Analysing discourse and difference in the coverage of the attacks in Sukma and Darbha valley

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Abstract: Print media works as a vigilant watchdog in a society. Latest policies of the government are analysed by the media and the public opinion is built accordingly. The media plays a key role in shaping perception while reporting about the conflict including the terrorist attacks. The discourse that is constructed by the media regarding the attacks is important to recognise as "the credibility of media messages, their sources, and the messengers communicating those messages, as well as the context within which the messages are delivered, all mediate the influence of news on consumers" (Baum and Groeling, 2009). The focus of this study is to analyse the discourse and examine the difference between the reportage of the two attacks by the four leading Indian English dailies. It is done using the analysis tools like lexicalization, intertextuality, and framing.

Key Words: Media, newspapers, discourse, attacks, terrorism, Sukma, Darbha valley.

1. INTRODUCTION:

Newspapers can frame a story to get a specific reaction from people as the public perception of violent crime is significantly impacted by the newspapers more than any other news source (Paulsen, 2002). The victims of the attacks are the worst hit but it also affects the audience as a whole and the approach adopted by the media defines how a particular incident is perceived by the masses. Therefore it can be said that the issues that the masses should think and worry about are decided by the media and the policies are molded by the government by keeping in consideration the issues that are important to the masses. Media has an iron grip on the thinking faculties of the public as is argues by some scholars and the "public may not know how deep the interlocking media reach into every phase of our lives, our reading, our viewing, our entertainment, our politics and our education" (klotzer, 2007). A range of academic research (Goffman, 1974; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Rogers & Dearing, 1988) recognised the power of media in framing the issues that are important to the public and to indirectly construct messages that set public agenda.

A media discourse communicates to the world what it does as well as and also help the masses to construct an image of what media discusses. Images can be constructed in multiple ways and this complex process involves some significant elements like the experience of individuals and the support of peers to anticipated image construction. The same is advocated by the constructivist media effects model. It posits that people construct their own representations of reality which is linked with their prior knowledge. Researchers have been examining the role of media in shaping social realities. According to the constructivist approach, new information or experience is connected with previously acquired information/experience and that is how the knowledge of the real world is constructed. "Constructivism is the recognition that reality is a product of human intelligence interacting with experience in the real world. As soon as you include human mental activity in the process of knowing reality, you have accepted constructivism" (Elkind, 2005).

Using critical discourse analysis, Jan (2014), in the wake of the 2011 Salala incident, describes one of the ways discourses are constructed. This research has found that while commenting on the incidents in its editorials, The Nation - a Pakistani English newspaper uses different linguistic and discourse techniques to portray a negative image of the United States. "The construction of this discourse is primarily done by filling meanings into nodal points such as 'terrorist, 'terrorism' and 'war on terror' because they have conflicting meanings in various discourses" (Faizullah Jan, 2014). A nodal point, according to Jorgensen and Phillips (2002), "is a privileged sign around which the other signs are ordered; the other signs acquire their meaning from their relationship to the nodal point." A discourse is formed by the partial fixation of meaning around certain nodal points (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). This partial fixation of meaning has real-life implications: what constitutes 'terrorism' and who qualifies to be a 'terrorist', form and deform the image of a country or a nation. The production of these meanings is directly related to power as these meanings struggle to create different social worlds and different ways of looking and talking about the world. (Faizullah Jan, 2014)

The public gets news about the incidents that happen globally primarily through media and newspapers are one of the important sources of information. Therefore, it is important to understand the various ways in which media frames news. A misrepresentation can be identified by pointing out a mismatch between reality and people's viewpoint of this reality. Researchers have used this technique by bringing the alternative discourses, which a particular newspaper tries to eliminate or suppress, to the forefront.

2. MAOISTS AND THE INDIAN STATE:

A meeting was held in Tashkent in 1920 under the guidance of the Soviet regime in which the first Communist Party of India (CPI) was formed. In 1947, India got independence and the Soviet apparatus supported the Indian National Congress, the CPI followed suit. It caused discord, CPI eventually split up and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) was formed in 1964. Naxalbari Movement emerged in 1967 and these revolutionaries held a conference in Calcutta and formed the All India Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries (AICCR) within the CPI (Marxist). The AICCCR broke away from the CPI (M) and launched a party in 1969, after which the Central Organising Committee of Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), usually called People's War Group (PWG), was formed. The AICCCR was dissolved in the same year and Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) was formed in 1975 by Dakshin Desh group led by Kanhai Chatterejee. The Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) and the People's War Group (PWG) merged and formed the Communist Party of India (Maoist) in 2004.

For the past, more than 50 years, a protracted people's war has been going on between Maoist groups, also known as Naxalites or Naxals, and the government of India. Maoist groups accuse the authorities of not fulfilling their genuine demands and the conflict has led to the killings of hundreds of people. The situation is crucial in the few districts of Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, and Maharashtra. The way media reports about the attacks by the Maoists would be interesting.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW:

The available and related literature on the subject talks about different approaches adopted by the media in the coverage, image construction, ethics and the discourse generated by the media. Many studies discuss the impact of the choices made by media on the masses.

Muhammad Ashraf Khan and Fatima Imran (2009) in a study titled, *A comparative study of portrayal of Pakistan in Newsweek, The Time and The Economist after 26/11 incident in Mumbai: A cultural difference approach* examines the cultural difference theory that argues, journalists and writers of different culture are always orthodox as their dough rises from their own region. The findings depict that Pakistan do not have a positive image in international magazines after 26/11 Mumbai attacks. The findings supported the cultural difference theory in this case.

Muhammad Ali (2011) in a paper titled *9/11 in British and Pakistani press: A comparative analysis with regards to myths and realities of hegemony and propaganda* does a comparative analysis of 9/11 coverage in British and Pakistan press. The study shows that the press of both the countries maintained a different stance despite reliance on the same sources. In this regard, it points to other factors such as sociology of news and journalism practices in newsrooms that can be seen to have a bearing on the coverage. Newspaper coverage can have a positive or negative impact on the image of an individual.

Deidre D. Freyenberger (2013) in a study *Amanda Knox: A Content Analysis of Media Framing in Newspapers Around the World* examined the framing of Amanda Knox in newspapers published worldwide during the 4 years Knox was imprisoned in Italy. The results showed that mentions of Amanda Knox were more negative in the United Kingdom and Ireland (25.9%). Story placement of Amanda Knox was more prominent in newspapers of Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, South Korea, and China. Page placement of Amanda Knox mentions was more prominent in Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, South Korea, and China (14%).

The paper titled - *A Study of Terrorism Discourse in TaifaLeo Newspaper of Kenya* by Mr. Silas Odhiambo Owala, Dr. Florence Indede and Dr. Sangai Mohochi (2013) investigated discourse on national and international terrorism in TaifaLeo, a daily published in Kiswahili language in Kenya. This paper examines how the dominant forces in the society construct versions of reality that favour their interests and how the bias in terrorism news is created within a framework of discourse access and discourse structures. The study concluded that there is bias in the way this newspaper reported terrorism news.

4. METHODOLOGY:

The study analyses the discourse and coverage given by the four leading Indian English dailies to the two attacks. The first attack happened at Darbha valley in 2013 and second attack at Sukma in 2017 – both perpetuated, as per official version, by the Communist Party of India (Maoist). It also examines the difference in the coverage in terms of lexicalization, intertextuality, framing, the frequency of the stories and the prominence given to the attacks by the Indian English print media. The newspapers are selected on the basis of readership.

4.1 SAMPLING NEWSPAPERS:

According to The Indian Readership Survey (IRS), 2017 - the largest continuous readership research study in the world - *The Times of India, Hindustan Times, The Hindu and The Indian Express* are the leading English dailies in India as per readership. Therefore the reportage by these newspapers about the attacks reach and hence affect masses.

4.2 ANALYSIS TOOLS:

Intertextual analysis, framing, and a linguistic tool called lexicalization is used to analyse news reports. The prominence and frequency of the attacks by the Indian English print media are also analysed. Analysis of the news stories is followed by statistical interpretation. Only news stories about the two attacks are analysed in this study. Editorials and letters to the editor are not included in the sample.

Lexicalization: Analysing lexicalization or word choice is important in the studies that involve critical discourse analysis as it decides whether the news report is free from any ideological traces and is it ideologically unbiased. Calling people terrorists instead of freedom fighters or vice versa is a typical example of the use of ideological language in the news reports.

The keywords used in the news reports that fall into descriptive characterisation are identified in this study. Descriptive characterisation includes 'words that contain judgements about the acts or perpetrators within their denotative and connotative meanings' (Picard and Adams, 1991). Descriptive characterisation, i.e. the range of lexical choice opted by the select newspapers is identified and measured in the study.

Intertextual analysis: Another tool to determine ideological bias in a news text is intertextual analysis. It clarifies which among all the parties involved in a news event are allowed to voice their side of the story and which are silenced. The term "intertextuality" was coined by Kristeva in the late 1960s. According to Kristeva (1986), intertextuality implies "the insertion of history (society) into a text and of this text into history". The history is inserted into the text as the text is created from the texts of the past and the text is inserted into history as the text redrafts the text of the past which helps to make history (Fairclough, 1992).

The sources used in by the Indian English print media in the reports about the attacks are identified and quantified. The usage of the text (direct quotes or paraphrased content) to shape other text (the text of the news story) is examined. What is the realm of sources that the writer has depended upon and how is one of the reasons for doing intertextual analysis (Bazerman, 2004). The way writers draw on their sources to write the news text and the types of references made in the news stories are identified. In this study, the participants involved in an attack are divided into categories: victims, officials, eyewitnesses, anonymous, perpetrators and other.

- The "officials" category includes government officials as well as the hospital authorities, official investigating agencies, police, and military.
- The "eyewitnesses" category includes those who witness the incident or experience the aftermath of the incident anyway.
- The "victims" category includes those who are the direct victims of the attacks, survivors or who are victimised or have suffered due to the attacks in any way.
- The "anonymous" category includes the sources used in the news stories that are not identified, unnamed sources, and those who wish not to be named/identified in the news reports.
- The "perpetrators" category includes the viewpoint of the perpetrators or the sources that state the viewpoint of the perpetrators.
- The "other" category includes unattributed information or the sources used in the news reports that don't belong to any of the aforementioned categories.

The incidents, testimonials or any memory from the past attacks that are evoked in the news stories are quantified to see how often references are made to influence the reader. It will reveal whether the text is created from the text of the past by inserting history into the text (Fairclough, 1992). The types of sources used in the news reports are counted and the value of one is given to them the first time they are used in a particular news story. After that, the comparison is drawn between the select newspapers. The references used in the news reports are counted and each reference is given the value of one and then the comparison between the select newspapers is drawn to reveal which among them has used more references.

Framing: "A frame is the central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue. News and information have no intrinsic value unless embedded in a meaningful context which organizes and lends it coherence. News stories can be understood as narratives, which include information and factual elements, to be sure, but also carry an implicit message" (London,1993). The basic premise of framing theory is that the way something is presented (the "frame") influences the choices people make.

The frames used by the Indian print media in the two attacks are identified using the works of Entman (1991). "Certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (Entman, 1993) are identified to recognise frames. The frames used in the news stories are quantified by giving the value of 1 the first time they are used in the news reports. After the quantification of the frames, a comparison is drawn between the usages of frames in both the attacks.

## 5. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS:

5.1 Darbha valley attack:

A convoy of Indian National Congress leaders was attacked in the Darbha Valley in the Sukma district of Chhattisgarh, India on 25 May 2013, killing 27 people. Among those killed were former state minister Mahendra Karma, Chhattisgarh Congress chief Nand Kumar, and a senior Congress leader Vidya Charan Shukla. The accused are the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

The frequency of stories:

Table 1.1 represents the frequency of the media coverage of the terrorist attacks by the select newspapers

Newspapers	*The Times of India*	*Hindustan Times*	*The Hindu*	*The Indian Express*
Number of stories	19	09	14	22

Figure 1.1 is the graphical representation of the quantity of coverage of the terrorist attacks by the select newspapers
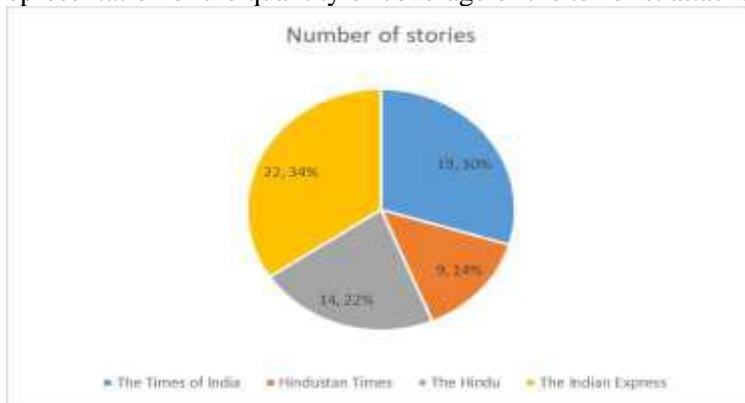
The study revealed that among the select newspapers, Hindustan Times gave the least coverage of 14% to the attack in Darbha valley while as The Indian Express gave the highest coverage of 34%. The Times of India and The Hindu gave 30% and 22% of the coverage respectively.

Inter textual analysis

I- Sources used:

Quantification of sources is done by categorizing them into five types: victims, officials, eyewitnesses, perpetrators, anonymous and other.

Table 1.2 represents usage of the types of sources by the select newspapers

Newspaper	Victims	Officials	Eyewitnesses	Perpetrators	Anonymous	Other
The Times of India	1	12	3	1	4	6
Hindustan Times	2	5	1	1	1	3
The Hindu	1	14	1	0	1	1
The Indian Express	1	20	3	1	6	2

Figure 1.2 is the graphical representation of the dominance of sources used in the news stories about the terrorist attack.
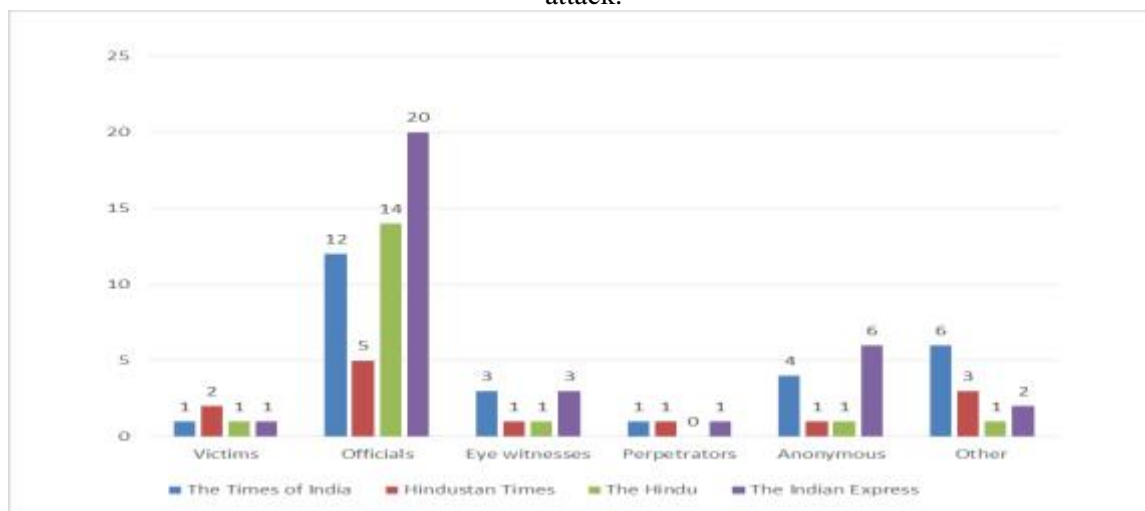
The study found a maximum number of stories in all the newspapers fall under the "official" category of source classification and the least number of stories in all the newspapers fall under "perpetrators" category followed by the "victims" and then the "eyewitnesses" category, meaning the select newspapers depended heavily on the official sources. The select newspapers used "anonymous" and "other" category of sources equally.

Figure 1.3 Percentage-wise chart of the dominance of sources in the Times of India
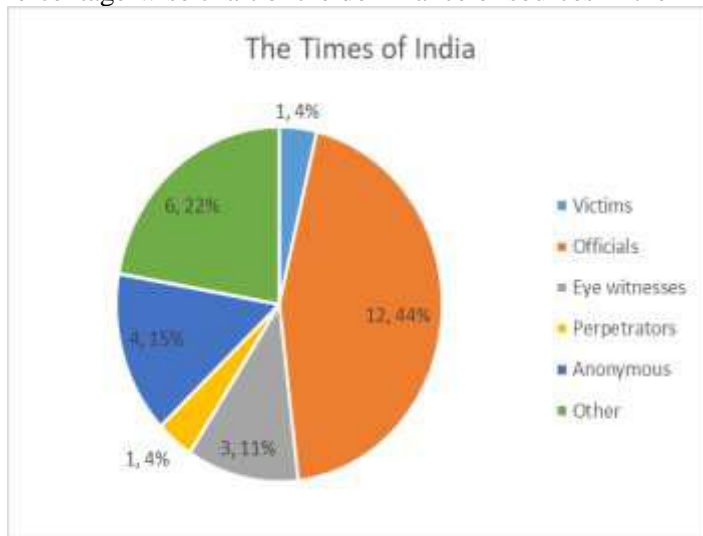
Figure 1.4 Percentage-wise chart of the dominance of sources in the Hindustan Times
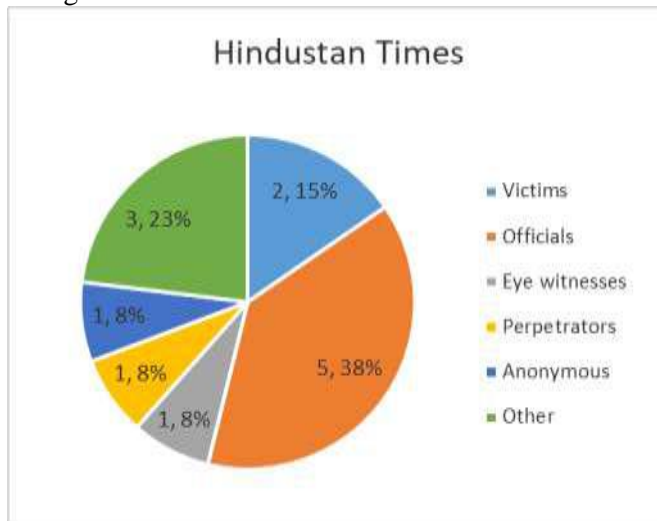
Figure 1.5 Percentage-wise chart of the dominance of sources in The Hindu
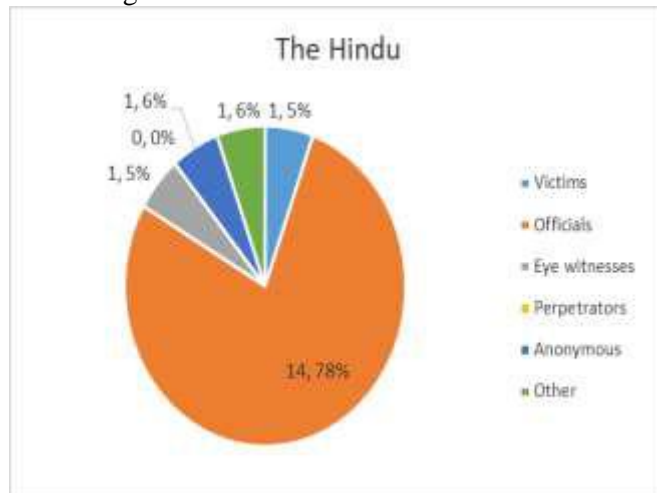
Figure 1.6 Percentage-wise chart of the dominance of sources in The Indian Express
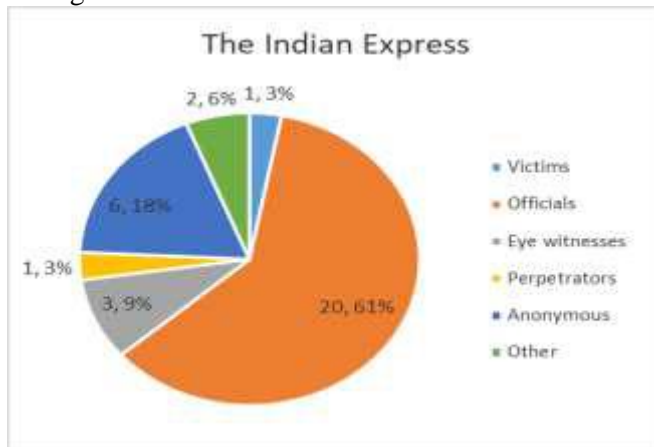
The select newspapers have 44, 38, 78 and 61 percent of their respective stories falling in the "officials" category and a fair percentage the sources that fall under the "anonymous" category but a very small percentage of their stories fall under "other", "victims" and "eyewitnesses" category.

References used:

The references used in the news reports are counted and each reference is given the value of one and then the comparison between the select newspapers is drawn to reveal which among them has used more references.

Table 1.3 represents usage of the references by the select newspapers

Newspapers	No. of news reports	References used
Times of India	19	2
Hindustan Times	9	3
The Hindu	14	3
Indian Express	22	6

Figure 1.7 is the graphical representation of the usage of the references in the news stories
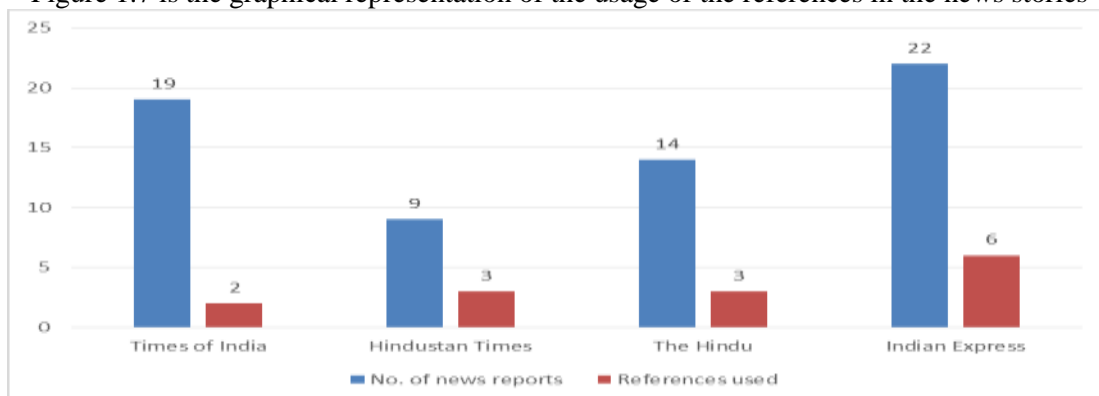
Figure 1.8 Percentage-wise chart of the usage of the references in the select newspapers
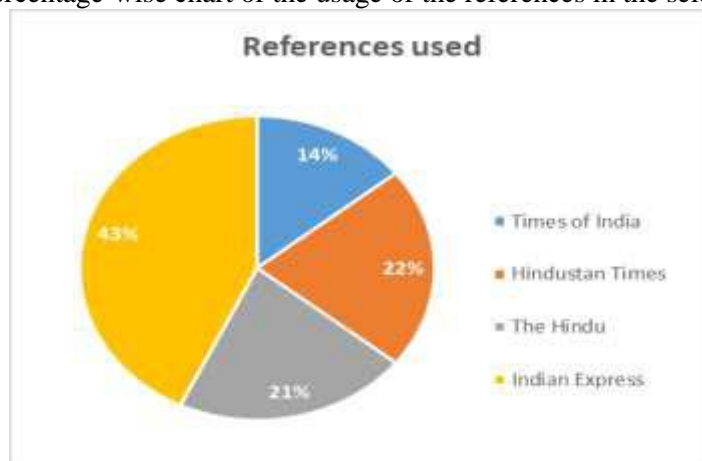
The chart shows that the maximum percentage of references are used by The Indian Express (43%). Hindustan Times (22%) and The Hindu (21%) used almost same percentage of references. The Times of India (14%) used the least percentage of references. The analysis reveals that among the select newspapers, The Indian Express has evoked the incidents of the past in the news stories to the maximum and The Times of India to the minimum.

Placement of the news stories

The prominence given to the attacks by the Indian print media is evaluated by quantifying the number of news stories on the front page. Each front page story is given the value of 1 and then the comparison is drawn between the select newspapers. More the number of stories on the front page more is the prominence given to the attacks.

Table 1.4 represents the prominence given to the attack by the select newspapers

Newspapers	Front page
Times of India	3
Hindustan Times	4
The Hindu	3
The Indian Express	5

Figure 1.9 Percentage-wise chart of the prominence given to the attack by the select newspapers
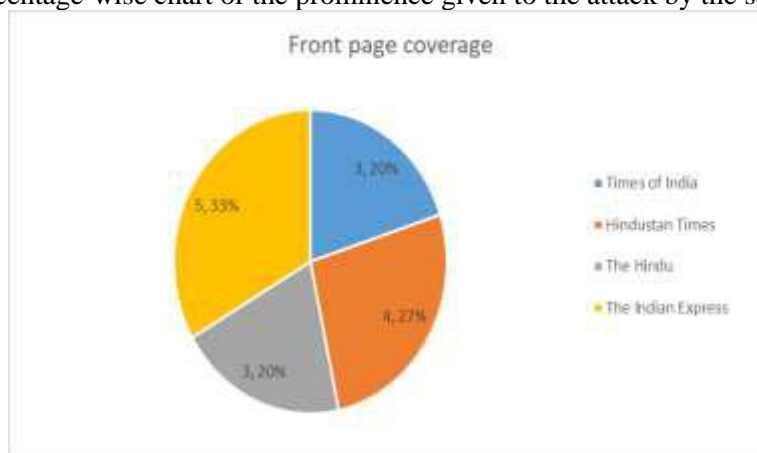
The above charts depict that the percentage of the front page news items is more in The Indian Express (33%), followed by Hindustan Times (27%). Hence The Indian Express has given more prominence to the attack in Darbha valley while as The Times of India (20%) and The Hindu (20%) have given equal prominence to the news items about this particular attack.

Classification of Discourse:

The current study measures the descriptive characterisation to reveal the discourse of dissent in the Indian print media. The keywords are identified and for quantification purpose, the value of 1 is given to each of them every time they are used in the news stories.

Lexicalization

Table 1.5 shows the keywords/phrases used in the news reports by the select newspapers.

Keywords/phrases
Audacious attack, bloodbath, rebels, vigilante groups, Naxalism, Maoist violence, Naxalites, Naxal violence, Naxal stronghold, Anxious start, Naxal-ruled Bastar, Maoists, a shaken congress, debilitating strike, Naxal zone, Maoist guerrillas, Maoist hit list, security nightmare, Maoist assault, Maoist mayhem, merciless and cold-blooded Naxal attack, barbaric incident, holocaust, massacre, brutal end, Maoists, left-wing rebels, guerrillas, crazed insurgents, Maoist stronghold, Maoist-hit, rebels, naxal menace, Maoist heartland, reds, brutal, barbaric, inhuman killing, Nexal-infested areas, deadly Maoist attack, Maoist sympathizers, deadly moist attack, heavily-armed Maoists, bloodbath, deadly attack, rebels, dastardly attack, Maoist violence, an act of sabotage, audacious ambush, dastardly attack, grisly strike, Maoist ambush, cowardly act, gruesome Naxal attack, Naxal-affected states, sinful strategy, terrorists, deadly attack, Terror, deliberate and meticulously-planned carnage, carnage of unprecedented ferocity, carnage of unprecedented magnitude, barbarism, brutality, savage attack, Bastar bloodbath, gruesome attack, Guerrillas, holocaust.

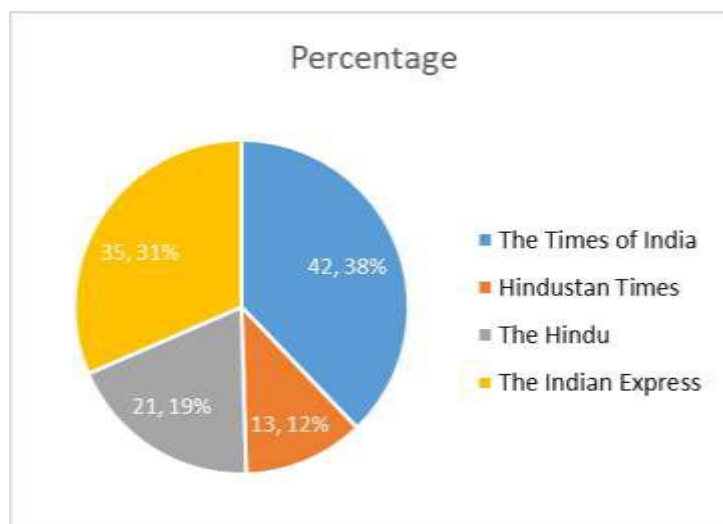Table 1.6 shows the number of descriptive characterisation used in the news reports by the select newspapers

Newspapers	Descriptive characterisation
The Times of India	42
Hindustan Times	13
The Hindu	21
The Indian Express	35

Figure 1.10 is the graphical representation of the comparison of the descriptive characterisation used in the select newspapers
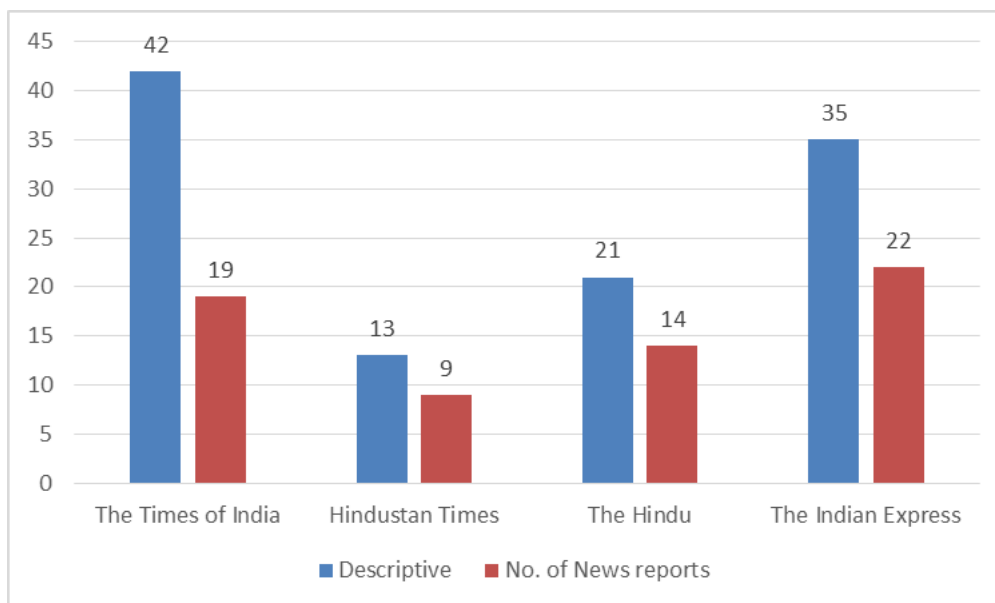
The analysis shows that The Times of India has the maximum number of stories having keywords that fall into the descriptive characterisation, followed by The Indian Express, and The Hindu. Hindustan Times has the lowest number of stories having keywords that fall into descriptive characterisation.

Figure 1.11 shows the comparison of the percentage of the stories with descriptive characterisation

In terms of the percentage, the narrative highlighted in the news reports carried by The Times of India (38%) was mostly descriptive in nature followed by The Indian Express (31%). Hindustan Times (12%) and The Hindu (19%) carried relatively fewer keywords that fall into descriptive characterisation. Therefore the analysis of the select newspapers shows that The Times of India and The Indian Express chose words that are more connotative in nature than Hindustan Times and The Hindu.

Framing:

The current study identifies the following frames in Darbha valley attack: Security lapse, Political talk, Disaster frame, and Revenge frame.

Table 1.7 represents the usage of frames by the select newspapers

Frames	*The Times of India*	*Hindustan Times*	*The Hindu*	*The Indian Express*
Security lapse	6	1	4	6
Political talk	2	5	4	9
Disaster frame	7	4	5	6
Revenge frame	2	1	1	1

The table shows that the most frequently used frame by The Times of India and The Hindu is the Disaster frame while as Hindustan Times and The Indian Express has used Political talk the most. The frame least used by the select newspapers is the Revenge frame. The usage of frames implies that the select newspapers have highlighted the brutal assault of the attackers and the damage done by the attacks to the life and property of the masses.

5.2 Sukma attack

Indian paramilitary forces were attacked on 24 April 2017 killing 25 paramilitary soldiers in Sukma district of Chhattisgarh, India. The attack was carried out by the Communist Party of India (Maoist)

The frequency of stories:

Table 1.8 represents the frequency of the media coverage of the terrorist attacks by the select newspapers

Newspapers	*The Times of India*	*Hindustan Times*	*The Hindu*	*The Indian Express*
Number of stories	10	19	5	13

Figure 1.12 is the graphical representation of the quantity of coverage of the terrorist attacks by the select newspapers
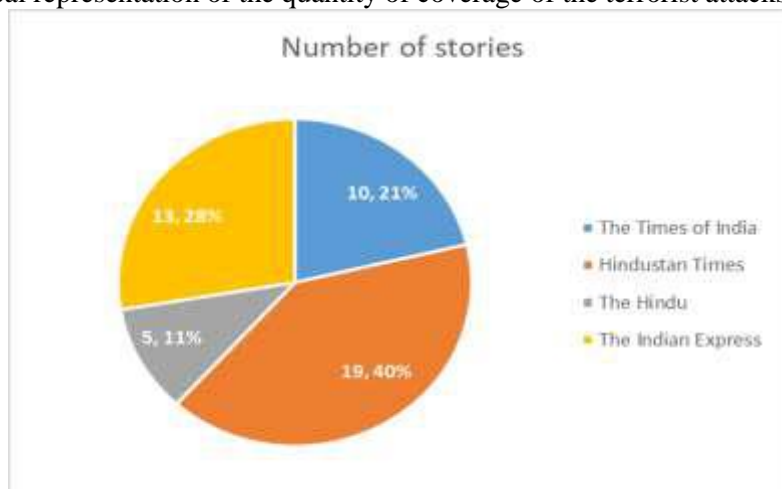
The study shows that among the select newspapers, The Hindu (11%) gave the least coverage to the Sukma attack while as Hindustan Times (40%) gave the highest coverage. The Times of India and The Indian Express gave 21 % and 28% of the coverage respectively.

Inter textual analysis

   I-   Sources used:

Quantification of sources is done by categorizing them into five types: victims, officials, eyewitnesses, perpetrators, anonymous and other.

Table 1.9 represents usage of the types of sources by the select newspapers

Newspaper	**Victims**	**Officials**	**Eyewitnesses**	**Perpetrators**	**Anonymous**	**Other**
The Times of India	2	10	0	0	1	1
Hindustan Times	5	16	1	1	4	1
The Hindu	2	5	0	0	0	0
The Indian Express	1	9	0	0	4	2

Figure 1.13 is the graphical representation of the dominance of sources used in the news stories about the terrorist attack.
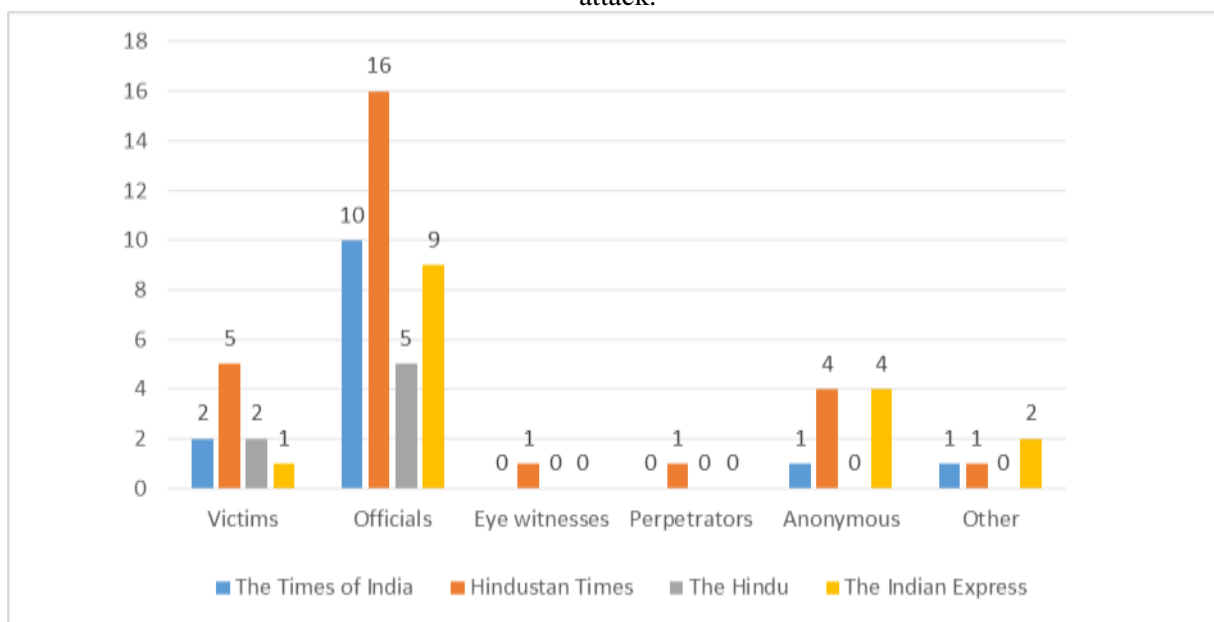
The study found a maximum number of stories in all the newspapers fall under the "official" category of source classification followed by "victims" category. Only Hindustan Times has used the sources that fall into the "eyewitnesses" and "perpetrators" category. It is clear that the select newspapers have heavily depended on the official sources.

Figure 1.14 Percentage-wise chart of the dominance of sources in the Times of India
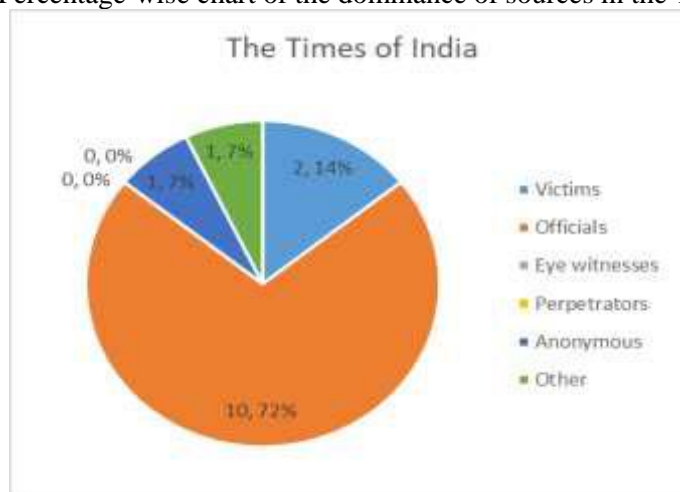
Figure 1.15 Percentage-wise chart of the dominance of sources in the Hindustan Times
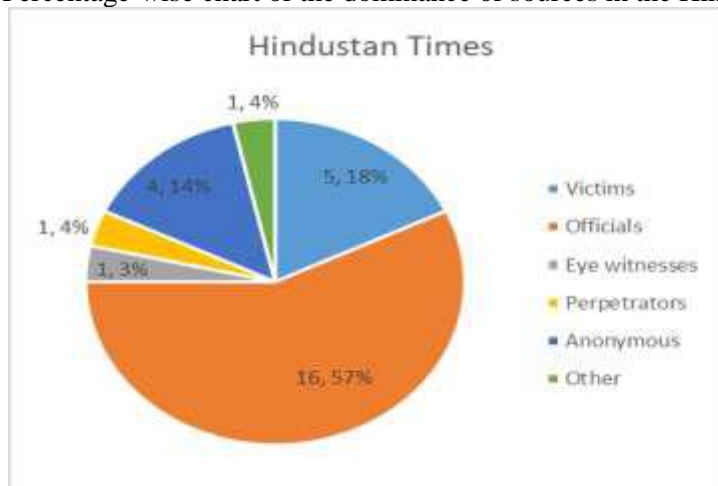
Figure 1.16 Percentage-wise chart of the dominance of sources in The Hindu
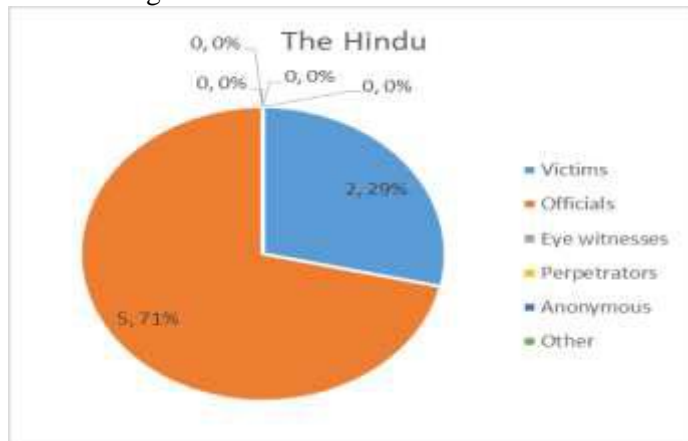
Figure 1.17 Percentage-wise chart of the dominance of sources in The Indian Express
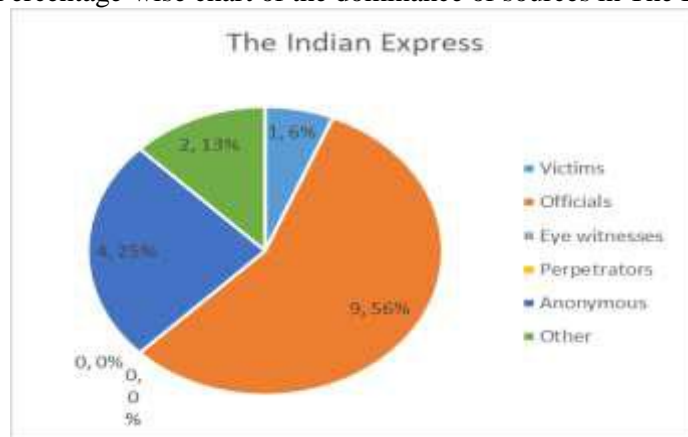
The select newspapers have 72%, 57%, 71% and 56% of their respective stories falling in the "officials" category and other sources are used by different newspapers in different percentages.

II- References used:

The references used in the news reports are counted and each reference is given the value of one and then the comparison between the select newspapers is drawn to reveal which among them has used more references.

Table 1.10 represents usage of the references by the select newspapers

Newspapers	No. of news reports	References used
Times of India	10	2
Hindustan Times	19	8
The Hindu	5	2
Indian Express	13	9

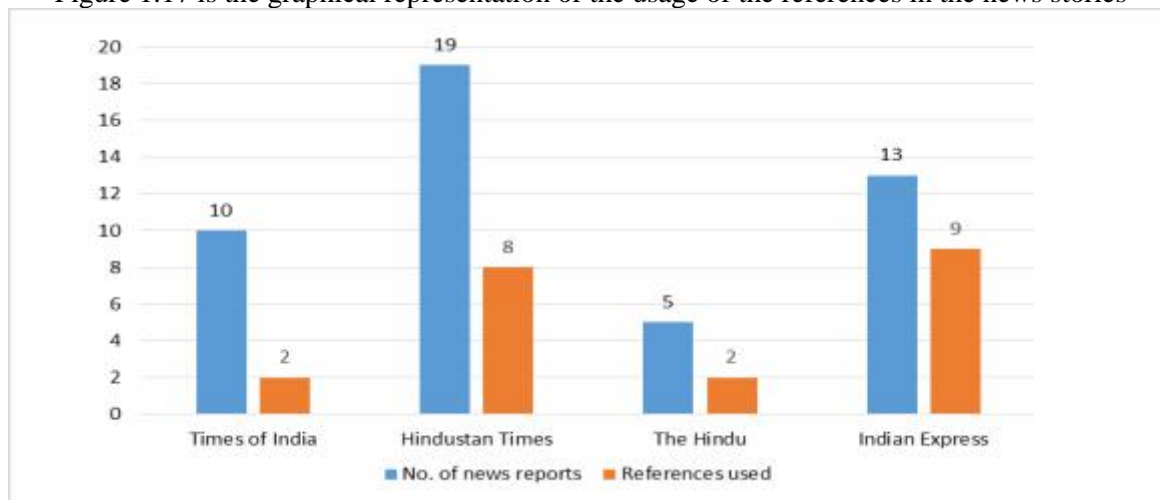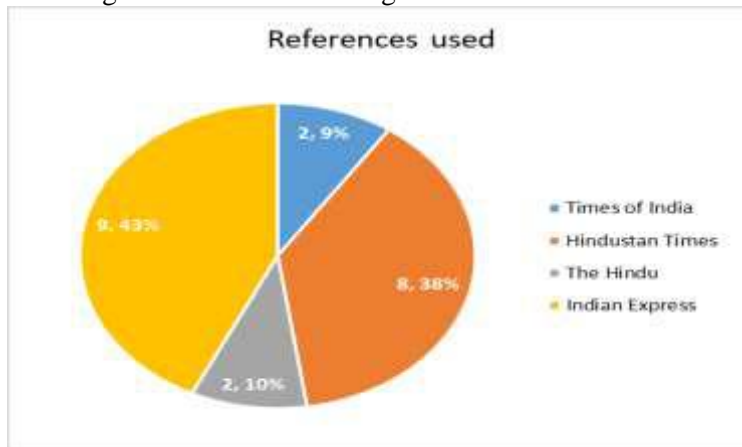Figure 1.17 is the graphical representation of the usage of the references in the news stories

Figure 1.18 Percentage-wise chart of the usage of the references in the select newspapers

The chart shows that The Indian Express (43%) and Hindustan Times (38%) has a much higher percentage of references than The Times of India (9%) and The Hindu (10%). The analysis shows that The Indian Express has evoked the incidents of the past to a large extent in the news reports about the Sukma attack.

Placement of the news stories
The prominence given to the attacks by the Indian print media is evaluated by quantifying the number of news stories on the front page. Each front page story is given the value of 1 and then the comparison is drawn between the select newspapers. More the number of stories on the front page more is the prominence given to the attacks.

Table 1.11 represents the prominence given to the attack by the select newspapers

Newspapers	Front page
Times of India	4
Hindustan Times	4
The Hindu	3
The Indian Express	5

Figure 1.19 shows the Percentage-wise chart of the prominence given to the attack by the select newspapers
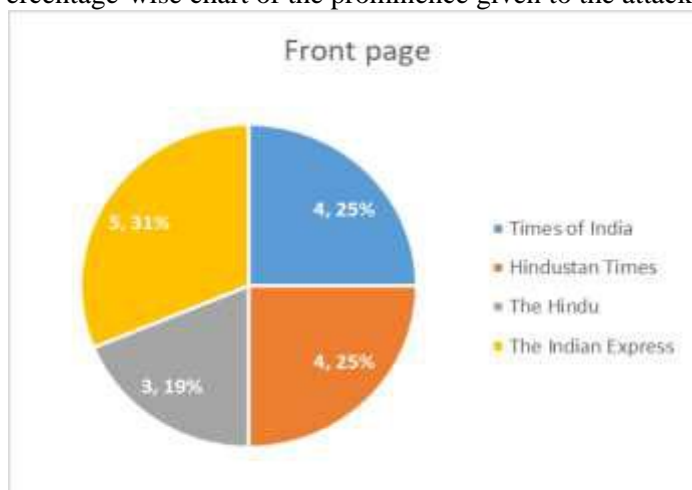
The above figure shows that The Indian Express (31%) carried the highest percentage of news stories on the front page. The Times of India (25%) and Hindustan Times (25%) carried an equal percentage of news reports about Sukma attack. The Hindu (19%) carried the lowest percentage of news stories about the particular attack on the front page. The Indian Express has given the highest prominence and The Hindu has given the lowest prominence to Sukma attack.

Classification of Discourse:
The current study measures the descriptive characterisation to reveal the discourse of dissent in the Indian print media. The keywords are identified and for quantification purpose, the value of 1 is given to each of them every time they are used in the news stories.

Lexicalization

Table 1.12 shows the keywords/phrases used in the news reports by the select newspapers.

Keywords/phrases
Maoists, deadly ambush, Naxalites, Maoist violence-affected, Naxal ambush, Maoist cadres, high-casualty attacks, massacre, Maoist-hit states, terror attacks, terrorist organisation, Maoists squad, marauding Naxalites, deadly assault, Naxal menace, guerrillas, audacious attack, Naxalite-hit states, Left Wing extremism, Maoist militants, Maoist hotbed, insurgency-hit regions, Maoist rebels, Maoist heartland, fatal attacks, red corridor, guerrilla warfare, rebel-held areas, bloodiest massacres, insurgency hotbed of Bastar, rebel stronghold, revolt-hit areas, Maoist brutality, ruthless rebels, fleet-footed Maoists, Maoist territory, insurgency-hit Sukma, deadliest attacks, deadliest armed cadre of the Maoists, Maoist cadre, Maoist stronghold, cowardly and deplorable attack, Maoist dominance, Maoist military, dastardly attack, underground extremist elements, motivated acts of violence, Naxal issue, Naxalism, red terror zone.

Table 1.13 shows the number of descriptive characterisation used in the news reports by the select newspapers

Newspapers	Descriptive characterisation
The Times of India	84
Hindustan Times	137
The Hindu	37
The Indian Express	68

Figure 1.20 is the graphical representation of the comparison of the descriptive characterisation used in the select newspapers
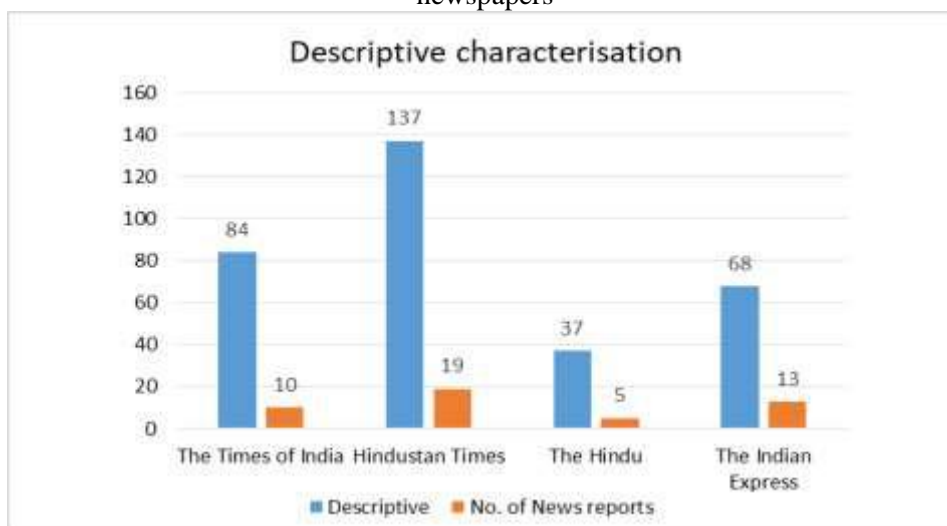
The analysis shows that Hindustan Times has the maximum number of stories having keywords that fall into the descriptive characterisation, followed by The Times of India and The Indian Express. The Hindu has the lowest number of stories having keywords that fall into descriptive characterisation.

Figure 1.21 shows the comparison of the percentage of the stories with descriptive characterisation
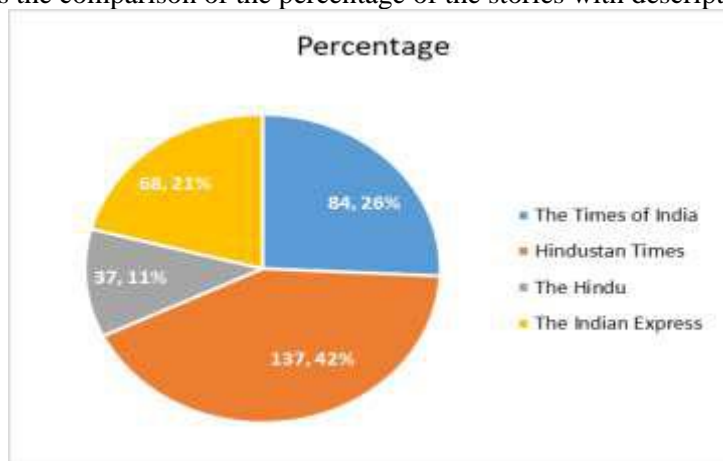
In terms of the percentage, the narrative highlighted in the news reports carried by Hindustan Times (42%) was descriptive in nature followed by The Times of India (26%) and The Indian Express (21%). The Hindu carried 11% of the keywords which is far less than the other newspapers that are analysed in the study.

Framing:

The current study identifies the following frames in Sukma attack: Maoist threat, Disaster frame, and Political talk.

Table 1.14 represents the usage of frames by the select newspapers

Frames	The Times of India	Hindustan Times	The Hindu	The Indian Express
Maoist threat	4	5	5	4
Political talk	0	2	0	1
Disaster frame	1	4	0	2

The table shows that the most frequently used frame by all the newspapers is the Maoist threat. Hindustan Times and The Indian Express has used all three frames. The Times of India has not used the frame Political talk while The Hindu has used Maoist threat only. The usage of frames indicates that the newspapers highlight that the Maoists are a threat to peace and stability as they carry out attacks resulting in loss of life and property.

5.3 COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TWO ATTACKS:

The difference between the coverage given to the attacks by the select newspapers is analysed in terms of the following parameters: frequency, prominence, lexicalization, framing, and intertextual analysis. The word choice, frames used and the sources and references used in the two attacks are identified, analysed and quantified. Afterward the comparison is drawn between the select newspapers.

Frequency of stories

Table 1.15 represents the comparison between the coverage given to the attacks by the select newspapers

	Times of India	Hindustan Times	The Hindu	The Indian Express
Darbha valley attack	19	9	14	22
Sukuma attack	10	19	5	13
Total	29	28	19	35

Figure 1.22 is the graphical representation of the comparison between the coverage given by the select newspapers to the attacks
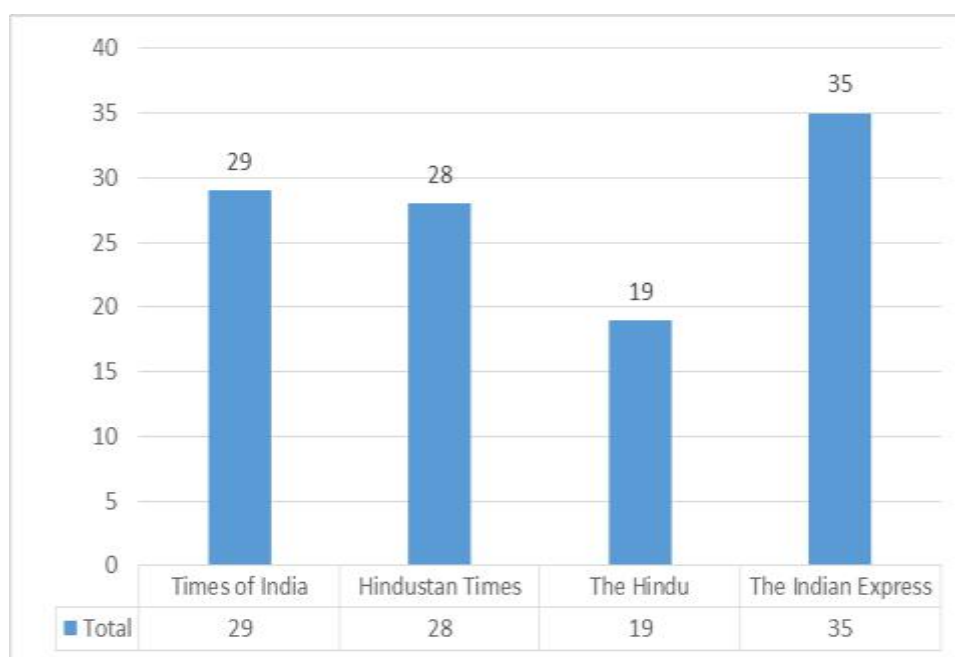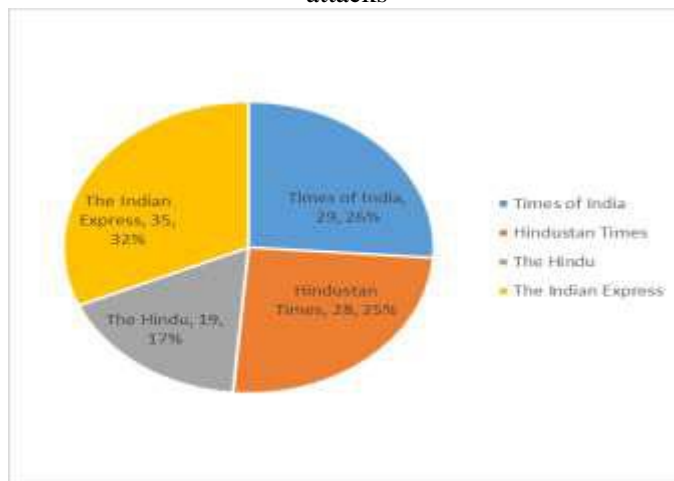
Figure 1.23 is the percentage-wise chart of the comparison between the coverage given by the select newspapers to the attacks

Prominence is given:

Table 1.16 represents the comparison of the prominence given to the attacks by the Indian print media

Attacks	*Times of India*	*Hindustan Times*	*The Hindu*	*The Indian Express*
Darbha valley attack	3	4	3	5
Sukuma attack	4	4	3	5
Total	7	8	6	10

Figure 1.24 is the graphical representation of the comparison of the prominence given to the attacks by the Indian print media
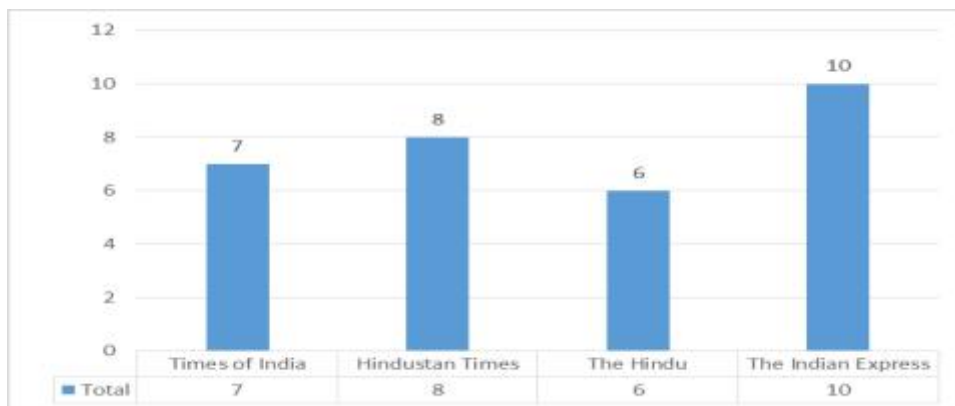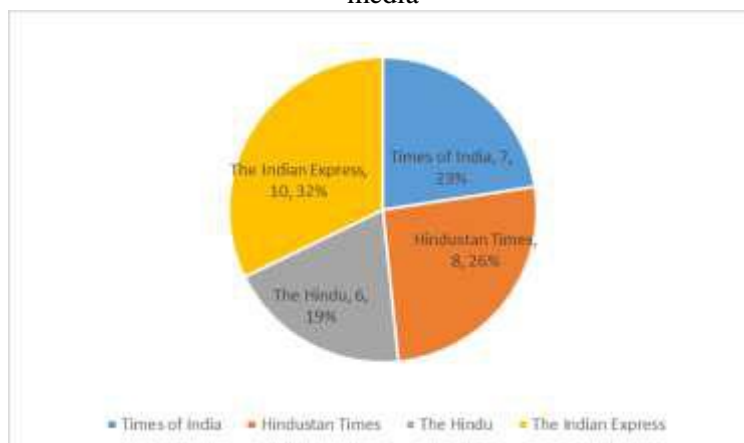

Figure 1.25 is the percentage-wise chart of the comparison of the prominence given to the attacks by the Indian print media

Lexicalization:

Table 1.17 shows the comparison of the number of descriptive characterisation used in the news reports by the Indian print media

Attacks	*Times of India*	*Hindustan Times*	*The Hindu*	*The Indian Express*
Darbha valley attack	42	13	21	35
Sukuma attack	84	137	37	68
Total	126	150	58	103

Figure 1.26 is the graphical representation of the comparison of the descriptive characterisation used news reports by the Indian print media
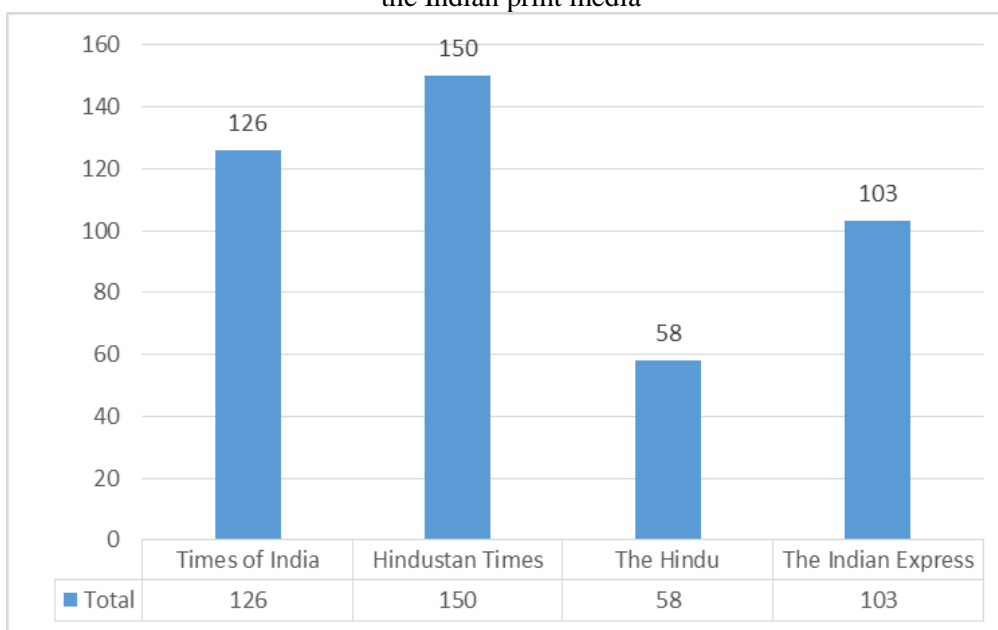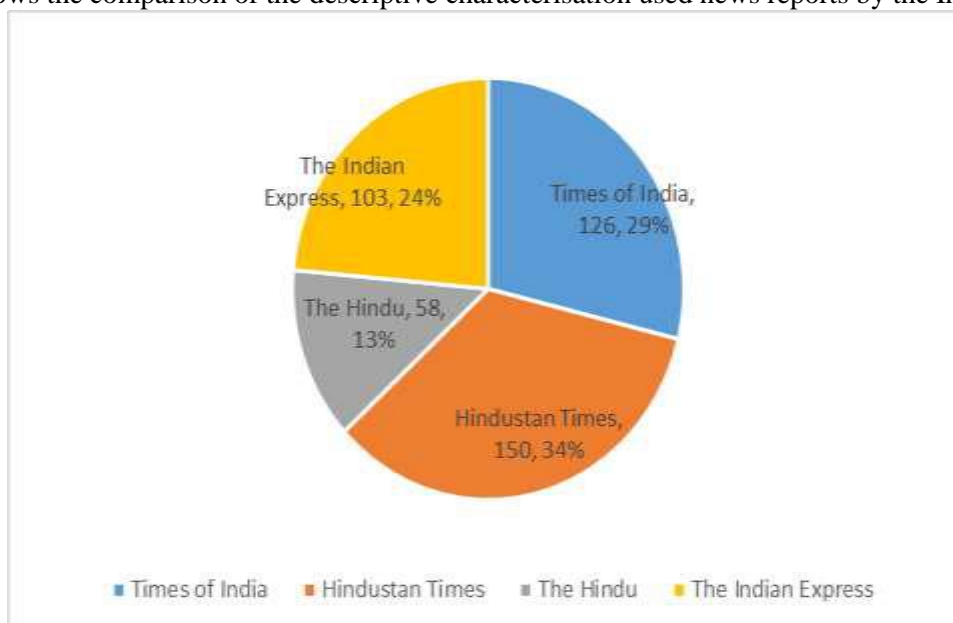

Figure 1.27 shows the comparison of the descriptive characterisation used news reports by the Indian print media

In terms of the percentage, the narrative highlighted in the news reports carried by Hindustan Times (34%) was descriptive in nature followed by The Indian Express (24%) and The Times of India (29%). The Hindu carried 13% of the keywords which is less than the other newspapers that are analysed in the study.

The analysis of the attacks reveal that Hindustan Times presented a narrative that was more descriptive in nature than The Indian Express and The Times of India and the narrative put forth by The Hindu was least descriptive of all.

Intertextual analysis:

Sources used:

Table 1.18 represents the comparison of the usage of the types of sources by the select newspapers

	Times of India	*Hindustan Times*	*The Hindu*	*The Indian Express*
Victims	3	7	3	2
Officials	22	21	19	29
Eyewitnesses	3	2	1	3
Perpetrators	1	2	0	1
Anonymous	5	5	1	10
Other	7	4	1	4

Figure 1.28 is the graphical representation of the comparison of the dominance of sources in the news stories of the select newspapers about the terrorist attack
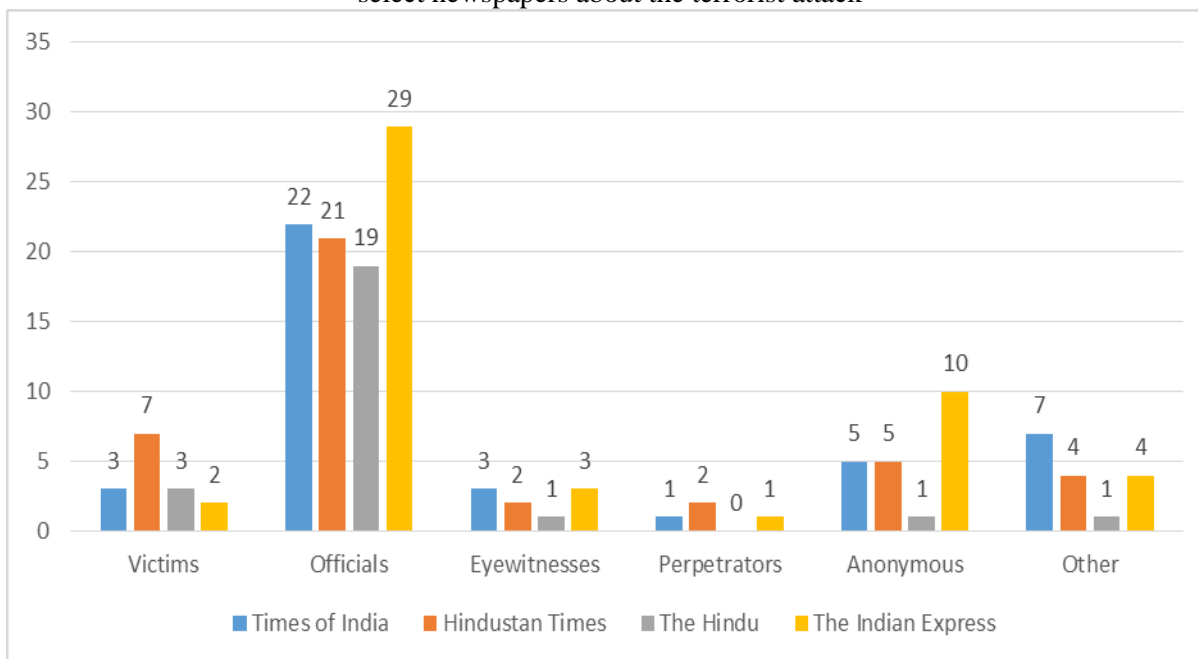

Figure 1.29 is the percentage-wise chart of the usage of the sources in the Indian print media that fall into the "victims" category
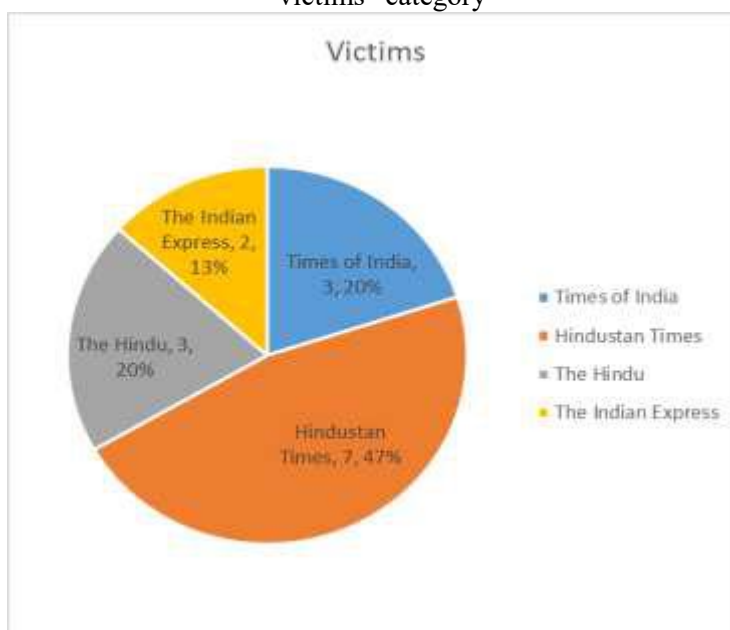
Figure 1.30 is the percentage-wise chart of the usage of the sources in the Indian print media that fall into the "officials" category
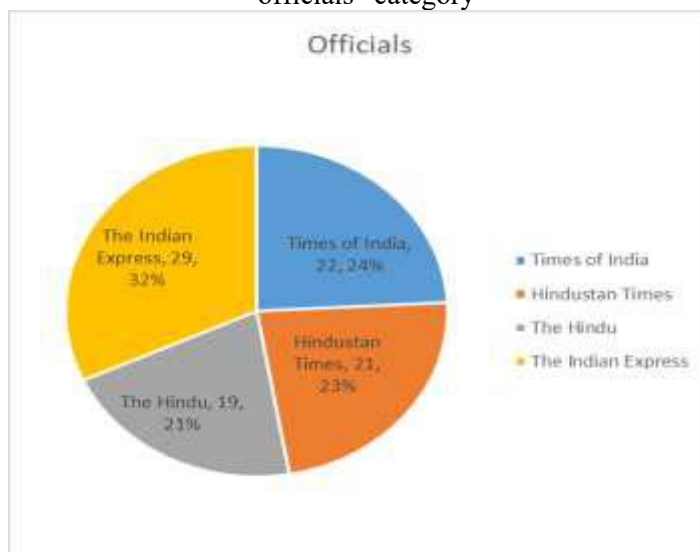

Figure 1.31 is the percentage-wise chart of the usage of the sources in the Indian print media that fall into the "eyewitness" category
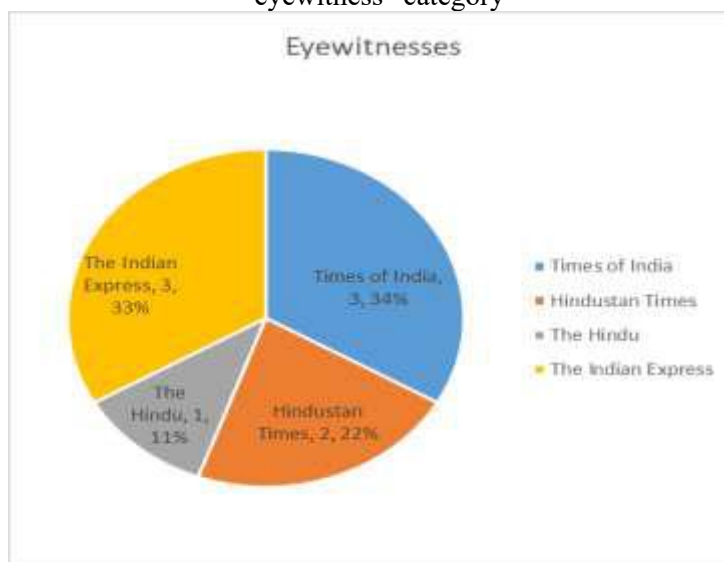

Figure 1.32 is the percentage-wise chart of the usage of the sources in the Indian print media that fall into the "perpetrators" category
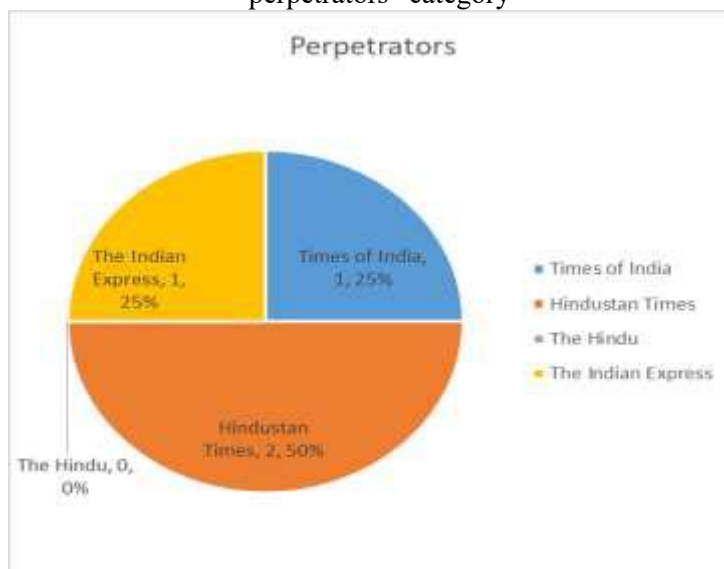
Figure 1.33 is the percentage-wise chart of the usage of the sources in the Indian print media that fall into the "anonymous" category
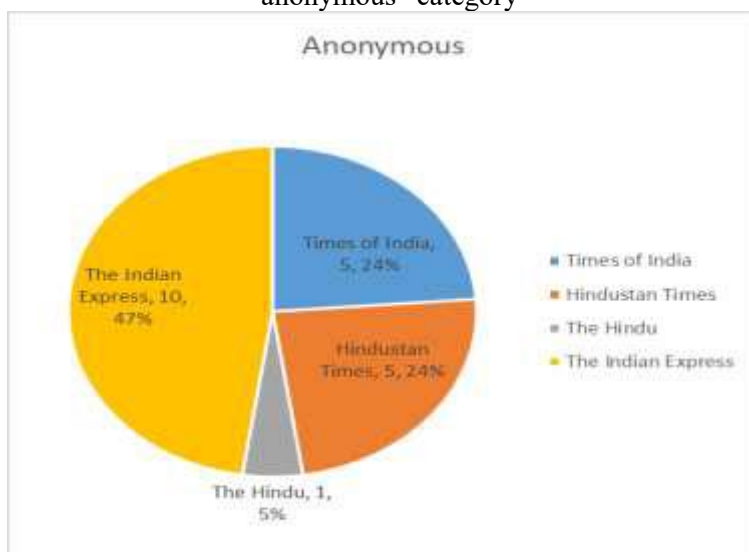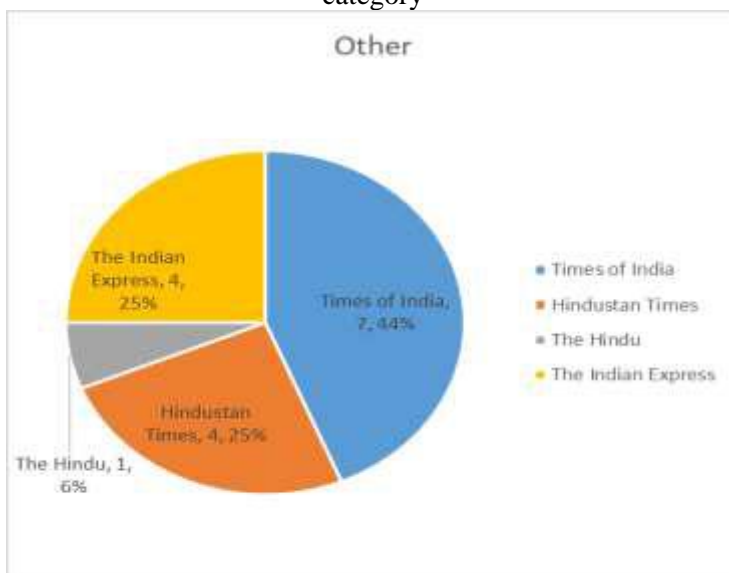

Figure 1.34 is the percentage-wise chart of the usage of the sources in the Indian print media that fall into the "other" category

The analysis shows that a maximum number of sources in all the newspapers fall under "official" category of source classification followed by "anonymous". The sources that fall into the "victims", "eyewitnesses", "perpetrators" and "other" category are used lesser compared to those mentioned earlier. It reveals that the select newspapers have heavily depended on the official sources. Sources from "anonymous" and "other" category are also given a platform to voice their side of the story even though they are unidentifiable. But the viewpoint of the sources from the "victims" and "eyewitnesses" category has been given less space in the print media. The minimum number of sources in all the newspapers fall under the "perpetrators" category, meaning the alleged perpetrators or perpetrators side of the story is hardly presented in the Indian print media.

References used:

Table 1.19 shows the comparison of the usage of the references by the Indian print media

Attacks	Times of India	Hindustan Times	The Hindu	The Indian Express
Darbha valley attack	2	3	3	6
Sukuma attack	2	8	2	9
Total	4	11	5	15

Figure 1.35 is the graphical representation of the comparison of the usage of the references by the Indian print media
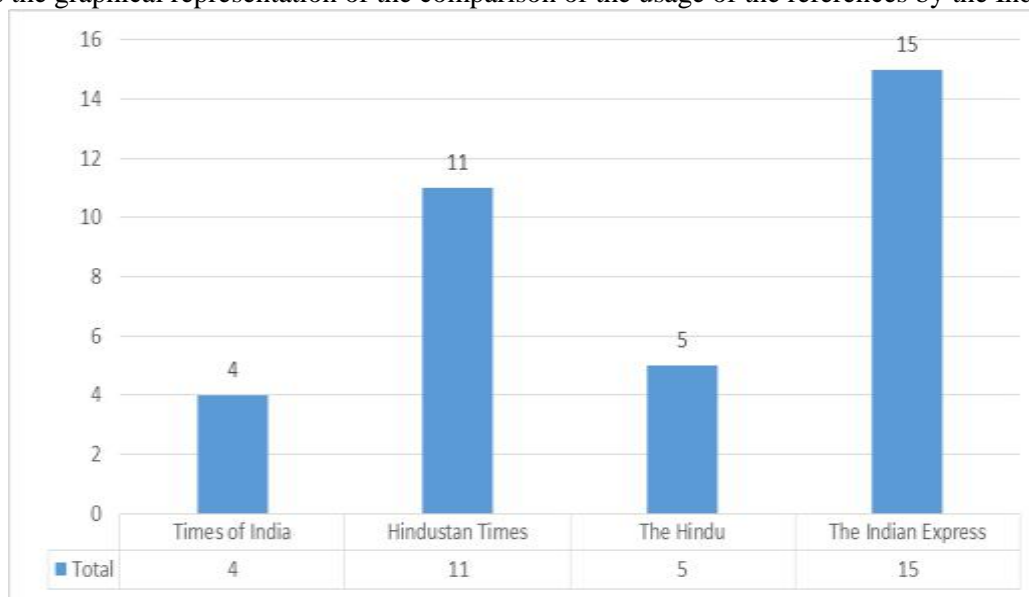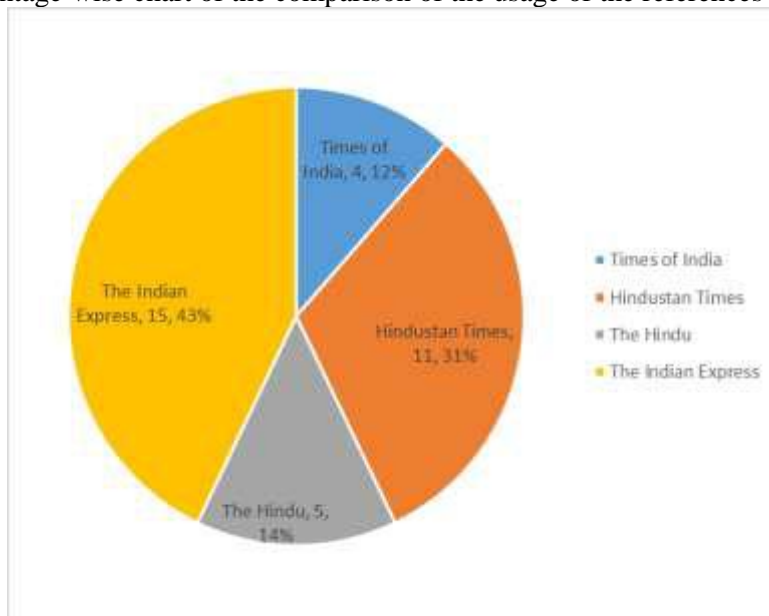

Figure 1.36 is the percentage-wise chart of the comparison of the usage of the references by the Indian print media

As far as the references are concerned, the analysis shows that The Indian Express has evoked the incidents of the past to a large extent in the news reports than other three newspapers, as is clear from the graphical representation.

Framing:
The frames identified in the study are Political Talk, Security lapse, Maoist threat, Disaster frame, and Revenge frame.

Table 1.20 shows the comparison of the usage of frames in the news reports by the Indian print media

| Frames	Times of India	Hindustan Times	The Hindu	The Indian Express	Total
Disaster frame	8	8	5	8	29
Revenge frame	2	1	1	1	5
Political Talk	2	7	4	10	23
Security lapse	6	1	4	6	17
Maoist threat	4	5	5	4	18

Disaster frame: This frame highlights the damage done to the life and property by the terrorist attacks. It portrays the brutal and horrifying way in which the attack was carried out.

Figure 1.37 is the percentage-wise chart of the comparison of the usage of the Disaster frame in the news reports by the Indian print media.
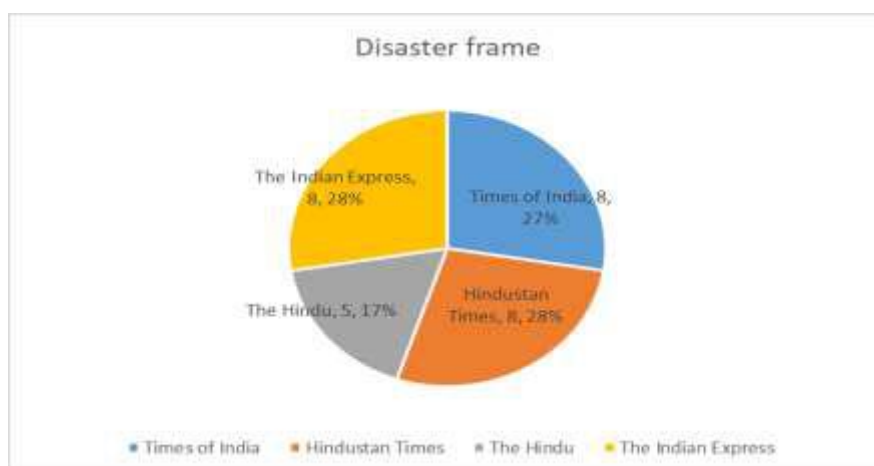

Revenge frame: The frame portrays that the attackers are carrying out the attacks to avenge the loss that the members of their ethnicity or religion suffered.

Figure 1.38 is the percentage-wise chart of the comparison of the usage of the Revenge frame in the news reports by the Indian print media
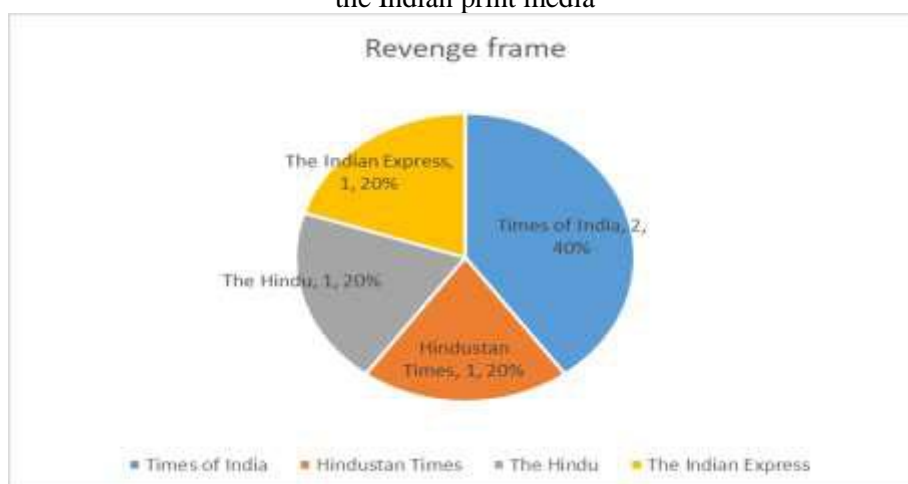
**Political Talk:** This frame talks about the politics of the particular attack or politics in general.

Figure 1.39 is the percentage-wise chart of the comparison of the usage of the frame Political talk in the news reports by the Indian print media
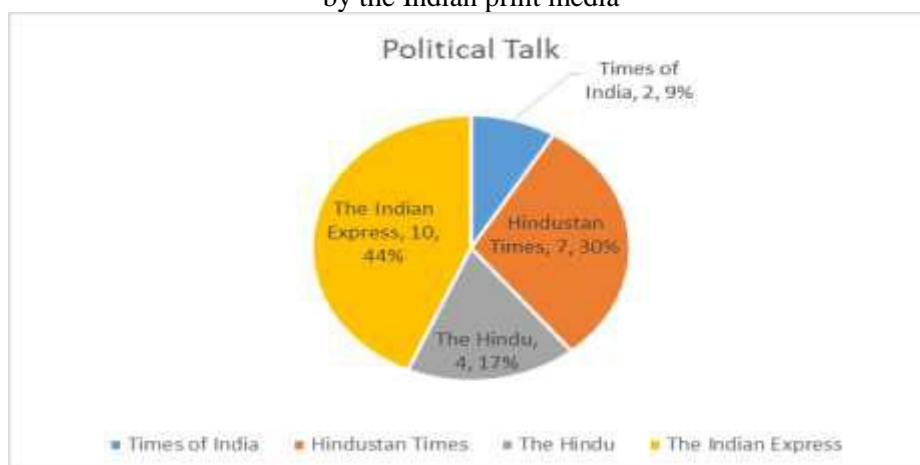
Security lapse: This frame highlights the incapability or lapses on part of the government in preventing the attack or dealing with its aftermath.

Figure 1.40 is the percentage-wise chart of the comparison of the usage of the frame Security lapse in the news reports by the Indian print media
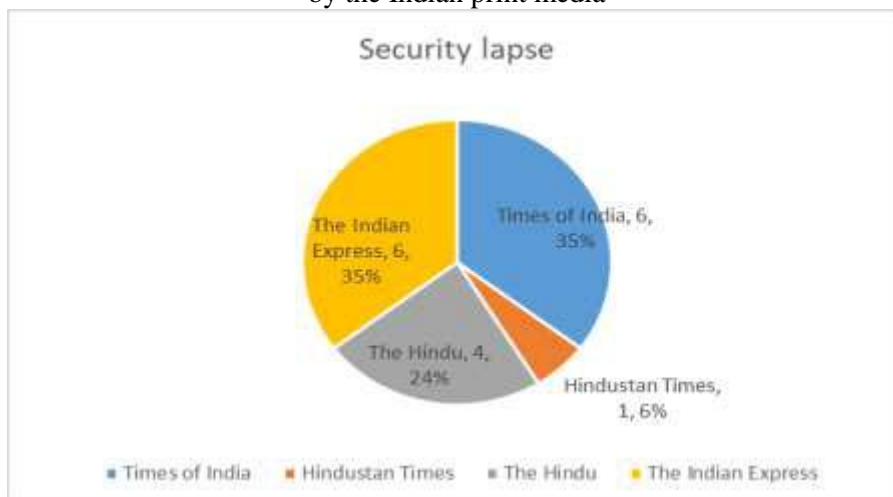
Maoist threat: This frame shows that Maoists are a threat. They carry deadly attacks inflicting losses on soldiers and harming life and property in general. It highlights a strong resolve, commitment or a pledge to destroy Maoists and their activities and get rid of them.

Figure 1.41 is the percentage-wise chart of the comparison of the usage of the frame Maoist threat in the news reports by the Indian print media
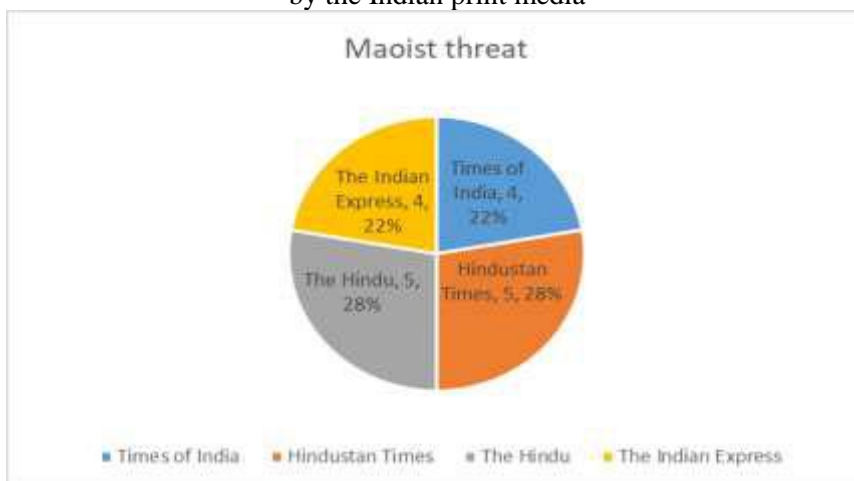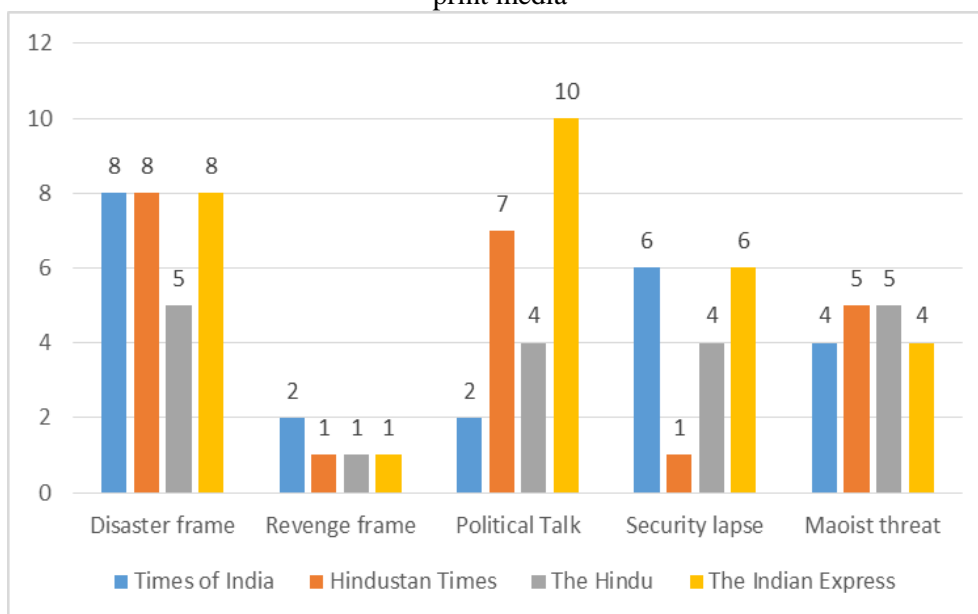

Figure 1.42 is the graphical representation of the comparison of the usage of frames in the news reports by the Indian print media

The study reveals that the Indian print media has used the Disaster frame to the maximum, followed by the frame Political Talk. The frames Maoist threat and security lapse are also used fairly well while as the Revenge frame is the least used frame of all the frames. The damage done to life and property due to the attacks is highlighted the most and also the political discussions that surround it. The threat of Maoists is also highlighted to some extent. The Revenge frame is the least used frame of all the frames, which shows that the attacks are carried out by the attackers due to anger or to seek revenge is least highlighted.

6. FINDINGS:
The comparison between the two attacks reveal the following findings.
- Among all the newspapers, The Indian Express (32%) gave the highest coverage to the attacks and The Hindu (17%) gave the lowest coverage.
- Among all the newspapers, The Indian Express (32%) gave more prominence to the attacks and The Times of India (23%) gave the least prominence.
- In terms of Lexicalization or word choice, Hindustan Times (34%) presented narrative that was more descriptive in nature than other newspapers. The narrative presented by Hindu (13%) was least descriptive of all.
- All the newspapers used the sources that fall under the "official" category of source classification the most as is clear from figure 1.28.
- The graphical representation of the comparison of the dominance of sources in the news stories of the select newspapers about the terrorist attack in figure 1.28 also shows that fall in the official" category of source classification are used by all newspapers to the maximum. The sources that fall in the "eyewitnesses" and "perpetrators" category are used least by all newspapers.
- The Indian Express has used all the category of sources and greater than the other newspapers, meaning all the parties involved in such conflict get their space and voice in the said newspaper.
- As far as the references are concerned, the analysis show that The Indian Express (43%) has evoked the incidents of the past to a large extent in the news reports than other three newspapers.
- The most dominant frame used by the Indian print media is the Disaster frame followed by Political Talk, Maoist threat and Security lapse. Revenge frame is the least used frame as is clear from the table 1.20 and figure 1.42. The frame Disaster frame is the most dominant frame used by the Indian print media. It reveals that the loss of life and property caused by the attacks is highlighted by the Indian English Print media.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS:
Media should shun being subjective while reporting about attacks and focus on being more objective.
Media should serve as a platform which can be used to portray all the viewpoints. The opinions contrary to the official viewpoint should also be given a chance and voice.

8. CONCLUSION:
The percentage of the narrative presented by the Indian English Print media is descriptive in nature, meaning the keywords used in the news reports contain judgements. They lexical choice opted by the newspaper is connotative. Denotative approach should be adopted by the media so that acts are merely described without loading them with adjectives and connotative meanings. The analysis clearly shows that the usage of the sources that fall into the official category of source classification is far more than the sources of any category. The media has depended on official sources more. The sources that fall into "eyewitnesses" and "perpetrators" are least used by the media, even though eyewitnesses can provide first-hand information about the attacks and the viewpoint of the perpetrators or alleged perpetrators can another dimension to the narrative. The sources that can represent the points of view of all the parties involved in the attack any way should be incorporated as it will add objectivity and fairness to the discourse.
It seems that the media is building a superficial narrative by just focussing on framing how damaging such attacks can be and what can be done about it politically. It doesn't delve deep into the reasons of why such attacks are conducted by the Maoists. There are no stories or in-depth reports about what is making Maoists to carry out deadly attacks, as the attacks are detrimental for both themselves and the Indian state. Stories that deal with this aspect of the problem should be given space in the media by the media.

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