Media Framing Analysis of English and Telugu Newspapers Coverage on Internal Security in India

Sunil Kumar Pothana

Assistant Professor, Dr B R Ambedkar Open University Hyderabad

Abstract: *Internal Security has been defined as the process of keeping peace and maintaining safety within a nation or state. Internal Security means conservation of sovereignty and integrity of the country from troublesome and anti-national armed forces from inside the state. The aim of this research is to explore how internal security articles are represented in news coverage published in four newspapers, a comparative study between two each in English and Telugu, special focus on media framing analysis, over the period from January 2019 to December 2020. The frame of internal security in India news, the highest percentage of news stories about to Conflict and the lowest percentage on Economics.*

1. Introduction

Internal Security
Internal Security has been defined as the process of keeping peace and maintaining safety within a nation or state. Internal Security means conservation of sovereignty and integrity of the country from troublesome and anti-national armed forces from inside the state. Internal Security refers to maintenance national law and continuance of peace, law and order inside a country's region. Internal Security comes in the sphere of Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. Internal security, a subset of national security, is concerned with threats and challenges emanating from within a country and has the potential to threaten public order and national security.

The conception of internal security may appear a contemporary put up but, different the general perception; it is as old as the raise of states. Kautilya (Chanakya) was an ancient Indian teacher, author, strategist, philosopher, economist, jurist, and royal advisor, in his *Arthashahtra* mention threats into four categories:

- Internal
- External
- Internally aided external
- Externally aided internal

Terrorism and Militant Activism
India's internal security challenges have varied sources, such as across-the-border enmity permeating as insurgency in Kashmir, some ethnic groups opting for seperatist movements in the Northeast.

Militant Groups
Militant groups like ULFA (United Liberation Front of Assam) and NDFB (National Democratic Front of Bodoland) along with others have changed their terror tactics by using serial explosions in the public places of Assam. During the 1990 - 2010 there were many serial blasts in Assam which became the thumb-prints of these two militant groups.

Cross-border Threats
Most external threats emanate from an unsettled boundary dispute with China and Pakistan. Ongoing cross-border jihadi terrorism in J&K sponsored by Pakistan-based fundamentalist organizations like Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad, who, in turn, are linked with international jihadi groups like Al Qaida and ISIS. Threat from Bangladesh assumes serious dimensions since it became a base for northeast insurgent groups like ULFA and Naga factions.

Naxalite–Maoist Insurgency
The Naxalite-Maoist insurgency is an ongoing conflict between Maoist groups, known as Naxalites or Naxals and the Government. The conflict in its present form began after the 2004 formation of the CPI (Maoist), a rebel group composed of the PWG (People's War Group) and the MCC (Maoist Communist Centre). The Naxalites control territory throughout Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh.

North East Insurgency
The North East India is commonly described as "Land of Seven Sisters" because of their interdependence on each other. Currently, numerous insurgents groups are active in different North-Eastern states, particularly in Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura. Some of these are: Assam – United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) and National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB); Manipur – People's Liberation Army (PLA), United Liberation Front (UNLF), People's Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), Kangleipak Communist Party, Kanglei Yaol Kanba Lup (KYKL), Manipur People's Liberation Front (MPLF) and Revolutionary People's Front (RPF); Meghalaya – Achik National Volunteer Council (ANVC) and Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC); Tripura – All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF) and National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT); Nagaland – Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland (Khaplang)-[NSCN(K)].

Need of the study
News coverage on the topic "internal security in India" is mandatory and important for everyone. This study's findings will contribute to society's benefit, considering that internal security plays a vital role in national security today. Media framing analysis is done in this study on selected topic in two Telugu and two English newspapers

Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to explore how internal security articles are represented in news coverage published in four newspapers, a framing analysis between two each in English and Telugu, over the period from January 2019 to December 2020. Four of these newspapers are dailies representing a variety of languages, i.e. Telugu (*Eenadu* and *Sakshi*), and English (*The Times of India* and *The Hindu)* and selected based on the circulation figures by 'Audit Bureau of Circulation' reports of Jan – Jun 2019, Jul – Dec 2019.

Objectives

- To detect the coverage of news reports on Internal Security in India in English and Telugu newspapers
- To investigate the media framing coverage on Internal Security in India in selected newspapers
- To find out the overall tone of coverage on selected topic in English and Telugu newspapers

2. Review of Literature

Framing theory: News framing and frame building Framing theory has its origins in many disciplinary traditions, and different researchers have defined framing as a concept at different levels of analysis (Scheufele, 1999). In general, there are two approaches to examining framing theory: sociological and psychological views.

First, the sociological (macro-level) approach has been developed from assumptions drawn in attribution (Heider, 1959) and frame analysis (Goffman, 1974). Second, the psychological (micro-level) approach can be summarized in studies on prospect theory (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). Thus, framing has both macro-level and micro-level constructs (Scheufele, 1999). As a macro-level construct, framing means types of presentation that communicators including journalists use to provide information in a way that is reflected in existing primary schemas among their readers. As a micro-level construct, framing refers to how people present information and characteristics about issues as they form impressions.

The study also applied Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) research method that postulated five generic frames including conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality and responsibility for a holistic framing analysis.

Single frame elements were grouped together in a systematic way in order to create unique patterns and enhance frame analysis reliability as suggested by Matthes and Kohring, (2008) who believe that this method is suitable, stating:

"The method is more valid for two reasons. First, operationally defining the elements that constitute a frame should lead to a deeper understanding of what is really measured. In fact, the operationalization of the frame is completely tied to its theoretical definition, and it is quite

easy to find different frames in different phases of media coverage. Second, the crucial advantage of our method is that frames are not subjectively determined but empirically suggested by an inductive clustering method. Moreover, cluster analysis offers criteria for the number of frames. Last but not least, we posit that this method makes the identification of new frames easier because the influence of coded schemata decreases." (2008: 275).

3. Methodology

Many authors either define framing analysis as an activity or as a process. In the latter, framing analysis defines issues, makes moral decisions and supports processes to make critical operational strategies, while in the former, it is offers approaches to selecting, presenting and emphasizing theories on what matters, what exists and what happens (Gitlin, cited in Matthes, 2009). As a process, framing analysis provides "Inferences that distinguish framing from themes, arguments, assertions and other under-theorized concepts" (Matthes, 2009: 350).

Framing analysis links with the text extremely well because it connects the various sides of an issue by defining these results in specific explanations and assessments or resolutions. The words and images that make the frame can be distinguished from the rest of the news content and can stimulate support or disapproval of either side in a political conflict. This ability can be measured by cultural quality. Frames that employ more culturally resonant terms have the highest possible effect because they use words and images understood within a specific culture, which may also be emotionally charged. The importance of repeating framing words and images is reflected in the resonance of content and framing is intended to generate similar thoughts and feelings in the audience (Entman, 2003).

4. Finding the Frames of News Stories

Below are outlined the differences between the newspapers' uses of the five frames (Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) frame taxonomy.
1) The conflict frame
2) The responsibility frame
3) The morality frame
4) The economic frame
5) The human interest frame

Data Analysis

A consolidated statistics of the collected data was also done by the researcher, language wise, in terms of frequency of news articles, visual presentation, and placement; type of the topic, media frames and tone for a period of January 2019 to December 2020 from the selected newspapers for research.

5. Media Framing Analysis

Table 1: Frequency of media framing coverage given to Internal Security in India news in Eenadu, Sakshi TOI and TH

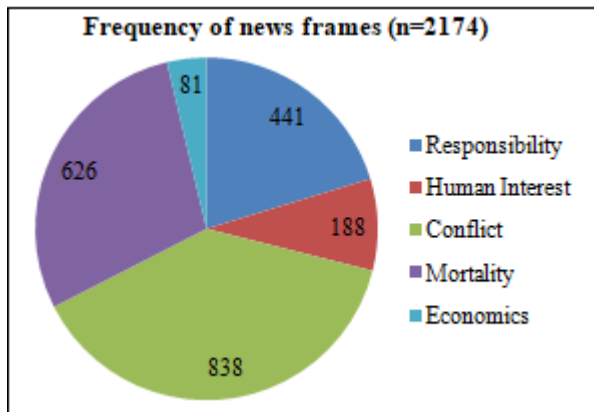| Newspaper News Frame	Eenadu (n=500)	Sakshi (n=408)	ToI (n=616)	TH (n=650)	Total (n=2174)
	n (p.c.)	n (p.c.)	n (p.c.)	n (p.c.)	n (p.c.)
Responsibility	118 (23.60)	74 (18.13)	121 (19.64)	128 (19.69)	441 (20.28)
Human Interest	43 (8.60)	38 (9.31)	41 (6.65)	66 (10.15)	188 (8.64)
Conflict	199 (39.80)	174 (42.64)	239 (38.79)	226 (34.76)	838 (38.54)
Mortality	118 (23.60)	106 (25.98)	192 (31.16)	210 (32.30)	626 (28.79)
Economics	22 (4.40)	16 (3.92)	23 (3.73)	20 (3.07)	81 (3.72)

Figure 1: Frequency of media framing coverage given to Internal Security in India news in Eenadu, Sakshi TOI and TH

As Table & Figure 1 shows, the frame of internal security in India news, the highest percentage of news stories about to Conflict (38.54%); the second highest percentage of stories of all four newspapers sampled about to Mortality (28.79%); the stories about Responsibility (20.28%); the stories about Human Interest (8.64%) and the lowest percentage Economics (3.72%).

The most commonly frame for *Eenadu* was Conflict, with 39.80% of articles being used, followed by Responsibility and Mortality frames (23.60%). The most commonly frame for *Sakshi* was Conflict, with (46.64 %) of articles being used, followed by Mortality frames (25.98%). The most commonly frame for *Times of India* was Conflict, with 38.79 % of articles being used, followed by Mortality frames (32.30%). The most commonly frame for *The Hindu* was Conflict, with 38.54 % of articles being used, followed by Mortality frames (28.79%). Thus, the most used frame for internal security in India news in the four newspapers was Conflict. All four newspapers used this frame the most. The least used frame was Economics.

Table 2: Frequency of media framing coverage given to Internal Security in India news in language wise i.e. Telugu and English newspapers

Frame /Language Newspaper	Telugu (n & p.c.)	English (n & p.c.)
Responsibility	192 (21.14)	249 (19.66)
Human Interest	81 (8.92)	107 (8.45)
Conflict	373 (41.07)	465 (36.72)
Mortality	224 (24.66)	402 (31.75)
Economics	38 (4.18)	43 (3.39)
Total (n & p.c.)	908 (41.77)	1266 (58.23)

As Table 2 shows, the internal security in India news coverage, in selected languages, the responsibility frame, highest percentage stories published in Telugu newspapers (21.14), lowest percentage in English newspapers (19.66%). The human interest frame, highest percentage stories published in Telugu newspapers (8.92), lowest percentage in English newspapers (8.45%). The conflict frame, highest percentage stories published in Telugu newspapers (41.07), lowest percentage in English newspapers (36.72%). The mortality frame, highest percentage stories published in English newspapers (31.75), lowest percentage in Telugu newspapers (24.66%). The economics frame, highest percentage stories published in Telugu newspapers (4.18), lowest percentage in English newspapers (3.39%).

Valence (TONE) of the News Articles

Besides the five generic frames, the valence (tone) of each article was also coded. Valence refers to the overall tone of voice of a news story, which can be positive or negative (De Vreese & Boomgaarden 2003, p. 363). The tone was recognized as negative, neutral, or positive. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) explained that the way a news story is reported could have an impact on how the audience interprets the story (p. 12). The analysis found a noticeable difference between the valence of the news stories from *Eenadu, Sakshi, ToI* and *TH*.

Table 3: Frequency of valence (tone) coverage given to Internal Security in India news in *Eenadu, Sakshi TOI* and *TH*

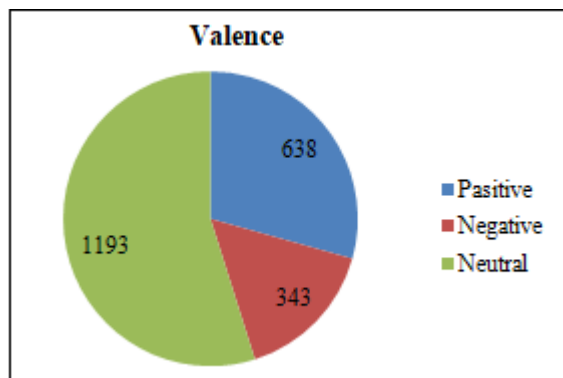| Valence	Eenadu (n=500)		Sakshi (n=408)		TOI (616)		TH (650)		Total (2174)
	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Positive	204	40.80	93	22.79	205	33.27	136	20.92	638 (29.34)
Negative	68	13.60	59	14.46	104	16.88	112	17.23	343 (15.77)
Neutral	228	45.60	256	62.74	307	49.83	402	61.84	1193 (54.87)

Figure 3: Frequency of valence (tone) coverage given to Internal Security in India news in *Eenadu, Sakshi TOI* and *TH*

Table and Figure 4.30.1 shows, the valence of each sample article published in the selected newspaper, the tone of the highest percentage of news articles are Neutral (54.87), followed by Positive (29.34) and the least percentage are Negative (15.77).

Table 4: Frequency of valence (tone) coverage given to Internal Security in India news in English and Telugu newspapers

Tone / Language Newspaper	Telugu (n=908)	English (n=1266)
Positive	297 (32.71)	341 (26.94)
Negative	127 (13.98)	216 (17.06)
Neutral	484 (53.31)	709 (56.0)

As Table 4 shows, tone of the news articles on internal security in India, in terms of language newspapers. Both English and Telugu newspapers maintained neutral tone on coverage of selected topic compare to other tones. In Telugu newspapers the highest percentage of tone of news articles are Neutral (53.31%) and lowest percentage is Negative (13.98). In English newspapers the highest percentage of tone of news articles are Neutral (56.0%) and lowest percentage is Negative (17.06).

6. Findings

- The frame of internal security in India news, the highest percentage of news stories about to Conflict and the lowest percentage on Economics.
- The most commonly frame for *Eenadu* was Conflict followed by Responsibility and Mortality frame. The most commonly frame for *Sakshi* was Conflict followed by Mortality frame. The most commonly frame for *Times of India* was Conflict followed by Mortality frame. The most commonly frame for *The Hindu* was Conflict, followed by Mortality frame. Hence, the most used frame for internal security in India news in the four newspapers was Conflict. All four newspapers used this frame the most. The least used frame was Economics.
- The internal security in India news coverage, language wise frames, the responsibility frame, highest percentage stories published in Telugu newspapers and the lowest percentage in English newspapers. The human interest frame, the highest percentage stories published in Telugu newspapers and the lowest percentage in English newspapers. The conflict frame, the highest percentage stories published in Telugu newspapers and the lowest

percentage in English newspapers. The mortality frame, the highest percentage stories published in English newspapers, lowest percentage in Telugu newspapers. The economics frame, the highest percentage stories published in Telugu newspapers and the lowest percentage in English newspapers.
- The valence (tone) of each sample article published in the selected newspaper, the valences of the highest percentage of news articles are in Neutral, and the least percentage are in Negative.
- The valence (tone) of the news articles on internal security in India, in terms of language newspapers. Both English and Telugu newspapers maintained neutral tone on coverage of selected topic compare to other tones. In Telugu newspapers the highest percentage of tone of news articles are Neutral and lowest percentage is Negative. In English newspapers the highest percentage of tone of news articles are Neutral and lowest percentage is Negative.

7. Conclusion

The outcome shows that the conflict frame subjugated the coverage of internal security in India among the 2174 stories in four newspapers. The supremacy of the conflict frame was projected because of the events' character. Regards to the valence, more news are in neutral tone both in English and Telugu newspapers. The analysis results of the four newspapers revealed different news framing. The research results indicated the different reporting directions, news topics, and news tone of the media. Against a background where few existing studies have revealed the kind of frames, the researcher has examined five kinds of framing (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) discovered in the news. Finally, it has considered the noteworthy differences in how news is covered by selecting the sources and analysing the frames.

References

[1] Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. Journal of Communication, 43, 51-58
[2] Gitlin, T. (1980). The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the New Left. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press
[3] Goffman, E. (1974). Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
[4] Heider, F. (1959). The psychology of interpersonal relations (2nd ed.). New York: Wiley.
[5] Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1979). Prospect theory: Analysis of decision under risk. Econometrica, 47, 263-291.
[6] Matthes, J., & Schemer, C. (2012). Diachronic framing effects in competitive opinion environments. Political Communication, 29(3), 319-339
[7] Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. Journal of Communication, 49, 103-122.
[8] Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. Journal of communication, 50(2), 93-109.