

Framing Analysis of Protest against War by World Newspapers: A Content Analysis

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ABSTRACT

Wars are more destructive, their effects degrade both human lives and the environment tragically. Destruction of environment, loss of property and displacement of people were the most apparent effects of war. The loss of human life is among the worst impact of war. During the wars, a high number of casualties from both the military and civilian population are recorded. Reporting about war is grounded in the notion of conflict as a news value. As a result war reporting is often sensational, and a mere device to boost circulation. In this study seeks to an investigate news content on war and protest against war in the world newspapers. A quantitative designed based on content analysis was adopted in this research. This study used two foreign newspapers i.e. The New York Times and The Times and two Indian newspapers The Hindu and The Times of India were taken for analysis. It is purposive continuous sampling. Selection of time period was April 01, 2007 to March 31, 2008 was analyzed for daily reportage, space allocation, and unit of analysis published. Keeping in view two news frames 'war' and 'protest against war' have mainly identified for this research. All data collected were analyzed using simple descriptive statistics i.e. Chi-square, ANOVA, Mean, Standard Deviation and Co-efficient of Imbalance have been used for analysis.

Keywords

News framing, World Nations, War and Protest

INTRODUCTION

As the world becomes increasingly interconnected and dependent on efficient means of informing politics, economics and social and everyday life, more attention is needed to the content of news across borders. The news coverage of conflict, or war reporting, is grounded in the notion of conflict as a news value. As a result, war

reporting is often sensationalized and a mere device to boost circulations and ratings (e.g. Allen and Seaton, 1999; Hachten, 1999; Toffler and Toffler, 1994). According to Knightley (2000), war journalism has generally been characterized by an identification with one or the home side of the conflict, military triumphalism language, an action-oriented focus, and a superficial narrative with little context, background or historical perspective.

MEDIA COVERAGE OF WAR

In the age of globalization and advanced communication technologies, what happens in a remote part of the world can quickly reach the local media. Journalists, in theory, have access to more information resources than before to cover international stories and conflict events, such as wars. While in the past it would take five days for the film from Vietnam's war zone to reach the American public, today journalists have instantaneous access to war zones through satellite telephones and web cameras. But there seems to be continuity in the relationship between the media and the government/political elite during times of crisis, as reflected by the news coverage of international conflicts. During the Vietnam War, television brought the brutality of war into the living room of Americans for the first time. But the news media seemed to be tied closely to the official perspectives on the war (Hallin, 1986). Anecdotal beliefs contend that negative television coverage perhaps contributed to the increasing public sentiment against the Vietnam War. Research has shown, however, that this was hardly the case. Television reporting, especially during the early part of the war, was 'upbeat', focused on 'American boys in action' stories, rarely showed images of dead or wounded soldiers, and relied heavily on official government and military sources (Hallin, 1986). These types of stories lead to a 'sanitized' image of war. In the next living room war, the Gulf War of

1991, the images of war in the American media became even more sanitized and the lack of human cost of war was even more striking.

In recent years, some journalism scholars have urged journalists to discard war reporting in favor of peace journalism to promote a culture of peace. Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung first proposed peace journalism in the 1970s, as a self-conscious, working concept for journalists covering wars and conflicts (McGoldrick and Lynch, 2000). By taking an advocacy, interpretative approach, the peace journalist concentrates on stories that highlight peace initiatives; tone down ethnic and religious differences; prevent further conflict; focus on the structure of society; and promote conflict resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation (Galtung, 1986, 1998).

Kellner (1992) argued that news media did not report neutrally during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Stories that were broadcast during the build-up to and subsequent war against Iraq expressed an 'us-against-them' attitude as news anchors and reporters rallied support for the American cause. The study concluded that news coverage of the Gulf War was influenced by ideology, specifically, national interest. Certainly, news is not a simple reflection of a conflict, but is shaped by news media's construction of the conflict for a society.

OVERVIEW OF BOMBING

US aircraft have been bombing Afghanistan since late 2001 and the airstrikes have continued into the Trump administration. Up until December 2014 the US was operating in concert with its allies in the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). The U.S. was supported initially by Canada and the United Kingdom and later by a coalition of over 40 countries, including all NATO members. The War in Afghanistan is the longest war in United States history. In December 2001, the United Nations Security Council established the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), to assist the Afghan interim authorities with securing Kabul. NATO became involved in ISAF in August 2003, and later that year assumed leadership of it. At this stage, ISAF included troops from 43 countries with NATO members providing the majority of the force. One portion of U.S. forces in Afghanistan operated under NATO command; the rest remained under direct U.S. command.

The war on terrorism in Africa did not begin on September 11, 2001. It began in Sudan in the 1990s, where Osama

bin Laden operated and where an attack against Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak was organized. Africa Union (AU) to provide leadership in conflict resolution and the timely provision of peacekeepers as it has done in recent years in Burundi, Darfur, and Côte d'Ivoire. The civil war in the Darfur region of Sudan, which began in 2003, has provided another opening for terrorist influence, though more rhetorical than material. In Darfur, facing a rebellion from the largely farming communities of the region, the Sudanese government has pursued a vicious policy of destroying the villages of populations suspected of supporting the rebel forces and arming militia that have carried out murder, rape, and other crimes against humanity. These attacks have led to the displacement of more than 2.5 million people. At least 200,000 and possibly as many as 400,000, have died. The Sudan government has used the fluidity of the situation to continue to bomb and attack rebel positions. The crisis has spilled over into Chad and the Central African Republic, further destabilizing the region. Kenya also lacks basic control over parts of its own territory.

In this regard, many bombing incidents took place in Afghanistan. In this research period, for instance "Aerial bombing of a valley in Western Afghanistan several days ago by the American military killed at least 42, civilians, including women and children, and wounded 50 more, an Afghan government investigation found... (The New York Times, May 03, 2007).

NATO STRIKES

NATO operations in Southern Afghanistan in 2006 were led by British, Canadian and Dutch commanders. Operation Mountain Thrust was launched on 17 May 2006. Further NATO operations included the Battle of Panjwaii, Operation Mountain Fury and Operation Falcon Summit. NATO achieved tactical victories and area denial, but the Taliban were not completely defeated. In the first five months of 2008, the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan increased by over 80% with a surge of 21,643 more troops, bringing the total from 26,607 in January to 48,250 in June. For instance, a NATO air strike in Southern Afghanistan killed 25 civilians, including nine women and three young children about civilian casualties... (The Hindu, June 23, 2007).

NATO SUPPORT

Following Kosovo's declaration of independence in February 2008, NATO agreed it would continue to

maintain its presence on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 1244. It has since helped to create a professional and multi-ethnic Kosovo Security Force, which is a lightly armed force responsible for security tasks that are not appropriate for the police. Meanwhile, progress has been achieved in the European Union-sponsored dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina. The normalization of relations between Serbia and Kosovo is the key to solve the political deadlock over northern Kosovo.

Well beyond the Euro-Atlantic region, the Alliance continues to support the African Union (AU) in its peacekeeping missions on the African continent. Since June 2007, NATO has assisted the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) by providing airlift support for AU peacekeepers.

The African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) aimed to end violence and improve the humanitarian situation in a region that has been suffering from conflict since 2003. From June 2005 to 31 December 2007, NATO provided air transport for some 37,000 AMIS personnel, as well as trained and mentored over 250 AMIS officials. While NATO's support to this mission ended when AMIS was succeeded by the UN-AU Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), the Alliance immediately expressed its readiness to consider any request for support to the new peacekeeping mission.

PROTESTS AND MEDIA

The geographical diversity of protest offer communication scholars an opportunity to study a concept in war communication-the protest paradigm in international context. Journalists have accorded hostile treatment to protest against war (Gitlin, 1980). Dardis, (2006) identified five marginalization devices specific to the coverage of anti-war protests: protest as treason, as anarchy, as anti-troop, inclusion of counter demonstrations, and historical comparisons. Research on media coverage of international protests may be classified into three categories. The first comprises transnational studies that look at the coverage of protests in one nation in the media of the other nation. A second category includes comparative studies that examine the coverage of protests in both in domestic and international media. The third category comprises idiographic studies that focus on the coverage of local protests in the local media of a single nation. The present study is designed to integrate the

strengths of the first and second categories while avoiding their weaknesses. It examines news coverage of protest against war in the world newspapers.

PROTESTS AGAINST WAR

The war has been the subject of large protests around the world starting with the large-scale demonstrations in the days leading up to the invasion and every year since. Many protesters consider the bombing and invasion of Afghanistan to be unjustified aggression. The deaths of Afghan civilians caused directly and indirectly by the U.S. and NATO bombing campaigns is a major underlying focus of the protests... "Thousands of Afghans, some shouting 'Death to America' and carrying bodies protested in the east after up to six persons were killed during a raid by US-led coalition forces. They felled trees to block a road and vowed not to bury the body stained bodies until those responsible were punished and villagers detained after the incident were freed" (The Hindu, April 30, 2007).

PROTESTS AGAINST REFUGEES

Thousands of protesters have gathered in several cities in Europe, as right-wing groups rallied against plans to resettle refugees in Europe while counter-protesters marched in solidarity with those seeking safety. Clashes have broken out between police and protesters in central London as thousands filled the streets of the capital city to march in solidarity with the refugees desperate to enter Europe. Placard-waving protesters with masks and scarves covering their faces crushed against makeshift police barricades in the city, as skirmishes erupted among the crowd. There were also calls for human rights for asylum seekers at the demonstration, which is part of a series of events taking place across Europe to coincide with the United Nations anti-racism day. Demonstrations also took place in London, Athens, Barcelona, Amsterdam and several Swiss cities.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

News framing, then, refers to the ways in which news media organize, treat and present issues, events and news objects such as news makers. Media frames have been defined as the central story line or organizing idea that attributes meaning to issues, events and the actors involved. The concept of framing in mass communication research is not new, there is no one universally accepted definition of framing (D'Angelo, 2002; Reese et al., 2001).

But broadly, news framing refers to the process of organizing a news story, thematically, stylistically and factually, to convey a specific story line. More recently, the concept of framing has been explicated as second-level agenda-setting (Jasperson et al., 1998; McCombs, 1994; McCombs and Bell, 1996; McCombs and Evatt, 1995; McCombs et al., 1997). McCombs et al. (1997) argued that the concepts of agenda-setting and framing represent a convergence; in that framing is an extension of agenda-setting.

According to Entman's popular definition of media framing, to frame means 'to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation'(Entman, 1993).

However, because of this very interdisciplinary nature of the communication field, Reese (2007) explains that while theoretical diversity has been beneficial in developing and understanding the framing process, framing still lacks a common shared theoretical model and suffers operational problems (see also Scheufele, 1999). Reese (2007) explains that for many scholars framing has represented more of a research program than a unified paradigm. Indeed, a review of the literature confirmed an overall vague conceptualization of framing. Framing studies have been mainly guided by a combination of the cognitive, constructivist and critical perspectives (D'Angelo, 2002). From the constructive perspective – on which this study is based – scholars have defined media frames as 'a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events . . . the frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue' (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987). And according to the constructive media effects model, public opinion is shaped when audiences actively operate in the construction of meaning, while relying on personal experience, social networking and interpretations from the mass media (see Neuman et al., 1992).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Several studies have focused on the framing of war reporting. Gamson (1992) identified four frames in news coverage of the Arab–Israeli conflict: strategic interests, feuding neighbors, Arab intransigence and Israeli expansionism. Wolfsfeld (1997) found that the media's

pursuit of 'drama' frames in the Middle East conflict accorded the extremists from both sides more than their due share of airtime, while drowning voices calling for peace. Carruthers (2000) suggested that the media, subjected to state and military censorship, employed the same values and priorities in reporting conflict as in covering other events. As a result, mass media become willing accomplices in wartime propaganda, and may even play a role in instigating conflict. Pfau et al. (2004) found that the embedded journalist coverage of the 2003 Iraq War was framed more favorably toward the US military than non-embedded reporting. Although there exists an excellent body of literature and research on war journalism (e.g. Carruthers, 2000; Hallin, 1986; Hallin and Gitlin, 1994; Iyengar and Simon, 1994; Knightley, 1975; Lang and Lang, 1994), most of the work on peace journalism is normative or prescriptive, outlining its benefits and detailing how it can be implemented (e.g. Galtung, 1986, 1998; Lynch, 1998, 2003a, 2003b; McGoldrick and Lynch, 2000).

Scholars have found evidence of this bias in coverage of various conflicts, from the invasion of Panama (Dickson, 1995) to the Persian Gulf War (Entman& Page, 1994) to the issue of torture in the Iraq War (Bennett, Lawrence, & Livingston, 2006). Although framing is discussed in many different ways in the literature, studies of news framing have largely coalesced around a focus on the decisions by editors to select certain topics to cover, to select certain aspects of those topics to include in their stories, and to make some of that included information more salient through such mechanisms as placement (e.g., front page), graphics (e.g., accompanying photos), and inclusion in leads (Entman, 1993, 2004). Entman (1993, 2004) also has a more detailed, four-level construction of framing that includes problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and remedy endorsement, with "successful" framing being that which includes at least two of those characteristics. Recently, Entman et al. (2006) have noted that a strong counter frame in Iraq War coverage would be one that offers a persistent failure narrative in the face of the Bush administration's frame that the trend lines are in fact positive in Iraq and the bad news is overstated. This is contrasted with purely event-driven news (Lawrence, 2000) in which the press is more reactive and negative events dominate the news agenda, absent any framing. In other words, we must be sensitive to the ways in which the media function as subjective gatekeepers selecting negative stories over positive ones, or engage in valence framing of events, as compared with the independent

effects of events themselves. A bombing is a negative event, and a newsworthy one, regardless of or even in the absence of framing. But at the same time, commentary about the bombing from the sources journalists choose to interview can frame that event for viewers.

In this study, we are interested in examining the media frames in the newspaper coverage of the War and Protest related coverage.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the war and protests in four world nations i.e., 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th World Nations.
2. To find out the units of analysis, location, frequency and space allocated in the world newspapers.
3. To study the differences between International and National newspapers' coverage of news frames of War and Protest.
4. To analyze the direction of treatment of war and protest news coverage.

THE METHODOLOGY

Content analysis Research Technique was used for the purpose of data gathering. Content analysis is a method of communication analysis, as well as method of observation (Kerlinger, 1973). It is a versatile research technique in mass communication. Here data from archival records and documents can be analyzed systematically and scientifically to draw a valid conclusions.

SELECTION OF SAMPLE DAILIES

For the coverage of 4th World News, four elite, daily English-language newspapers from the United States, Great Britain, and India were studied for a period of one year. Moreover, the United States and Great Britain were chosen to represent the developed nations as being the largest exporters of information in the world. The United States is the world's largest producer and exporter of information and Great Britain is the largest producer of information in Western Europe. India was chosen to represent the 3rd World. India, the world's largest democracy, is considered to have one of the most influential presses in the developing world. The four general-interest, elite daily newspapers selected for the study—*The New York Times*, USA; *The Times*, Great

Britain; *The Hindu & The Times of India*, India, were also chosen on the basis of large circulations, and because they represent developed and developing nations' where English is a major language on three different continents.

UNIT ANALYSIS

The unit of analysis was the news story, which included hard news stories, feature stories, editorials, op-ed articles, columns, letters-to-the-editor, editorial columns, and other news related materials in newspapers.

SELECTION OF TIME PERIOD AND THE STUDY DESIGN

This research analyzed and compared content from four newspapers published from the start of April 2007 to near the end of March 2008. World food prices increased dramatically in 2007 and the first and second quarter of 2008, creating a global crisis and causing political and economic instability and social unrest in both poor and developed nations. Although the media spotlight focused on the riots that ensued in the face of high prices, the ongoing crisis of food insecurity had been years in the making.

DEFINITIONS OF WORLD NATIONS

For nearly half a century, the Cold War divided the world into hostile East-West blocs. This had significant implications for the development of 3rd World countries, most of whom wanted to avoid bloc politics and concentrate on the economic emancipation of their populations. The phrase '3rd World' itself was a product of the Cold War, said to have been coined by French economic historian Alfred Sauvy in 1952, when the world was divided between the capitalist 1st World, led by the United States and the communist 2nd World with its center in Moscow. The '3rd World' was the mass of countries remaining outside these two blocs (Brandt Commission 1981, South Commission 1990).

DEFINITION OF 4TH WORLD

The 4th World refers to countries and populations that are often excluded from world statistics. They are the poorest of the poor countries and peoples on the planet. Currently, there are 49 countries classified by the United Nations as "4th World" countries. These countries are labeled as "Least Developed Countries", or LDC's. According, again, to the United Nations, these nations exhibit the lowest

indicators of socioeconomic development and the lowest human development index ratings of all the countries of the world. LDC's suffer conditions of extreme poverty, ongoing (and widespread) conflict, political corruption and lack of social, economic and political stability. Their governments are often brutal, dictatorial and authoritarian in nature. AIDS, of course, is also a major issue affecting the populations of these countries.

FRAMING ANALYSIS

Keeping in view of the research objectives in the study 2 frames have been identified.

1. War frame
2. Protest against war frame

War frame: War is defined as a state of open, often prolonged, armed conflict between two or more groups, usually nations, states or other parties. It is unarmed

hostility, active military operations, battles, conflict carried on by force of arms

Protest against war frame: This is an expression of bearing witness on behalf of an express cause by words or actions with regard to war.

PROCEDURES OF MEASUREMENT

The unit of analysis coded into various subject categories, were measured both in terms of their frequencies and space in column cms.

DIRECTIONAL ANALYSIS

The purpose of using the directional analysis is to find out how the newspapers accorded treatment to 4th World related news. The subject categories analyzed to find out the treatment given by the four newspapers on a 3 point scale: favorable, unfavorable and neutral.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1. Percentage Distribution of Frequencies and Space by the World Nations in the Selected Dailies

World Nations	Dailies							
	NYT		The Times		The Hindu		TOI	
	fr(%)	sp (%)	fr(%)	sp (%)	fr(%)	sp (%)	fr(%)	sp (%)
1 st World	429 (28.9)	21869 (27.1)	343 (32.0)	16597 (28.7)	129 (21.3)	5614 (22.5)	76 (21.6)	1996 (22.1)
2 nd World	141 (9.5)	7774 (9.7)	103 (9.6)	5059 (8.8)	44 (7.2)	1410 (5.6)	50 (14.2)	1376 (15.2)
3 rd World	692 (46.6)	38065 (47.2)	483 (45.1)	27933 (48.4)	362 (59.6)	14842 (59.5)	175 (49.7)	4313 (47.8)
4 th World	223 (15.0)	12874 (16.0)	142 (13.3)	8179 (14.1)	72 (11.9)	3095 (12.4)	51 (14.5)	1343 (14.9)
Total	1485 (100.0)	80582 (100.0)	1071 (100.0)	57768 (100.0)	607 (100.0)	24961 (100.0)	352 (100.0)	9028 (100.0)

Table 1 show that data about percentage distribution of frequencies by the world nations in the selected dailies. Among the four newspapers under study *the New York Times* published the highest number of new items 429 (28.9%) in the 1st World, followed by *The Times* 343 (32.0%), in 3rd World newspapers, *The Hindu* published more news items 129 (21.3%) than *The Times of India* 76 (21.6%) in the 1st World news Coverage. At the same time in 2nd World coverage 1st World newspapers gave better coverage by *The New York Times* 141, followed by *The*

Times 103, when it comes to 3rd World newspapers *The Times of India* gave more coverage 50 than *The Hindu* 44 news items. *The New York Times* published 692 (46.6%) news items in 3rd World at the same time *The Times* gave 483, *The Hindu* 362 and *The Times of India* gave less coverage only 175 items. The 4th World news covered by *The New York Times* 223 (15.0%) followed by *The Times* 142, *The Hindu* 72 (11.9%) and *The Times of India* gave 51 (14.5%) news items only.

Table 2. Percentage Distribution of Frequencies and Space of Units Analysis by World Nations

Units Analysis	World Nations							
	1 st World		2 nd World		3 rd World		4 th World	
	fr(%)	sp (%)	fr(%)	sp (%)	fr(%)	sp (%)	fr(%)	sp (%)
News	402 (41.2)	31434 (68.2)	116 (34.3)	10381 (66.5)	732 (42.8)	59314 (69.7)	193 (39.6)	17086 (67.0)
News Story	35 (3.6)	4432 (9.6)	9 (2.7)	1312 (8.4)	61 (3.6)	10084 (11.8)	16 (3.3)	3800 (14.9)
Background Story	6 (0.6)	698 (1.5)	6 (1.8)	1178 (7.5)	14 (0.8)	2091 (2.5)	2 (0.4)	440 (1.7)
Article	51 (5.2)	5301 (11.5)	14 (4.1)	1510 (9.7)	65 (3.8)	7948 (9.3)	27 (5.5)	2698 (10.6)
Column	18 (1.8)	1296 (2.8)	4 (1.2)	310 (2.0)	20 (1.2)	1573 (1.8)	9 (1.8)	638 (2.5)
Interview	-	-	1 (0.3)	48 (0.3)	3 (0.2)	426 (0.5)	1 (0.2)	66 (0.3)
Editorial	18 (1.8)	1010 (2.2)	5 (1.5)	291 (1.9)	34 (1.9)	1791 (2.1)	6 (1.2)	288 (1.1)
Letters-to-the editor	65 (6.7)	803 (1.8)	21 (6.2)	289 (1.8)	83 (4.8)	1169 (1.4)	12 (2.5)	191 (0.8)
Photo	367 (37.6)	-	159 (47.0)	-	690 (40.3)	-	218 (44.7)	-
Cartoon	15 (1.5)	1102 (2.4)	3 (0.9)	300 (1.9)	10 (0.6)	757 (0.9)	4 (0.8)	284 (1.1)
Total	977 (100.0)	46076 (100.0)	338 (100.0)	15619 (100.0)	1712 (100.0)	85153 (100.0)	488 (100.0)	25491 (100.0)

Table 2 explains the percentage distribution of unit analysis by world nations. During the study period 3rd world covered overall 1712 frequencies with (85153 col. cms) space, followed by 1st world 977 frequencies and

46076 col. cms space, 4th world got 488 frequencies with 25491 col. cms space and least coverage to 2nd world with 338 frequencies 15619 col. cms space.

Table 3. Distribution of Frequencies of Units Analysis by World Nations in 1st World Dailies

Dailies	World Nation	Unit Analysis										
		News	NS	BS	Art	Col	Int	Photo	Cart	Edit	Letter	Total
		fr (%)	fr (%)	fr (%)	fr (%)	fr (%)	fr (%)	fr (%)	fr (%)	fr (%)	fr (%)	fr (%)
NYT	1 st World	172 (32.1)	12 (24.5)	3 (33.4)	16 (47.0)	5 (29.4)	-	160 (23.3)	9 (64.3)	7 (30.5)	45 (39.1)	429 (28.9)
	2 nd World	43 (8.0)	6 (12.2)	2 (22.2)	4 (11.8)	-	-	73 (10.6)	-	3 (13.0)	10 (8.7)	141 (9.5)
	3 rd World	247 (46.1)	22 (44.9)	2 (22.2)	9 (26.5)	8 (47.1)	1 (100.0)	338 (49.2)	3 (21.4)	10 (43.5)	52 (45.2)	692 (46.6)
	4 th World	74 (13.8)	9 (18.4)	2 (22.2)	5 (14.7)	4 (23.5)	-	116 (16.9)	2 (14.3)	3 (13.0)	8 (7.0)	223 (15.0)
	Total	536 (100.0)	49 (100.0)	9 (100.0)	34 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	687 (100.0)	14 (100.0)	23 (100.0)	115 (100.0)	1485 (100.0)
The Times	1 st World	127 (34.8)	17 (33.4)	1 (6.7)	11 (26.2)	6 (26.1)	-	146 (30.8)	6 (37.5)	9 (36.0)	20 (33.3)	343 (32.0)
	2 nd World	32 (8.8)	2 (3.9)	3 (20.0)	5 (11.9)	3 (13.0)	-	48 (10.1)	3 (18.8)	2 (8.0)	5 (8.3)	103 (9.6)
	3 rd World	150 (41.1)	27 (52.9)	11 (73.3)	20 (47.6)	11 (47.9)	-	215 (45.4)	6 (37.5)	12 (48.0)	31 (51.7)	483 (45.1)
	4 th World	56 (15.3)	5 (9.8)	-	6 (14.3)	3 (13.0)	-	65 (13.7)	1 (6.2)	2 (8.0)	4 (6.7)	142 (13.3)
	Total	365 (100.0)	51 (100.0)	15 (100.0)	42 (100.0)	23 (100.0)	-	474 (100.0)	16 (100.0)	25 (100.0)	60 (100.0)	1071 (100.0)

Table 3 and 4 reveals that data about percentage distribution of frequencies of unit analysis by world nations in the selected dailies. It was found that *The New York Times* had published highest number of news items followed by *The Times*. In Indian newspapers *The Hindu* published highest number of news items than *The Times of India*. In total unit analysis more covered unit is news (536), followed by photos (687), letters-to-the editor (115), news story (49), articles (34), editorials (23),

columns (17), cartoons (14), background stories (9) and interviews (1) respectively. While *The Times* published news (365), photos (474), letters (60), news stories (51) and articles (42). The 3rd world newspapers *The Hindu* gave coverage to news (343), photos (147), and published highest articles (75) than remaining newspapers. *The Times of India* published majority units are news (199), photos (126).

Table 4. Distribution of Frequencies of Units Analysis by World Nations in 3rd World Dailies

Dailies	World Nation	Unit Analysis										
		News fr (%)	NS fr (%)	BS fr (%)	Art fr (%)	Col fr (%)	Int fr (%)	Photo fr (%)	Cart fr (%)	Edit fr (%)	Letter fr (%)	Total fr (%)
<i>The Hindu</i>	1 st World	60 (17.5)	4 (23.5)	1 (100.0)	22 (29.3)	6 (100.0)	-	36 (24.5)	-	-	-	129 (21.3)
	2 nd World	19 (5.5)	-	-	3 (4.0)	-	-	16 (10.9)	-	-	6 (100.0)	44 (7.2)
	3 rd World	229 (66.8)	11 (64.7)	-	35 (46.7)	-	1 (100.0)	76 (51.7)	1 (50.0)	9 (100.0)	-	362 (59.6)
	4 th World	35 (10.2)	2 (11.8)	-	15 (20.0)	-	-	19 (12.9)	1 (50.0)	-	-	72 (11.9)
	Total	343 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	75 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	1 (100.0)	147 (100.0)	2 (100.0)	9 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	607 (100.0)
<i>TOI</i>	1 st World	43 (21.6)	2 (50.0)	1 (33.3)	2 (33.3)	1 (20.0)	-	25 (19.8)	-	2 (33.3)	-	76 (21.6)
	2 nd World	22 (11.0)	1 (25.0)	1 (33.3)	2 (33.3)	1 (20.0)	1 (33.3)	22 (17.5)	-	-	-	50 (14.2)
	3 rd World	106 (53.3)	1 (25.0)	1 (33.3)	1 (16.7)	1 (20.0)	1 (33.3)	61 (48.4)	-	3 (50.0)	-	175 (49.7)
	4 th World	28 (14.1)	-	-	1 (16.7)	2 (40.0)	1 (33.3)	18 (14.3)	-	1 (16.7)	-	51 (14.5)
	Total	199 (100.0)	4 (100.0)	3 (100.0)	6 (100.0)	5 (100.0)	3 (100.0)	126 (100.0)	-	6 (100.0)	-	352 (100.0)

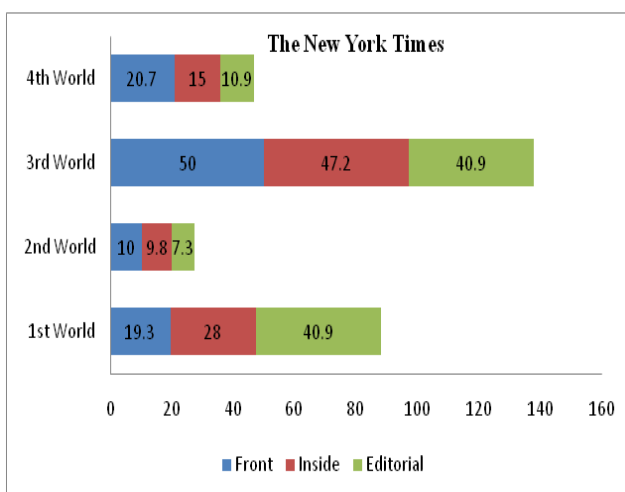


Figure 1. Distribution of news percentage with location in *The New York Times* by World Nations

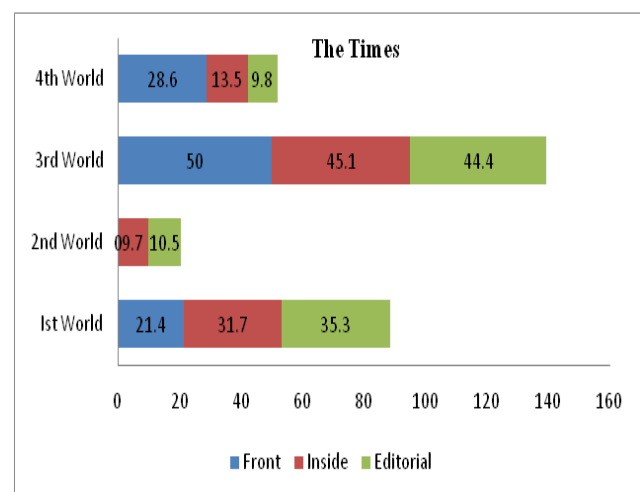


Figure 2. Distribution of news percentage with location in *The Times* by World Nations

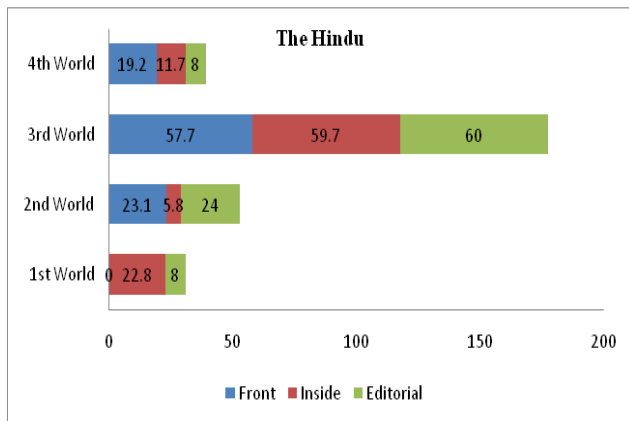


Figure 3. Distribution of news percentage with location in *The Hindu* by World Nations

The above figures 1, 2, 3, and 4 shows the percentage distribution of news on the location front, inside and editorial pages in the sample dailies. Among the four newspapers, *The New York Times* gave good coverage on three locations front, inside and editorial pages than the remaining newspapers. *The Times* and *The Times of India* covered very less items front page and *The Hindu* is better but not much. *The New York Times* 140 news items with

5508 col. cms space in front page, 1152 (67821 col. cms) inside, and 193 (7253 col. cms) in editorial. While *the Times* gave 14 news items in front page, 924 inside and 133 items in editorial page. *The Hindu* published 26 in front page, 556 in inside page and 25 in editorial page. Followed by *The Times of India* gave coverage in front page 16 items, inside 319 and 17 in editorial page.

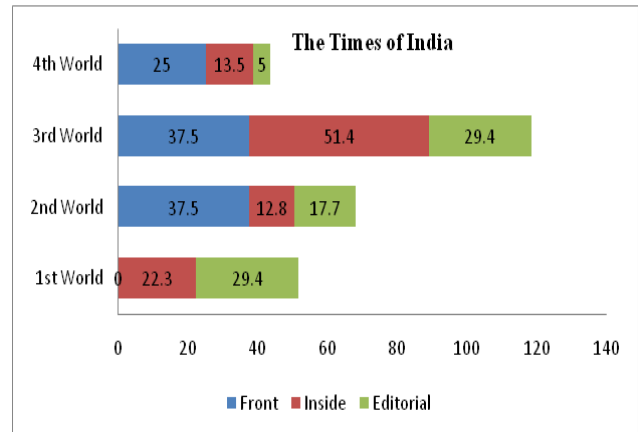


Figure 4. Distribution of news percentage with location in *The Times of India* by World Nations

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of Frequencies and Space with Frames by World Nations

Frames	World Nations							
	1 st World		2 nd World		3 rd World		4 th World	
	fr(%)	sp%	fr(%)	sp%	fr(%)	sp%	fr(%)	sp%
War	633 (64.8)	32703 (71.0)	74 (21.9)	3341 (21.4)	1217 (71.1)	62566 (73.5)	246 (50.4)	13812 (54.2)
Protests	344 (35.2)	13373 (29.0)	264 (78.1)	12278 (78.6)	495 (28.9)	22587 (26.5)	242 (49.6)	11679 (45.8)
Total	977 (100.0)	46076 (100.0)	338 (100.0)	15619 (100.0)	1712 (100.0)	85153 (100.0)	488 (100.0)	25491 (100.0)

Table 6. Percentage Distribution of Frequencies and Space with Frames by Selected Dailies

Frames	Dailies							
	<i>NYT</i>		<i>The Times</i>		<i>The Hindu</i>		<i>TOI</i>	
	fr(%)	sp%	fr(%)	sp%	fr(%)	sp%	fr(%)	sp%
War	1019 (68.6)	56105 (69.6)	613 (57.2)	35649 (61.7)	392 (64.6)	17011 (68.2)	146 (41.5)	3657 (40.5)
Protests	466 (31.4)	24477 (30.4)	458 (42.8)	22119 (38.3)	215 (35.4)	7950 (31.8)	206 (58.5)	5371 (59.5)
Total	1485 (100.0)	80582 (100.0)	1071 (100.0)	57768 (100.0)	607 (100.0)	24961 (100.0)	352 (100.0)	9028 (100.0)

Table 5 explains that percentage distribution of news with frames by world nations. In the study war frame ranked highest by 3rd world nations 1217 (71.1%), followed by 1st world 633 (64.8%), 4th world 246 (50.4%), and 2nd world 74 (21.9%). Protest frame covered by 3rd world 495 (28.9%), followed by 1st world 344 (35.2%), 2nd world 264 (78.1%), and 4th world 242 (49.6%) respectively.

coverage to war frame than protests. In War frame *The New York Times* gave 1019 (68.6%) news items, followed by *The Times* 613 (57.2%), *The Hindu* 392 (64.6%) and *The Times of India* 146 (41.5%). At the same time, for the coverage of Protest frame, *The New York Times* had given highest coverage with 466 (31.4%), followed by *The Times* 458 (42.8%), *The Hindu* 215 (35.4%) and *The Times of India* 206 (58.5%) respectively.

Table 6 reveals that coverage of news under the frames. As can be seen, all the four newspapers gave better

Table 7. Directional Analysis of Coverage of the War and Protest frames News Items in Dailies

Dailies	Direction of Coverage				Coefficient of Imbalance
	n	F	Uf	Ne	
<i>The New York Times</i>	1485	428	816	241	-0.143
<i>The Times</i>	1071	412	475	184	-0.026
<i>The Hindu</i>	607	171	282	154	-0.084
<i>The Times of India</i>	352	142	146	64	-0.0047
N=	3515	1153	1719	643	

n: Total, F: Favorable, Uf: Unfavorable, Ne: Neutral

Table 7 explains that direction of treatment of the frames by the selected dailies. The co-efficient of imbalance used to find out the degree of treatment had given to different frames by the sample dailies. For this purpose, a three point scale namely favorable, unfavorable and neutral was adopted to assess the direction of the treatment of the frames. Among the four sample dailies, *The New York Times* gave highest with 816 unfavorable news items and

428 favorable with co-efficient of imbalance of -0.143. Followed by *The Times* 475 unfavorable with co-efficient of -0.026, *The Hindu* 282 unfavorable with co-efficient of -0.084 and *The Times of India* balancing with 146 unfavorable and 142 favorable news items with -.00047 co-efficient.

$\chi^2 = 68.914$, $df = 11$, P Value = <0.0001.

Table 8. Mean, Standard Deviation and Co-efficient of Variation of Items of the Coverage

Name of the Newspaper	Mean \bar{X}	Standard Deviation	Variance	Standard Error (Std. Err.)
<i>The New York Times</i>	742.5	391.030	152904.50	276.500
<i>The Times</i>	535.5	109.602	12001.50	77.500
<i>The Hindu</i>	303.5	125.158	15664.50	88.500
<i>3The Times of India</i>	176	42.426	1800.00	30.000

Table 9. Analysis of Variance

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F value
Between	377906.3752	3	125968.7917	2.7628
Within	182381.5	4	45595.3750	
Total	560287.8752	7		

SS: Sum of Squares, df: degrees of freedom, MS: Means Squares.

Key Findings

1. The four selected newspapers gave more frequency and space allocated to 1st and 3rd world nations. The reason for high coverage in these nations is the war had taken place in the 3rd and 4th world nations and the participation of army belonged to 1st world nations.
2. In the units of analysis the four selected newspapers gave more priority to publish news, photos, letters, articles and editorials.
3. The interesting finding is that the 1st world and 3rd world news coverage in the four newspapers, *The New York Times* and *The Hindu* published more news items than *The Times* and *The Times of India*.
4. Surprisingly the four newspapers did not give much priority to publish interviews, cartoons, and columns.
5. The four newspapers showing interest to publish news in inside pages i.e., international pages are inside, but, very rarely published in front page. Interestingly, *The New York Times* published more news items in front pages.
6. Both the news frames war and protests equally covered in the 4th world nations. In the 3rd world war frame dominated than protest frame. In contrast, protest frame was dominated than war frame in 2nd world nations. The reason for protest domination is the 2nd world nations faced refugee problem so, the people went to protest. In 1st world, the war frame got double coverage than the protest frame.
7. The Indian newspaper *The Times of India* gave much priority to the protest frame than war frame. The other three selected newspapers gave highest priority to war frame than protest frame.
8. In direction of treatment *The New York Times* published more unfavorable news items followed by *The Hindu*, *The Times* and *The Times of India*.

CONCLUSION & SUGGESTIONS

Newspapers serve as an effect source of information and powerful mode of communication. In order to communicate efficiently, Journalists use news frames to streamline information flow to their readers. The pattern of salient indicators supporting the protest against war frame

falls short, it as an advocacy and interpretative approach oriented in peace-conflict, people, truth, and solution. Although there is some demonstration of journalists understanding of the war by mapping it out as consisting of many parties, there is a little in terms of a solution-seeking approach, and more disappointingly, not many war against stories are supported by a people orientation. With little focus on civilians, and without finding out whether their position as stated by the elites is reflective of the true feeling on the ground, there is little that journalists can do to empower the civilians. The news sourcing suggests the journalists depend heavily on official sources and 3rd world press depend on 1st world press, that they perceive to be authoritative, credible, knowledge and powerful. The protest against war frame also did not receive adequate support in terms of journalists focusing on a war causes and consequences. Without this understating, solutions cannot be found.

This study has some limitations. The news stories were coded from 1st and 3rd world newspapers only. Future research should be considered the 2nd and 4th world press.

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