversity, justice and respect for the equal rights of all citizens.

There is also the digital divide within Nepal. The rural areas, the minorities and the marginalised

Digital discrimination

Increasing internet and social media use fosters exchange and visibility, but comes with its own pitfalls

politics, society and culture. To be sure, this is not just happening in Nepal. Right-wing and conservative groups around the world have weaponised the internet to keep people in the margins suppressed. In India, for example, Muslims and Dalits are continuously subjected to chauvinism, bigotry and intolerance, and any voice of dissent is either weak or quickly smothered by trolls and bot armies.

In Nepal, too, the disproportionate access to the internet means that it has amplified the already loud voices of the privileged class. Any discourse that takes place in the 'cloud' revolves around their own comfort zones and belief-systems, as their majority 'followers' also belong to the same circles. Whenever a minority voice so much as whispers about injustice and discrimination, swarms of cyber hornets mass up to attack. The vitriol and abuse is unabashedly directed at the marginalised and downtrodden who dare to speak up.

Whether it is questioning Prithvi Narayan Shah's expansion campaign or Madhav Prasad Ghimire's poems, social media hornets quickly take to the air to paralyse the debate. Algorithms then ensure that they preach to the converted in their own echo chambers, where there is no dialogue. Despite Constitutional guarantees of equality and justice, Nepali society has intersecting layers of discrimination based on caste, gender, ethnicity, colour, language, religion and region. Yes, the internet has given people from these communities a voice, but it has amplified the voices of the dominant groups even more.

There are many who speak out on social media platforms about the caste-system, patriarchy, linguistic and regional discrimination. Instead of democratising information by leveling the playing field, the internet has actually perpetuated the unequal status quo.

The Constitution has provisions for inclusive representation so that all groups, castes, genders, ethnicities have equal participation in the democracy. Yet, Nepal's cybersphere does not reflect this ideal.

A special kind of hypocrisy is visible among many social media-users who embrace a modern, progressive technology, while fanatically holding on to the conservative, patriarchal and oppressive ideals. They raise concerns over affirmative action, and insult Dalits over their quotas. They worry that inclusive politics will weaken their authoritarian majority, and try to discredit any discussion or political criticism online by labelling it as a 'dollarised' liberal agenda.

One can find much evidence of affront and abuse against the marginalised communities online, especially hate-speech targeted at particular group and ethnicity, polarising society and dividing it further. Communities that already suffer injustice in real life are now subjected to such prejudice online as well. There can be no social reform if discrimination, threats and exclusion is perpetuated. In fact, as long as there is no economic and political environment for every Nepali citizen to exercise their constitutional rights with self-respect, we will not be able to address the deprivation, discrimination and inequity prevalent in society.

This calls for a serious public discourse, that is rhetorically and intellectually sound, and brings together diverse voices on Nepal's socio-politics, economy and culture. Such debate is almost impossible online.

Nepal's intellectuals, influencers and opinion-makers must amplify their voices with inclusive and civil dialogue, even if it is within the prejudiced landscape of the physical and online public sphere.

JB Biswokarma writes on the struggles of the Dalit community, marginalised populations and socio-political issues. His book Dalits in the Nepali Media: Participation and Content was published in 2013.



found a voice through the internet that has leveled the playing field in terms of communication. They have demanded accountability in the socio-political arena, through inclusive, democratic and proportionate representation.

Posts on social media platforms demand fair treatment, and no discrimination by the government, political parties and communities. Activists from Nepal's underrepresented populations, Dalits, women, Indigenous people, who are the lower sections of the socio-economic ladder have less access to social media. Internet bandwidth and speed is also lower than in urban, richer areas of the country. Mobile data subscription may also be out of reach of many.

This means that the majority of internet and social media users in Nepal belong to the traditionally dominant communities who largely post, share, comment or retweet to further strengthen their existing biases and influence in Nepali





Srijana Lama was elected deputy at age 22, and is running for the top job

settlements. Female deputies of municipalities like Srijana across Nepal have proven themselves in the past five years to settle land disputes in Siraha, resolve domestic disputes in Bardia, and Srijana herself has prevented child marriage in Panchthar and addressed domestic violence in Doti.

Srijana Lama is a multi-tasker and has also monitored, and laid special emphasis on the education status of her municipality and improving health services. Even though she and the chair were from different parties, she felt that shouldn't stand in the way of working together for the public good.

Even as the two parties drifted apart at the centre and the UML went from being in Nepal's government to an opposition continue if she is elected as chair for the next five years.

Her goals include building and maintaining roads, bridges, hydropower plants and giving subsidies to farmers as well as finding access to market for produce.

"The village has a lot of resources compared to other rural municipalities, and it can be utilised through agriculture, small businesses and building infrastructures to promote it," says Srijana.

Her main goal if elected is to utilise Naukunda's abundant water resources by bottling and selling it in Kathmandu to generate revenue to fund her projects. "Just the income and self-reliance that this will bring our community will be huge," she says.



Why fewer women may be elected this time

Anita Shrestha

A fter having served five years in office, Manju Devi Gurung was once again chosen by the UML as its deputy mayor candidate for Pokhara. Gurung had initially opposed her party's decision because she wanted to contest as mayor, but later re-registered her candidacy.

She is one of the many grassroots politicians who are actively pushing back at the male leadership of the parties who consider deputy mayors as incapable of taking on the top post.

Indeed, even as the Election Commission records show an increase in the number of female candidates for mayor and rural municipality chair, the appointment of women to top political positions will likely decrease this time.

In 2017, seven women were elected mayors and 276 were elected deputy mayors, while 11 female leaders were appointed chairpersons and 424 vice-chairpersons of rural municipalities.

While 345 women across the country had run for mayors and rural municipality chiefs in 2017, 466 women have registered their candidacies for the top position this time. Similarly, 3,359 women have filed for the position of deputy mayor and deputy chief, up from 3,291 in the last election.

The three biggest parties — UML, Nepali Congress (NC) and the Maoist Centre have put up more female candidates for the top post this time. UML has fielded 27 women for mayors and 28 for village chiefs or chairperson, up from eight and 13 respectively in 2017.

The NC had nominated 16 candidates for mayor and 10 women candidates for village chair in 2017. This time 12 women have been fielded for mayor and 19 for chairpersons. The Maoists had 17 mayoral candidates and 18 village chair candidates last election. This time, there are 18 mayor hopefuls and 29 women running for village chairs.

In 2017, the UML had 662 female candidates, NC had 636 and the Maoists had 604 for deputy mayor and deputy chair. This time, the UML has nominated 670 women, NC 475 women, and the Maoists 475.



While the UML has slightly increased the number of women nominated for deputy positions, the number of women running for deputy positions from the NC and Maoist Centre have decreased.

Political analyst Indra Adhikari says that although the increase in female candidates for top local office is a positive step, there is a catch: "Nepal's female mayors and chairs have done remarkable work in the last five years. Given their achievements and potential, it was natural for the number of women candidates to increase, but they have been sidelined from leadership positions by the central party leadership citing political reasons."

Indeed, the electoral alliance within the governing 5-party coalition led by Prime Minister Sher Bahadur's Nepali Congress has meant that many municipality tickets are going entirely to male candidates because they are from different parties. There is no constitutional provision to select candidates of different genders in election partnerships.

The male-dominated party hierarchy has taken advantage of this loophole to nominate their cronies, and given women fewer tickets. Says Adhikari: "Women have been given the fundamental right to proportional inclusion by Nepal's constitution. Yet we do not see that being implemented."

• Himnath Devkota in Rasuwa

12

Srijana Lama was elected deputy chair of Naukunda Rural Municipality of Rasuwa district five years ago when she was just 22. She is so enthused by what she could achieve in her tenure that she is campaigning to be voted for top job in the 13 May local election.

Srijana is from the UML, and is standing against her current

boss, Nurbu Sangbo Ghale from Nepali Congress. She believes she can work much better to serve her village, and also continue the social projects she has initiated.

Srijana comes from a political family, and has been immersed in local issues from a young age, inspired by her father who was a former ward chair from the UML party.

By the time she was in Grade 8, she was already elected to the student council and was a key member of the UML's youth association. She was then member of the district committee of the previous Maoist–UML alliance.

Being active in rescue, relief and reconstruction in the Naukunda region which was badly hit in the 2015 earthquake gave her confidence in her capacity to serve the public, she says. After being elected as vice-chair in 2017, she mobilised the Judicial Committee and resolved many local disputes from property claims to divorce party, Srijana has still managed to remain committed to her focus on the socio-economic employment of citizens in this scenic but rugged part of Nepal 40km north of Kathmandu.

"Once elected, we will initiate skills-based trainings to produce women entrepreneurs, clean kitchen programs, and have health insurance for pregnant women," says Sirjana Lama who plans to rescue women facing domestic violence, start a legal aid women protection fund, and begin women prosperity and development programs.

In her new electoral platform, Lama has now included youthcentered program so that jobs are created locally and young men and women do not have to migrate

to the cities or abroad for work.

What matters most to people of Naukunda are jobs, proper roads, farming support, health and education, which Sirjana Lama intends to Lama is currently pursuing a Master degree in Political Science and Bachelors of Law (LLB) in Kathmandu, and she feels that having educated women in leadership positions will improve governance.

In the five years since transitioning into the federal system, Nepal's local governments, especially women leaders have garnered much trust among voters.

A new constitutional provision meant that in the 2017 election, many deputy mayors and chairs were women, with some municipalities even having female mayors and deputy mayors.

Although many want to stand for mayor and chair in this election, coalition compromises for candidacies will probably mean there will be fewer women leading municipalities and wards.

Despite this, Srijana Lama is confident about her ability and optimistic that her voters will reward her with another term. Dila Sangraula Pant, an NC MP, says the number of women candidates has decreased because of the five-party electoral alliance as there are no laws or mandates requiring women to be nominated in election partnerships.

MP Amrita Thapa of the Maoist Centre agrees that the current political equation has barred capable women from running for top positions in the local election despite elected women having proven their mettle in the last five years.

The number of women in municipal leadership is also expected to decrease. Adhikari says this is a reflection of the patriarchy's distrust of female leadership. She wants the 33% female participation rule to apply to mayor and chairperson appointments as well.

"Nepal's political parties and society at large have not yet created an environment in which women can be trusted in key political and leadership roles," she says. "Male candidates are automatically picked because parties fear that female candidates will bring in fewer votes. Women are not in a position to lobby for tickets, they still do not have access to inheritance, and thus are unable to raise election money."

The UML's Bishnu Rijal admits that Nepali politics has been dominated by men in top leadership positions resulting in maledominated committees within parties, while women have always been relegated to supporting roles. "This is what has led to women candidates being less acceptable to the political leadership at election time. Although women are nominated and contest elections, their participation has not been accepted wholeheartedly. Political parties need internal reform to change this mind set."



Baby on her back, Dalit mother on campaign trail

Mina Biswakarma is standing for municipality chair in Myagdi to uplift her community

• Anita Bhetwal

ith just a week to go for Nepal's local elections, 28-year-old Mina Biswakarma is on the campaign trail with a three-year-old son strapped to her back.

She is a candidate from the Maoist-Centre party for chair of Raghuganga Rural Municipality of Myagdi district, and is going door to door asking for votes not just from her own Dalit community but from others as well.

"I have suffered the same problems you have, I am going to try to solve them if you vote for me," she says simply as she reaches the remote village of Phuldanda.

Biswakarma knows the problems of her community well. Aside from poverty, she has experienced discrimination because of her caste, as well as for being a woman. Her party wanted to change that with the bullet, but she now seeks to uplift her people through the ballot.

Mina was just six years old when the Maoist launched their armed struggle. Myagdi was the scene of one of the fiercest battles in 2004 when about 200 people were killed in the attack on the nearby district capital of Beni.

"There are layers and layers of problems



we face in the village. There is discrimination against Dalits for being untouchable, there is domestic violence, us women have to wait for hours at the village tap for a bucket of water," she says. "I saw no progress after

the last local election five years ago, so I decided to stand for municipal chair myself," she adds.

Mina lost her mother as a child, and was in Grade 10 when the family married her off. She then left her studies and volunteered in the local Mother's Group where she earned the respect of peers for her commitment to social reform.

Despite being involved in community projects, she found that society's problems are structural and decided that she had to get into politics to bring about real change for the poor, the downtrodden and women in her constituency.

Mina's chances for winning are good. Most of the nearly 14,000 voters in Raghuganga are Dalit, and because of the outmigration of men, more than 55% of the voter's list is made up of women.

Candidates from the other parties are supported by local traders and businesses, and spend lavishly on elaborate public meetings with free lunches for attendees.



KNOCKING ON DOORS: Mina Biswakarma is campaigning for chair of Raghuganga Rural Municipality with her 3-year-old son strapped to her back. When Gau Bahadur touched Mina's feet with his head to bless her campaign (*above, right*), she was overcome with tears. This photo was widely shared in Nepal's social media this week.

Mina Biswakarma then had an emotional conversation with her elderly relative Gau Bahadur in Phuldanda of Myagdi district. He said he was proud of her achievement, and wanted to touch the feet that got her where she is.



PHOTOS: RIM KATUWAL

"I don't even have money to hire a jeep and loudspeakers or to print posters, so I just walk door to door as much as I can," says Mina who is not deterred by villagers who make fun of her simple campaign style.

She has a list of priorities if she gets elected. Top on it is affordable healthcare, especially for women, and to help raise living standards of the poorest and most underserved families.

As she walks past elegant stone houses of Phuldanda, Mina is greeted by an elderly relative, Gau Bahadur Biswakarma, who kneels on the ground and respectfully touches her feet with his head.

Mina is overwhelmed by this gesture, and starts weeping uncontrollably, wiping tears with her red shawl. Being a Dalit activist, Gau Bahadur had never got the chance to stand for election, and wanted to bless Mina and her campaign.

The photo of Gau Bahadur touching Mina's feet has been widely shared on Nepal's social media, accompanied by many messages of support and best wishes for her candidacy.

Says Mina: "I think he was happy that even though he never got the chance to stand for elections, that I did even though I am a woman from a poor Dalit family. He touched my feet because it was these legs that have brought me so far."

Mina Biswakarma's funding is completely crowdsourced with small donations from her community.



SIPRADI TRADING PVT. LTD., An ISO 9001:2015 and ISO 45001:2018 Certified Company Thapathali 9802000757



Himal Media Mela 2022

Event on 7 May will mark the 25th anniversary of Himalmedia and examine challenges faced by the press in Nepal

A cross the world and the region, democracy is in retreat. The three pillars of a democratic state — an independent judiciary, the legislature and the executive, are all teetering.

The media is supposed to be the fourth pillar to hold up the superstructure of democracy. But the press is being suppressed, or its dire economic straits make it vulnerable to pressure from the state, corporate interests and owners who do not value its public service role.

Even before the Covid-19 pandemic, media companies were in trouble: readers were moving to the Internet, advertisers followed, and revenue went into free fall. Google and Facebook ads took whatever was left. (*See Editorial, page 2*)

Nepal's economy was starting to revive when the Russian invasion of Ukraine hiked the price of imported petroleum, eroding Nepal's foreign exchange reserves and widening the balance of payments gap. The government banned imports of 10 'non-essential' items. All this has had a knock-on effect on advertising, indirectly hitting the bottom line of media companies. At a time when countries need a free and independent media more than ever before to defend open society, the press is in a financially fragile state. Nepal is still one of the freer countries in the region, but a weak press during an election year could mean that pluralism is trumped by populism.

Nepal's media has seen periods of total censorship, and times when it has been protected by a democratic leadership. After 2017 especially, journalists have been taking seriously their adversarial role with investigative reports, exposes and reportage, highlighting the plight of citizens at the margins.

Nepal's media industry, supported by private sector advertising, has become the amplifier of every sphere of development: health, education, business, science, culture and heritage, the arts and technology.

With the speed of mobile data increasing and prices coming down, the consumption pattern for entertainment and information is being transformed. (*Pages 10-11*) The publishing industry is no more a one-way street from newsrooms to doorsteps. It is now a twoway interactive super-highway of websites, apps and comment threads.

How is the press going to survive with an obsolete business model? What are some successful ways journalists have adapted to this change? How is the legacy media faring as it tries to straddle the old and the new? What is the future for digital portals? What of information overload, what will it mean for governance and democracy? How is Nepal's online media going to ride the wave? How can media literacy help Nepal's young digital natives?

These questions will be debated at the Ncell Himal Media Mela 2022 on 7 May in Kathmandu. The one-day event is organised by Himalmedia to mark World Press Freedom Week and its own 25th anniversary.

"Nepal^Ts media does not have an industry event to address the existing challenges and new technologies. Himal Media Mela aims to fill that void, and we hope that media across Nepal will take collective ownership of the event," says Amar Gurung, CEO of Himalmedia, adding that the event will be held annually.

This unique one-day conference

is by the media for the media and will have more than 200 senior editors, digital journalists, media educators as speakers and guests.

Magsaysay Award-winning journalist Ravish Kumar, group editor of India's NDTV, will deliver the keynote, and the day will end with comic relief and some media bashing by comedian Manoj Gajurel. The proceedings will be uploaded on YouTube.

Rabin Giri, editor of *Himal* monthly says: "This event is important to keep Nepal open and to exercise our right to freedom of expression. It will also serve as a platform to connect local-level journalism with international practice, as well as a knowledgesharing platform."

THE WALKLEY FOUNDATION



Connectivity in the Age of Disinformation

Ravish Kumar, group editor of NDTV India will be introduced by Chandra Kishore, Chair of the Centre for Investigative Journalism-Nepal, and deliver a keynote on the state of media in South Asia. Later in the day, Kumar will be in conversation with Kanak Mani Dixit in the afternoon and delve into the

Kanak Mani Dixit in the afternoon and delve into the challenges to free speech.

A book signing of Ravish Kumar's *The Free Voice: On Democracy, Culture and the Nation* in English and its Nepali translation will happen during tea break.



Election, Fake News and Media Literacy

Panelists: Ramkrishna Regmi, Sama Thapa, Umesh Shrestha Moderator: Rajneesh Bhandari



Tomorrow's Journalism

Panelists: Madhu Acharya, Arun Karki, Sahina Shrestha Moderator: Avusha Chalise



With the local elections just a week away, speakers will discuss how fake news and disinformation can influence poll results, as well as raise the need for media literacy to prevent social media abuse.







Ethical and Responsible Journalism

Panelists: Yubaraj Ghimire, Sona Khatik, Prateek Pradhan Moderator: Jivan Chettri

Editors and reporters from the print, online and broadcast medium will recall the guidelines of journalism that are vital for its credibility. What are the new responsibilities and roles of journalism in the age of unfiltered social media? Back in the day, print publications competed with each other for readership. Then they competed with tv. Now they all compete against Facebook and TikTok for eyeballs and revenue. Media practitioners need new tools to survive in this brave new mediascape.





The Political Economy of Media

Panelists: Ameet Dhakal, Aarti Chataut, Sudheer Sharma Moderator: Kunda Dixit

As elsewhere, Nepal's media also grapples with the digital transition. What do Nepal's most prominent editors think about their role? The political economy of media involves more than content providers and readers, but also governments, corporates, regulators ... and algorithms.



Comic Relief by Manoj Gajurel

So that media professionals do not take themselves too seriously, Nepal's most-known stand-up comedian and impersonator **Manoj Gajurel** pokes some fun at journalists.



Freedom of the wildass

ll of us here in Assdom were pleasantly surprised this week to see that Nepal's rankings in the World Press Freedom Index has improved by leaps and bounds to #76 from #106 one year ago. The list was released on World Press Freedom Day on 3 May by Reporters Without Borders, but it is not clear if Nepal did better this year because all other countries did worse, or if it was because we Nepalis have the same freedom as that enjoyed by the wild ass on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau.

Nevertheless, and be that as it may, what it means is that Nepalis are even freer now to complain about how miserable we are than we were in 2021. Putting this together with the World Happiness Report released by the UN in March that listed Nepal as the merriest country in South Asia, it can only mean one thing — that Nepalis are happiest when they are allowed to whine and dine.

Cynicism aside, let us rejoice at the hard-won freedoms we enjoy to poke fun at Comrade Sher Budder Deuba without any fear of being led off to the gallows. Where else in the world would a reporter be allowed to breach security protocols by barging into Air Farce One to interview the prime minister of Nepal, and stream it live on his YouTube channel?

But what I am much more concerned about is how come Sishi Dhamala could sneak into Business Class and imbibe free cocktails without an upgrade to Chyangra Class by the Erstwhile **Royal Nepal Airlines Corporation** (EŘNAC)?

ΟN

However, what this incident proved is that Nepal's journalists will leave no stone overturned, will go over with a fine-tooth comb, will brook no quarters, will test the limits of their constitutionally guaranteed rights, to comfort the afflicted, afflict the comfortable, from the safety of their comfort zones, and let the potato chips fall where they may.

Television talk show hosts have shown that when the argument during a live election broadcast gets heated, they will not shy away from drawing sword and challenging the interviewee to a duel on camera.

Nepal's press is so free that the Ministry of Disinformation and Newspeak does not believe in blaming the messenger anymore, it will try to jail them. Especially if they upload irreverent music videos on YouTube about

corruption in high places. Nepali media takes its adversarial role seriously and uses its freedom to publish every hearsay fit to print. We do not take for granted the freedoms granted us in the Constitution, and will not hesitate to take to Twitter to lynch anyone who disagrees with us even slightly.

We do not think twice about



Backside

praising the 5-Party Coalition (Pvt) Ltd, we only think once. Thanks to these freedoms, we will kowtow when asked to only take a bow. We will always be prepared to print handouts in exchange for handouts. We will not accept envelopes from our sources — unless it has hard cash in it.

And unlike some other professions, we are not the type

to take the dough and run. No, we pocket the money, return the envelope, deduct 13% VAT and give a receipt, and adhere strictly to our journalistic code of ethics to loyally toe the

party line in return. Únless someone gives us a thicker envelope.



The Ass



🛭 अब शुन्य मौज्दातमै खाता खोलनुहोस्, साथै यदि तपाईको कुनै पनि बैंक/वित्तीय संस्थामा खाता छैन भने 🔁 १०० बैंकले नै जम्मा जरिदिने।

🐵 अन्य धेरै सेवाहरूका साथै बचतमा उच्चतम् प्रतिफल प्राप्त रार्नुहोस्।











SIPRADI TRADING PVT. LTD., An ISO 9001:2015 and ISO 45001:2018 Certified Company Thapathali 9802000757



g

CRAFT

CRAFTED WITH PASSION

Exquisitely rich in color and refreshing aroma, "Gorkha Craft" is moderately hoppy with balanced bitterness and full flavor of toasted Ruby malt.



(CRAFT

WITHPA

CRAFT

