

MEDIA FRAMING: A COMPARATIVE NEWSPAPER ANALYSIS OF KASHMIR CONFLICT 2016

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Abstract - To compare and contrast political frames used in the reportage of the Kashmir conflict of 2016, six English newspapers—three each published from New Delhi (national) and Jammu and Kashmir (local)—were chosen and a qualitative content analysis was performed on 648 news articles published during July 9-August 8, 2016. A manual analysis was performed to rate the news reports under six popular conflict-based news frames: attribution of responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality, economic and diagnostic/prognostic frame. Study results indicated a statistically-significant difference between national and local newspapers with regard to the usage of the chosen political frames. While the local newspapers mostly preferred human interest angle in coverage of the issue, their national counterparts heavily used the attribution of responsibility frame to editorialise the issue. The study results also indicated a statistically-significant association between place from where the newspapers were published and tone accorded to the reportage. Attribution of responsibility was the most popular frame used to cover this conflict.

Keywords - Media framing, Kashmir conflict, newspapers, content analysis, comparative study

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Introduction

Reflecting on the influence of a number of technological, cultural, economical and political changes, the newspapers around the globe are in a state of uncertainty (Franklin, 2008). According to Wan-Ifra report on World Press Trend 2017, total global newspaper revenues fell 2.1 percent in 2016 from a year earlier, and are down 7.8 percent over the last five year (Ail, 2017) and newspaper's share of total revenues was 91.6 percent, down from 95.1 percent in 2012. Bucking this global trend, the circulation of print in India has a growth of 4.87 per cent in the past decade (Gupta, 2017). When there is an increasing newspaper readership in the world's largest democracy contradicting the global trend, it is important to analyse how these news are being framed. Framing defines and constructs a political or public controversy (Nelson, et al., 1997) and media has a responsibility as the framing pattern can influence people in forming their opinion so it is important that studies on framing should be conducted.

Kashmir has been a flashpoint in India since the time of Independence of the country from British in 1947. As recently as the summer of 2016, Kashmir has been again in news globally after the conflicts that broke out in the Valley following the killing of militant commander of a militant group called Hizbul Mujahideen. In four months, 94 people have been dead, 17,000 adults and children have been injured, nearly five thousand have been arrested, and an entire population spent the summer under the longest curfew in the history of curfews in Kashmir (Waheed, 2016). As the Kashmiris took to the streets, police and paramilitaries were deployed in large numbers across the Valley and the cycle of protests resulted in yet more killings and by the end of July, India faced a full-scale popular revolt in Kashmir (Waheed, 2016).

Understanding the importance of analysing the way conflicts are reported since it influences the decision-making of audience and taking into consideration the graveness of the issue like Kashmir conflict which involves Human Rights issues and is also observed by an international audience, this study analyses the framing pattern of of the 2016 Kashmir Conflict reportage by the local and national media.

Six English language newspapers, of which three published from the Indian capital of New Delhi—Times of India, Indian Express and The Hindu—and three published from Kashmir—Greater Kashmir, Rising Kashmir and State Times—are chosen to analyse the tone and framing pattern of the conflict reportage over a period of one month from 9 July to 8 August 2016. To compare the framing pattern of the reportage of the conflict, six frames—Attribution of Responsibility, Human Interest, Conflict, Morality, Economic and Diagnostic or Prognostic frame—as suggested by Semetko Valkenburg(2000) and Snow and Benford (1988) were used. The study can

also offer some descriptives about the Tones, Pro-Army; Pro-Kashmiri and Pro-Militant, which were used in the news reports.

The significance of newspaper is high, especially in India. Studies have shown that newspaper choice of people even have a significant impact on their political party choice (Banerjee, et al., 2016). The research by KPMG and Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce (FICCI), found that newspapers in India generated 289.9 billion (\$4.3 billion) in overall revenues—including advertising and circulation—in 2016 and that the traditional formats of television and print still account for the largest portion of total media ad expenditures even when there is a strong growth of digital media in India (Chadha, 2017). Hence, India becomes an ideal ground to test some of the western communication theories.

Research questions

At this stage, to bring in some focus to the study, the following research questions are asked:

RQ1: What was the amount of coverage of the issue in the chosen six newspapers during the study period?

RQ2: What were the dominant tones of the chosen six newspapers during the study period?

RQ3: Is there a difference in tone used by newspapers published from different places?

RQ4: Which of the chosen six frames were used in the chosen six newspapers during the study period to cover the issue and to what extent?

RQ5: Which frames were predominantly used for which tones in the chosen newspapers?

Framing is the way a communication source defines and constructs any piece of communicated information, and is an unavoidable part of human communication. Media framing is the way in which information is presented to its audiences. Media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning (Cissel, 2012). Goffman (1974) was the first to observe that framing is a form of communication and defined “framing” as a “schemata of interpretation” that allows individuals to “locate, perceive, identify and label” occurrences or life experiences.

Cissel (2012) has observed the significance of framing as a tool used by media and politicians to make salient points that would direct their readers to a desired frame of mind. Vliegthart (2012) observed that “framing” has become one of the guiding theories in the study of news coverage and it is all about how issues are presented in a news report. Framing of news stories could subtly affect the decision of audience on matters of public policy (Price, 1997). Gitlin (2003) observed that news frames originated from media’s selection of certain versions of reality over others.

The way an issue is framed can also determine who the public believes is responsible for a problem and who or what is responsible for remedying a situation (Iyengar, 1990).

According to Vliegenthart (2012) framing offers the researcher a means to systematically analyse the content of media, it gives a chance to analyse the variation of the contents reported and is also a helpful tool to understand the impact of media on behaviour and attitude of individuals. Past studies had also observed that media frames can activate certain kinds of knowledge within people by emphasising some aspects of a problem (Entman, 1989) which in turn affects their thoughts and behaviour. On a wider aspect, news framing has a role in forming the social realities (Tuchman, 1978). Framing pattern tend to make the readers take a particular stand unconsciously. For example, Iyengar found patients were more likely to opt for surgery to remove cancer when the procedure was described in terms of its survivability rate rather than its fatality rate (Iyengar, 1990). Shaw, et al., (1997) argues that framing is a part of the agenda setting as far as media effects are concerned.

Dill et al., (2009) when studying on the coverage of hurricane Katrina in local and national newspapers of United States, found out that the closer the newspaper was to the epicenter of destruction, the more it assumed the role of spokesman for the voiceless thousands who had no public arena in which to be heard. The present study will try to assess whether this observation of Dill et al., (2009) holds true while reporting conflict news reports by national and local newspapers.

Holt et al., (2010) in their research identified that both national and local newspapers used attribution of responsibility frame most frequently. They also observed that local newspapers used human interest frame more frequently than national newspapers while covering Jena Six controversy. According to Semetko et al., (2000) attribution of responsibility frame is the commonly used frame followed by conflict, economic, human interest, and morality frames, respectively.

Pfau (2004) in his study on the coverage of 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq observed that, embedded reporters were more favorable toward the U.S military. To reduce the loss of revenue, media outlets even tend to report news in tones more favourable to the government giving a little emphasis to unfavorable news (Murthy, 2004). Holody et al., (2017) while studying the Aurora, Colorado 2012 shootings, observed that the national newspapers focused the attention on the gunman while reporting whereas the local press tended to focus on victims.

The present study will analyse whether there was a difference between the tones used by Delhi based national and Kashmir based local newspapers while covering the Kashmir conflict of 2016. The time between the outbreak of violent conflict and information reaching international audiences is significantly reduced however remote a conflict might be (Gilboa, 2016). Even when the conflicts are

not considered to be newsworthy by international media actors, social media and other Internet-based outputs fill the gaps (Howard, 2010) and according to Howard, local media within conflict zones are potentially powerful actors, especially with regard to national established media.

The importance of local media is such that, to obtain international recognition, legitimacy, or material resources, it is important for the local conflict actors to disperse the news about their struggle (Jumbert et al., 2013). Local understandings of conflicts have often been ‘reconstructed’ and ‘translated’ into conflicts more understandable to outside observers by overwriting local narratives and experiences (Al-Harithy, 2010). The present study will throw some light on whether such an ‘overwriting’ of local understanding of conflicts have been there in the reportage of Kashmir conflict as observed by Al-Harithy(2010). Yang (2003) observes that in international news reportage, national interest often outweighs other factors to play an active role in framing media texts.

Ray (2004) when studying about the framing pattern of Kashmir conflict by US print media observed that the US print media had chosen to highlight two aspects of the Kashmir conflict—religion and warfare—by ignoring the political reasons for the Kashmiri separatist movement including the discontentment with corrupt regional governments, lack of adequate civic amenities and industrial development, unemployment, disillusionment with the electoral system etc.

Both the national and international print media have avidly covered the Kashmir issue (Zia, 2015), through their reportage have been critically viewed by a section of Kashmiris (Ray, 2004; Gadda, 2014; Neveu, 2002). Reviewing the past studies, a difference in the selection of news frames while covering the Kashmir conflict can be expected between the local newspapers and their national counterparts. The present study uses the political frames and tones with regard to the chosen six English language newspapers, both national and local, to estimate the difference in framing pattern and to analyse newspapers’ inclination while covering the conflict.

Research Hypotheses

H₁: *Place from where the paper is published is associated with level of the importance accorded to the issue.*

Test: Chi-square Test and One-way Anova

Statistical Hypothesis: A statistically-significant difference is observed between the frequencies of reports published on the issue in the newspapers published from these two places.

A statistically-significant difference is observed between the daily averages of importance accorded to the issue in the newspapers published from these two places. Importance, here, is measured by counting the number of news reports published on the issue in a day and according consideration to the page on which it was published. Page Weightage was given as follows: Page 1 – 10; Editorial – 9; Op-ed – 8; Page 3 – 7; Page 2 – 6; Page 5– 5; Page 4 – 4 and the other pages 3 each.

H₂: *Place from where the paper is published is associated with the Tone of the paper.*

Test: Chi-square Test

Statistical Hypothesis: A statistically-significant difference is observed among the Tone of the reports and the Newspapers in which the reports about the issue is published.

To measure the Tone, the reports are divided into four groups, namely, Pro-Army, Pro-Militants, Pro-Kashmiris and Neutral.

H₃: *Place from where the paper is published is associated with the frames ascribed to the reports.*

Test: Chi-square Test

Statistical Hypothesis: A statistically significant positive relation is observed between the Frames assigned to the reports and the place from where the newspaper is published.

H₄: *The frames of the news reports are associated with the tone accorded to the news stories.*

Test: SEM analysis

Statistical Hypothesis: A statistically significant relation is observed between Frames and Tones of the news reports.

Methodology

Six English language newspapers were chosen for the study, three each published from the Indian capital of New Delhi—Times of India, Indian Express and The Hindu—and three published from Kashmir—Greater Kashmir, Rising Kashmir and State Times. The newspapers published over a period of one month from 9 July-8 August, 2016 were analysed. The news stories were accorded weightages as to in which pages they appeared. The highest page weightage was accorded to Page 1-10 points, Editorial Page-nine points and Opinion Page-eight points, followed by Page 3-seven points, Page 2-six points, Page 5-five points, Page 4-four points, and the rest of the pages were accorded three points each. Each news reports were also classified according to the Tone which was attributed to it, Tones used were Pro-Army,

Pro-Kashmiri, Pro-Militant and Neutral. To understand which political frames were used to support the Tones given to the news reports, each news story was again classified into six Frames, namely, Attribution of Responsibility, Human Interest, Conflict, Morality, Economic and Prognostic or Diagnostic frame.

Following questions were answered to define the corresponding frames.

Attribution of Responsibility frame:

Does the story suggest that some level of govt has the ability to alleviate the problem?

Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?

Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?

Does the story suggest that an independent (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue-problem?

Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?

Human Interest frame:

Does the story provide a human example or "human face" on the issue?

Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?

Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?

Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?

Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?

Conflict frame:

Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?

Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?

Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?

Does the story refer to winners and losers?

Morality frame:

Does the story contain any moral message?

Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?

Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?

Economic frame:

Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?

Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?

Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

Diagnostic/Prognostic frame:

Is there a broader discussion of what caused the event?

Is there a mention about the past events?

Is any kind of historical reference made?

Is there a broader discussion of the possible consequences of the event?

Is the news tied up with any future event?

To find out the newspaper wise reporting trend on Kashmir conflict, a Time-series test was run on the number of articles published each day for the chosen time period. To identify the leniency of the newspapers examined in the present study, a Chi-square test was run between the variables Newspaper and Tone. The difference in Tone of the news reports published from New Delhi and Kashmir-based Newspapers were examined in the study by running a Chi-square test between the variables Tone and Place. To establish a relation between newspapers and the frames used while covering the issue, a Chi-square test was run between the variables Newspaper and Frames. To emphasise the Tone of the news reports, different Frames are used, a Chi-square test was run between the variables Tones and Frames to analyse that emphasis. Anova test was performed between the variables Paper and Weightage to find out the mean difference in weightage given to news reports by the chosen newspapers. Structural Equation Modeling or SEM analysis was done to find out the structural relationship between Tones-Pro-Army, Pro-Militant, Pro-Kashmiri and the chosen frames, namely, Attribution of Responsibility, Human interest, Conflict, Morality, Economic and Prognostic or Diagnostic frame.

Data Analysis

In the present study, reportage of the 2016 Kashmir conflict in six English newspapers (three each published from the Indian capital of New Delhi and from Jammu and Kashmir) is analysed in the Media Framing paradigm. To examine the news articles critically, four Tones (Pro-Army, Pro-militants, Pro-Kashmiris and Neutral), page Weightage and six Frames (Attribution of Responsibility, Human Interest, Conflict, Morality, Economic and Diagnostic or Prognostic) were employed and a manual qualitative analysis was performed. The highest page weightage was accorded to Page 1, Editorial Page and Opinion Page, followed by Page 3, Page 2, Page 5, Page 4, and the rest of the pages were accorded three points. For the present study, the window of examination was July 9, 2016-August 8, 2016, comprising 31 days.

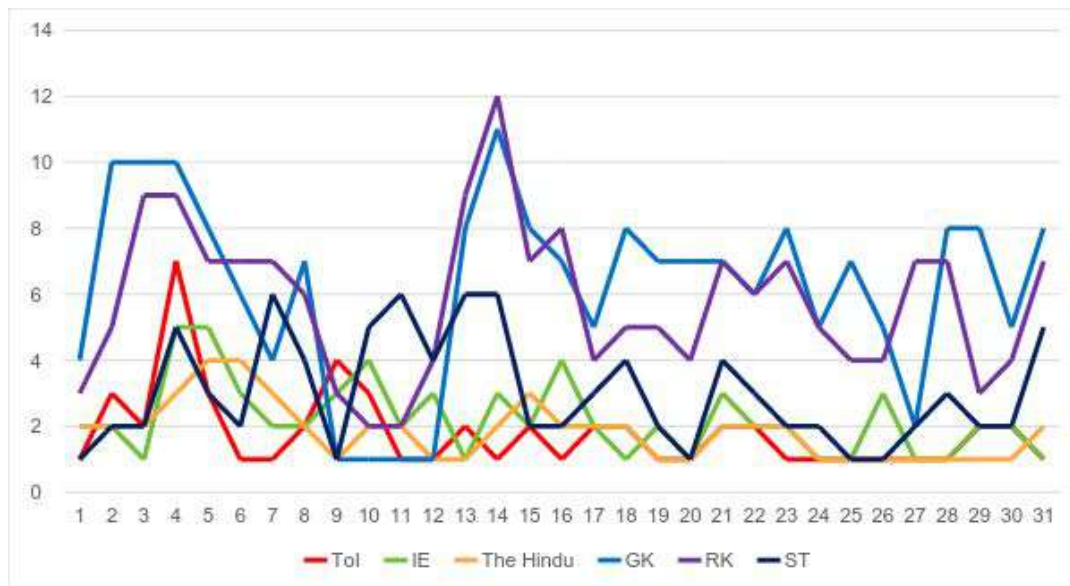
RQ1: What was the amount of coverage of the issue in the chosen six newspapers during the study period?

To analyse the amount of coverage of the issue in the chosen six newspapers, Newspaper-wise reporting trend was estimated along with Time-series plot. Anova test was run to assess the mean difference in Weightage accorded to the news reports.

Table. 1. Newspaper-wise reporting trend

DATE	TOI	IE	TH	GK	RK	ST	Total
1	1	2	2	4	3	1	13
2	3	2	2	10	5	2	24
3	2	1	2	10	9	2	26
4	7	5	3	10	9	5	39
5	3	5	4	8	7	3	30
6	1	3	4	6	7	2	23
7	1	2	3	4	7	6	23
8	2	2	2	7	6	4	23
9	4	3	1	1	3	1	13
10	3	4	2	1	2	5	17
11	1	2	2	1	2	6	14
12	1	3	1	1	4	4	14
13	2	1	1	8	9	6	27
14	1	3	2	11	12	6	35
15	2	2	3	8	7	2	24
16	1	4	2	7	8	2	24
17	2	2	2	5	4	3	18
18	2	1	2	8	5	4	22
19	1	2	1	7	5	2	18
20	1	1	1	7	4	1	15
21	2	3	2	7	7	4	25
22	2	2	2	6	6	3	21
23	1	2	2	8	7	2	22
24	1	1	1	5	5	2	15
25	1	1	1	7	4	1	15
26	1	3	1	5	4	1	15
27	1	1	1	2	7	2	14
28	1	1	1	8	7	3	21
29	2	2	1	8	3	2	18
30	2	2	1	5	4	2	16
31	1	1	2	8	7	5	24
	56	69	57	193	179	94	648

Fig. 1. Time-series plot: Newspaper-wise reporting trend



The Newspaper-wise reporting trend of issue over a period of chosen time period of one month is presented in the Table 3.1 and Figure 3.1. As many as 648 news articles were published over 31 days. A significant difference in the number of news articles published during the time period were observed between the New Delhi-based National and Local Kashmiri Newspapers.

The three chosen National Newspapers, Times of India published a total of 56 news stories, Indian Express reported a total of 69 news articles and The Hindu reported 57 news stories on the issue in the chosen time period. Whereas the Local Newspapers showed an increase in the number of news stories published on the issue. Greater Kashmir, Rising Kashmir and State Times published 193, 179 and 94 news stories respectively on the issue over the chosen time period. When analysing the data, a Newspaper wise trend was observed in the number of news reported on the issue (Fig 3.1(a)). Kashmir Newspapers reported more news stories on the issue, with the highest being Greater Kashmir, reporting 193 news stories.

To examine the mean difference in Weightage given to new reports by the chosen Newspapers in the study, an Anova test was run between the variables Paper and Weightage and the results are presented in Table 2 and graph plotted in Figure 2.

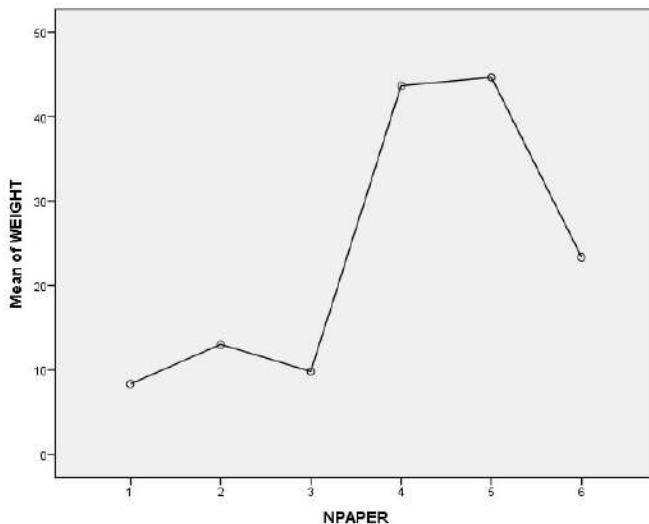
Table 2. Anova Test: Paper vs. Weightage

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
1	31	8.32	7.440	1.336
2	31	13.00	9.223	1.657
3	31	9.81	7.516	1.350
4	31	43.68	20.838	3.743
5	31	44.68	15.521	2.788
6	31	23.35	12.732	2.287
Total	186	23.81	19.987	1.466

Table 2(a). Anova Test: Paper vs. Weightage

WEIGHT					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	42878.774	5	8575.755	49.756	.000
Within Groups	31024.258	180	172.357		
Total	73903.032	185			

Fig. 2. Anova Means plot: Paper vs. Weightage



Anova indicated a statistically-significant difference between the mean Weightage given to the reports to the six different Newspapers chosen in the study. Weightage was accorded to the reports according to the pages in which they appeared in the newspaper. The highest Weightage was given to the front page as 10, followed by Editorial page, Op-ed page, Third page, Second page, Fifth page and Fourth page as Nine, Eight, Seven, Six, Five and Four respectively. The rest of the pages were accorded three Weights each. Statistically-significant difference is indicated between

the national and local newspapers. While the local newspapers showed high mean Weightage, the national newspapers showed the less mean Weightage. Rising Kashmir showed the highest mean Weightage followed by Greater Kashmir whereas Times of India showed the least mean Weightage accorded to the reports.

To analyse the structural relationships between different frames and tones used in the study, SEM analysis was conducted.

Minimum was achieved

Minimum was achieved

Chi-square = 1.042

Degrees of freedom = 4

Probability level = .903

Table. 3. **Regression Weights: (Group number 1 - Default model)**

			Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P	Label
Attribution	<---	PRO ARMY	.649	.061	10.625	***	par_13
Conflict	<---	PRO ARMY	-.074	.034	-2.185	.029	par_14
Attribution	<---	PRO MILITANTS	.255	.072	3.560	***	par_15
Conflict	<---	PRO MILITANTS	.045	.041	1.109	.267	par_16
Economic	<---	PRO MILITANTS	-.043	.028	-1.502	.133	par_17
Dia/Prognostic	<---	PRO MILITANTS	-.304	.055	-5.520	***	par_18
Human Interest	<---	PRO KASHMIRIS	.334	.038	8.715	***	par_19
Morality	<---	PRO KASHMIRIS	.021	.010	2.036	.042	par_20
Dia/Prognostic	<---	PRO KASHMIRIS	-.294	.028	-10.353	***	par_21
Human Interest	<---	PRO MILITANTS	.070	.075	.938	.348	par_25
Human Interest	<---	PRO ARMY	-.119	.064	-1.851	.064	par_26
Economic	<---	PRO KASHMIRIS	-.013	.015	-.861	.389	par_27
Attribution	<---	PRO KASHMIRIS	.038	.037	1.031	.302	par_30
Economic	<---	PRO ARMY	-.043	.024	-1.758	.079	par_31
Dia/Prognostic	<---	PRO ARMY	-.335	.047	-7.130	***	par_32

Table. 3(a). **Standardized Regression Weights: (Group number 1 - Default model)**

			Estimate
Attribution	<---	PROARMY	.410
Conflict	<---	PROARMY	-.086
Attribution	<---	PROMILITANTS	.135
Conflict	<---	PROMILITANTS	.044
Economic	<---	PROMILITANTS	-.062
Diagnostic/Prognostic	<---	PROMILITANTS	-.210

Human Interest	<---	PROKASHMIRIS	.345
Morality	<---	PROKASHMIRIS	.080
Diagnostic/Prognostic	<---	PROKASHMIRIS	-.413
Human Interest	<---	PROMILITANTS	.036
Human Interest	<---	PROARMY	-.072
Economic	<---	PROKASHMIRIS	-.038
Attribution	<---	PROKASHMIRIS	.041
Economic	<---	PROARMY	-.074
Diagnostic/Prognostic	<---	PROARMY	-.277

Table. 3(b). **Covariances: (Group number 1 - Default model)**

			Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P	Label
PRO ARMY	<-->	PRO MILITANTS	-.006	.003	-2.170	.030	par_22
PRO MILITANTS	<-->	PRO KASHMIRIS	-.033	.005	-6.627	***	par_23
PRO ARMY	<-->	PRO KASHMIRIS	-.049	.006	-8.045	***	par_24
e1	<-->	e2	-.104	.009	-12.167	***	par_1
e1	<-->	e3	-.019	.004	-4.321	***	par_2
e1	<-->	e4	-.004	.002	-2.052	.040	par_3
e1	<-->	e5	-.007	.003	-2.541	.011	par_4
e1	<-->	e6	-.035	.006	-6.244	***	par_5
e2	<-->	e3	-.027	.005	-5.887	***	par_6
e2	<-->	e4	-.008	.002	-3.730	***	par_7
e2	<-->	e5	-.012	.003	-3.903	***	par_8
e2	<-->	e6	-.041	.006	-6.798	***	par_9
e3	<-->	e5	-.002	.002	-1.330	.184	par_10
e3	<-->	e6	-.012	.003	-3.524	***	par_11
e5	<-->	e6	-.006	.002	-2.676	.007	par_12
e3	<-->	e4	-.001	.001	-.975	.330	par_28
e4	<-->	e6	-.002	.002	-1.209	.227	par_29

Table. 3(c). **Correlations: (Group number 1 - Default model)**

			Estimate
PROARMY	<-->	PROMILITANTS	-.086
PRO MILITANTS	<-->	PRO KASHMIRIS	-.270
PRO ARMY	<-->	PRO KASHMIRIS	-.333
e1	<-->	e2	-.545
e1	<-->	e3	-.172
e1	<-->	e4	-.081
e1	<-->	e5	-.100
e1	<-->	e6	-.253
e2	<-->	e3	-.238
e2	<-->	e4	-.146
e2	<-->	e5	-.154
e2	<-->	e6	-.277
e3	<-->	e5	-.052
e3	<-->	e6	-.140

e5	<-->	e6	-.106
e3	<-->	e4	-.038
e4	<-->	e6	-.047

Table. 3(d). **Variances: (Group number 1 - Default model)**

	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P	Label
PROARMY	.087	.005	17.986	***	par_33
PROMILITANTS	.061	.003	17.986	***	par_34
PROKASHMIRIS	.250	.014	17.986	***	par_35
e1	.181	.010	17.987	***	par_36
e2	.203	.011	17.995	***	par_37
e3	.064	.004	17.986	***	par_38
e4	.017	.001	17.986	***	par_39
e5	.028	.002	17.986	***	par_40
e6	.106	.006	17.987	***	par_41

Table. 3(e). **Squared Multiple Correlations: (Group number 1 - Default model)**

	Estimate
Diagnostic Prognostic	.159
Economic	.007
Morality	.006
Conflict	.010
Human Interest	.136
Attribution	.165

Table. 3(f). **Standardized Total Effects (Group number 1 - Default model)**

	PRO KASHMIRIS	PRO MILITANTS	PRO ARMY
Diagnostic Prognostic	-.413	-.210	-.277
Economic	-.038	-.062	-.074
Morality	.080	.000	.000
Conflict	.000	.044	-.086
Human Interest	.345	.036	-.072
Attribution	.041	.135	.410

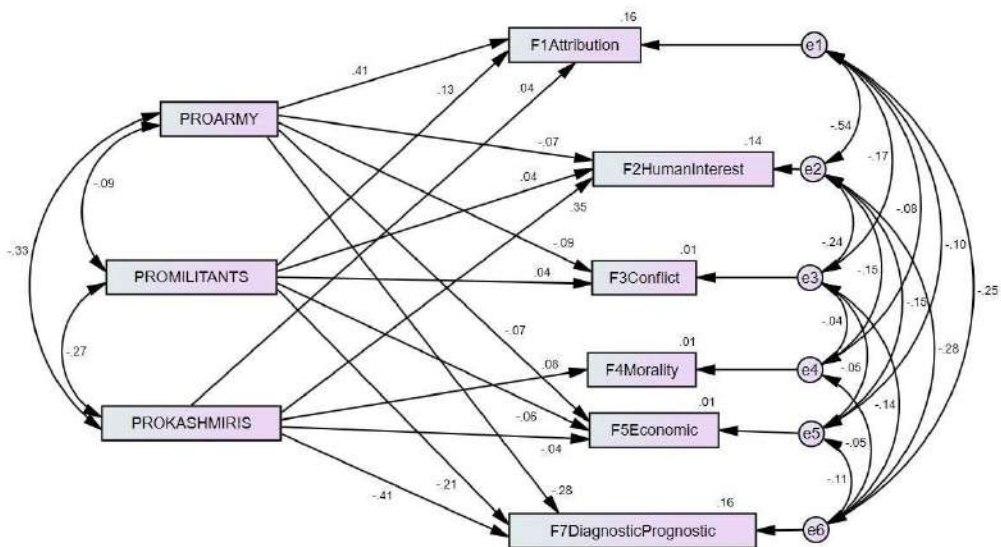
Table. 3(g). **Standardized Direct Effects (Group number 1 - Default model)**

	PRO KASHMIRIS	PROMILITANTS	PROARMY
Diagnostic Prognostic	-.413	-.210	-.277
Economic	-.038	-.062	-.074
Morality	.080	.000	.000
Conflict	.000	.044	-.086
Human Interest	.345	.036	-.072
Attribution	.041	.135	.410

SEM Analysis was run to analyse the structural relationships between different frames and tones used in the present study, the results are presented in the Tables 3.

The results showed that there is a strong and positive correlation between the frame Attribution of Responsibility and Pro-Army tone; between Human Interest frame and Pro-Kashmiri tone; between the frame Attribution of Responsibility and the tone Pro-Militants. However, there is no or negative correlation between Diagnostic/Prognostic frame and the tones Pro-Army, Pro-Kashmiri and Pro-Militants; between Human Interest frame and Pro-Army tone; between Conflict frame and Pro-Army tone; between Diagnostic/Prognostic frame and Pro-Kashmiri, Pro-Militants and Pro-Army tone; between Economic frame and Pro-Kashmiri, Pro-Militants and Pro-Army tone.

Fig. 3. Final Path Model



Model and hypotheses testing

The path model proposed in this study is tested using SPSS Amos. Using modification indices and after trying out a considerable set of alternatives, the final refined model (Fig. 3) is derived and the SEM analysis results are presented in Table. 3. Further, identification of this model supports the hypothesis that frames used in news reports are associated with the tones accorded to the reports. The Pro-Army tone is positively related to the Attribution of Responsibility frame, whereas it is negatively related to Human Interest frame, which means that stories with Pro-Army tone mostly used Attribution of Responsibility to frame the stories. Likewise, Pro-Militant tone was

positively related to Attribution of Responsibility frame and Pro-Kashmiri tone is associated positively with Human Interest frame.

Descriptive Statistics

RQ2: What were the dominant tones of the chosen six newspapers during the study period?

Table 4. **Chi-square Test: Newspaper vs. Tone**

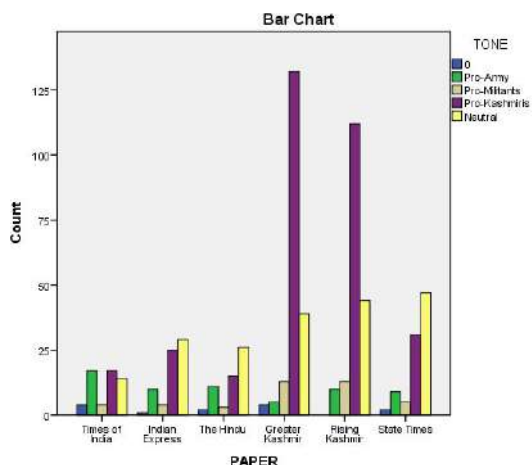
PAPER	TONE					Total
	0	Pro-Army	Pro-Militants	Pro-Kashmiris	Neutral	
Times of India	4	17	4	17	14	56
Indian Express	1	10	4	25	29	69
The Hindu	2	11	3	15	26	57
Greater Kashmir	4	5	13	132	39	193
Rising Kashmir	0	10	13	112	44	179
State Times	2	9	5	31	47	94
Total	13	62	42	332	199	648

Table 4.(a). **Chi-square Test: Newspaper vs. Tone**

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	122.295 ^a	20	.000
Likelihood Ratio	117.248	20	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	18.676	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	648		

a. 9 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.12.

Fig. 4. **Chi-square plot: Newspaper vs. Tone**



To identify the dominant tones used and to analyse the leniency of the newspapers examined in the present study, a Chi-square test was run between the variables Newspaper and Tone and the results are presented in Table 4. Chi-square Test indicated a statistically-significant association between the newspapers chosen for the study with regard to their Tones, that is, who they sided the most while covering the 2016 conflict or whose views they highlighted in their news reports. While The Times of India accorded equal importance to the views of the Army and Kashmiris, sidelining the militants, both The Hindu and the Indian Express, published from New Delhi, sided the Kashmiris more than the Army. Militants gained the least importance in their reports. The Local Newspapers sided the Kashmiri people in their news reports sidelining the Army. Greater Kashmir and Rising Kashmir accorded equal importance to the militant side of the story and accorded the most importance to Kashmiris, whereas State Times sidelined the militant side of the story in their reports and accorded more importance to Kashmiri views followed by the Army side of the story.

RQ3: Is there a difference in tones used by newspapers published from different places?

Table 5. **Chi-square Test: Tone vs. Place**

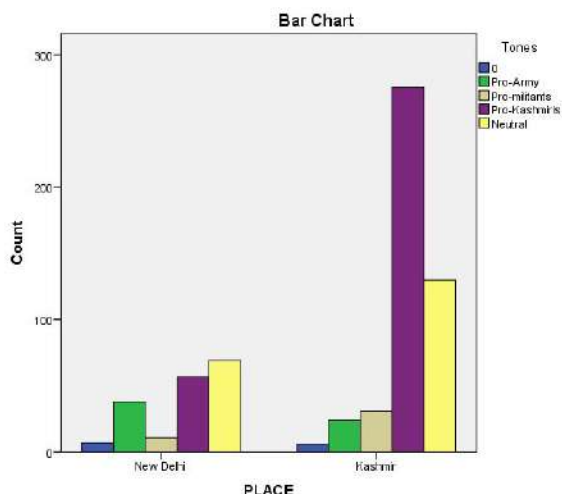
PLACE	Tones					Total
	0	Pro-Army	Pro-militants	Pro-Kashmiris	Neutral	
New Delhi	7	38	11	57	69	182
Kashmir	6	24	31	275	130	466
Total	13	62	42	332	199	648

Table 5(a). **Chi-square Test: Tone vs. Place**

	Value	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	62.056 ^a	.000
Likelihood Ratio	59.166	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.359	.001
N of Valid Cases	648	

.1 cells (10.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.65.

Fig. 5. Chi-square plot: Tone vs. Place



To identify the difference in Tone of the news reports published from New Delhi and Kashmir based Newspapers examined in the present study, a Chi-square test was run between the variables Tone and Place and the results are presented in Table 3.3(a) and Figure 3.3(a). Chi-square Test indicated a statistically-significant association between the Places from where the Newspapers chosen for the study was published with regard to their Tones. Of the six chosen Newspapers for the study, the ones published from New Delhi sidelined the militant side of story in their reports whereas the Newspapers published from Kashmir sidelined the Army side of story in the news reports. The Newspapers published from New Delhi accorded a neutral tone in most of their reports regarding the issue, whereas Newspapers published from Kashmir accorded Pro-Kashmiri tone in most of their reports.

RQ4: Which of the chosen six frames were used in the chosen six newspapers during the study period to cover the issue and to what extent?

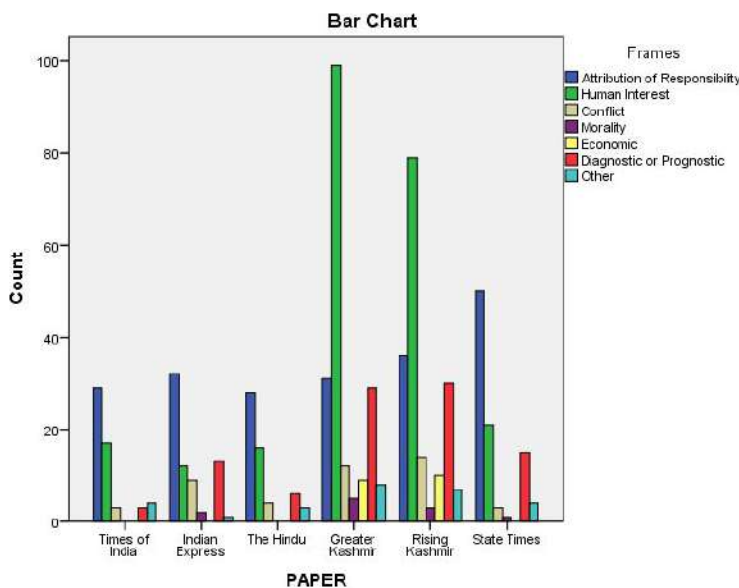
Table 6. Chi-square Test: Frames vs. Paper

PAPER	Frames							Total
	Att. of Res.	HI	Conflict	Morality	Economic	Dia/Prog	Other	
Tol	29	17	3	0	0	3	4	56
IE	32	12	9	2	0	13	1	69
TH	28	16	4	0	0	6	3	57
GK	31	99	12	5	9	29	8	193
RK	36	79	14	3	10	30	7	179
ST	50	21	3	1	0	15	4	94
Total	206	244	45	11	19	96	27	648

Table 6(a). **Chi-square Test: Frames vs. Paper**

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	112.532 ^a	30	.000
Likelihood Ratio	123.914	30	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.162	1	.075
N of Valid Cases	648		
a. 17 cells (40.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .95.			

Fig. 6. **Chi-square plot: Frames vs. Paper**



To examine which newspapers used which of the six chosen frames while covering the issue, a Chi-square test was run between the variables Newspaper and Frames and the results are presented in Table 6 and Figure 6. Chi-square Test indicated a statistically-significant association between the newspapers chosen for the study with regard to the Frames they have used to report the 2016 Conflict. The three chosen national newspapers for the study, Times of India, Indian Express and The Hindu have mostly used Attribution of Responsibility Frame to report the issue. On the other hand two of the local newspapers, Greater Kashmir and Rising Kashmir have mostly used Human Interest Frame to report the issue, whereas State Times, the third local newspaper chosen for the study has mostly used Attribution of Responsibility Frame to report the conflict.

RQ5: Which frames were predominantly used for which tones in the chosen newspapers?

Table 7. Chi-square Test: Tones vs. Frames

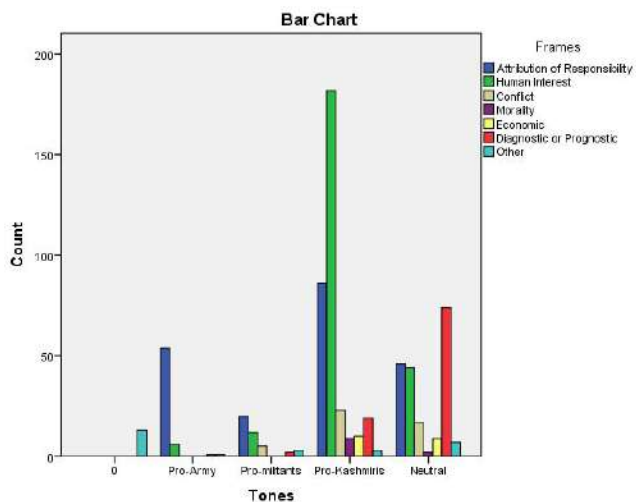
Tones	Frames							Total
	Att. of Res.	HI	Conflict	Morality	Economic	Dia/Prog	Other	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	13
Pro-Army	54	6	0	0	0	1	1	62
Pro-mili	20	12	5	0	0	2	3	42
Pro-Kash	86	182	23	9	10	19	3	332
Neutral	46	44	17	2	9	74	7	199
Total	206	244	45	11	19	96	27	648

Table 7.(a). Chi-square Test: Tones vs. Frames

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	544.943 ^a	24	.000
Likelihood Ratio	317.911	24	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	22.498	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	648		

a. 16 cells (45.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .22.

Fig. 7. Chi-square plot: Tones vs. Frames



To examine which Frames were used by the newspapers chosen for the study to emphasise the Tone of the reports covering the issue, a Chi-square test was run between the variables Tones and Frames and the results are presented in Table 7 and Figure 7. Chi-square Test indicated a statistically-significant association between the Tone of the news reports and the Frames that are used in these reports. Attribution of Responsibility Frame was used in Pro-Army and Pro-Militant news reports, whereas

to accord the Pro-Kashmir Tone, Human Interest Frame was mostly used. News reports with Neutral Tone has mostly used Diagnostic or Prognostic Frame.

Discussion

This study was conducted to find out the framing pattern and the tones associated with the news reports of 2016 Kashmir conflict, for the six English language newspapers (both national and local) chosen. The study found out a statistically-significant difference between the frequencies of reports published on the issue in the newspapers published from Indian capital of New Delhi and Kashmir. Local newspapers published reports of the conflict more frequently than their national counterparts. The highest number of reports were published by Greater Kashmir (local newspaper)-193- and the least by The Times of India (national newspaper)-56.

The study also finds a statistically-significant difference in importance accorded to the issue between the newspapers published from the chosen places. Local newspapers of Kashmir-Greater Kashmir and Rising Kashmir-showed the highest daily average by according more weightages to the reports of conflicts while The Times of India, one among the chosen national newspapers, accorded the least daily average. Thus the proposed hypothesis of the present study that place from where the paper is published is associated with the importance accorded to the issue, holds true as far as the results are analysed. A statistically-significant difference between the tone of the reports and the place from where the newspapers are published were observed. The newspapers published from New Delhi avoided militant views in their reports whereas newspapers published from Kashmir had more people views in news reports. The highest number of reports with Pro-Army tone was observed to be published by newspapers published from New Delhi, in line with the study of Neveu (2002) and Dill et al., (2009). News value of proximity also had a say as the local newspapers published more new reports about the conflict than their national counterparts.

The study observed that there is a significant statistical difference between the variables Newspapers and Frames. The national newspapers mostly used Attribution of Responsibility Frame to report the issue whereas two of the newspapers out of the three chosen local dailies mostly used Human Interest frame to cover the issue. Of the six chosen newspapers, four of them mostly used attribution of responsibility frame for the news reports, supporting the observations of Semetko et al., (2000) that attribution of responsibility frame is the commonly used frame while covering conflicts. This study is also at par with the findings of Hol et al., (2010) that local newspapers used human interest frame more frequently because among the chosen three local Kashmiri newspapers for the study, Rising Kashmir and Greater Kashmir used human interest frame more frequently to cover the conflict. As Shaw, et al., (1997)

argues that framing is a part of agenda setting, the present study also observed editorialising impressions in the news reports. The tones and frames used to cover the issue were also found to be statistically associated.

Even though the study provided some insight about the differences in the coverage of the 2016 Kashmir conflict by local and national media, there are also some limitations. Since the chosen methodology was content analysis, by its very nature it is not possible to fully determine the effect of media frames on the public. Only news reports were examined excluding the photographs, the findings would be much more insightful if future research could compare photographs, television news coverage and internet news content of the conflict at national and international level.

Conclusion

The study results indicated that there is a difference in the coverage of the 2016 Kashmir Conflict between national and local newspapers with regard to the usage of chosen political frames. The results also indicate that the tones used to accord the reports of the issue is statistically different between the place from where the newspaper is published. National newspapers which covered the Kashmir conflict mostly used Attribution of Responsibility frame, whereas the local newspapers mostly used the human angle to cover the issue. Attribution of responsibility frame was the commonly used frame while covering the 2016 Kashmir conflict.

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