CHAPTER 4

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

4.1 RELATED STUDIES ON CONFLICT

Peace and conflict research arose as a field devoted to understanding the causes of war and conditions for peace by means of systematic analyses of the historical experiences of war. Conflict consists of three components: incompatibility, action and actors. It is a situation in which a minimum of two actors strive to acquire at the same moment in time an available set of scarce resources. Examples of extreme conflicts are war, systematic repression, sexual and domestic violence, totalitarianism and genocide. In conflict both the parties want to win but that often is not possible or does not resolve the conflict completely and permanently. (Kaushik n.d.) This offers a broad general research agenda that so far has not been fully explored. As international wars are rare, the focus has shifted in the last decades towards intrastate armed conflicts.

Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts. Researchers quantify and analyze the presence, meanings and relationships of such words and concepts, then make inferences about the messages within the texts, the writer(s), the audience, and even the culture and time of which these are a part. … To conduct a content analysis on any such text, the text is coded or broken down, into manageable categories on a variety of levels--word, word sense, phrase, sentence, or theme--and then examined using one of content analysis’ basic methods: conceptual analysis or relational analysis. (Busch et al 2013)
Huesmann & Taylor clearly summarize the studies on television news violence:

Not all violence on television occurs in fictional formats, however. The news is often filled with descriptions of violence and its aftermath. Does this type of violent media content encourage imitative behavior? It is possible, but little research is available. A study by Berkowitz and Macaulay clearly showed a jump in the number of violent crimes, but not property crimes, after several high-profile murder cases in the early and mid-1960s. But the one other well-known study in this area – Phillips’s finding of increases in violent crimes 3 and only 3 days following televised prizefights – has never been widely accepted because of the lack of a plausible theory. Some of the best evidence of a violence effect for news is found in studies of the so-called Marilyn-Monroe effect – that highly publicized suicides are followed by an increase in suicides among the populace over the course of about two weeks collectively, the studies on this relationship suggest that news coverage of suicide produces a 2.5% increase in actual suicides. Interestingly, a two-week duration for the effects of another media process dealing with publicity about violence has also been reported. (Huesmann & Taylor 2006)

The conflicts within a state may range from the ethnic violence that followed the 2007 Kenyan presidential election; the pastoralist conflicts in the Sahel region; and the conflicts between different ethnic groups in Nigeria, the long Sri Lankan civil war between the LTTE and Sri Lankan government, and conflicts of the Babri Masjid, Godhra and the bomb blasts of Coimbatore to the Dalit and Telangana issues. These conflicts stand as examples of intrastate conflicts.

“Communal well-being is central to human life,” says Cat Stevens. (Stevens n.d.) Especially in countries like India, which have many diverse elements like races, classes, communities, and groups, communal harmony is an essential condition. A small rift can upset the apple cart and result in communal conflicts.
The impact of intrastate conflict has been comprehensively stated by Colletta & Cullen:

Armed conflict within a state weakens its social fabric and divides the population by undermining interpersonal and communal group trust, destroying the norms and values that underlie cooperation and collective action for the common good, and potentially perverting the mobilization of social relationships away from cooperative development and toward communal strife. (Colletta & Cullen 2000)

After studying the communal outrages and working on the communal resilience in Sri Lanka, Somasundaram & Sivayokan have observed in *Rebuilding community resilience in a post-war context in Northern Sri Lanka* that at the community level, it revealed recurring themes of general hopelessness, helplessness, and powerlessness. Their study further exposed that the community leaders and members were found less articulate; reluctant to participate or voice their opinions compared to earlier times; preferred non-involvement. Moreover according to the study, Community Organizations had become inactive or defunct; at the individual level they were suspicious of one another, distrustful of the intentions of others, and no longer willing to put their trust in community organizations. Occurrences of child abuse, domestic violence, unwanted pregnancies, illegal abortions, alcoholism and drug abuse among males had also increased exponentially. Thefts, petty crimes, antisocial activities and corruption were more commonplace. (International Journal of Mental Health Systems 2013)

According to Brass most of the communal riots are found planned or preceded by communal propaganda and a riot is ‘a violent disturbance of the peace by an assembly or body of persons,’ and a pogrom is ‘an organized massacre.’ (Brass 1996) Horowitz has noted that one of the most troubling aspects of such riots was the level of violence that leads to numerous deaths,
maiming, looting, and destruction of property and further added that they were largely pre-planned and instigated by rumors. (Horowitz 2001)

4.1.1 Related Studies That Define Communal Conflict

Galtung (1965) described communal conflict as a violent conflict between non-state groups which is organized along a shared communal identity and here violent conflict referred to the parties’ use of lethal violence to gain control over some disputed indivisible resource.

According to Tilly in categorizing different types of collective violence and analyzing how they relate to each other, the level of coordination is crucial and communal conflicts are located in the middle of the coordination spectrum since the communal actors involved lack a formal military organization but may still feature a high level of coordination. (Tilly 2003)

Emma Elfversson (formerly Johansson) explains how the communal conflicts differ from other forms of armed conflict:

Communal conflicts, as defined above, differ in some important ways from other forms of armed conflict. First, and perhaps most fundamentally, both parties to a communal conflict are subject to a higher, national authority which controls state funds and the national army. Intuitively, this implies that the management of the conflict is highly dependent on the government’s willingness and capacity for intervention. For instance, while rebel groups in a state-based conflict can be appeased by concessions by their counterpart on the government side, in a communal conflict the possibility of either party to make concessions may depend on a higher authority the local or national government, in this case a party external to the conflict. A second, related, difference is that while state-based intrastate conflicts are usually characterized by asymmetry, communal conflicts are generally more symmetrical. In an intrastate conflict, one
party holds government power and hence has control of the security forces and state funds; in a communal conflict, none of the actors usually has access to this type of resources. Zartman (1995) posits asymmetry as one of the reasons that civil wars often drag on for a long period before reaching a mutually hurting stalemate which enables conflict resolution. The relative symmetry may prove to be an important factor in applying and developing theory to fit the context of communal conflicts. Thirdly, in addition to being more symmetrical, the parties to a communal conflict usually do not have access to a professional military organization. (Elfversson 2011)

The differences mean that communal conflicts represent a type of violence that needs to be separated analytically from more organized types of ethnic violence.

Compared to the 1990s, communal conflicts were more common with a steady increase since 2004. (Themner & Wallensteen 2011)

Hegre finds that low-income democracies are 15–20 times more likely to experience civil war than are high-income democracies; he finds no significant difference in the likelihood of civil war when he compares low- and high-income autocracies, however. A similar pattern emerges when he employs literacy as a measure of development, although the difference between under- and fully developed democracies is then far less pronounced than when the level of development is measured by income. (Hegre cited in Bates 2008)

4.2 RELATED STUDIES ON MEDIA FRAMING ON THE CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

Mick Hume pointed out that the negative contributions of the media to the escalation and violence phases of conflict. He said:
In 1997 I wrote a pamphlet entitled *Whose War Is It Anyway? The Dangers of the Journalism of Attachment*. There is no space here to rehearse all the arguments about objectivity and emotionalism. But one point worth repeating concerns the danger of reducing complex conflicts to simple moral issues, by focusing on the suffering of civilians removed from any wider political context.” He concluded, “When reporters become crusaders, however, it is not good news for journalism or for political debate. (Hume 2012)

Dina Temple-Raston has dealt with the heart-rending massacre of about 800,000 persons in Rwanda within a period of 100 days in her book *Justice on the Grass: Three Rwandan Journalists, Their Trial for War Crimes and a Nation's Quest for Redemption*. Behind this inhuman episode were three media executives -- Ferdinand Nahimana, Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza, and Hassan Ngeze, who were later tried in an international court for crimes against humanity. A reader of her book on the subject wrote, “This is elegant, brilliant journalism, written with great moral clarity but without ever moralizing.” (Temple-Raston 2008)

Observations on the role of media in the reporting of conflict revealed that a number of journalists were accused of taking part in the killings in Rwanda. Authorities used media to spur and direct killings; media messages were designed to sharpen ethnic and political sensitivities. Allan Thompson has examined in detail the role of the local radio and print media in the 1994 Rwanda genocide. Through this, he has shown how dangerous the media could become if it is unscrupulous and is used as unholy political tool. (ed. Thompson 2007)

Nidzara Ahmetasevic has deplored:

Trials for war crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia have been ongoing before local courts and the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia, ICTY, for more than 15 years. But although many indictments, verdicts and
expert witnesses’ statements mentioned the key role of media in the war, no journalist or editor has been indicted to date. (Ahmetasevic 2009)

Due to these contexts the negative role of media is perceived as a double-edged sword; weapons of war and conflict; a dangerous device in the hands of totalitarian interests; used to spread misinformation and manipulate public frenzy.

The media was found to skew the election results by shaping the idea that the vote would determine the fate of each candidate’s ethnic community, thus leading to post-election crises. (Traugott & Lavrakas 2007)

Yong Lai Fong & Md Sidin Ahmad Ishak reported that media’s lack of contextual reporting was found only to exacerbate the misunderstanding among the general public and thus increased perceptual gaps among the different ethnic groups. (Fong & Ishak 2010)

Cliff Vaughn discusses the negative image of the Arabs created by the media:

“With violent conflict between Israelis and Palestinians again raging in the Middle East, their media images assume even greater weight and loom especially large,” wrote Howard Rosenberg in the Los Angeles Times. Rosenberg’s words resonate eerily because they were published on July 30, 2001. Just over a month later, terrorists attacked New York and Washington. And in recent weeks especially, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has frustrated the world….

Shaheen, former CBS news consultant on Middle East affairs and professor emeritus at Southern Illinois University, has authored several books on media images of Arabs: Arab and Muslim Stereotypes in American Popular Culture, The TV Arab, and Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People.
Throughout his career, Shaheen has examined the “B” syndrome of Arab portrayals in media. That is, Arabs are most often portrayed as bombers, belly dancers or billionaires.

The Los Angeles Times’ Rosenberg, again writing prior to Sept. 11, noted that “the 1993 World Trade Center bombing was no dream and that Arab terrorists are no fantasy. History and news headlines tell us they are every bit as real and scary as Italian mobsters. The issue is balance. Arabs are depicted as disgusting or they’re invisible.” (Vaughn 2002)

Studies have revealed that to create impulsive response from the readers, vivid stories of those suffering or injustice were brought to the sitting rooms of the audience and these stories became the backbone and origin of conflict. (Turkle 1997)

Depiction of suffering of the people of faraway places by the media involves several ethical issues, including the need for developing a global outlook so that the humankind may become better united by benevolent links among the distant sufferers and the spectators. Lillie Chouliaraki beautifully relates the ethical role of media with the social process of mediation. She also brings out that what the media does is not always out of good heart, but a political means to secure vested interest. (Chouliaraki 2006)

The review of the studies conducted to understand the role of media in conflict situations reveals that it can be used to fuel politics by the government; and, it is very often the case.

In the globalizing world any information is heavily commodified; is rapidly driven by hard news-values, such as the nature, cause and the brutality of violence. The journalistic code of ethics, media’s responsibility
toward societies etc., are becoming irksome, outdated constructs to media professionals.

The American Psychological Association raised a severe alarm as early as 1993 about the impact of TV violence on children. It concluded saying:

… the research evidence in this area establishes clearly that the level of violence on television poses substantial cause for concern. Content analysis studies demonstrate that violence is a central aspect of television programming that enjoys remarkable consistency and stability over time. And effects research, including correlational, experimental, and longitudinal designs, converge to document the risk of harmful psychological effects on child-viewers. Collectively, these findings from the scientific community make clear that television violence is a troubling problem for our society. (American Psychological Association 2007)

In a connected account of various studies on the impact of television on children covering a period of more than five decades, this work generally holds that television can be harmful to young children mainly because of the antisocial and violent contents.

Another viewpoint is that the modern ‘audience’ are not merely passive takers of what is given; they have definite expectations and goals. What they seek from the media differs from person to person. The media are greatly influenced by these goals. McQuail argues:

These goals or gratifications may be different for different people and can include entertainment, information, relief of boredom or escapism, introspection or insight, finding models for behavior, seeking reinforcement for beliefs or values, serving as a basis for conversation and social interaction, helping to either identify with others or to avoid interactions with them, and so on. (McQuail, cited in CommGAP n.d.)
While discussing the impact of various aspects of culture on ‘youth crime’, Prof. L A Visano refers to media in a significant manner. (Visano 2006)

There is scope for serious, ethical concern about Crime reporters’ close connections to police. The police and the media do have a lot of common ground. The police have to use the media for giving legitimate information to the public. The journalists also depend on the police staff and authorities for stories. Sometimes the police may think of feeding stories using their journalist friends; and the journalists may also think of misusing their closeness to police officials for getting ‘inside’ information. Such kind of extra needs may give room for unholy associations and undue mutual concessions.

Elizabeth Filkin had been asked to prepare a report on the ethical issues arising from the relationship between police and media, and formulate advice to the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis and his management board of London. The BBC reported on 4 January 2012:

The "close relationship" between parts of Scotland Yard and the media has caused "serious harm", a report says. The report by Elizabeth Filkin says information had previously been given "inappropriately". This had "compromised" the way police and the media scrutinized each other’s activities, it added. … Ms. Filkin, the former parliamentary commissioner for standards, calls for a new approach based on "more extensive, open and impartial" provision of information to the public. (Filkin report: Police warned over press links 2012)

Among the valuable tools available for the journalists and the editors, the ‘news frames’ deserve a special mention. Paul D’Angelo and Jim A. Kuypers have explained the use of news frames and the technique of analyzing them. (eds D’Angelo & Kuypers 2010)
Dietram A. Scheufele has defined ‘framing’ and differentiated it from other closely associated media concepts. He has also explained typology of framing in a fairly detailed manner. (Scheufele 1999)

Thus numerous evidences suggested that constant exposure to mean worlds constructed by media creates meaner people ranging from aggression after watching “cartoon Networks” or the rise of intra state crime.

4.3 RELATED STUDIES ON MEDIA FRAMING ON THE LOCAL CONFLICT

Although international conflicts receive most attention in the media, coverage of conflict acts in a national context far outnumbers international one. (Bissiouni 1982)

Martin Van Creveld has clearly revealed that contemporary violent conflicts tended to occur within, rather than between, states. In his opinion interstate conflicts occur between and among sovereign states while internal conflicts occur among groups or organizations within a state, such as ethnic and religious groups. Low intensity conflicts occur between and among states, but also between and among groups or organizations within states. (Creveld 1991)

The international media and the local media cover events differently. It is argued that the local media sometimes manipulate to fuel or incite conflicts by broadcasting hate speech and partisan reporting. This is found to play a destructive role in the country by reporting over incitements and fuelling conflict situations. (Swisspeace 2002)
Rupsayar Das writes regarding the violence against women:

Most of the global media organizations are owned & run majorly by men. Women working in the media do have limited freedom and role to play. It is absolutely critical that the media breaks free from the patriarchal clutches and start taking feminist perspectives into serious considerations, so that it can infuse healthy attitudes towards feminity within the society. Harnessing strong public opinion, governmental & public policies towards VAW and ‘Femicide’ are paramount; a task that should be carried out by the media. It’s a tall, tough task but a concerted start is needed. (Das 2012)

The goal is that one day women will be able to walk down the street, enter their homes, attend college classes, obtain successful careers and go about their day without fear. (Bull cited in Das 2012)

4.4 RELATED STUDIES ON THE MEDIA AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

The role of media in the international conflicts and the negative issues that arise due to it have been widely studied and presented quoting the cases of worst wars. NBC anchorman David Brinkley, in an appearance on National Educational Television in 1968 said:

If I were objective, or if you were objective, or if anyone was, we would have to be put away in an institution because we’d be some kind of vegetable. Objectivity is impossible to a human being. (Howell 1984)

Former President Nixon said it this way: The War in Vietnam was not lost on the battlefields of Vietnam. It was lost in the halls of Congress ... in the editorial rooms of great newspapers ... and in the classrooms of great universities. (Joseph cited in Howell 1984)

The inexperience of war correspondents, unfamiliarity with the historical and political background of the conflict and their ignorance of the language and culture of Vietnam were severely criticized. (Elegant 1981)
4.4.1 Television Coverage of Military Operations in Grenada and Panama

The American media has given scope for a criticism that it does not care for the national security as much as it ought to do. A demand for restructuring the nationalist press is strengthening. While it is not a good idea to allow the military to decide how it should be reported about, the media also cannot be allowed to go ahead recklessly and endanger the safety of the persons engaged in protecting the country’s interests. With some changes, the subject of military-media relationship is becoming more relevant in all parts of the world. (Kennedy 1993)

Through the content analysis of media coverage of the operation in Grenada, Jonathan Mermin exposed that the mainstream media criticized the conflict in as low as about 9% of paragraphs, only. The media accepted the official justifications without scrutinizing their legitimacy for the invasions; and moreover in the case of Panama the mainstream media was criticized for its little critical coverage of this issue. A positive image of the Gulf War was presented through the media. Due to limited choice the media in many ways agreed to the military guidelines and thus, most of the information broadcast was obtained from the military and the government only. Thus critical analysis was not done in reporting the war issues. (Mermin 1993)

During the Iraq conflict the media people by signing a contract (called it embedding process) became part of a command structure. This dependence was observed as threat to journalistic objectivity. In the American military action in Iraq the media was found to have simply accepted the governmental line, becoming part of official propaganda. It was also criticized for acting as mouthpiece of the officials. (Miller 2004)
Moreover journalists who did not conform to propaganda were usually disciplined. In one instance, a Peter Arnett, the NBC correspondent in Baghdad during the war, was dismissed for his interview for Iraqi television for stating “the first war plan has failed for Iraqi resistance.” (Arnett Fired for Iraqi TV Interview 2003)

TV shows that presented antiwar guests criticizing Bush administration were cancelled. (Routledge 2006)

Coverage of war by media in the context of highly developed propaganda techniques and the world shrinking as a global village has become like walking on tight ropes. A country is not merely a bureaucratic framework; it includes myriad of corporate bodies and service organizations functioning beyond the national boundaries. There are global media organizations. The right of the peoples of the world to know everything in truthful and proper perspectives cannot and should not be compromised; while it is also not easy to ignore the national interests. Key problems of media globalization call for intelligent analysis. (eds Kamalipour, YR & Snow, N 2004)

Ben H. Bagdikian says in his Foreword in War, media, and propaganda: a global perspective:

There has been a reflex throughout the history of modern news: When the country goes to war, so do the major news organizations. They consider it ‘patriotic.’ But it is dubious patriotism that abandons citizens in unnecessary ignorance of critical information. . . . The before-and-after picture of United States officialdom presents a stark lesson of the tragedies of war and propaganda repeated in the major media. (eds Kamalipour, YR & Snow, N 2004)

America’s Iraq adventure was the outcome of flawed adventure; if so, the media failed the people by not working more efficiently and by not
bringing the truth to the notice of the people in time. Dadge searches for the possible reasons; including pressures from the Bush administration, corporate compulsions, narrow nationalism and so on. He also comes out with specific ideas for the media to improve its performance, especially when dealing with the political affairs. (Dadge & Schechter 2006)

4.4.2 Media Coverage on Conflict in Sri Lanka

Due to ethnic and political conflicts and ineffective media reforms, the mainstream media in Sri Lanka continues to be burdened with a number of problems. The media in Sri Lanka has been found to have exacerbated existing communal and ethnic tensions by continuously playing on the nationalist and religious emotions of the people. Moreover, the ethnic ownership of media was often observed to annul the efforts by reporters to examine the realities of other ethnic groups. Newspaper establishments owned by Sinhalese were found to show a majoritarian bias. It is further argued that in Sri Lanka media is found to have become a vehicle for propaganda due to undemocratic politicians’ inspiration; provocation and underwriting national fears and prejudices. The journalists do not benefit from a tradition of independence, but satisfy demands of leaders for support for the ‘national interest.’ (Center for Policy Alternatives, Colombo 2013)

During the ethnic and political conflicts the role of the media in Sri Lanka was found to be entwined with the particular dynamics of that conflict; it was used as a frightful weapon of violence through its messages of intolerance. It was argued that the Sri Lankan media was profuse in ethnic stereotyping.
4.5 RELATED STUDIES ON THE MEDIA AND WORLD WARS

Over the period of half century media coverage of war has always been examined by the governments, the public and the academics. The deadliest war in the century World War II has exhaustively exhibited the role of media in the war situation. In World War II most Americans received their information about the war from newspaper reports and radio broadcasts. They were allowed to form their image of war in their own minds. They were not confronted with the actual vivid imagery of battle and carnage of the conflict. For the most part the war was portrayed by the media in a positive and heroic manner in the print. We believe this helped to create consensus in the American public in support of the war. (Lane 1998)

Newspapers played active roles along with radio in both World War I and World War II to report the operations on the battlefields -- they put stories before the readers and readers formed their perceptions of the war from the written word. Their words helped to recreate the events that happened in the outside world -- this information contributed to creating images of war; Boorstin argued how the selection of stories and coverage attitudes of newspapers in turn alters the image of events like wars in the minds of the public. They offer "a shrewdly selected range of stories -- items of pseudo-events -- each well-suited to the interests of the particular newspaper or magazine" in the process of "image build-up." (Boorstin cited in Lane 1998) Katie Lane points out:

The role of media in the World War I and World War II are still under critical examination of the researchers. The Media domination during the World War I was very scanty but World War II was considered to be a media war. The research studies pertaining to the role of media during the World War II was acknowledged by many studies. In World War II alone 1,646 news correspondents were recognized by the United States War and Navy Departments. Further she adds,
These papers provided the public with up-to-date information on what was happening daily on the battlefront. Newspapers played active roles along with radio in both World War I and World War II to report the operations on the battlefields -- they put stories before the readers and readers formed their perceptions of the war from the written word. (Lane 1998)

The media contents and words aid the readers to recreate the events that happened in the outside world. This information contributed to creating images of war. They offer, in the words of Boorstin, ‘a shrewdly selected range of stories - items of pseudo-events - each well-suited to the interests of the particular newspaper or magazine' in the process of ‘image build-up.’ (Boorstin cited in Lane 1998)

Rico Neuman and Shahira Fahmy have visualized the share of photographs in the conflict situation. (Neumann & Fahmy 2012)

Wood (1967) has comprehensively exposed the role of media during the war time. He summarized:

The main pipelines of information for the American public were newspapers and radio. Radio in particular came into its own during the war.” Further he added, “Television with its great potential as a news medium was about to spring half-grown from the forehead of its sire, and World War II was to be radio’s hour of greatness in the light of history. (Wood 1967)

The study findings concluded that ‘the strong imagery of the war truly became the biggest weapon in helping the U.S. to ‘lose’ the war in Vietnam. The survey conducted by Time magazine, has summarized, “The warfront imagery presented by the media inspired one of the greatest demonstrative movements of American history - especially in the student population. To those who watched the war on television every night, the war simply became unacceptable. The images were constantly pounding the
impressionable public and constantly therefore molding their public opinions."

The media reports and images of Vietnam War forcefully mobilized the public support against the war. The war protest movements used the media contents for their propaganda against war.

While being critical about the media’s role regarding the wars of Vietnam and the Gulf, Danny Schechter has written with more passion about the military action in Afghanistan. Highlighting the emergence of world-wide-web, independent media centers, and meager representation of women, He says:

We have all been here before, watching our country go to war, with the mainstream media enlisted as a megaphone for official views and sanitized news. It was like that in Vietnam, in the Gulf, and now, with a significant difference, in Afghanistan. The difference is that today despite new technologies, hundreds of new channels and the diverse views are available through the internet-the situation is worse.

Worse in part, because journalists have effectively been barred from the battlefields, and because most media institutions have confused jingoism with journalism. American flags fly in the lapels of newscasters and in the graphics on news gets, masking their uncritical analyses in patriotic symbols. The voices of dissent are mostly absent, as the New York Times discovered almost two months after the war began.

A Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR) survey of the New York Times and Washington Post op-ed pages for the three weeks following the attacks (9/12/01 - 10/2/01) found that "columns calling for or assuming a military response to the attacks were given a great deal of space, while opinions urging diplomatic and international law approaches as an alternative to military action were nearly non-existent. A total of 44 columns in the Times and Post clearly stressed a
military response, against only two columns stressing non-
military solutions." In addition, both op-ed pages showed a 
striking gender imbalance. Of the 107 op-ed writers at the 
Post, only seven were women. Proportionally, the Times did 
slightly better, with eight female writers out of 79. This is 
especially ironic in a war against a Taliban condemned for its 
treatment of women.

This only shows that the media is constantly in a flux, hopefully 
becoming better. (Third World Traveler 2001)

4.6 THE ROLE OF THE MASS MEDIA IN CONFLICT 
SITUATIONS

The role of the news media has grown in recent years, perhaps 
because of the centrality of the news media in communal violence and 
conflicts (Wolfsfeld 2007) Mary Werntz head of the regional delegation of 
the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in India once 
articulated that Media did not just report news, they also formed opinion – 
and that, in turn, shaped events.

Riots have become integral with communalism in India. An event 
can be classified as a communal riot if two or more communally identified 
groups confront each other or the members of the other group, at some point 
during the violence (Varshney 2002). The reason behind such communal riots 
can be superficial and trivial; though deep within, there are political reasons 
behind such events (ibid).

Rajeswari (2004) states that India is not new to communal riots, 
the first recorded riots were in the years 1714, 1715, 1716 and 1750 in 
Ahmadabad.

Chandra, Bipin (1984) encapsulates that the maximum communal 
riots in India took place during 1923–1926.
Many scholars’ ascertains that the Indian media forgot to priorities the core issues and failed to act upon them. Senior Indian journalist, Manoj Mitta and H. S. Phoolka (2007) in the book *when a tree shook* state that the media focused on the assassination of Indira Gandhi and did not care enough about the Sikh murders during the riots. An excerpt from the book reads:

The media by and large went by the official line on the carnage. It focused on the happenings at Teen Murti Bhawan, where Indira Gandhi’s body lay in state and where from people around the world had come to pay respect. So photographers were flocking to that place and the killings that were simultaneously going on in the capital did not get recorded at all. It’s bizarre but true.

Visual media in particular tend to focus on dramatic and violent events. There is a view that in terms of news, war is better than peace; violence is better than non-violence. This became patent during the 26/11 Mumbai attacks, and the Godhra riots of 2002. Instead of disseminating information about the events, the Indian media played up on its sensationalism quotient. TV reports were full of bloodied victims, traumatized hostages, fires, shootings and bullets. What was lacking was accurate information. The entire focus about the Gujarat riots for instance was about the hatred and the negative attitudes. Not enough attention was devoted to the cause of the conflict in the first place. Images of death and destruction are known to set the cash registers of media companies ringing – but at what cost is a question that seriously needs to be examined (Nora, Kaushik 2010)

The Gujarat carnage was covered by Indian visual media in a dramatic manner. A study on *the Role of the Media during Communal Riots in India* by Saifuddin Ahmed (2010) narrates the Gujarat violence scenario:

When the first pictures of Gujarat riots were telecast on Indian screens on 27 February, the three major news networks in India—Star News, Aaj Tak and Zee News—did not follow the guidelines formulated by the Press Council of
India, a quasi-judicial watchdog organization (Mehta, 2006). The guidelines mentioned not to reveal the identity of victims or attackers in the news reports but all the news networks carried blaring headlines about the killing of the Kar Sevaks. The guidelines were against the mentioning of victims or attackers as Hindus or Muslims because they feared it could inflame passions and lead to revenge attacks. The television news networks with its striking visual images made this guideline redundant.

Media is an actor in its own right. Media constitute a space in which the conflicts of a society can be articulated and are inevitably themselves actors in that conflict. The growing recognition of the crucial role the media can play in helping provoke conflict has led many to examine how the media can play a constructive role in resolving conflict. The following are studies on the potential role of media in conflict situations.

Every conflict is probably fought on two battlegrounds- one, the actual battlefield and two, the minds of the people (Anup Shah 2005). On both these grounds, the media plays an important role because it defines the parameters of the conflict itself. It is the media that ultimately dramatizes shapes and influences perceptions about conflicting parties, their needs, interests and the cause of the conflict.

Robert Karl Manoff (1998) points out that the media play an ad hoc role during conflict situations by Educating, Confidence building, Counteracting misperceptions, Analyzing conflict, De-objectifying the protagonists for each other, Identifying the interests underlying the issues, Providing an emotional outlet, Encouraging a balance of power, Framing and defining the conflict, Face saving and consensus building, Solution building.

In 2003, International Media Support (IMS) examined conflict reporting and acknowledged that there was no consensus on the best approach to conflict reporting among media professionals. The report considered how
conflict reporting impacted on war and how such reporting could be improved. The focus was on recent conflicts and participants sought to explore the distinction between peace journalism and conflict sensitive journalism through analyzing specific interventions on conflict reporting.

A Weje and Alikor (2010) found at examining the role of the mass media in the perennial conflict that engulfed the oil rich Niger Delta region of Nigeria that Mass media as a field of human endeavor saddled with the responsibilities of covering and reporting societal events and situations in the time of joy and anger, love and hatred, ups and downs to the public within the ambit of social responsibility theory of the press have been praised and dawned by media exponents and cynics especially in media coverage and reportage and reportage of Niger Delta conflict scenario.

A framework was suggested by Himelfarb et.al. (2008) to be used in peace-building media can employ different strategies such as (1) Conflict-sensitive and peace journalism; (2) Peace-promoting entertainment media; (3) Media regulation to prevent incitement of violence, but also (4) Peace-promoting citizen media.

Florian Westphal (2004) noted that the media have the power to defuse tensions before they even reach a critical point and keep a critical eye on government, opposition and society. By supplying credible information and reaching a large audience, the media help in managing conflicts and promote democratic principles. In the aftermath of a conflict, reconciliation and societal development can be encouraged as well.

A comprehensive statistical analysis of the amount of coverage throughout the year 2000 in Le Monde (France), the New York Times (USA), the Yomiuri (Japan) and CNN and BBC world news argues that media agendas do influence a broad range of policy initiatives, and that, by
extension, lack of media coverage contributes to lack of policy (Virgil Hawkins 2002).

An exhaustive analysis of the literature on the role of media in conflict situation throws light upon the role, responsibilities and failures of mass media during the conflict; the conflict prevention and resolution function under various yardsticks. It reveals that much depends on the state ideology, media system, social settings and cultural values.

There cannot be a stereotyped method for handling all the conflicts. The understanding of the conflicts and the effort for their resolutions call for different theoretical perspectives.

4.7 RELATED STUDIES ON MEDIA AND CONFLICT IN INDIA

Prem Mahadevan narrates how KPS Gill of Punjab made use of the media to counteract terrorism.

Lastly, the Police made very effective use of the mass media as an instrument of psychological warfare. K.P.S Gill had taken a decision way back in 1988 to allow journalists unprecedented access to Police operations. The idea at the time was to counter terrorist allegations of Government atrocities. Once the media was given a ringside view of events in Punjab, it gradually grew to appreciate the difference between fact and fiction. For a start, journalists were able to independently investigate allegations of Police brutality, and noted that many were exaggerated. One correspondent summed up the situation: “When there is no guarantee of security of life and property, citizens tend to believe anything.

During the 1992 operations, Gill switched from defensively using the media to counter terrorist propaganda, to employing it offensively. The neutralization of terrorists well-known for their brutality automatically made for a newsworthy story.
From June 1992 onwards, the press in Punjab was flooded by a series of reports on spectacular Police successes. With almost dazzling speed, the Police began arresting or killing all the top terrorists in the State. These individuals had, just six months previously, seemed beyond the reach of the law. Their deaths in shootouts with the Police were greeted with marked indifference and occasional glee from ordinary Sikhs, a point that the media noted. Meanwhile, their confederates in the terrorist movement noted both the rate of Police successes, and the lack of popular reaction. Many began to defect from their terrorist groups, opening a floodgate of intelligence information for the Police. (Prem Mahadevan 2008)

Rai brings out the predicament of the media in Kashmir clearly: There were times when the national newspapers were banned by the militants in Jammu and Kashmir. The first major media killing in J&K by terrorists was that of Lassa Kaul, Director, Srinagar Doordarshan. Media persons had to leave Srinagar soon after the killing of P.N. Handoo of the State Information Department.

Even the local media persons from the J&K also were not spared when they resisted pressure from militants. Attempts were made on the life of Sofi Ghulam Mohammad, editor, Srinagar Times. A powerful explosion damaged the printing press of the daily Aftab. The Delhi edition of the Indian Express was banned in the Valley in 1992 and correspondents were asked to leave immediately. The circulation of ‘Sunday’, the prominent Calcutta weekly, was banned under the orders of the JKLF in 1992 and the entry of its special correspondent into the Valley was stopped with immediate effect. In September, the Wahade-i-Islami banned the entry of Mark Tully, the South Asia correspondent of the BBC, into the Valley. (Rai 2000)
4.8 RELATED STUDIES ON THE IMPACT OF MEDIA ON THE INDIVIDUAL

Collectively the media has great impact on the society and its systems and at the micro level also its coverage of conflict does have great impact on the individual. Such impact on the psychological variables like anxiety, depression, worries, and belief systems has been studied by scholars and these are the focus of media psychologists. Psychological research has tackled the societal problems of prejudice and intergroup conflict.

Exposure to violence-laden television was found to cultivate an exaggerated sense of insecurity and mistrust and anxiety at the individual level. Heavy viewers were found to buy more guns, locks, and watchdogs for protection than light viewers. Women and minorities became more vulnerable. Violence and victimization led to a mean world in which everyone is at risk. Some were so, more than others. (Gerbner et al 1982)

The media’s success and influence are undoubtedly determined by the degree of dependency of others upon the media. If this has to be more, then it has to be consciously developed by the media. J. Tanner Robertson points out that the following five factors determine this dependency on the media system: (Robertson 2009)

i. Structural factors incorporate the media’s interdependency with other systems, specifically political, economic and social systems.

ii. Contextual factors are the extent to which the level of threat, predictability, and interpretability of nature of the social environment that individuals interact with one another or social groups.
iii. Media factors include the media system’s messages and the construction, quality and nature of media messages.

iv. Interpersonal network factors are the ways peer groups affect individuals’ expectations of media messages and motivations.

v. Individual factors are the goals that are met or satisfied by an individual’s media use.

Media manipulation often plays a central role in promoting nationalist and ethnic conflict, but promoting unconditional freedom of public debate in newly democratizing societies is, in many circumstances, likely to make the problem worse. Historically and today, from the French Revolution to Rwanda, sudden liberalizations of press freedom have been associated with bloody outbursts of popular nationalism. The most dangerous situation is precisely when the government’s press monopoly begins to break down. During incipient democratization, when civil society is burgeoning but democratic institutions are not fully entrenched, the state and other elites are forced to engage in public debate in order to compete for mass allies in the struggle for power. Under those circumstances, governments and their opponents often have the motive and the opportunity to play the nationalist card.

A study by Zillmann and Weaver on Psychoticism caused by prolonged exposure to gratuitous media violence on the acceptance of violence as a preferred means of conflict resolution brought to light severe psychological issues of individuals exposed to media violence. In their study within a prolonged-exposure, delayed-measurement paradigm, respondents watched films that featured no violence, old-style violence, gratuitous violence, or horror. Male and female respondents were classified as low vs. high in psychoticism weeks prior to consumption of the films. Delayed
measures were: (1) the acceptance of violence as a means of conflict resolution; (2) crime apprehension; (3) evaluation of police brutality; and (4) the endorsement of the death penalty for perpetrators of violent crime. Female respondents, whether low or high in psychoticism, were not appreciably affected by the consumption of any of the violent genres. Similarly, male respondents in the lower half of psychoticism were not appreciably affected. In contrast, male respondents in the upper half of psychoticism, estimated to represent half the population, were significantly affected: Consumption of gratuitous violence consistently fostered greater acceptance of violence as a means of conflict resolution. Consumption of old-style violence and horror did not. Crime apprehension was not appreciably affected by genres differing in amount and type of violence featured; nor was evaluations of police brutality. However, respondents, especially male respondents and respondents in the upper half of psychoticism endorsed the death penalty more strongly after gratuitous violence than after consumption of alternative genres. (Zillmann & Weaver 1997)

4.9 PROMOTING PRINCIPLES OF NONVIOLENCE FOR COMMUNAL HARMONY

Though many studies report the ill effects of contemporary media’s role the conflicts, it has been a major champion in promoting communal harmony in the country. Historically, media has been a very strong supporter of communal peace and harmony in the Indian sub-continent and the importance of getting united to fight the common enemy, the British. National leaders of the yore used the nationalist print media comprising newspapers and periodicals to convey their views to the general public of various parts of India and to urge them to protest against the partition. In the Indo-Pak and Sino-Indian wars too, the media was found taking an active lead in keeping the morale of the country high and stressing the need to eschew
internal differences and conflicts and stand up united against external aggression. In the anti-Sikh riots of 1984 the media was found to take a lead in trying to drive away the communal tension and restore normalcy in the country.

The history of human civilization has witnessed several types of conflicts of varied proportions. However nonviolence has been proved to be the most potent weapon to resolve them.

Various movements like Indian Freedom struggle and the Civil Rights movement in USA have emerged advocating different forms nonviolence with peaceful resistance, and principle of love. These were popularized by the media among the general public uniting them for a noble cause.

4.10 RELATED STUDIES ON MEDIA’S ROLE IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

The need for media’s role in conflict management has been well understood by the policymakers and conflict management experts. The United States Institute of Peace (USIP) is one of such institutions, which is an independent, nonpartisan, national institution. It aims to help prevent, manage, and resolve international conflicts by empowering others with knowledge, skills, and resources, and also by direct involvement in peace-building efforts around the world. USIP’s Media Conflict and Peace building Center of Innovation and the Alliance for Peace building convened top media and conflict experts to review a comprehensive strategic framework to aid in the design of practical peace-building media. Its convention, as reported by Sheldon Himelfarb & Megan Chabalowski recorded a number of recommendations. (Himelfarb & Chabalowski 2008) They included:
1. Increased attention to participatory, user-generated citizen media in the conflict zones.

2. Increased attention to impact evaluation. Participants observed the importance of such evaluation to drive forward the use of media in public health campaigns and recommended that the framework draw upon lessons learned in that field.

Any framework for developing more pro-social peace building media must incorporate these realities.

Use of media for bad purposes is not unheard of. The most disgusting example has come from Germany:

In the last six decades, the influence of the media in the global arena has increasingly been recognized, especially its power to either exacerbate or contain potential conflicts. Indeed it is worth noting that among the defendants during the Nuremburg trials which were constituted by the allied forces following the defeat of Germany and her allies immediately after the second world war was one Julius Streicher who although never held any official position within the Nazi party hierarchy, was considered to be among the top individuals who bore the greatest responsibility for the holocaust that killed more than six million Jews. (Nuremburg trial papers)

For close to twenty five years, Streicher had “educated’ the Germany people in hatred and incited them to the persecution and the extermination of the Jewish race. The propaganda which Streicher carried for close to twenty five years was chiefly done through the medium of his newspaper as the editor of the “Der Stuemer” and later several other provincial journals (May 24 1934 issue). (The Role of Media in Peace Building n.d.)
Usha Sundar Harris of Macquarie University recommended certain ways to bring about peace and stability: (Harris n.d.)

a. Many nations in the Asia Pacific region are plural societies and while reflecting this plurality and diversity of opinions, local media should report with sensitivity, issues which may be the catalyst for further instability.

b. Journalists in the region should question if the conflict-event orientation of Western journalism really is right for them in their reporting of conflicts. By choosing story pegs which promote reconciliation journalists can assist in breaking the cycle of violence.

c. Pacific journalists need to integrate notions of community-building and consensus-building into their own practice.

d. There is an urgent need to develop training programs which not only teach writing skills but develop critical and analytical abilities of journalists.

e. A short term exchange program (say three months) of journalists working in large metropolitan media organizations exchanging positions with journalists from regional media will provide much greater understanding of each other’s society and professional practices.

f. Media workers reporting in conflict situations can bring other perspectives by training in Peace Journalism which promotes alternative methods such as mediation and co-operation.

g. Journalists often overlook people at the community level. A community worker, a farmer, a school teacher, a mother may
bring very different perspectives to a story and when placed alongside elite sources, those perspectives would bring greater balance in stories.

h. Media should document the experiences of women in armed conflict, as well as support and publicize women’s peace initiatives. The role of women as peace builders, and the unique contributions that women bring to the peace-table, should be highlighted, and not sidelined by the mass media.

i. Community media such as radio can be used to enable communities to participate in projects of reconciliation and peace building.

j. Overall it can be stated that a strong independent local media, with journalists who have skill and sensitivity in peace-building, is essential in the Pacific region.

Gadi Wolfsfeld highlights the wonderful possibility of media’s playing a positive role in peace building processes, subject to the prevailing political circumstances. He constructs his theory on the basis of three peace processes relating to (i) Israel and Palestinians, (ii) Israel and Jordan, and (iii) Good Friday agreement in Northern Ireland. He points out that while the role of the media was destructive in Oslo peace process, it was constructive in the processes relating to Israel and Jordan and Northern Ireland. (Wolfsfeld 2004)

The debates over the relative influence of media vis-à-vis other factors may never be completely settled. But systematic attention to research design, the expansion of experimental methods that seek to isolate media effects, and careful consideration and testing of metrics will help expand knowledge about the relationship between media interventions and peace building.
The studied literatures have clearly exhibited the gray area of the research. The wars between countries, intrastate wars, and internal ethnic wars have drawn the attention of the media. The media outlets are also interested to sell the war footages and images to the international media outlets. The media outlets are very keen to capture the images of bomb blasts, movements of war vehicles, movements of war crafts and missile launch alone. So the embedded journalism is quite popular in the war field. The researchers are also paying more attention to the war-related conflicts alone. But the local conflicts which are jeopardizing the livelihood of the local people are not getting enough attention of the media researchers. Media researchers have not focused on the local conflicts. The less dramatic events like local conflicts have not at all been highlighted in the academic research. The local conflicts like clash between security forces and conflict between police forces and public have their own effects on the lives of the people. The relationship between the media contents and local conflicts has to be studied to enrich professionalism in regional local media.
CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

5.1 THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

This study engages framing theory as the theoretical framework for this study. As stated by Bryant and Miron (2004), nowadays, framing theory has taken over from agenda setting and cultivation theory as the most commonly applied research approach in the field of communications science. The most frequently cited definitions of framing theory came from the renounced researcher Entman.

According to Entman, Framing is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (Entman 1993)

If we decode the frames constructed by the media, we can infer multiple meanings from the constructed texts. According to Bateson (1972) a frame specifies the relationship between several connected elements in a text. More specifically this relationship can lead to a better understanding of the issue or topic that is covered in the text. Thus, any message contains two elements: firstly, the specific content and secondly, a frame that does something to the manner in which the message is interpreted.
Tankard (2008) also details various news features that commonly convey frames. They are headlines and kickers, subheads, photographs, photo captions, leads, etc.

Wong (2004) has summarized four major dimensions of framing that could be studied for the news. They are 1) presentation of news items (their size and placement); 2) news topic items (or what issues are included in the frame); 3) cognitive attributes (or the specific details of issues included); and 4) effective attributes (tone of the picture).

Additionally, Weaver (2007) has mentioned that frames can be studied by means of systematic content analysis or more interpretive textual analysis alone.

Van Gorp (2007) also ascertained that some researchers opt for a rather qualitative approach in analyzing media frames, such as discourse analysis, while others apply traditional content analysis or other quantitative methods.

In Media studies, frames are considered a part of three interlinked models of priming, framing and agenda-setting. They have been developed in research as approaches to explain the effect of media on all kinds of groups, and vice versa (Scheufele, Tewksbury 2007).

In media-effect studies, a branch of communication sciences, ‘agenda setting’, ‘priming’ and ‘framing’ are differentiated from one another. To understand further Price et al., (1997) observed:

Agenda setting and priming research stipulate that story selection can alter audience judgments by shifting the odds those particular issues will come to mind easily. Consequently, audience estimates of issue importance (in the case of agenda setting) and approval of public actors (in the
case of priming) are affected. Framing research proposes that media messages, by emphasizing some aspects of a problem rather than others, can put people in mind of very different considerations when they contemplate the matter and form opinions about it.

In addition to the aforementioned clarifications, Berelson (1952) defines Quantitative Content Analysis as “a research technique for the systematic, objective, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”.

Similarly Holsti (1968) says that Quantitative Content Analysis is any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages.

Kerlinger (1986) has also defined that content analysis as a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables.

5.1.1 Relevance of Framing Theory in Quantitative Content Analysis

Douglas (2003) convincingly argues that the communication studies, functional theory paved the way for several approaches and techniques in modern communication research, including media effects, uses and gratifications, agenda-setting, framing, cultivation theory, and the spiral of silence theory. To be sure, the media and conflict have been studied from the perspective of a variety of mass media theories, including framing theory (Mary S. Mander ed., 1999).

Framing defines how news media coverage can shape mass opinion by using these specific frameworks to help guide their reader to understanding. By examining media framing theory and applying this in an analysis of mainstream and alternative media sources, several developments
appear. These developments highlight how news sources are able to influence public perception.

The framing theory has developed from the need for analyzing possible effects of biased information in mass media. It is presumed that classical public consciousness has given way to a media consciousness in which journalists function as ‘gatekeepers’. The media are the ones who decide which information should be published as news and which should never reach the public. Awareness of the power of the media to interpret issues in the public consciousness leads to competition among various actors to dominate this channel as spokesperson in order to promote their own interpretation. To this end, actors follow rules of the media. (Gerhards et al. 1998)

Framing has also been studied in the communication context, where research has confirmed its importance in defining conflict, interpreting and reinforcing conflict dynamics, and ultimately resolving conflict by bringing divergent frames into alignment through reframing. (Roy J. Lewicki, Barbara Gray & Michael 2003)

5.1.2 Framing: History and Theory in Media and Conflict

Media framing is the way in which information is presented to its audiences.

Goffman (1974) was the first to concentrate on framing as a form of communication and defined “framing” as a “schemata of interpretation” that enables individuals to “locate, perceive, identify and label” occurrences or life experiences.

Entman (1993) modernized this definition by specifying that “to frame a communicating text or message is to promote certain facets of a ‘perceived reality’ and make them more salient in such a way that endorses a
specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or a
treatment recommendation”.

Today, media effects can be characterized as ‘social constructionism’. Mass media constructs social reality by “framing images of reality . . . in a predictable and patterned way” (Mc-Quail, 1994).

According to Gamson and Modigliani (1989), “Media discourse is part of a process by which individuals construct meaning, and public opinion is part of the process by which journalists . . . develop and crystallize meaning in public discourse”.

By incorporating media framing with agenda setting, priming and bias, Entman (1993) believes that readers can better comprehend how and why framing occurs in the media. “Agenda setting serves as the first function of framing as it defines the problems worthy of government attention.” Priming is “the goal, the intended effect, of strategic actors’ framing activities”. Agenda setting will always occur, even if it is not pervasively biased. However, when paired, agenda setting and priming have the ability to create widespread bias. Bias, as defined by Entman is “consistent patterns in the framing of mediated communication that promote the influence of one side of conflicts over the use of government power”.

Consumer culture has penetrated the business of media through the use of framing, agenda setting, priming and bias, which facilitates its commerce.

Through detailed theoretical discussion the researcher applies the framing theory to meet the research objectives of the study. The news events covered by the media could affect how readers of the news understand the actual events. Mostly, they build their opinion based on how the news story was framed and their own individual frames. In this situation studying the
media, framing is an important variable to consider and along with framing research, the agenda-setting theory of communication research should also be acknowledged by some of the scholars.

Both, the media framing theory and the agenda-setting theory of communication provide an insight to how the media can influence their audience.

To sum up these two theories, De Vreese (2005) summarizes that, “a frame is an emphasis in salience of different aspects of a topic. While agenda-setting theory deals with the salience of issues, framing is concerned with the presentation of issues”. The main purpose of this study was to examine the role of media in the presentation of police lawyer conflict to the readers and framing theory plays an important role in the research.

5.2 NEED AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Media’s role in the coverage of conflict prevention and resolution has come under heavy criticism. The research findings on the conflict studies have unanimously articulated that media reports of conflicts have magnified the conflict, sustained the violence and propagated messages of intolerance. Media of all types have one of the most important roles in promoting and establishing the principle of non-violence in conflict resolution. Media propagates the message and values directly. It creates big impact among people. With the availability of audio-visual, audio media with print media, the importance of media has grown manifold. India is encountering armed, religious, caste, linguistic, ethnic, water, border, communal conflicts etc. Research studies on the role of media in the pre, during, and post conflict situation do not lead to positive findings. Again and again they have reiterated the negative role of media in the conflict situation. Media professionals are not even equipped to handle local violence efficiently and ethically. Most of the times, media reports instigate violence further. Research studies on this
subject are very vital to develop conflict resolution framework and improve the standard of the media profession. Limited systematic research work has been carried out in the field of conflict and regional media. Hence the current research work has come not a moment too soon.

5.3 CONTENT ANALYSIS

The case study method and the content analysis have been used in this study. As stated by Tejas Patel in his media conflict resolution research:

The content analysis, due to its application in examining any piece of writing or occurrence of recorded communication, is currently used in a vast range of fields, from marketing and media studies, to literature and rhetoric, ethnography and cultural studies, sociology and political science and many other fields of inquiry. (Patel 2003)

Kimberly A. Neuendorf has defined Content Analysis:

Content Analysis is a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method (including attention to objectivity, inter-subjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability and hypothesis testing) and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented. (Neuendorf 2002)

The researcher has confined the method of research to Quantitative Content Analysis for this study.

Twenty major factors that are relevant to the objectives of the study, with sets of variables that influence each of the factors, were identified by the researcher after the review of the available literature.
The operational framework of the factors and their respective variables is detailed below:

1. Theme was classified into five variables according to the idea the story conveys. The variables are ‘general,’ ‘legislation,’ ‘problem,’ ‘demonstration,’ and ‘violence.’

2. Page Placement identifies the page of the newspaper in which the story was presented, and it partly reveals the importance attached by the newspaper organization to the conflict news story. The five variables coming under this factor are ‘front page,’ ‘inside page,’ ‘editorial page,’ ‘business page,’ and ‘technology page.’

3. Positioning is concerned with the position in which the story is placed in a particular page, which also partly reveals the importance given by the newspaper organization to the conflict news story. The seven variables for the factor ‘positioning’ are ‘top left quarter,’ ‘top right quarter,’ ‘bottom left quarter,’ ‘bottom right quarter,’ ‘right grid,’ ‘left grid’ and ‘center.’

4. News Label relates to the page labels in which the stories are placed. This increases or decreases the chances of the story being read. For instance, placement of the story in the editorial page increases the chance of its being read. The variables under this factor are ‘news,’ ‘direct news,’ ‘analysis,’ ‘comments,’ ‘policy/politics,’ ‘editorial,’ and ‘interview.’

5. Source is about the source of the story. The six variables identified for this factor are ‘wired service,’ ‘staff reporter,’
‘freelancer,’ ‘citizen journalist,’ ‘member of public,’ and ‘unknown.’

6. Geographic Focus relates to the focus of geography provided by the newspapers towards the story. The six variables of this factor are ‘local,’ ‘state,’ ‘regional,’ ‘national,’ ‘international’ and ‘none’ (no geographical focus).

7. Treatment relates to the treatment given or the method adopted to depict the stories. The variables of this factor are ‘general news,’ ‘features,’ ‘commentary/criticism,’ ‘editorial’ and ‘celebrity column.’

8. Constructed frames refer to the frames that the news stories construct in the minds of the readers. This has been identified with the analysis of the story. The variables are ‘anger,’ ‘threat,’ ‘violence,’ ‘peace,’ ‘harmony’ and ‘caste name.’

9. Span identifies the space span provided to the story based on the number of columns. The variables are ‘single-column,’ ‘double-column,’ ‘three-columns,’ ‘four-columns’ and ‘multiple-columns.’

10. Presentation of the Headline identifies the way the headline is presented in the story, which also defines the importance of the news story. The variables are ‘single-line,’ ‘double-line,’ ‘double-decked,’ and ‘multi-decked.’

11. Vocabulary of the Headline identifies qualitatively the vocabulary present in the headline of the story. This reveals the intention behind the story since headline is the face of the
story. The five variables for this factor are ‘educative,’
‘informative,’ ‘sensational,’ ‘titillating,’ and ‘trivializing.’

12. Tone of the Headline factor identifies the tone or mood
provided by the headline for the story. The four variables for
this factor are ‘neutral,’ ‘raise the conflict,’ ‘reduce the
conflict’ and ‘harmony.’

13. Conflict Frames factor identifies the frames or the common
opinion of the conflict provided by the content of the story.
Previous item is for the headline and not of the story. The four
variables for this factor are ‘neutral,’ ‘raise the conflict,’
‘reduce the conflict,’ and ‘harmony.’

14. Format relates to the format in which the news story is
presented. The variables of the factor are ‘news,’ ‘views,’
‘interviews,’ ‘letter to the editor,’ ‘investigative,’ ‘feature,’
and ‘column.’

15. Angle arises from the standpoint of the newspaper in
presenting the story. The variables identified are ‘educative,’
‘informative,’ ‘sensational,’ ‘titillating,’ and ‘trivializing.’

16. Attributions relates to the source of news attributed by the
newspapers in the news stories. The variables of the factor are
‘government,’ ‘anonymous,’ ‘non-governmental,’ ‘expert
opinion,’ ‘studies,’ and ‘reports.’

17. Size relates to the space allocated by the newspapers for the
conflict stories including the pictures if any. This is measured
in ‘sq.cm.’
18. Graphics and Photographs identifies the incorporation of the Graphic, Photo, Sidebar and Jump pertaining to the conflict news stories. The variables for the factor are ‘graphic,’ ‘photo,’ ‘sidebar,’ and ‘jump.’

19. Size of the Picture relates to the space allocated for the pictures in the conflict stories. This is measured in ‘sq.cm.’

20. Pallet of the Pictures refers to the type of picture associated with the story. The four variables of this factor are ‘color photos,’ ‘black & white photos,’ ‘color cartoon/illustration,’ and ‘black & white cartoon/ illustration.’

(Hereafter these variables are referred to as categories.)

5.4 CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF NEWSPAPERS

This study analyzes the contents of the popular ten daily newspapers, having publication from Chennai, which were selected on the basis of their higher readership based on the IRS report and popularity. These ten newspapers were divided into three groups based on their timing and language of publication. Since there is no English evening newspaper available within the ten selected newspapers, they came under only three groups, namely, English morning newspapers, Tamil morning newspapers, and Tamil evening newspapers. The Hindu, The New Indian Express, Deccan Chronicle, and The Times of India, are grouped under English morning newspapers; Daily Thanthi, Dinamalar, Dinakaran and Dinamani are grouped under Tamil morning newspapers; Malaimurasu and Maalaimalar are grouped under Tamil evening newspapers.
5.5 PROFILES OF THE TEN NEWSPAPERS SELECTED FOR THE STUDY

**Daily Thanthi** was started in Madurai in 1942, with simultaneous editions in Madras, Salem and Tiruchirappalli. It was founded by S.P. Adithanar, a lawyer trained in Britain. He modeled Daily Thanthi on the style of an English tabloid - The Daily Mirror. He aimed to bring out a newspaper that ordinary people would read, and which would encourage reading habit even among the newly literate. In the past, the daily newspaper which was printed in Madras, reached the southern Tamil region after at least one day. Daily Thanthi used the public bus system to distribute the paper throughout the south Tamil region and capitalized on the hunger for war news that arose after Singapore fell to the Japanese. Daily Thanthi became one of the largest Tamil language dailies by circulation within a few years; it has been a leading Tamil daily since the 1960s. Today, it has 15 editions. It is the highest circulated Tamil daily in Bangalore. It issues a book called 10th, +2 Vina Vidai Book, on every Wednesday during the second part of the year. The model question papers of all the subjects of Standard 10 and 12 are provided with answers along with the question papers of board exams that are conducted previous year. Daily Thanthi's circulation during Dec 2012 was 16,14,471 copies (certified by ABC. The current readership figures of Daily Thanthi has reached 73, 53,000 as declared by the IRS in 2010. The key person for this newspaper is S. Balasubramania Adithan. As per IRS 2010q1 results, it enjoys a readership of 71,95,000 people in Tamil Nadu.

**Deccan Chronicle** is an Indian English-language daily newspaper. It is published in Hyderabad, India by Deccan Chronicle Holdings Limited. The newspaper's name derives from the originating place, the Deccan regions of India. Deccan Chronicle is also published from Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala. Supplements are "TV Guide", "Sunday
Chronicle", "Hyderabad Chronicle", "Chennai Chronicle", "Bengaluru Chronicle" and "Kerala Chronicle". It also supplies other weekly features like "School Chronicle" and "Teen Chronicle". The newspaper has a total readership of over 10.88 lakhs. The company started its operations in AP as a partnership concern in 1938. The late Tikkavarapu Chandrashekar Reddy took over the operations in 1976 after the earlier promoters declared bankruptcy. Mr. Reddy subsequently handed over the operations to his two sons T Venkattram Reddy and T Vinayak Ravi Reddy, who have been managing its operations since late 1970s. Since May 2004, it started printing the International Herald Tribune in Hyderabad and sold for Rs 30 per copy. As per IRS 2010q1 results, it enjoys a readership of 2,70,000 people in Tamil Nadu.

**Dinakaran** is a Tamil daily newspaper distributed in India. As of March 2010, Dinakaran is the largest Tamil daily newspaper in terms of net paid circulation, which was 12,35,220. In terms of total readership, which was 167,41,000 as of May 2010, it is the second largest. Dinakaran is published from 12 centers in India. Dinakaran was founded in 1977 by K. P. Kandasamy in support of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) when his father-in-law, S. P. Adithanar, chose to support Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam during its split from DMK. In 2005 Dinakaran was acquired from his son K. P. K. Kumaran by Kalanithi Maran's Sun Network. In 2006 May, Dinakaran published the results of a series of opinion polls which showed politician M. K. Stalin having more approval than his elder brother M. K. Azhagiri. The Madurai office of Dinakaran was fire bombed and three employees were killed. This led to the resignation of Central Minister Dayanidhi Maran, brother of Kalanidhi Maran from the Union Cabinet. As per IRS 2010q1 results, it enjoys a readership of 51,41,000 people in Tamil Nadu.
**Dinamalar** is a daily Tamil newspaper in Tirunelveli, Chennai, Trichy, Madurai, Erode and Coimbatore, India. T. V. Ramasubbaiyer (1908-1984) started the newspaper in Trivandrum in year 1951 to voice for the cause of merging of Tamil speaking southern region of India around Kanyakumari district with Madras presidency. In 1956, after merging of this region with Madras, he moved his operations to Tirunelveli. He opened editorial units in Tiruchirapalli in 1966 and Madras in 1979. Dinamalar is local language newspaper of Tamil Nadu. It is distributed in all major locations of Tamil Nadu. In Tamil Nadu, it is circulated in Chennai, Madurai, Coimbatore, Nagercoil, Trichy, Vellore, Erode, Tirunelveli and Salem. Beside them, it also reaches in major tourist location of India, Pondicherry. Dinamalar has a circulation of over 8,05,961 copies. As per IRS 2010q1 results, it enjoys a readership of 29,83,000 people in Tamil Nadu.

**Dinamani** owned by The New Indian Express Group is a highly read newspaper with a stronghold over Tami news readers in the country. The newspaper was launched in 1933 while the first edition came out a year later. Dinamani is known for its forthright reporting which in turn helps readers in forming a clear perspective on national and international issues. The high readership of the newspaper also attracts advertisers across South India. Dinamani is a prominent newspaper in South India with editions in Chennai, Coimbatore, Bangalore, New Delhi etc. As per IRS 2010q1 results, it enjoys a readership of 5,36,000 people in Tamil Nadu.

**Malaimalar** is a daily evening Tamil newspaper. It is owned by Daily Thanthi group. It was founded by Aditanar in 1977. The key person for this newspaper also is S. Balasubramania Adithan. As per IRS 2010q1 results, it enjoys a readership of 6,06,000 people in Tamil Nadu.

**Malaimurasu** is Tamil evening daily newspaper in Tamil Nadu, India founded by S. P. Adithanar, who also founded Daily Thanthi and many
other publications and the current director is Ramachandran Adithan. Malai Murusu is not reported in IRS 2010q1 or in any other rounds of IRS; but it was selected for this study because of its popularity.

The Hindu is an English-language Indian daily newspaper, headquartered in Chennai. The Hindu was started as a weekly in 1878, and started publishing daily in 1889. According to the Indian Readership Survey (IRS) in 2012, it was the third most widely-read English newspaper in India (after the Times of India and Hindustan Times), with a readership of 2.2 million people. The Hindu has its largest base of circulation in southern India, and is the most widely-read English daily newspaper in Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

The Hindu had a circulation of 1.46 million copies as of December 2009. The enterprise employed over 1,600 workers and annual turnover reached almost $200 million in 2010. Subscription and advertisement are major sources of income. The Hindu became, in 1995, the first Indian newspaper to offer an online edition. It is printed in 20 locations across eight states. As per IRS 2010q1 results, it enjoys a readership of 11,54,000 people in Tamil Nadu.

The New Indian Express is an Indian English-language broadsheet daily newspaper published by the Express Publications and based in Chennai. It was founded in 1932 as the Indian Express. In 1991 it had split into two separate companies, the northern editions, headquartered in Mumbai, retained and renamed Indian Express as The Indian Express, while the southern editions became The New Indian Express. Today, the two newspapers and the two companies are separate entities. The New Indian Express is now published from all 22 major cities in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Odisha. The New Indian Express has a net paid circulation of 4,35,618 copies. The NIE achieves its
biggest penetration (paid sales per head of population) in the state of Kerala. It also claims to be the first Indian newspaper to give insurance benefits to its subscribers. The New Indian Express is published in a geographical area that covers approximately 24 per cent of the national population. The New Sunday Express (the Sunday edition of the NIE) is arguably the flagship publication, with magazine supplements incorporating both national and international themes and sections on developmental issues, society, politics, literature, arts, cinema, travel, lifestyle, sports, new-age living, self-development and entertainment. As per IRS 2010q1 results, it enjoys a readership of 1,12,000 people in Tamil Nadu.

The Times of India (TOI) is an Indian English-language daily newspaper. In 2008, the newspaper reported that with a circulation of over 3.14 million it had been certified by the Audit Bureau of Circulations (India) as the world's largest selling English-language daily, ranking it as the third largest selling newspaper in any language in the world and the largest selling newspaper outside Japan. According to the Indian Readership Survey (IRS) 2012, the Times of India is the most widely read English newspaper in India with a readership of 7.643 million. This ranks the Times of India as the top English daily in India by readership. It is owned and published by Bennett, Coleman & Co. Ltd. which is owned by the Sahu Jain family. The Times of India was founded on 3 November 1838 as The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce in Bombay. The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce was launched as a semi-weekly edition by Raobahadur Narayan Dinanath Velkar, a Maharashtrian Reformist and was published on every Wednesday and Saturday. It contained news from Britain and the world, as well as the Indian Subcontinent. The daily editions of the paper were started from 1850. As per IRS 2010q1 results, it enjoys a readership of 2,20,000 people in Tamil Nadu.
5.6 PERIOD COVERED BY THE STUDY

The duration of the entire news cycle of the conflict, which ran from 17th February 2009 to 19th December 2009, is the period covered by the study.

5.7 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The articles and stories of various forms - news, features, columns, commentaries, editorials, letters to the editor, interviews, and others pertaining to the conflict - became the primary data for the study. The data from the ten dailies during the period covered by the study were collected. In order to meet the objectives of the study, the researcher developed a detailed coding sheet. Since the researcher dealt with twenty parameters with several categories within each parameter, each category is assigned with a numerical value indicating the presence of nominal scale. The researcher also calculated the frequency of each category from the three groups of newspapers, which indicated the presence of ordinal scale. This ordinal scale is useful in calculating the statistical parameters, i.e., mean, SD and t-value. In this research no data is of the category interval or ratio. To analyze how the popular print media have constructed the Police-Lawyer Conflict, the Quantitative Content Analysis has been conducted on the newspaper articles published in the ten newspapers. The researcher appropriately employed simple percentage analysis. Since the data analysis demands the comparison of three groups of newspapers, the researcher used ‘t-test’ pertaining to small samples of ten newspapers. Further the ‘t-test’ would enable the researcher to compare the three groups of newspapers in pairs and this would lead to reach the transcendental depth of comparison of twenty parameters. SPSS software is used for the calculation of ‘t-test.’ Experts’ opinions were also collated through structured questionnaire and used in the discussion part.
5.8 NULL HYPOTHESES

1. The English morning newspapers and the Tamil morning newspapers do not vary significantly in the conflict portrayals.

2. The Tamil morning newspapers and the Tamil evening newspapers do not vary significantly in the conflict portrayals.

3. The English morning newspapers and the Tamil evening newspapers do not vary significantly in the conflict portrayals.

5.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The researcher confined this study to newspapers without taking into account the electronic media. Only the Chennai editions of the ten select newspapers were taken for the study.