

Examining West-East Information Flows: An Analysis of American and Indian Newspaper

Coverage of the 9/11 and 26/11 Attacks

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This Capstone seeks to address the question of whether global information still flows from West to East as it has since the time of the colonization of the majority of the world by Europe, or is there a new, more balanced flow of information occurring in the wake of the increasing economic power of many Asian and non-Western countries? The paper seeks to shed light on the question through an analysis of the coverage of two major terror attacks by the New York Times, Washington Post, Times of India, and The Hindu. Word counts of the actual coverage along with content analysis were used in order to information flow and other differences in coverage between the two countries newspapers. The research points to the conclusion that information still flows from the West, but that there is increased independence and counter-flow from the East.

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1.1: Introduction

The 21st century has brought with it a host of new issues and opportunities. The rapid proliferation and advancement of technology has meant that people across the globe are now more interconnected than ever and news can travel in the blink of an eye across the globe. New powers are rising seeking to alter the global domination by the West that has occurred since the West underwent the industrial revolution. And like every age, new conflicts and methods of waging those conflicts have also arrived. The 9/11 and 26/11 attacks are both examples of the new wars that are being fought currently across the globe and how they have changed and effected the world profoundly.

1.2: Research Questions

There are several research questions that will sought to be answered by the paper. These questions include the following:

- How does the coverage of the same events differ in US and Indian newspapers?
- Is the West still the main source for information flows?
- How are the events portrayed?

1.3: Objectives

In order to attempt to answer these questions several objectives have been formulated. These are as follows:

- Study the American newspaper coverage of the 9/11 and 26/11 attacks.
- Study the Indian newspaper coverage of the 9/11 and 26/11 attacks.
- Compare the American and Indian Newspaper coverage of the two attacks.

1.4: Background

The 9/11 terror attacks were unprecedented both in their scale and impact on not only the US but the world as well. On the morning of September 11, 2001 nineteen Islamic extremists boarded four separate flights across the east coast of the US and subsequently hijacked four civilian airliners. Three of these hijacked aircraft reached their targets, the twin towers of the world trade center in New York City, and the Pentagon in Washington D.C. The fourth plane which was believed to be destined for either the Capitol building or the White House, crashed in a Pennsylvania field as the passengers and flight crew attempted to retake the plane from the hijackers. Ultimately, the Pentagon was damaged, both towers collapsed along with several surrounding buildings and almost 3,000 people died making it the deadliest attack on American soil since Pearl Harbor (September).

The 26/11 terror attacks, while not the first or most deadly attacks in India or even Mumbai's history were extremely important as they represented a new form of terror attack and held Mumbai, India's financial capital, under attack during the span of three days. The attackers were 10 Islamic extremists who began the attacks by hijacking an Indian fishing boat killing the crew and using it to slip into the city of Mumbai. From there, the attackers separated into several teams and proceeded to engage in a suicidal commando style attack, opening fire in several locations across the city with small arms and explosives. One team attacked and occupied the Taj Mahal Hotel, while another occupied the Oberoi Trident Hotel. Yet another team occupied and took hostages at the Nariam House, a Jewish centre in Mumbai, while the final team attacked several locations in the city, Leopold Café, Chhatrapati Shivaji Railway Terminus, and a hospital, before being stopped by the police. The security forces quickly reacted to the occupations of the hotels and Nariam House, surrounding the locations and beginning to plan

their assaults. However, the locations were not all secured and 9 of the ten attackers killed until the morning of the 29th (Timeline 2008).

1.5: Justification

The 9/11 and 26/11 attacks have been chosen as the both have several similarities in spite of the differences in timing and scale. First, the attacks both generated large amounts of media coverage and can be seen as a time when the media and public agenda's came together in the mass media. Another similarity between the attacks is that both were carried out by Islamic extremists who specifically targeted locations and buildings to maximize the symbolic effects of the attacks rather than to cause the most casualties or destruction. Also, these attacks can be said to have changed the national security outlooks of the two respective countries. The US has spent vast amounts of time and money improving air security, while India has reworked both its maritime-coastal security and created new rapid reaction anti-terror security forces in many major cities.

The US was chosen to be the representative of the West as it has become a symbol of Western culture and power over the last few decades and would appear to be continuing in that role for the next several decades as well. India has been chosen as it has become one of the rising powers of the East. India is a leading developing nation, that been looked to for leadership amongst the developing world. One such example would be India's commitment and leadership in the Non-aligned Movement, which sought to counter Cold War tensions. Furthermore, it is often compared with China in terms of future power, and like China has been growing at a rapid economic pace. With this new found economic growth, China and India have increasingly looked to regain the power they feel was lost during the colonial age, and return to the historical

levels of power and prestige that they had in more historical times. India has been chosen over China, as they both India and the US share the common language of English. Additionally, India is the world's largest democracy and has a free press with strong private market players. These two factors allow for an easier analysis of the flow of information, as they are not present in China and would hinder the flow. Additionally, India is a country in which the elites know and speak English. This allows for an easier comparison as all four newspapers will have their coverage in English.

Newspapers have been chosen as both countries have strong newspapers that are widely read in their respective countries. The New York Times and Washington Post have been selected due to their influential status in the US. Both papers are highly regarded and are read by the elites in the country. For India, The Hindu and the Times of India have been chosen for similar reasons. Both these papers are English language papers that compete at the national level and are read throughout the country. Newspapers still remain the dominant form of information for most Indians as well, bucking the trend in the West where readership has been decreasing with the opposite effect occurring in India.

2.1: Literature Review

The flow of information has been and the media's coverage of terror attacks has been the topic of several academics. However, these two are topics are generally not combined in a way that allows one topic to help further the analysis of the other and vice versa. Examination of international news can be traced to the study undertaken by Galtung and Ruge in 1965 in which they examined what stories became international news. The study has become the foundation for future studies, and introduced several main concepts and terms such as news values, references

to elites both people and nations, and frequency (Galtung, Ruge 1965). These terms all contribute to the selection of news and then the distortion in which the media highlights certain aspects of the news story (Harcup 2001).

One of the key works that has been undertaken is the UNESCO MacBride Commission, which examined the state of information flows in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Their report titled “Many Voices, One World” was critical of the Western dominated flow of news information and the lack of equality in the world communication order. The report made several recommendations for achieving a more balanced and fair global communications order, including the strengthening of national media sources across the globe and the democratization of communication resources (MacBride 1980). The report has been heavily criticized by the US and the UK who fear that the empowerment of national state run media sources would endanger the free press, and hurt American and British media corporations’ profits and reach.

Another scholar William Meyers in his work, “Global News Flow”, also examines the flow of information by looking at the source for third world countries obtaining their international news stories. He has several conclusions, with the first being that at least half of the international coverage in these third world papers was taken from Trans-National News Agencies, such as Reuters or AP, in the West, and that these stories tended to represent Western news values focusing more upon diplomacy, unrest, and natural disasters. This stands in comparison to non-aligned or third world sources for international news, which were more concerned with developmental news. However, he also raises the point that these TNNAs did not have a stranglehold over the international news in these developing countries, and that there were other sources that were available, but not necessarily easily available for the editors of third world newspapers (Meyers 1989). Finally, he concludes that the information flows are

neocolonial in several aspects, as the third world countries remained reliant upon the TNNAs of the hegemonic power, for instance Reuters in the case of former British colonies or AP for Latin American countries. Also, the internal news in these countries would often be sent through the 'center', such as France or the UK, and then sent back to the country to be reported on in the news wires of the TNNAs (Meyer 1989). This type of news flow and media dominance is often referred to as media dependency which is related to the structural dependency theories. In this theory, the wealthy cores of nations enrich themselves and maintain their way of life at the expense of the periphery poorer nations. Media dominance by the wealthy is there for a key component of maintaining the dependency model.

In contrast to the ideas of media domination and dependency, there is the notion of a contra-flow of information. Another area of academic work has been the recent analysis of contra-flow in global media, as proposed by Daya Kishan Thussu. In this work the increasing complexity of international news flows in the 21st century is examined with a special emphasis on the rise of non-Western sources of news, mainly Al-Jazeera. Also analyzed is the increase in other forms of non-Western media going global, such as Bollywood films and Latin American telenovelas. Ultimately the paper concludes that while non-Western media is indeed rising, the soft power that is represented by this growth is still underpinned by the hard power of military and economic power, allowing the West, especially the US, to play a dominant role in the future (Thussu 2006). While contra flow is still a new concept, it is an increasingly important one due to the rise of non-western sources of economic and military hard power that can viably challenge the West.

This lack of strong contra-flow is further examined in another study, which presents an alternative model. Archetti argues that news flow is less an intentional construct and rather just a

reflection of levels of interest. Poorer countries are more interesting in the goings on of rich countries. Rich countries on the other hand are significantly less interested in the poor countries outside of major events involving national interests. This is a reasonable statement, but the real insight is from the idea that this is not a bad notion for poorer countries. Rather the weaker position of the poor country directly contributes to a more diverse range of sources for the news, which provides a broader news discourse than in rich countries. This counters the threat of domination by a rich country somewhat as the media in the poorer country and allows for greater views. Furthermore, the sources that are utilized are in both rich and poor countries heavily influenced by the national interest established by the political elites of said country (Archetti 2008). This national interest along with local and nation differences are what allow for distinct journalism throughout the world, while providing a barrier to media domination by the rich countries which has been proposed.

In addition to the literature on world information flows, there has been a substantial amount of prior research on the terrorism and media coverage of terrorism. Terrorism attacks are designed by their high profile nature to garner significant amounts of media coverage, as the terrorist are seeking to have their views and actions known. While the groups perpetrating the acts of terrorism might argue that they are not terrorists, the media generally has tended to portray such groups with the terminology of terrorism. Critical to this area of study has been the issue of framing done by the media of the actions taken in terror attacks by both the terrorists and governments. Entman has described the process of framing as the emphasis of certain aspects or ideas. When journalists frame a news article, they are selected some aspect of the news story and highlighting it in a way in which it is communicated to the audience. This can then be

utilized to affect how the audience reacts to the news story and what should be done in response to learning of the news story (Entman 1993).

This framing has been a major theme in recent works, such as by Changho Lee, who sought to look at coverage in the wake of 9/11 to discover the frames being used. By looking at these frames, Lee was able to confirm that the American media largely highlighted the government's response in the aftermath of the attacks, mainly avoiding the other important issues such as the social, historical or, political context of the attacks (Lee 2003). This meant that a public discussion on the motivations for the attacks was mainly sidelined and instead the need for retaliation and increased security were highlighted in an effort to prep the American public for a war mind set.

Journalists are not the only people who can affect framing, as the sources that they utilize also have an effect in framing the news story. Li and Izard also examined 9/11 coverage in American media to view how different media types covered and framed the story. The sources used were one of the major research questions and ultimately they found that in crisis situations the media tends to rely heavily on government and official sources. This more true in television than in newspaper coverage, as newspapers had slightly greater range of sources, such as international organizations or experts. The source usage and framing was also closely linked, with government sources being widely cited in politically framed news, but on the ground witnesses being the main source in human interest frames or disaster frames. Another aspect raised in the study is that media has the potential to alter their behavior during times of crisis involving national interest due to reasons such as competitive advantage, institutional characteristics, and other challenges faced (Li, Izard 2003).

2.2: Hypothesis

While both fields of study have significant amounts of research on global information flows and coverage of terror attacks they have been kept separate. This study will attempt to link the two by examining the coverage of the two terror attacks in two countries with very distinct differences and national interests. In order to accomplish this task several hypothesis will be tested.

H1: The newspaper coverage of the 9/11 attacks will be higher in American newspapers than in Indian newspapers.

H2: The newspaper coverage of the 26/11 attacks will be higher in Indian newspapers than in American newspapers.

H3: The newspaper coverage of the 9/11 attacks will be greater than the coverage of the 26/11 attacks coverage in American newspapers.

H4: The newspapers coverage of the 26/11 attacks will be greater than the coverage of the 9/11 attacks in Indian newspapers.

H5: The difference between the coverage between the 9/11 and 26/11 attacks will be greater in American newspapers than in Indian newspapers.

H6: American coverage will be framed in greater national interest frames than Indian coverage of the attacks.

H7: Indian coverage of 9/11 will be dominated by American concerns and news coverage.

3.1: Methodology

In order to test these hypotheses several methods were utilized. As explained earlier, the four newspapers were selected to be representative of the coverage in the respective countries. Due to massive amount of coverage that was generated in the aftermath of the attacks, analysis was focused on the seven days following the start of the attacks. Therefore, the period of September 12-18, 2001 and November 27-December 3, 2008 were surveyed. Furthermore, only articles which appeared on the front page of the newspaper were recorded and examined. The front page was selected due to standard newspaper layout in which the most influential and newsworthy stories are placed on the front page. Therefore, one can understand the editorial policy of the newspaper (Lee 2003). These articles are obtained by performing online archive searches for the examined time period on the newspapers websites. Searches on the word attack, deaths, or terror were used. No sampling procedures were used; any relevant article that was present on the front page was analyzed. As the articles are online, word counts were used to quantify the data and draw conclusions on the amount of coverage devoted to the attacks.

In addition to this quantitative analysis, quantitative content analysis on the selected front page articles was carried out. This was utilized to determine the framing that was occurring in the coverage and what messages were being highlighted to readers. To determine the content of any given article, several steps were used. The first step was examining the title of the article the headline and lead sentences. These areas of the article are important places where the author often exposes the frame of the article while summarizes its message (Brooks, Kennedy, Moen, Ranly 1999). Following this initial step, the nature of the article was determined by an overall reading of the article which focused on the sources, symbols terms and adjectives used

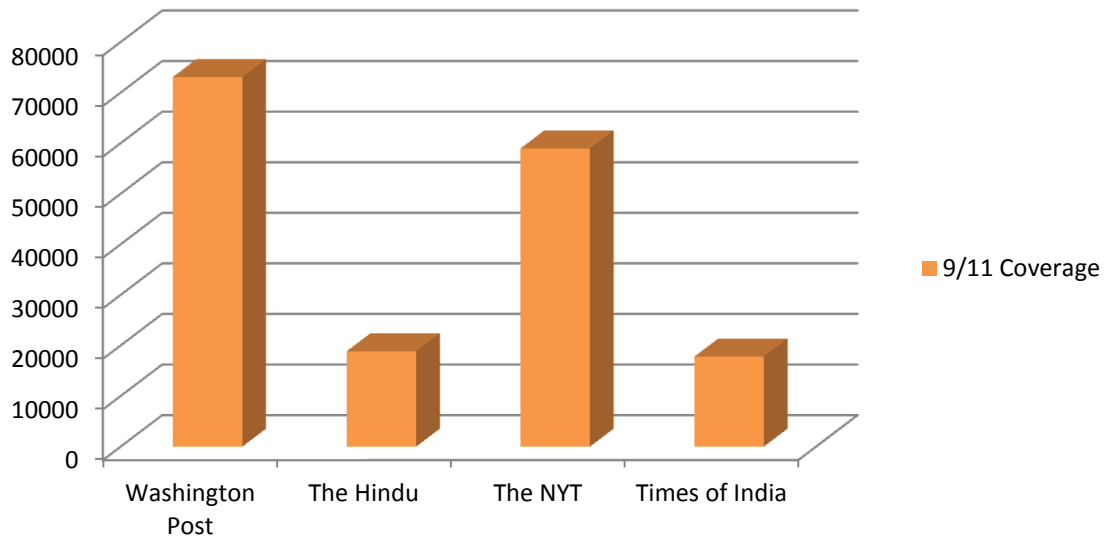
in the article. The nature of the article was normally broken into one of several areas, facts about the attacks, analysis of responses to the attacks, and extreme emotional or personal human interest pieces.

This process allowed for the articles to be placed into five categories: National Interest/Government response, Informative, Personal/Emotional, World Response, and Economic. Articles in 'National Interest/Government Response' would include articles that talked about the government action, strategic national concerns and generally had government sources. 'Informative' included the articles that primarily gave descriptions of events and fact about the current situation. These sources were also government heavy, but were broader based. 'Personal/Emotional' articles were generally human interest piece or one in which the reader was subjected to strong intentional emotional pulls by the images and adjectives used in the article. The sources for these articles generally were witnesses or those involved or affected by the attacks. 'World Response' articles documented international opinion and response to the countries reaction and the attacks. These sources generally were government. The last category was articles in the 'Economic' category. These articles focused on the attacks effect of economic conditions, with sources generally split between government and private sector individuals.

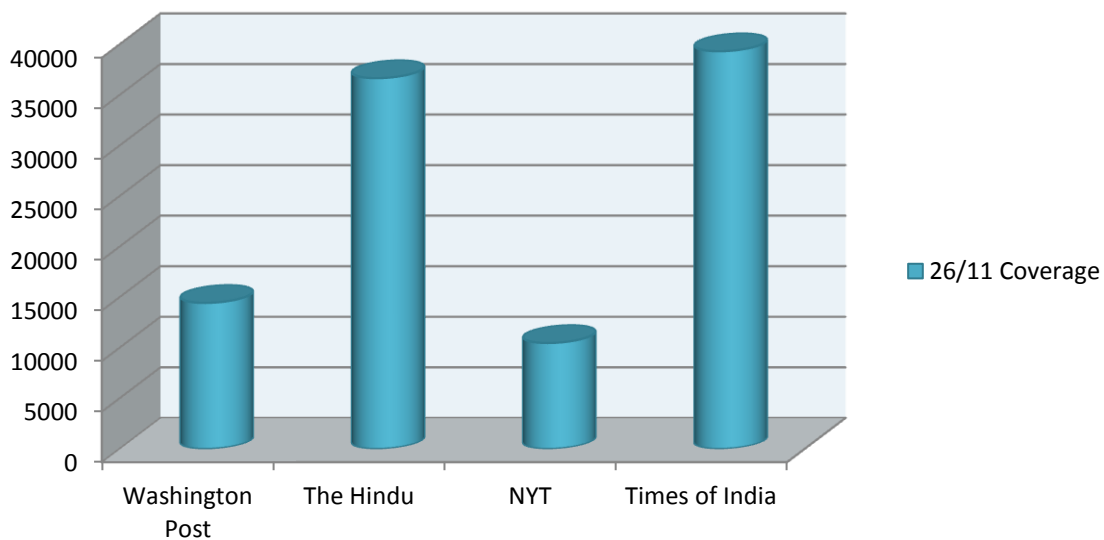
4.1: Results

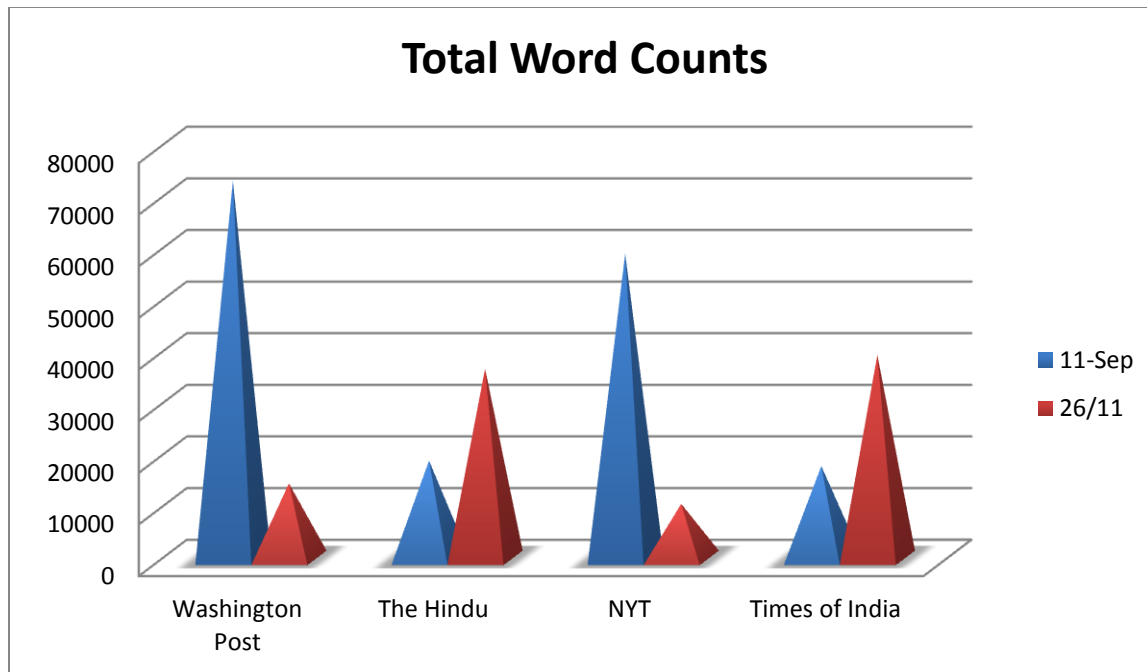
The first series of tables show the results of the data collection and analysis for the word counts of the articles dedicated to coverage of the attacks.

9/11 Coverage



26/11 Coverage





As the graphs show there was a clear difference in the coverage and the types of coverage. The hypotheses can now be tested with the available data and conclusions drawn.

The first hypothesis that American coverage of 9/11 is clearly supported by the data with the American papers devoting large amounts of coverage in the form of 73,067 (WP) and 58,959 (NYT) compared to their Indian counterparts, 18,850 (Hindu) and 17,792 (TOI). The second hypothesis is also found to be supported, with Indian papers devoting much more coverage to the 26/11 attacks than the American papers, with 36,667 (Hindu) and 39,328 (TOI), compared to 14,436 (WP) and 10,470 (NYT). The third and fourth hypothesis are also found to be supported with the national papers devoting much more coverage to the attack that occurred in their country than to the one that occurred across the globe.

The fifth hypothesis is supported by the raw word count data, as the difference between the coverage of the two events is significantly greater in the American papers than in the Indian ones, with differences of 58,631 (WP) and 48,489 (NYT) compared with 17,817 (Hindu) and

21,536 (TOI). The actual true measure of support for this hypothesis actually comes from the comparison of number of article in which there is almost no difference for the 9/11 attacks, all newspapers had around 40. However, when looking at the 26/11 attacks the Indian papers both have over 70 articles, while the American counterparts manage a small 8 (NYT) and 11(WP). The support for these hypotheses does not seem to be unsurprising as it fits in with the majority of the prior schools of thought which have identified such an imbalance in West-East reporting. It also fits with the idea that the rich countries simply do not have much interest in poorer countries, as both American papers could not even managed to run front page stories about the 26/11 attacks for all seven of the days surveyed meaning that within a week of devastating and nation changing attack American audiences would have had to search for any news in the international section towards the back most likely.

9/11 Coverage	National Interest/ Govt response	Informative	Personal/Emotional	World Response	Economic	Total
NYT	17	4	9	4	6	40
The Hindu	22	11	7	1	0	41
Washington Post	17	7	9	4	4	41
Times of India	18	9	10	2	1	40
Total	74 (US-34) (India-40)	31 (US 13) (India 20)	35 (US-18) (India-17)	11 (US-8) (India-3)	11 (US 10) (India 1)	

26/11 Coverage	National Interest/ Govt response	Informative	Personal/Emotional	World Response	Economic	Total
NYT	2	4	2	0	0	8
The Hindu	26	13	21	11	2	73
Washington Post	2	4	5	0	0	11
Times of India	24	11	29	8	3	75
Total	54 (US-4) (India-50)	32 (US 8) (India 24)	57 (US-7) (India-50)	19 (US-0) (India-19)	5 (US 0) (India 5)	

These two tables show the breakdown of the frames used in the writing of the coverage of the attacks. This is useful in testing the final two hypotheses and for drawing larger conclusions about differences between the countries.

The sixth hypothesis is found to be rejected. The data does not support the claim that American newspapers frame their stories in greater national interest terms than there Indian counterparts. In the 9/11 attacks the average Indian national interest frame was about 49% of the time and was the dominant frame used by Indian newspapers. This was true for the Americans as well that the dominant frame was national interest but at an average of roughly 42% it in no way was more commonplace than the Indian papers. The Indian papers had strong national interests that clearly showed with several articles concerned solely with Indian issues, such the repeated victim cries that India, with several long standing internal ‘terrorist’ or separatists movements, such as in Jammu & Kashmir or Assam, had been fighting against terrorism for decades. This was a prevalent theme and clearly showed national interest. Linked with this issue of course is one of the main Indian national interests, Pakistan. Every move Pakistan made, from quickly agreeing to US demands to stop supplying the Taliban, to the request for intelligence and facilities, was closely watched by the Indian media. The Indian media also

being much more experienced and wise to the internal running's of Pakistan did provided a fairly accurate scenario of how events would unfold in Pakistan if the US forced demanded Pakistan co-operation. They predicted a crackdown of militant groups in Pakistan whom had been linked with the countries ruling military and intelligence services would create a backlash causing violence and other issues in Pakistan itself. This in turn would be blamed on the US straining relations between the countries. American newspapers, and arguably policy planners, missed this threat of instability and breakdown in relations, and the country has come to learn over the past decade that Pakistan is a shaky ally at best. American papers seemed to be more preoccupied with the response to the attacks and focused heavily on government rhetoric of impending military action, placing the country in a war mindset, by dominating news coverage with politicians quotes such as "Wanted Dead or Alive" President Bush referring to Osama Bin Laden (Balz 2001). Another example would be a headline that included the US seeking international support for a "crusade against terrorism", thus managing to not only show international support for the US, but also contextualize the coming conflict as a continuation of the medieval clash of civilizations (Washington Post 2001).

In the 26/11 attacks the pattern again plays out again with Indian papers still having better framing with national interest at roughly 34% compared to the American average of only around 22%. With these attacks national interest remains the first or second dominant frame for the Indian papers, but is surpassed by Informative and Emotional/personal frames for the American papers. Almost all the American papers in their article had a fair amount of background information about India, Mumbai, or recent Indian experiences with terrorism, as it is likely assumed that the American audience knows little about India or needs some background to fully contextualize the attacks. The personal frames make a strong showing in the 26/11 for

American papers rather than national interest due to focus on the American and other Western victims who were killed or injured in the attacks, which provides a relatable human connection for the American audience. The Indian papers still maintain a high level of national interest, but have a strong showing in the Emotional/Personal frame as well which is understandable seeing as the attack occurred on and affected Indians first and foremost. However, unlike the American counter-parts in 9/11 coverage, there is a strong absence of calls for immediate military retaliation at the source of the attackers, which is Pakistan. Pakistani denials of involvement feature prominently as do calls for restraint and measured response from Indian politicians. This interesting difference could be attributable to cultural and national identity differences, but it also strongly has to do with the avoidance of possible nuclear war with a hostile and close neighbor.

The final hypothesis is also rejected by the data gathered. As with hypothesis six, Indian issues and interests are the dominant issue in the framing of news coverage. While it can be said that the American event, and American news reports and political rhetoric did influence Indian dominate the front pages of Indian newspaper, it was generally changed into an Indian perspective, whether in Indian national interests, or the fate of Indians caught up in the attacks. The only location in where there was a clear American or Western influence was in the informative frame where most of the articles, roughly 25% of the frames, were taken from Western news service such as the Associated Press or Agence France Presse. These stories were typical of American journalism norms and tended towards mainly official government sources and quotes. Additionally, while India was very supportive and one of the first nation to offer support for an American led war on terrorism, it was through the frames of Indian national interests, namely Pakistan, and India still maintained reserved over the use of force and non-

committal about any joint US-Indian military action, an idea in line with India's normal foreign policy track of non-alignment.

4:2 Conclusions

In addition to supporting or rejected the hypotheses, the data has offered other insights about the general state of coverage in the US and India and global information flows. There are several distinct differences in the coverage of the events between the two countries. As mentioned earlier, one of the biggest was the calls for retaliation. American papers definitely fell in line with the Bush administrations war rhetoric, along with the majority of the American public. India however did not echo the retaliatory rhetoric when it was attacked. Another major difference between the newspapers was in the style of writing. Indian journalism tends towards a more narrative style in which more of the journalist's ideas and views are placed in the article. Additionally, both countries newspapers were infused with national values and folk lore that would be understandable to their national audiences but might sound weird or confusing those unfamiliar with the country. In American papers, repeated references to the attack on Pearl Harbor was made, which brings up a whole set of values and notions of just war, treachery and revenge in the American mind. Similarly, in the Indian newspapers, there is frequent use of cricket terminology and phrases, such as sticky wickets, or South Asian numbers such as lakh or crore, which is absolutely unintelligible to a non-Indian or non-cricket loving audience. Further examples of difference include using the acronym LeT for the dreaded and fear terror group Lashkar-e-Taiba in India or American papers using Wall Street as a metaphor and symbol of the entire American financial and business sector. Another interesting difference is in naming of regions as it reflects on the actual mindset. Ask most Americans what region the terrorists of 9/11 came from and you will probably hear about the Middle East. However that same question

posed to an Indian might easily get the answer of West Asia. It is reflective of geographic position and mindset, with the term Middle East often associated with Orientalism and Western thought.

An additional point is in the area of contra-flow. While the data shows both countries having fairly independent news service concerned more with national issues, there are some faint signs of contra-flow. For instance both The Hindu and Times of India are cited as sources by the Washington Post and New York Times during coverage of the 26/11 attacks. This shows that there is evidence of contra-flow occurring in the global information system.

The final difference to be highlighted is in the Emotional/Personal framed articles. These were a major portion of the coverage in the attacks, but produced different types of frames. The Indian newspapers tended to focus less on the victims, unless they were elite victims or foreigners, and more on the 'valiant' actions of the security forces and staff at the targets. Examples include an entire article on a police commander who after rescuing a wounded comrade turned to the rest of the squad and told them, "Don't come up. I will handle them, said the hero" (The Hindu 2008). The article continues with how the hero did go up alone, killing one terrorist and wounding another before succumbing to his own injuries and dying. American papers on the other hand, did play up the action of first responders, but in general tended to focus more on the personal stories of the victims or their surviving family members. Witnesses seeing people jumping from the upper floors of the World Trade Center was a big emotional theme, as was family members being interviewed about phone calls they had with others who were trapped and doomed in the WTC or on the hijacked planes. These stories generally ended with a never forget or vow for retaliation theme, which has precedent in the American historical narrative,

from remember the Alamo to the attacks on Pearl Harbor being labeled as a day that will live in infamy (FDR 1941).

4.3: Implications and Further Research

This study has examined the news coverage of the 9/11 and 26/11 terror attacks by the Washington Post, New York Times, Times of India, and The Hindu. Based off of this analysis of the gathered data the first five hypotheses were supported giving credence to a West that is largely indifferent towards news coming from the East. However, it is difficult to say that the West dominates international news flow and dictates coverage as the sixth and seventh hypotheses were rejected, and the data points to a robust and independent Indian media landscape that is able to take news from the West and reshape it in an Indian context about issues that are deemed important to India. Furthermore, by examining Indian discourse, one can glean insights that are missed or not known in American news, such as how US interventions in the region will be viewed and possible consequences of those interventions. Future research on the topic should be undertaken, with longer time frames, or additional countries or media outlet types being examined to see their effect on coverage frames and news flows. Additional and continued research is needed in order to explore these topics further and as the economic and political balance of the world shifts to a more multi-polar world order.

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