Chapter 6

Major Findings

1. The result of the quantitative content analysis of The Times of India and The Hindu reveals that the space devoted to foreign news for The Times of India and The Hindu is 30906.028 col. cm and 40769.93 col. cm respectively during this particular study period. Therefore, The Hindu’s concern for foreign news is much larger than The Times of India. Both the newspapers have prioritized foreign news coverage. It is worth mentioning that foreign news has made up a large percentage of both the newspaper’s total news hole.

2. In The Times of India 5214.407 col. cm have been devoted to news of Pakistan which is 16.87% of the space devoted to foreign news and 5.51% of the total news hole. Whereas in The Hindu 5243.948 col. cm have been devoted to news of Pakistan which is 12.86% of the space devoted to foreign news and 5.03% of the total news hole. In view of much higher interest in India about Pakistan during the study period, The Times of India devotes 4.1% more space to Pakistan in its coverage as compared to The Hindu.

3. To talk about the editorial space separately, The Times of India devotes 6143.727 col. cm to foreign news and 7347.574 col cms have been occupied by foreign news in case of The Hindu. So, more editorial space
was given to foreign news in *The Hindu* than *The Times of India*. And *The Times of India* devotes 1382.69 col. cm space to news of Pakistan and 2257.24 Col. Cm space has been occupied by the issues of Pakistan in *The Hindu*. Here also *The Hindu*’s concern to Pakistani news is more than that of *The Times of India*.

4. An item analysis of the news stories of *The Times of India* states that conflict is the highly covered category which has appeared 65 times i.e. 34.21% of total number of news stories of Pakistan while in *The Hindu* the number of news stories which dealt with conflict is 59 i.e. 40.97% of total Pakistani news covered, and it is followed by military and security issues. *The Times of India* and *The Hindu*’s coverage of military and security issues are 24.21% and 24.30% respectively. Significantly, both the newspapers provide considerable interest to Pakistani politics. Out of total 190 Pakistani news story, 39 talked about politics in *The Times of India* thus occupies 20.52 % and in case of *The Hindu* from a total of 144 Pakistani news, 33 are dealt with political issues of Pakistan i.e. 22.91% from entire gamut of Pakistani news covered. Thus conflict, military and security issues and politics are the three mainly covered issues of Pakistan by both the select newspapers. Whereas religious issues, culture and history, art and entertainment, and economics of Pakistan are some untouched area by both the newspapers. And the other category carries 9.47% (18) in *The Times of India* and 6.25% (9) of *The Hindu*, which includes all items apart from these seven aforementioned categories.
5. Analysis of the data reveals that both the leading newspapers of the country have an astonishing interest in covering Pakistan when it comes to conflict. Military might, warfare, comparison of relative strength of the armed forces of both the nations and terrorism are what add to the gristmill of both these newspapers. Both the newspapers have shown scant regard for human interest stories, a cursory view reveals that most of the stories are besotted with a jingoistic undertone clothed in a language of concern at the growing might on the either side or a probable wartime situation at the border.

6. The homogenization of International news as well as Pakistani news is the major finding of the study. The two newspapers mostly reports on same topics and news stories. This homogenization is due to heavy reliance on the same sources namely Western news agencies. In case of covering Pakistan conflict, military and security issues are the two categories of news coverage demonstrated the strongest agenda setting influence.

7. Foreign news in both the newspapers is carried in snippets usually accompanied with large pictures. A large number of pictures, cartoons and sketches have been accompanied with foreign news. The total number of foreign pictures which has been published in The Times of India is 430 and number of pictures relating to Pakistani issues is 65. While the frequency of foreign story related pictures in The Hindu is 307 and Pakistani pictures - 17.
8. For *The Hindu*, the international news coverage was almost equally divided between its own correspondent and international news agencies during the study period and most of the more important foreign news with heavier and analytical coverage are found to be covered by its own correspondent, medium sized news items by Western news agencies and smaller items by national news agencies. Among other sources, AFP and Reuters were the most frequent sources of news in *The Times of India*.

9. In covering Pakistan, *The Times of India* depend heavily on Western news agencies, 376 (36.93%) news were directly taken from International News agencies as AP, AFP, Reuters, while there also found sources named IANS, Xinhua, Graphic News and 143 i.e. 14.04% are Agency news, meaning no distinct source name is mentioned. But to discuss the source of *The Hindu*, staff reporter and correspondent play a major role. *The Hindu* is the only newspaper in the country to be allowed by Pakistan to have its own correspondent on Pakistani soil. Predictably the newspaper has been able to come up with a good number of stories filed by its own correspondent. 389 number of news items i.e. 46.92 % of total news of Pakistan were from their own city based reporter followed by International News Agencies which was 354 i.e. 42.70%. The role of national news agencies towards covering Pakistan seemed negligible for both these newspapers.

10. Overall, items negative on Pakistan outnumbered positive and neutral items; positive towards Pakistan holds second position in numbers. As in *The Times of India*, negative items significantly outnumbered the positive
news items; on the other hand, *The Hindu* had published quite a few numbers of positive news of Pakistan. But in terms of overall space covered by issues of Pakistan in both the papers, amount of space for the negative news story is the highest followed by positive and relegating the neutral items to the last place. Here are some examples of negative headlines: “Pakistan and Terror, Pakistan’s involvement in Mumbai attack, Pakistan and Osama, Pakistan as beleaguered nation and Potential danger of blasphemy law towards the civil society”.

11. The analysis of the data reveals some bitter facts. Both the leading newspapers of the country have an abiding interest in covering Pakistan on conflict, terrorism, military and security issues but in case of covering serious women related problems, the role of Indian print media were restricted and bigoted. It has been proved that women, entertainment, celebrity and glamour are highly liked and covered but subsequently both the newspaper have shown scant regard for serious issues of Pakistan.

12. Coverage of the developing world was more negative and loaded with negative news frames and domains than that of the developed world. The study reveals the age-old malaise affecting Indian journalism of not spending money and resources on collecting information unlike Western journalistic practices. The newspapers under discussion are essentially the two most influential newspapers of the country and their inability or unwillingness to spend on news gathering practices smacks of a deep rooted crisis in Indian journalism.
13. The result of threadbare analysis of the contents of letters to the editors can be summarized as negative. The approach of the letter writers is more negative than positive towards Pakistan. More letters were sent and published in *The Hindu* regarding different issues of Pakistan than *The Times of India*. From the five letters that have been sent to the editor four carry negative signals towards Pakistan while one talked about how to improvise the bilateral relation. *The Hindu*’s concern to Pakistani issues is quite different than that entertained by *The Times of India*. After analyzing all the thirty letters published in *The Hindu* during the period it is easy enough to state that maximum numbers of letters are dealing with Pakistani Terror / Terrorism, while some say a few positive words for Pakistan.

14. Accordingly, *The Hindu* uses words as dialogue with Pakistan, Pakistan as edifice of trust and goodwill, people to people contact, and often quite constructive positive words which definitely dared to look beyond the violent history shared by both the countries.

15. *Aman-ki- Asha*, a peace building project launched by a joint collaboration of Jang group and *The Times of India* group emphasized on people to people movement that focuses on the ancient bonds that tied together the people of India and Pakistan. Cultural exchange, conflict resolution and commerce have been discussed within the peace project. A plethora of endeavors has been proposed to be undertaken under the scheme which includes visa –free boarders, free exchange of economics, and an access to the electronic and print media, thus a ray of hope has come into view
that hatred, conflict and terror can be resolved by the support strategy like Aman –Ki – Asha.

16. Though The Hindu does not have any such official peace project but there are a large number of editorial, post editorial and article which discussed on the issues like how to establish the Indo- Pak peace. In building a bilateral engagement between India and Pakistan it was suggested that violence would never bring peace to Kashmiris. Thus several support strategies have been adopted by both the newspapers which talked vehemently on the positive sides of bonding.

Concluding Remarks

Media can be very influential in telling the masses what to think and how to think about. It is especially true in foreign news because most people do not have first hand experience with foreign countries. There is a strong linkage between media coverage of foreign countries and public opinion. There is always a tendency of developed media to cover the foreign nations in a uni-dimensional manner and so India is not an exception. For instances, the U.S media covered China mostly in the economic light whereas Iran and North Korea are reported in the light of nuclear issues. In the U. K media, there is a connection between the frequency of coverage of nation and the number of policies that the media mention in regards to this nation. Overall, it has been observed that the U.S media and U.K media covered foreign nations in a similar way, a finding that might have similar implications.
In both the newspapers, the reports constituted over 5% of all news items about Pakistan (in these three selected pages- cover page, editorial page and global page). As seen from the coverage, both the newspapers are mainly concerned with conflict and military actions of Pakistan and did not elaborate the reason behind the love of jingoism and or how to solve it.

The Indian national newspapers while covering its “World” follow the American strategy vigorously. *The Times of India* tends to focus only on a few developed countries, with which India has good relations. It covers either the UK or the US in such a comprehensive manner as other developed countries generally do and Africa and South East Asia are extremely avoided countries in case of print reportage. This conclusion definitely leads to the fact that the extent of coverage of international news and the quality reportage in Indian press is shameful.

One of the reasons for this shameful coverage may be due to over dependence on Western news agencies for covering international news. Both the national dailies of India *The Times of India* and *The Hindu* are dependent on international news agencies namely AP, AFP, Reuters, IANS, Xinhua, Graphic News and Agency news, (meaning no distinct source name is mentioned) for covering foreign news. While the craving for decorating pages with the life style of rich and beautiful, especially the White Westerners has been responsible for English language dailies in India were a major factor which had actually fuelled a dependence on international news agencies. This same overdependence on news agencies for news from abroad and also the keen desire to avoid spending money on news gathering have acted as a
deterrent in the case of the Indian media and is one of the reasons that prevent it from becoming global in character. Most interviews of world leaders or other international dignitaries are conducted either in English or in a foreign language (which are then translated into English). For this reason, editors of prominent national dailies are led to believe that international content is “high brow stuff” and they do not want to turn the “pan chewing audience” away from their programs.

Content analysis, both quantitative and qualitative was conducted to determine how two major newspapers of India treated foreign news and news from Pakistan and how much their approaches had differed or turned out to be similar.

It was found that *The Hindu* devotes more space to foreign news and used more reports by its own staff reporter and correspondents and gave more coverage to items critical of Pakistan. On the other hand, *The Times of India* offered significantly higher visibility to Pakistan’s view point as compared to *The Hindu*.

To discuss the way the Indian print media covers its neighbourhood can be best described as something vague and indistinct. It is very hard to believe that there is hardly a coverage that seeks to analyse the serious social issues of the South Asian countries. But when the story affects India or when it is sensational, it is covered hugely. On the other hand, the Indian media is very keen to publish issues related to Pakistan because of India’s confused policy towards Pakistan. In fact, in an era of renunciation of war, economic
development and peaceful settlement of disputes, every country has an unambiguous foreign policy, particularly towards its neighbouring countries. The trajectory of relationship that exists between India and Pakistan is an exception. India has openly been acting upon an ambivalent approach which noticeably depicts its confused policy towards Pakistan. In March 2009, prime ministers and foreign ministers of the two countries had resumed the new phase of talks. But ultimately the meetings ended with only mouthful of talks about the existence of positive vibes and with a vow to settle the real issues and the diplomatic talks ultimately failed without producing any tangible results. Both India and Pakistan are quite apt in promotion of trade, friendly exchanges, tourism and relaxation of visas but there is lack of seriousness on the part of both the countries in resolving these real issues.

*The Times of India*'s endeavour in making peace with Pakistan is quite rigorous. A large number of articles, editorial and post editorials are written and published in this regard. Pakistan has also been pursuing a policy of normalization of relations with its Eastern neighbour, India. Actually, since independence in 1947, Pakistan has perceived two opponents. While India has been the traditional bête-noire, Russia or rather the erstwhile Soviet Russia, which has always been seen through the Indian prism, had been assumed to have remained hostile towards Pakistan. To overcome these notions especially on India, several peace projects have been initiated and implemented. *Aman –ki- Asha* can be discussed in the current context. The Editorial policy of *The Times of India* allowed peace-building means strengthening the prospects for peace and weakening the chances of renewed violence with Pakistan. *The Hindu* also tries to enhance the capacity
to manage conflicts without violence. Both the newspapers of India are a force to reckon with in peace-building situation. Under Aman –Ki – Asha, peace project cultural exchange, conflict resolution and commerce have been discussed thoroughly and extensively but the output is not that much impressive as was expected.

After the study, it is worth enough to mention that foreign news coverage by these two national dailies carry some inherent weakness. Foreign news coverage in these newspapers showed an imposing amount of background information. Similar to the findings of previous studies, international coverage in *The Times of India* and *The Hindu* are more negative than positive. War, apprehensions about military and security roles are covered mostly. Item analysis clearly states the fact that there is a paucity of news items in the news spectrum on Pakistan. Both the leading newspapers of India have an interest in covering Pakistan on conflict, terrorism, military and security issues but in case of covering serious stories on women related problems, social issues and environmental issues, the role of Indian print media is not at all praiseworthy. Coverage of the developing world was more negative and laden with negative news frames and domains than that of the developed world. The prominent Indian national dailies with its exhaustive reporting team, should take major steps to improve upon the standards of news coverage of the world.

The study reveals the age-old malaise affecting Indian journalism of not spending money and resources on collecting information unlike Western journalistic practices. The newspapers under discussion are essentially the
two most influential newspapers of the country and their inability or unwillingness to spend on news gathering practices smacks of a deep rooted crisis in Indian journalism. The study suggests that the Indian journalism will need to continue evolving as the world grows closer and more closely interrelated, just to survive if not for the purpose of upholding a better quality of journalistic practices. With the Internet and social media marching in, the high-handedness in news distribution exhibited by *The Times of India* and *The Hindu* is unlikely to draw readers and more likely to draw criticism. It also leads to a serious erosion of the credibility of these two newspapers as they are inescapably a part of a smaller world where except for the stories from deep down Africa, people are reliant more and more on instant and diffused media for stories. The deeply entrenched imbalances in the news flow may be a thing of the past, but the centre to periphery phenomenon in news flow still persists and while *The Hindu* tries to stem the rot by providing a wider spectrum of news from developing societies, the typical practice of *The Times of India* to dwell on happy-go-lucky aspects of the developed world in essence further emphasises the story of imbalance in international news flow.

To discuss the various sources of news, *The Hindu* is the only newspaper in the country to be allowed by Pakistan to have its own correspondent on Pakistani soil. Predictably the newspaper has been able to come up with a good number of stories filed by its correspondent and yet in that case also, the bottom line happens to be conflict and military strength related stories. It is unfortunate that the correspondent of *The Hindu* has failed to go beyond the army jugular, has failed to understand that there could be a different framing strategy when it comes to the news from Pakistan. *The Times of India* can not
be accused of being parochial in the strictest sense of the term as it is known to depend squarely on the ‘agencies’ for its stories on Pakistan. In case of *The Times of India*, credibility of news is always a factor as it does not have its reporter posted in Karachi but has to depend mainly on what it gets from PTI. The framing of news on Pakistan by ‘agencies’ follow a distinct pattern worldwide which as conceived by the popular press in the West, as one of the most dangerous places in the world and one of the most important nesting places of terrorism in the whole world. *The Times of India* has been forced to follow the beaten track even if they had an intention otherwise.

This entire story of following a certain news framing strategy on the whole by both the newspapers reveals a systematic failure on the part of these two leading newspapers of the country. Grown in the underdeveloped parts of the world and having achieved financial superpower status among the newspapers houses, both the newspapers should have tried to bring in certain amount of balance to the existing news flow. A news flow carries in it the framing strategy of newspaper powers, which *The Times of India* and *The Hindu* have decided to follow throwing into the winds their core journalistic practices. As for the unnegotiated public, their reporting practice brings into sharp focus a host of questions. These newspapers do not need to follow a didactic approach as proposed by the leaders on both sides, but they must seriously start considering the fact that framing strategy should include a few more ideas within its ambit to give the people an impression that it is not just war and jingoism which constitute the bedrock of Pakistani society.
It is not only the question of centre-to-periphery attitude which is exhibited by the reporting pattern of these two newspapers. There are more important issues which are largely overlooked by media critics delving into the topic of Pakistan coverage of Indian newspapers. While the understanding about media imperialism has been a nascent idea in the context of developing nations, but eventually the coverage of Pakistan by the Indian Press tacitly follows an imperialistic design. Whether Indian Government has adopted a Big Brother attitude or not, the chosen representative newspapers under discussion seem to have got the Big Brotherly quotient quite in a huge proportion when it comes treating Pakistan is concerned. Both the newspapers treat the stories the way exactly a coloniser pick n choose issues attend to if anything is happening in the colony. The inherent imbalance in news flow hugely biased in favour of conflict and terror related stories only reinforce the imbalance theory. The newspapers portray Pakistan in a light which perhaps may be in sync with the policy of national Government but it should not be the case since financially both The Times of India and The Hindu are extremely strong. Pakistan media should ideally be dependent on Government largesse but the independent commentators like Noam Chomsky argue that Pakistan media, especially the English media there, in fact, happen to be pretty independent of Government position unlike its Indian counterpart. The framing strategy of Indian newspapers with regard to news from Pakistan is actually demonstrative of a serious poverty of imagination. A media which claim to be fiercely independent in terms of domestic issues have been showing a remarkable indifference towards the issues of neighbouring countries.
The fundamental problem with this kind of approach is that it leads to a monologue and a unitary discourse. It reflects not only the poverty of imaginations but also leads to monolithic structuring of news which is a dangerous trend at a time when people-to-people interaction is on a high thanks to interactive media and social networking sites. The phase of overdependence on celebrity photographs or jingoism is over for print medium. The avenues are much more in number now for an average information seeker in India. Especially with the interactivity aspects of social media stepping in, monologues have to step out and that will put these newspapers in a dire strait if this trend of monologue reporting continues unhindered.