https://doi.org/10.3126/pprmj.v3i1.67632

# Investigative Journalism in Nepal: Practice and Impact

Ramjee Dahal<sup>1</sup>

#### **Abstract**

Investigative journalism has become a matter of growing interest in the wake of expanding practice of journalism in Nepal. For journalists, who are always busy in collecting and communicating news of daily events in society, it is a challenging task in itself to prepare investigative news after longtime study and research on a serious matter.

Due to public interest in information and increased access to social media, reaching the depth of news has drawn interest for communication consumers. Events and topics that someone wants to hide or keep secret become public interest. Therefore, it is the main task of investigative journalism to study and inform about such matters of public interest to the society at large. It is also the professional integrity of journalist to expose wrongdoings kept secret. In the present article, the practice of investigative journalism in Nepal and its impact on good governance has been analyzed by adopting the study and explanatory method.

Keywords: Journalism, Investigative Journalism, Mission Journalism

#### Introduction

Investigative journalism is a special journalism- special in the sense that it exposes the facts on in-depth topic in detail with evidence. But it may take not only time but also the expenses that are more than for the daily reporting. In addition, investigative journalists must be skilled in themselves. Also, the hard work is integral. After collecting facts and evidence with hard work, investigative journalists should analyze and disclose to the public.

After the Gorkhapatra was launched in 1901, political speech and murder, violence, theft, rape, sex, and crime used to be the main topics of reporting in Nepali journalism. The main objective of investigative journalism is to rise above such

<sup>1</sup> Lecturer in Journalism & Mass Communication at Padmakanya Multiple Campus, T.U.

traditional topics and draw the attention of the policy-making level by warning against social and economic aberrations, irregularities and inconsistencies.

## Statement of the problem

It has not been long since the practice of investigative journalism started in Nepali media. The Center for Investigative Journalism (CIJ) Nepal, which was established 25 years ago, started the practice of investigative journalism. Although not a long in the history of world journalism, it is certainly not a short time in the context of Nepal. Therefore, what is the practice of investigative journalism in the context of expanding the scope of investigative journalism in Nepal? And what effect has it had on good governance? This is the main research question.

## Objectives of the study

Even though it has been a decade and a half since the practice of investigative journalism started in Nepal, there is not much academic review on this subject. In this context, the main purpose of this article is to analyze the state of investigative journalism. Keeping this aspect in mind, the specific objectives include:

- (a) Analyzing the practice of investigative journalism and
- (b) Examining its impact on good governance in the context of expanding the scope of investigative journalism in Nepal.

# Research Methodology

In the present article, the dimensions of investigative journalism have been analyzed based on the reports published by the research and investigation agencies. Similarly, conversations are held with the noted investigative journalists who have been practicing and mentoring on investigative journalism in Nepal and its impact.

During the study, direct meetings and telephone conversations were held with investigative journalism experts and journalists who practiced investigative journalism to collect primary information. Similarly, books and newspapers written on this subject have been used as secondary sources. The contribution of CIJ Nepal and two cases prepared by CIJ have been analyzed in this study for the promotion of investigative journalism.

#### Literature Review

According to David Kaplan, executive director of the Global Investigative Journalism Network (GIJN), investigative journalism requires a systematic approach as well as deep, original research and reporting. It follows the scientific method

of fact-checking, mystery-solving, focusing on social justice and accountability, using public records and data to form and test hypothesis. Kaplan says, "Great investigative journalism focuses on education, abuse of power, chasing money, great business stories."

"The ambition of many journalists is to become a specialist. It seems enviable to have a niche of one's own, to be able to plan the day and the week without being under constant pressure from demanding news editor. It does not always work out like that. Only the quality papers and the large popular nationals can afford to delegate specialist full time to many subjects, and even they are always subject to the overriding control of the news desk. Specialization carry special prestige": David Wainwright (1972).

Reporters working in these field (parliament and city) are operating in particularly important areas, and they are areas in which experience counts: (As cited in A Study of Journalism, Nepal Association of Media Educators 2006).

According to The Investigative Journalism Handbook (2010, p. 7), investigative journalism is also known as provocative journalism. As the mechanisms of the state have turned ineffective and inefficient, the subjects of investigative journalism have started to be found everywhere. Brant Huston, the former executive director of Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE), wrote 'The definition of investigative journalism has changed and expanded over the years. It works to expose and analyze the issue of society and the judicial system going towards deterioration as well as its impact.' (As cited in Konard Adenaur Stiftung, The Investigative Journalism Handbook, 2010).

The nineteenth-century British poet and critic Matthew Arnold said, "Journalism is a hurried literature." But investigative journalism is not a hurried journalism. In order to conduct investigative journalism, one should follow established procedures of planning, research and reporting, as well as standards of truth and evidence.

According to John Ullman and John Colbert, investigative journalism is when a journalist uncovers a matter of public importance that someone wants to hide. According to them, investigative journalism should have three basic elements: (As cited in CIJ Nepal, investigative journalism: what, why and how?, 2012).

- There should be an original research. It is not investigative journalism to a) prepare content based solely on information obtained from research done by someone else.
- The subject searched should be of public importance. No matter how much b)

- effort is made to prepare content on unimportant topics, it is not considered investigative journalism.
- c) The journalist should bring to the surface the information that someone has hidden or wants to hide.

## **Global Practice on Investigative Journalism**

When the topic of investigative journalism is raised around the world, the Watergate Scandal comes to the fore. The Watergate Scandal is considered a very unforgettable event in American political history. The infiltration of the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) in the Watergate Complex in the capital Washington DC brought a big wave in America. When the presidential election of 1972 was approaching, people related to the ruling president infiltrated the headquarters to steal the election program of the Democratic Party.

At first, most of the media took it as an ordinary theft incident. The Washington Post also looked at this incident in the same way. So the newspaper assigned Bob Woodward of the Crime Beat to report on the incident. However, while reporting, Bob and his friend Carl Bernstein discovered that there was a large political force behind the incident.

In the middle of the night on June 17, 1972, while tapping the phones at the DNC headquarters, five people were arrested and charged with minor burglary and wiretapping. However, high end lawyers were advocating for those five common 'thieves' in the court. This made Bob feel that there was something wrong in this case. Later, the Washington Post hired another young journalist, Carl Bernstein, to help Bob. These two journalists continuously researched and reported on this case for two years.

Richard Nixon won the presidential election. But the news investigated with rigor gave a sense how far American politics had fallen morally. After that, the discussion of impeachment of the President started. The then President Nixon, who announced his resignation on August 8, 1974, submitted his resignation next day after failing to evade impeachment. After the incident, He could not return to politics; he lived as a writer. Interestingly, the real name of the journalist who brought out this case that forced the president of a powerful country America to resign was kept secret. It was revealed in 2005 that the person writing the news from a source named Deep Throat was William Mark Felt, second in command of the FVI. Shortly before his death, he revealed the Watergate Scandal that Deep Throat was me. This incident is considered as a model example of investigative journalism all over the world. Thus,

Woodward and Bernstein created a new dimension in investigative journalism. The style of investigative journalism developed by him is taught in journalism classes around the world today.

## **Investigative Journalism in Nepal**

The practice of professional journalism started in Nepal only after the political change of 1990. However, before the freedom of expression and press was ensured in Article 13 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1991 'mission journalism' was in practice in Nepal. It is worth noting that the history of Nepali journalism is basically linked with the development of the democratic movement. In a democratic governance, openness is the lifeblood of the press. As journalism thrives within the democratic system, it was not unusual that one of the main objectives of journalism during the Panchayat period was to restore Democracy. For this reason, until the restoration of Democracy, the Nepali press itself continued to believe in its character of 'mission journalism', i.e. journalism for Democracy. The mission that time was to achieve Democracy. The term 'Mission Journalism' has been in vogue since the Panchayat period. The meaning of this word is journalism done for political achievement. During the 30 years of Panchayat era, 'Mission Journalism' was a campaign for Democracy, a campaign for freedom of press and expression. Mission journalism is also known as targeted journalism in Nepali (Basnet, 2019).

After the three main organs of the state- the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary, the press has been considered as the fourth estate of the state in a democratic system. Countries that have adopted a liberal governance system have been considering the press as the 'fourth estate of the state' since the 18th century.

In America, it is considered after the executive, legislature and judiciary, while in the UK, it is considered fourth after the Lord, Church and Commons. But in essence, while monitoring the work of the political leaders, the press pressured them to be honest, while informing and empowering the citizens. (Encyclopedia of Communication theories, p. 576)

The first person to call the press the fourth estate is Edmund Burke. He had used it in the British parliamentary debate ( Reflection on the Revolution in France). This recognition of the fourth organ to the journalism profession is maintained only when journalists succeed in uncovering the truth with facts and evidence.

While the openness gained from the democratic movement was empowering the society, politics and economy, local/foreign interest groups were trying to exert influence on the society through political, economic, social and cultural aspects.

Until then, the teaching of journalism was limited to the 10-month journalism training of Nepal Press Institute (NPI), and the Ratnarajya Laxmi Campus under the Tribhuvan University (TU). Journalists who did not take formal journalism classes in the university were trained through practice. The subject of investigative journalism badly missed in the studies of the university and the training of the NPI. Therefore, there was a need to develop investigative journalism in Nepal in a different way. In order to materialize the development of investigative journalism, persons or groups of journalists, who believed in the changed system, supported good and professional journalistic practice.

Although good journalism practices were started in professional media houses growing up in the restored democratic environment, lack of skilled manpower and sufficient investment resulted in negligible number of investigative and 'in-depth' reporting. Investigative journalism that exposes the truth with facts and evidence after deep study and research requires a lot of time, manpower, skill and investment, but its practice is considered expensive all over the world.

In an economy like Nepal, where the advertising market is very small, investigative journalism was not easy for media houses and still the same. It is not investigative journalism until you can get information from a surprising source, information that has been hidden until now, a new point of view. But until the information obtained from that source is confirmed by experience, documents and other people, and the meaning of that information is not explained.

After the restoration of democracy, there was a need for an organized association for the use of investigative journalism and its institutional development so that readers could get the news beyond political issues. Investigative journalism was also being sought in Nepali journalism, which began to flourish with the political changes. But for that, journalists lack of skills and experience, and there was not enough investment. Even though the private sector was involved in journalism, it was difficult to find investigative reporting. When discussing investigative journalism in Nepal, the name of Center for Investigative Journalism (CIJ) Nepal comes first.

After the changes brought about by the people's movement of 1990, the need for modification was also felt in the practice of journalism. CIJ Nepal was established 26 years ago under the Himal Association at the initiative of the former Editor-in-Chief of The Rising Nepal, Bharatdatta Koirala, to produce skilled journalists who write in-depth news by digging the hidden issues or those tried to hide in the political and social fields. Rajendra Dahal was the editorial head of CIJ, established at the initiative of journalists such as Kanakamani Dixit, Basanta Thapa, Mohan

Mainali, and Kund Dixit. Even after nearly two years of organized practice, the CIJ Nepal continued to operate as a 'wing' of the Himal Association led by Basanta Thapa.

After the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ), CIJ Nepal is the second institution to practice investigative journalism in Asia. Investigative journalism was practiced under Himal Association for about a decade. Only after 2007, CIJ made its identity as a unique organization.

Under the leadership of Dahal, who is also the editor of Himal fortnightly, the first practice of investigative journalism took place under CIJ for about two years. At that time, about 30 journalists were sent for reporting after a short workshop. Journalists such as Gopal Guragain (Founder of Ujyalo Radio), Sudhir Sharma (former editor-in-chief of Kantipur Daily), Shiva Gaunle (editor-in-chief of Onlinekhabar. com), Mohan Mainali (former editor of CIJ) and others were involved in the first institutional practice of investigative journalism. According to founder editor of CIJ Nepal Dahal, its establishment was intended to act as a 'catalyst' for investigative journalism. According to Dahal, CIJ has existed till now with some expansion (personal conversation on 10 July 2023).

The practice of investigative journalism is a challenging task in itself when media personnel are busy collecting and communicating daily news. However, in the meantime, CIJ Nepal has succeeded in awakening journalists' hunger for investigative journalism, says Shiva Gaunle, the former editor of the CIJ. CIJ's continuous efforts to foster the practice of investigative reporting has started to grow in the media. Investigative journalism has now been established as the most interesting and important genre of journalism in Nepal (personal conversation held on 24 July 2023).

In recent times, pages of newspapers filled with well-investigation news can be seen in Nepal. The practice of investigative journalism is only possible due to the efforts of CIJ Nepal. In that, the efforts of the media houses publishing the news stories initially produced by the Center and the editors' encouragement to the journalists to do investigative journalism are equally important. As a result, journalists' attachment to investigative journalism, editors' acceptance and readers' interest are increasing. Due to the credibility of investigative reporting prepared by spending enough time to gather all the evidence related to the incident, the mainstream media have given priority to such content. Gaunle says that the acceptance of the editor to the materials prepared by the Center is also evident from this (ibid).

It is not possible for the daily newspapers to make much effort to cover such topics irrespective of interest. As a result, it is not possible to reach the depth of a subject and give news to the readers. Readers can't be satisfied with such dull news alone. That's why investigative journalism is about getting to the depth of any incident and collecting news and giving news with sufficient evidence.

No one can deny the need for investigative journalism in the context of Nepal. However, an attempt has been made in the present study to analyze why the practice of investigative journalism has not been widened.

## **Investment Aspect**

Investigative journalism itself is an expensive journalism. Sufficient time is required for this and investment is considered another essential. CIJ, which has taken the lead for the promotion of investigative journalism, does not have its own regular source. Therefore, the Center has been providing training, mentoring and reporting to journalists with the help of various donor agencies. In the early days, the support provided by the Finland-based Vikes Foundation for CIJ is still continuing. Apart from that, there is support from organizations like Open Society Foundation (OSF), American aid organization, The Asia Foundation (TAF), National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

# **Human Resource Aspect**

The most important aspect for investigative journalism is the human resources. Investigative journalism cannot exist without skilled human resources. Keeping this reality in mind, CIJ has been providing training to journalists who are interested in investigative reporting. So far, CIJ Nepal has trained more than 700 journalists about investigative journalism. According to Kiran Nepal, the editor of the Center, the capacity and efficiency of journalists have increased through the training, and there has also been a quality improvement in daily journalism (personal conversation held on 30 June 2023).

The Center does not have its own reporter. Therefore, CIJ has been producing research materials by providing writing opportunities to mainstream journalists. The material produced by CIJ is basically the reporting done by journalists working independently in different media. According to editor Nepal, the first publication of the report produced in this way is in the media associated with the reporter himself (ibid).

The report of journalists who are reporting independently is published in contact

with the editor of a certain media. Some reports are published simultaneously in different media. Such reports are placed on the website of the Center and also given priority by the media where the relevant reporter is employed. Apart from that, daily and weekly newspapers and online media have printed it. Some of these reports have criticized the government at the policy-making level, while others have exposed a huge financial scam.

CIJ is practicing investigative journalism by joining organizations like 'Global Investigative Journalism Network' (GIJN), 'International Consortium of Investigative Journalists' (ICIJ). Panama Papers, Nepalics, Pandora Papers, etc. are examples of international level investigative journalism done by Nepali investigative journalists. The report was published by the international media as well. About 800 investigated reports have been published by the Center in the last 8 years.

Despite not getting trained by the Center, other journalists in the mainstream media have also been doing investigative journalism. Media houses have also made institutional efforts for that by forming an investigative journalism bureau in the newsroom and investigative reporting and put into practice.

#### Case Studies

CIJ is primarily focused on training, mentoring and exploratory story production. Investigation is the core of investigative journalism. During the training, mentoring and reporting conducted by CIJ, journalists are made accustomed to this. In the present article, some such examples and the positive changes they brought in Nepali society have been analyzed.

# (a) Case of Fake Bhutanese Refugees

Adding a 'fake schedule' to the report of the Ministry of Home Affairs on refugees, the news related to the recovery of billions was published in the Kantipur Daily on 27 march 2023. The news story showed that in the report prepared by the government task force to find a permanent solution to the problem of Bhutanese refugees, it is mentioned that a gang had cheated Nepali citizens out of millions of Nepali rupees by inserting fake schedules. It was revealed that 875 Nepali citizens were given identity cards of Bhutanese refugees and huge sums of money was collected from them by adding the schedule of "registration exemption" and "rehabilitation in a third country" mentioned in the report. In which the former Home Minister of Nepal Government Balkrishna Khand, former Minister Top Bahadur Rayamajhi, incumbent Home Secretary Tek Narayan Pandey, former Home Minister's Security Adviser Indrajit Rai, and Teknath Rijal, who spent a long time in Bhutan's prison

after working for Bhutanese refugees, and others were showed involved published in the crime.

The news about fake refugees, which caused a furor in Nepali society, did not become the only topic of Kantipur daily. Other daily newspapers, online, FM radio and television published and broadcasted this news with priority. The Nepal Police has started an investigation regarding the addition of a fake schedule to the plans of former Home Minister Khand, who is also the leader of the Nepali Congress, and Home Secretary Pandey. Former Home Minister Khand, Home Secretary Pandey and 17 people were arrested and detained by the police and brought before the court. In that case, after repeated statements with the accused, the court found them guilty and ordered to keep them all in prison.

The news about fake refugees was prepared by Kantipur daily journalist Devendra Bhattarai (2023) with the help of CIJ after collecting enough evidence. Journalist Bhattarai said that he had to work for a long time to gather sufficient evidence (personal conversation held 10 july 2023). There was no room for anyone to question the credibility of the news. In this way, it is clear from the case of fake Bhutanese refugees that if you go into the depth of any issue and make it news, it affects the overall governance.

## (b) 500 million to feed workers in the name of 'war tourism'

The news that nearly Rs. 500 million from the state funds - basically spent on feeding activists - was published on 12 september 2021 in Nepallive.com newsportal and other online media in the programs of Rolpa-centric 'war tourism' under the leadership of Maoist Center.

Rolpa was the Center of Maoist armed violence that began on 13 february 1996 with the slogan of radical change in state-power. As many as 969 people died in Rolpa during the decade-long violence. Similarly, 33 people are still missing. The homeless, injured and disabled are not accounted for. In honor of the dead and missing ones and to develop 'war tourism' by protecting the strategic areas during the conflict, over Rs 500 million was spent in Rolpa in the past decade. However, the 'tourism development' started without a systematic plan is affecting the poverty, illiteracy and health services prevalent in the district.

In the year 2009-2010, six local levels of the district - Rolpa Municipality Rs 800 thousand, Pariwartan Rural Municipality Rs 1100 thousand, Sunchhahari Rural Municipality Rs 500 thousand, Sunil Smriti Rural Municipality Rs 1500 thousand, Thawang Rural Municipality Rs 2800 thousand and Gangadev Rural

Municipality 700 thousand for 'war tourism'. In the same year, the Lumbini Province government allocated Rs 1500 thousand for the same purpose.

Of the Rs 7500 thousand allocated by the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation of the federal government, Rs 3500 thousand were spent on the construction of 'Guerrilla Footpath' in the Jaljala area of Rolpa. From this budget, 1.85 km road has been constructed in Sunchhahari Rural Municipality-7 Jelwang through the consumer committee. It seems that the budget goes not only at the local level, but also through the provincial and federal governments in unproductive areas.

Learning from the local bodies of Rolpa, the local bodies of other districts have also spent huge amount of budget in unproductive areas such as People's War Museum, Martyr Memorial Pillar, Martyr Memorial Park, Martyr Memorial Gate, Martyr Foundation and View Tower. Some of these haphazardly built structures do not even exist today. After the investigative news stories prepared by Mahesh Neupane from Rolpa for CIJ published in different media, one after another news were published in daily newspapers and online news portal about the similar expenses spent by other local bodies in unproductive areas.

Ignoring the issue of citizens as not getting clean drinking water, the elected representatives of the local level in the name of building structures drew the attention of the concerned agencies by repeatedly writing news about the misappropriation of state funds to distribute the political cadres. Local consumers also took seriously the fact that the local government wasted the budget by investing in unproductive areas. They warned their representatives. As a result, the local bodies have recently curtailed the budget of such unproductive areas.

#### **Newsroom Practices**

The media houses in Nepal did not consider the need for investigative journalism. However, some media houses also practiced to institutionalize the practice of investigative journalism. The name of Kamana Publication House comes to the fore in institutional practice. Kamana Publication started the practice of investigative journalism in Sadhana magazine. Then started the practice of investigative journalism with Kantipur Publication, Nepal Republic Media and Annapurna Media Network gradually.

Realizing the importance of investigative journalism, newsrooms have started such practice. To this regard, the Kantipur Daily established an investigative cell in 2003. When Yuvraj Ghimire was the editor, journalist Hari Bahadur Thapa was appointed as the coordinator of the cell which was established under the plan of news editor

Narayan Wagle. According to Thapa, Kantipur assigned seven journalists to that cell. The cell, which worked for six months, prepared investigative news such as irregularities in development projects, inconsistencies in foreign aid in the Ministry of Health and agencies under it (personal conversation held on 25 july 2023).

After it took more than a week to prepare an investigative news, the editor said that there was a lack of manpower in daily reporting, and the journalists of the cell were assigned to daily reporting one after another. Thapa says, after that, the cell itself became fragmented. He said that investigative journalism could not be continued even if he wanted to (ibid).

Similarly, the Annapurna Post daily established an investigative reporting bureau in 2012. Editor Gunaraj Luitel handed over the responsibility of bureau coordinator to journalist Chudamani Bhattarai. According to Bikash Thapa, who was writing about water resources, the bureau became a place for journalists who were not liked by the editor (personal conversation held on 23 july 2023). Journalists who were not linked by editor were assigned under the 'investigative bureau', which was later blamed as the reserve pool, an idle group of employees like that of bureaucracy, according to Thapa (ibid).

Nagarik daily created Nagarik Research Bureau. According to Bishwamani Pokharel, coordinator of the bureau created in 2014, a survey was conducted on four topics at that time. After journalist Pokharel requested the Chairman of Nepal Republic Media to institutionalize the bureau, an organization named Nepal Research Bureau was registered in 2018, (personal conversation held on 21 july 2023).

According to him, research work was done during the Convention of the Nepali Congress and the CPN-UML through the same bureau. Journalist Pokharel was made a nominal coordinator. According to him the bureau became inactive because the publication house was not ready to invest for research (ibid).

In this way, even though there is an effort of investigative journalism in Nepal under the initiative of the newsroom, the publishers are not ready to institutionalize it. In other words, the issue of institutionalizing investigative journalism was not a priority of the publishers. As a result, though investigative journalism is practiced in media houses today, no institutional effort has been made to make it systematic and sustainable.

# **Conclusion Suggestion**

The practice of investigative journalism in Nepal has shown some positive signs. Even though the efforts of investigative journalism made by the media houses did not last for long, 800 investigative reports produced by CIJ in the recent eight years are basically reports made by journalists working independently in various media.

The news published in the Kantipur Daily on 27 march 2023 regarding the collection of billions by adding a 'fake schedule' to the report of the Ministry of Home Affairs on Refugees stated that the arbitrary 'registration exemption' and 'those seeking resettlement in a third country' mentioned in the report were added to the schedule, and 875 Nepali citizens were given identity cards of Bhutanese refugees. They were lured of getting flown to America. The fact on collection of money from the people was made public. The news was published that Balkrishna Khand, the former Home Minister of the Government of Nepal, Top Bahadur Rayamazhi, the incumbent Home Secretary Teknarayan Pandey, Indrajit Rai, the security advisor of the former Home Minister, and Teknath Rijal, who spent a long time in Bhutan's prison after working for Bhutanese refugees, were involved in the fraud. Nepal Police, after investigation regarding the addition of fake schedule, arrested 17 people including former Home Minister Khand, Home Secretary Pandey and brought them before court. After repeated statement recording with the accused, the court found them guilty and ordered to keep them all to be kept in prison.

On the other hand, after the news revelation that nearly Rs. 500 million from the state funds were spent on distributing to the party cadres in the programs of Rolpacentered 'war tourism' under the leadership of the Maoist Center was published, the local government wasted the budget by investing in unproductive areas, and the local consumers also took it seriously. They warned their representatives. As a result, local bodies have recently cutailed the budget of such unproductive areas. These are some of the examples in favor of good governance through investigative journalism.

Despite such achievement and impact of investigative journalism, universities and training institutions are not serious on promoting investigative journalism. Ensuring access to information to journalists, and communicating the truth and factual information that reaches the depth of the subject matter, it bolsters good governance as a whole. So the organizations that advocate for good governance should also be helpful in promoting investigative journalism. Similarly, those who intend to hide and commit wrongdoing should be given a message that no one will be able to escape if he/she is searched. Although the number of media is huge, the number of investigative reports is insignificant. However, based on the events and topics mentioned above, it can be concluded that more investigative journalism is needed in Nepal.

## Persons contacted during the study

Rajendra Dahal, former editor, CIJ Nepal Kiran Nepal, editor CIJ Nepal Shiva Gaunle, former editor, CIJ Nepal Hari Bahadur Thapa, Former Editor Kantipur Daily Biswamani Pokharel, former News co-editor Nagarik Daily Bikash Thapa, former news coordinator Annapurna Post Daily Devendra Bhattarai, senior reporter, Kantipur Daily

#### References

- Basnet, S. (2019). Patrakarita ka Aayam, [The trends of Journalism].
- Bhatta, K. (2003). *Khoj Samagri Utpadan, khoj patrkarita Kendra ko Prayash* [Investigative Material Production, Initiative of Centre for Investigative Journalism]. Media Utpadan ra Antarbastu, [Media production and interconnected] (ed, Onta Pratyush), Martin Chautari
- Burke, E. (2006). Reflection on the Revolution in France. Dover publications
- Huston Brant, The Investigative Reporter's Handbook; The Guide to Documents, Database and Techniques, Fifth Edition, Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc.,New York,2009.
- Kamath, M. V. (1981). Professional Journalism. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Kharel, P. (2006). A study of Journalism. Nepal Association of Media Educators.
- Gaunle, S. (2009). *Nepalma khoj patrakaritaka chunauti*, [Challenges of investigative Journalism in Nepal]. Media study-4 (ed. Onta Pratyush), Martin Chautari.
- Gaunle, S. (2017). Khoj Samachar, [Acompilation of Investigative Reportings]. Center for Investigative Journalism.
- Gaunle, S. (2018). Khoj Abhyash, [Investigative Practice-3]. Center for Investigative Journalism.
- Gurung, H. (2014). Udhineka Samachar [Digged up News]. Center for Investigative Journalism.
- Ulman, J., Jan, C. (1983). The Reporter's Hand book: An Investigator's Guide to Documents and Techniques, St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Wainwright, D. (1972). Journalism Made Simple. London: W.H. Allen & Company.