

Pittsburg State University

Pittsburg State University Digital Commons

Electronic Theses & Dissertations

7-1994

The Effect of a Nation's Culture on its Press Coverage of Earthquakes

Carolyn Divya Punitha
Pittsburg State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.pittstate.edu/etd>



Part of the [Mass Communication Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Punitha, Carolyn Divya, "The Effect of a Nation's Culture on its Press Coverage of Earthquakes" (1994).
Electronic Theses & Dissertations. 52.
<https://digitalcommons.pittstate.edu/etd/52>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Pittsburg State University Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses & Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Pittsburg State University Digital Commons. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@pittstate.edu.

THE EFFECT OF A NATION'S CULTURE ON ITS PRESS COVERAGE OF
EARTHQUAKES

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Arts

Carolyn Divya Punitha

PITTSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY

Pittsburg, Kansas

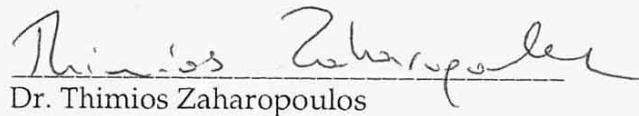
July, 1994

THE EFFECT OF A NATION'S CULTURE ON ITS PRESS COVERAGE OF
EARTHQUAKES

Carolyn Divya Punitha

APPROVED :

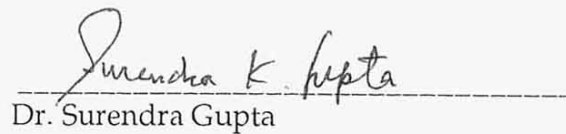
Thesis Advisor


Dr. Thimios Zaharopoulos

Committee Member


Dr. Peter K. Hamilton

Committee Member


Dr. Surendra Gupta

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dedication is to acknowledge the guidance and support of several persons, without whose help, this study would not have been completed.

I would like to thank Dr. Thimios Zaharopoulos, my thesis advisor, not only for his constructive criticisms and comments throughout the course of my study, but also for being available and ready to help whenever I most needed it.

I am grateful to Dr. Peter K. Hamilton for his valuable advice on research methodology, and to Dr. Surendra K. Gupta, for his insightful knowledge of the nature of Indian society and the Indian press.

I would especially like to thank Keri for her reliable and cheerful help, and Andy, for his endless support, encouragement, and cups of strong tea.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Purpose of the Study	2
Need and Limitations of the Study	5
II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.....	8
Culture and Communication	8
Cultural Differences Between the East and the West	9
The Mass Culture of India : Scripture as Tradition.....	13
Restraints of Indian Society	15
Indian Culture in its Historical Context	16
The Individualistic Culture of the	
United States : Religious History	17
The American and Nature	18
Changing American Values	19
From Modernism to Postmodernism	21
Postmodernism and Cultural Imperialism	22
Imbalances in World News Coverage: A Brief History.....	24
Basic Criticisms	25
Attempts for a New World Order	26

A Reestablishment of the Status Quo	28
Reviewing Both Sides of the Story	30
The Use of Photographs and Maps in International News.....	38
Coverage of Disaster News	41
III. RESEARCH QUESTION AND HYPOTHESES	51
IV. METHOD	54
V. RESULTS	61
VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	73
VII. LIMITATIONS AND RECCOMENDATIONS	76
BIBLIOGRAPHY	80
APPENDIXES	87
APPENDIX A. Coding Schedule	88
APPENDIX B. World Trade Figures	91
APPENDIX C. Population, GDP, and Literacy Figures	92
TABLES	93

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Distribution of Type of News Items in the Two Newspapers	93
2. Treatment Given to the News Items by the Two Newspapers	94
3. Treatment Given to the Earthquakes by <i>The New York Times</i>	95
4. Treatment Given to the Earthquakes by <i>The Times of India</i>	96
5. Distribution of News Items from Foreign Wire Services in the Two Newspapers Based on Treatment	97
6. Distribution of News Items from Domestic Sources in the Two Newspapers Based on Treatment	98
7. Importance Given to the Earthquakes by the Two Newspapers in Terms of Number of News Items	99
8. Importance Given to the Earthquakes by <i>The New York Times</i> in terms of Length of News Items	100
9. Importance Given to the Earthquakes by <i>The Times of India</i> in terms of Length of News Items	101
10. Distribution of News Items in the Two Newspapers in Terms of Length of News Items	102
11. Distribution of Source of News Items in the Two newspapers	103
12. Distribution of Source of News Items of the Earthquakes in <i>The Times of India</i>	104
13. Distribution of Source of News Items of the Earthquakes in <i>The New York Times</i>	105

THE EFFECT OF A NATION'S CULTURE ON ITS PRESS COVERAGE OF EARTHQUAKES

An Abstract of the Thesis by
Carolyn Divya Punitha

This study sought to examine the differences in coverage of earthquakes as a class of international news, by The New York Times and The Times of India. The purpose was to determine if there was a correlation between the cultures of the United States and of India, and their press treatment of the earthquakes at Los Angeles, U.S.A, (January, 1994), Maharashtra, India (September, 1993) and Erzincan, Turkey (March, 1992) by the two papers. The impact of certain other variables : the position of the U.S, India and of Turkey on the development continuum, the GDP, and the world trade figures for the three countries, on the press treatment of the three earthquakes by the two papers was also analyzed. A total of 265 news items were obtained, which were each coded for such categories as name of the newspaper, country of the earthquake, length, size, priority, type, source, and treatment of news item. The results showed that the culture of the United States and of India played a role in their press treatment of the earthquakes. It was observed that the discrepancies in coverage may also be attributed to the differences in casualties among the three earthquakes, and the differences in the amount of coverage provided by the two newspapers. The limitations of employing culture as an independent variable are discussed, and recommendations for further research are suggested.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The history of the selection and dissemination of news across national borders is a chronicle of debates for a new world information order, and specifically, for a more balanced treatment of developing countries by the Western press. Several factors influence a nation's press coverage of international news. Previous research has identified some of these factors as the physical distance between the country in which the news originated and the country reporting the news, the cultural affinity of the two countries, the country in which the news originated, the persons involved, the political and economic dominance of certain countries, and the culture of the reporting country itself.

Daley (1991) observes that certain aspects of a news story may be played up, and certain others marginalized, as a result of the influence of these variables, and admits that "one's culture writes the news as much as

reporters do" (p. 43). Studies have also been done on the impact of the cultural background of media persons on gatekeeping decisions and on choice of media systems. However, the influence of a nation's culture on its press treatment of international news is yet to be tested.

Purpose of the Study

Since the early 1970s, the Western press has been criticized for its coverage of the Third World as crisis and disaster oriented. The press of the United States particularly, has been accused for its partial treatment of countries it shares important trade relations with, that are high up on the development continuum, and that are culturally similar to the United States. In such debates as the New World Information Order debate and the New World Economic Order debate, and the various conventions and summits convened by the UNESCO and the United Nations, India has been among the more aggressive Third World countries in its attack on the Western press for its imbalanced treatment of developing countries.

This study attempts to explore these criticisms and go a step further: it seeks to analyze the impact of culture as an independent variable on the treatment of international news by the press of India and the United States. The press of the United States and of India have been selected for this study

since the two countries are economically, socially and culturally diverse. Earthquakes, as a class of bad news are selected as the news event for this study since, according to earlier research, such negative news receives a fair amount of coverage in the world press due to its intrinsic news qualities. The coverage by The New York Times and The Times of India of the earthquakes in Los Angeles, U.S.A., (January 17, 1994), Maharashtra, India (September 30, 1993), and in Turkey, (March 14, 1992) are analyzed.

The powerful earthquake at Erzincan, Turkey struck on March 14, 1992, killing over 600 people, and destroying villages and towns for miles around its epicenter at Erzincan. The earthquake measured 6.8 on the Richter scale.

On the 30th of September, 1993, a disastrous earthquake measuring 6.4 on the Richter scale hit Maharashtra, India, killing thousands of people and injuring many more.

Los Angeles, U.S.A., suffered yet another earthquake on the 17th of January, 1994. The earthquake which measured 6.6 on the Richter scale, created extensive damage to life and property.

Perhaps at no other time is the potential of the mass media tested to the limit than during national crises and disasters. Whether in man made disasters (assassinations, coups or massacres), or in natural disasters (floods, earthquakes or tornadoes), people turn to the media as a primary source of information (Ledingham & Masel-Walters, 1985). The media are expected to

react quickly, and present the news accurately, objectively, and without distortion (Hornig et al., 1991). Research however, has shown that this is not always the case.

Different nations have different criteria for defining a news event. Basically, an event is considered newsworthy if it has human interest, is unusual or unexpected, presents conflict, focuses on prominent people, highlights local events and current issues, and has consequences for its audience (Salomone et al, 1990). The visual and print components of the news story have to be considered to understand the context in which the news event lies. This context provides a news frame which describes the characteristics of the news event, and these characteristics provide the perceptions that people create from them. News frames "are constructed from and embodied in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols and visual images emphasized in a news narrative" (Entman, 1991, p. 7). While an event may be newsworthy based on certain characteristics, an examination of news coverage in the press of different countries at different stages of development shows that such criteria alone do not qualify an event as news all over the world.

An event qualifies as international news if it concerns itself with events in and affecting more than one country. Coups and natural disasters are considered international news since they are of global significance and are

newsworthy regardless of their point of origin (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1984). Despite the fact that particularly in natural disasters such as earthquakes, where scientific data and objective reports are available (Gaddy & Tanjong, 1986), the reality and accuracy of the news story is tempered by several intervening factors mentioned earlier.

Need and Limitations of the Study

This study focuses on the coverage of earthquakes, and it is expected that both The New York Times and The Times of India will carry a fair amount of coverage of the earthquakes since earthquakes qualify as negative news. However, the extent of coverage by each of the papers is expected to vary with respect to the country in which the earthquake occurred, the position of the country on the development continuum, the population of the country, the gross national product per capita of the country, the amount of trade the country has, and the cultures of the United States and of India. Of these, the impact of culture cannot be overestimated.

Culture and media are intertwined. They influence, and, in turn, are influenced by each other. Both culture and media are simultaneously contributors and products of a country's political, economic and social

history. Edelstein et al. (1989), define culture as a "history of experience that has been shared by a people in the context of a nation. Each nation expresses itself in a way that asserts normativeness, gives vent to expression, encourages thought, and permits action " (p. 33). It is from within a cultural context that messages are decoded and encoded. Thus, the study of the characteristics of the press coverage of world events by a country independent of its cultural context would be incomplete.

Several studies have been conducted in the field of intercultural communication (Chen, 1990; Sarbaugh et al., 1983), to achieve a better understanding in interpersonal relationships across cultures (Edelstein et al., 1989), and communication between countries (Okabe, 1983). Mowlana (1983) has suggested various studies for the analysis of the impact of culture on the choice of media systems by countries. Earlier studies have also focussed on the impact of media on culture. This study breaks fresh ground in that it studies the impact of culture on the media, and, to be more specific, on the press coverage of disaster news.

The study of the impact of culture on the press coverage of global events is particularly relevant since it adds another dimension to the factors affecting the selection and dissemination of news. Peterson (1984) has observed that the cultural background of the newsperson affects gatekeeping decisions, since he is predisposed to select that particular news story, or play

up a certain angle in the news item that best reflects his culture. The examination of news stories of the earthquake in The New York Times and The Times of India as a reflection of their unique cultures will also provide a better understanding of the differences in their press treatment of the news stories. While it is recognized that the perceptions, personal experiences, caste or class status and other such personal variables of the journalist influence his or her presentation of the news story, this study is limited in that it does not seek to examine personal factors as an intervening variable due to logistical difficulties.

Before a discussion of the impact of the variables on the press coverage by The New York Times and The Times of India of the three earthquakes, a basic understanding of the relationship between media and culture is necessary. This leads into a discussion of the cultures of India and the United States, and the imbalances in news flow from developed to developing countries. A brief history of the New World Information Order debate and the current criticisms of the Third World against the media behaviors of the industrialized countries will be provided, which will finally tie up with the rationale for the study of earthquake coverage as opposed to the coverage of other classes of news.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Culture and Communication

A country develops its unique culture through its history and traditions. This culture is sustained through the values, beliefs, customs, knowledge and laws of the people (Chen, 1990). It is reflected in their music, drama, costumes, lifestyles, and in their religious practices (Reddi, 1989).

Culture can be defined as "those symbols, meanings, images, rule structures, habits, values, and information patterns and conventions that are shared in common by members of a particular social, system or group" (Ruben, 1983, p. 141). Culture can also be said to be the "pattern of values, norms, ideas and other symbols that shape the individual's behavior" (Mowlana, 1983, p. 150).

Every culture has its own set of guidelines that define and direct human communication (Dissanayake, 1987). Culture influences the communication behaviors of a people, and different cultures create unique value systems and unique "perceptions of meaning" (Chen, 1990, p. 243).

These unique perceptions of meaning create unique social systems (Rahim, 1987).

Thus, culture can be viewed as a "subsystem within a larger social system, drawing from and giving to other subsystems". The mass media can also be viewed as a "social subsystem" which draws from and contributes to other subsystems in a society (Reddi, 1989, p. 395 - 6). Members of such a social system share common habits, rules, and values. In brief, they share a common culture, which influence their communication behaviors (Ruben, 1983). Human communication and culture define and influence each other. Culture can be said to be "the product of communication, and human communication processes and outcomes are the result of cultures (p. 141). The communication acts are part of a larger "social network of households, friends and relatives" (Sinha, 1989, p. 441).

Cultural Differences Between the East and the West

Researchers of the cultural differences between the East and the West have surmised that the fundamental distinguishing factor is the concept of individualism in Western cultures as opposed to the concept of collectivism in Eastern cultures. While an individualistic culture esteems the individual's goals and needs above those of the group, in collectivist cultures,

it is the exact opposite (Giles & Stokes, 1989).

Eastern and Western traditions are not only very different from each other, but include, within themselves, a variety of beliefs and value systems (Woelfel, 1987). In the pre-Socratic days, Eastern and Western thought was similar in that humans were regarded as beings that are not as "fundamentally opposed to nature but are rather an integral part of being and change" (p. 301). In the period that began with Socrates, however, there was a divergence from this school of thought. Socrates is credited with establishing a clear line that separates the human from the nonhuman. Thus man was separated from nature and his identity with his environment. This identity of man as apart from nature, and as defined by his sensory experiences and by his "recollection from a mythical epoch" continues today in Western thought and is far removed from the Eastern concept that humans have no unique identity, but "participate equally in the oneness of nature" (p. 303).

Researchers of the cultural trends in Western society have observed that the last several centuries have demonstrated a gradual departure from a "communal culture to an individual consciousness" (Philipsen, 1987, p. 245).

Further, the unit of analysis in Eastern and Western cultures is also different. In the West, particularly in the United States, the individual is focussed on as the unit of analysis in social studies. In the East, the

individual is considered in the context of his interpersonal relationships which lead to family relationships, which, in turn, lead to the society (Kincaid, 1987). An individual who asserts his independence and sticks his neck out is news in the West (Hsu, 1977), but in the East, where the community is esteemed above the self, adherence to the group norms is a primary value (Hecht, 1989).

Kincaid (1987) discusses the differences in the basic definitions of common concepts in India, as a country of the East, and the United States, as a country of the West. For example, "freedom" in traditional Indian philosophy, means a denial of individuality and a detachment from materialism. "Freedom is attained when one gives up his/her individuality, renounces material things, and spiritually becomes one with something greater than oneself" (p. 335). The American concept of freedom is associated with the assertion of one's independence, one's ability to pursue and acquire material goods, in competition with other individuals.

According to Manicol (1967), Sir S. Radhakrishnan discusses the differences between the Western and Eastern mind in their outlook on life, and the trials that it brings. He calls the Western mind rationalistic, ethical, optimistic, and practical. Thus the Western approach to natural disasters would be rational. Methods to remedy the damage caused, and protection from future such disasters would be sought. The Eastern mind, on the other

hand, is more self-reflective and intuitive. The philosophy of acceptance of a life as a "chaos of unreality, a region of night and death" (p. 40), leads the Eastern mind to regard natural disasters as inevitable and as ordained by a divine hand.

In a cross cultural study of the differences in the display in emotions between the East and the West, Matsumoto et al. (1989), discuss that countries that are close with respect to geographical distance and that are high in gross national income per inhabitant display similar emotional reactions to events. Subjects from Western, wealthier countries attributed themselves as the cause for emotional experiences, and held themselves responsible to remedy their misfortunes. Subjects from Eastern, poorer countries, on the other hand, blamed their emotional experiences on others, and on fate, and looked to the collective group or fate again, to restore them to a balanced situation.

The common criticism of the Western media is that they attempt to impose their products, values and beliefs through their export of television programs and advertising (Hachten, 1987). However, Salwen (1991), through a review of various studies on media effects and culturalism, argues that while the Western media may be guilty of cultural imperialism to a certain extent, the cultural traditions and values of many countries run strong and deep in their people. Thus, they are able to resist compelling cultural

influences. Salwen cites a study in Taiwan in 1965 where a sample of fifth graders were asked to rank solutions to problems that were based on either an occidental or an oriental approach. The students represented two groups - viewers of television, and non-viewers of television. The viewers of television and its American programs were expected to have become, "Americanized", and to choose solutions that demonstrated a Western style of thinking, while their non viewing counterparts were expected to choose the traditional oriental solutions. The results showed, however, that while the television viewers may outwardly seem to have been affected by television, their basic values were not affected, and both groups responded similarly in choosing solutions to the problems that reflected an oriental style of thinking.

The differences between the cultures of India and the United States may be further understood through a discussion of the underlying philosophical beliefs of each culture.

The Mass Culture of India : Scripture as Tradition

The *Vedas*, or the Indian scriptures composed around 2500 - 2000 BC, are fundamental to Indian philosophy and describe the relationship between man and nature. Nature was an impersonation of the gods, and man was

expected to live righteously so as not to invite the wrath of the gods upon him (Dissanayake, 1987). The wrath of the gods could be manifested in floods, thunderstorms, earthquakes and other natural calamities. While the *Vedas* laid down very ritualistic traditions, other ancient Indian scriptures such as the *Upanishads*, and the philosophies of Jainism and Buddhism, focused on Transcendentalism. The individual had to work for his own salvation and liberate himself from a need for material acquisitions and the power that comes from an assertion of independence. The greatness of a man was not gauged by what he gained, but by what he gave up (Dissanayake, 1987; Rahim, 1987).

Dissanayake (1987) has identified eight main constituents of the Indian culture: idealism, renunciation and detachment, oneness of things, illusions, liberation, nonindividuality, transtemporality and intuition. In brief, central to the Indian culture are the Hindu scriptures and their teachings of a philosophy that has led Indians to believe in the interconnectedness of events. By detachment from worldly pleasures and a subjugation of the individual identity, the Indian hopes to merge with the absolute, pure state of mind, the Brahman. This "leaves very little room for the concerns of separate individuals" (p. 152). While the Western mind might treat everyday life and events as separate entities, the Indian mind regards life as a temporary period between the past and future life. Though the most

important aspect in Hinduism and the Indian way of thinking is the attainment of the absolute or the Brahman, the second important element is "not the individual but the group as represented by the extended family and the caste" (Rahim, 1987, p. 174).

The Restraints of Indian Society

Ancient Indian society was highly structured and hierarchical. Communication was one-way from the upper classe to the lower classes. The speaker or communicator was considered superior, while the receiver or audience of the message was considered inferior or subordinate (Yadava, 1981). This characteristic might be used as an argument to say that India, as a Third World nation is predisposed to assume a subordinate position while receiving information from the richer western nations, based on its traditional pattern of communication. However, Yadava goes on to say that this situation has changed to considerable degree, and in contemporary Indian society, communication is no longer confined to religion and social norms, maintaining only order and stability in society, but is based on equality.

India is a mass society. Mass society refers to "a type of society in which the relations between individuals have assumed a mass character" (Mowlana, 1983, p. 150). The Indian family is the most important unit of

Indian society. Families are affiliated to castes, which are affiliated to communities. The family achieves significance over its members. The individual has no identity outside his caste and community membership (Reddi, 1989).

Indian Culture in its Historical Context

The Indian culture may be viewed as a combination of its traditional past, the colonial experience, and the post independence period (Reddi, 1989). India has one of the oldest civilizations of the world (Statesman Yearbook, 1994) and has its population of around 900 million fitted into a "rigid social stratification" (Reddi, 1989). The traditional attitude dictates that all events in an individual's life are interconnected, and that the past and the future life are a part of his or her present life. The colonial era created the "dual personality" of the Indian as the liberal concepts of democracy and individual rights" were implanted in him (p. 401). In the post independence period of today, the Indian culture is full of dichotomies and contradictions. While there is an emergence of independent thinking, the individual is still regarded in the context of his family and caste. The stress is on loyalty to one's community, and conformity to its norms. The individual is a part of a mass society.

India's independence was won through the principles of simplicity,

nonviolence, and a staunch resistance to any sort of Western imperialism. Singh (1984) describes the strategy used by Gandhi, who led India to independence: he submerged himself within the masses, instigated them to boycott British products, and urged the people of India to create their strength from within. This was an important technique, for, in the East, group effort and identification with the masses is recognized. According to Dunn, an "individual winner is regarded as having offended all those who lost" (cited in Richardson Jr., & King, 1984, p. 176). The individual who forges ahead with little concern for the welfare of the community, is considered an outcaste, and as one who has betrayed the very family he is an integral part of.

The Individualistic Culture of the United States : Religious History

Traditional Western society has upheld such values as Puritan morality, individualism, and achievement with an emphasis on honest work and success. Individuals are urged to look to the future.

The United States has been described as a 'melting pot' of people with different ethnic backgrounds. However, the society is more pluralistic since ethnic groups continue to practice their unique cultures, and they retain these characteristics through generations, through a process known as cultural convergence (Barnett & Kincaid, 1983). The government does not dictate any religion. Through the country's history, however, the people of America

have associated themselves with the "religious and moral beliefs of the Judeo-Christian tradition" (Grove, 1984, p. 8). Whether Protestants, Roman Catholic or from another Christian denomination, a predominant belief that is maintained in the American society is that of the "conservative Protestant theology that each person is directly responsible to God" (p. 17). This creates and emphasis on the individual identity, a respect for personal opinions, property and privacy. Grove (1984) cites research in the 1970s that showed that the influence on individualism by the United States is far greater than in any of the 50 other nations studied.

The American and Nature

Okabe (1983) states that "The conquest of natural conditions is the dominant assumption in the United States" (p. 25). The American people regard nature as that which can be exploited for man's comfort and convenience. Thus, the American sees himself as a ruler over nature, and seeks to control it. Okabe goes on to discuss the analytical nature of the American way of thinking. Events such as earthquakes, crime, political unrest and so on, are analyzed and dissected with an emphasis on each element in the incident rather than the whole.

Changing American Values

There has been a shift in U.S. values over the years. Spindler (1977) studied the values that remained constant and the values that have changed during the period from 1952 through 1974, from a sample of Stanford University students. The period of study was divided into an earlier period (1952 - 1961) and a later period (1968 - 1974). The years 1952 and 1974 were especially scrutinized for the values they presented as they seemed to manifest certain values that were peculiar to the two periods. From his Anglo Euro American sample of respondents, Spindler found that the constant values that were identified were equality, honesty and sincerity. Credit was given to honest effort, and a maintenance of clear goals in an open system was encouraged. Positive value was attached to sociability and personability. For the later period, certain alterations to the earlier values emerged. There was an increase in tolerance toward differences in society, and a decline of moral absolutism. Individualism was acknowledged. There was an emphasis on being true to oneself, and working toward a goal in fair and honest competition with equals.

Gans (1979) observes that the value of individualism and ethnocentrism is most obvious in the press values of the country. The

ethnocentrism of the United States is most evident in its representation of foreign countries in its international news. Countries are judged by the "extent to which they live up to or imitate American practices and values...". Gans goes on to say that the individual in American society is esteemed for his ability to act "heroically during disasters, and (the news) pays attention to people who conquer nature without hurting it.... Still, the most pervasive way in which the news pays homage to the individual is by its focus on people than on groups" (p. 50).

The concept of self as independent and assertive is unique to Western culture. In more traditional cultures like those of the east, there is a denial of selfhood (Cronen & Shuter, 1983), and the individual is identified by the role he plays in the community. While American society might laud individualism, and make provisions for individual development, the massification of Indian society seems a necessity. Barbero (1993), in a general introduction to his discussion of Latin American culture, observes that the right to work, to health, to education and to entertainment in Third World cultures is not possible without treating individuals as a collective mass. This is because scant resources, a severely underdeveloped economy and large populations hinder individual attention and development. The Western nations, on the other hand, encourage individualism as a weapon against the dangers of conformity (Gans, 1979). The Western press "is fearful of mass

society" (Gans, 1979, p. 50).

From Modernism to Postmodernism

Davis (1993), observes that communication has a strong connection with modernism. The Western culture, he says, is undergoing a shift from modernism to post modernism. Three basic assumptions characterize modernism. Modernism is said to focus on radical individualism, an inevitable progress toward the true and the good, and is the preeminence of modern civilization. From these basic assumptions follows that the individual is "the fundamental and preeminent unit of society" (p. 42). Individuals are thought to possess the freedom and the free will to seek out the True and the Good in society. Social and religious institutions such as schools and churches are structured to accomodate individual needs. Tradition and social restraints must be removed to allow the individual to seek an utopian society unhindered, and solely on the strength of his natural abilities. While modernism is said to be the dominant world culture, if allowed to develop unhindered by more primitive forms of culture and tradition, Davis goes on to say that "modernism is said to be at the root of World War, Cold War, genocide of minority groups, materialism,

imperialism, colonialization, and global pollution" (p. 143).

The postmodernist idea of community projects community as a sort of "neo-tribalism" (Schlesinger, 1993, p. 8), where individuals identify with concepts rather than social bodies. As a result of cultural imperialism, the trend today is to adopt American pop culture and be a part of the Western tribe.

Postmodernism and Cultural Imperialism

If this is the era of postmodernism, and the common culture that is embraced all over is the American pop culture, one may argue then, that the cultures of the United States and of India might be quite similar today. However, Ferguson (1993) says that the "pervasive power of electronic media to shape culture can be overestimated.... In late capitalist societies the media's role is integral to cultural formation and its symbolic representation; but this does not diminish the significance of historical and contextual factors as other sources of acculturation" (p.43). National and cultural identities may be vulnerable to influences, but dominant media systems do not necessarily exert a major influence that alter or redefine that identity. Also, Ferguson argues, "assumptions about an undifferentiated global culture as a consequence of consuming the same material and symbolic goods are

reductionist and fail even on a continental North American basis "

(Ferguson, 1993, p. 44).

Ferguson discusses the similarities between the communication identities of the United States and Canada. She compares the broadcasting policies and systems of the two countries and concludes that the power of television and pop culture are overestimated. Pop culture, which is increasingly being defined by American standards, is becoming Western pop culture, and "competes with the imprint of history and cultural tradition, and the important act of demographic change; the presence of global, national and local media is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for the definition and redefinition of national (and cultural) identities." (p. 53). The comparison showed that despite similarities in geography, democracy and economy, the two countries have maintained different philosophies and values and policies.

Hsu (1977) discusses the recognition that the American society awards individualism. Individualistic efforts are highlighted since they are in the minority, while the majority are considered too mundane, too routine-oriented to be considered newsworthy. This stress on individualism has its dangers also. Hsu says that individualist ambitions invariably lead to "an atomistic situation in which one man's gain is necessarily seen as another's loss. The individualist man may need others for his rise to power or fame or fortune, but he cannot afford to be loaded with a lot of affective baggage

which will slow him down or become stumbling blocks to his status seeking effort " (p. 225). This leads to imperialism and a will to dominate.

Thus the individualistic culture of the United States has its advantages and its disadvantages. While such a value may encourage people to be more expressive, creative and competitive, individualism may also lead to alienation, and a tendency to exploit nature and subordinates for personal gain (Hecht et al., 1989).

Imbalances in World News Coverage: A Brief History

For more than a century, developing countries were under the rule of a small number of colonial industrial powers, which constructed communication and information systems to cater to their own economic interests (Manet, 1988). Though many of these nations achieved independence, they have found that the distribution and ownership of information and other resources still remains in the hands of the earlier colonial rulers.

The disintegration of the old colonial empires after World War II saw the rise of the Third World. The leaders of the old colonies organized a non aligned movement to protect their interests from the extremes of capitalism and communism (Singh and Gross, 1981; Masmoudi, 1984). This movement

created an awareness of the cultural imperialism and neocolonialism faced by the Third World countries, and instigated proposals for a New International Economic Order and a New World Information Order.

Basic Criticisms of International News Flow

The Western press has been accused, since the late 1970s, of providing a lopsided, ethnocentric view of the rest of the world in general, and of the developing nations in particular (Masmoudi, 1984; Shoemaker et al., 1991; Riffe & Shaw, 1982; Giffard 1984). The press of developing countries carry a greater percentage of news from Western countries than do the Western press from the Third World (Langton, 1989). A Third World country has to have a coup or an earthquake to its credit to merit a few column inches in the Western press, which mainly focuses on sensational news (Potter, 1987). Negative events over any other news in developing countries are covered by the Western press.

The basic criticisms against the Western press are that they focus only on crisis and disaster news while reporting news from the Third World, that

countries at different positions of the development continuum have different news values and this influences their coverage of world events, that the major international news and information agencies are in the hands of Western countries, and that the cultural imperialism of Western cultures may serve to stifle indigenous cultures (McPhail, 1989).

Attempts for a New World Order

The Third World persisted in its attacks on cultural imperialism and on neo colonialism, and in 1978, UNESCO released a non committal Declaration on the Mass Media, which, in brief, did not commit any country to anything. Since this document failed to establish any conclusive decisions or courses of action, in 1976 UNESCO commissioned a team of personalities from 16 countries that adequately represented developing and developed nations, to submit a report on global and local communication problems. The commission was headed by Sean MacBride of Ireland, and was called the MacBride Commission. The MacBride Commission released its report Many Voices, One World, four years later. It discussed differences in distribution of information sources between the developed and developing countries, and also discussed the tendency of the Western media to focus on disaster and

negative news in the Third World (Singh & Gross, 1981). The Report, though comprehensive, was full of controversies. Researchers from the earlier Soviet Union, Zassoursky and Losev (1981) have commended the MacBride Commission for "placing information in the service of peace and progress" (p. 21). Researchers of the United States have also reported that the MacBride Commission does not stipulate curbs on the journalistic right to freedom of expression, and its recommendations are compatible with the Constitution of the United States (Anawalt, 1981). Ravault (1981), however, points out a basic flaw in the MacBride Report : the Report bases most of its recommendations on the traditional model of communication where the "sender is in control of the process, the meaning resides in the message (as intended by the sender), and what the receivers do with the media is determined by what the media are doing to them ("effects" instead of "functions")" (p. 132). Thus, the receivers' ability to process the products of Western culture are not validated. If the Western media are made to slow down their exports of mass culture, developing countries should be allowed to diffuse their own culture to developed countries.

At the New World Information Order debate, Mustapha Masmoudi, UN ambassador of Tunisia argued that it is impossible for developing countries to move forward as long as imbalances in news flow and cultural imperialism exist (Masmoudi, 1982). Voicing the indignation of the Third

World countries, Masmoudi said that the criteria for the selection and dissemination of international news is "based on the political and economic interests of the transnational system and of the world in which the system is established" (Giffard, 1989, p.14).

Some in the Third World called for the licensing of Western journalists to ensure fair and accurate reportage, and felt that UNESCO should sponsor regional news agencies in areas that could not afford one. The Western nations, particularly the United States, felt that the stipulations of the Third World directly conflicted with the constitutional rights of free speech, and free flow of information. In 1984, the United States and Great Britain withdrew from UNESCO (Turrow, 1992).

A Reestablishment of the Status Quo

The trend of imbalances in news flow and ownership continues into the 1990s. African, Asian and Central American countries argue that they do not have the resources to defend themselves or to match the 'westernization' of U.S., British, and French information organizations. Also, the major agencies have correspondents in major parts of the world and can dispatch correspondents to record breaking news stories and transmit these through sophisticated technology instantly to all parts of the world. Western agencies,

however, tend to focus on negative news when it comes to reporting on foreign affairs, and because of this, "people within Third World nations and especially people outside them get views of the developing world as bizarre, corrupt and war-torn" (Turrow, 1992, p. 209).

Several researchers of the imbalances in the flow of news across national borders attribute this discrepancy to the differences in ownership of media institutions. Schramm (1964) says that "... the great avenues of exchange are mostly owned by a few countries. The five major world news agencies are owned, publicly or privately in four nations. Ownership of long distance telecommunication facilities is not quite so restricted as that of agencies, but is still in a relatively few hands" (p. 58). Stevenson (1988), cites the Latin American viewpoint for the failure of the Third World in terms of dependency. Imperial centers, particularly the United States, control the flow of goods and services between themselves, at the center of the economic system, and the less developed nations which are distributed on the periphery of the system. This system, as postulated by the Dependency Theory, work such that the economic development of the Third World countries at the periphery is sustained to "strengthen the dominance of the center nations and to maintain the peripheral nation's position of dependence" (p. 6).

The four main wire services : AP, UPI, Reuters and Agence France

Presse provide 85 percent of global news. Ninety percent of the videos for international television news is provided by UPI-TN and Visnews. The Western nations also have governmental propaganda broadcast over shortwave radio through stations such as the VOA, Deutsche Welle, the BBC, Radio Netherlands, and the ORTF. These stations account for two thirds of global shortwave radio transmissions. In all, 75 percent of the 28,000 earth transmitter stations is owned by Western nations. The United States alone owns six computerized information networks that are the largest in the world (Manet, 1988).

Reviewing Both Sides of the Story

While several researchers have shown through their studies that the Third world is underrepresented in the Western press, others show that this is not the case, and that the Third World receives just as much coverage in the Western press, as does the rest of the world. Studies by the former group, however, far outweigh those supporting the latter contention. All researchers agree that news of the Third World countries is negative and crisis oriented. Rosenblum (1979) puts forward an interesting point. The Western press, he says, argue that the "status quo is not news, violent change is". Therefore, it logically follows that coups and earthquakes, political

anarchy and economic crises should receive ample coverage. However, the Third World counters this with the observation that "violent change has been the status quo; their slight improvement is news" (p. 13).

Giffard and others (1984), have shown through their content analysis of print and broadcast media, that Western wire services and news agencies do provide a substantial percentage of Third World news coverage. Also, negative news is reported all over the world, not only in Third World countries. Giffard observes, however, that even though the same categories of news are covered in the global media, the coverage of negative news in the Western world is balanced by the coverage of non negative news also, while the negative news in the Third World is rarely juxtaposed with other non negative news, thus creating the impression that the Third World is basically full of coups and earthquakes. Gonzenbach et al. (1991), conducted a study on the nature of foreign news coverage by the three U.S. television networks from 1972 - 1989), that supported the conclusions of Giffard's study. The researchers noted that there was some support for the Third World complaint that the Western press, particularly the media of the United States, focus on coups and earthquakes when it comes to reporting news in developing countries. They argued that such events are not covered because they originated in the Third World, but because they are considered newsworthy regardless of where they occur. Coups and earthquakes, or

disruptive news, as the authors call it, occur in greater frequency in the developing nations rather than in the developed nations, and this makes it seem that disruptive news is the main focus of foreign news in the Western media.

This observation is further supported in Weaver and Wilhoit's (1981), study. The researchers examined the foreign news coverage in the AP and UPI wire services to determine whether the less developed countries would receive less coverage than the more developed countries, and whether the coverage of less developed countries would concentrate more on negative, crisis news than would the coverage of developed countries. Two sample type periods were used: the first consisted of two weeks of consecutive days, and the second, of two constructed weeks. The stories were coded for two main categories: news story topics and themes, and main actors (nationality and position). Contrary to expectations, the authors found that of the 69 nations studied in the four sample weeks, 48 of them were less developed. However, the nations frequently mentioned were Iran, Israel, Uganda, Vietnam and Nicaragua, all of which had a crisis within their countries at the time, and thus merited the coverage of negative news. The authors found that though negative news was focused on in developing countries, this was also the case with the developed nations, and conclude that "the basic questions of news values among Western journalists may be more

fundamental and, in the long run, more central to the current debate about media than are the differences between the coverage of less developed and more developed countries" (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1981, p. 63). This could be due to the fact that the news is gathered and written to cater to the preferences of the audience. Sood et al. (1987), cite a 1973 American Newspaper Publishers Association survey on the readership of disaster, political, general, nonlocal and human interest stories. The survey showed that disaster stories (earthquakes, floods, tornadoes and other such events) were of greatest interest to the readers (39%), while political news was of primary interest for 25% of the readers, followed by 33% for general, non local and human interest news.

To present the other side of the argument, research has also shown that criticisms of the Western press as presenting the Third World in a negative light hold true. Riffe and Shaw (1982) examined the foreign news content of the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune to see if criticisms of the Western press for concentrating on negative news in the Third World were warranted. The researchers obtained a random sample of 140 issue dates from 1970 through 1979 (both years inclusive), for two constructed weeks. To establish fair comparison, the same sample dates were coded for all foreign news items in the two papers for topic and locational focus. The news items were coded for fourteen topic categories : internal politics, internal conflict, internal economy, social policies, science and technology, arts and the media,

international relations, international conflict, international economy, refugees and defectors, miscellaneous "bad news", sports, human interest, and religion. The analysis showed that both papers presented a majority of conflict news. The Tribune was more apt to present coverage of coups and earthquakes and other such disaster news, but the researchers also found that the Times was gradually catering to this trend more and more over the ten year period studied. As the involvement of the Third World in politics increased over the decade, the coverage of these nations did not increase correspondingly. Both papers published "an inordinate number of Third World 'bad news' items" (p. 623). The researchers conclude that the data supported the criticisms of the Western press. The news items about the Third World were more likely to deal with conflict and political unrest than the news items pertaining to the First and Second world.

The press of the United States has also been accused of publishing news predominantly from nations that are of political and economic significance to the United States itself (Shoemaker, Danielian & Brendlinger, 1991).

In the U.S. press, events occurring in other nations are judged newsworthy depending on the involvement of the United States in that event.

Shoemaker et al. (1991), identified certain criteria by which foreign events may be significant to the U.S. media. These criteria include economic significance (gross national product of the country and its economic ties to the

United States, and the potential of the market in that country for U.S. goods), political significance (government dominated connections between the country in which the news event originated and the United States), communication constraints (such as language barrier and media diffusion - in brief, the constraint which the U.S. media might experience in getting information back to the United States), and finally, event prominence in the U.S. media (an event is considered newsworthy based on the standards of the U.S. journalists). The importance awarded was judged by the amount of space given to the coverage of the event. The researchers hypothesized that the events high in deviation from the norm, and events occurring in countries politically, economically and culturally similar to the United States will be given more prominence in the press of the United States. Also, the more constraints on U.S journalists obtaining the news from a foreign country, the less extensively will the event be covered. From the Keessing's 1984 and 1985 indexes, 355 events were chosen as a representative sample, and their coverage in The New York Times and in each of the evening broadcasts on the ABC, NBC and CBS television networks were analyzed. From their analysis, the researchers found that the more deviant a news event was, the more prominently it was covered. Events that occurred in countries that were politically and economically significant to the United States were given extensive coverage, especially in cases where the United

States provided economic aid to the country in question. There was no significant relationship between communication constraints and coverage, however. The authors conclude that deviation news above all, taking into consideration the political and economic relations of the country of news origin and the United States, is the most prominently covered in the U.S. press.

A study by Straubhaar et al. (1992), also shows that the U.S. press is ethnocentric in its coverage of international events. The researchers studied the differences in television newscasts from eight different countries across the world. The researchers hypothesized that Western or industrialized countries would emphasize military topics, accidents, crime and sports more than Russia and the Third World countries; the Western and some Third World countries would be more critical of the government than the socialist countries; the socialist and Third World countries would deal more with the positive aspects of economic and development issues than would the Western media. Finally, the researchers proposed to examine if countries in the same geographic area would carry a greater percentage of stories about each other than of countries far apart, and if countries at the same stage of development would carry a greater percentage of news of each other than countries at the opposite ends of the continuum. The major national evening newscast for one full week was videotaped in eight different

countries, and coded for nine major topic areas (politics, economics, culture, etc.). The researchers found that politics was the most covered topic. The United States was very ethnocentric in its presentation of international news, and hardly provided any coverage of international events in which it was not involved. The Western countries also revealed more sensationalism in their topics selection. The United States, of all the Western nations, was given the greatest percentage of coverage in the press of all the countries studied.

Larson (1984), analysed the foreign news coverage by each of the three major U.S. television networks : ABC, CBS and NBC in the 1972 - 1976 period. Using the individual news story as the unit of analysis, Larson coded the sample stories for nine categories that were divided into crisis and non crisis themes. The results showed that Third World nations received less coverage than developed nations and that the coverage of Third World nations had a higher percentage of crisis news than developed nations.

To determine whether the trend of negative news coverage and partiality to certain geopolitical regions persisted, Riffe (1993), conducted a longitudinal study on 308 issues of The New York Times covering a 22 consecutive year period, from 1969 to 1990. Stories were coded for 14 categories, covering internal and international politics and economics, art, science and technology, and bad news categories. The researcher noted that while international relations was the primary topic until 1981, internal

politics took over this position in the 1980s. While only 22% and 27% of First and Second World news was bad news respectively across the research period, 50% of Third World news was consistently bad news. Despite counter arguments by several other researchers that bad news is uniformly represented all over the world and that most news from the Third World is negative anyway, Riffe concludes that Third World bad news is indeed more prevalent in the press coverage of the Third World than in the press coverage of the First and Second Worlds. Riffe observes that the criticisms in the 1960s and the 1970s, of the imbalances in press treatment of regions across the globe is still an issue in the 1990s.

The Use of Photographs and Maps in International News

Photographs, as visual communication, "forge a link between information content and structure, so that each reinforces the other " (Denton, 1992, p. 54). While a photograph in a newspaper may accompany and be an integral part of the news story, it may also stand alone, sufficient in itself, conveying the whole story. The photographer, photo editor, and possibly an art director, act as mediators between the photograph and the viewer. Because of the starkness of its nature, the photograph is considered "a literal representation of reality " (p. 118). Its message is direct, and is not

bound by language or literacy barriers. Because of this, a photograph wields great power in mass communication.

Maps and photographs are as consequential to the image of the country presented by a news story in the paper, just as a film or videotape adds to the impact of a story presented on the television news (Larson, 1984). A more comprehensive and balanced comparison of the coverage given to developing and developed nations is possible only through "empirical data on the visual dimensions of international news" (p. 107).

Just as the presentation of a news story is subject to the variables discussed in the introduction to this paper, a photograph, by cropping, lighting, angles and specialized equipment and techniques, can be a vehicle for cultural imperialism, a misrepresentation of Third World countries, or, a balanced view of the world.

Photographs are important elements of the news story. A picture, to repeat a time-worn cliché, is worth a thousand words, and if a news story can portray the Third World in a negative light, it follows that a photograph would probably serve to heighten this perspective. Langton (1989), analyzed the photo coverage of The New York Times, the Washington Post, the Chicago Tribune and the Los Angeles Times, to examine the portrayal of Third World countries. Four hypotheses were tested. The first postulated that international news photographs would comprise 40 - 50% of the total

number of news photographs on the first page of the papers studied. Second, the Western nations would receive more photographic coverage than the Third World or the Eastern bloc countries. Third, according to Third World criticisms of the Western press, the researcher hypothesized that the photographs of the Third World would be disproportionately more sensational than those of Western countries. Finally, the Third World and Eastern bloc countries will receive disproportionately more coverage than will the United States. The results showed that though the Western and Third World countries were both well represented (51% and 37% respectively), there were qualitative differences in the coverage. For the photo coverage of Third World countries, 73.9% were sensational, while the Western countries had 51% of their photographs representing sensational events. Also, of the dominant photos (three columns or larger) in the sensational category, the Third World had the highest percentage (79.9%). The authors conclude that the criticisms that the Third World is not adequately represented in the Western press are unfounded. However, the concerns voiced at the New World Information Order debate are relevant, as the representation of the Third World is "crisis and conflict oriented" (p. 104). The authors also consider the ethnocentrism of the American media. American newspaper photographers and editors are offsprings of American culture that has been fed with media images of the Third World that are

sensational and full of negative news. Thus, they seek such news in their papers as part of a "self-perpetuating cycle" (Langton, 1989, p. 104). The perceptions values, culture and personal training of the newsgatherers and gatekeeping and photographing techniques of the people behind the news also has to be taken into consideration, and therefore, the authors conclude, the criteria for the selection and dissemination of international news is more complex than it seems.

The differences in coverage of international events by countries at different positions of the development continuum has presented one basic feature: The view that the U.S. press presents to the world is one that is ethnocentric, and that is underrepresentative of the news in Third World countries. On the other hand, the United States is by far the most mentioned foreign country in the Third World press. In their content analysis of 21 Canadian daily newspapers, Kariel and Rosenvall (1984) showed that the amount of coverage given to a country by the Canadian press varies directly with the population, the amount of trade, the gross national product, the eliteness, and the cultural affinity that country has with Canada.

Coverage of Disaster News

and Earthquakes, as a class of news, merit a fair amount of global attention

since they are "rapid onset disasters". They are "unexpected, have impact, are unusual, and contain conflict (humanity against nature)" (Gaddy & Tanjong, 1986, p. 107). They offer certain "Unambiguous and identifiable aspects" for the media to report on, as for example, the death toll, the extent of property damage, and the number of casualties (Sood et al., p. 29).

As a media event, earthquakes are chosen for this study since they are negative news, and they are newsworthy. Also, earthquakes are of global significance — they are not dictated by regional politics. They provide an opportunity to study how the news media operate in unanticipated situations. Earthquakes are news since they are risky events, and are considered hazard news (Singer & Endreny, 1987).

As a distinction from man made disasters, natural disasters are not reported only by media persons — scientists and researchers conduct detailed observations and experiments and report on the scientific aspect of the natural phenomenon. Earthquakes, as a class of bad news, are observed by scientists all over the world who collect objective and accurate data on them (Gaddy & Tanjong, 1986). For these properties, earthquakes provide an adequate basis for comparing their coverage by the Third World to that provided by the First World.

While the data on earthquakes and other natural disasters is factual and accurate to the extent of the accuracy of the technology and expertise

employed, the stories reported by journalists, are tailored to other requirements. The journalistic profession requires accurate and objective reporting, but in reality, consciously or subconsciously, the journalist is influenced by gatekeeping decisions, governmental and institutional interests, his personal experiences, culture, and values, while presenting the news story (Hornig et al., 1991; Sood et al., 1987).

Often, the government as a source of valid factual information is given priority over reports of scientists. In their study of the sources quoted in the newspaper reports of Hurricane Hugo and the Loma Prieta earthquake that occurred within weeks of each other in California, Hornig et al. (1991), learnt that governmental opinions and comments are represented much more than scientific facts about the nature and causes of the disasters. Even though natural disasters may be said to be directly caused by nature in some cases, and can be recorded objectively and analyzed with a fairly high degree of accuracy, such information is used only in general observations, whereas for more specific information, the non expert comments of government officials are used. Also, when unable to obtain immediate information from the government organizations, journalists resort to interviewing victims.

Also Earthquakes, floods, hurricanes, landslides and other such natural calamities have intrinsic news values. They have public appeal and consequence, and "the thought that a similar disaster could strike almost

anywhere will affect a much larger number of people" (Gans, 1979; p. 151).

Due to their large scale effects, they have human interest, and unite viewers and readers who are physically unaffected by the event, to be involved in an 'it could happen to me' experience.

Sood et al. (1987), observe that such natural disasters are also "information disasters" (p. 28), since they happen suddenly, sometimes without warning, and disrupt the normal communication patterns of the media. Media personnel are required to react quickly, and report on the breaking news.

The researchers analyzed the operation of the media in the following disasters : Hurricane David (August 1979); the Seattle snowstorm (January, 1980); four storms in California (February 13 - 21, 1980); and an earthquake in California (May, 1983). Certain basic characteristics of the media were observed: media organizations, whether radio or television, cut through regular programming to provide extensive coverage of the disasters. Special correspondents were sent to the disaster site, new lines of communication were established, and many reporters worked in close conjunction with scientific and governmental organizations for factual data on the disasters. Also, because such news is invariably unanticipated and information from governmental organizations is processed before it reaches reporters, and is therefore delayed, and victims of the calamities are usually interviewed to get

all the information possible, before rival media get to it.

While it is true that accurate and factual data is available in the case of natural disasters, earthquakes as a class of bad news are not above the influence of the variables affecting the other classes of news. Again, research has shown that there are two sides to this story: on the one hand researchers show that negative news is reported without bias as to where it occurred and the relation between the country reporting the news and the country in which the earthquake originated. On the other, researchers show that the reporting of disaster news is colored by the involvement of the country reporting the news event and the event itself, and the other variables that influence the reporting of any other class of news.

To support the first argument, Gaddy and Tanjong (1986), studied the coverage of all the earthquakes that occurred in 1982 and 1983 that were recorded in Geotimes and the Earthquake Information Bulletin by the New York Times of the United States, Times of London, and the evening broadcasts of the U.S. television networks - ABC, NBC, and CBS. All stories, photographs and maps were coded for the length/time or duration for which they were represented, and for primary and secondary topics (human and physical losses, aid and compensations). The results showed that while 71% of reports were of earthquakes occurring in the Third World, 65% of them did occur in the Third World. Also, contrary to criticisms of the Western press

overrepresenting only negative news in the Third World nations, there was no significant difference in the coverage given to earthquakes in the Third World. The amount of coverage varied with human and physical consequences and the earthquake, and not with "geographic prejudice" (Gaddy & Tanjong, 1986, p. 110).

In his analysis of the coverage by Time, Newsweek, The New York Times, the Washington Post and the CBS Evening News broadcasts of the KAL and Iran Air disasters, Entman (1991), presents the second point of view. While both the incidents may not be exactly comparable due to the differences in the contexts of their mishaps, Entman argues that there is no way also, to determine that the United States was less morally responsible for the lives of the Iranians than was the Soviet Union for the passengers on the KAL. Therefore, there seemed to be a predetermination of the "media's emphasis on Soviet guilt and denial of American guilt" (p. 9). From his study, Entman found that Time and Newsweek together provided 51 pages for the coverage of the KAL incident and only 20 pages for the Iran Air incident. Following this trend, CBS Evening News, The New York Times and the Washington Post devoted 303 minutes, 286 stories, and 169 stories respectively to the KAL incident, and only 204 minutes, 102 stories and 82 stories respectively to the Iran Air incident. The KAL story was treated from

a human interest angle. Outrage was expressed at the perpetrators of the evil incident. The victims were "humanized in the verbal and visual messages" (Entman 1991, p. 15). The Iran Air story was treated from a technical perspective. The victims were pushed to the background and the information did not focus on their humanity. Entman cites an essay in Time that argued that the United States denied its guilt in the Iran Air incident probably since it created cognitive dissonance and an antithesis to the nation's self-image of doing only good, or, at least, of having only good intentions. Entman concludes that in the face of such possible manipulation of news due to governmental and national policy, further research in audience and media autonomy is essential.

In his descriptive analysis of the press coverage of the Exxon Valdez oil spill in Alaska by Anchorage Daily, Boston Globe and the Tundra Times, Daley (1991), found that all three papers primarily presented the story as a disaster narrative, reassuring the public, and providing information on the extent of damage. The Boston Globe, on the third day of its coverage, juxtaposed the report on the oil spill with an earthquake that had hit the area 25 years ago to the day of the spill. Thus, the accident caused by human error was naturalized, detracting from implications of corporate blame. Later crime and environmental narratives followed in the papers, but the disaster

narrative, by being the most dominant, naturalized the spill, and "moved the discourse from the political arena and into a politically inaccessible realm of technological inevitability". Industry officials and the government were once again favored. In such cases, Daley points out that the concerns of minorities and marginalized people are ignored, and thus the media indulges in "cultural genocide. Native claims to nature, inseparable from culture, politics, and economics, appear to be outside the mainstream reportorial knowledge system" (p. 55).

It may seem that the media attach priority to the number of deaths, injuries and extent of damage to life and property. However, in the press of the United States, other factors are also important. Sood et al. (1987), cite the example of the coverage of the Chernobyl disaster in 1988 and the 1976 Tangshan earthquake in the People's Republic of China. While only 23 people were reported killed by the Chernobyl incident, it received 129 minutes in the CBS Evening News, over a period of 33 days in April - May 1986. This was probably because of the Cold War relationship between the United States and the then Soviet Union. The Tangshan earthquake which killed about 800,000 people received less than nine minutes on the television networks' evening news.

Though the coverage of negative news such as coups, earthquakes,

floods, cyclones and political violence affect many lives, the number of casualties alone do not serve as an index for the extent of news coverage. The country in which the natural disaster occurs is also significant. Adams (1986), studied the coverage by U.S. television of 35 disasters all over the world, that took place between January 1972 through June 1985, to determine exactly how much time the television networks devoted to each disaster. The researcher noted that the three networks, ABC, CBS and NBC, more or less covered the same disasters, and awarded similar extents of coverage to each disaster covered. However, there did not seem to be a correlation between the severity of disaster and amount of coverage. Asian disasters received the least amount of coverage, regardless of number of casualties in the disasters. However, there did seem to be a correlation between the country in which the disaster occurred, and the degree of coverage. The author concluded that "the globe is prioritized so that the death of one Western European equaled three Eastern Europeans, equaled 9 Latin Americans equaled 11 Middle Easterners equaled 12 Asians" (p. 159).

For a foreign disaster to be reported in the U.S. press, it must be more serious than a domestic one. Gans (1979), observes that a foreign disaster must involve the deaths of Americans or important heads of state to deserve mention in the U.S. press. Also, "the farther from America the

country is geographically, politically, culturally, or racially, the larger number of victims necessary for the story to receive attention" (pp. 36 - 37). Such disasters as floods and earthquakes in Asia need to have caused the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people to be reported by the American media.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH QUESTION AND HYPOTHESES

The literature review has pointed out that several factors such as the political and economic dominance of certain countries, the relative positions of countries on the development continuum, and the cultural affinity between countries, influence the international press treatment of global news. The impact of a country's culture on its press treatment of international news is yet to be tested.

An examination of the cultures of the United States and of India indicates that the two countries are diverse in their underlying philosophical principles, and religious values. Hence, this leads to the research question: as an influence of their respective cultures, would the United States and India differ significantly in their press treatment of international news?

As a class of negative news, earthquakes are expected to receive a fair amount of press coverage, as previous studies have shown that such news is of significant global interest.

In order to examine the impact of the cultures of the United States and of India on their press coverage of earthquakes, the first two hypotheses are

necessary.

Hypothesis I : As a reflection of the value of individualism in the U.S., the reports of the earthquakes in The New York Times will deal more with the impact of the earthquakes on individuals and groups of individuals than with the impact on communities, villages and towns.

Hypothesis II : The coverage of the earthquakes by The Times of India will deal more with general reports of earthquake damage to communities, towns and villages, rather than with reports of the impact of the earthquakes on individuals or group of individuals.

The basic criticisms of the imbalances in the international flow of information, are that the U.S. press is ethnocentric in its coverage of global news, and that it is underrepresentative of the news in the Third World, while the Third World press provides extensive coverage of the United States, and to economically and politically dominant countries that are higher up on the development continuum. These criticisms provide the basis for the third and fourth hypotheses.

Hypothesis III : The Times of India will carry more coverage, both by length and by number of news items, of the earthquake in the United States than will The New York Times of the earthquake in India.

Hypothesis IV : The Times of India will provide greater coverage of news items of the earthquake in Turkey, both by length and number of news

items, than will The New York Times of the earthquake in Turkey.

Turkey has greater proximity in culture and geographic location with the United States than does India. Therefore,

Hypothesis V : The New York Times will provide greater coverage of the earthquake in Turkey than of the earthquake in India.

The Times of India, as a newspaper from a developing nation, is expected to rely, to a greater extent, on news reports coming from foreign wire services and foreign reporters, for its information on the earthquakes in the United States and in Turkey.

Hypothesis VI : The Times of India will carry a greater percentage of stories from foreign sources for the earthquakes abroad, than will The New York Times.

CHAPTER IV

METHOD

The press of the United States and of India are chosen, since the two countries are economically and culturally diverse, and are at opposite extremes on the development continuum. The earthquake in Turkey is considered, as Turkey serves as a middle ground of comparison in culture and in economic development, between the two countries.

UNESCO lists Europe, the former USSR, the United States of America, Canada, Australia, Japan and New Zealand as developed nations. India is considered a developing nation.

In the realm of international trade, in 1990, the United States accounted for approximately 14.5% of world imports and 11.6% of world exports. India accounted for 0.65% of world imports, and 0.5% of world exports, and Turkey accounted for 0.62% of world imports and 0.38% of world exports (UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1993). In 1991, the United States accounted for 10.7% of Turkey's imports, and 12.1% of India's imports (Europa World Book, 1993).

The United States of America in the northern hemisphere, is one of the richest countries in the world. The population density is 70 per square mile, and the gross domestic product per capita is \$22,470. The United States has a literacy rate as high as 97%. There is one television set for every 1.3 persons, one radio set for every 0.5 persons, and the daily newspaper circulation is 255 for every 1,000 persons (Statesman Yearbook, 1994).

At the other end of the continuum, India, in the southern hemisphere, is considered a developing nation. Geographically, India is one-third the size of the United States and is ten times more populated with 700 persons per square mile. The country's gross domestic product per capita is \$380 and the literacy rate is only 48%. India has one television set for every 44 persons, and one radio set for every 15 persons. The daily newspaper circulation is 21 for every 1,000 persons (Statesman Yearbook, 1994).

Turkey occupies Asia Minor, between the Mediterranean and the Black Seas. The country has a republic type government, and has a population density of 197 per square mile. The gross domestic product is \$3,400. There is one television set for every 5 persons, and one radio set per 7.8 persons. The literacy rate is 81% (Statesman Yearbook, 1994).

The earthquakes in India, the United States and in Turkey are comparable by their measurement on the Richter scale. The earthquake in

Maharashtra, India measured 6.4 (Times Index, 1993), the earthquake in Los Angeles, U.S.A. measured 6.6 (Times Index, 1994), and the earthquake in Erzincan, Turkey measured 6.8 (Times Index, 1992) on the Richter scale, respectively.

The New York Times was selected as a newspaper from the United States for this study as it has been ranked first as an ideal newspaper in the United States in the 1974 Edward L. Bernays poll of newspaper publishers, and in the Saturday Review poll of journalism educators. The New York Times was founded by Henry J. Raymond in 1851, and has, since then, established a reputation for interpretive and objective reporting. The paper has won more Pulitzer prizes than any other newspaper. The circulation of the paper is close to one million copies daily (Kurian, 1982). The New York Times subscribes to all five of the major international news services, and with 23 bureaus worldwide, the paper is considered to have one of the best foreign coverage facilities in the world (Ramprasad & Riffe, 1985).

The Times of India is comparable to The New York Times for its status as a leading paper in its country. The paper was started in 1838 as the weekly Bombay Times. It became a daily in 1850, and in 1861, changed its name to The Times of India to reflect its growing status and influence. The paper has acquired its corporate name Bennett Coleman and Co. Ltd. from its purchaser, Thomas Bennett, and its printer, F.M. Coleman. The firm has 14

news interest publications, and 14 focusing on other interests. The news publications include the flagship paper in Bombay, and sister newspapers of the same name, published in such major cities as Delhi, Bangalore and Ahmedabad. The paper subscribes to the four main wire services, and has its own wire service, The Times of India News Service. The paper is published in other regional languages of India, and has many editions to cater to India's large population (Mundt, 1982).

The Indian press is privately owned, and, unlike the broadcast media, functions autonomously, with no governmental interference (Nair, 1967). Such papers as the The Times of India, the Statesman, and the Pioneer which were earlier under Anglo Indian ownership, are now "completely Indianized" (p. 169). The Indian Constitution protects its press and thus, the Indian press has been able to develop in a healthy, free, and democratic environment.

The issues of The Times of India for the two week period after each earthquake, were obtained from the library and archives of the head office of the newspaper in Bangalore, India. Copies of The New York Times for the same period were obtained on microfilm from the Pittsburg State University Library. News items in the two newspapers in the form of news stories, photographs, maps and diagrams that were related to the earthquakes were

isolated for this study.

A total of 265 news items were coded from The New York Times and The Times of India, from their press coverage of the earthquakes in the United States, India, and Turkey. The news items were coded independently by two graduate students in communication. The unit of analysis was the news item. Each news item was first coded for whether it was an article, a photograph, or a visual. Visual included graph or map of the earthquake in question. The news items were then coded for the newspaper in which they appeared and for the country in which the earthquake occurred. Time period was another category for which the news item was coded. This was divided into two sub categories : first week after the earthquake, and second week after the earthquake. The news item was then coded for whether it was an editorial, a photograph, a map, a diagram, a column, a news analysis or a straight news article. The size of the news item was calculated in picas by the researcher, and the priority it was given was determined by the page on which it appeared in the newspaper. The source of the news item was also coded, and finally, the treatment given to the news by the paper in which it was presented.

For the treatment category, each news item was analyzed to determine whether it was given an individual, general or scientific treatment. In the case of news stories, each news story was broken down into its individual

paragraphs and each paragraph was coded separately. If 60 percent or more of the paragraphs received individual, general or scientific treatment, they were coded as such, respectively. If two of the three subcategories were represented in the news story anywhere from 41 to 59 percent each, the story was coded as: individual/general, general/scientific or individual/scientific, respectively, as the case may be. The news story was coded for one more possibility in the treatment category : if the news story contained all three subcategories in the news story to the extent of 30 - 35 percent each, the story was coded as : combination - individual/general/scientific.

A pilot test was conducted to determine the mutual exclusivity of the categories. The coding procedure was found to be satisfactory. After the coding was completed for the study, the intercoder reliability coefficients were computed, by dividing the total number of agreements by the total number of possible decisions. For the variables: news item, newspaper, country of earthquake, and time period, the reliability coefficients were 100% each, and for the variable 'type of news item' and 'article priority', the intercoder reliability coefficients were found to be 96.6% and 99.6%, respectively. There were high intercoder reliability coefficients for 'source' and 'treatment of news item' also , with 95.0 % and 91.6%, each. A third coder coded the news items over which the first and second coders disagreed. It was found that the third coder, working independently, agreed with either of the two coders in

the analysis of news items.

Chi square analyses were conducted on the data to test for differences in distribution. Cross tabulations of two and three variables were conducted, and significant differences in distribution were examined. For certain frequency data, it was necessary to test for proportional differences, and for these, 'z' tests were conducted.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

There were 265 news items about the three earthquakes in the two papers; 191 were from The New York Times, and 74 from The Times of India. Of all the items analyzed, 154 (58.1%) were news articles, 75 (28.3%) were photographs, and 36 (13.6%) were visuals.

The most frequently occurring type of news item was the straight news article, accounting for 55.1% (146 in number) of all the news items analyzed. Of these, 57.1% appeared in The New York Times, and 42.9% in The Times of India (See Table 1). Photographs were the next most frequently occurring news item, numbering 75 in all. Most of these (90.7%) appeared in The New York Times, while The Times of India had a total of only seven photographs. Of the 20 maps coded, 18 appeared in The New York Times, and two in The Times of India. There were 16 diagrams in all, all of which were carried in The New York Times. There were three editorials and three columns, two of each which appeared in The New York Times, and one of each, in The Times of India. The relationship between the newspaper and type of news item was

found to be significant ($X^2(6, N = 265) = 39.031, p < .05$).

Insert Table 1 about here

In terms of treatment, a total of 166 (62.6%) news items were coded as receiving 'general' treatment. Sixty (22.6%) news items were given 'individual' treatment and 24 (9%), 'scientific'. Ten stories (3%) were awarded 'individual/general' treatment. Of these, 80% appeared in The New York Times, and 20% in The Times of India. Five news items were classified as 'other' since they merely presented the names and addresses of victims and of organizations that were willing to help.

An analysis of the treatment given to the news items by each paper showed that both The New York Times and The Times of India provided 'general' treatment to a majority of their news items (See Table 2).

The New York Times carried a greater number of its news items dealing with general reports of the earthquakes (107 or 56.0%) , than reports that focussed on individual accounts and experiences in the earthquakes (52 or 27.2%) . Thus, the first hypothesis, that The New York Times would carry

a greater percentage of news items receiving 'individual' treatment than 'general treatment', was not supported.

The Times of India, also had more news items that received 'general' treatment (59 or 79.7%) , than those that received 'individual' treatment (eight or 10.8%) . Thus, the second hypothesis that The Times of India would present more news items receiving 'general' treatment than 'individual' treatment, was supported. The two papers differed significantly in the extent of 'general' treatment given to the news articles ($z = 3.42, p < .01$). Though The New York Times carried a greater percentage of news items receiving 'general' treatment than 'individual' treatment, a greater percentage of the stories in The New York Times (27.2%) received 'individual' treatment, than did The Times of India (10.8%). The two papers differed significantly in the proportion of news items given 'individual ' treatment ($z = 2.67, p < .01$).

The New York Times provided 19 (9.9%) news items that received 'scientific' coverage, while had five (6.8%) news items receiving such treatment. The relationship between the newspapers and treatment of news items was found to be significant. ($X^2 (4, N = 265) = 13.981, p < .05$).

Insert Table 2 about here

For its coverage of the earthquakes abroad, The New York Times also provided a greater number of news items receiving 'general' treatment than 'individual' treatment (See Table 3). Of the 22 news items that were related to the earthquake in India, 15 (68.2%) received 'general' treatment, while four (18.2%) received 'individual' treatment. The earthquake in Turkey received a total of nine news items in The New York Times, eight of which (88.9%) received 'general' treatment, and one (11.1%) received 'individual' treatment. The relationship between The New York Times, and the treatment given to each earthquake, was not found to be significant ($X^2 (8, N = 191), = 7.228, p > .05$). Thus, The New York Times seemed to cover all three earthquakes fairly similarly in terms of treatment.

Insert Table 3 about here

The Times of India also presented a greater percentage of news items receiving 'general' treatment than 'individual' treatment, for its coverage of the earthquakes abroad (See Table 4). There were a total of five news items on the earthquake in the United States, four (80.0%) of which received 'general' treatment, and one (20.0%) received 'individual/general' treatment. There were a total of five news items on the earthquake in Turkey, of which

four (80.0%) received 'general' treatment, and one (20.0%) received 'individual' treatment. The relationship between The Times of India and its treatment of each of the three earthquakes was not found to be significant ($X^2(6, N = 74) = 7.691, p > .05$). Thus, The Times of India also covered all three earthquakes fairly similarly in terms of treatment.

Insert Table 4 about here

Certain other observations were noted from the data. The culture of the United States and of India did seem to have an influence on the gatekeeping decisions of The New York Times and The Times of India, respectively. For the 51 news items provided by the wire services, The New York Times had 17 out of its 44 news items from wire services (38.6%) receiving 'individual' treatment, while The Times of India had only one out of its seven news items from wire services (14.3%) receiving 'individual' treatment (See Table 5). The New York Times, had a fewer number of items from wire services receiving 'general' treatment (22 out of 44, or 50%) than did The Times of India (five out of seven, or 71.4%). The relationship between wire service, the two newspapers and type of treatment in material received from wire services, was found to be significant. $X^2(4, N = 51) = 8.619$,

$p < .05$).

Insert Table 5 about here

Domestic sources for each paper also followed this trend. The New York Times had 34 out of 115 (26.6%) of its news items from domestic sources receiving 'individual' treatment, while The Times of India had only six out of 57 (10.5%) of its news items from domestic sources receiving 'individual' treatment (See Table 6). Also, The New York Times had 65 (56.5%) news items and The Times of India, 47 (82.5%) from domestic sources, receiving 'general' treatment. The relationship between the two newspapers, treatment and domestic source was found to be significant ($\chi^2(4, N = 172) = 14.389, p < .05$).

Insert Table 6 about here

The third hypothesis postulated that The Times of India would carry more coverage by number and by length of news items of the earthquake in the United States than would The New York Times of the earthquake in India. Contrary to expectations, of a total of 191 news items appearing in The New York Times of the three earthquakes, 22 (11.5%) were of the earthquake in India, while The Times of India had only five (6.8%) out of a total of 74

news items, that were about the earthquake in the United States (See Table 7).

The coverage of The New York Times of the earthquake in India did not differ significantly from the coverage of the earthquake in the United States in The Times of India, even though The New York Times had more news items ($z = 1.25, p > .01$). The two papers did not differ significantly in their coverage of the earthquake at Turkey ($z = 0.67, p > .01$). The relationship between newspaper and coverage of earthquake was found to be significant ($X^2 (2, N = 265) = 143.595, p < .05$).

Insert Table 7 about here

For length of the news items, The New York Times had longer news items of the earthquake in India, than did The Times of India of the earthquake in the United States.

Of the 22 news items of the earthquake in India that were carried by The New York Times, eight (36.4%) were 233 to 885 picas long (See Table 8). Most of the news items (87.5%) on the earthquake in the United States (70 out of 80) ,and only 22.2% (two out of nine) of the news items of the earthquake in Turkey, fell into that category. In the 136 - 232 pica category, The New York Times provided more or less the same extent of coverage to the earthquakes in the United States, India and in Turkey: 31.3%, 31.8%, and 33.3%

respectively. The relationship between the size of the news item and country of earthquake in The New York Times, was not found to be significant ($X^2(4, N=191) = 2.587, p>.05$).

Insert Table 8 about here

In The Times of India, 80% of the news items on the earthquake in the United States (four out of five) were 1 - 135 picas long. The rest were 136 - 232 picas long (See Table 9). Of the 64 news items about the earthquake in India, 33 (51.6%) were in the 1 - 135 pica category, and 24 (37.5%) were from 136 - 232 picas long. Only seven (10.9%) were from 233 - 885 picas long. For the earthquake in Turkey, two of the five news items (40.0%) were 1-135 picas long, and three (60.0%) were from 136 - 232 picas long. Again, the relationship between the length of article and the country of the earthquake was not found to be significant ($X^2(4, N = 74) = 3.04098, p>.05$). Thus, the third hypothesis, that The Times of India would carry more coverage by number and length of news items in the United States than would The New York Times of the earthquake in India, was not supported.

Insert Table 9 about here

A reason for the differences in length of news items between the two newspapers could be due to the fact that in general, The New York Times had longer news items than The Times of India ($X^2 (2, N = 265) = 28.361, p < .05$). While 41.9% of the news items in The New York Times were from 233 - 885 picas long, only 9.5% of the news items in The Times of India were in that category. (See Table 10). On the other hand, 52.7% of the news items in The Times of India were in the 1 - 135 picas category, while 26.7% of the news articles in The New York Times were in that category.

Insert Table 10 about here

The fourth hypothesis, that The Times of India would carry more reports of the earthquake in Turkey, than would The New York Times of the earthquake in Turkey, was not supported (See Table 7). The New York Times carried nine news items of the earthquake in Turkey, while The Times of India carried five news items of the earthquake in Turkey. However, the newspapers did not differ significantly in their coverage of the earthquake in Turkey, ($z = 0.67, p > .01$). A significant relationship was found between the

two newspapers, and their coverage of the three earthquakes, but this was expected, since each paper provided the most coverage to the earthquake that occurred in its home country ($X^2 (2, N = 265) = 143.595, p < .05$).

The fifth hypothesis postulated that The New York Times would provide more coverage to the earthquake in Turkey, than to the earthquake in India. From the gross domestic product figures per person for the three countries, Turkey seems to occupy a middle position between the United States and India. Also, this figure for the population in Turkey lies between those for the United States and India (See Appendix B).

From the conclusions of the Kariell and Rosenvall (1984) study, we may presume that The New York Times would provide more coverage of the earthquake in Turkey than of the earthquake in India. The results did not support the hypothesis. Of the 191 news items of the three earthquakes in The New York Times, 22 (11.5%) were of the earthquake in India, and nine (4.7%) were of the earthquake in Turkey (See Table 7). The relationship between newspaper and country of earthquake was significant. ($X^2 (2, N = 265), = 143.595, p < .05$).

Hypothesis six expected The Times of India to rely to a greater extent, on foreign sources for its information on the earthquakes abroad than The New York Times. This hypothesis was supported since the results showed

that 100% of the news items provided by correspondents abroad (seven news items in all) were carried in The New York Times (See Table 11). The New York Times also had more news items from wire services (23.0%) than did The Times of India (9.5%). Both papers had a majority of their news items from domestic sources (60.2% and 77.0%, respectively), probably because they each carried the most amount of coverage of the earthquakes in their own countries. There was a significant relationship between the two newspapers, and the source of their news items ($\chi^2 (4, N = 265), = 13.701, p < .05$).

Insert Table 11 about here

For the coverage of the earthquake in the United States, The Times of India received 100% of the news items (five in all) from wire services, and of the five news items the paper provided of the earthquake in Turkey, two news items (40%) were from wire services (See Table 12). The remaining 60% had no source indicated, but bore foreign datelines. The sources for the news items for each earthquake did not distribute evenly in The Times of India, as was indicated by the significant Chi square value ($\chi^2 (4, N = 74) = 74.885, p < .05$).

Insert Table 12 about here

The New York Times, as was expected, had more correspondents abroad than did The Times of India. For its coverage of the earthquakes in Turkey and in India, the paper relied on its correspondents reporting from the scene for 22.2% (five out of 22 news items) and 22.7% (two out of nine news items) of the time, respectively (See Table 13). Wire services were also used for 44 news items totally, accounting for 18.8% of the sources of news items for the earthquake in the United States, 45.5% for the earthquake in India, and 44.4% for the earthquake in Turkey. Also, The New York Times depended on domestic sources for a majority (67.5%) of its news items on the earthquake in the United States. The significant Chi square value indicates that there were significant differences in the distribution of sources of news items for each earthquake in The New York Times ($X^2 (8, N = 191) = 56.45588$, $p < .05$).

Insert Table 13 about here

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of the press treatment of news items on the earthquakes in the United States, India, and Turkey by The New York Times and The Times of India, showed that the cultures of the two countries seem to play a role in their press coverage of the earthquakes. The culture of the United States that esteems individualism and equality, seemed to be related to the higher percentage of news items receiving 'individual' treatment that were selected from wire services and domestic sources, to be presented in The New York Times, over those presented in The Times of India. The Indian culture values the renunciation of selfhood, and the individual is respected for his affiliation to his community. The cultural perspective of India also seemed to tie in with the higher percentage of news items receiving general treatment that were obtained from wire services and domestic sources that were carried in The Times of India, over those carried in The New York Times.

The New York Times provided far more coverage of the earthquake in

India by length and by number of news items than did The Times of India, of the earthquake in the United States. An important factor to be considered is the difference in the number of casualties in each earthquake. The large number of deaths and casualties in the Indian earthquake as opposed to the number of casualties in the earthquake in the United States (over 30,000 as compared to around 75), could probably account for the discrepancies in coverage. This factor may also be used to explain why The New York Times provided greater coverage to the earthquake in India than to the one in Turkey (the latter earthquake had casualties amounting to around 600).

The Times of India provided more or less equal amount of coverage to the earthquakes in the United States and in Turkey. Again, the number of casualties may be an important factor, for the earthquake in Turkey had around 600 casualties, whereas the earthquake in the United States had around 75 casualties.

The New York Times had definitely more correspondents covering the earthquakes abroad than did The Times of India. The Times of India relied on wire services and foreign sources for a majority of its news reports of the earthquakes abroad.

Culture seems to have played a role in the press treatment of earthquakes by The New York Times and The Times of India. However, the presence of several other factors, such as the differences in amount of

coverage given by the two papers, and the differences in casualties among the earthquakes also seemed to have had an effect on the press treatment of the three earthquakes by the two papers. Thus, it would be presumptuous to conclude that the culture of the United States and of India was a major influence in their press treatment of earthquakes.

CHAPTER VII

LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study focuses on the overall culture of India and the United States. It does not allow for individual differences in the news personnel in The Times of India and of The New York Times. There are possibilities of minority groups working in each paper that make important gatekeeping decisions, and yet are not representative of the cultural ethics of that country. The New York Times has a wide variety of staff in the United States and in its foreign bureaus that belong to different ethnic groups. The Times of India, also, has an increasing number of young reporters that may reflect a more westernized outlook than the traditional Indian perspective. They may also belong to a different class than the victims of the earthquake, and thus provide general reports due to their inability to empathize with the victims. The people affected in the earthquake in India were rural residents and village people who predominantly belong to the backward classes. The reporters and editors from the paper, on the other hand, are usually members of the forward classes (Shah, 1993). Thus it might be possible that the

individual experiences of the earthquake victims in India may have been overlooked.

It is here that the history of each paper and their editorial policies have to be considered. Both The New York Times and The Times of India are papers that are more than a century old, and have deep rooted policies and formulas for news gathering and dissemination. It is expected that these policies reflect the culture of the country in which the paper is established.

Another factor to be considered is the possibility of differences in the basic concept and definition of journalism between the press of the United States and of India. There may be differences in the style of reporting that may be independent of the cultural influence of the country in which the respective newspaper is established.

Also, the individual experiences and academic background of the reporters themselves might have an influence on their press treatment of news events.

The differences in treatment of the earthquakes by the two papers may be due to the amount of coverage given by each paper to the earthquakes, rather than their respective cultures. There seemed to be a correlation between the number of news items each earthquake received and the treatment the news items received. The more news items an earthquake

received, the fewer news items were given 'general' treatment. For example, the earthquakes in the United States, India and in Turkey received 84, 15 and 8 news items that were given 'general' treatment respectively in The New York Times, and each of these accounted for 52.5%, 68.2% and 88.9% of the total treatment awarded to the news items of each of the earthquakes. The fewer number of news items in The Times of India may have made it necessary for general reports rather than individual accounts to be presented in the paper, while the greater number of news items in The New York Times may have facilitated the presentation of more detailed accounts of individual experiences in the earthquakes.

This study is limited by its definitions of individual, general and scientific treatment. Another limitation is that it does not analyze the coverage of the earthquakes as presented by a newspaper from Turkey, to examine the possibility of a "middle of the road" approach in its coverage of the earthquakes, as an influence of the country's culture, and its comparatively "middle" position on the development continuum.

While it may be time consuming, it would be beneficial to conduct a study that takes into account the individual cultural backgrounds of the people directly involved in news selection and presentation in the two papers.

For future research, a split level study is suggested. Newspersons

directly involved in the newsevent studied may be subjected to an open ended questionnaire that elicits information on their cultural beliefs, academic background, and personal experiences. This might prove helpful to determine if the sample adequately represents the cultural identity of the country which the paper serves. The history of each paper and its editorial policies will then have to be studied, and finally, the results of this qualitative study may be compared to the press treatment of international news in each paper to determine if there is any significant correlation.

The differences in the amount of coverage given by the two newspapers of the three earthquakes, also seemed to be an important variable in influencing the press treatment of the earthquakes by the two papers. Thus, a study is suggested, that analyzes the coverage of the three earthquakes by a large number of newspapers, that adequately represent nations at different stages of development. Such a study may allow for a more conclusive analysis of the amount of coverage provided by nations as a result of their respective positions on the development continuum. Also, the study of the coverage of a number of earthquakes by The New York Times and The Times of India may be valuable to ascertain, more definitively, the reasons for the discrepancies in coverage by the two papers, of earthquakes occurring around the world.

REFERENCES

- Anawalt, H.C. (1981). Is the MacBride Commission's approach compatible with the United States' Constitution? Journal of Communication, 31 (4), 122 - 128.
- Adams, W.C. (1986). Whose lives count ? TV coverage of natural disasters. In L.J. Martin, & R.E. Hiebert (Eds.), Current Issues in International Communication. pp. 154 - 160. New York and London: Longman.
- Barbero, J-M. (1993). Latin America : Cultures in the commonwealth media. Journal of Communication, 43 (2), 18 - 29.
- Barnett, G.A., & Kincaid, L.D. (1983). Cultural convergence : A mathematical theory. In Gudykunst, W.B. (Ed.), Intercultural Communication Theory : Current Perspectives. pp. 171- 194. Beverly Hills, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Branscomb, A.W. (1983). Communication policy in the United States : Diversity and pluralism in a competitive marketplace. In Edgar, P. & Rahim, S.A. (Eds.), Communication Policy in Developed Countries. London, Boston, Melbourne: Keegan Paul International.
- Chen, G.M. (1990). Intercultural communication competence : Some perspectives of research. The Howard Journal of Communications, 2 (3), 243 - 261.
- Chaffee, S.M. (1992). Search for change : Survey studies of international media effects. In Korzeny, F., Ting-Toomey, S., & Schiff, E. (Eds.), Mass Media Effects Across Cultures. pp. 35 - 54. Newbury Park, London, & New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Cronen, V.E., & Shuter, R. (1983). Forming intercultural bonds. In Gudykunst, W.B. (Ed.), Intercultural Communication Theory : Current Perspectives. pp. 89 - 118. pp. Beverly Hills, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Daley, P. (1991). "Sad is Too Mild a Word" : Press coverage of the Exxon Valdez oil spill. Journal of Communication, 41 (4), 42 - 57.

- Davis, D. K. (1993). Beyond the culture wars : An agenda for research on communication and culture. Journal of Communication, 43 (3), 141 - 149.
- Denton, C. (1992). Graphics for visual communication. Wm. C. Brown, Publisher.
- Devos, G.A. (1977). The passing of passing : Ethnic pluralism and the new ideal in the American society. In Lorenzo, G.J. (Ed.), We, The People : American Character and Social Change. pp. 220 - 254. Westport, Connecticut; London, England: Greenwood Press.
- Dissanayake, W. (1987). The guiding image in Indian culture and its implications for communication. In Kincaid, L.D. (Ed.), Communication Theory : Eastern and Western Perspectives. Academic Press, Inc. Harcourt Brace, Jovanovich Publishers.
- Edelstein, A.S., Ito, Y., & Kepplinger, H.M. (1989). Communication and Culture : A comparative approach. New York & London: Longman.
- Edgar, P. & Rahim, S.A. (Eds.). (1983). Communication Policy in Developed Countries. London, Boston, Melbourne: Keegan Paul International.
- Entman, R.M. (1991). Framing U.S. coverage of international news : Contrasts in narratives of the KAL and Iran Air incidents. Journal of Communication, 4 (4), 6 - 27.
- Ferguson, M. (1993). Invisible divides : Communication identity in Canada and the U.S. Journal of Communication, 43 (2), 42 - 57.
- Gaddy, D., & Tanjong, E. (1986). Earthquake coverage by the western press. Journal of Communication, 36 (2), 185 - 112.
- Gans, H.G. (1979). Deciding What's News. New York: Pantherson Books.
- Giffard, C.A. (1984). Developed and developing nation news in U.S. wire service files to Asia. Journalism Quarterly, 61(1), 14 - 19.
- Giles, H. & Stokes, F. (1989). Communicator characteristics. In Asante, M.K., & Gudykunst, W.B. (Eds.), Handbook of International and Intercultural Communication. pp. 117 - 144. Newbury Park, London, & New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Gonzalez-Manet, E. (1988). The Hidden War of Information. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

- Grove, C.L. (1984). A fondness for ice water : A brief introduction to the U.S.A. and its people. International/Intercultural Programs Inc. New York, NY. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. 253 495).
- Hachten, W.A. (1987). The World News Prism : Changing Media, Clashing Ideologies. Iowa State University Press.
- Hecht, M.L., Andersen, P.A., & Ribeau, S.A. (1989). The cultural dimensions of non verbal communication. In Asante, M.K., & Gudykunst, W.B. (Eds.), Handbook of International and Intercultural Communication. pp. 763 - 185. Newbury Park, London, & New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Hsu, F.L.K. (1977). Individual fulfillment, social stability and cultural progress. In Lorenzo, G.J. (Ed.), We, The People : American Character and Social Change. pp. 95 - 114. Westport, Connecticut; London, England: Greenwood Press.
- Hunter, B. (Ed.), (1993). The Statesman Yearbook. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Kariel, H.G., & Rosenvall, L.A. (1984). Factors influencing international news flow. In L.J. Martin, & R.E. Hiebert (Eds.), Current Issues in International Communication. pp. 18 - 25. New York and London: Longman.
- Kurian, G. (1982). The United States of America. In Thomas, G. (Ed.), World Press Encyclopedia. Vol II. New York, NY: Facts on File, Inc.
- Langton, L.M. (1989). Third world coverage in four prestige U.S. newspapers. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Washington, D.C.
- Larson, J.F. (1984). U.S. television coverage of foreign news. In Gerbner, G. & Siefert, M. (Eds.), World Communications : A Handbook. pp. 103 -113. New York and London: Longman.
- Ledingham, J.A. & Masel-Walters, L. (1985). Written on the wind : The media and hurricane Alicia. Newspaper Research Journal, 6 (2), 50 - 58.

- Matsumoto, D., Wallbott, H.G., & Scherer, K.R. (1989). Emotions in intercultural communication. In Asante, M.K., & Gudykunst, W.B. (Eds.), Handbook of International and Intercultural Communication. pp. 225 - 246. Newbury Park, London, & New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Matthews, B. (Ed.). (1967). The East and West : Conflict or Cooperation? pp. 33 - 42. Freeport, New York: Books For Libraries Press, Inc.
- McPhail, T.L. (1989). Inquiry in international communication. In Asante, M.K., & Gudykunst, W.B. (Eds.), Handbook of International and Intercultural Communication. pp. 47 - 66. Newbury Park, London, & New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Mehta, D.S. (1980). Mass Communication and Journalism in India. Beverly Hills, London: Sage Publications :
- Mohammed, A. (1991). Determinants of International news reporting in the U.S. Paper presented to the International Communication Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. Boston, MA.
- Mowlana, H. (1983). Mass media and culture : Toward an integrated theory. In Gudykunst, W.B. (Ed.), Intercultural Communication Theory : Current Perspectives. pp. 149 - 170. Beverly Hills, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Mundt, W. (1982). India. In Thomas, G. (Ed.), World Press Encyclopedia. Vol II. New York, NY: Facts on File, Inc.
- Nair, L.R. (1967). Private press in national development: The Indian example. In Lerner, D. & Schramm, W. (Eds.), Communication and Change in Developing Countries. pp. 168 - 189. Honolulu: Eastwest Center Press.
- Okabe, R. (1983). Cultural assumptions of East and West : Japan and the United States. In Gudykunst, W.B. (Ed.), Intercultural Communication Theory : Current Perspectives. pp. 21 - 44. Beverly Hills, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Peterson, S. (1979). Foreign news gatekeepers and criteria of newsworthiness. In Martin, L.J. & Hiebert, R.E. (Eds.), Current Issues in International Communication. pp. 181 - 192. New York & London: Longman.

- Potter, J.W. (1987). News from three world in prestige U.S. newspapers. In Martin, L.J. & Hiebert, R.E. (Eds.), Current Issues in International Communication. pp. 274 - 281. New York & London: Longman.
- Ramprasad, J. & Riffe, D. (1985). The "New York Times" and foreign policy : Press coverage and U.S. - India relations. 1973 - 1980. ERIC Document Reproduction Service 258 227.
- Rahim, A. (1987). The practice of Antyodya in agricultural extension communication in India. In Kincaid, L.D. (Ed.), Communication Theory : Eastern and Western Perspectives. pp. 173 - 187. Academic Press, Inc. Harcourt Brace, Jovanovich Publishers.
- Ravault, R-J. (1981). Information flow : Which way is the wrong way? Journal of Communication, 31 (4), 129 - 134.
- Reddi, U. (1989). Media and culture in Indian society : conflict or cooperation? Media, Culture and Society, 11, 395 - 413.
- Riffe, D. & Shaw, E.F. (1982). Conflict and consonance : Coverage of the Third World in two U.S newspapers. Journalism Quarterly, 59 (4), 617 - 26.
- Rosenblum, M. (1979). Coups and Earthquakes : Reporting the world for America. New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, London, Sydney: Harper and Row, Publishers.
- Ruben, B.D. (1983). A system - theoretic view. In Gudykunst, W.B. (Ed.), Intercultural Communication Theory : Current Perspectives. pp. 131 - 145. Beverly Hills, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Salomone, K.L., Greenberg, M.R., Sandman, P.M., & Sachsman, D.B. (1990). A question of quality : How journalists and news sources evaluate coverage of environmental risk. Journal of Communication, 40 (4), 117 - 129.
- Salwen, M.B. (1991). Cultural imperialism : A media effects approach. Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 829 - 38.
- Schlesinger, P. (1993). Wishful thinking : Cultural politics, media and collective identities in Europe. Journal of Communication, 43 (2), 6 -17.
- Schramm, W. (1974). Mass Media and National Development. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, UNESCO, Paris.

- Shoemaker, P.J., Danielian, L.H., & Brendlinger, N. (1991). Deviant acts, risky business, and U.S. interests : The newsworthiness of world events. Journalism Quarterly, 68 (4), 781 - 795.
- Singer, E. Endreny, P. (1987). Reporting hazards : Their benefits and costs. Journal of Communication, 37 (3), 10 - 26.
- Singh, K.J. (1984). Maritime communication liberation movements in China and India. In Gerbner, G. & Siefert, M. (Eds.), World Communications : A Handbook. pp. 302 - 308. New York & London: Longman.
- Singh, K., & Gross, B. (1981). "MacBride" : The report and the response. Journal of Communication, 31(4), 104 - 117.
- Sinha, A. (1989). A holistic approach to communication research : An alternative methodology. Media, Culture and Society, 11, 453 - 442.
- Sood, R., Stockdale, G., & Rogers, E.M. (1987). How the news media operate in natural disasters. Journal of Communication, 37(3), 27 - 41.
- Spindler, G.D. (1977). Change and continuity in American core cultural values : An anthropological perspective. In Lorenzo, G.J. (Ed.), We, The People : American Character and Social Change. pp. 20 - 39. Westport, Connecticut; London, England: Greenwood Press.
- Sreberny-Mohammadi, A. (1984). The "World of news". In Martin, L.J. & Hiebert, R.E. (Eds.), Current Issues in International Communication. pp. 18 - 25. Longman : New York & London.
- Statistical Yearbook (1993). United Nations : New York. pp. 1082.
- Stevenson, R.L. (1988). Communication, Development and the Third World. New York & London: Longman.
- Straubhar, J.D., Heeter, C., Greenberg, B.S., Ferreira, L., Wicks, R.H., & Lau, T-Y. (1992). What makes news : Western, socialist, and Third World television newscasts compared in eight countries. In Korzenny, F., Ting-Toomey, S., & Schiff, E. (Eds.), Mass Media Effects Across Cultures. pp. 89 - 109. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- The Europa World Yearbook (1993). Volume I & II. Europa Publications Limited.
- Turrow, J. (1992). Media Systems in Society. pp. 209 - 234. New York & London: Longman.

- Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, G. C. (1981). Foreign news coverage in two U.S. wire services. Journal of Communication, 31 (2), 53 - 63.
- Yadava, J.S. (1987). Communication in India : The tenets of Sadharanikaran. In Kincaid, L.D. (Ed.), Communication Theory : Eastern and Western Perspectives. pp. 161 - 171. Academic Press, Inc. Harcourt Brace, Jovanovich Publishers.
- Zassoursky, Y. & Losev, S. (1981). Information in the service of progress. Journal of Communication, 31 (4), 118 - 121.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CODING SCHEDULE

UNIT OF ANALYSIS : any news article, photograph, and editorial page items dealing with the earthquakes in Los Angeles, U.S.A (January 17, 1994); Maharashtra, India, (September 30, 1993); and Erzincan, Turkey, (March 14, 1992).

I. NEWS ITEM :

1. article
2. photograph
3. visual : graph or map indicating location/origin of earthquake, and area affected. This does not include cartoons or sketches.

II. NEWSPAPER :

1. The New York Times (United States of America)
2. The Times of India (India)

III. COUNTRY IN WHICH EARTHQUAKE OCCURED :

1. The United States of America
2. India
3. Turkey

IV. TIME PERIOD :

1. the first week after the earthquake
2. the second week after the earthquake

V. TYPE OF NEWS ITEM :

1. editorial : opinion of the paper, signed or unsigned.
2. photograph : photograph appearing in the news or editorial section of the paper.
3. map : graphic depiction of the country/area affected.
4. diagram : graphic depiction of the causes and effects of the earthquake.
5. column - signed article, clearly indicated as an opinion piece, usually appearing in the editorial section of the paper.
6. news analysis : signed in-depth discussion and analysis of the earthquakes, and clearly indicated as such.
7. straight news article : direct report of the earthquake, with factual information on magnitude of earthquake, number killed, extent of damage, rescue operations, governmental and organizational assistance etc.
8. other

VI. SIZE OF THE ITEM : square unit area occupied by the news article or photograph in the paper, as measured in picas.

VII. PRIORITY GIVEN TO THE ARTICLE : determined by the page on which the news item appears.

1. page one
2. any one of the inside pages, including the last page

VIII. SOURCE :

1. foreign : non local reporter, reporting from abroad
2. foreign/local (correspondent): own reporter reporting from abroad
3. foreign wire service (eg. AP, Reuters, etc.)
4. none indicated

5. domestic : as indicated by name of the writer working for the paper, or dateline, implying that the news item was written/ prepared locally.

6. other

VIII. TREATMENT :

1. individual : news items that focus on one individual's or group of individuals' experience in the earthquake, in 60 percent or more paragraphs of the article. For example, the news story will relate the experience of a specific individual, and the photograph will focus on not more than two subjects.

2. general : news item that deal with overall damage in 60 percent or more paragraphs in the story. For example, the news story will deal with overall figures and statistics, the death toll and the extent of damage to neighbourhoods, towns, and nations. The photograph will focus on more than two subjects or will present scenes of overall damage.

3. individual/general : contains individual treatment and general treatment to the extent of 41-59% each in the paragraphs of the story.

4. scientific : the news story or visual deals only with scientific data and descriptions of the earthquake.

5. other

6. individual/scientific : contains individual treatment and general treatment to the extent of 41-59% each in the paragraphs of the story.

7. general/scientific : contains general treatment and scientific treatment to the extent of 41-59% each in the paragraphs of the news story.

8. combination : individual/general/scientific : contains individual, general and scientific treatment to the extent of 31-35% each in the paragraphs of the news story.

APPENDIX B

World trade figures for the United States, India and Turkey

<u>Country</u>	<u>World Imports</u>	<u>World Exports</u>
United States of America	14.5 %	11.6 %
India	0.65 %	0.5 %
Turkey	0.62 %	0.38 %

Source : Statistical Yearbook (1993). United Nations : New York. pp. 1082.

APPENDIX C

Population, GDP and literacy figures for the United States, India and Turkey

Country	Rate of Literacy	Population per square mile	GDP per capita
U.S.A.	97 %	70	\$22470
India	48 %	700	\$ 380
Turkey	81 %	197	\$ 3,400

Source : Hunter, B. (Ed.), (1993). The Statesman Yearbook. St. Martin's Press : New York.

Table 1

Distribution of the Type of News Items in the Two Newspapers

Newspaper					
Type of News Item	NYT		TOI		Total
	#	%	#	%	
Straight News	84	44.0	63	85.1	147
Photograph	68	35.6	7	9.5	75
Map	18	9.4	2	2.7	20
Diagram	16	8.4	0	0	16
Editorial	2	1.0	1	1.4	4
Column	2	1.0	1	1.4	3
Analysis	1	0.5	0	0	1
Total	191		74		265

$\chi^2 (6, N = 265) = 39.031, p < .05.$

Table 2

Treatment Given to the News Items by the Two Newspapers

Newspaper	Treatment of News Items										Total
	Individual*		General**		Indiv./Gen.		Scientific		Other		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
<u>NYT</u>	52	27.2	107	56.0	8	4.2	19	9.9	5	2.6	191
<u>TOI</u>	8	10.8	59	79.7	2	2.7	5	6.8	0	0	74
Total	60		166		10		24		5		265

$X^2 (4, N = 265), = 13.981, p=.007$

Note : z scores below indicate significant differences between the proportions in each related column.

* z = +2.67, $p<.01$

** z = -3.42, $p<.01$

Table 3

Treatment Given to the Earthquakes by *The New York Times*.

Treatment	Country of Earthquake						
Treatment	U.S.A		India		Turkey		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
General	84	52.5	15	68.2	8	88.9	107
Individual	47	29.4	4	18.2	1	11.1	52
Scientific	18	11.3	1	4.5	0	0	19
Indiv./Gen.	7	4.4	1	4.5	0	0	8
Other	4	2.5	1	4.5	0	0	5
Total	160		22		9		191

$\chi^2 (8, N = 191), = 7.228, p = .512.$

Table 4

Treatment Given to the Earthquakes by *The Times of India*.

Treatment	Country of Earthquake						
	U.S.A		India		Turkey		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
General	4	80.0	51	79.9	4	80.0	59
Individual	0	0	7	10.9	1	20.0	8
Scientific	0	0	5	7.8	0	0	5
Indiv./Gen	1	20.0	1	1.6	0	0	2
Total	5		64		5		74

$\chi^2 (6, N = 74), = 7.691, p=.261.$

Table 5

Distribution of News Items From Foreign Wire Services in the Two
Newspapers Based on Treatment.

Newspaper	Treatment of News Item										
	Individual		General		Indiv./Gen		Scientific		Other		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
<u>NYT</u>	17	38.6	22	50.0	0	0	4	9.1	1	2.3	44
<u>TOI</u>	1	14.3	5	71.4	1	14.3	0	0	0	0	7
Total	18		27		1		4		1		51

$\chi^2 (4, N = 51), = 8.619, p = .07.$

Table 6

Distribution of News Items from Domestic Sources in the Two Newspapers
Based on Treatment.

Newspaper	Treatment of News Item										
	Individual		General		Indiv./Gen.		Scientific		Other		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
<u>NYT</u>	34	29.6	65	56.5	7	6.1	7	6.1	2	1.7	115
<u>TOI</u>	6	10.5	47	82.5	0	0	4	7.0	0	0	57
Total	40		112		7		11		2		172

$\chi^2 (4, N = 172), = 14.389, p=.006$

Table 7

Importance Given to the Earthquakes by the Two Newspapers in Terms of
Number of News Items.

Newspaper	Country of Earthquake						
	U.S.A		India		Turkey**		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
<u>NYT</u>	160	83.8	22	11.5*	9	4.7	191
<u>TOI</u>	5	6.8*	64	86.5	5	6.8	74
Total	165		86		14		265

$\chi^2 (2, N = 265), = 143.595, p=.000$

Note : z scores below indicate significant differences between the proportions i related column.

* z = 1.25, $p>.01$

** z = -0.67, $p>.01$

Table 8

Importance Given to the Earthquakes by *The New York Times* in terms of Length of News Items.

Length in Picas	Country of Earthquake						
	U.S.A		India		Turkey		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
1 - 135	40	25.0	7	31.8	4	44.4	51
136 - 232	50	31.3	7	31.8	3	33.3	60
233 - 885	70	43.8	8	36.4	2	22.2	80
Totals	160		22		9		191

$\chi^2 (4, N = 191) = 2.587, p=.629$

Table 9

Importance Given to the Earthquakes by *The Times of India* in terms of Length of News Items.

Length in Picas	Country of Earthquake						
	U.S.A		India		Turkey		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
1 - 135	4	80.0	33	51.6	2	40.0	39
136 - 232	1	20.0	24	37.5	3	60.0	28
233 - 885	0	0	7	10.9	0	0	7
Total	5		64		5		74

$X^2 (4, N = 74) = 3.040, p=.550$

Table 10

Distribution of News Items in the Two Newspapers in Terms of Length
of News Items

Size of News Item	Newspaper				Total
	#	<u>NYT</u> %	#	<u>TOI</u> %	
1 - 135 picas	51	26.7	39	52.7	90
136 - 232 picas	60	31.4	28	37.8	88
233 - 885 picas	80	41.9	7	9.5	87
Total	191		64		265

$\chi^2 (2, N = 265) = 28.361, p < .05.$

Table 11

Distribution of Source of News Items in the Two Newspapers

Source	Newspaper				Total
	NYT		TOI		
	#	%	#	%	
Foreign/Local	7	3.7	0	0	7
Foreign Wire Service	44	23.0	7	9.5	51
None Indicated	18	9.4	10	13.5	28
Domestic	115	60.2	57	77.0	172
Other	7	3.7	0	0	7
Total	191		74		265

$\chi^2 (4, N = 265) = 13.701, p < .05.$

Table 12

Distribution of Source of News Items of the Earthquakes in *The Times of India*.

Source	Country of Earthquake						Total
	U.S.A		India		Turkey		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Foreign Wire Service	5	100.0	1	1.6	1	40.0	7
None Indicated	0	0	6	9.4	4	60.0	10
Domestic	0	0	57	89.1	0	0	57
Total	5		64		5		74

$\chi^2 (4, N = 74), = 74.885, p=.000$

Table 13

Distribution of Source of News Items in *The New York Times*.

Source	Country of Earthquake						Total
	U.S.A		India		Turkey		
	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Foreign/Local	0	0	5	22.7	2	22.2	7
Foreign Wire Service	30	18.8	10	45.5	4	44.4	44
None Indicated	15	9.4	1	4.5	2	22.2	18
Domestic	108	67.5	6	27.3	1	11.1	115
Other	7	100.0	0	0	0	0	7
Total	160		22		9		191

$\chi^2 (8, N = 191) = 56.455, p=.000.$