THE TREATMENT OF INDIRA GANDHI'S ASSASSINATION IN THE

WESTERN AND THIRD WORLD PRESS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

This study examined, analyzed, and compared the coverage accorded to Indira Gandhi's assassination in the Western and Third World press in the broad contexts of the New World Information Order debate on international news flow.

A quantitative and qualitative content analysis approach was applied to 62 news stories from The Post, The Times, The New Straits Times, and The Hindustan Times within the time frame October 30, 1984, to November 7, 1984. The news stories were first stratified as straight news, features, editorials, and special opinion pieces, then their content was broken down into sentences and classified according to their relevance to the three attitude objects: Indira Gandhi, the Sikhs, and Rajiv Gandhi. In addition, the content of each sentence was categorized according to direction (favorable, neutral, unfavorable) and type (report, inference, judgment) for the attitude objects. Furthermore, the news generating source of each story was noted, the frequencies and percentages of the sentences in the direction and type categories were calculated, and the coefficient of imbalance was employed to determine the degree of bias in the newspapers.

The findings showed that The Times, The Post, and

The New Straits Times covered Indira Gandhi extensively;
The Hindustan Times covered Rajiv Gandhi extensively; and
the Sikhs received the lowest coverage in all newspapers
except in The Times. Indira Gandhi was covered favorably
in The Hindustan Times, The New Straits Times, and The
Times, whereas, The Post's coverage toward her was
slightly unfavorable. The Sikhs were covered favorably in
The Post and The Times and unfavorably in The Hindustan
Times and The New Straits Times. Rajiv Gandhi was covered
favorably by all newspapers. The Post and The New Straits
Times used higher proportions of report sentences to
describe the attitude objects, whereas, the coverage in The
Hindustan Times and The Times was more spread out in the
report, inference, and judgment sentence categories. The
findings further showed that The Post, The Times, and The
Hindustan Times primarily depended on their own staff for
news stories, whereas, The New Straits Times relied heavily
on the wire services of Reuters and Associated Press.

The study demonstrates that the issue of international
news flow is a complex one with the Western and Third World
arguments having their own merits and demerits. It
suggests that the pattern of coverage accorded to an event
is a function of the nature of the event, a factor of the
political, economic, cultural, and historical patterns
between the reported country and the reporting agency, and
most importantly, the "idiosyncrasy" of the newspaper.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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"If the demands for a New International Information Order
are to have any bite, then the rhetorical teeth need to be
sharpened. Central notions like balance and distortion
need to be clarified. Balanced news in an unbalanced world
would be an empty victory."

--Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle. 1984. In _Journal of
     Communication_ 34(1) (Winter): p. 133.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Information plays a paramount role in international relations as a means of communication between people. The role played by information is all the more important and indeed vital, because it governs the ability of international opinion to come fully to grips with problems which threaten mankind's survival--problems which cannot be solved without consultations and cooperation between countries: the arms race, famine, poverty, illiteracy, racialism, unemployment, economic injustice, population growth, destruction of the environment, discrimination against women, etc. The mass media have a vital role to play in alerting international public opinion to these--and other--problems, in making them better understood, in generating the will to solve them, and equipping ordinary people, if necessary, to put pressures on authorities to implement appropriate solutions (MacBride Report, 1980).

Unfortunately, in today's world information has all too frequently become an exchange between unequal partners allowing the predominance of the more powerful, the richer and better equipped. Discrepancy in power and wealth, by its own weight or by deliberate action, has an impact and influence on communication structures and communication flows (Masmoudi, 1978). The call for a New World

Information Order (NWIO), demonstrates the dissatisfaction of the Third World with the communication orders presently found within the international arena under Western political and economic dominance.

Perhaps no aspect of the New World Information Order debate has been more contentious and controversial than the question of international news flow. In the mid-1970s, arguments about inequities in flow of news and information between industrialized and developing countries, the imbalances of international communication structures, and the dominance of the Western news agencies agitated all concerned with the mass media: international organizations, national policy makers, media researchers and practitioners. (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1984).

Complaints from the Third World about the international flow of news cover a broad range--from the content of news to the structure of the international news dissemination itself. Third World critics are unhappy about the world's dependence for news on the four Western wire services--Agence France Presse, the Associated Press, Reuters and United Press International. The result, say critics, has meant one-way flow of news from the North and West to the South, not "free flow." The Report of the MacBride Commission (1980:146) notes, "the worldwide operations" of these four news agencies has "given them a near monopoly in the international dissemination of news,

and the world receives approximately 80 percent of its reports through New York, Paris, or London. For example, the Associated Press transmits from New York to Asia an average of 90,000 words daily, while Asia sends to New York only 19,000 words."

According to Smith (1980), the one way direction of information flow is a result of historical, cultural and linguistic patterns. Links from former colonial periods and existing economic ties also influence direction of information flows (Gunter, 1978). For example, events in India are likely to get more attention in the British press, just as the French press is likely to be more concerned with events in the Central African Republic. Moreover, the Western monoply on the dissemination of news results in the distribution of stories written about one Third World country, in another (Rosenblum, 1977). Indeed, in many less developed and developing countries the only way to learn about news from a developing country is to use Western wire services. However, their reports will be aimed at Western audience with little concern about what people in the Third World want to know (Stover, 1984). Former British and French colonies are particularly irritated that their primary news sources are Reuters and Agence France Presse, representing what seem to them as neo-colonial dependency.

Besides the dominance of the Western wire news

agencies in the dissemination of international news, another barrier to the "free" and "balanced" flow of information is the Western concept of "objectivity" which paradoxically results in a tendency to distort news from the Third World. Some critics believe that real objectivity in Western news reporting is impossible because of the journalists' relationships with a market system that ultimately determines what will be transmitted. As Stover (1984:46-47) notes:

> To fill their "news hole," editors must select what their audiences want or risk losing readers who keep them in business. Information must grab the audience's attention and hold it. Efforts to reach mass markets and give the public what it thinks it wants because of economic imperatives thus tend to lower the quality as well as quantity of what is being transmitted.

According to the MacBride Report (1980:158), distortion in news occurs "when inaccuracies or untruths replace authentic facts; or when slanted interpretations is woven into news reports" (MacBride Report, 1980:158). On the issue of distortion, Stover (1984:47) notes:

> News can be distorted when events of no real importance are given prominence and when the irrelevant is combined with relevant facts. Sometimes news is distorted by taking random facts and presenting them as a whole, assembling partial truths to form the appearance of complete truth. Distortion also occurs when the way facts are presented causes misinterpretation by implication, encouraging an audience to draw conclusions favorable to a particular interest. Finally distortion occurs when silence is maintained about

facts presumed to be of no interest to the public.

A simple form of distortion involves stressing "bad" news and ignoring "good" news about developing countries. Third World critics see Western coverage of their countries as disproportionate and distorted, with too little coverage and too much concentration on the violent, the bizarre, and the controversial. It has virtually become a matter of dogma among critics of the existing information dispensation that the Western news agencies focus almost exclusively on "unfavorable" news--the coups and earthquakes--of the Third World. Thus, Tunisia's Secretary of State for Information, Mustafa Masmoudi, in his seminal paper on the "New World Information Order," deplores the lack of information on developing countries in the transnational media and asserts that when the Western media do indeed show an interest in them, they do so "in the most unfavorable light, stressing crisis, strikes, street demonstrations, corruption etc., or even holding them up to ridicule." The criteria governing the selection of news, says Masmoudi, are " based on the political and economic interest of the transnational system and of the world in which the system is established" (Masmoudi, 1978:24).

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

There have been many studies on the coverage of Third World countries in the media of Western nations and of foreign news transmitted abroad by Western news agencies. But, according to Giffard (1984:14), "little has been done to compare the quantity and quality of news about developed and developing nations disseminated abroad by these agencies."

With the above background in mind, the researcher undertook a comparative study of the coverage accorded to Third World events by the Western and Third World press. The event chosen for the study was one that evoked significant world reaction: the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India.

The object was to examine, analyze, and compare the way in which the newspapers, The Washington Post, The Times of London, The New Straits Times of Kualalumpur and The Hindustan Times of New Delhi, reported the assassination of Indira Gandhi, and its aftermath, for a period of nine days: October 30, 1984, a day before the assassination, to November 7, 1984, a week after the assassination.

The news media during this nine day period concentrated their coverage on three major actors (newsmakers): Indira Gandhi, the Sikhs, and Rajiv Gandhi. The news coverage was probably one of the important factors

which influenced the public's attitude toward these
newsmakers and the developments in which the newsmakers had
a major role. The developments were the Gandhi-Sikh
confrontation; Gandhi's assassination; the violence in the
aftermath of Gandhi's assassination; Rajiv's election as
Prime Minister; and Rajiv's handling of the violent
situation in India.

Keeping the above developments in mind, this study
attempted to answer the following questions:

1. How extensively was each attitude object (newsmaker)
covered in the time frame of the study?

2. How did each newspaper cover each of the three
attitude objects (newsmakers)? That is, did all the three
newsmakers receive the same degree of positive, negative,
or neutral coverage, or were they treated unequally?

3. To what extent did each newspaper use reports,
inferences, and judgment to describe the attitude objects?

4. On what sources--correspondents, foreign service
writers, news wire services, press agencies--did each
newspaper depend to report on developments in India?

The above questions were answered both in terms of
each newspaper separately, and all four in general. The
answers have direct relevance to the New World Information
Order debate as they shed light on Western and Third World
news reporting patterns.

The first two questions on <u>extent</u> and <u>direction</u>

(favorable, neutral, unfavorable) of coverage were asked in order to observe similarities and contradictions, if any, between Western and Third World newspapers in their reporting of the attitude objects. The third question on the _type_ of coverage addressed the issue of "objectivity" in international news reporting. Generally speaking, since, there exists an inverse relationship between the degree of objectivity and use of inference and judgment sentences, the answer, it was hoped would help in the clarification of certain prevailing notions on the Western concept of "objectivity." The fourth question was relevant in terms of identifying the structure of news collection and dissemination in Western and Third World countries. The answer would help in the clarification of complaints from the Third World about a "weak" national information media and their dependence on Western wire services.

JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

The case study undertaken by the researcher concerns itself with the patterns in news reporting in the West and the Third World, and thereby addresses a major issue in international communication. After all the efforts expended on the New World Information Order debate, a number of questions about the issues beg to be answered. Among them are: "Who is empowered to determine how a nation is covered in the international press? Do individual

nations have a right to control news and information entering and leaving their borders?" (Lent, 1982:17).

The answers to the above questions, have significant implications in the shaping of domestic communication policies in all nations of the world, and the Third World in particular. Lent (18) noted:

> The publications generated by the debate, although plentiful suffer from a lack of empirical research; are often propagandistic, rather than informative and scholarly. Perhaps we have had enough of these for a while. There is need for more content analysis that take on longitudinal and comparative characteristics in the documentation of news content and news flow.

It is evident from the existing body of literature that we do not have a shortage of the polemical type essay, and, hence, "every so often the house of international communication debate looks like being blown away by the force of its own rhetoric. On such occasions, empirical research can serve as useful pegs to reground discussion in reality" (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1982:87).

This study takes on comparative characteristics across Western and Third World news reporting and seeks to explore and/or confirm, through an empirical design, some of the patterns in Western and Third World news reporting.

In order to better understand the specifics of this case-study, a comprehensive background of the volatile socio-political situation in the predominantly Sikh state

of Punjab is useful.

BACKGROUND

The state of Punjab, in north India has been the scene
of a series of agitations since September of 1981.
According to the White Paper on the Punjab Agitation
(WPPA), published by the Government of India (1984:1) four
distinct factors were noticeably at work:

1. The agitations sponsored by the Siromani Akali Dal, a
Sikh political party, in support of certain demands (see
Appendix A) which had been submitted to Government and on
which negotiations were in progress.

2. A stridently communal and extremist movement which
degenerated into an open advocacy of violence and sanction
for the most heinous crimes against innocent and helpless
citizens and against the State.

3. Secessionist and anti-national activities with the
declared objective of establishing an independent State for
the Sikhs with external support.

4. Involvement of criminals, smugglers, other
anti-social elements and Naxalites who took advantage of
the situation for their own ends.

Even though at times these factors seemed to be
independent of one another, in the ultimate analysis they
combined to produce "a complex web of violence and terror
that threatened to undermine the social, political and
economic stability not only of Punjab but the whole

country" (WPPA, 1984:1).

The White paper (1-3) further notes that the ideological underpinning for the demand for a separate Sikh State was provided by certain members of the Sikh community in foreign countries. Secessionist activities in India were fuelled by inflammatory utterances of Amrik Singh and Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, leaders of the "secessionist" and "terrorist" groups. Even though the Akali Dal leadership did not put forward any specific demand of a secessionist nature, its ambiguity on the concept of Sikh separatism provided a respectable cover for "subversive" and "anti-national" forces to operate in secure knowledge that they would not be politically disowned. Their ambivalence and, on occasion their use of the concept and phraseology of the separatist movement, contributed to the political confusion in the State.

According to the White Paper (2) the tactics employed by the "secessionist" and "terrorist" groups were:

> systematic campaign to create bitterness and hatred between Sikhs and Hindus; indoctrination in the ideology of separatism in militant terms; training in the use of modern weaponory; use of terrorism against specific targets in the police and the administration in Punjab; preparation of "hit lists" of those who disagreed and organising their murder; random killing of persons of specific community aimed at creating terror and instigating communal violence; stockpiling of arms and ammunition in places of worship; utilization of smugglers and anti-social elements for procuring supplies of arms, ammunition and for looting banks, jewelry shops and individual homes; and obtaining

covert and overt support from external sources.
All this they did by lodging themselves within the
holy precincts of the Golden Temple and other
gurudwaras (Sikh temples) throughout Punjab and
elsewhere. Government's reluctance to send police
forces into the gurudwaras out of deference to the
religious sentiments of the Sikh community was
fully exploited. These elements misused sacred
places of worship to direct and commit acts of
murder, sabotage, arson and loot. Their actions
plunged Punjab into disorder and anarchy, giving
rise to a sense of deep insecurity among law
abiding sections of the population. Conditions of
insurgency were fast emerging, seriously
threatening the country's unity and territorial
integrity.

The White Paper (3) further notes that the essence of

the problem in Punjab was not the demands put forward by

the Akali Dal in 1981 but the maturing of a "secessionist"

and "anti-national" movement, with the active support of a

small number of groups operating from abroad. The Akali

Dal leadership allowed the initiative and control over the

agitation to pass out of their hands. They lacked the will

to arrive at a settlement on the basis of any reasonable

framework offered by the government. Hesitation, second

thoughts, unwillingness to come to definite conclusions in

a spirit of give and take and to deal with the pressures of

militancy based on unabashed communalism, characterized

their attitude. Negotiations were frustrated time and

again just when the prospects of settlement seemed near.

Even in the week preceding the calling in of the army in

aid of the civil authority, Government of India made one

more effort to reach a settlement through discussions with

the Akali Dal leadership, but found their position more
rigid than before.

The "terrorists" escalated their violence. With each
passing day the situation worsened. The "subversive"
activities of groups inside the Golden Temple complex had
assumed menacing proportions in the context of India's
security environment. According to the White Paper
(1984:3) "the Government was convinced that this challenge
to the security, unity and integrity of the country could
not be met by normal law and order agencies at the disposal
of the State."

The rebellion came to a bloody climax when, on June 5,
1984, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered the storming of
the Golden Temple, the Sikh's holiest shrine, in Amritsar,
Punjab, by Indian army troops. This was an effort to break
the back of the "terrorist" movement which had been seeking
autonomy for the predominantly Sikh state of Punjab for
three years. The shrine was being used by the Sikh
"terrorists" to launch a campaign of violence in Punjab and
as their fortress and headquarters. The New York Times of
November 1, 1984, reports that "according to official
government figures, about 600 people were killed in the
raid on the temple, including the most militant Sikh
leader, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. Other reports placed
the figure as high as 1,200."

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA

For several weeks after the storming of the temple, the Western and Third World press were replete with stories on Gandhi's crackdown on the Sikh extremists. Gandhi's decision to flush out the terrorists from the holy shrine produced mixed reactions in India and abroad. In an article in The Washington Post on June 8, 1984 a Post staff writer noted "opposition parties in India voiced support for Gandhi's action, as did editorials in major newspapers. The leader of an opposition party, Kalpanath Rai said that the entire nation stood behind Gandhi in this step." The Post staff writer added "Gandhi's decision to allow the army into the holy temple has created a backlash among some Sikhs, many of them considered moderate on the issue of creating an independent Sikh nation of "Khalistan" and opting instead for increased political autonomy."

Just when the stories on Gandhi's crackdown on the Sikh extremists began to fade from the face of Western and Third World press, her assassination on October 31, 1984, sent shock waves around the world. Gandhi was shot and killed at her home by two gunmen who were later identified as Sikh members of her personal bodyguard. Hours after her death, her 40-year old son, Rajiv Gandhi was sworn in as her successor.

For the next several days the Western and Third World press were once again replete with stories about Gandhi's

assassination and the "incalculable void" it left in the
life of the country. William Stevens, the New York Times
New Delhi Correspondent in his article on November 1, 1984,
observed: "her sudden disappearance from the public scene
represents a considerable challenge to the future of the
Indian experiment in democracy."

The developments in India in the wake of Indira
Gandhi's assassination were accorded extensive coverage in
newspapers both in India and abroad. Although, in terms of
themes and issues, the coverage was diverse and varied in
each newspaper--from dealing with "Who the Sikhs
were?"....to...."What Gandhi's death meant for Pakistan's
foreign policy?"--yet, certain 'hot' topics were common in
all newspapers, a discussion of which is provided, below.

First, Gandhi's killing by her Sikh bodyguards revived
the issue of the Gandhi-Sikh confrontation and her earlier
crackdown on the Sikh extremists at the Golden Temple. Her
killing was widely interpreted by the newspapers as part of
a conspiracy by the Sikhs to avenge the death of their
brothers, slain during the siege of the holy shrine. In a
report published by the New Straits Times of November 1,
1984, a British Sikh leader recalled the Indian army's
storming of the Golden Temple in Amritsar and said: "It's
not very surprising somebody has killed her. She was more
or less asking for it."

The swift installation of Rajiv Gandhi as Prime

Minister brought forth fears of 'dynastic rule' in India,
and the press dealt with this topic at great length.
Whether or not Rajiv Gandhi could deliver the goods in an
'orphaned' India was a question of considerable controversy
and debate. Stevens, in his article of November 1, 1984,
in the New York Times wrote: "it is Rajiv's abilities and
performance that are, perhaps, the biggest uncertainity for
many people as the nation tries to adjust to the great
loss."

One of the major tasks which Rajiv faced immediately
was to quell the sectarian violence between the Hindus and
Sikhs which erupted in India in the wake of Indira Gandhi's
assassination. As word spread that Indira Gandhi was
killed by Sikhs, violence, arson, and looting swept large
parts of the country as frenzied Hindu mobs roamed streets,
killing Sikhs, burning their houses, vehicles and
establishments. Rajiv's handling of the volatile situation
in India, and his calling in of the army as a result of the
total collapse of the law and order machinery, came under
close scrutiny of the press. The mass circulation Indian
Express of November 3, 1984, said that problems posed by
the widespread violence following Indira Gandhi's
assassination demanded resolute leadership. "Without
political leadership, the bureaucracy cannot function and
with everybody looking up for guidance, decisions are being
delayed and co-ordination must falter," it said. The

Statesman of November 3, 1984, welcomed pleas for peace from the new Prime Minister and opposition leaders, but added: "The situation is far too grave to be controlled only by statements and reasoned appeals."

In sum, the situation in India after the death of Indira Gandhi evoked powerful reactions both at home and abroad, and for some time much of the world's news coverage centered on it. Western and Third World news reporters and correspondents stationed in New Delhi reported the Gandhi assassination and its aftermath extensively, until the "communal madness" was checked and order restored.

Every effort has been made above to provide a comprehensive background of events in a strife-torn India. A discussion of the existing literature on the New World Information Order debate, with an emphasis on content analysis studies, is provided in the next section.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The North-South debate on the New World Information Order dominated the discussion on international communication in the 1970s. That debate generated a large output of literature from such researchers as Boyd-Barrett, 1980; Gunaratne, 1978; Hamelink, 1980; Horton, 1978; Masmoudi, 1978; McPhail, 1981; Read, 1976; Richstad-Anderson, 1981; Righter, 1978; Rosenblum, 1979; Rubin, 1977; Smith, 1980; Somavia, 1976;

Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1984; Stover, 1984; Tunstall, 1977; and

many others. This high pitched debate of the 1970s led to

the report of the International Commission for the Study of

Communication Problems (ICSCP, 1980) headed by Sean

MacBride. At the beginning of the present decade, much of

the rhetoric relating to the issue has been discarded, and

there is a more general acceptance of the need for a new,

more just, and more efficient information and communication

order.

The major thrusts of the complaints relating to the

presentation of Third World news in the mass media of the

advanced countries are now relatively well known. The

Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on the International Flow

of News (TCFTF, 1978) chaired by Francoise Giroud, former

French cultural minister, took a serious view of the charge

that even the quality press in the advanced countries did

not publish enough about the developing countries and that

a good deal of what is published failed to reflect the

economic and political realities of those countries. The

task force admitted that news about Third World events

received relatively little coverage and there was a serious

imbalance in the flow of information between the developing

and developed countries.

On the matter of meager Third World coverage, Rubin

(1977:53) said there was a legitimate question as to

whether American media reinforced the audience's

stereotypes on Africa (e.g. primitiveness, natives with quaint customs, and tropical jungles) and Latin America (e.g. constant revolutions, banana republics, siestas and sombreros) or whether they were intensified and survived because of lack of coverage.

The general explanation of editors for underplaying or omitting Third World news in the Western media is lack of reader interest. Mort Rosenblum, an Associated Press bureau chief, said there was little demand for African news in much of the world (Horton, 1978:119-120). The cost of maintaining correspondents in Africa on the other hand was quite high, he said. Stories also had to be discarded for lack of wire space, and the first to go might be economic and social development items--the type clamored for by the Third World.

Over the last thirty years, many studies have tracked the flow and fate of news between nations. In fact, the study of foreign news flow is at a stage where the literature is taking tentative steps toward theory construction. Hester, for example, has suggested that variables such as national rank in the power of hierarchy of nations, dominance and weakness of nations, and cultural and economic affinities are causal factors in the patterns of information flow between nations (Hester,1973). "These patterns seem to have developed into a flow of news which critics see as pro-western, where coverage of Third World

issues is superficial, focusing largely on violence and disasters rather than on positive developments" (Pinch, 1978:163).

What might be the consequence of this imbalance? Assuming that a high level of information about international events is considered desirable among the general public, Hester has suggested that emphasis on some nations and little exposure to others could lead to "distorted" world pictures in the mind of the readers (Gerbner and Maryanyi, 1977:52).

Two responses to the concern about distortion in international news and information flow have been the initiation, in 1975, of a Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool by Tanjug, the Yugoslav news agency, and on a broader basis, Unesco's contentious interest in the 'right to communicate' (Gunter, 1978:142).

Several studies have looked closely at U.S. wire service coverage of foreign news, with particular attention to the services available to smaller, more provincial media. Most of the studies suggest that Third World complaints are justified to some degree. In the mid-fifties, Cutlip (1954) analyzed the content and flow of AP wires, finding that only about five to ten percent of the wire copy dealt with foreign news. About two decades later Hester (1971) found that foreign datelines constituted about 20 percent of the state wire copies.

Equally relevant is an anlysis of selected services of the
AP, UPI, Reuters, and AFP undertaken by Richard Cole,
Donald Shaw, David Weaver, and Cleveland Wilhoit. The
study examined the AP and UPI wires to smaller media in the
U.S; the AP, UPI, AFP and Reuters wires to Latin America;
the Reuter's wire to the Middle East, and the AFP wire to
francophone Africa. "The analysis demonstrates a more even
balance of coverage between developed and developing
nations than claimed by critics of the Western news
agencies. But it also calls for a reevaluation of the
definition of "news" that seems to dominate much wire
service coverage" (Giffard, 1984:15).

The stepchild treatment given to Third World by the
Big Four news agencies--Associated Press, United Press
International, Reuters and Agence France Presse--and the
Western media that are dependent on those agencies boils
down to a matter of economics. The AP claimed to make no
more than 1% of its total income from the Third World
though it spent five times as much on covering news events
there (TCFTF, 1978:28). Thus these countries were of
'relatively little revenue importance' to the Big Four,
whose most profitable business was with other
industrialized countries (Boyd-Barrett, 1980:37; Read
1976:167).

Irrespective of the economics involved, the fact is
that a total world daily newspaper circulation of more than

450 million and a world broadcast audience well in excess
of 1283 million people are affected by the services of the
Big Four (Boyd-Barrett, 1980:15). While these agencies
transmitted daily a substantial amount of Third World news,
most of their copy was neither printed nor broadcasted by
the subscribers (TCFTF, 1978:8). And whatever material was
used naturally reflected the biases of the originating
agencies. For instance, Wilbur Schramm's (1978) study
showed that between two-thirds and three-fourths of each
agency's Third World coverage was committed to the category
of military/violence, foreign relations and domestic
government, thereby confirming the suggestion that news of
developing countries was more likely to be in one of those
categories than news relating to developed countries. The
categories crime/legal and sport also ranked high while
categories like technology, education, culture, religion
and race ranked poorly (Boyd-Barrett, 1980:105). In the
view of the MacBride Commission, important events and
valuable achievements--scientific, economic and
cultural--were often unknown because they happened in
smaller countries or areas that did not attract world
attention (ICSCP, 1980:145).

According to Rubin (1977:41), "The rules of the media
in foreign news are rational within the context of
intentions to make money and to please the maximum number
of readers, but such considerations must consistently be

challenged by the media's duty to inform." He added that the media could improve Third World coverage without increasing expenses simply by using more of the in-depth stories they were already buying from the wire services and the syndicates. The Giroud Task Force was of the opinion that further progress on better Third World coverage partly depended on "promoting among news retailers and the public in the West an awareness of the need for a balanced flow of information" (TCFTF, 1978:8). The MacBride Commission observed that incoming news from many developing countries did not always readily flow into the media in the industrialized world and that there was a need "for more receptive attitudes on the part of the editors in the press rooms of newspapers and the broadcasting stations" (ICSCP, 1980:147). The Commission referred to the "increasing potential of communication in fostering international understanding and awareness of major problems" and added that "only if the media put more stress on what joins people together rather than on what divides them will the people of the world be able to aid one another through peaceful exchange of mutual understanding" (ICSCP, 1980:35 and 43).

Many studies suggest that the Western wire service coverage of the rest of the world--especially the Third World countries--tends to be crisis oriented and drawn to sensational and atypical happenings. Tattarian (1977)

argues that there is an acknowledged tendency among Western media, including the wire services, to devote greater attention to the Third World in times of disaster, crisis, and confrontation. Lent (1977) supports the notion of a crisis orientation of news from the less developed countries of the world. Aggarwala (1977) concludes that most of the news about the Third World is negative and deals with such subjects as famines, natural disasters, and political and military intrigues. According to Gunter (1978:61):

> news about the Third World in Western wire service
> reports is distorted and dwells only on "bad"
> news--catastrophe, corruption, civil disorder, and
> failure. The effect is heightened, because so
> little of the news on the international news wires
> is about the Third World, thus creating a chaotic,
> fragmented picture in the mind of the reader. This
> same picture is, in turn, conveyed back to the
> Third World by the Western news agencies,
> contributing to and reinforcing the Third World's
> negative self image.

Compounding this problem of news "quality" is the tendency of the Western Correspondents to squeeze the last drop out of stories they cover. This also may result in a distortion of news content. As Rosenblum (1979:5) notes:

the competition for space leads to a malpractice known
as "hyping." Few (correspondents) exaggerate
purposely, and almost none ever lies outright. But
reporters often are tempted to reach dramatic
conclusions or wide generalizations to make their
stories more attractive to editors. Occasionally
quotes are "cleaned up" slightly to sound "catchier."
In border line cases, stronger words are usually
preferred: "riot" rather than "demonstration,"
"massacre" instead of "killing."

Some scholars suggest that news about the less

developed countries of the world is likely to constitute a

rather small proportion of all Western foreign news.

Gerbner and Marvanyi (1977:55), studying foreign news

coverage in nine countries, found that foreign news content

constituted about 16 percent of total news space for the

New York Times in 1970, as Kayser had found in 1951, and

that only three percent of the U.S. press coverage was

devoted to Central and Southern Africa.

A number of quantitative studies have examined foreign

news in national media, the most ambitious one being the

"Foreign Images" study undertaken by the International

Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) for

Unesco (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1984). Directly relevant to

the IAMCR study is the examination by Wilbur Schramm of

international news wire service to Asia for five days in

1977. It concluded, inter alia, that the quantity of

Third World News transmitted to Asia by the four

international new agencies was "rather impressive," in that

about half the stories on the wires dealt to some extent

with the Third World Countries (Schramm:1981).

Lent (1982:18) notes that "although the publications generated by the information order debate are "repetitive," one encouraging sign is the increasing use of content analysis to document the flow of news and information across national boundaries." Sreberny-Mohammadi (1984) stresses the need for more quantitative and qualitative studies to provide a "deeper" reading of the content of international news, thereby reinforcing Lent's (1982) view on the need for more content analysis studies that could take on longitudinal and comparative characteristics.

In summary, there is no dearth of literature on the New World Information Order debate--especially on the problem of international news flow. The majority is the polemical essay and, thus, many researchers feel that the publications generated by the debate generally suffer from a lack of empirical research. The need for quantitative and qualitative content analysis studies that could take on longitudinal and comparative characteristics is advocated.

A comprehensive review of literature on the New World Information Order debate is provided above. A discussion of the methodology employed to answer the research questions is provided in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY OF STUDY

This study employed the method of both quantitative and qualitative content analysis to answer the research questions stated in chapter one. In recent years, the method has become very popular with media researchers, especially those, interested in the "deeper" reading of media content and messages.

Definitions of Content Analysis

One of the best known definitions of content analysis was presented by Berelson (1952:18): "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of manifest content of communication." Although Berelson's definition has been widely accepted among content analysts, it has also created controversies and objections. According to Abdollahi (1983:50), the main controversy has centered around the term "manifest content." To many content analysts, including Abdollahi, the content of messages is not always "manifest." In many instances the manifest content of messages may not have a significant value. Content analysis is not just counting the frequency of words; therefore, the researcher must also use his own inferences and judgments to describe and classify the content of communication and to decide the meaning of the

latent content of messages. While counting the frequencies of occurrence is of major importance to researchers, it is not the primary step, but comes after the content of messages has been carefully classified into different categories. Holsti (1969:14) and Stone et al. (1966:5) consider content analysis to be "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages." Krippendorff's (1980:21) definition is similar to Stone's and Holsti's: "Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context." Or, put differently, "Content analysis could be categorized as a method of inquiry into symbolic meaning of messages" (Krippendorff, 1980:22). The inferential character of content analysis is clear from the definitions of Krippendorff, Holsti, and Stone. Moreover, Krippendorff (1980:23) suggested that "any content analysis must be performed relative to and justified in terms of the context of the data."

According to Gerbner et al. (1969:x), systematic and objective approaches in content analysis, "do not replace the need for intuition, judgment, and insight. Conjecture gives direction to research, and interpretations give bite to the findings." To Janis (1965:55) content analysis refers to:

any technique a) for the classification of the sign
vehicle, b) which relies solely upon the judgments
(which theoretically may range from perceptual
discrimination to sheer guesses) of an analyst or
group of analysts to which sign vehicles fall into
categories, c) on the basis of explicitly
formulated rules, d) provided that the analyst's
judgments are regarded as the reports of a
scientific observer.

All the above definitions consider systematic and
objective observation of the data to be the most important
step in any content analysis research. A fundamental
assumption underlying the use of content analysis is that
the context of a message cannot be separated from its
content.

In keeping with above, the researcher in this study
tried, as far as possible, to include all the latent and
contextual elements of the content while making valid
inferences from the data to their context. Background
knowledge of the attitude objects and their respective
roles in the developments in Punjab, was helpful in this
endeavor.

Sources

Of the many Western and Third World dailies, four were
chosen for the study: The Washington Post from the United
States of America; The Times from London, England; The New
Straits Times from Kualalumpur, Malaysia; and The Hindustan
Times from New Delhi, India. The newspapers were chosen

because of their recognized international image; elitist

reputation; foreign policy influence on respective

governments; and because all are independent newspapers and

come out from capital cities.

In reference to The Post Merrill and Fisher (1980:342)

pointed out:

> in the past ten to fifteen years and above all in
> Watergate days, The Post has put together a
> combination of qualities--editorial innovations,
> crusades against government excesses, tough
> investigative repertorial digging and commitment to
> news and public service--which have thrust it into
> national prominence.

In reference to The Times Merrill and Fisher

(1980:320) observed:

> The Times, one of Britain's oldest newspapers, has
> managed to gain and hold a highly respected image
> of reliability, civility and dignity. It has been
> a "newspaper of record," the paper to read for
> nearly everyone, but especially for the influential
> opinion-maker of government, nobility, ruling class
> and business and financial circles. It has ever
> stood in higher journalistic circles of the world
> as the paper which most readily comes to mind when
> thoughts turn to quality newspaper journalism.

There is little doubt that The Post and The Times are

two top quality newspapers in the Western world. By the

same token the New Straits Times and the Hindustan Times

are two prominent and quality newspapers in the Third

World.

Summarizing the characteristics of <u>The Hindustan</u>
<u>Times,</u> Mundt (1982:475) said: "its influence is due to its
role as spokesman for the national interest of India, to
its social conscience and its journalistic excellence." Of
the four English-language newspapers published in Malaysia,
Parker (1982:615) labels <u>The New Straits Times</u> as "the
oldest, most famous newspaper," noted for its world
consciousness and social concern.

Time Frame

The time period chosen for the analysis of the
newspapers was October 30 to November 7, 1984. Indira
Gandhi was assassinated on October 31, 1984, so the chosen
time frame allowed a one week period immediately following
the assassination and two days before it.

Sampling

The titles, page numbers, dates and sources, of all
news stories concerning Indira Gandhi's assassination, and
the subsequent developments in India, published in each of
the newspapers, were carefully recorded. News stories were
carefully read, and, only those stories which dealt
directly with the Gandhi assassination--the actual
shooting; the violence in its aftermath--Hindu-Sikh riots;
Gandhi-Sikh confrontation--developments of the Punjab
agitation; Indira Gandhi--the Prime Minister and person;

appointment of Rajiv Gandhi as Prime Minister--his
credentials; and Rajiv's handling of the volatile situation
in India--the bringing in of the army, were selected for
sampling purposes. News stories/stories that did not deal
with any of the above mentioned topics were judged as being
irrelevant to the study and were not included in the
population.

Following are the headlines of some of the news
stories which were considered _irrelevant_ for this study:

1. Indian President flying back to Delhi (_New Straits_
Times, November 1, 1984, p.12.)

2. Indian Cricket tour called off (_New Straits Times,_
November 2, 1984, p. 12.)

3. Reagan visits Indian Embassy (_The Washington Post,_
November 1, 1984, p. A.30)

4. Moscow hints CIA Behind Assassination (_The_
Washington Post, November 2, 1984, p. A.30)

5. Many world leaders to attend funeral (_The Times,_
November 2, 1984, p. 5)

6. Zia hopes for Delhi help over Afghanistan (_The_
Times, November 6, 1984, p. 5)

7. Saturday declared Public holiday (_The Hindustan_
Times, November 2, 1984, p. 3)

8. Youth shave heads in grief (_The Hindustan Times_
November 4, 1984, p. 13)

In addition to news stories, as illustrated above,

those stories which were full of direct quotes were also excluded from the sampling population. This was done because a direct quote gives little or no indication about an editor's/journalist's personal bias towards an attitude object, and, thus, is not a true representation of a newspaper's slant in reporting. Some may argue that the very decision to "quote" or "not quote" could indicate a bias on part of the reporter/editor. Some others may say that direct quotes are often employed for "ensuring objectivity," and, hence, should be included. Both the arguments are well merited, but, in order to make a distinction between "what was actually said" and "what was reported", direct quotes were excluded from the analysis. Following are the headlines of some of the news stories which had only direct quotes:

1. Both Houses pay tribute to Indira Gandhi (The Times, November 1, 1984, p. 4)

2. Rajiv: 'A moment of profound grief.' (The Washington Post, November 1, 1984, p. A.29)

3. Mahathir expresses shock and grief (New Straits Times, November 1, 1984, p. 1)

4. World leaders condemn outrage (The Hindustan Times, November 1, 1984, p. 1)

The total number of news stories directly relevant to the study were 176. The Hindustan Times published the highest number of stories (72), followed by The New

Straits Times 44, followed by The Times 31, and The Post
published 29.

The selected news stories were stratified into four
categories for each newspaper. The stories were classified
according to type such as Straight News, Features,
Editorials, or Special Opinion Pieces. These four
categories are distinguished as follows:

1. Straight News : Any story, based on verifiable facts,
and whose purpose was to inform the reader was classified
as a straight news story. The definition provided by Hill
and Breen (1977:163) was used as a basis for
classification. According to Hill and Breen:

> a straight news story tells what happened and when
> and how and to whom or by whom and where, and
> occasionally how or why. Sometimes it gives some
> background. But it should stop there. It is not
> intended to interpret, to explain.

2. Features : Any story that explored the topic in
greater depth than straight news stories and placed greater
emphasis on colorful details: anecdotes, quotations and
descriptions, was classified as a feature story. The
definition provided by Fedler (1984:567) was used as a
basis for classification: "Feature stories place a greater
emphasis on facts that are interesting--facts likely to
amuse and entertain their readers." Because of that
emphasis feature stories are also called "human interest"
and "color" stories. According to Fedler (1984:569-571)

there are generally four kinds of feature stories:

a. <u>Profiles or Personality Features</u> : These describe
interesting and colorful individuals who have overcome a
handicap, achieved success, become important, pursued an
unusual career or are known for their idiosyncratic
personalities. Profile features do more than list an
individuals accomplishments and important dates in person's
life; they reveal that person's character.

b. <u>Historical Features</u> : Commemorate the dates of
important events, and anniversaries of the births and
deaths of famous people. Some historical features describe
famous landmarks, pioneers and philosophies, where as some
are tied to current events that generate interest in their
topics.

c. <u>Adventure Features</u> : These describe unusual and
exciting experiences, and in this type of feature story,
too, quotations and descriptions are especially important.

d. <u>Explanatory Features</u> : These are also called
"interpretive" features, and they attempt to provide a more
detailed description or explanation of topics that have
been mentioned in recent news stories. Explanatory
features may examine a specific organization, activity,
trend or idea. Any news story which satisfied any of the
four definitions of feature types, as provided by Fedler
(1984:569-571), was classified as a feature story.

3. <u>Editorials</u> : Any opinion story or leading article

written by the newspaper editorial writer or staff, which featured on the one and only editorial page in a newspaper, was classified as an editorial. According to Hill and Breen (1977:162-163): "Editorials are opinion columns," written by the newspapers editorial writer, "which normally make an argument for one position, urge a course of action, favor one side against another."

4. Special Opinion Pieces : Any opinion story written by a person who was not a part of the regular newspaper editorial staff and which generally featured on the editorial page or the page opposite to it, was classified as a special opinion piece. Letters to the editor were included in this category.

Table 1 lists the stratified universe of news stories for each newspaper.

Table 1

Stratified Universe of News Stories for Each Newspaper

Newspaper	Straight News	Features	Editorials	Special Opinions	Total
The Post	19	6	2	2	29
The Times	14	9	2	6	31
The NS Times	30	12	2	0	44
The H Times	42	14	8	8	72
Total	105	41	14	16	176

After stratifying the news story according to their

type, for each newspaper separately, each story, within a classification, was assigned a random number from 01 to n (where n was the total number of stories in that classification). By choosing a random number from a table of random numbers the first news article for a classification was selected. A systematic random procedure was then employed so as to select one third of the cases for each classification. It was felt this would provide a sufficiently large sample from which generalizations could be made to the population. For those cases where there were fewer than three stories, or when the number of stories was not a factor of three, the fraction was rounded of to the next greater number. This procedure was repeated for each classification within a newspaper, and for each newspaper separately.

Table 2 lists the stratified sample of news stories for each newspaper.

Table 2

Stratified Sample of News Stories for Each Newspaper

Newspaper	Straight News	Features	Editorials	Special Opinions	Total
The Post	7	2	1	1	11
The Times	5	3	1	2	11
The NS Times	10	4	1	0	15
The H Times	14	5	3	3	25
Total	36	14	6	6	62

By using this procedure a total of 62 news stories was selected for the sample. Of the total sample, <u>The Post</u> and <u>the Times</u> had 11 stories each, <u>The New Straits Times</u> had 15 stories, and <u>The Hindustan Times</u> had 25 stories. The length of the stories varied from as few as two sentences to as many as 159 sentences.

Unit of Analysis

Following the selection of the 62 sample stories, the next step was to decide on a unit for analyzing the stories. From choices such as news article, paragraph, sentence and word, it was decided that the sentence was the most appropriate and reliable unit for analysis of content. In many instances a news article may contain or reflect a combination of positive, negative, and/or neutral attitudes toward a newsmaker or attitude object; therefore, sometimes it would be virtually impossible to classify the content of an entire story into one category. This is also true regarding the use of paragraphs as units of analysis, and words have the disadvantage of not always conveying their symbolic meaning when examined individually. The sentence, however, is a small unit and, in most cases, contains only one type of attitude toward a newsmaker. "A sentence usually expresses either a positive, negative or neutral attitude toward a newsmaker or attitude object" (Abdollahi,

1983:53). With this justification it was expected that the findings would be objective by choosing sentences rather than news stories, paragraphs, or words as the unit of analysis. Because the measurement unit is so small and since the direction of measurement from one unit to the next may not be the same (i.e, one sentence positive, the next negative or neutral; one sentence related to one attitude object, the next related to another), the researcher must use extreme care in measuring those differences from one sentence to another. The researcher must be aware that many sentences are attributed to two, or all three attitude objects. In such cases, each object referred to is coded; each sentence could be coded two or three times--once for each attitude object. Consider the following sentence taken from New Straits Times (November 1, 1984, p.1): "Rajiv Gandhi, 40-year old son of Indira Gandhi, was sworn in last night to succeed her as Indian Prime Minister nine hours after she was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards." The content of the sentence reveals that it involves Indira Gandhi, Sikhs, and Rajiv Gandhi. Therefore its content must be classified three times, once for Indira Gandhi, once for the Sikhs and once for Rajiv Gandhi. Then, based on how the coder interprets or understands the meaning of this sentence, it would be categorized, for example, as neutral to Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi and unfavorable to the Sikhs. Moreover it may

be coded as a report sentence since its authenticity or non-authenticity can be verified.

Attitude Objects (Newsmakers)

The American Heritage Dictionary (1976) defines the term "object," as "a person or thing serving as a focus of attention, curiosity, discussion, feeling, thought, or action." The term "attitude object" (AO) which is used frequently in the present study, was borrowed from Osgood's (1959) "Evaluation Assertion Analysis." Using Osgood's (1959:43) definition, "attitude objects" in this study are specifically the nouns (with the initial letter capitalized) which designate the newsmakers and the pronouns referring to those nouns. Occasionally, other names may represent the AOs, in which case, "the coder must rely on the context" of the sentence or assertion or sometimes on the preceding sentence(s).

The main newsmakers in the time frame chosen for the study were Indira Gandhi and her government, the Sikhs--as a community, and Rajiv Gandhi and his administration. The news media, in their reports and editorials demonstrated certain types of attitudes toward these three newsmakers (hereafter referred to as the three attitude objects or AOs). In coding the sentences in each article, the nouns and pronouns relating to each attitude object were classified under the respective AOs. The coder must rely

on the context of the sentences and/or on the entire news
article to determine which nouns or pronouns are
representing each AO. For example the term "the party" may
refer to either one of the three AOs (Indira's or Rajiv's
Congress Party, or the Sikh's Akali Dal Party) depending on
the context of the sentence or news article in which it is
used. The coder must also have sufficient knowledge of the
mainstream of political developments in India and Punjab,
and associate the connection of some of the nouns (or
names) to their respective attitude object. For example,
the names "Khalistanis," "Akalis," "Bhindranwale," etc.,
were classified under Sikhs; "Madam," "Narasimha Rao,"
"Mother India," were classified under Indira Gandhi. The
following is a listing of many names and nouns which most
frequently appeared in the news stories which are related
to the main ACs:

1. <u>Indira Gandhi</u> : Indu, Priyadarshani, Prime Minister,
leader, administrator, dictator, chair-hunger, Nehru's
daughter, mother India, madam, Congress Party, parliament,
central government, army, home minister, Punjab Chief
Minister, Narasimha Rao, N.D.Tiwari, V.P.Singh, and the
pronouns such as she, he, her, his, they, them, it, its,
etc., whenever implied to mean these names and nouns.

2. <u>Sikhs</u> : Community, religion, Khalistanis, Akalis,
leaders, nationalists, minority, moderates, extremists,
terrorists, militants, rioters, farmers, granthis, priests,

assassins, killers, Bhindranwale, Tohra, Darbara Singh, Longowal, Satwant Singh, Beant Singh, Panthic party, Akali Dal party, and the pronouns such as he, his, him, they, their, them, it, its, etc., whenever implied to mean these names and nouns.

3. Rajiv Gandhi : Prime Minister, leader, Indira's son, Nehru's grandson, Sanjay's brother, Mr. Clean, Central government, army, troops, paramilitary forces, police, intelligence department, administrative machinery, civil authorities, Home Secretary, M.M.K. Wali, Lt. Governor, Satarwala, and the pronouns such as he, she, his, him, her, they, their, them, it, its, etc., whenever implied to mean these names.

While most of the sentences were related to the above-named three attitude objects, there also were many sentences which were irrelevant to these AOs and were therefore coded separately under a "Not Related" category:

4. Not Related : any sentence which did not explicitly or implicitly refer to the attitude objects was put into this category and was not categorized any further. Many such sentences were transitional sentences, and many others were related to someone other than the three AOs. For example, one sentence described Indira's politics and the next one talked about Nehru's passion for dogs. In this case, the second sentence was labeled "Not Related."

Content Categories

All the sentences related to the three AOs were classified in two sets of categories. First, based on Janis-Fadner's (1965) scale, the direction of the statements made by the newspapers about the three attitude objects were categorized as favorable, unfavorable, or neutral, Second, based on Hayakawa's (1972) classifications, the sentences were categorized according to their type, such as report, inference, or judgment sentence. These two sets of categories (direction and type) are distinguished as follows:

1. Favorable : Any sentence which had positive meaning toward an AO was coded as favorable to that AO. A sentence may use positive adjectives or words to describe a person. It may approve the person's behavior, personality, action, or ideology by using specific words which, in the context of the sentence, and by implications or inferences of the coders, are considered as favorable or positive toward the AO. Furthermore, the communicator may not have used a clearly positive adjective or any single word to describe the AO positively. The coder must consider the context of the whole sentence or sometimes the context of the other sentences in the article to decide how to classify that particular sentence.

2. Unfavorable : Any sentence which had negative meaning toward the attitude objects was categorized as unfavorable;

i.e., clearly negative adjectives or words may have been used, or words may have had negative implications in the context of the sentence. The coder had to be aware of these implications in order to code the sentences into the appropriate categories.

3. Neutral : Any sentence which did not portray the AOs either positively or negatively were categorized as neutral. Such sentences did not approve or disapprove of a person (an AO, his behavior, actions, personality, and/or ideology). Neutral sentences are neither favorable nor unfavorable to the AOs.

Examples of these three categories, respectively, are the following sentences; one for each of the three AOs.

A. Favorable

1. The reversal of the trend seemed a result of the personal interest a determined Rajiv Gandhi has been taking to put a stop to the senseless killings. ("Riot Toll in the States Mount to 900," The Hindustan Times, November 1, 1984, p.i)

2. Like her father, Indira Gandhi was a person of great courage, with a deep commitment to peace and freedom and to pulling the Indian masses up by their bootstraps. ("End of an Era," The Hindustan Times, November 1, 1984, p.9)

3. Those who were suspicious of the Sikhs should remember that the Sikh tradition was one of patriotism and

heroism. ("Riots Not Communal, Say Sikh leaders," The Hindustan Times, November 7, 1984, p.16)

B. Neutral

1. Rajiv Gandhi, son and political heir of Indira Gandhi, today lit the funeral pyre of his mother at a solemn Hindu ceremony watched by leaders from around the world. ("Rajiv Lights Funeral Pyre," New Straits Times, November 4, 1984, p.1)

2. Indira Gandhi's body was draped in the national flag and white and red flowers were placed on it 20 minutes before the cortege set off. ("Rajiv Lights Funeral Pyre," New Straits Times, November 4, 1984, p.14)

3. The four southern states have been relatively untouched in the disturbances, mainly because there are few Sikhs. ("Sikhs Butchered in Mob Attacks on Trains to Delhi," The Times, November 3, 1984, p.1)

C. Unfavorable

1. Indira Gandhi was not a political thinker, or a skilled administrator. ("Indira Gandhi: a Strong Willed Ruler of India," The Times, November 1, 1984, p.7)

2. The speakers were for the first time, critical of the situation created by Bhindranwale and now his men. ("Bombay Sikhs 'flay' irresponsible acts," The Hindustan Times, November 6, 1984, p.4)

3. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's three-day old government was criticized by Indian newspapers today for

not moving more firmly to clamp order on the country.
("Rajiv Criticized for Not Acting More Firmly," The New
Straits Times, November 4, 1984, p.14)

Types of Sentences

1. Reports : Reports are verifiable statements. As
Hayakawa (1972:30) characterized them, reports are capable
of verification and "they exclude, as far as possible
inferences and judgments."

2. Inferences : An inference sentence according to
Hayakawa (1972:36-37), is "a statement about the unknown
made on the basis of the known." If a reporter wants to
avoid using any inference statement he makes "no guesses as
to what is going on in other people's minds."

3. Judgments : Hayakawa (1972:38-39) defines judgments
as the "expressions of the writer's approval or disapproval
of the occurrence, persons, or objects he is describing."
More specifically, Lowry (1971:308) uses the term judgment
to refer to "sentences that indicate approval-disapproval,
like-dislike, good-bad and so on." The present study takes
these definitions into account.

The following are examples of the type of sentences:

A. Report

1. According to a spokesman, two bodyguards shot
her seven times as she was walking between her residence
and a bungalow used as an office. ("Gandhi's Son Sworn In,"

The Washington Post, November 1, 1984, p.A.1)

2. Rajiv Gandhi, 40, the P.M.'s only surviving son, was unanimously elected at an emergency cabinet meeting.("Gandhi's Son Sworn In," The Washington Post, November 1, 1984, p.A.1)

B. Inference

1. Either because they were too alarmed by events in the capital, or because they preferred to stay away for other reasons, there were no Sikh priests present.(The Gandhi Funeral," The Times, November 5, 1984, p.5)

2. The assassination appeared to be the culmination of the tensions stemming from the two year campaign of violence by extremist Sikh nationalists seeking an autonomous State.("Gandhi's Son Sworn In," The Washington Post, November 1, 1984, p.A.1)

C. Judgment

1. A certain amount of discipline is Rajiv's hallmark.(Rajiv in the Saddle," The Hindustan Times, November 5, 1984, p.A.1)

2. She owes her grip on party and government less to her illustrious pedigree than to her political acumen, toughness and personal drive.("Indira--Genius with 'Gandhi Magic'." New Straits Times, November 1, 1984, p.16)

Guidelines for Coding the Recording Units (Sentences)

Several steps were taken in order to have a uniform

coding procedure and to increase reliability. Due to constraints of time and money, the researcher was the sole coder of data. However, extreme care was taken to formulate precise coding instructions; and clear-cut definitions were provided for content categories and unit analysis in order that in the event of another researcher taking up this study, the chances of replicating the findings of this study be increased.

Special data forms were used for coding. Each form contained eleven columns and 40 rows. The name of the newspaper, the date, title, and page number of each news story was written at the top of the form. In the first (top) row of each dataform, the following headings were recorded respectively: <u>Sentence #</u>, <u>Indira</u>, <u>Sikhs</u>, <u>Rajiv</u>, <u>Not Related</u>, <u>Favorable</u>, <u>Neutral</u>, <u>Unfavorable</u>, <u>Report</u>, <u>Inference</u>, and <u>Judgment.</u> A sample copy of the dataform is presented in Appendix B. The news stories were then read by the researcher. The researcher used the following guidelines in coding the sentences:

1. The sentences in each news article received a number from 1 to n. Sentence number 1 was always the headline (title) of the news article and n was the last sentence in the story.

2. Each sentence was read carefully and, based on its content, was classified with "X" marks, using black ink, in the columns and row relating to that sentence.

3. If a sentence was attributed to two or three attitude objects, the content of that sentence was examined as if it was two or three sentences. For example, if sentence number 5 in a news article referred to both Indira and the Sikhs, the number 5 was recorded twice on the dataform. Characteristics related to the Indira were marked with Xs in one row, and those attributed to the Sikhs were marked with Xs in the next row.

4. The transitional sentences and/or sentences which did not carry any information regarding the AOs were marked with an X under the "Not Related" column.

5. The direct quotes from official and unofficial sources in the news stories were classified in red ink and were excluded from the final analysis of data.

When the source of a statement was a news reporter or editor, the following rules, in addition to the ones mentioned above, were taken into consideration. These rules were derived from Lowry's (1971:208) content analysis of the network news before and after Vice President Agnew's criticism of the TV news coverage.

1. If a sentence contains both statements of fact (report) and inference it will be coded as an inference sentence.

2. If a sentence contains both statements of fact and judgment it will be coded as a judgment sentence.

3. If a sentence contains both an inference and a

judgment, or all three--a fact, an inference and a

judgment, it will be coded as a judgment sentence.

Along with the previously-mentioned guidelines, these

rules helped the researcher to have more consistency in his

coding and provided a more reliable framework within which

the findings of this study could be reproduced by another

researcher. As a result of this, the findings of the study

should be more conclusive and valid.

The Statistical Procedure

All the classifications and codings on dataforms were

tabulated and the frequencies of sentences in each

category, for each AO, in each classification, for each of

the newspaper were calculated.

Along with the presentation of the frequencies, the

Coefficient of Imbalance (CoI) was employed to measure the

degree or extent to which each newspaper was biased or

imbalanced in its coverage of the three AOs. Janis and

Fadner developed a set of formulas "which may be applied to

classified content data in order to present an overall

estimate of the degree of imbalance; i.e., the extent to

which favorable, neutral or unfavorable treatment is

accorded to the topic or symbol under analysis" (Janis and

Fadner, 1965:155).

Janis and Fadner (1965) introduce the following ten

criteria which determine or influence the degree of

imbalance:

1. The coefficient should always increase in the positive direction when the frequency of units of favorable content increase.

2. The coefficient should always increase in the negative direction when the frequency of units of unfavorable content increases.

3. The coefficient should always decrease in absolute value when the frequency of units of neutral content increases.

4. The coefficient should always decrease in absolute value when the frequency of units of total content increases.

5. If there is no relevant content, the coefficient must be zero.

6. If all the units of relevant content are neutral, the coefficient must be zero.

7. If the number of units of favorable content is equal to the number of units of unfavorable content, the coefficient must be zero.

8. If the number of units of favorable and unfavorable content are not equal, the coefficient must not be zero.

9. If all the relevant content is favorable (or unfavorable), any variation in the frequency of units of favorable (or unfavorable) content should provide a directly proportionate variation in the coefficient.

10. If there is no neutral content, the coefficient must vary directly as the ratio of the favorable to the unfavorable, whenever the difference between the favorable and unfavorable content remains constant (Janis and Fadner, 1965:157-158).

In this study the relevant content includes the total number of sentences (r) in the favorable, neutral, and unfavorable categories related to each AO. The total content includes the total number of sentences (t) in the relevant and the non-relevant content categories. The favorable units receive the value of plus one (+1); the unfavorable, the value minus one (-1); and the neutral, the value zero (0). Each non-relevant unit also must be assigned the value zero (0). The coefficient also varies between +1 and -1. If all the sentences in a news article are related only to one AO and all those sentences are either favorable or unfavorable to that AO then the COI gets the value +1 and -1 respectively. For example, if a news article has a total of 50 sentences and all these sentences are relevant only to one AO, t = r. Furthermore, if all 50 sentences are favorable to that AO; i.e., f = 50, u = 0, r = 50 and t = 50, and as a result COI = +1. If u = 50, f = 0, r = 50, and t = 50 then COI = -1.

Based on these criteria Janis and Fadner (1965) developed a set of formulas to calculate the Coefficient of Imbalance in the positive (favorable) and negative

(unfavorable) directions. The main formulas are the following:

1) $C(f) = \dfrac{(f - u).f}{r \quad t}$

2) $C(u) = \dfrac{(f - u).u}{r \quad t}$

C(f) stands for Coefficient of Imbalance in the favorable direction and C(u) stands for Coefficient of Imbalance in the unfavorable direction. f is the number of favorable sentences, and u is the number of unfavorable sentences. The relevant and total sentences are represented by r and t, respectively.

After counting the number of favorable and unfavorable sentences, if the frequency of the former exceeds the latter, the first formula (#1) must be applied, and if the opposite is true (i.e., the unfavorable sentences exceed the favorable ones) formula #2 must be used.

Applying the above formulas, the Coefficient of Imbalance for each AC was measured and the results are presented in the next chapter, along with the frequency distribution of sentences in each category.

CHAPTER III

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The findings of the study are based on the frequency distribution and coefficient of imbalance (CoI) of the sentences in The Post, The Times, The New Straits Times, and The Hindustan Times. The direction (favorable, neutral, unfavorable) and type (report, inference, judgment) of sentences concerning the three attitude objects—Indira Gandhi, Sikhs, and Rajiv Gandhi—are presented for the period between October 30, 1984, to November 7, 1984. Also, the news generating sources (own staff, news wire services, press agencies, guest writers, etc.) are tabulated for each news story, in each newspaper, and then comparisons are drawn across the four newspapers.

EXTENT OF COVERAGE ACCORDED TO ATTITUDE OBJECTS

Table 3 shows how extensively each attitude object (newsmaker) was covered by each of the four newspapers.

Table 3

The Overall Frequency and Percentages of Sentences Related to the AOs in the Four Newspapers

AOs	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Indira	182	46.4	194	60.4	147	52.1	182	34.8
Sikhs	92	23.5	73	22.8	59	20.9	83	15.9
Rajiv	118	30.1	54	16.8	76	27.0	258	49.3
Total	392	100.0	321	100.0	282	100.0	523	100.0

Table 3 shows that The Times, The New Straits Times, and The Post covered Mrs. Gandhi extensively; The Hindustan Times covered Rajiv Gandhi extensively; and the Sikhs received the lowest coverage in three of the four newspapers. Only in The Times did the Sikhs receive more coverage than Rajiv Gandhi.

Table 3 further shows that in terms of overall coverage, The Hindustan Times had the most number of sentences related to the three ACs, followed by The Post, The Times, and The New Straits Times.

The frequency distribution of sentences related to the three ACs, in each story type (straight news, features, editorials, and special opinion pieces), for each newspaper, is included in Appendix C.

DIRECTION OF COVERAGE

The tables in this section list the overall frequencies and percentages of the direction (favorable, neutral, unfavorable) of sentences relating to the three attitude objects for each newspaper. The coefficient of imbalance (CoI) is also listed to show the degree to which each newspaper was biased or imbalanced in the coverage of the AOs.

Direction of Sentences Related to Indira Gandhi

Table 4

The Overall Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of
Sentences Related to Indira Gandhi in the Four Newspapers

Direction	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Favorable	50	27.5	82	42.3	55	37.4	92	50.5
Neutral	69	37.9	45	23.2	64	43.5	78	42.9
Unfavorable	63	34.6	67	34.5	28	19.1	12	6.6
Total	182	100.0	194	100.0	147	100.0	182	100.0
CoI		− 0.0114		+ 0.0197		+ 0.0358		+ 0.0773

Table 4 shows that Indira Gandhi received the most favorable coverage in The Hindustan Times, followed by The New Straits Times, and The Times. The coverage in The Post was slightly unfavorable.

Table 4 shows that a large percentage of sentences relating to Indira Gandhi turned out to be neutral: nearly forty percent of the sentences in The Hindustan Times, The New Straits Times, and The Post were neutral, whereas, The Times had 23.2%. The high proportion of neutral sentences explains the low values of CoI in each newspaper.

Tables 5, 6, 7, and 8 show the frequency distributions of the direction of sentences related to Indira Gandhi in each story type (straight news, features, editorials, special opinion pieces). From these tables it can be seen that The Post covered Indira Gandhi favorably in its editorials and

Table 7

The Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of Sentences
Related to Indira Gandhi in the Editorials Category of Each
Newspaper

Direction	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Favorable	10	58.8	2	25.0	15	83.3	31	66.0
Neutral	3	17.7	2	25.0	3	16.7	16	34.0
Unfavorable	4	23.5	4	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	17	100	8	100	18	100	47	100
CoI	+ 0.1764		− 0.0760		+ 0.5208		+ 0.2524	

Table 8

The Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of Sentences
Related to Indira Gandhi in the Special Opinion Pieces of the
Four Newspapers

Direction	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Favorable	22	51.2	6	19.4	0	0.0	33	56.0
Neutral	3	7.0	4	12.9	0	0.0	22	37.3
Unfavorable	18	41.8	21	67.7	0	0.0	4	6.7
Total	43	100	31	100	0	0.0	59	100
CoI	+ 0.0454		− 0.2674		C		+ 0.1559	

special opinion pieces, although, the direction of its overall coverage was unfavorable. The tables further show that The Times covered Indira Gandhi unfavorably in its editorials and special opinion pieces, although, the direction of its overall coverage was favorable.

Table 5

The Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of Sentences Related to Indira Gandhi in the Straight News Category of the Four Newspapers

Direction	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Favorable	15	16.3	8	33.3	7	18.4	9	26.5
Neutral	59	64.1	13	54.1	28	73.7	24	70.6
Unfavorable	18	19.6	3	12.6	3	7.9	1	2.9
Total	92	100	24	100	38	100	34	100
CoI	− 0.0022		+ 0.0181		+ 0.0055		+ 0.0090	

Table 6

The Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of Sentences Related to Indira Gandhi in the Features Category of the Four Newspapers

Direction	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Favorable	3	10.0	66	50.4	33	36.3	19	45.2
Neutral	4	13.3	26	19.8	33	36.3	16	38.1
Unfavorable	23	76.7	39	29.8	25	27.4	7	16.7
Total	30	100	131	100	91	100	42	100
CoI	− 0.2473		+ 0.0764		+ 0.0230		+ 0.0517	

Direction of Sentences Related to Sikhs

Table 9

The Overall Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of
Sentences Related to the Sikhs in the Four Newspapers

Direction	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Favorable	33	35.9	31	42.5	14	23.7	10	12.0
Neutral	28	30.4	19	26.0	20	33.9	39	47.0
Unfavorable	31	33.7	23	31.5	25	42.4	34	41.0
Total	92	100.0	73	100.0	59	100.0	83	100.0
CoI	+ 0.0018		+ 0.0105		- 0.0165		- 0.0187	

Table 9 shows that the coverage in The Times was favorable to the Sikhs, followed by The Post, where the coverage was only slightly favorable. On the other hand, The Hindustan Times and The New Straits Times covered the Sikhs unfavorably. The low values of CoI's can be explained on the basis of the high proportion of neutral sentences that were used in covering the Sikhs in the four newspapers.

Tables 10, 11, 12, and 13 list the frequency distributions of the direction of sentences related to the Sikhs in each story type--straight news, features, editorials, and special opinion pieces. These tables show that, although, the overall coverage in The Post and The Times was favorable toward the Sikhs, in the features category The Post was unfavorable, whereas, in its special opinion pieces The Times was unfavorable.

Table 10

The Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of Sentences
Related to the Sikhs in the Straight News Category of the Four
Newspapers

Direction	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Favorable	33	40.2	17	43.6	14	29.1	8	13.1
Neutral	26	31.7	10	25.6	18	37.6	32	52.5
Unfavorable	23	28.1	12	30.8	16	33.3	21	34.4
Total	82	100	39	100	48	100	61	100
CoI	+ 0.0151		+ 0.0236		− 0.0050		− 0.0192	

Table 11

The Frequency and Percentages of Direction of Sentences
Related to the Sikhs in the Features Category of the Four
Newspapers

Direction	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Favorable	0	0.0	14	45.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Neutral	2	20.0	8	25.8	2	33.3	0	0.0
Unfavorable	8	80.0	9	29.0	4	66.7	2	100.0
Total	10	100	31	100	6	100	2	100
CoI	− 0.1032		+ 0.0126		− 0.0211		− 0.0190	

Table 12

The Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of Sentences
Related to the Sikhs in the Editorials Category of the Four
Newspapers

Direction	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	the NS Times f	the NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Favorable	O	O	O	O	O	0.0	1	7.7
Neutral	O	O	O	O	O	0.0	3	23.1
Unfavorable	O	O	O	O	5	100.0	9	69.2
Total	O	O	O	O	5	100.0	13	100
CoI	0		0		− 0.2083		− 0.0683	

Table 13

The Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of Sentences
Related to the Sikhs in the Special Opinion Pieces of the Four
Newspapers

Direction	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Favorable	O	O	O	0.0	O	O	1	14.3
Neutral	O	O	1	33.3	O	O	4	57.1
Unfavorable	O	O	2	66.7	O	O	2	28.6
Total	O	O	3	100	O	O	7	100
CoI	0		− 0.0350		0	0	− 0.0027	

Direction of Sentences Related to Rajiv Gandhi

Table 14

The Overall Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of
Sentences Related to Rajiv Gandhi in the Four Newspapers

Direction	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Favorable	49	41.5	24	44.4	38	50.0	142	55.0
Neutral	41	34.8	21	38.9	30	39.5	67	26.0
Unfavorable	28	23.7	9	16.7	8	10.5	49	19.0
Total	118	100.0	54	100.0	76	100.0	258	100.0
CoI	+ 0.0222		+ 0.0207		+ 0.0531		+ 0.0978	

Table 14 shows that all four newspapers covered Rajiv
Gandhi favorably. The Hindustan Times was most favorable,
followed by The New Straits Times, The Post, and The Times.
Once again, the high proportion of neutral sentences resulted
in deflated CoI values in the four newspapers.

Tables 15, 16, 17, and 18 list the frequency distribution
of the direction of sentences related to Rajiv Gandhi, in each
story type. These tables show that, although, in terms of
overall coverage all the newspapers covered Rajiv Gandhi
favorably, The Times, in its editorials and special opinion
pieces was unfavorable, as was The Hindustan Times in its
editorials.

Table 15

The Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of Sentences
Related to Rajiv Gandhi in the Straight News Category of the
Four Newspapers

Direction	The Post		the Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Favorable	36	39.6	21	72.4	26	56.5	82	59.4
Neutral	32	35.2	6	20.7	14	30.4	28	20.3
Unfavorable	23	25.2	2	6.9	6	13.1	28	20.3
Total	91	100	29	100	46	100	138	100
CoI	+ 0.0194		+ 0.1495		+ 0.0856		+ 0.1377	

Table 16

The Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of Sentences
Related to Rajiv Gandhi in the Features Category of the Four
Newspapers

Direction	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Favorable	11	50.0	3	18.8	11	37.9	30	49.2
Neutral	6	27.3	10	62.4	16	55.2	27	44.3
Unfavorable	5	22.7	3	18.8	2	6.9	4	6.5
Total	22	100	16	100	29	100	61	100
CoI	+ 0.0483		0		+ 0.0270		+ 0.1217	

Table 17

The Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of Sentences
Related to Rajiv Gandhi in the Editorials Category of the Four
Newspapers

Direction	The Post		The Times		the NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Favorable	1	33.3	0	0.0	1	100.0	3	14.3
Neutral	2	66.7	2	40.0	0	0.0	2	9.5
Unfavorable	0	0.0	3	60.0	0	0.0	16	76.2
Total	3	100	5	100	1	100	21	100
CoI	+ 0.0166		– 0.1384		+ 0.0416		– 0.1228	

Table 18

The Frequency and Percentages of the Direction of Sentences
Related to Rajiv Gandhi in the Special Opinion Pieces of the
Four Newspapers

Direction	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Favorable	1	50.0	0	0.0	0	0	27	71.1
Neutral	1	50.0	3	75.0	0	0	10	26.3
Unfavorable	0	0.0	1	25.0	0	0	1	2.6
Total	2	100	4	100	0	0	38	100
CoI	+ 0.0111		–0.0065		0		+ 0.1776	

TYPE OF SENTENCES

Tables 19, 20, 21, and 22 list down the overall
frequencies and percentages of the type (report, inference,
judgment) of sentences used by each of the four newspapers to

cover the Gandhi assassination, and to describe the three

attitude objects.

Table 19

The Overall Frequency and Percentages of Sentences According
to their Type for Each of the Four Newspapers

Type	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Report	240	61.1	185	42.8	204	67.8	312	45.2
Inference	76	19.3	88	20.4	48	15.9	192	27.8
Judgment	77	19.6	159	36.8	49	16.3	187	27.0
Total	393	100	432	100	301	100	691	100

Table 19 shows that The New Straits Times and The Post

used a large proportion of report sentences to cover the

assassination, whereas, in The Times and The Hindustan Times

the coverage was fairly well spread out in the report,

inference, and judgment sentence categories, the proportion of

report sentences still being the highest.

Type of Sentences Related to Indira Gandhi

Table 20

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences Related
to Indira Gandhi in the Four Newspapers

Type	The Post f	%	The Times f	%	The NS Times f	%	The H Times f	%
Report	86	47.3	53	27.3	86	58.5	54	29.7
Inference	37	20.3	48	24.7	29	19.7	59	32.4
Judgment	59	32.4	93	48.0	32	21.8	69	37.9
Total	182	100	194	100	147	100	182	100

The distribution in table 20 shows that The New Straits
Times and The Post used a large proportion of report sentences
to describe Indira Gandhi, whereas, the coverage of The Times
and The Hindustan Times was more spread out, and employed a
higher proportion of judgment and inference sentences.

Type of Sentences Related to the Sikhs

Table 21

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences Related
to the Sikhs in the Four Newspapers

Type	The Post f	%	The Times f	%	The NS Times f	%	The H Times f	%
Report	66	71.7	55	75.3	50	84.7	55	66.2
Inference	18	19.6	12	16.4	6	10.2	17	20.5
Judgment	8	8.7	6	8.3	3	5.1	11	13.3
Total	92	100	73	100	59	100	83	100

The distribution in Table 21 demonstrates that all the newspapers predominantly used report sentences to cover the Sikhs. The proportion of inference sentences used was very low, and the proportion of judgment sentences was lower still.

Type of Sentences Related to Rajiv Gandhi

Table 22

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences Related to Rajiv Gandhi in the Four Newspapers.

Type	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Report	85	72.0	26	48.1	61	80.3	131	50.7
Inference	26	22.0	10	18.5	10	13.1	70	27.2
Judgment	7	6.0	18	33.4	5	6.6	57	22.1
Total	118	100	54	100	76	100	258	100

Table 22 demonstrates that all the newspapers used a high proportion of report sentences to cover Rajiv Gandhi, the proportions for The New Straits Times and The Post being much larger than the other two. The Times, further employed a good proportion (one-third) of judgment sentences.

The frequency distribution of the type of sentences related to the three AOs, in each story type (straight news, features, editorials, and special opinion pieces), in each newspaper, are included in Appendix D.

NEWS GENERATING SOURCES OF NEWSPAPERS

Table 23 lists the news generating sources for each article/story-- relating to the Gandhi assassination--that featured in each of the four newspapers during the time-frame of this study.

Table 23

The Frequency Distribution and Percentages of News Generating
Sources for Each Article in Each Newspaper

Sources	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
AP & Reuters	0	0	0	0	11	73.3	0	0
Own Staff*(1)	9	81.8	8	72.7	2	13.3	17	68.0
Indian News Agencies*(2)	1	9.1	0	0	1	6.7	3	12.0
Guest Writers*(3)	1	9.1	2	18.2	0	0.0	5	20.0
Unattributed	0	0.0	1	9.1	1	6.7	0	0.0
Total	11	100	11	100	15	100	25	100

*(1) Own Staff: correspondents, foreign service writers, reporters, editors, etc.
*(2) Indian News Agencies: PTI, UNI, Hindustan Samachar, Samachar Bharati
*(3) Guest Writers: experts, specialists, readers

The distribution in Table 23 shows that The Post, The Times, and The Hindustan Times, for the most part, relied on their own staff. The Post had 81.8% of its stories written by its own staff, followed by The Times (72.7%) and The Hindustan Times (68.0%), whereas, 73.3% of the stories in The New Straits Times came from wire services of Reuters and AP, 60% from Reuters alone.

The Hindustan Times relied on the Indian news agencies for 12% of its news stories; The Post for 9.1%; The New Straits Times for 6.7%.

Guest writers were used by three newspapers: The Hindustan Times for 20% of its articles; The Times (18.2%); and The Post (9.1%).

In summary, the findings showed that The Times, The Post, and The New Straits Times covered Indira Gandhi extensively; The Hindustan Times covered Rajiv Gandhi extensively; and the Sikhs received the lowest coverage in all newspapers except in The Times. Indira Gandhi was covered favorably in The Hindustan Times, The New Straits Times, and The Times, whereas, The Post's coverage toward her was slightly unfavorable. The Sikhs were covered favorably in The Post and The Times and unfavorably in The Hindustan Times and The New Straits Times. Rajiv Gandhi was covered favorably by all newspapers. The Post and The New Straits Times used higher proportions of report sentences to describe the attitude objects, whereas, the coverage in The Hindustan Times and The Times was more spread out in the report, inference, and judgment sentence categories. The findings further showed that The Post, The Times, and The Hindustan Times primarily depended on their own staff for news stories, whereas, The New Straits Times relied heavily on the wire services of Reuters and Associated Press.

A summary of the study and conclusions from its findings are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of this research was to examine, analyze, and compare the way in which the Western and Third World press covered and treated the assassination of Indira Gandhi, and the developments in India in its aftermath. The newspapers coverage of the developments was tracked for a period of nine days: from October 30, 1984, a day before the assassination, to November 7, 1984, a week after the assassination.

This study applied a quantitative and qualitative content analysis approach to a sample of 62 news articles from The Post, The Times, The New Straits Times, and The Hindustan Times. The news articles were stratified into four categories--straight news, features, editorials, and special opinion pieces-- for each newspaper. Within a news article a sentence was taken as a unit of analysis and its content was classified according to their relevance to the three attitude objects (AOs): Indira Gandhi, the Sikhs, and Rajiv Gandhi. In addition, the content of each sentence was categorized as to whether it was favorable, neutral, or unfavorable toward the AOs and also whether each sentence was a report, an inference or a judgment. The frequencies of the sentences in each category for the AOs were calculated and explained. Also, the Coefficient of Imbalance was employed to measure the degree and the

direction of each newspaper's bias or imbalance toward the
ACs.

This study attempted to answer the following
questions:

1. How extensively was each attitude object (newsmaker)
covered in the time frame of the study?

2. How did each newspaper cover each of the three
attitude objects? That is, did all the three newsmakers
receive the same degree of positive, negative, or neutral
coverage, or were they treated unequally?

3. To what extent did each newspaper use reports,
inferences, and judgment to describe the attitude objects?

4. On what sources--correspondents, foreign service
writers, news wire services, press agencies--did each
newspaper depend to report on developments in India?

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Extent of Coverage Accorded to Attitude Objects

The findings showed that The Times, The Post, and
The New Straits Times covered Indira Gandhi extensively,
whereas, The Hindustan Times covered Rajiv Gandhi
extensively. Of the three attitude objects, the Sikhs
received the lowest coverage in three newspapers; only in
The Times did they receive more coverage than Rajiv Gandhi.

The high proportion of sentences related to Indira
Gandhi in The Times (60.4%), The New Straits Times (52.1%),
and The Post (46.4%) might be attributed in part to the

preoccupation of the foreign (relative to India)
newspapers with the personal elements of a 'charismatic'
and 'controversial' world figure who fell victim to a
communal conspiracy in a communally diverse and hetrogenous
country such as India. The "ingredients" for making
"interesting" news were there: the conflict between
politics and religion, the ensuing stalemate, and
ultimately, a fallen leader. "How Indira handled the
Punjab situation?"....why it proved to be her
undoing?"...."What after Indira?"....were some of the
questions that, seemed to have "tickled" the foreign press.

In order to understand the extensive coverage accorded
to Rajiv Gandhi in The Hindustan Times (49.3% related
sentences) it's important that a discussion be provided
here about factors that came into play after Indira's death
which influenced the relationship between Rajiv and the
press. First, Rajiv was unanimously elected by the party
machinery to succeed his mother as Prime Minister even
though he was a novice in the political arena, giving rise
to fears in the press of 'dynastic' succession. Second,
the breakdown of the law and order machinery in New Delhi,
as a result of the sectarian violence that ensued after
Indira Gandhi's assassination raised questions on Rajiv's
'credentials,' and made him a subject to be watched with
considerable interest in the press.

It seems, The Hindustan Times, by reason of its
better understanding of the Indian situation, and its

proximity with the Indian people and their concerns, showed a much greater interest in covering the new national leader than the other three foreign (relative to India) newspapers. Moreover, Rajiv's installation as the nation's leader probably symbolized the coming to power of a younger generation, thereby inspiring a sense of rejuvenation and hope in the Indian populous, including its press.

The low coverage of the Sikhs, relative to the coverage received by Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi, seems to be a result of the preoccupation of the press with the other two attitude objects: Indira Gandhi--the departed leader, and Rajiv Gandhi--the new leader.

The findings further demonstrated that, in terms of the overall extent of coverage (total number of sentences) related to the three AOs, The Hindustan Times led the field, followed by The Post, The Times, and The New Straits Times. It appears that The Hindustan Times, as a result of its being based in Delhi, which was the focal point of the developments, was better equipped with resources, correspondents, and personnel to cover the event than the other newspapers. Also, it might be said that being an Indian newspaper, The Hindustan Times found itself much closer to the pulse of the Indian people and their concerns, and in a somewhat better position to understand and reflect the national interest of India than could the other newspapers.

Direction of Coverage

Indira Gandhi

The findings showed that in overall terms Indira Gandhi was covered most favorably in The Hindustan Times (CoI = + 0.0773), followed by The New Straits Times (CoI = + 0.0358), and The Times (CoI = + 0.0197), whereas, in The Post the coverage was slightly unfavorable (CoI = - 0.0114).

The favorable coverage received by Indira Gandhi in The Hindustan Times, The New Straits Times, and The Times, and the unfavorable coverage received in The Post might be understood in the broader contexts of the "image" which Indira Gandhi reflected at home and abroad. As a long standing leader of the world's most populous democracy, and in the words of some, "the single most unifying force in a diverse India," as the chairman of the non-aligned movement, as a major statesman in the Asian region, as Nehru's only daughter, as Margaret Thatcher's "true" friend, and in her death, a martyr to the cause of national unity, Indira 'Priyadarshini' Gandhi was to many, a charming person and a respected world figure. To many others, she was a "dictator," a "usurper" of power, a "chair hunger"--who, to remain in power sacrificed the democratic norms of the Indian State in 1977 by declaring a national internal emergency, a perpetrator of "dynastic" rule, a communist ally, and an insensate ruler "who maintained the illusion of a government when in fact there

was none" (Shourie, 1984:82).

It seems that the direction of coverage accorded to Indira Gandhi, in each of the newspapers, was positive or negative depending on which of the above "images", in combination, were more dominant. India's strong historical ties with Britain and equally strong regional ties with Malaysia might have been a factor in Indira Gandhi being covered favorably in the British and Malaysian press. The slightly unfavorable coverage in The Post might be attributed to the "sourness" that had underlined the state of Indo-U.S relations in the last few years that Gandhi was Prime Minister. India's close ties with the Soviet Union, its continued "silence" on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, its vociferous protests over U.S. arms sale to Pakistan (some of which, according to the WPFA (1984) found its way into the hands of the Sikh "terrorists" from across the border), probably led to some reservations on part of the American journalists in covering her.

Although, The Post in overall terms, covered Indira unfavorably, the findings show that it was favorable to her mostly in its editorials (CoI = + 0.1764) and special opinion pieces (0.0454). On the other hand, The Times, while being favorable to Indira in overall terms, was unfavorable to her in its editorials (CoI = - 0.0760) and special opinion pieces (CoI = - 0.2674).

Sikhs

According to the findings, the overall coverage in The Times was favorable (CoI = + 0.015) to the Sikhs, followed by The Post where the coverage was only slightly favorable (CoI = + 0.0018). On the other hand, The Hindustan Times (CoI = - 0.0187) and The New Straits Times (CoI = - 0.0165) covered them unfavorably. The findings further show that, although, the overall coverage in The Post and The Times was favorable toward the Sikhs, in the features category The Post was unfavorable (CoI = - 0.1032), whereas, in its special opinion pieces The Times was unfavorable.

Rajiv Gandhi

The most striking feature of the findings was the favorable manner in which Rajiv Gandhi was reported in all newspapers: The Hindustan Times was most favorable (CoI = + 0.0978), followed by The New Straits Times (CoI = + 0.0531), The Post (CoI = + 0.0222), and The Times (CoI = + 0.0207).

Why did the media seem to be positively biased toward Rajiv Gandhi? What could be the reasons for according favorable coverage to a man who was "inexperienced" in politics, and "underprepared" to shoulder the responsibility of running a vast and diverse nation as India?

There are many factors which might have contributed to this seemingly positive bias toward Rajiv Gandhi in the

newspapers. First, Rajiv got in no small measure what
might be termed as the "sympathy" factor. The press in the
West and Third World were all shocked by the "brutal"
assassination of Indira Gandhi which seems to have resulted
in their sympathizing with an "orphaned" son in an
"orphaned" country. Second, it must be remembered that
Rajiv belonged to the illustrious 'Nehru' clan, the fourth
generation of a family, which influenced the stream of
Indian and world politics since the beginning of the
twentieth century. So like his great grandfather Motilal
Nehru, his grandfather Jawahar Lal Nehru, and mother Indira
Gandhi, Rajiv came to exude a certain "charisma" which
could not escape the eye of the press in India and abroad.
Third, Rajiv symbolized a new awakening, a new sense of
hope, in a country where "grass root" tradition manifests
itself in all walks of life. His 'clean' image and no
nonsense attitude, seemed to have struck a positive chord
in the hearts of his people, and in the workrooms of the
press. Finally, inexperienced as he may have been, Rajiv
quickly took charge on assuming office to quell the
sectarian violence which erupted in the wake of his
mother's assassination to restore order in a nation that
was plagued by communal hatred. His sincere appeals for
calm and restraint, his calling in of the army to refurbish
the broken down law and order machinery, and his sacking of
the top civil servant in Delhi for inefficiency, gave
credence to his leadership abilities.

The above factors, independently and, in combination of one another seemed to have influenced the press's attitude toward Rajiv Gandhi in India and abroad. As a result, the earlier apprehensions and questions on his inexperience and underpreparedness to serve as Prime Minister seemed to have been nullified.

Although, in terms of overall coverage all the newspapers covered Rajiv favorably, the findings show that The Times was unfavorable in its editorials (CoI = - 0.1384) and special opinion pieces (CoI = - 0.0065), as was The Hindustan Times in its editorials (CoI = - 0.1228).

One finding, common to the coverage in all newspapers was the low absolute values of CoI for the attitude objects. This was a result of employing a high proportion of neutral sentences in covering of the attitude objects.

Type of Sentences

The findings showed that The New Straits Times and The Post used a large proportion (over 60%) of report sentences to cover the assassination, whereas, in The Times and The Hindustan Times the coverage was fairly well spread out in the report, inference, and judgment sentence categories, the proportion of report sentences still being the highest.

The pattern was quite similar in the newspaper's coverage of Indira Gandhi: The New Straits Times and The Post used a large proportion of report sentences, whereas, the coverage of The Times and The Hindustan Times was more

spread out, and employed a higher proportion of judgment and inference sentences.

In their coverage of the Sikhs, all the newspapers predominantly used report sentences (more than 65%). The proportion of inference sentences was very low, and the proportion of judgment sentences was lower still.

In covering Rajiv Gandhi all the newspapers used a high proportion of report sentences, the proportions for The New Straits Times and The Post (more than 72%) being much larger than the proportions in the other two.

News Generating Sources

The findings showed that The Post, The Times, and The Hindustan Times, for the most part relied on their own staff to report on Gandhi's assassination, whereas, The New Straits Times relied for 73% stories on Reuters and AP, 60% on Reuters alone.

The heavy reliance on Reuters and AP partly explains the reason for finding a high proportion of report sentences in The New Straits Times coverage of the assassination. This is because, traditionally, the wire services carry more reports, than inferential or judgmental pieces. The New Straits Times also relied on its own staff and Indian news agencies for part of its coverage. Some of its coverage was also found to be unattributed to any source.

The Hindustan Times coverage, mainly provided by its

own staff (66%), was also well supported by guest writers (20%) and Indian national news agencies (12%).

The Times, other than depending on its own staff (73%), relied on guest writers (18.2), and, also, 9.1% of its articles were unattributed.

The Post heavily relied on its staff (82%), and the rest of its coverage was brought up by Indian news agencies and guest writers.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has the potential for providing empirical support or modifying the existing body of knowledge in international news reporting. However, a caveat should be stated at the outset: this is a case study, and, hence, the utmost degree of caution is warranted in making generalizations or drawing conclusions from its findings to the contexts of the New World Information Order.

Third World Dependence

This case study provides some useful insights into the structures of collection and dissemination of news in some Western and Third World countries. It has demonstrated that the "oldest" and most "famous" English newspaper-- The New Straits Times --in Malaysia, in order to learn about news from a neighbouring country such as India depended on the Western wire services--Reuters, and AP. Malaysia is not only in close geographical proximity of India, but

shares many common social, religious, and cultural traditions with India, including a large population of expatriate Indians. The question must be raised whether people who share common beliefs, attitudes, and in more ways than one, a common way of life, should view the happenings in each other's countries not through their own eyes, but through "colored" Western glasses?

What could be some of the reasons behind the Malaysian readers getting a "colored" account of the Indian event? It is common knowledge that the Western media do not make their profits from Third world readership: "the AP claims to make no more than 1% of its total income from the Third World" (TCFTF, 1978:26). Then it seems likely that the reports of Reuters and AP were targeted toward Western audiences with little readership concern about the people of Malaysia, and the Third World in general.

Advocates of NWIO, on behalf of the Malaysian readership, might argue that the press's duty to inform should not be relegated to the economic considerations of the wire services. The argument, on the face of it, seems reasonable and justified. However, the irony of it may be that, the Malaysian press chose the Western wire services, in preference to fielding its own correspondents in India because of economic factors. This may, or may not be true; the study does not specifically address this issue. But certainly, it must have been a lot easier, cheaper, and quicker for The New Straits Times to obtain a story from a

wire service, than to go through the entire exercise of news collecting, reporting, and disseminating on its own.

One interesting finding of the study was that The New Straits Times relied on the Indian news agency for only one of its 15 news articles, and on Reuters and AP for 11. Its hard to understand why Third World countries are making a hue and cry over Western domination, when they are not cooperating among themselves. Further, The New Straits Times depended on Reuters for 60% of its news articles. This finding reinforces the belief that the one-way direction of information flow is a result of historical, cultural and linguistic patterns. Malaysia was a former British colony, and the dependence of its most "elite" English newspaper on a British wire service indicates neo-colonial dependency.

On the other hand, The Hindustan Times, an "elite" Indian newspaper (and India was also a former British colony), demonstrates adequacy in handling the coverage of a major national event by itself, and with some help from the national news agencies. It would have been unfortunate if The Hindustan Times to report on developments in India had to depend on Reuters, or any other Western news agency. But it did not. This suggests that The Hindustan Times was not only "there," in terms of proximity to the events, but, also, it had the infrastructure--resources, personnel, correspondents--to handle the national event. Moreover, its reliance on PTI and UNI, the Indian national news

agencies, and not the Western wire agencies, reflects a
"mature" national information media in India.

But then, India is not a typical Third World country
when one is talking about "maturity" of national
information media. In any democracy, where the political
and social health of people depends upon the free flow of
information, freedom of the press is essential. India is
no exception, and can boast of a rich journalistic
tradition. "Its British heritage is evident by the number
of English language newspapers: 2765, including 89 dailies"
(Mundt, 1982:472). Then there are four domestic news
agencies: PTI, UNI, Hindustan Samachar, and Samachar
Bharati. And, not to forget the leading role played by
India in the setting up of the Non-Aligned News Agency Pool
(NNAP), under Tanjug, the Yugoslav news agency.

So, India is a good example of a Third World country
which can cover its major national events through its
indigenous press. Given similar resources, any country in
the Third World could do the same. So it would be
inappropriate to say that the West has the entire Third
World in its stranglehold. That would be an
oversimplification of the situation. There are many
complex factors, working in combination of one another,
that ultimately determine "who" or "what" would cover a
Third World event. The nature of the event, the country in
question, the status of its information media, its
national information policy, are some factors which might

be relevant in this respect.

While some Third World countries, such as India, might have an adequate infrastructure to look after their own informational needs, it does not follow that all developing or less developed countries in Africa, Latin America, and Asia could handle a national event on their own. That once again would be an oversimplification of the situation. Many countries in Africa don't have a mass circulation national newspaper, leave alone a "viable" press, or a national news (MacBride Report, 1980).

It would be interesting to see whether the Indian press, on its own, would be capable of reporting international news events without help from Western wire services. How would it have handled the reporting if, say, a Malaysian leader was assassinated--whether it would have fielded its own correspondents or would it have relied on Western wire services?--is a point not only of 'interest' but of 'conjecture.'

In sum, it can be concluded from this study that there are Third World countries, such as Malaysia, who depend on Western wire services to report on events of neighbouring countries, giving credence to the Third World criticism of dependence on Western wire services and neo-colonial dependency. On the other hand, there are countries, such as India, which have a "mature" and "strong" national press, that can at least cover major national news events without dependence on Western sources.

Objectivity in News Reporting

This case study has demonstrated that the Western or Third World press are not exclusively "objective" or "subjective." All four newspapers came out to be "objective" or "subjective" in their own right, although the degree varied among them. The definitions of the above labels are based on the assumption that there is an inverse relationship between the degree of objectivity and the frequency of inferential and judgmental sentences (Hayakawa, 1972). According to Hayakawa, there is more subjectivity by the journalists when there is less of report type sentences and more inferential and judgmental sentences.

The Post and The New Straits Times, used a high proportion of report sentences, and, thus, had "objective" stories to cover the assassination and the attitude objects. Also, the findings showed that The New Straits Times mainly depended on the Reuters and AP for its reports. This leads to the conclusion that Reuters and AP can be "objective" in reporting Third World events. Thus, it would be inappropriate to state that the Western press or Western wire services are not always "objective" in their reporting of international news. At least, this case study showed that they were. However, one must be careful in drawing conclusions about a newspaper's "objectivity" or "subjectivity," as journalistic standards "allow" greater

subjectivity when the story is bylined i.e. when the writer is identified. Since this study did not identify whether the reports, inferences, and judgments appeared in bylined or non-bylined stories, one must tread softly in labeling the newspapers as "objective" or "subjective."

This study also showed that two reputed newspapers, one from the West-- The Times, and one from the Third World-- The Hindustan Times employed a good proportion of inferential and judgmental sentences along with report sentences in their coverage. Thus, it follows that some Western, and even Third World, newspapers are prone to "subjective" reporting.

The study further demonstrates that in the reporting of relatively "unfamiliar" subjects, in this case--the Sikh community, the foreign (relative to India) newspapers relied heavily on report sentences. This suggests a cautious attitude in the foreign press in dealing with subjects, which they are not familiar with. Although, the study cannot comment on whether or not the foreign newsmen imbibed the myriad intricacies of the socio-political and religious situation in India before starting to report, it does suggest that for the most part the newsmen reported what could be verified.

Another interesting dimension of the findings was that the home newspaper-- The Hindustan Times came out more "subjective" than two foreign newspapers-- The Post and The New Straits Times. The less "objective" coverage of The

Hindustan Times relative to The Post indicates double standards in the Third World criticism of "subjectivity" in Western news reporting. If an "elite" Third World newspaper, in covering the developments of its own country, comes out "subjective," then it is difficult to understand why the Third World should heap blame on the Western press for a "warped" sense of objectivity.

In sum, it can be concluded that objectivity in news reporting is not exclusively the domain of the Western or the Third World press. Each newspaper reports events from its own perspective, and this perspective would perhaps never be identical in any two newspapers. Based on the evidence in this study, one Western newspaper-- The Post, and one Third World newspaper-- The New Straits Times were more "objective", and at the same time, another Western newspaper-- The Times, and a Third World newspaper-- The Hindustan Times were less "objective".

"Bias" and "Distortion" in News

The question of "bias" and "distortion" in international news reporting is rather delicate in view of the high degree of subjectivity involved in answering it. The findings of this study, although, not conclusive in this respect, do provide some interesting clues on international news reporting patterns.

This case study has demonstrated that there were differences in the extent to which each newspaper covered

Indira, the Sikhs or Rajiv.   The Times,   The New Straits
Times, and The Post concentrated their coverage on Indira,
The Hindustan Times on Rajiv. So, while people of Britain,
Malaysia, and the U.S read more on the departed leader,
people in India, learnt more about the newly established
leader.

The differences in extent of coverage in newspapers
were compounded by their differences in the direction of
coverage toward each AO. The Third World newspapers-- The
Hindustan Times and The New Straits Times were more
favorable to Indira and Rajiv than were the Western
newspapers-- The Post and The Times.   For the Sikhs, the
Western papers were favorable, whereas, the Third World
newspapers were unfavorable. Moreover, The Times, The
Post, and The Hindustan Times showed tendencies to change
their direction of coverage for attitude objects across
story types within the newspaper. For example, The Times,
in overall terms, covered Indira and Rajiv favorably, but
in its editorials and special opinion pieces covered them
unfavorably. The Post, in overall terms, covered Indira
Gandhi unfavorably, but in its editorials and special
opinion pieces covered her favorably.

What do these contradictions show? For one, readers
in different countries would have very different pictures
about Indira Gandhi--her popularity, her style of
government, Rajiv Gandhi--his credentials, his leadership,
and the Sikhs--their "status" as a community, their

"demands," and their "cause." Within a newspaper, a reader would get conflicting views on the attitude objects as they sift through straight news articles, to editorials, to features, and to special opinion pieces. And of course, a reader of all four newspapers would have a very confused picture of the state of affairs in India.

The above differences and contradictions suggest that the press in every country, whether Western or Third World, covers events from its own "biases." If there was no element of "bias," the differences across newspapers would not have been pronounced. How the "bias" crept into the stories, is something, this study cannot answer because of the limitations in its design.

This study primarily employed a quantitative design, and, hence, did not read very "deeply" into the qualitative content. Thus, it is limited to answer some of the Third World criticisms on "distortion" of news content. The study is unable to comment on "inaccuracies," "partial truths," "misinterpretations," "hyping," "eyeballing," etc., in the news content of the newspapers. Moreover, since themes, topics, etc., were not a part of the analysis, this study cannot generalize about distortions arising out of stressing "bad" news and ignoring "good" news. In this respect, even if the study was a purely qualitative one, the very "nature" of the content in this case study, would have been a serious limitation. The content of the news articles, during the time frame of the

study, revolved around the terms "assassination,"
"violence," "mobs," "arson," "looting," "killings,"
"confrontation," "conflict," "hatred," etc. Therefore, to
begin with, the case study would have been atypical.

The study does throw light on the question of quantity
of news coverage in the West and the Third World. It
demonstrates that The Post and The Times extended more
coverage to the developments in India, than did The New
Straits Times, thereby contradicting the notion that the
Third World events are accorded meager coverage in the
Western "quality" press. However, one must tread softly in
drawing conclusions as some may argue that the coverage
accorded to the Gandhi assassination in the Western press
was substantial, because the news in this case was "hard"
news and not "soft" or "development" news. The study
further demonstrates that the coverage in The New Straits
Times, The Post, and The Times was in overall terms less
than the coverage in The Hindustan Times. But then, this
seems understandable, in that The Hindustan Times was
covering a home event, and was in "proximity," whereas, the
other newspapers were covering a foreign event.

In sum, the case study shows that there were
differences and contradictions among newspapers in their
covering of the Gandhi assassination. These contradictions
suggest that each newspaper covered the assassination and
the attitude objects from its own "biases" and
"viewpoints." Furthermore, the limited qualitative

consideration, and the non inclusion of themes and topics in the analysis precludes any generalizations on "distortion" in news articles.

Differences Among Newspapers

The study demonstrates that there were similarities and differences in the patterns of news reporting between the two Western newspapers, and also between the two Third World newspapers.

In the Western press, The Post came out to be an "objective" newspaper by virtue of its employing a higher proportions of report sentences, whereas, The Times came out to be a less "objective" paper. The differences in objectivity between The Times and The Post suggests that a generalization of their findings to the Western population of newspapers could not only be misleading but also contradictory. Whatever the commonalities in The Times and The Post in their news reporting procedures, it cannot be disregarded that both come out from different countries, which have different historical, cultural, and journalistic patterns. Although, this study does not suggest how these differences were manifested in news articles, the results show that somehow they did.

In the Third World press, The New Straits Times came out as an "objective" paper, and The Hindustan Times came out as less "objective". Furthermore, The New Straits Times depended on Reuters and AP for news articles,

whereas, The Hindustan Times relied on its own staff and
Indian national news agencies. Even though, both Third
World newspapers in question are considered "elite," and
came from the same continent, yet, differences in their
approach are quite noticeable in this study. The
differences in news reporting patterns in The New Straits
Times and The Hindustan Times warrants caution when
generalizing their findings to the Third World press.

The study also noted certain similarities between the
two Western newspapers, and between the two Third World
newspapers. For example, both The Post and The Times
demonstrated they were well served by their own staff to
report on developments far away from home. From the Third
World side, similarities were noted in the direction of
coverage accorded to attitude objects: The New Straits
Times and The Hindustan Times demonstrated similar
direction of coverage for Indira, the Sikhs, and Rajiv.

It can be concluded that each newspaper is different
from the other. Each has its own "personality,"
"preferences," "style," "view-point," etc. Differences
arise both within and among Western and Third World
newspapers; so do similarities. If one were to group
newspapers just on the basis of their reporting patterns,
it would not be easy to lump them in categories such as
"Western" or "Third World." The distinctions between
Western and Third World newspapers are often made on the
basis of their different political, economic, and regional

status. While it may be one way of classifying newspapers, the study demonstrates, it has its limitations.

All in all, this study does not provide any answers to "who is empowered to determine how a nation is covered in international press, or how?" However, it does show the futility of looking for a "simple" solution. The New World Information Order debate on international news flow is more complex than it seems on the surface with the Western and Third World arguments having their own merits and demerits. How an event would be reported in the so called "Western" or "Third World" press is a typical function of the event, a complex factor of political, economic, cultural, and historical patterns between the reported country and the reporting agency, and most importantly, the "idiosyncrasy" of the newspaper.

Although, this study addresses some of the contentious issues in international news reporting, yet, some questions have been left unanswered and/or raised by it, which may be the focus of research in the future.

Suggestions for Further Research

1. The study suggests a further investigation of the dependence of a Third World country on Western wire services in the event of its reporting on a neighbouring Third World country, which has its own news agencies and a "strong" national press. It further suggests an investigation of the bearing of economic factors and

locality (in relation to the newspapers home base) on coverage and content.

2. This study questions the efficacy of classifying newspapers as "Western" or "Third World," when contradictions and similarities are apparent both among and between Western and Third World newspapers. It raises an important question: should the basis of classifying media as "Western" or "Third World" be on the basis of political, economic, and regional factors, or, should it be based on the "status" of the national information media in the countries under question?

3. The researcher suggests that a similar study be undertaken, with the analysis of newspapers spread over a longer period of time, to see if the pattern of coverage changed with the passage of time. Infact, a comparative study could be undertaken of developments in India after Gandhi's crackdown on the Sikh extremists at the Golden Temple, and the developments in the event of her assassination, to see if the coverage toward the attitude objects remained the same or was different.

4. It might be useful to do a comparative study of coverage in the four newspapers toward another significant event in the Third World--a natural disaster, a scientific breakthrough, etc.--to observe if the pattern of reporting underwent any change.

5. It would be useful to do a comparative study of the four newspapers and the TV networks in the same four

countries to explore how different the TV coverage was from the newspaper coverage. Moreover, one could ask if there were any differences among the TV coverage in the four countries in respect to the ACs. A researcher might choose a similar research design to the one used in this study, for example, select a sample of the news stories of the TV coverage and content analyze each sentence or story in the same fashion.

6. It also might be useful to do a quantitative content analysis study counting the frequency of a vocabulary of positive, negative and neutral words concerning each AO. A content analyst may find certain words such as fanatics, extremists, fundamentalists, rioters, assassins, moderates, fighters, brave, etc., among the common attributes for the Sikhs; and words like iron-hand, dictator, repressive, modernizer, shrewd, charismatic, etc., among the common attributes to Indira Gandhi.

By comparing the frequencies of positive and negative attributes to each AO, a researcher might conclude how often the news media used their own value judgments in the positive and negative direction in regard to the subjects under study (AOs). Here also a researcher might only choose a sample of news media coverage since it is not posible to do a complete content analysis of a vast number of newspapers, newsmagazines, or television coverage of the developments in India.

Besides the quantitative content analysis studies

there is need for more qualitative analysis whereby a researcher might concentrate more on the news product itself. Here a researcher might look into the common themes and topics of news stories to gather and provide a "deeper" reading of the content of international news.

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APPENDIX A

Revised List of 15 Demands Received from the Akali Dal by
the Government of India in October, 1981.

According to the White Paper (1984:64), following were
the demands of the Akali Dal:

RELIGIOUS DEMANDS

1. Unconditional release of Sant Jarnail Singh
Bhindranwale and a judicial enquiry with regard to police
action in connection with Delhi Rally (September 7, 1981),
Chowk Mehta and Chando Kalan.

2. Removal of alleged Government high-handedness in the
management of Delhi Gurudwaras; holding of democratic
elections after removal of forcible control by "one of
Governments stooges."

3. Restoration of Srimoni Gurudwara Prabandhak
Committee's right to send pilgrim parties to Pakistan and
deploy sewadars for the maintenance of local Sikh shrines.

4. Permission to Sikhs travelling by air to wear kirpans
in domestic and international flights.

5. Passing of an All India Gurudwara act.

6. Grant of holy status to Amritsar on the pattern of
Hardwar, Kurukshetra and Kashi.

7. Installation of "Harimandir Radio" at Golden Temple,
Amritsar to relay kirtan.

8. Renaming Flying Mail as Harimandir Express.

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEMANDS

9. As per the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, the Srimoni Akali Dal is firmly convinced that progress of States would entail prosperity of the Centre, for which suitable amendments should be made in the Constitution to give more rights and provincial autonomy to the States. The Centre should retain Foreign Affairs, Defence, Currency and Communication (including means of transport), while the remaining portfolios should be with the States. Besides, the Sikhs should enjoy special rights as a nation.

10. Merger of Punjabi-Speaking areas and Chandigarh into Punjab.

11. Handing over of dams and headworks in the State to Punjab and redistribution of river waters as per national and international rules.

12. Second language status to Punjabi language in Haryana, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan.

13. Stoppage to uprooting of Punjabi farmers from Terai area of Utter Pradesh.

14. Setting up of a dry port at Amritsar.

15. Granting of a license for a New Bank in place of the Punjab and Sind Bank, under Sikh control and fixing of remunerative price for agricultural products by linking it to the index of industrial production.

APPENDIX B

Sentence #	Indira	Sikhs	Rajiv	Not Related	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	Report	Inference	Judgment

APPENDIX C

The tables in Appendix C show the frequency distribution of sentences related to the three AOs (newsmakers), in each story type (straight news, features, editorials, special opinion pieces), in each newspaper.

Table 24

The Frequency and Percentages of Sentences Related to the AOs in the Straight News Category of the Four Newspapers

AOs	The Post f	%	The Times f	%	The NS Times f	%	The H Times f	%
Indira	92	34.7	24	26.0	38	28.8	34	14.6
Sikhs	82	30.9	39	42.4	48	36.4	61	26.2
Rajiv	91	34.4	29	31.6	46	34.8	138	59.2
Total	265	100	92	100	132	100	233	100

Table 25

The Frequency and Percentages of Sentences Related to the AOs in the Features Category of the Four Newspapers

AOs	The Post f	%	The Times f	%	The NS Times f	%	The H Times f	%
Indira	30	48.4	131	73.6	91	72.2	42	40.0
Sikhs	10	16.1	31	17.4	6	4.8	2	1.9
Rajiv	22	35.5	16	9.0	29	23.0	61	58.1
Total	62	100	178	100	126	100	105	100

Table 26

The Frequency and Percentages of Sentences Related to the
AOs in the Editorials Category of the Four Newspapers

AOs	The Post f	%	The Times f	%	The NS Times f	%	The H Times f	%
Indira	17	85.0	8	61.5	18	75.0	47	58.0
Sikhs	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	20.8	13	16.1
Rajiv	3	15.0	5	38.5	1	4.2	21	25.9
Total	20	100	13	100	24	100	81	100

Table 27

The Frequency and Percentages of Sentences Related to the
AOs in the Special Opinion Pieces of the Four Newspapers

AOs	The Post f	%	The Times f	%	The NS Times f	%	The H Times f	%
Indira	43	95.6	31	81.6	0	0	59	56.7
Sikhs	0	0.0	3	7.9	0	0	7	6.8
Rajiv	2	4.4	4	10.5	0	0	38	36.5
Total	45	100	38	100	0	0	104	100

APPENDIX D

The tables in Appendix D list the frequency distributions of the type of sentences related to the three ACs, in each story type (straight news, features, editorials, special opinion pieces), in each of the newspapers.

Table 28

The Frequency and Percentages of Sentences According to their Type for the Straight News Category in Each Newspaper

Type	The Post f	%	The Times f	%	The NS Times f	%	The H Times f	%
Report	215	80.8	109	82.6	127	87.0	259	82.2
Inference	40	15.0	11	8.3	15	10.3	43	13.7
Judgment	11	4.2	12	9.1	4	2.7	13	4.1
Total	266	100	132	100	146	100	315	100

Table 29

The Frequency and Percentages of Sentences According to
their Type for the Features Category in each newspaper

Type	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Report	19	35.2	74	33.0	73	58.9	37	26.6
Inference	26	48.1	54	24.1	26	21.0	68	48.9
Judgment	9	16.7	96	42.9	25	20.1	34	24.5
Total	54	100	224	100	124	100	139	100

Table 30

The Frequency and Percentages of Sentences According to
their Type for the Editorials Category in Each Newspaper

Type	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Report	2	10.0	1	5.6	4	12.9	4	4.1
Inference	2	10.0	1	5.6	7	22.6	31	32.0
Judgment	16	80.0	16	88.8	20	64.5	62	63.9
Total	20	100	18	100	31	100	97	100

Table 31

The Frequency and Percentages of Sentences According to
their Type for the Special Opinion Pieces Category of Each
Newspaper

Type	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Report	4	7.5	1	1.7	0	0	12	8.6
Inference	8	15.1	22	37.9	0	0	50	35.7
Judgment	41	77.4	35	60.4	0	0	78	55.7
Total	53	100	58	100	0	0	140	100

Tables 32, 33, 34, and 34 list down the frequency

distribution of the type (report, inference, and judgment)

of sentences related to Indira Gandhi in each story type of

each newspaper.

Table 32

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences
Related to Indira Gandhi in the Straight News Category of
the Four Newspapers.

Type	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Report	75	81.5	17	70.8	34	89.5	30	88.2
Inference	13	14.1	4	16.7	3	7.8	4	11.8
Judgment	4	4.4	3	12.5	1	2.6	0	0.0
Total	92	100	24	100	38	100	34	100

Table 33

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences
Related to Indira Gandhi in the Features Category of the
Four Newspapers.

Type	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Report	6	20.0	34	25.9	49	53.8	21	50.0
Inference	16	53.3	31	23.7	24	26.4	17	40.4
Judgment	8	26.7	66	50.4	18	19.8	4	9.6
Total	30	100	131	100	91	100	42	100

Table 34

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences
Related to Indira Gandhi in the Editorials Category of the
Four Newspapers.

Type	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Report	1	5.9	1	12.5	3	16.7	1	2.1
Inference	2	11.8	0	0.0	2	11.1	15	31.9
Judgment	14	82.3	7	87.5	13	72.2	31	66.0
Total	17	100	8	100	18	100	47	100

Table 35

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences
Related to Indira Gandhi in the Special Opinion Pieces of
the Four Newspapers.

	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
Type	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Report	4	9.3	1	3.2	0	0.0	2	3.4
Inference	6	13.9	13	41.9	0	0.0	23	38.9
Judgment	33	76.8	17	54.8	0	0.0	34	57.7
Total	43	100	31	100	0	0.0	59	100

Tables 36, 37, 38, and 39 list the frequency and

percentage of the _type_ of sentences related to the Sikhs in

each story type of each newspaper.

Table 36

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences
Related to the Sikhs in the Straight News Category of the
Four Newspapers.

	The Post		The Times		The NS Times		The H Times	
Type	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Report	64	78.1	36	92.3	44	91.6	53	86.9
Inference	13	15.8	2	5.1	4	8.4	6	9.8
Judgment	5	6.1	1	2.6	0	0.0	2	3.3
Total	82	100	39	100	48	100	61	100

Table 37

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences
Related to the Sikhs in the Features Category of the Four
Newspapers.

Type	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Report	2	20.0	19	61.3	5	83.3	1	50.0
Inference	5	50.0	7	22.5	1	16.7	1	50.0
Judgment	3	30.0	5	16.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	10	100	31	100	6	100	2	100

Table 38

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences
Related to the Sikhs in the Editorials Category of the Four
Newspapers.

Type	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Report	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	20.0	1	7.8
Inference	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	20.0	6	46.1
Judgment	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	60.0	6	46.1
Total	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	100	13	100

Table 39

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences
Related to the Sikhs in the Special Opinion Pieces Category
of the Four Newspapers.

Type	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Report	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Inference	0	0.0	3	100.0	0	0.0	4	57.1
Judgment	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	42.9
Total	0	0.0	3	100.0	0.	0.0	7	100.0

Tables 40, 41, 42, and 43 list the frequency
distributions of the type of sentences related to Rajiv
Gandhi in each story type (straight news, features,
editorials, and special opinion pieces) for the four
newspapers.

Table 40

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences
Related to Rajiv Gandhi in the Straight News Category of
the Four Newspapers.

Type	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Report	70	76.9	26	89.7	39	84.8	115	83.3
Inference	21	23.1	0	0.0	5	10.9	15	10.9
Judgment	0	0.0	3	10.3	2	4.3	8	5.8
Total	91	100	29	100	46	100	138	100

Table 41

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences
Related to Rajiv Gandhi in the Features Category of the
Four Newspapers.

Type	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Report	14	63.6	0	0.0	22	75.9	11	18.0
Inference	5	22.7	9	56.2	4	13.8	31	50.9
Judgment	3	13.7	7	43.8	3	10.3	19	31.1
Total	22	100	16	100	27	100	61	100

Table 42

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences
Related to Rajiv Gandhi in the Editorials Category of the
Four Newspapers.

Type	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Report	1	33.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Inference	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	7	33.3
Judgment	2	66.7	5	100.0	0	0.0	14	66.7
Total	3	100	5	100	1	100	21	100

Table 43

The Frequency and Percentages of the Type of Sentences
Related to Rajiv Gandhi in the Special Opinion Pieces of
the Four Newspapers.

Type	The Post f	The Post %	The Times f	The Times %	The NS Times f	The NS Times %	The H Times f	The H Times %
Report	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	13.1
Inference	0	0.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	17	44.7
Judgment	2	100.0	3	75.0	0	0.0	16	42.2
Total	2	100	4	100	0	0	38	100