The Mumbai terrorist attacks: How influential are citizens in crisis news reporting?

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

From Hurricane Katrina to London bombings and the 2009 Iran elections, citizens are increasingly making themselves heard in mainstream news reporting. This study explores the extent of influence of citizen sources on crisis news reporting through a pilot case study content analysis of the New York Times, London Times, New Zealand Herald and Times of India on the 2008 Mumbai terrorist incident over a one-week period, from 26 November 2008 to 2 December 2008. Findings from this study found a high proportion of citizen sources used especially at the beginning stage of the Mumbai crisis, indicating the small window of opportunity event driven news offer for a greater inclusion of non-governmental voices. While the media continued to be cautious, using citizen sources more for their conventional roles as witnesses or victims with firsthand accounts, there were some clear traces of influence with citizen sources offering analytical and political viewpoints in the Times of India. Contrary to the belief in citizen-journalists being able to offer breaking news in news reports, its impact remained small. A first study of its kind to examine the extent of citizen source influence in crisis news reporting through a case study analysis, the findings from this study will significantly add to literature on the potential influence of government and citizen voices in the media and raise understanding about situational factors that will affect their influence in crises.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

Audiences are no longer just consuming the news. They are increasingly producing the news themselves. Instead of just reading the story, some audiences are telling more of the story, as they never had before. In the recent years, the quantity and quality of citizens' contributions to news stories have moved beyond novelty and tokenism, challenging the ways in which journalists and audiences produce and consume news (Sambrook, 2005; Bruns, 2008). This thesis seeks to explore the extent of influence from citizen sources on mainstream news media reporting. Use of citizen sources is particularly significant in a crisis, where immediacy and firsthand eyewitness accounts from citizens are highly valued in news reporting. This thesis will use the terrorist incident in Mumbai from 26 November 2008 to 29 November 2008 as a case study, examining at a micro-level how the international and Indian news reporting used and featured citizen sources in news reports.

This study is significant given the increased use of citizen sources in crisis breaking news around the world. There has been a constant debate about the ability of citizens in influencing news reporting. However, there have been little attempts at analyzing their extent of influence at a micro level in news reports. This thesis hopes to contribute new insights on how influential citizens can be in mainstream media news reporting through a case study content analysis. It will also add to literature on the dominance of government voices in the media by raising understanding about situational factors that affect this dominance.

For four days, terrorist attacks in Mumbai (India's cultural and financial capital) by the Pakistan-based Islamic militant group, Lashkar-e-Taiba became a media spectacle for the world. Bomb blasts and shootouts carried out by ten terrorists in

ten prominent locations left 172 ("India admits 'lapses' over Mumbai", BBC, 2008) people dead, including nine gunmen. The minute news broke on the Mumbai attacks, social networking media sites like Twitter were flooded with a huge volume of messages, turning it into an on-ground intelligence for mainstream media (Busari, 2008, CNN). There was also a proliferation of live-blogging offering real-time eyewitness accounts (Busari, 2008, CNN; Mishra, 2008; Armour, 2008), with the original ones coming from writer-bloggers trio of Amit Varma, Sonia Falerio, Rahul Bhatia, stranded close to the Taj Mahal, one of the hotels under attack. Vinukumar Rangathan, a journalist, posted some of the first photographs of the attacks (Mishra, 2008) on Flickr, a photo-sharing website and international and Indian news organizations quickly featured these in their news reports. CNN and BBC started interviewing bloggers like Vinukumar and Amit Varma, making them in-demand pundits overnight. The role of Indian citizens' blogging live about the attacks became the central focus of news stories as well (Mishra, 2008). This chapter outlines the research focus, approach and structure of this thesis and discusses the methodology that will be used as the main approach to answering the research questions.

1.2 Research focus

During a crisis like a terrorist act or in routine news reporting, literature has shown that journalists tend to index sources and viewpoints in the news according to the magnitude and content of conflicts among key government decision makers (Hallin, 1986; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Bennett, 1990; Gitlin, 2003; Eliasoph, 1997; Manning, 2001). The journalist's desire to deliver news objectively and efficiently within limited resources dictates newsgathering through routine channels and a heavy reliance on government sources considered the most authoritative and newsworthy (Bennett, 2001, 1990, 2004; Hallin, 1986; Mermin, 1997). While the media's deference to government sources tends to be strong, literature has shown windows of opportunities for other non-governmental sources to challenge this (Bennett & Livingstone, 2003; Lawrence, 1996).

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Wolfsfeld (1997)'s political contest model contends that the influence over the news agenda is like a contest between powerful antagonists like governments and weaker ones like terrorists, citizens or other non-governmental groups. Those who have better control over the political environment can successfully influence and shape the news agenda significantly. Key studies (Bennett & Livingstone, 2003; Lawrence, 1996) have identified technology and dramatic, spontaneous news events like a terrorist act as presenting opportunities for a greater proportion of nongovernmental voices like citizens and others to be included in news stories. These factors potentially weaken the government's hold on controlling the news, enabling the media to seek a greater diversity of sources to make sense of the crisis. Nacos (1994) and Li and Izard (2003)'s studies of various terrorists acts like the TWA hijacking in the 1980s and the September 11 attacks showed that a diversity of sources were used in the news coverage of these crises.

With an increasing use of citizen sources in news reporting in recent years, there is a strong interest in how influential citizen sources can really be in a crisis. The proliferation of the Internet, video recorders, digital cameras enables ordinary citizens to supply eyewitness accounts that are highly valued and may be hard to find during a crisis or conflict. The citizen element appears to emerge most strongly when no journalists are present (Lyon & Ferrara, 2005:15). Weblogs and forums brought compelling firsthand accounts and photography to the events of September 11 (Bowman & Willis, 2003:7). Messner and DiStaso (2008) suggest the media appears to be using more of weblogs from 2002 onwards. The London bombings and Hurricane Katrina in 2005 witnessed a high amount of citizen contributions to news reporting. There were large amounts of original reporting from citizens in Hurricane Katrina, with guidance from professional journalists (Gillmor, 2005:10). Vultee and Wilkins (2004:32) add that in times of crisis like a terrorist act, people tend to rely more on the media during and immediately after the crisis for basic information and advice on how to cope with the situation. This may prompt citizens and the media to seek out each other more than in normal

circumstances. Terrorist incidents like the September 11 attacks saw many survivors and their relatives more willing to talk about their traumatic losses (Nacos, 2003:44). The opportunity for greater inclusion of nongovernmental voices, especially citizens, appear to be strongest at the beginning of the crisis, before the government has full control of information and the situation (Lawrence, 1996).

However, studies (Haas, 2005; Safran, 2005; Ward, 2006; Stabe, 2006; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008; Hermida & Thurman, 2008) have indicated that citizens' influence on mainstream news reporting might not be significant yet. The mainstream media's use of citizen sources seems limited and cautious. While the Internet offers greater avenues for source selection, the credibility of citizen-generated information remains a critical challenge for mainstream media (Safran, 2005; Matheson & Allan, 2007; Matheson, 2008; Ward, 2006; Stabe, 2006). At the basic level, the mainstream media appears to be using citizen sources more for their firsthand, experiential accounts than for their opinion, analysis and alternative viewpoints (Cottle, 2000; Lyon & Ferrara, 2005; Skoler, 2005).

This thesis is interested to find out how influential citizens are in the mainstream news reporting of a terrorist act by examining how they are used in print news reports. Thus, a major research question is how are citizen sources used in the news coverage of the Mumbai incident as compared to government and other sources? Other questions that will assist in informing the major question are:

a.   How do citizen sources fair (in terms of proportion of usage) as compared to government and other sources in the news coverage of the Mumbai incident?
b.   How frequent over different phases of crisis are the media covering the Mumbai incident more likely to use a greater proportion of citizen sources?
c.   To what degree do citizen sources contribute private/experiential accounts versus public/analytical accounts in the news coverage of the Mumbai terrorist incident?

d.   What kinds of frames are citizens commonly associated with as compared to government and other sources in the news coverage of the Mumbai incident?

e.   What are the differences if any, between the countries' use of citizen sources in the news coverage of the Mumbai incident?

By addressing these questions, this thesis hopes to draw further insights on how citizen sources are changing the way mainstream media does news reporting and how they are also affecting established patterns of interdependence between media and government. These questions will also help further the understanding of how citizens are ultimately influencing or changing the role of the mass media during a crisis.

1.3 Research approach

To answer the above research questions, a media content analysis will be employed. The media content analysis will cover news reports published by four news print organisations – The New York Times, The Times (also known as The London Times), The New Zealand Herald and the Times of India on the Mumbai terrorist incident in the period from 26 November 2008 to 2 December 2008. The four news organisations selected give a sufficient broad range of news coverage internationally and locally (with reference to India). They are all leading, English daily newspapers in the United States, Britain, New Zealand and India respectively. The print media is chosen for study in this thesis as its news reports usually cover issues in greater depth and enables deeper analysis. This is likely to reveal more of the underlying messages and processes behind the news report and is important in being able to examine the role of citizen participation in news reporting fully. Given the limited scope of this dissertation, only one case study is used. The Mumbai terrorist incident in November 2008 is selected because of the substantial use of citizen sources in the news reporting from initial analysis of the news reports. A variety of citizen sources were also used, from

information passed through text messages from hand phones and interviews with bloggers engaged in citizen journalism. The content analysis approach is used to analyze the news reports, as it is a systematic, reliable and verifiable technique for compressing many words of text into content categories based on explicit rules of coding (Berelson, 1952; Krippendorff, 1980; and Weber, 1990). It enables one to look beyond the physicality of texts to be able to identify trends amongst large volumes of texts.

1.4 Structure of thesis

Chapter one has outlined the research focus, questions, case study and approach. It also describes the structure of this thesis as follows. Chapter two is a literature review. It first defines news, citizen journalism and terrorism. It then explains the institutional and journalistic norms that encourages the media's reliance on government sources and explores opportunities where this reliance can be weakened. It concludes with the rhetoric and reality of citizens' influence on mainstream media. Chapter three describes the case study in detail. It provides a background to the case study, outlining the history of violence India has been enduring where the Mumbai incident took place. It then describes and discusses how citizens participated in the news reporting process in the Mumbai incident.

Chapter four is the newspaper content analysis. This chapter discusses and describes the content analysis approach taken for this study. It first highlights the content analysis goals. It then outlines the theories explaining the suitability of the approach and the units of analysis. It further details the selected sample and operational definitions and concludes with the results of the content analysis. Chapter five is the discussion. This chapter analyzes the findings of the content analysis in greater depth, bringing out the significance of the findings in relation to relevant literature and suggesting new insights on understanding the role and influence of citizens and other sources in crisis news reporting. Chapter six gives

the conclusion of the study. This chapter summarizes the key findings of the study and suggests future research possibilities.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

To address the research question of how citizen sources are used in mainstream news reporting during a crisis, this second chapter introduces the theoretical framework relevant for this study. In the first section, it lays the foundation by defining news and news sources and explaining how they relate to each other. It then briefly discusses citizen journalism. In the second section, it looks at terrorism in detail, tracing its history, exploring the role of the media in terrorism, discussing relevant themes in crisis news reporting to terrorism and how the mainstream media frames terrorism.

In the third section, it examines the media-sourcing relationship, particularly why the media tends to rely on and use government sources in news reporting. It explores how this pattern of interdependence between government and media can be weakened to include a greater number of nongovernmental sources in the news arena. It then reviews and discusses how government and citizen sources were reflected in the media coverage of three major terrorist incidents - the Iranian hostage taking and TWA hijacking in the 1980s and the September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001. These serve as useful references for a general comparison with the Mumbai case study of this thesis. In the fourth and final section, it concludes with a discussion on the rhetoric and reality of the potential influence of citizens from information contributors to credible sources and possibly challenging mainstream media discourse with alternative viewpoints.

2.2 News and news sources

Berkowitz (1997) provides an insightful approach to understanding news. Echoing many social and political communication scholars' beliefs about news, Berkowitz argues that news is not something tangible out there. Instead, news exists because journalists apply mutually agreed upon work procedures to observe, interpret and represent occurrences in society. Central to news making is the source. Journalists rely on their sources to provide them with the information they need to construct news stories. According to Conrad (1999:286), sources include actors whom journalists observe, interview, including those who are quoted and those who supply background information or story suggestions. Li and Izard (2003:209) define a source as the name of person or an organization associated with direct or indirect quotes in a story. Palmer (2000) highlights that because journalists rarely witness actual events; they are highly dependent on news sources. While obvious, Palmer reminds us that sources make the news. Without news sources, there is no news (4). He adds that all news reports either are a result of a journalistic eyewitness account or of a source-journalist encounter (6). Berkowitz and Adams (1990:724) highlighted from studies that between one-half and two-thirds of news content of newspapers and television is source-originated. Conrad (1999:285) suggests that in news reporting, officials, experts, journalists and the public all contribute to the journalistic product. Though journalists are central to crisis news reporting, they are embedded in a culture of occupational conventions and depend on the support of others to accomplish their work. In this thesis, one aspect of this journalistic collective activity is examined: how journalists use citizen sources in the reporting of a crisis. Studying the sources of news content is critical in the fast-changing news environment that is dramatically diversifying through the Internet. It is important to know the sources that set the media agenda (Messner & Distaso, 2008:449). Sources who manage to get their views and positions most often and prominently covered by the media have the best chance to influence the perception of others

and gain an advantage in affecting foreign policy processes and outcomes (Nacos, 1994:16).

2.3 Definition of citizen journalism

The larger context in understanding the use of citizen sources in mainstream news reporting is to note the activity of citizen journalism that goes on alongside mainstream news reporting. Citizen journalism as defined by Bowman & Willis (2003:9) is the citizen playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information. The role of citizen participation is to provide independent, reliable, accurate, wide-ranging and relevant information that a democracy requires. Citizen journalism is perceived as a bottoms-up approach where there is no formal journalistic workflow. Instead, it is the result of many simultaneous, distributed conversations in the Internet's social network. This bottoms-up approach offers a wider dispersion of potential sources for journalists to choose from and avenues for story creation. Types of citizen-generated information range from discussion groups, weblogs (personal writings), amateur videos, to commentary on social networking sites (an example is twitter), and podcasting (creation and distribution of audio recordings online). Others also include peer-to-peer networks like photo sharing (an example is Flickr, an archive service that enables users to upload and share their digital photographs with entire user communities), collaborative writing websites (an example is Wikipedia, an international, open content, collaboratively developed encyclopaedia) and actual citizen journalism sites (Bowman & Willis, 2005:7-8). South Korea's OhmyNews is an example of a hybrid citizen website that has gone on to become an alternative news website. It is attracting an estimated 2.5 million page views per day (Woyke, 2009, Forbes Magazine) and is an interactive newspaper website where citizens submit their stories to copyeditors. Once published, they receive feedbacks from readers on their stories (Min, 2005:17).

2.4 Terrorism

2.4.1 Definition and history

This thesis is looking at a particular type of conflict – international terrorism. The labelling of any terrorist group is most often politically charged and contested as governments would like to call their enemies terrorists to legitimise their cause. At a minimum, terrorism has the following characteristics: a fundamentally political nature, the unexpected use of violence against seemingly random targets, the targeting of civilians and by non-state actors (Cronin and Ludes, 2004:4). For this study, Clive Williams (2004:7) comes close to capturing the essentials: Terrorism is politically motivated violence, directed generally against non-combatants, intended to shock and terrify, to achieve a strategic outcome. In the case study of the Mumbai incident, it fulfils some of these characteristics of terrorism. But for most part of this study, the Mumbai case study will be referred to as the Mumbai event, attacks or incident. According to Stohl (1988:3), terrorism is not simply violence. It includes violent acts intended to influence a wider audience. When practised by terrorists, it may be used to publicize a cause or demonstrate the weakness of a government to put pressure on governments and their supporters. How the audience reacts is as important as the act itself.

Terrorists groups have been around for a long time. Terrorism pre-dates the modern mass media. The term terrorism was first used during the French Revolution's "reign of terror". The first self-identified terrorist group was a small band of Russian revolutionaries of 'Narodnaya Volya' (the people's will) in the late 1870s that first developed certain ideas that were to become the hallmark of subsequent terrorism (Roberts, 2002). They believed in the targeted killings of leaders of oppression. They were convinced that developing technologies of bombs and bullets enabled them to strike directly and indiscriminately. Terrorism continued for many decades to be associated primarily with the assassination of political leaders and heads of state (Roberts, 2002). From as early as the 1960s,

terrorism broadened beyond the assassination of political leaders and heads of state and the concept of international terrorism became a common theme (Roberts, 2002; Nossek *et al.*, 2007; Bongar, *et al.,* 2007). Major forces driving terrorism from post World War II to 1980 were the Cold War, anti-colonialism, and the growth of international, televised media (Bongar, *et al.,* 2007:94). Modern international terrorism, according to Weimann and Winn (1994:31) emerged as a structural response by national liberation movements to the far greater conventional military power of imperial rulers. The causes espoused by terrorists during this period were more ideology-based, encompassing revolutionary socialism and nationalism (Roberts, 2002). Many of the earlier terrorists groups were mostly from the defeated powers of World War II, like the New Red Army in Japan, the Red Brigades in Italy and the Baader Meinhoff Gang in Germany (Nossek *et al.*, 2007:29). During this period, many of the terrorists groups carried out killings of police officers and local officials, taking hostages, hijacking aircrafts and bombing buildings. In many of these terrorist acts, civilians became targets (Roberts, 2002).

Another strain of terrorism also arose during the late 1960s that of Palestinian terrorism led by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) that saw terrorism move from the Middle East to the global arena from 1967 onwards (Stohl, 1988:530). The PLO was organized as an umbrella organization for secular Palestinian nationalist groups in 1964 with the aim of defeating Israel militarily and destroying it as a political entity. The PLO's membership is made up of separate and possibly contending paramilitary and political factions, the largest of which are groups like Fatah and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). A landmark event on 17 September 1970 was the hijacking of three aircraft by the PFLP, landing two in Jordan and blowing up one. Then in September 1972, Fatah murdered 11 Israelis athletes at the Olympic Games at Munich. These attacks stemmed from the Arab-Israeli conflict that began as early as the formation of the state of Israel in 1948 although battles had taken place between Arabs and Jews before this under British rule. Subsequent suicide

bombings by Hamas (an Islamic Palestinian group formed in 1987) between 2001 and 2002 saw the rise of Islamic religious extremism (Roberts, 2002, Stohl, 1988:525-535). Much of the history of terrorism in the Middle East has also been associated with Jewish terrorism, centred on the right to a Jewish State replacing the former Palestine. One of the most notorious examples of Jewish/Zionist terrorism in the post-war period 1945-1948 was the bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem in 1946 by the Irgun, killing 91 people (Bleier, 2003).

The 1970s witnessed the rise of media-oriented terrorism because of the advancement of communications technology like the Internet and satellite. Weimann and Winn (1994) note the increased theatrical proficiency with which terrorists conducted their operations during this period (51). Advancement in technologies delivered a much bigger audience and opened up new means of publicity for the terrorists. The shift of media markets with more mergers and acquisitions also created international news coverage, offering a global arena for terrorists to communicate their agenda. Terrorists saw the media as an important vehicle for achieving their ends and their actions take place with an eye towards media attention (Nossek *et al.*, 2007: 29-30, 8).

In 1991, Nossek *et al.* (2007) highlighted that the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Cold War resulted in the fall of leftist terrorism, creating a new political environment. The end of the old world order unleashed a number of religious and nationalist forces that emerged from new states formed following the breakdown of the Soviet Union. In particular, religious groups were prepared to engage in terrorist attacks not bound to the moral imperatives of earlier groups like the Red Brigades in Italy (29). According to Roberts (2002), a new face of terrorism emerged in the 1990s with the rise of Osama Bin Laden who became the leader of the Islamic movement called Al-Qaeda formed in 1988. Its public statements were a mix of religious extremism, contempt for existing Arab regimes, hostility to America's dominance, and insensitivity to the effects of terrorist actions. Many of its leaders, having helped to free Afghanistan of Soviet occupation in the 1980s,

now developed the broader ambition of resisting western dominance, especially in Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt. This was a new kind of terrorist movement that had a cause, a network and was not confined to any one state. Adherents were willing to commit suicide if they could inflict carnage and destruction on their adversaries, as they did on September 11, 2001 when they hijacked four commercial passenger airlines and crashed two of them into the World Trade Centre and one into the Pentagon in the United States. Because of the attacks, both the World Trade Centre's twin towers collapsed and nearly 3,000 people died. This incident placed national security at the forefront of American foreign policy and started the global war on terror. While the number of terrorist attacks has fallen by the 1990s, the number of fatalities has increased due to the increased sophistication and lethality of each attack (Jaspal, 2002).

Sandler (2003:784) notes that post-September 11 terrorism is more directed by religious fundamentalism. Tiffen (2006:103) describes it as much more lethal and borderless in its reach. Support is galvanised through organised, interconnected networks using the expression of global jihad, an ideology that is both abstract and unattainable. It makes use of the potent capacity of the media to create the psychological fear of lives loss on a much grander scale, with complete indifference to human lives. Suicide bombers' desire to kill innocent civilians is far greater than their own will to live.

2.4.2 Terrorism and the media

The role of the media is a fundamental aspect of terrorism. Given that international terrorism communicates through the mass media most of the time, journalists are inevitably involved in the act itself and in any response to it. Journalists might be both targets as well as conduits for information in terrorist acts as terrorists acts tend to use journalists' own definitions of news to hijack the news agenda and for their institutional role in democratic societies, that of surveillance and of message conduits that have multiple purposes and multiple

stakeholders. News coverage of a terrorist act communicates with both citizens and those who govern, including a worldwide audience of citizens and government officials (Vultee & Wilkins, 2004:14).

The debate about terrorism and the media often centre around two aspects - whether media coverage lends legitimacy and credibility to the terrorists' cause or err on the side of governments, supporting their counterterrorist efforts at any costs. In the perspective of the media lending legitimacy for the terrorists, several scholars have described terrorists and the media as having a symbiotic relationship where they are highly dependent on each other, thus enhancing terrorists' access to the news media. Terrorist acts provide the dramatic news that the media craves and the media in turn offer exclusive and extensive publicity that terrorists want to the widest possible audience (Nacos, 1994; Weimann & Winn, 1994; Tiffen, 2006; Cottle, 2006; Carruthers, 2000). At the other end of the spectrum, as much as terrorists have been accused of creating media spectacles to gain worldwide attention and recognition of their cause, Kellner (2004) criticises the Bush administration for launching similar media spectacles in its war against terrorism to justify and further its own political agenda. Kellner (2004) and Giroux (2002) contend that the discourses of the United States television networks framed the September 11 terrorists' attacks to whip up war hysteria while failing to provide a coherent account of what happened and why it happened. Phrases like "good versus evil" and "the free world against the forces of darkness" reported in the media created a binary dualism between Islamic terrorism and civilisation, stirring up retaliatory feelings that supported a form of military intervention. This one-dimensional militarism does not resolve international terrorism but makes it worse. In his speech to Congress on 20 September 2001 declaring his war against terrorism, former President George Bush described the terrorist conflicts as a war between freedom and fear, between "those governed by fear", who "want to destroy our wealth and freedoms" and those on the side of freedom. The end-result of any such media spectacles, whether launched by terrorists or governments

themselves is the enhanced belief that the world is a violent place and violence is required to make this world a safer place to live in.

2.4.3 Crisis news reporting

In some sense, a terrorist act is like a national crisis. Bottomley (2008) defines crisis journalism as reporting about a state of affairs in which a decisive change for the worse is about to, or has occurred. Neal (1998:9-10) elaborates further on what this national crisis might entail when it happens: "An extraordinary event becomes a national trauma under circumstances in which the social system is disrupted to such a magnitude that it commands the attention of all major subgroups of the population. Even those who are usually apathetic and indifferent to national affairs are drawn into the public arena of discussion and debate. The social fabric is under attack, and people pay attention because the consequences appear to be so great that they cannot be ignored." Graber (1980:229) highlights that when there is a crisis, the media coverage goes through three stages. In the first stage, the media serves as the primary information source not only for the public, but also for public officials involved with the crisis. The media's key roles are to describe what has happened and help coordinate the relief work if applicable. Their top priority is to get accurate information, which relieves uncertainty and calms people (233-234). In the second stage, media coverage focuses on making sense out of the situation. Plans are formulated and implemented to address the needs of the victims and repair the damage. The third stage overlaps with the first two. In an effort to provide context, the role of the media is to place the crisis in a larger, longer-term perspective.

2.4.4 Framing terrorism

During a crisis like a terrorist act, political and religious leaders, citizens and the media often seek to create narratives that can explain and assign meaning to

events and issues. The way a terrorist act is framed in the media is critical in providing a unifying context and interpretation that can be easily understood. The frame is thus a fundamental aspect of story creation (Ryan, 2004:363-364). One of the most common definition of framing is provided by Entman (2004) who suggests that framing refers to selecting, highlighting and prioritizing some facets of events or issues over others and making connections among them to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation or solution (5,26). Frames largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world for journalists who report it and for audiences who rely on their reports. Frames enable journalists to explain large amounts of information quickly and routinely for efficient relay to audiences. News frames package together key concepts, stock phrases, and iconic images to reinforce certain common ways of interpreting events and issues. Public understanding and opinion tend to arise from this framed information than the actual reality of the event. The media frame makes the world beyond direct experience look natural. For organizational reasons alone, frames are unavoidable (Gitlin, 2003:6-7).

In a terrorist act, the public tends to be highly dependent on the mainstream media as a key source of information and interpretation as they have little direct contact or knowledge with the realities of the situation or the foreign policies or context directing the terrorist act (Weimann & Winn, 2004). In times of insurgency, the mainstream media comes under intense pressure from governments and the military. Few have the time to review comprehensively all the facts and options. Often, neither journalists nor government officials have full comprehensive understanding of the context and situation. Out of the many different ways of describing events in the world, journalists depend upon culturally familiar frames to tell their story, upon interpretation of events offered by their credible sources to convey dominant meanings, to make sense of the facts that best suits the events they are covering so audiences can understand. Conventional frames that employ cultural resonant terms have the greatest potential for influence (Entman, 2004:6,14; Wolfsfeld, 1997). These frames give

meaning and order to complex problems, actions and events by slotting the new into familiar categories or story pegs. These frames are important because they furnish consistent, predictable, simple and powerful narratives embedded in the social construction of reality.

Ryan (2004:365) argues that individuals and institutions often engage in fierce political battles to influence frames in the media as the way issues are presented in the media has a significant impact on audience awareness and understanding of public problems and concerns. The media is often seen as a battleground where various actors struggle over the definitions and construction of social reality. Words and images have the ability to stimulate support or opposition to the sides of the political conflict. Norris *et al.* (2003:12-13) suggests that in one-sided cases, there is a broad consensus about how terrorist events should be interpreted within any particular community, with few voices offering alternative perspectives. In contrast, the two-sided cases are likely to see greater awareness, contest and dispute about the framing process. Perceptions and evaluations of acts of political violence are likely to differ sharply among sub-cultures. In a terrorist act, the news frame in each society is expected to be shaped by two factors: the basic facts surrounding the terrorist event itself and the way that these events are interpreted by official sources in the government. Credible sources are expected to shape interpretations of the meaning of the event by providing ways of understanding the "who", "what" and "why" that makes sense of the incident. Some facts about the terrorist even may be relatively neutral like the specific timing but many others may be highly contested like the deeper motivations of the actors. The use of the terrorism frame serves several functions, both cognitive - by linking disparate facts and events and evaluative – by naming the perpetrators, identifying victims and attributing blame (Ryan, 2004:364).

2.5 Media's reliance on government sources

Many scholars in the fields of political communication (Hallin, 1986; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Bennett, 1990; Gitlin, 2003) and sociology of news (Eliasoph, 1997; Manning, 2001) have long been fascinated with how news-making bear the hallmarks of political, economic and social influences and is not the work of an individual alone. A starting point in addressing the potential influence of citizen sources on news reporting is to understand the mainstream media's tendency to rely on government sources for news. Hallin's three spheres and Bennett's indexing hypothesis offer important insights as to how and why the media follow governmental voices and debate so closely, arising from the journalist's professional ideology of objectivity and the sheer routine habits of the news organizations. Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model on the other hand goes further to claim that institutional structures and incentives within which news organizations operate influence the media output to the point that the media only reflect the government's point of view.

2.5.1 Hallin's three spheres

Hallin (1986:116-118) contends that three spheres guide various models of journalism: the sphere of consensus, the sphere of legitimate controversy and the sphere of deviance. In the sphere of consensus, when the issue is regarded by journalists and most of society as not controversial, when there is elite consensus over an issue, the journalist tends to stay within the limits of political discussion defined by the authorities and do not feel compelled to present opposing views. The media as an institution sees itself as a responsible member of the political establishment and advocate or ceremonial protector of consensus values and tends to pass on more or less at face value the views of authorities assumed to represent the nation as a whole (10). In the sphere of legitimate controversy, when there is opposition to authorities' political policies from within the political elite, the journalist appears more detached or even adversarial and

tends to reflect a wider array of sources and perspectives, becoming increasingly critical and diverse in the viewpoints it represents. However, these remain within the bounds of debate amongst the political elite. In this sphere, the principle of providing a balanced news report is emphasized. Beyond the sphere of legitimate controversy lies the sphere of deviance. This is the area where journalists and most of mainstream society reject certain political actors and views as unworthy of being heard. In this sphere, the journalist plays the role of exposing, condemning and excluding from public agenda those who violate or challenge the political consensus, thus defending the limits of acceptable political conflict. All three spheres suggest that the behaviour of the media is intimately related to the unity and clarity of the government itself and the degree of consensus in society (213). As opposed to the media playing an oppositional role to the official United States policy during the Vietnam war, Hallin (1986) illustrates in his study, "The Uncensored War", that critical news coverage only occurred after sections of the Washington political elite turned against the war.

According to Hallin (1986:24), elite influences on news making is exercised indirectly through the routines of a journalist's working life. The contribution of the journalist and any individual to the final news product is often relatively small. Editors, journalists and producers within the media organization are part of a collective enterprise. Eliasoph (1997:230) highlights that news routine operate in such a way that no matter who is making the news, as long as it is made within a news organization, it will be under the sway of editorial hierarchy and news routines. The daily quota required to fill the organization's news hole is predictably gathered and organized by developing a system of beats and assignments where journalists are sent out to gather reliable quotas of news. Within this routine structure is the belief that reality itself is a uniformly discoverable, coherent and authoritatively established set of facts. News exists out there in the real world, independent of media organizations and journalists. In this world, it is the journalist's job to find this news. Knowledge of this real world

is achieved by carefully recording what is out there in an objective manner. This means faithfully recording the facts (Louw, 2005:3).

Critics argue that this faithful recording of facts is perceived as the professional ideology of objective journalism. Journalists believe news judgement can be politically neutral but this is a false consciousness, it conceals the process that shapes news (Hallin, 1986:23). In reality, what is repeated as facts are usually what authorities and experts say are important. This process maintains the legitimacy of these sources and established sources in turn create the impression that news is an objective and authentic record of social and political events (Eliasoph, 1997, Bennett, 2004). As a result, journalists prefer and are highly dependent on elite government sources, believed to be the authoritative voice and are inherently newsworthy (Bennett, 2001, 1990, 2004; Hallin, 1986; Mermin, 1997). The government in turn is organised with the necessary skills and resources to provide a timely flow of information geared to the daily demands and routines of objective journalism (Hallin, 1986). Objective journalism, ironically, enables government officials to manipulate day-to-day news content as journalists constantly rely on them to give their version of the facts (Hallin, 1986; Gitlin, 2003).

2.5.2 Bennett's indexing hypothesis

Bennett (1996:376) further adds to Hallin's theory, contending that the mere existence of views from various sources like interest groups or opinion polls do not equate to automatic inclusion in news reporting. News reporting according to Bennett (1996:374) appears to be based on journalistic judgements about the sources' political legitimacy or their impact on decision makers. Bennett proposes that "mainstream news media tend to index the range of voices and viewpoints according to views expressed in the mainstream government debate about a given topic" (Bennett 1990:106). The mainstream media Bennett refers to are leading media organizations that follow professional news standards and

influence daily news agendas. The views expressed in the government are those expressed by prominent officials and members of institutional power blocs likely to influence the outcomes of policies and situations. Bennett's hypothesis applies more to media coverage of foreign policies, areas of great importance not only to corporate economic interests but also to the advancement of state power (106-107). Bennett used the media's coverage of United States policy making on Nicaragua in the mid-1980s (from 1983-1986) as a case study to test his hypothesis. His findings show that opinions voiced in news stories from The New York Times came overwhelming from government officials. Of the 889 voiced opinions in the news, 604 came from officers, offices or committees of the United States governmental institutions. Only 139 (or 15% of the total) opinions came from nongovernmental domestic voices (116-117). In addition, Bennett found that opinion on the editorial pages of The New York Times was closely indexed to the levels of congressional opposition reported in the news pages. When the ratio of voices in Congress opposing administration policy went up or down, the ratio of opposing editorial page opinion went up or down accordingly (119). When there was a drop in congressional opposition, The New York Times editorial opinion also fell silent (120).

In explaining how the indexing hypothesis works in everyday operations of the media, Bennett (1990:109-110) notes that journalists often define their role as merely informing the public on the actions of the government and refrain from setting the political agenda. They see their responsibility as more or less to highlight important conflicts and struggles within the centres of power. The indexing norm is shared at all levels of the news industry, keeping news compatible with the shifting political and economic interests of the state while enabling editors and journalists to think and communicate in a vocabulary of balanced and objective journalism. Indexing thus constitutes a quick and ready guide for editors and journalists to use in deciding how to cover a story and is a defensible rule of thumb. Government definitions of reality are after all supposed to be the best approximation of political reality.

2.5.3 Herman & Chomsky's propaganda model

Herman and Chomsky (1988:298)'s propaganda model have gone further to claim that the media functions to "inculcate and defend the economic, social and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state". By socialisation, by the bonds of experience and relationships, by direct corporate and class interest, the owners and mangers of major media organizations are committed to maintain the political-economic system (Gitlin, 2003:258). This safeguards the political and business climate in which media conglomerates operate.

According to Herman and Chomsky (1998:2), the propaganda model consists of five filters that explain how the dominant elite are able to shape news content. The first filter affecting news choices is the size and concentration of media ownership and the profit orientation of dominant media organizations. Since the 1980s, a wave of deals and rapid globalization has further centralized the American media industry resulting in the dominance of very few conglomerates like Disney, Time Warner, Viacom and General Electric. These giants own all the world's major film studios, TV networks, music companies and a sizable fraction of the most important cable channels, magazines, major-market TV stations and book publishers (xiii). Major media organizations owned by these conglomerates are subject to sharp constraints by their owners who have important common interests with other major corporations, banks and government through boards of directors, social links and investors (14). Many of these large media organizations are fully integrated into the market where pressures of stockholders, directors and bankers to focus on the bottom line are powerful. These connections, individually and collectively do not convey control but large boards of directors or investors can make themselves heard and their actions can affect the welfare of the companies and their managers (11). Operating within such an integrated market of ownership, the major media organizations

under their parent giants are constrained to filter and frame issues that are within the bounds of acceptable premises and to focus on strictly market-driven, profit-oriented objectives. Journalists in turn either consciously or subconsciously internalise the priorities and definitions of newsworthiness that conform to the media organization and parent company's political and economic agendas when they make professional decisions.

The second propaganda filter suggested by Herman and Chomsky (1998:2) is the reliance of the media on advertising as the primary source of income. With the media's focus on profits and the bottom line, a market share and advertising edge will enable a media organization to compete more effectively (15). Successful media today are fully attuned to the importance of attracting audiences with higher purchasing power. Programmes are often developed and geared to attract the right audiences and cover issues that will not offend powerful advertisers like those which may be critical of corporate activities, have too serious complexities or disturbing controversies (16,17). This reduces the diversity of content as media organizations eliminate information that might offend sponsors or appeal to economically insignificant minorities.

The third filter explains why the media is often drawn into a symbiotic relationship with government sources. Economics dictates that the media concentrate their resources where significant news occurs (18). The media is thus predisposed to rely on government and corporate sources as these offer regular and credible flows of information. Official sources are perceived to be objective dispensers of the news and it is more cost-effective to go to official sources than others which may require additional checking of their credibility and further costly research (19). According to Herman and Chomsky, governments and large corporations have the necessary public-information operations and resources to meet the demands of news organizations for reliable and scheduled flows of information (19, 20) and they go to great lengths to consolidate their pre-eminent positions as choice sources by making it easy for news organizations to obtain the information

they need (22). These powerful sources in turn become routine news sources, gaining special access to the media. With continuous contact through beats with journalists and mutual dependency, these powerful sources can use personal relationships, threats and rewards to influence and manage the media (23). The fourth filter on flak suggests that the government can strengthen its command of political authority in news-management activities by regularly threatening and correcting the media to prevent it from deviating from the established views set by the government. Flak or negative responses to media stories or programmes can act as a deterrent for the media to cover any story or position that might invite uncomfortable or costly criticisms (26). The fifth and final propaganda filter is anticommunism as a control mechanism. Herman and Chomsky highlight that the ideology of anticommunism has such a profound influence on the news media that journalists tend to frame issues in terms of Communist and anti-Communist powers, limiting possible diversity of views in the media (30). This filter can be applied to other dominant ideologies in the post-Cold War context like anti-terrorism.

While both Hallin and Bennett looked at influences of the media in terms of everyday, routine operations of the journalist, Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model looked at media-source relations in terms of the influences from institutional structures and incentives within which the media operates. Hallin and Bennett reflect on the causes behind story selection in the journalist's professional news judgements and the sheer routine habits of media organizations. The propaganda model reflects on the causes of story selection in institutions or social conditions outside of media organizations, in economics and the ideologies of dominant social powers (Gitlin, 2003:250). According to Entman (2004), contrary to the propaganda model view, both Hallin and Bennett's models show that the media's role transcends mere transmission of propaganda when they reflect elite dissent. While Bennett's indexing hypothesis makes elite disagreement its centrepiece, the propaganda model or hegemony theorists believe that government officials keep information available to the public within

such narrow ideological boundaries that deliberation and influence are difficult. Elite's agreement is the focus, impeding the flow of independent information and consistently producing pro-government propaganda (4).

The three models by Hallin, Bennett and Herman and Chomsky have explained how the media tends to rely heavily on government sources for news, establishing a strong pattern of media-government interdependence. Hallin and Bennett have described how the behaviour of the media is intimately linked to government voices and debate through routine channels of news gathering, where government voices are believed to deliver the most authoritative and objective political perspective on reality. The implication is that questions of news content selection and balance could be dismissed if the government was the source of that content and balance. There is room for critical news reporting but this occurs only when there is elite dissent. Herman and Chomsky have further claimed that the media only produces the elites' point of view because of the institutional influences and incentives that impose themselves on journalists and news organizations. Looking at these three models more broadly in terms of the role of the media within the political context, they appear to share the general working assumption that the news media plays a less independent role with respect to political elites. The next set of studies share a different working assumption of the role of the news media, that of increased autonomy.

2.6 Challenges to reliance

Four studies were reviewed to understand the situations where the media do not always reflect the dominant views of the government or the elite. In the first two studies - Zaller & Chiu and Althaus and his colleagues - both found exceptions to Bennett's indexing hypothesis. The slant of the news does not always follow the government debate and there are situational factors showing some degree of media independence in determining the news agenda. Two other studies - Wolfsfeld's political contest and Entman's activation cascading models - contribute important theories to understanding how the media and

nongovernmental sources can contest the media-government pattern of dependence. Both Wolfsfeld and Entman describe a more complex political environment where the media's deference to political elites does not last indefinitely. As opposed to influences of news construction from routines of news organizations or institutional incentives as suggested by Hallin, Bennett, and Herman & Chomsky respectively, Wolfsfeld and Entman looked at influences of news construction arising from the wider political context. According to Wolfsfeld, the news media responds to events and the competition for public attention. Gaining control of the news agenda is dependent on who has the ability and resources to control the political environment and sustain compelling ideas and news frames. While Hallin and Bennett emphasized elite dissent as the avenue for more critical news reporting, both Wolfsfeld and Entman prove that elite dissent is not always required.

2.6.1 Zaller & Chiu's study

In Zaller & Chiu (2000:68-70)'s study of forty-two foreign crises from 1945 to 1999, they explored the possibility of three scenarios: the press being dependent on Congress, the Congress being dependent on the press and other factors that could affect press slant and congressional opinion. In Congress being dependent on the press, members of Congress could be risk adverse, seeking safety in going along with the press slant. In terms of other factors affecting press slant and congressional opinion, a common culture could tie Congress and press together such that they have the same culturally conditioned response to events. In testing these possibilities, Zaller and Chiu found strong evidence to support the first scenario of press dependence on Congress, thus supporting Bennett's indexing hypothesis (61). However, they could not find enough evidence to support the other two scenarios. The association between congressional opinion and press slant is not due to the follower-ship of risk-adverse politicians (69) and the influence of common American culture is minimal (70). Despite support for Bennett's indexing hypothesis, Zaller and Chiu found that there are exceptions. Crises examined in the 1990s suggest that the dynamics of media politics have

changed since the end of the Cold War (61). The relationship between congressional and media opinion is weaker in the 1990s with foreign crises involving non-communist foes (75). Other situational factors, when they occur in combination, could possibly influence the media more significantly than the political elite. These factors include the involvement or non-involvement of a powerful and much-disliked antagonist, the duration of a conflict and the extent of United States losses or failure. The slant of the news tends to be more independent of the United States congress when the country's adversary is non-communist, the crisis is continuing and when there is a setback (73, 77).

2.6.2 Althaus et al.'s study

Althaus *et al.* (1996: 410-411)'s research adds to Zaller and Chiu's findings. In a study of the New York Times' coverage of the United States Libya crisis of 1985-1986, Althaus *et al*. found that the United States officials did not dominate every aspect of the media discourse. Domestic elites (administration, congress and experts) made up only 41% of sources whereas foreign elites comprised 48% of all sources. Furthermore, the findings show that The New York Times failed to represent proportionally the balance of views expressed by the Congress; instead, it narrowed and misrepresented the content of the congressional debate. Althaus (2003)'s later study on the 1991 Iraq war produced further evidence that the media may be more independent from government sources than previously established. In fact, Althaus's study shows that instead of shadowing the debate amongst American officials, journalists exercised considerable discretion in locating and airing oppositional voices. Oppositional voices appeared to either enter news discourse through the routine application of the fairness norm by individual journalists or because the need for conflict and drama created an oppositional space in the news that required filling even when government officials closed ranks (382). One important observation Althaus made in his study is that when dissent cannot be found within government circles, journalists may decide to follow the trail of power to non-government sources that have a legitimate stake in the policy or use accidental occurrences as pegs on which to

hang criticisms of government policy. This implies journalists may independently decide who has power and where the trail is heading (405).

While Zaller & Chiu and Althaus *et al.*'s research may not be definitive, their findings raise several important possibilities. There is potential for the media to exert a greater degree of control over their texts than predicted by Bennett's indexing hypothesis. Althaus et al. (1996: 412) findings show that several news norms appear to have marginalized congressional debate. One was the news production process. There were more assignments of journalists to beats outside of Congress and a heavy investment on foreign bureaus. Thus, the newspaper simply produced more news outside of Congress and was likely to use more of foreign sources. Because of the emphasis on timeliness, foreign sources appealed because they offered more updates on the latest developments than Congress. In addition, the journalist's emphasis on the objectivity norm required that he or she report both sides of the story. If Congress offers little strong or clear arguments, journalists may seek opposing views elsewhere. Journalists in the New York Times turned to foreign sources as they offered stronger and clearer arguments. Of particular significance is power sourcing, or what Zaller and Chiu (2000:82) call "power indexing". This is the idea that journalists tend to find newsworthy, information that could foretell future events. Althaus *et al.* (1996)'s research showed the greater use and prevalence of foreign sources as they were perceived to have the power to affect policy outcomes (412).

Page (2000:85) suggests that the indexing hypothesis by Bennett reflected a particular configuration of the world system but this world system has changed. Other factors are likely to also influence the media other than the political elite. A global public sphere has evolved where diverse actors, like journalists themselves, nongovernmental groups, terrorists and even ordinary citizens increasingly contest representations, interpretations, frames and narratives.

2.6.3 Wolfsfeld's political contest model

Wolfsfeld (1997) describes this more complex and dynamic environment where the media's deference to political elites does not come automatically or last indefinitely. In this environment, others can also influence the news agenda other than the government. Wolfsfeld (1997:2-3)'s political contest model contends that there are larger political forces at work with political antagonists competing over the news media to gain political control. This model is focused on contests between more powerful antagonists, like governments, who have access to extensive resources and the weaker ones (challengers) who may not have access to the resources. The model is based on an analysis of case studies in the context of political conflicts as the media is believed to have more influence in this area. Examples of political conflicts are protests, terrorist acts, riots, rebellions, revolutions and all out wars. Underlying the political contest model is the premise that the political process is more likely to have an influence on the news media (3).

Given the fact that the news media are much more likely to react to events than to initiate them, a more actor-centred approach as proposed by Wolfsfeld may offer a better or at least an additional way of understanding who drives news. Adding a competitive approach enables a more direct link to the political world where political actors spend a lot of time and resources trying to exploit the news media as a tool for political influence. Thus, it is important to look at the amount of opportunities various political actors have of getting into the news. (Wolfsfeld & Sheafer, 2006:334). The media in this perspective, according to Wolfsfeld and Sheafer, does not simply pass on the messages transmitted by political actors. Journalists exercise a good deal of discretion in deciding how to cover events and which voices should be heard. The political contest model sees the construction of political news as a co-production where both newsmakers and journalists play important roles in constructing the final story (350).

In this model, Wolfsfeld (1997:4) suggests that the role of the news media in political conflicts varies over time and circumstances and can even change within the course of a conflict. It depends on a range of factors - the political context of the conflict, the resources, skills, and political power of the players involved, the relationship between the media and each antagonist, the state of public opinion and the ability of the journalists to gain access to the conflict events. Each antagonist, whether the government or the terrorist tries to initiate and control political events to dominate political discourse about the conflict, and to mobilize as many supporters as possible to their side. The outcomes of this struggle determine the news media's role in these conflicts. When political leaders are able to exert control over the political environment, they are likely to gain success in influencing the media to their side and the news media may find it difficult to play an independent role (4). The ability of the antagonist to control the political environment is based on three important variables: the ability to initiate and control events, the ability to regulate the flow of information and the ability to mobilize elite support. Each of these factors increases the ability of an antagonist to dominate public discourse about a particular issue (Wolfsfeld, 1997:25).

2.6.4 Entman's cascading activation model

Entman adds to Wolfsfeld's political contest model by describing in detail how challengers can introduce ideas and news frames in the media arena and sustain them. According to Wolfsfeld & Sheafer (2006:334), Entman's cascading activation model looks at the construction of news as a more dynamic process in which news frames are shaped through the flow of information and ideas, with varying levels of resistance and adaptation among the administration, other elites, the media, and the public. Underlying Entman's cascading activation model is the observation that in the post-Cold War world, the media's deference to political elites has weakened and there are greater signs of media independence (2004:5). Elite dissent and a skeptical public majority are not always required in enabling the media to contest the administrative line (19).

In Entman's model (2004), the ability to promote the spread of frames is stratified, with the cascading flow of influence linking each level of the system from the government at the top to the media in the middle and the public at the lower levels. Government officials enjoy the most independent ability to decide which mental associations to activate and they have the highest probability of having their frames become part of the general circulation of ideas. A dominant frame in the earliest news coverage will have the greatest impact. It can activate and spread congruent thoughts and feelings in individuals' knowledge networks, building new interpretative processes, thoughts and emotions that will guide responses to future news reports. The more journalists hear similar thoughts expressed by their sources and other news outlets, the more likely their thoughts will run along those lines and their stories will confirm the same framing (9). Journalists may use metaphors in news reporting to make unfamiliar events entertaining and comprehensible, without being aware of the political ideas they carry (Hallin, 1986). When the government frames an event or issue by invoking the match with clearly relevant and congruent cultural assumptions, motivations amongst elites, journalists, the public usually fall right into line (Entman, 2004:17).

However, if the government mismanages its relationships with other elites and journalists, especially if it cannot find compelling frames to support its position, then it may lose control of its frame. When the event or issue is culturally ambiguous, when officials at the top levels are not united, when midlevel sources are readily available pushing challenging frames, journalists have strong professional motivations to include alternative voices and viewpoints (Entman, 2004:18,20). While the degree of counter framing depends largely on divisions among elites, troubling cultural resonances and the efforts of peripheral sources can also result in assertive journalistic counter frames (Bennett *et al.,* 2006:482). This is similar to Wolfsfeld's idea of the government losing control of the political environment to challengers.

Thus far, the four studies by Zaller and Chiu, Althaus and his colleagues, Wolfsfeld and Entman have established explanations on how the media-government pattern of dependence is never as strong as assumed, especially when the government is not in full control of the political environment. According to Montoya (2006:3), an important distinction that Wolfsfeld and Entman's theories are making as compared to earlier theories from Hallin and Bennett is that political control is translated into relative control over the news media. Wolfsfeld and Entman do not assume that political control is relatively stable. The political environment is more unstable and changing interaction and relational dynamics between actors sometimes play against orderly and predictable political calculations, opening alternative spaces for less powerful actors. Based on Wolfsfeld and Entman's theories, it appears that the main ways to get into the news arena is dependent on the ability of challengers to initiate newsworthy events. However, for challengers like terrorists, interest groups or the public to continue to sustain themselves in the media arena, they have to tap into frames that have some degree of confluence with elite support and fight to remain newsworthy. In other words, Wolfsfeld and Entman's theories show that nongovernmental sources have the opportunity to enter the media arena only when there is a lack of unity and control from the government. However, when the government is in control of the political environment, the media-government's pattern of dependence is likely to remain relevant.

2.6.5 Event-driven news

Within the perspectives described by Wolfsfeld and Entman, the trend of event-driven news has arisen in the recent years. Two studies - Lawrence and Bennett and Livingstone have shown how event-driven news offer potential opportunities for nongovernmental sources to set the news agenda. As event driven news take place outside of the routine, institutional news initiated by the government, this presents a real threat to the government's control over the news agenda. In such situations, the media appears to have greater discretion in introducing challenging or alternative news frames to make sense of what is going on.

However, similar to earlier arguments put forth by Wolfsfeld and Entman, for challenging news frames to continue to remain in the news arena, they need to have some degree of confluence with elite support. These studies show that there are limitations to how much event-driven news can weaken the media-government nexus, especially when the government manages to regain control of an event-driven news story.

Event-driven news is the coverage of activities that, at their initial occurrence are spontaneous, accidental and not managed by the government within institutional settings. Event-driven news results from happenstance and accidents, natural disasters or unanticipated acts of violence. In the study of CNN international desk stories from 1994 to 2001, Bennett and Livingstone (2003b:372) found evidence to show that outside events or event-driven news has increased and is overtaking institutionally based news, especially in the technology-driven environment of cable television international affairs news. Lawrence (1996) suggests that Bennett's indexing hypothesis corresponds with routine politics within established institutional settings or explains patterns in news coverage of issues that are already on the governmental agenda (438). In event-driven news, these are not planned as news events by officials and are often problematic for officials and institutions as they have to respond to the news agenda rather than set it (446). Unplanned events or event-driven news threatens the government's ability to have full control of the political environment. Lawrence (2000:9) explains that in this situation, the media serves as an informal screening mechanism for the policy process, a key arena in which competition over problem definition is played out. Terrorists, for example, will have some measure of success in gaining an influence over the news agenda when they initiate violent and dramatic acts (Wolfsfeld, 1997, Nacos, 2004). During a terrorist act, governments may not have full control of the flow of information as the event unfolds. Governments have to make important decisions under immense pressure and in the limelight, weighing the interests of possible hostage victims versus national

interests, revealing the vulnerability of governments in dealing with the situation adequately.

Outside events, event-driven or dramatic type of news appear to offer opportunities for journalists to usher challenging and critical views into the news and provide gateways for nongovernment voices to shape news content (Lawrence, 1996; Bennett & Livingstone, 2003; Bennett *et al.,* 2006; Shehata, 2007). According to Lawrence (1996), event-driven news differs from the indexing of voices and views associated with routine news. As journalists seek to make sense of dramatic events, news routines may extend to underutilized sources and marginalized perspectives, opening up new gates for citizen and other voices and challenging ideas to enter the news. Event-driven news can have the potential to bring to light ideas, values and discourses that would otherwise be suppressed by officially created news events. Bennett *et al.* (2006:470) suggests that the greatest media discretion in framing choices may be in the immediate aftermath of an event, when news organizations offer dramatic imagery that challenges the news management skills of the government. Vultee and Wilkins (2004:30) add that disasters and terrorist events tend to disrupt normal newsgathering and editing routines, regardless of media outlet and type of disaster. According to Reynolds and Barnett's (2003) study of the first five hours of television coverage of the September 11 terrorist event in America, journalists worked in a situation drastically different from traditional reporting routines.

Lawrence (2000:xi-xii) underscores the significance of unexpected events: "We analyze unexpected, unplanned and highly newsworthy events as moments when elite dominance of the news is most vulnerable. Doing so illuminates the full range of news dynamics, and identifies an increasingly important institutional role that the mass media plays in politics and policymaking. While these moments may be few and the opportunities they provide for wider-ranging public debate is limited, event driven openings in the news represent one of the real battlegrounds available for the marginalized to take on the powerful" (xi-xii). For

this to happen, certain conditions must happen. Firstly, the characteristic of the event itself must offer dramatic narrative possibilities and suggest challenging framings of public problems. Secondly, journalists must have marginalized discourse available to them through sources that are actively advancing challenging ideas (Lawrence, 1996:446). According to Wolfsfeld (1997), there are two gates for entering into the media arena: the front gate and the back gate. The front gate is usually for the exceptionally eminent. The back gate is intended for the exceptionally weird. Challengers are often forced to carry out exceptionally strange or violent acts to make up for their lack of status and resources. Such actions are crude but are affective ways of entering the media arena. But once in, these challengers have to continue to remain deviant and it is an uphill battle for legitimacy. Wolfsfeld points out that those terrorists who enter the media arena by the back door have to fight to keep up with their deviant acts to remain newsworthy (21).

Unfortunately, dramatic events may be met by a unified official voice, depressing their effect on the political agenda, triggering the indexing norm. Officials who strive to get on top of an event-driven story may reign in independent story frames introduced by journalists (Lawrence, 1996:446). Event-driven news frames, especially those in matters of high consequence are constrained by mainstream news organizations' deference to political power (Bennett *et al.,* 2006:481). Bennett and Livingstone (2003b:375) found that event-driven stories facilitated by technological advancements contained overwhelming government sources. Institutions and government officials were found to be involved in about 74% of all live transmissions.

In understanding areas where the media-government symbiotic relationship may not be as strong, literature reviewed so far has thrown up several important themes. In the larger role of the media, Wolfsfeld, Entman, Lawrence and Bennett and Livingston have generally claimed an increased autonomy of the news media. In terms of the media's reporting on political news, instead of

looking at the behaviour of the media as intimately tied to the dominant political elite, these studies suggest that one should look at the behaviour of the media as tied more to the larger political context, the political powers at play. But even from this perspective, they have concluded that due to the relationship between political power and media access, the political elite will generally still continue to enjoy greater access to the media and dominance of the news agenda.

Within this complex world of unpredictability and the competition for control of the news media, the main window of opportunity for greater nongovernmental voices to enter the news arena is when the government loses control over the political environment and other challengers are able to initiate events and gain control. Event-driven news is one major arena where the government may lose control temporarily as dramatic, spontaneous events happen outside of routine, institutional ones and governments have to respond to news agenda instead of setting it from the start. This presents opportunities for the media to play a greater role in selecting critical voices including nongovernmental voices in redefining issues and news frames and these may be driven further by Entman's cascading activation of frames or event-driven dynamics.

However, such window of opportunity may be temporary - the important question is how nongovernmental voices can sustain their challenging news frames and ideas in the news arena after entering it. Lawrence argues that while events can catalyze policy debate, new issues or problems raised from events or by challengers have to be defined. This means the characteristic of the event or challengers themselves must offer dramatic narrative possibilities and suggest convincing framings of public problems and journalists must have enough of this marginalized discourse articulated by credible sources for them to continue to reflect these ideas. Additionally, definitions of problems are possible only if they are linked to broader issues or cultural themes that provoke public discussion in those terms. Without political elite support for challenging framings of public problems, these are unlikely to sustain by themselves in the news arena.

Thus, when the government regains control or when there is political elite support for challenging views that means there is political dissent, then Hallin's three spheres and Bennett's indexing hypothesis appear to apply again. Bennett *et al.* (2006:469)'s study aptly concluded that event-driven and indexing dynamics are not diametrically opposed models of news; they coexist and are often intertwined. The result of an interplay of events and official framing is a semi-independent media characterized by moments of relative independence within a more general pattern of compliance with government news management. Bennett and Livingston (2003a:360)'s observation touches further on this mix of independent and dependent relationship the media and government have: "Rather than advocate one extreme or the other regarding press government autonomy or dependence, it makes more sense to think of journalists as semi-independent players in the news game. There is no inherent contradiction in the idea that press-government relations are characterized by potentially extreme variations from independence to dependence. It makes more sense to explore the uneasy and often disjointed combinations of the two".

2.7 Case studies of terrorist incidents

Having discussed theories about why government sources tend to dominate and how event-driven news offer opportunities for a greater inclusion of nongovernmental sources, it is useful to examine case studies on past major terrorist acts that can serve as broad comparisons with the Mumbai case study selected for this thesis. While event-driven news present opportunities for a greater inclusion of nongovernmental voices in the news arena, two studies on the use of sources in the media coverage of terrorist acts have drawn different conclusions. Nacos (1994:22-47) analyzed the news content of the CBS Evening News and The New York Times during the first five-and-a-half months of the Iranian hostage crisis (4 November 1979 to 20 January 1981) and the entire TWA hijacking incident (14 June to 30 June 1985). In the Iranian hostage crisis coverage, Nacos found while the government (The United States President and

administration officials) was the dominant source in television and newspaper reports at 15% for the CBS Evening News and 20% for The New York Times, far more coverage was devoted to other domestic actors (64% in the CBS Evening News, 54% in The New York Times). For the New York Times, leading domestic news sources were reporters, correspondents, editorial writers, columnists and anchorpersons (34.7%). Other sources included hostages/families/relatives (4.4%), experts (2%), Congress (1.5%), rivals for office (0.6%), other domestic sources (10.3%), foes in Iran (13.6%) and other foreign sources (13%). The TWA hijacking coverage had more pronounced use of nongovernmental sources according to Nacos. The CBS Evening News and The New York Times used hostages, their relatives, the terrorists and their supporters in Lebanon more as sources in 21% (CBS) and 19% (The New York Times) of their crisis reports as compared to government sources used for about 7% of the coverage (CBS) and 17% (The New York Times). For The New York Times, the media source took up 34% of the coverage, hostages/families/relatives 14%, experts 1.1%, Congress 1.2%, other domestic sources 9.1%, foes in Lebanon 5.4% and over foreign sources 17.7%.

According to Nacos, these results demonstrate that media coverage of anti-American terrorist acts abroad deviates significantly from the usual foreign policy coverage of official government source dominance in terrorism coverage. Nacos attributes this to two major factors. One, this has to do with the type and location of the terrorist act. Reliance on government sources appear to be strongest when the reported terroristic news is national but this becomes weaker when terrorists stage highly dramatic events against Americans outside of the United States. Two, situations that involve hostages create an instant special interest outside the foreign policy establishment with high stakes in offering views clearly independent from those of decision makers. Because of their central roles in human dramas, the captives of terrorists and their loved ones are assured of very generous media access regardless of their stands on official government positions. When it comes to hostages held by anti-American terrorists, the policy

discourse can be sustained from below even if the President and other decision makers attempt to discourage public debate.

In contrast to Nacos' conclusions, Li and Izard's study appear to show otherwise. In the study of news reports by eight newspapers (for example, The New York Times, Washington Post and Los Angles Times) and five television networks (for example, ABC, CBS, CNN, NBC and Fox News) in America on the September 11 terrorist attacks that took place in 2001, Li and Izard (2003:9) concluded that government sources were dominant in both newspapers and television networks. Six of eight newspapers used government officials in more than 40% of their stories. While government sources dominated, it was observed that newspapers used a much larger range of sources. Following government officials were witnesses of the incident (34%), businesses (28%), experts (23%), international (13%) and the President (12%). In terms of the association between the sources and the key coverage frames reflected, the political frame was mostly associated with government sources (66%). Human-interest frames involved witnesses (70%) as the major source with government source second (41%). International sources were cited in stories framed as criminal activity and terrorism (41%) and political (23%).

The different conclusions drawn by Nacos and Li Izard could be due to the location and type of the terrorist acts, with the Iranian hostage and TWA hijacking taking place outside of United States and the September 11 terrorist attacks taking place within America itself. Another factor could also be the different ways source categories were analyzed in both studies. For the TWA hijacking event, Nacos chose to discuss hostages and their relatives and the terrorists and their supporters in Lebanon together as nongovernmental sources as compared to government sources. This necessarily increased the proportion of nongovernmental sources. Media based sources were also grouped as a source category for Nacos's study which increased the proportion of nongovernmental voices significantly. It is not clear from Nacos's study how media sources were

coded. In terms of citizen source category, these appear limited for both studies, with only one category measured, that of hostage/family/relative for Nacos's study and witnesses for Li and Izard's study.

2.8 Citizens' influence: rhetoric & reality

Having examined the tendency for the media to rely on government sources and situations where this reliance may not be as strong, it is now critical to look at citizen sources and where they fit in. To understand citizens' potential role and influence in news reporting, three sets of studies were examined. The first set of studies by Skoler and others looked at citizens as potential sources and all agreed that journalists want citizens more for their firsthand knowledge than opinion. Matheson, Allan, and others like Ward and Stabe went deeper to study the potentiality of weblogs and social networking sites like Twitter but concluded that while citizens can offer a refreshing vicarious, intimate and breaking-news accounts as opposed to the one-size-fits-all version by the mainstream media, there are challenges in verifying the credibility of citizen sources. The second set of studies by Bruns and Haas went further to assess the potentiality of citizens sources by looking at whether citizens could really challenge the mainstream media's discourse. While Bruns argued that citizen journalism could potentially challenge mainstream media discourse by offering independent viewpoints, Haas disagreed. Citizens appear to be reinforcing mainstream media discourse and could even be influenced by governments themselves. In the third study, Wolfsfeld and Sheafer provide useful insights into what it takes for individuals to succeed in the ongoing competition for control of the news agenda and they narrowed it to three factors: political standing, charismatic communication skills and thematic relevance.

2.8.1 Citizens as information contributors

According to Bennett (2004:302), the advancement in technologies and the need to deliver news most efficiently poses the greatest challenge to the media's

dependence on government sources, which has dominated most of news construction for the period roughly from 1950 to 1980 (309). Technologies free journalists to go directly to the event itself, to transmit high quality images and original interpretative narratives (Bennett & Livingstone, 2003:364). The proliferation of the Internet, video recorders, digital cameras enables ordinary citizens to supply eyewitness accounts that are highly valued and may be hard to find during a crisis or conflict. The citizen element appears to emerge most strongly when no journalists are present (Lyon & Ferrara, 2005:15). In explaining the media's fascination with using citizens' accounts during a crisis, Ethan Zuckerman, a senior researcher at Harvard University's Berkman Center for Internet & Society says that it has to do with the lack of good access: "The reason social media is so interesting [for the press] is that the international media doesn't have its members on the ground." (Schectman, BusinessWeek, 2009) Skoler (2005:19) highlight that journalists want citizen sources more for their firsthand knowledge than opinion. Their participation in news reporting vastly speeds up the collection of information (20).

At the basic level, journalists are using citizen sources to provide facts about what is happening during a crisis. In such situations, journalists often make decisions based more on immediacy, access and speed. Weblogs and forums brought compelling firsthand accounts and photography to the events of September 11 (Bowman & Willis, 2003:7). In addition, the London bombings and Hurricane Katrina in 2005 witnessed a high amount of citizen contributions to news reporting. There were large amounts of original reporting from citizens in Hurricane Katrina, with guidance from professional journalists (Gillmor, 2005:10). Eyewitnesses sent more than 20,000 emails, 1,000 photographs and 20 videos in the first six hours after the London bombing. Videos shot from camera phones led the BBC coverage of the bombings (Schaffer, 2005:25).

Vultee and Wilkins (2004:32) suggest that in times of crisis like a terrorist act, people tend to want to seek comfort or make sense of the disaster by finding out

and understanding what is going on. People tend to rely more on the media during and immediately after the crisis for basic information and advice on how to cope with the situation. This may prompt citizens to seek out the media in person, through phone calls or emails more than in normal circumstances. As opposed to journalists chasing survivors and relatives of victims in other tragic events, terrorist incidents like the September 11 attacks saw many survivors and their relatives more willing to talk about their traumatic losses (Nacos, 2003:44). Thus, "where during normal operation news was what newsmen made it, during local disasters news was what the public made it…during normal operation there was little feedback between public and station, during local disasters there was massive and instantaneous public feedback" (Waxman 1973:758). Gans (1979) further explains that when the initial phase of event-driven news or breaking news occur, journalists initially seek out the eye witness who are often ordinary citizens and rely heavily on them when in search for immediate information on the ground.

Simon Cottle's study (2000) on the use of citizen sources and their ability to define problems on environmental risks in the media reinforces the use of citizen sources for their firsthand experience than opinion. In his study, he structured the nature of news sources in two dimensions: "public-private" and "analytic-experiential". According to Cottle, a news source is considered to be making a public comment if addressing the world of public affairs and/or collective concerns, making reference to shared circumstances and drawing refernces to the collective nature of the experience. The comment is considered private if explicitly addressing an individual's own circumstances or familial world of home and/or personal relationships. A comment can be characterized as analytic if advancing a rationally engaged form of argument or point of view and experiential if based on account of experience or response that is emotionally charged. Experiential accounts were those that shared personal experiences and analytical ones were those advancing a rationally engaged form of argument or point of view (35). Cottle found that over 83% of citizen voices gave voice to

experiential accounts rather than analytical ones. Citizens, according to Cottle are routinely accessed by the media to symbolically represent and embody lay experience as victims or witnesses but do not give voice to the analytical point of view (37).

2.8.2 Citizens as credible sources

Literature so far suggests that citizens are mere information contributors, providing firsthand accounts from witness or victim perspective. The next question is then how can citizens become authoritative sources, relied upon for their opinion and viewpoint? According to Matheson and Allan and others, the answer appears to lie in the vicarious, intimate and breaking-news accounts that citizens offer through blogs and social networking sites like Twitter, that no other types of sources can provide. Weblogs are one of the most prominent forms of participatory journalism. According to Technorati, there were an estimated 71 million weblogs in early 2007 (Techocrati, 2007). A 2006 Pew report found that 39% and 8% of the Internet audience read and create blog content respectively (Lenhart & Fox, 2006). Weblogs started to appear in 1999 when new software made it easy and affordable for Internet users to maintain them (Jensen, 2003).

A key feature of the blog that news media organizations value is the immediacy of information the blog offers and the ease with which a page can be updated. The blog can be used to great effects in reporting an unfolding story and keeping readers informed. A weblog is a web page made up of usually short, frequently updated text blocks or entries that are arranged in reverse chronological order (most recent to oldest). The content and purpose of weblogs vary greatly, ranging from personal diary to journalistic community news to collaborative discussion groups in a corporate setting. Weblogs fall into the one-to-many (individual blogs) or many-to-many (group blogs) model of media, and are part of what is now called the "blog sphere". This is the name given to the intercast of weblogs – the linking to and discussion of what others have written or linked to, in essence a distributed discussion. Weblogs are a powerful draw as they enable

the individual participant to play multiple roles simultaneously – publisher, commentator, moderator, writer, documentarian (Bowman & Willis, 2003:23-25).

Bloggers have their own code. They do not aim to be objective, just transparent. They are open about their allegiances and, in some cases, urge readers to get other perspectives before making their own mind up (Ward, 2006: R2). In a study on the role of war blogs in Iraq, Matheson and Allan (2007) suggest that the use of blogging is valued for its informality, subjectivity and eyewitness experience, without the intervention of subeditors. A blog posting offers to take readers vicariously to the scene of the conflict. The reader goes further than the formal news text into the journalist's experience of the news, giving a dynamic look at the story behind the story.

Matheson and Allan (2007:12) suggest one example of a blog by a citizen that has made an impact is the war blog of 'Salam Pax', by a young architect living in Baghdad. His personal, unfiltered accounts of the Iraq war attracted the attention of not only the blog sphere and other online discussion groups, but also that of the mainstream news media itself. To readers, Salam Pax's blog and other such blogs are more convincing because of their perceived realness, easy intimacy and personal feel of the experience reported as compared to packaged, one-size-fits-all reporting by mainstream news media (7-12). Blogging possess the capacity to provide alternative perspectives, contexts and ideological diversity to news reporting, providing audiences with the means to connect with distant voices, otherwise marginalized (12).

In a study of newspaper articles published between 2000 and 2005 in The New York Times and Washington Post, Messner and DiStaso (2008:452) found the number of news articles mentioning weblogs increasing steadily between 2000 and 2005 with one article mentioned in 2000 to 1,295 articles in 2005. According to the findings, the upturn in the use of weblogs in news coverage happened in the second half of 2002. The increase in use of weblogs was underlined by an overall sharp increase in articles relating to political topics. The results of this

study shows that weblogs are emerging as an important topic and source in the mainstream media in what Messner and DiStaso calls "the process of news source legitimation" (454). Reinforcing Messner and DiStaso's study, Tomaszeski (2006) surveyed 250 political bloggers in the United States to find out their motivations and influence on the media agenda and found that these bloggers were being sourced by the mainstream media, who were taking original content and commentary from the blogosphere and incorporating that into their own messages to the general public (48). Tomaszeki's findings show that the bloggers have been quoted by the media 42 times on average (40). The bloggers in turn enjoy higher visibility and this places them in roles as early recognizers of issues, topics or trends prevalent in society. The war in Iraq and terrorism were the two most important issues for the bloggers during the survey period in late 2006 (49). Interestingly, nearly two-thirds of the bloggers surveyed believed that the blogosphere will become part of the mainstream media in the next five years (34).

Twitter is another form of participatory journalism that has taken new prominence. It is a text-based micro-blogging service better known for people updating each other about their daily activities in 140 characters or fewer. Twitter works by taking phone text messages or email messages sent by users, and sending them to the author's followers by phone text messages, email or Facebook (social networking website), for example. Messages can be public or restricted, and some users have thousands of followers. According to Johnson (Johnson, TIME, 2009) in his TIME magazine feature on Twitter, Twitter is the more efficient supplier of information on the Internet as compared to Google. In looking for updates on a recent event, one might use Google, the search engine for quick answers. However, if one is interested in looking for interesting comments just made about that recent event by an extended social network in the last 30 seconds, one uses Twitter.

Up until the attacks in Mumbai, Twitter had been seen as a clever but lightweight service. Twitter gained some level of seriousness during the 2008 United States election with a special site created that brought together posts from the candidates and lists of the most popular topics and charts tracking spikes in discussions about particular topics as they were raised in presidential debates (Minto & Kassel, 2008, Financial Times). In June 2009, Twitter gained even greater weight when it was used in one of the biggest protests against the election results in Iran, attracting immense worldwide attention and international media coverage. One of the biggest value of Twitter appears to be its power as a tool for breaking stories as seen in the Mumbai incident in November 2008 and the Jakarta bombings in July 2009 where within the first few minutes of these terrorist events, Twitter offered firsthand accounts faster than the mainstream media.

The appeal of citizen blogs and use of Twitter appear that citizens could increasingly become authorized sources. However, the immediacy and veracity citizen sources offer poses problems for established news practices in navigating between objective and subjective information. Matheson and Allan (2007:6) highlight that decisions to report raw and unfiltered accounts from citizens create tensions between journalists and editors and put the news organization's reputation at risk for publishing these unedited. Hermida and Thurman (2008:350)'s interviews with editors of several British online newspapers reveal that the potential damage citizen-generated information can do to a news organization's brand is a real concern. The idea of publishing a comment without checking it first was described as "very dangerous" and not to moderate content would be an inappropriate brand risk. A major concern with the use of Twitter is the amount of misinformation going around. Evgeny Morozov, a blogger for the Foreign Policy magazine and fellow with Open Society Institute explains that Twitter's 140-character-only environment makes the risks of someone misinterpreting information from Twitter even greater. It is hard to make a good argument in 140 characters or less and there is very little room for context

(Morozov, The Washington Post, 2009). Similarly, there is a lot of confusion about the authorship. A study by Mike Edwards, a social network researcher at Parsons The New School for Design, examined 79,000 tweets related to the 2009 Iran Election protests, and found that one-third are re-postings of other tweets. This appears to indicate that the amount of information deployed by protestors in Iran is small compared to the amount re-circulated by outsiders. Edwards adds "There is this romantic notion that the people tweeting are the ones in the streets, but that is not what is happening. The hubs are generally not people on the ground, and many are not in the country." (Schectman, BusinessWeek, 2009)

In discussion forums and blogs, Bowman and Willis (2003) explain that the act of verification is a frequent activity. The initial post begins with a link to a story and is followed by statement questioning the validity of certain facts (33). Customarily, the sources of the blogger's information are acknowledged explicitly, with the accompanying hyperlink enabling the reader to negotiate a network of cross-references from one blog to the next, or to other types of websites. In principle, the facts or claims presented in any one blog can be subjected to the relentless double-checking by readers, some of whom may be even better informed about the events in question than the initial blogger. Any attempt by a blogger to present a partisan assertion as an impartial statement of truth is likely to be promptly recognized as such by other readers (43). In the use of Twitter, there have been some attempts at moderating the misinformation. In protests against the Iran Election results in June 2009, online names of Twitter users who appear to be working for the government or spreading misinformation have been compiled on a website called TwitSpam (Morozov, The Washington Post, 2009). Another website called Boingboing developed a cyberwar guide to help anyone who wants to participate constructively in protesting against the Iran Election results using Twitter. However, these initiatives and processes show that there are still no complete and foolproof checks in place.

Biggs (1999) cautions the danger of using information straight from a citizen source without any proper investigative reporting as the 'man-on-the-street analysis' may be tainted with misinformation and may not be as independent as it seems. The challenge is in sifting through information and images from citizens, whether they come from Twitter or weblogs, and determining what meets the standards of journalism (Lyon & Ferrara, 2005:16). Vicky Taylor, the BBC Editor overseeing a user generated content hub describes this challenge: "The main concern we have…is the volume — it is only going to become more and we need to ensure that we have the systems in place to deal with this. It is incredibly resource-intensive. You need to have staff to look at all this material (from citizens) and decide whether to publish it or not." (Stabe, 2006:R4) Taylor adds that the first step to approaching information from citizens is to verify its authenticity, accuracy and legality. Journalists, notes Biggs (1999), have a duty to verify and contextualize the statements of their sources. In selecting which information to use, news organizations strive to maintain a degree of control by choosing the participants, moderating the conversation and setting the agenda.

Indeed, the use of citizen sources might not be as straightforward. Matheson and Allan (2009) go deeper, raising some important issues news organizations face when dealing with information from citizens, showing why news media are still cautious and selective when using citizen sources. Contrary to the belief in the potential newsworthiness of most citizen-generated information, it remains a constant challenge for news organizations to ascertain their relative newsworthiness. According to Pick and Good (2006), much of the material gathered by citizen reporters in Iraq during the American occupation was too graphic or ideologically challenging for Western news organizations to show. Additionally, news organizations risk possible criticism when they choose to feature a particular citizen reporter who subsequently appears to have a possible vested agenda. Matheson and Allan (2009) note an example that illustrates this point. In January 2006, an Iraq citizen, Abdel Rahman Al Mashhadani passed a video showing bodies removed from homes in Iraq's Al Anbar province, to the

Human Rights Watch. American soldiers in a Time magazine feature later used this video as evidence of a likely massacre of twenty-four civilians. Bloggers quickly started to question the evidence, whether a massacre really occurred. The Iraq citizen, Al Mashhadani as used in the Time story had his credibility challenged, having worked as an election monitor for an Iraqi political party and the Time journalist. Tim McGirk was also affected, his impartiality questioned because of a previous assignment where he spent thanksgiving with the Taliban two months after the September 11 terrorist attacks. Matheson and Allan suggest that these tensions explain why the first Western news organization, The Guardian, took two years before using Salam Pax's blog as a news sources on events in Baghdad. It appears that citizen sources are not so easily used by the news media because of the absence of sufficient institutional authority behind them.

In summing up the greatest strengths and weakness of citizen sources, Simon Waldman, Director of The Guardian's digital publishing aptly explains: "the strengths lie in the volume and vividness of the personal accounts, through blogs, text messages and pictures – a revolution in supply. The great weakness, though, is the lack of shape, structure, and ultimately, meaning that all this amounts to. It is one thing to read hundreds of peoples' stories. It is another to try and work out what the story actually is". Indeed, the mainstream journalist is still essential in reducing, prioritizing and shaping information to aid understanding and provide meaning (Wald, 2006:R2).

2.8.3 Citizens with alternative viewpoints

Beyond the offer of citizens' vicarious, intimate and breaking-news accounts, Bruns and Haas explore their potentiality further by reviewing if citizens can challenge mainstream media discourse with alternative viewpoints. According to Bruns (2008), Bowman & Willis (2003) and Min (2005), bloggers and other forms of citizen journalism offer the promise of providing alternative perspectives to the perspectives presented by mainstream media, opening up the news coverage to

multiple perspectives. It is an explicit alternative to conventional journalism's deference to dominant commercial and political interests, suggesting a model of journalism where authority is vested not in the market, nor the party or journalist but in the public (Haas, 2005:393). According to Bruns (2008), citizen journalism (with conventional media as the first tier) potentially serves as a second tier of news media in a two-tiered media system that provides for a more multiperspectival coverage of news. Citizen journalism can comment on, analyze and regularly correct conventional media. They can combine and contrast the coverage of conventional media news, highlight differences in emphasis or interpretation and point to political bias or substandard journalistic handiwork. Such mixing of existing materials could produce compelling new insights overlooked by the conventional media or first tier media. It offers a means for independent reporting, reintroducing alternative viewpoints, embodying a conversational, active and productive engagement with conventional media content (247-248).

However, despite the growth of citizen journalism, there appears to be a discrepancy in its potentiality and reality (Haas, 2005; Bruns, 2008). There is still a limited embrace of this by mainstream media (Bruns, 2008:258). At the basic level, the mainstream media are merely adopting bloggers' views in news stories and co-opting key bloggers as expert pundits into news reporting. Journalists are resisting the increasing potential of participatory journalism as their hegemony as gatekeeper of news may be threatened. Allan and his colleagues (2007) highlighted that in the South Asian Tsunami in 2004, despite the extensive generation of citizen content, a relatively small number of online news organisations made effective use of 'user-generated' items with most tending to rely primarily on comments posted from users about stories. The likely reason was the possible long held reticence to host any content that drives people off the news organizations' websites to third-party sites and an overall scepticism about carrying citizen reporting (377).

Journalists perceive citizen reporters as their competitors or dismiss them as being self-interested or unskilled amateurs. Some (Safran, 2005:21; Schaffer, 2005:23) do not even view participatory journalism as journalism per se, arguing that journalism requires more than one person. The National Union of Journalists in Britain labelled citizens who sent in pictures for news stories as "witness contributors" (Ward, 2006:R2). Jonathan Munro, the Deputy Editor of ITV news argues that a citizen witnessing and filming an event is not a journalist. He does not check facts, find context and look for second sources. If he sends in a video footage for news reporting, he can at best be called a "video witness". It is better than an eyewitness but far away from being a journalist (Stabe, 2006:R4). From a task perspective, journalism is seen as the profession of gathering, editing and publishing news reports and related articles for the newspapers, magazines, television or radio. Bowman and Willis (2003) suggest that the most obvious difference between traditional and citizen journalism is the different structures and organizations that produce them. The traditional or mainstream media are created by hierarchical organizations that evolve to be geared for commerce. They value rigorous editorial workflow, profitability and integrity. Citizen journalism arises from networked communities that value conversation and collaboration (12). Safran (2005:21) points out that there is some journalism happening in the blog sphere but this may not be much. Much of what is happening appears to be reporting on reporting.

In a study on how journalists are using citizen sources in news reporting, Paulussen and Ugille (2008:34-38) provide some important insights as to why the news media is slow to use citizen sources. The journalists interviewed point out that the Internet is used mostly for background information and rarely serve as a primary source. Including citizen sources in the news gathering process is not part of the journalists' daily routine. There is a reluctance to use citizen sources as they do not have the same credibility as official sources and may in fact add more to their workload, having to take the time and effort to verify and moderate citizen sources properly. Hermida and Thurman (2008:351) add that there is a

cost and resource implication with the moderating of citizen-generated content. The burden increases with greater citizen-generated information created. The editor of *Mirror.co.uk,* Steve Purcell exclaims:…"ploughing through the number of messages every day became more effort than it was worth".

Haas (2005) proposes that citizen-generated information in weblogs in particular, does not challenge the discourse of conventional media with alternative viewpoints but may mimic and reinforce the discourses of conventional media further. In fact, blogs could be more partisan, only looking for evidence that support their perspectives. Matheson and Allan (2009) point out that one of the strongest criticisms of blogs, particularly in America, is that "they act as echo chambers for fixed opinions among like-minded individuals, stifling rather than facilitating discussion". A number of studies appear to show that the highly opinionated war blogs that emerged in the United States and other Western countries after the 9/11 attacks may have rendered communities of users more polarized and inward looking, possibly leading to opinions becoming entrenched. Hass adds that there is little evidence of weblog writers engaging in any independent, alternative news reporting. The primary contribution of weblog writers consists of linking to and commenting on pre-existing, Internet-based conventional news reporting and commentary. Research shows that weblog writers do not challenge mainstream news media's narrow range of topics and sources. Topics discussed on weblogs follow the narrow range of topics featured in conventional news media. As a result, weblog writers are likely to point readers towards a narrow range of views that reflect elite opinion than towards a multiplicity of competing truth claims that can be compared and contrasted. This serves to strengthen the dominance of the political elites by further circulating or amplifying their discourses in the web sphere (389). Reinforcing this argument, Messner and DiStaso (2008:459) found in a study of 120 top English-language weblogs that 43% of the sources used in these weblogs were from the mainstream media. Overall, 73% of the sources used by these weblogs were

some type of other media like other weblogs or other non weblog sites like Yahoo! or Google.

One important debate about citizen-generated networks is their impact on the government's ability to influence and control the news agenda, especially during a crisis. Matheson and Allan (2009) remind us of the possible power of citizens' influence but at the same time highlight that countervailing pressures remain strong. According to Matheson and Allan (2009), eyewitness bloggers may gain credibility in a crisis and diminish the reliability of the media on official sources. The combination of citizen voices in larger information networks may "potentially, reorient the social distribution of power and control at certain moments". Such networks could create am impact on the news media depending on the ability of such networks to create strong enough community of like-minded individuals. It is the trust in the quality of information gathering that is most critical. Individuals who take responsibility for their positions might be valued higher than those whose power comes from institutions or professions. Governments might face difficulties in managing public opinions from such networks that may spill over into the news arena. But then again, Matheson and Allan (2009) point out that the sheer volume and diversity of competing citizen accounts in the Internet ensure that none can dominate the news agenda in any simple and straightforward way. Deibert (2008) notes how quickly powerful political actors seek to gain control, with growing surveillance, censorship and legal restrictions on the Internet. Matheson shows evidence of governments in the United States and United Kingdom, using war blogs to spread the messages they want, seeking to control war blogs, and restricting the spaces for soldiers to stay in touch with families (13-15) such as limiting the use of Facebook and Myspace by the United States Army.

What the above literature about citizens' role and influence establishes is that technology, namely the Internet, has opened up a much wider range of sources available to journalists. The information revolution has increased the quantity of

information and created multiple access points to information for journalists. The Internet has vastly speeded up the collection of information and during a crisis citizens can deliver firsthand information much faster than any other source. However, this simply acknowledges the value of citizens as potential information contributors but is not the same as acknowledging citizens as authoritative, credible sources. Keohane & Nye (1998) contend that the quantity of information available in the Internet means little by itself. It is more the quality of information and distinctions between types of information that are important. With an increase in information comes the greater need to sort out story cues and meaning from raw, unfiltered information. Keohane & Nye suggest that power will flow to those like journalists, experts and sources who are story cue-givers, who can edit and make sense of this volume of information. Amongst these interpreters of information, credibility is critical. Establishing credibility means developing a reputation for interpreting information that is correct and important and this has to be done through a process in accordance with professional norms and characterized by transparency and procedural fairness.

Most importantly, Keohane & Nye (1998) remind us that even in the Internet age that we live in today, information does not just exist and flow in a vacuum. It is created within the context of a political structure. Applying Hallin, Bennett and Wolfsfeld's theories, the news media is influenced by the larger political context and is much more likely to react to events than initiate them. In responding to a potential story, the news media will scan the environment for story cues and are more interested in using actors and institutions who can give the story cues and meaning that have the greatest impact on the outcomes. Journalists will also continue to operate on principles of objective and routine journalism and will want to use sources that are able to give authoritative interpretations of reality and this falls back to dominant elites as continued valuable sources. Gans (1979) added that sources are judged to be legitimate if they have been used before, if they are productive, reliable, trustworthy, authoritative and articulate.

This means that the use of citizen sources will be highly selective. Just the mere existence of citizen viewpoints in blogs or discussion forums will not mean these will automatically be included in the mainstream media news reporting. Citizen sources will be scrutinized as with other sources for their credibility and influence in affecting outcomes. The selection and use of citizen sources in a story will depend on the ability of citizens or groups of them to initiate and control the flow of information within the political arena as described by Wolfsfeld's political contest model or at least lend support to the positions of existing authorities and challengers. Even if unexpected events may offer opportunities for citizens to redefine new issues, their alternative viewpoints must be compelling enough to be able to cascade themselves through the rungs of influence within Entman's theory of cascading model. Ultimately, some degree of authority or elite support is necessary to sustain any citizen voice within the news arena.

2.8.4 Driving news at an individual level

Having explored the potentiality of citizens' influence in news reporting from information contributors to authoritative sources in possibly challenging not just the media-government dependence but the model of journalism itself, Wolfsfeld and Sheafer (2006) have gone a step further by looking at who drives the news at an individual level. Their study was carried out within the perspective of Wolfsfeld's political contest model where competing actors vie to gain media attention. They suggest three main factors that will help individuals gain publicity in the news arena: political standing, charismatic communication skills and thematic relevance. Political standing is the level of formal political status an individual has. The news media is likely to routinely turn to those with higher levels of political standing for their reaction to even unexpected events as they are expected to do something about it or at least react. Those with some level of political standing would have the resources like professional public relations staff to help them react in a timely and efficient manner. Elaborating on why the media turns to those with higher levels of political standing, Manning (2001) suggests that the use of news sources by the mainstream news media has to do with the

issue of power and resources. Journalists working within constrains are likely to rely more on officials as authoritative sources or "accredited witnesses" because of their perceived hierarchy of credibility within the structures of power in society (138). Those with sufficient command over material resources or are in regular contact with the government on the "inside" are more likely to be perceived by the journalists as "credible" sources. Alternatively, journalists would take an interest in groups that can demonstrate that they "speak" for a substantial body of local opinion (159).

Charismatic communication skill, the second factor that helps the individual drive news, can be defined as the individual's demonstrated skills, performance, and talent in the political communication arena. This is argued to help the individual meet the demands of the news arena and is an important personal resource for those seeking political and social legitimacy. Thematic relevance refers to the extent to which an individual's position or cause can be linked to a public issue or event. In order words, those who hope to gain access to the news have to be important, interesting or linked to an ongoing story (Wolfsfeld & Sheafer, 2006: 338-339).

CHAPTER THREE: THE MUMBAI INCIDENT

3.1 India's history of communal violence

The Mumbai terrorist incident in November 2008 took place against a backdrop of violence in India. India has endured continuous violence, especially communal violence between the Hindus and Muslims (Jaishankar, 2007, Devji, 2008, Sonwalkar, 2007). According to Devji (2008), the history of terrorism in India began with the assassinations and bombings of British officials at the end of the 19th century. After independence in 1947, terrorism against the state emerged among communist-inspired peasants in eastern India in the 1960s and 1970s, followed by separatist violence among religious and ethnic groups from the 1980s onwards. Jaishankar (2007:6) noted that the terrorist attacks on 12 March 1993 was a sequel to the 1992 riots where a group of Indian Muslims set off a series of 13 bombs killing 257. It was the first planned and proven terrorist attack by a group of Indian Muslims. Devji (2008) highlighted that from 1993 onwards Indian Muslims started forming their own terrorist outfits. Since January 2004, nearly 4,000 people have been killed by terrorist violence (Ganguly, 2008, Newsweek). This is more than in any other country except Iraq, according to the Political and Economic Risk Consultancy, based in Hong Kong.

According to Nadadur (1994:94), the rise of Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), which occurred mainly in the early 1990s demonstrated another important Islamic fundamentalist force that posed a radical threat to India. According to The New York Times article on 24 May 2009, it was formed to fight against India's rule over disputed territories in Kashmir. Pakistan, an overwhelmingly Muslim country, has fought two wars with predominantly Hindu but secular India over Kashmir, India's only majority Muslim state. The LeT comprised largely of mujahadeens who came to fight in Jammu-Kashmir after the conclusion of the Soviet War in Afghanistan in the late 1980s. The LeT is considered a terrorist organization by India, America, United Kingdom, among others, with substantial help from

Pakistan's premier spy agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence (Oppel, 2009, The New York Times). The LeT undertook several significant terrorist actions against civilians in Kashmir and was the primary behind the growth of the Kashmir insurgency in the 1990s. American and Indian officials have long blamed LeT for a campaign of violence against high-profile targets throughout India (Mazzetti, 2008, The New York Times). A United States State Department report released in 2008 called LeT "one of the largest and most proficient of the Kashmiri-focused militant groups." The report said that the group drew financing in part from Pakistani expatriates in the Middle East. The group is believed by experts to have a loose affiliation with Al Qaeda. LeT is not known to have singled out Westerners in past terrorist attacks, as the gunmen in the Mumbai terrorist incident seem to have done.

3.2 The Mumbai incident

The attacks from 26 November 2008 to 29 November 2008 in Mumbai by LeT was carried out by ten militants in ten prominent locations leaving 173 people ("India admits 'lapses' over Mumbai", BBC, 2008) dead. Rabasa and her colleagues (2009:5-6) described the attacks in detail in a RAND report published in January 2009. The attacks were sequential and highly mobile with multiple teams attacking several locations at once - combining armed assaults, drive-by shootings, targeted killings (police officers and selected foreigners), building takeovers and barricade and hostage situations. By dispersing into separate teams and moving from target to target, the militants were able to sow confusion and create the impression of a greater number of attackers and prevented the authorities from developing an overall assessment of the situation. The Mumbai attackers came by sea, sailing from Karachi on a Pakistani cargo vessel. After landing in Mumbai, one two-man team took a taxi to the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus, Mumbai's main train station, where they took out their weapons and opened fire on commuters. The terrorist team then headed to the Cama & Albless Hospital, where they renewed the killing. Escaping again with a police car

they had ambushed and hijacked, they headed toward the Trident-Oberoi Hotel, firing along the way. Forced to turn back, they hijacked another vehicle but were finally intercepted by police. The second team walked to Nariman House, a commercial-residential complex run by the Jewish Chabad Lubavich movement. They threw grenades at a gas station across the street from the complex, opened fire on the building and then entered the lobby shooting. Taking 13 hostages, five of whom they subsequently murdered, the terrorists prepared for the police assault.

The third two-man team headed from the landing site to the Trident-Oberoi Hotel, where they began killing people indiscriminately. The siege continued for approximately 17 hours before the terrorists were killed. By the time they died, they had killed 30 people. The fourth and largest team moved toward the Taj Mahal Palace Hotel. The terrorists briefly entered the Leopold Café, spraying its occupants with automatic weapons fire, killing ten people. Then they moved to the rear entrance of the Taj Hotel only a hundred metres away. They walked through the grounds and ground floor of the hotel, killing along the way, and then moved to the upper floors, setting fires and moving constantly in order to confuse and delay government commandos. The siege at the Taj ended 60 hours later, when Indian commandos killed the last of the four terrorists. This particular pattern of operation where the attackers assault and penetrate deep into the target to kill as many as possible had been seen before in previous LeT attacks on Indian forces in Kashmir.

The ten attackers were reported to be Pakistanis in their early 20s and all were shot dead in the attacks except for one who was captured by security forces. The attackers reportedly used cell phones and a satellite phone. The attackers' purpose, as indicated by the testimony of the only surviving terrorist, Ajmal Amir Kasab, was to kill as many people as possible. The attackers were in frequent contact with their handlers, presumably based in Pakistan, during the attack. The attackers called each other during the siege to discuss their routes (Rabasa *et al.,* 2009:7).

According to RAND's press release issued on 16 January 2009, the Mumbai attacks were significant in their audacity and ambition, as well as the complexity of the operation and diversity of targets. Sappenfield (2008) indicated that this could be the most sophisticated terrorist attack since September 11, according to experts. Evidence suggests that planning for the attacks began as far back as mid-2007. The militants were heavily armed. They had detailed maps and information about each target they hit. The selection of multiple targets - Americans, Britons and Jews, as well as Indians suggests that the terrorists intended the attack to serve multiple objectives. Rabasa *et al.* (2009:1) highlighted that the Pakistan-based militants saw India as part of the "Crusader-Zionist-Hindu" alliance, and therefore the enemy of Islam. "Muslim" Kashmir ruled by majority "Hindu" India, provides a specific cause. LeT often considered the struggle in Kashmir as part of the global struggle, hence the specific selection of Americans and Britons as targets and the inclusion of the Jewish Chabad centre as a principal target.

Bahasa *et al.* (2009:1) indicated in the RAND report that LeT has declared its objective as not merely to liberate Kashmir but breaking up India. A terrorist attack on India could heighten antagonisms between India's Hindu and Muslim communities. It may provoke Hindu reprisals and facilitate recruiting by Islamist extremists. Some have called the attacks India's 9/11 (Ghosh, 2008, The New York Times). Ghosh in New York Times highlighted that in both the Mumbai incident and the September 11 attacks, militants singled out urban landmarks that were symbolic. Both events were also similar in the unexpectedness of the attacks, the meticulousness of their planning and their shock value.

The Indian government's response to the Mumbai attacks underscored several key weaknesses in India's counterterrorism and threat-mitigation structure. There appears to have been little coordination between the central security agencies - the Research and Analysis Wing, the Intelligence Bureau and the local police in

Bombay. Although local police contingents, including the anti-terrorism squad, responded relatively quickly, they lacked the training to set up appropriate command posts for sealing off the attack sites. Many police officers remained passive, because the attackers seem to have outgunned them. Local contingents of the army arrived at the scene of the attacks a full five hours after the first shots had been fired (Rabasa *et al.,* 2009:9-10). Major criticism was directed at a cabinet minister on the first day of the crisis, after he announced that 200 National Security Guard commandos were to be deployed in the area in two hours. Not only did this alert the militants as to when a hostage rescue mission might occur, it also effectively confirmed that no forward operating units had yet been mobilized (11). On 12 February 2009, Pakistan's Interior Minister Rehman Malik, in a televised news briefing, confirmed that parts of the Mumbai attacks had been planned in Pakistan (Masood, 2009, The New York Times).

3.3 News reporting and citizens' involvement

On the success of the Mumbai attacks, B. Raman, the former head of India's Research and Analysis Wing said, "It was not so much of a success in terms of people killed - it was more the publicity they got …and their ability to project the Indian state ... as helpless" (Sappenfield, 2008). Indeed, the four-day Mumbai incident became a media spectacle for the world with live media coverage of more than 60 hours of terror. It appears that the attacks were planned with publicity in mind. The multiple targets were carefully chosen for their religious, political and cultural values in order to make a statement. The attacks on landmark properties amplified the psychological impact. The Leopold Café (a famous site) and the hotels were dramatic venues for the attack, providing the emotional value sought by militants. The attacks on foreigners guaranteed international media coverage (Rabasa *et al.,* 2009:7).

Many Indians have however criticized their local media, especially the 24-hour television news channels for "showing gory scenes, being too aggressive and

often reporting incorrect information as fact" (Pepper, 2008). Television coverage of the attacks showed dead bodies and hostages trapped in rooms, revealed commando operations and reported the location of hostages at the Taj Mahal Hotel. One station even aired a telephone conversation with one of the 10 gunmen. In the transcripts of phone calls intercepted by Indian authorities, handlers in Pakistan urged the attackers on, exhorting them to kill, reminding them that the prestige of Islam was at stake and giving them tactical advice that, in part, was gleaned from watching live coverage of the event on television (Rabasa *et al.,* 2009:7). Television journalists have also been criticized for focusing on the sieges at the Taj and Oberoi hotels, the domains of the country's wealthy and ruling elite while largely ignoring the train station that saw 58 people killed. According to Pepper (2008), the media were also unhappy with both the local and federal government for failing to set up fixed police lines around hostage sites and for not providing regular media briefings. Rajdeep Sardesai, Editor-in-chief of the CNN-IBN news channel lamented: "The media has got to be constantly fed. The information flow from government sources was terrible." Recognizing possible missteps in the media coverage, the Indian National Broadcaster Association revealed a new set of rules for the industry in December 2008, banning broadcasting of footage that could reveal security operations and live contact with hostages or attackers (Pepper, 2008).

The minute news broke on the attacks in Mumbai; social networking media sites like Twitter were flooded with a huge volume of messages. Twitter became a major and de factor source for real time (citizen) news and on-ground intelligence for the conventional media (Busari, 2008, CNN). There was a proliferation of live-blogging offering real-time eyewitness accounts (Busari, 2008, CNN; Mishra, 2008; Armour, 2008). The original first-hand accounts came from writer-bloggers trio of Amit Varma, Sonia Falerio, Rahul Bhatia, stranded along with their partners close to one of the hotels under attack, the Taj Mahal Hotel. Flickr, a photo-sharing website offered exclusive photographs. Vinukumar Rangathan, a journalist, posted some of the first photographs (112 in total) of the attacks

(Mishra, 2008). Both the international and Indian news organizations quickly picked these up with CNN and Fox News using Vinu's photographs and CNN, BBC and even Larry King Live started interviewing bloggers like Vinu and Amit Varma, who became in-demand pundits overnight. The role of Indian citizens' blogging live about the attacks became the central focus of stories as well (Mishra, 2008). For the first six hours of the attack, none of the international news channels was covering the attacks in any meaningful way (Mishra, 2008). Through blogs, file-sharing and social networking functions on the Internet, dozens of eyewitness reports delivered information faster than conventional media (Busari, 2008, CNN). Neha Viswanathan, a former regional editor for Southeast Asia and a volunteer at Global Voices, told CNN, "Even before I actually heard of it on the news I saw stuff about this on Twitter."

A second layer of information featuring reports from both conventional media and citizens also popped up with search engine Mahalo and citizen journalism website NowPublic offering the first comprehensive sources of (conventional and citizen) news on the Mumbai attacks. CNN and NDTV started streaming TV coverage of the attacks live. Recordings of TV news clippings also appeared on Youtube. Many social and news media began to post a roundup of good posts, online blogs and discussions (Some examples are journalism.co.uk, NDTV, The Guardian and blogging sites like Bloggada, Indiblogger) on the attack, underscoring the major role citizens were playing in reporting on the situation. In addition, new information appeared outside of conventional media. By the morning of 27 November 2008, Wikipedia, which had been created for the attacks, receiving more than 300,000 hits, had emerged as the definitive source on the emerging situation (Mishra, 2008, Armour, 2008). A Google map of the targets was created just hours after the attacks, showing key locations (Mishra, 2008; CNN, 2008).

The tone of discourse on the attacks on the Internet moved from sharing information and expressing grief to offering analysis and rhetoric. Several Indian

bloggers have commented on the role of Twitter and citizen journalism in the coverage of the Mumbai attacks and others criticized the Indian television news channels for being too slow and sensationalizing their coverage of the Mumbai terror attacks and, perhaps, helping the terrorists inadvertently: Neha Vishwanathan, Chetan Kunte, Prem Panicker, OffStumped, Falstaff (Mishra, 2008). Many have hailed the Mumbai incident, as not just about a city under attack but a social media experiment in action (Busari, 2008, CNN; Armour, 2008; Leggio, 2008). The Los Angeles Times commented that the Mumbai attacks witnessed the first sustained citizen action in an international crisis using Twitter and other social networking sites. Twitter co-founder Biz Stone indicated that this could be the biggest international event Twitter has been part of. Gaurav Mishra, a social media researcher at Georgetown University who has been live blogging and tracking the attacks pointed out that there is an interesting interplay between Twitter and the mainstream media, both listening to each other and this is the first time that has happened in India.

However, citizen reports on Twitter, blogs or other sites saw the over-generation of information. Much of the information was recycled and dubiously sourced, putting into question the accuracy of information (CNN, 2008; Malbon, 2008; ABC, 2008; Drama, 2008; Leggio, 2008). A vast majority of information on Twitter appeared to be simply relaying facts reported by conventional media in India and abroad. Twitter appears to be just a thousand of random tweets of raw, unverified data (CNN, 2008; Malbon, 2008; ABC, 2008; Drama, 2008). Updates from citizens were also revealing police movements, which could jeopardize security. Terrorists could be using the media to track police movements. The Indian government had at one point appealed to Twitter users, bloggers and journalists to stop reporting on police movements (Busari, 2008, CNN). In fact, according to Sweney (2008, guardian.co.uk), BBC was criticized for using unsubstantiated citizen reports in its coverage. BBC News website Editor Steve Herrmann raised important questions about reporting unverified information from citizens: "Should we have checked this before reporting it? Made it clearer that we hadn't? We

certainly would have done if we'd wanted to include it in our news stories (we didn't) or to carry it without attribution." The myth of the potential of the Mumbai twitter may be overstated. Sweney (2008) suggests that the role of mainstream media appears to report fact over fiction appears to be more relevant in this digital age.

CHAPTER FOUR: NEWSPAPER CONTENT ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction and goals

The question this study seeks to answer is how are citizen sources used in mainstream news reporting during a terrorist act. In addressing this question, the first three chapters of this study have laid out the foundation to understanding the research focus. The first chapter outlined the research focus, approach and structure of this thesis. The second chapter reviewed literature relevant to understanding the research question and the third chapter described the Mumbai terrorist case study in detail.

This fourth chapter discusses and describes the methodology used for this study. The approach chosen is a quantitative content analysis of news reports from four print organizations during the Mumbai terrorist incident for a one-week period, from 26 November 2008 to 2 December 2008. This analysis is concerned with how news reports use and feature citizen sources in relation to other sources in order to assess citizens' role and potential influence in news reporting. It first highlights the content analysis goals. It then outlines theories explaining the suitability of the approach and describes the units of analysis. It further details the selected sample and specifications of the source categories, nature of sources and frames and concludes with the results of the content analysis.

In addressing the question of the extent of influence from citizens in crisis news reporting, the content analysis of news reports from four print organizations on the Mumbai incident aims to uncover the areas of influence citizens have in relation to other sources in news stories. It aims to analyze how the print news media are using citizen sources and identify when and how citizen sources are influencing mainstream news reporting. It also aims to discover possible differences if any, in how different countries use and reflect citizen sources. Therefore, the primary research question is how are citizen sources used in the

news coverage of the Mumbai incident as compared to government and other sources? The following are five secondary research questions that will help clarify the main question:

a. How do citizen sources fair (in terms of proportion of usage) as compared to government and other sources in the news coverage of the Mumbai incident?

b. How frequent over different phases of the crisis are the media covering the Mumbai incident more likely to use a greater proportion of citizen sources?

c. To what degree do citizen sources contribute private/experiential accounts versus public/analytical accounts in the news coverage of the Mumbai incident?

d. What kinds of frames are citizens commonly associated with as compared to government and other sources in the news coverage of the Mumbai incident?

e. What are the differences if any, between the countries' use of citizen sources in the news coverage of the Mumbai incident?

4.2 Why content analysis?

The use of the content analysis method to analyze the news reports provides the framework and ability to address questions that are critical for answering the central questions of this dissertation like: "Who says what, to what extent and with what effect?" (Lasswell, 1935). According to Bennett (1990), careful analysis of news content will enable one to uncover the hidden journalistic order (111). We can learn more about how "common sense" activities like news production work through content analysis (112). Berkowitz (1987) adds that content analysis can show observations of the outcome of power relationships between journalists and their sources (513).

Content analysis is the systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding (Berelson, 1952; Krippendorff, 1980; and Weber, 1990). Content analysis enables one to look beyond the physicality of texts, for example, to what the texts tell them, the conceptions and actions the texts encourage (Krippendorff, 2004). It can be a useful technique for making inferences about the messages within the texts, the journalists, the audience and the culture and context of the texts. It can also indicate pertinent features such as the intentions, biases, prejudices and oversights of journalists responsible for producing the contents. The content analysis approach will be able to establish in specific statistics, for example, the proportion of citizen sources used in news reports and the frequency of firsthand accounts generated versus opinions. Content analysis narrows the range of interpretations otherwise available. Inferences made are more systematic, explicitly informed and (ideally) verifiable (Krippendorff, 2004).

What makes the technique particularly rigorous is its reliance on coding and categorizing of the data (Weber, 1990). Its major benefit comes from the fact that it is a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding. Replicable data makes the content analysis technique reliable as researchers working at different points in time and circumstances can get the same results when applying the same technique to the same data (Krippendorff, 2004). It has the attractive features of being unobtrusive, and being useful in dealing with large volumes of data. Other types of research techniques have the ability to be intrusive where subjects being examined react to scientific inquiries. By contrast, the content analysis technique is nonreactive or unobtrusive. Content analysis is also context sensitive and this is important for this research as information produced by journalists on any event is particularly presented within the context of a certain time and circumstance. Content analysis therefore enables one to process data texts that are significant, meaningful, informative and representational to others (Krippendorff, 2004).

4.3 Units of analysis

The content analysis in this study will measure the frequency, direction and timing of citizen sources as compared to government and other sources to determine the extent of citizen influence in news reporting. The unit of analysis is the source, defined as any person or entity directly quoted or attributed as a source in the text of the news article or editorial (Li & Izard 2003:209). Firstly, it will measure the frequency or proportion of use of citizen sources as compared to government and other sources. Nacos (1994)' study of the Iranian hostage crisis and the TWA hijacking incident in the 1980s showed government source usage was lower at 17% and 20% respectively while Li and Izard (2003)'s study of the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks found government sources dominating at more than 40%. A higher or almost equal proportion of citizen sources to government sources will provide an insight on news access and show some degree of citizen influence.

Secondly, citizen sources will be analyzed in terms of timing - when most number of citizen sources is used. To compare the use of various sources throughout the Mumbai incident, the one-week period of the crisis was divided into three stages, following Graber (1980)'s description of the stages the media goes through during a crisis. The first three days of the terrorist event (26 to 28 November 2008) represent the beginning stage of the crisis. The next two days (29 to 30 November 2008) represent the stage where the media attempts to make sense of the situation. The final two days (1 to 2 December 2008) represent the stage where the media provides long-term perspectives on the event. Bennett *et al.* (2006) and Lawrence (1996) suggest a greater diversity of sources will be used in the immediate aftermath of an event when news organizations tend to look for alternative sources that can make sense of the crisis. The high usage of citizen sources in a particular time in the crisis period can provide insights on when citizen sources are most influential.

Thirdly, citizen comments as used in the news reports will be evaluated in terms of the nature of their accounts. Cottle (2000)'s content analysis approach will be used to guide the analysis, structuring the nature of news sources in two dimensions: "public-private" and "analytic-experiential". This is a useful and systematic approach to evaluating the value of each source. To a certain extent, a source used for public-analytical dimensions will be valued higher than a source used for private-experiential dimensions given the public nature of the comments made and is a point of view that is used likely because of the source's expertise. Examples to illustrate these will be in the section under nature of sources later in this chapter. Cottle (2000) observed in his study that over 83% of citizen voices gave voice to experiential accounts rather than analytical ones. A higher frequency of citizen voices attributed with public-analytic and public-experiential dimensions might point to a higher level of influence from citizens.

Fourthly, beyond evaluating the nature of citizen sources as compared to others, citizen sources will also be analyzed in terms of the type of frames they are associated with in the news stories. Li and Izard (2003)'s use of frames will be used to guide the identification of broad categories of key news coverage frames into six frames: political, economy, disaster, human-interest, safety and criminal activities. The analysis will be able to establish if citizen sources are more likely to be associated with disaster and human-interest types of frames or the more political types of frames. In Li and Izard (2003)'s study, government sources were mostly associated with the political frame (66%) while citizens or witnesses were mostly associated with human-interest frames (70%). Frame association will show the type of influence citizens have in terms of framing news stories. A higher frequency of citizen voices attributed with frames beyond just description of the event might point to a higher level of influence from citizens. By analyzing how newspapers use and reflect the various sources, we can better understand the role and influences of government and citizen sources. We can trace salient patterns of journalistic practices and uncover wider implications on the media-

government's pattern of interdependence and the role of the media as a whole during a crisis like the Mumbai incident.

4.4 Sample

The media content analysis will cover news reports published by four news print organisations – The New York Times, The Times (also known as The London Times), The New Zealand Herald and the Times of India on the Mumbai terrorist incident in the period from 26 November 2008, the start of the attacks, to 2 December 2008. The one-week period was chosen for analysis to cover the four-day incident and an additional three days were included to study the aftermath and any detectable change in the way sources are featured once the crisis was over. However, it should be noted that all print news reports on the incident were published from 27 November 2008 onwards as the attacks took place in the night of 26 November 2008. Thus, only six days of news reports were analyzed. The four news organisations selected give a sufficient broad range of news coverage internationally and locally (with reference to India). They are all leading, English daily newspapers in the United States, Britain, New Zealand and India respectively. Their daily circulation figures range from 180,939[1] (New Zealand Herald) to 590,765[2] (London Times), 1.03 million[3] (The New York Times) and 3.14[4] million (Times of India). Visitor figures to their websites are from 2.1 million[5] (New Zealand Herald) and 73 million[6] (The New York Times) each month to 159 million page views[7] (Times of India).

The print media is chosen for study in this thesis as its news reports usually cover issues in greater depth. This is likely to reveal more of the underlying messages and processes behind the news report and is important in being able

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[1] Source: New Zealand Audit Bureau
[2] Source: Newspapers Watch, 2009
[3] Source: The New York Times, 2009
[4] Source: Audit Bureau of Circulations
[5] Source: Nielson Net Ratings, New Zealand market intelligence
[6] Source: Nielson Online for the Newspaper Association of America
[7] Source: ComScore, May 2009

to examine the role of citizen participation in news reporting fully. Given the limited scope of this dissertation, only one case study is used. The Mumbai terrorist incident in November 2008 is selected because of the substantial use of citizen sources in the news reporting. From initial analysis of news reports, the coverage appeared to use a high proportion and variety of citizen sources from victim to man-in-the-street perspective and opinions taken from blogs and Twitter.

The print newspaper articles were compiled through the search engine, Factiva. This database was chosen because it is easily accessible online, it stores the full texts of the analyzed newspapers and it is an efficient and methodical way of collecting of data. The key words used in the search for the print newspaper articles are "Mumbai" for New York Times and New Zealand Herald, "Bombay" for London Times and "Mumbai and terrorists" for Times of India[8]. Factiva identified 193 print articles and 20 editorials (total of 213 articles) in the period from 26 November 2008 to 2 December 2008. Factiva has indicated that the news reports compiled includes newspapers in print and editorials. Editorials were identified based on use of the words, "opinion" and "comment" by London Times and use of "news analysis" by The New York Times. Editorials in The New Zealand Herald and Times of India were identified based on the editorial style taken for specific articles as these news organizations did not have distinct words to separate their print articles from editorial ones. Articles from these four news organizations' websites will not be analyzed as initial analysis of their news websites have shown that the same print articles were featured in their websites.

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[8] The initial Factiva search used the same terms, "Mumbai and terrorists" to search for all articles but these search words could not locate all relevant articles from all news organizations. Thus, a second search was carried out using alternative search terms. The use of "Bombay" as a search term is applicable only to the London Times as London Times used the colonial name of Bombay with reference to Mumbai the city and coverage of the terrorist incident in November 2008.

4.5 Source categories

For this study, source classification and categories were guided by Li and Izard (2003), Nacos (1994) and Wigley and Fontenot (2009)'s source categories. Sources were categorized into one of the following 19 categories:

a.   Government (local and foreign);

b.   Expert (local and foreign);

c.   Military/Police (local and foreign);

d.   Media (local and foreign), wires;

e.   Non-governmental groups (local and foreign);

f.   Victim/family (local and foreign), witness, voxpox (local and foreign), citizen-journalist (local and foreign); and

g.   Others.

From these 19 categories, seven source categories were derived (See Table 1) to reflect source usage in the findings. These source categories were developed based on Li and Izard and Nacos' source categories used in their respective studies.

TABLE 1

**Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Seven source categories**

Sources	Remarks
Citizens	Includes seven sub-categories: victim/family (local and foreign), witness, voxpox (local and foreign), citizen-journalist (local and foreign)
Government	Includes two sub-categories: Government (local) and Military/Police (local)
Experts	Includes two sub-categories: Experts (local and foreign)
Media	Includes three sub-categories: Media (local and foreign) and wires
Foreign	Includes two sub-categories: Government (foreign) and Military/Police (foreign)

Sources	Remarks
Terrorists	It will be coded under the others source category. From initial analysis of the news reports, the terrorists make up all of the others category, there are no other source category not accounted for.
Non-governmental groups	Includes two sub-categories: Non-governmental groups (local and foreign). From initial analysis of the news reports, these are made up of mainly businesses, hospitals and religious associations

Government sources as defined by Berkowitz (1987) are government officials and spokespeople elected or appointed to office in local, state or federal government entities. Foreign sources consist of foreign government officials and their military or police spokespersons. While both local and foreign government sources can be grouped together and be considered as the government source, this study will analyze these sources separately as it provides a more accurate perspective on the use of sources by each newspaper. Expert sources are defined as spokespeople associated with academic institutions or professional associations, who are specialists in their fields or industries. Media sources are defined as reporters writing the news stories or the correspondents or editors penning the opinion pieces. Wires are defined as international news wire agencies like the Associated Press and Reuters. Non-governmental groups are defined as private or non-government associations, organizations and groups, for example, the Lubavitch (Jewish) movement, hospitals or businesses like the Oberoi Hotel group.

Citizen sources as defined by Berkowitz are individuals commenting in their individual capacity and are not associated or represented with any government entities, academic institutions, professional associations or media organizations. Citizen sources are identified in four categories: Victims/families, witnesses, voxpoxs and citizen-journalist sources. In terms of citizen sources, the victims/families category was analyzed in Nacos (1994)' study on the news coverage of Iran hostage crisis and TWA hijacking incident while the witness category was used in Li and Izard (2003)'s study on the news coverage of the

September 11 terrorist attacks. Voxpox and citizen-journalist source categories are added to acknowledge the increasingly diversified use of citizens in news stories based on a preliminary analysis of the Mumbai news reports and on reviewing Wigley and Fontenont's pilot study on the use of technology sources in the Virginia Tech shooting crisis. Victims/families refer to those directly affected by the incident where they are either held hostage or killed in the target locations by attackers. Families in this same category refer to families of victims commenting on and about the victims and their situation. Witnesses are those viewing or experiencing the event firsthand as it unfolds. An example of a witness is:

> By 5am, Peter Keep, a British entrepreneur, had counted at least 40 dead bodies at Bombay's St George Hospital. "It's not an experience that will leave me soon," he said. – London Times, 28 November 2008.

Voxpoxs refer to those quoted with opinions about the event but they have not experienced the incident firsthand. An example of a voxpox is:

> "In 51 years, I have never seen this kind of thing," said Dev B. Gohil, a tailor and lifelong Mumbai resident. "We're scared for ourselves and for our families." – New York Times, 29 November 2008.

Citizen-journalist sources follow Wigley and Fontenot (2009)'s definition where these sources in this category are attributed with the use of citizens who are sourced from any type of new technology such as personal blogs, social networking sites like twitter, the use of text messages through phones and any other citizen journalism ventures. The others source category refer to other sources that are not belonging to government, expert, journalist or citizen, for example the attackers. This is to analyze and account for all sources identified in the news reports.

It should be noted that all sources were counted, whether attributed as a quote as taken from statements, reports, press releases, websites, or as conveyed from generic groups. Examples of generic groups were witnesses, experts or officials and these were identified with cue words like "said", "told" or "according to". If the same source was quoted twice in the news article, this source would be counted twice if it provided two different viewpoints. If two or more members or persons from the same family, couple or group were quoted, it would be counted as two or more sources depending on how many were quoted. Groups like "witnesses", "policemen" or "experts" were counted as one source. When two sources were quoted giving the same specific comment, the original source was recorded. A media source was counted only if it was explicitly quoted and attributed in the news story beyond the own journalist's voice. Refer to Appendix 1 for the coding sheet.

4.6 Nature of sources

All sources were evaluated for the nature of their contributions to the news story. Their value as news sources were categorized into one of four categories, following Cottle (2000)'s approach: private-experiential, private-analytic, public-experiential and public-analytic. Examples of these categories are as follows:

Example of a private-experiential account from a citizen source – *The British MEP Sajjad Karim, who was staying at the Taj Mahal Palace, said in a mobile phone call: "I was in the lobby when gunmen came in and people started running... A gunman just stood there spraying bullets around. I ran into the hotel kitchen and then we were shunted into a restaurant in the basement. We are now in the dark in this room and we've barricaded all the doors. It's really bad."* – London Times, 27 November 2008.

Example of a private-analytic account from a citizen source – *Rabbi Yehuda Krinsky, who leads the group's missionaries, condemned "the brutal murder of our finest....Words are inadequate to express our outrage*

and deep pain at this tragic act of cold-blooded murder." – New York Times, 29 November 2008.

Example of a public-experiential account from a government source – *A police spokesman said: "We have only a very tenuous grasp on what is happening so far. People are scared. The incidents being reported are so many. Gunmen are under siege at several locations but we are worried about hitting civilians." –* London Times, 27 November 2008.

Example of a public-analytical account from an expert source – *One counter-terrorist expert told The Times: "They don't choose for the sake of it, they look to see where they have the greatest capability and then order an attack," –* London Times, 27 November 2008.

4.7 Frames sources are associated with

In addition to evaluating the nature of all sources, all sources were analyzed for the frames they were associated with. Identification of broad frames were guided by Li and Izard (2003)'s identification of six news frames: political, economy, criminal activity, safety, human interest and disaster. A preliminary analysis of the news reports has established the following 30 key news coverage themes and the categorisation of these into the six frames as listed. An additional frame on citizen journalism is added to take into account the use and feature of citizen-journalist and citizen sources in mainstream news reporting.

1) Disaster frame

a.   Description of what happened
b.   Mention of statistics - number killed, injured or missing
c.   Scale, sophistication and strategy of attacks
d.   Heightened threat, fear and alert as a result of the crisis
e.   Focus on western targets
f.   Groups claiming responsibility that are not LeT

g.   Linking Mumbai terrorist incident to the 9/11 event

2) Human interest frame

a.   Stories of heroism and personal tributes to victims

3) *Economy frame*

a.   Impact on economy
b.   Impact on tourism including sports tourism

4) Political frame

a.   Rogue state – Pakistan to blame; long tensions between India and Pakistan especially the dispute over Kashmir
c.   Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) to blame
d.   Terrorist group – LeT long blamed for past violence
e.   Global terrorism – attacks linked to global terrorist networks like Al Qaeda
f.   Domestic political problem – Long tensions between Indians and Muslim
g.   Religion – Islamic radical elements to blame
h.   Government – Government's failings to contain terrorism lack of political will to address terrorism
i.   Failings by politicians of the Congress Party
j.   Security – Weak in national security (both intelligence and enforcement); prior warnings ignored
k.   Security – Weak in navy/coastal security
l.   Terrorism partly caused by unemployment amongst youths
m.   Terrorism part of new world order of global terrorism
n.   Reference to India-Israeli ties as part of the cause of attacks
o.   Military – No first nuclear strike policy between Pakistan and India or India moving troops to the border of Pakistan
p.   Diplomacy – Improve relations between Pakistan and India
q.   Multilateral – Working together with India to fight against terrorism
r.   Political – Change the prevailing national party

5) Criminal activity

a.   Law and order –Investigation into the attacks

6) Safety

a.   Security – Improve security in terms of the police, intelligence, hotels and tightening of laws

7) Citizen journalism

a.   Comments on the activity and trend of citizen journalism

To check for intercoder reliability, 21 articles were randomly selected, making up about 10% of the sample of 213 articles for a trained coder unfamiliar with this study to review. The intercoder reliability test produced a coefficient of .86, which exceeded .70, the minimum requirement for reliability.

4.8 Findings from news articles

The following two sections (4.8 and 4.9) describe the results from the content analysis of four newspapers using three levels of data: the overall combined data from all four newspapers, data relating to each newspaper and data relating to each citizen category. A detailed analysis of the findings and their relevance to existing literature will be covered in chapter five. A total of 213 articles were analyzed. From the analysis, 1,470 sources were identified, of which 193 news articles had 1,408 sources while 20 editorials had 62 sources. Editorials were analyzed separately as the use of sources in editorials tends to be significantly different from news articles. There were 21 news articles in The New York Times (NYT), 38 in The London Times (LT), 12 in the New Zealand Herald (NZH), and 122 in the Times of India (TOI). Each article had an average of about seven sources. Table 2 shows a breakdown of the 213 articles in terms of the number of print and editorials and number of sources for each news organization, including the average number of sources per article.

TABLE 2

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Number of articles and average number of sources per article

	No. of articles	No. of editorials	No. of sources	Average source per article
NYT	21	7	358	12
LT	38	10	242	5
NZH	12	1	80	6
TOI	122	2	790	6

A. What is the proportion of citizen sources used as compared to others?

The first research question asked about the proportion of citizen sources used as compared to government and other sources in the news articles on the Mumbai incident. Of the 1,408 sources identified in the news articles from all four newspapers combined, citizen sources led at 33%, followed by government (Govt; 28%), foreign sources (14%) and non-governmental groups (NGOs) consisting mainly of businesses, religious groups and hospitals (12%). Figure 1 shows a graphical representation of the proportion of source usage for all four newspapers. In times of crisis like the Mumbai incident, it appears that journalists tend to include a greater diversity of sources, especially citizens to make sense of the situation. In fact, two out of four newspapers relied most on citizen sources with citizen sources leading in news articles from The London Times (38%) and New Zealand Herald (35%) and coming in second place for The New York Times (29%) and Times of India (32%). Table 3 shows a breakdown of source usage for each newspaper and Table 4 has the ranking of source usage in relation to each other.

FIGURE 1

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Overall proportion of sources for four newspapers by percentage

NGOs
12%

Terrorists
2%

Foreign
14%

Citizens
33%

Media
3%

Experts
8%

Govt
28%
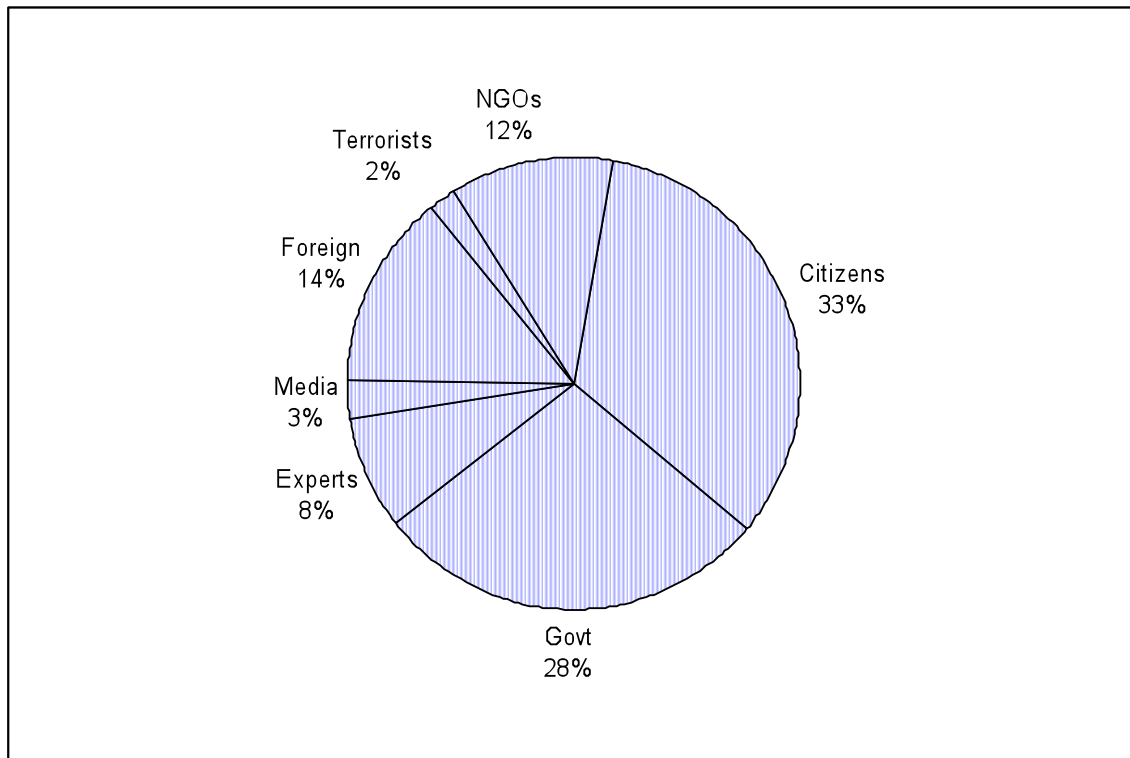
The figures reflect the proportion of usage of each source in percentage.

Interestingly, while citizen sources led for two out of four newspapers (London Times and New Zealand Herald), the Times of India continued to rely on government sources (44%). In terms of government source usage, the findings of this study agree with data from by Li and Izard (2003) and Nacos (1994) terrorist events studies. It appears that government sourcing tends to be much lower when the media is reporting on terrorist events outside of the home country. In Nacos' study, the proportion of government sources used in the American media coverage on the Iranian hostage incident and TWA hijacking terrorist act in the 1980s were 20% and 17% respectively. Similarly, government source use for the three foreign newspapers in this study was low ranging from 6% to 12%. The findings show that these foreign newspapers chose to rely more on foreign sources instead, with foreign sources leading for The New York Times (34%) and coming in second place for the London Times (23%) and New Zealand Herald

(35%), after citizen sources. For a terrorist event that has taken place in the home country, journalists seem to rely more on government sources. Li and Izard's September 11 study found government sources leading at 40% and this is similar to the results in this study where the Times of India saw government sources leading at 44%.

TABLE 3

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Frequency of sources for each newspaper

	Citizens	Govt	Experts	Media	Foreign	Terrorists	NGOs
NYT	28.94*	12.45	8.79	4.76	34.43	1.83	8.79
NZH	35.06	11.69	3.9	14.29	27.27	6.49	1.30
LT	37.72	6.23	12.8	3.11	23.18	2.08	14.88
TOI	32.25	44.47	5.59	1.82	1.69	1.95	12.22
Total	32.88	28.62	7.60	3.34	13.85	2.20	11.51

*Reflects the proportion of usage of each source in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places.

TABLE 4

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Ranking of sources for each newspaper based on proportion of usage

	NYT	NZH	LT	TOI
Citizens	2	1	1	2
Govt	3	5	4	1
Experts	4	4	6	4
Media	5	6	3	6
Foreign	1	2	2	7
Terrorists	6	7	5	5
NGOs	4	3	7	3

In terms of citizen source use for all newspapers analyzed (33%), overall, the proportion of usage appears similar to Li and Izard's witness source category (34%). Although Li and Izard's inclusion of all citizen sources in the witness source category might differ from this study, it serves as a useful broad comparison. Within the categories of citizen sources used, the findings show that victims and their families were relied upon the most (62%) for The New York Times, London Times (79%) and the New Zealand Herald (89%). However, it took up only 45% for the Times of India. Almost the other entire half of the citizen sources for the Times of India came from citizens who did not experience the Mumbai event firsthand (voxpox and citizen-journalist). See Table 5 for the breakdown of citizen source usage by each newspaper.

The findings show that the London Times and the New Zealand Herald relied more closely on victim and witness accounts when using citizen sources while The New York Times and Times of India went beyond, using more of voxpox and citizen-journalist sources. The Times of India had the highest use of voxpox (42%) as compared to the other three newspapers. Both the New York Times and Times of India had some use of citizen-journalist sources although the usage was very low. While these made up only 6% (New York Times) and 7% (Times of India) of the total citizen sources, it still showed some use and presence of citizen-journalist sources in the news articles as taken from blogs and other technology based avenues like Twitter and text messaging from hand phones.

TABLE 5

**Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Usage of citizen sources for each newspaper**

	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI
Victim/family	62.03*	78.90	88.89	44.76
Witness	17.72	12.84	11.11	5.65
Voxpox	13.92	8.30	0	42.34
Citizen-journalist	6.33	0	0	7.26

*Reflects the proportion of usage of each source in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places.

B. At which stage of the Mumbai incident were citizen sources most used?

The second research question asked at which of the three stages of the Mumbai event were citizen sources relied upon more extensively. According to Graber (1980), the media goes through three stages in its coverage of a crisis. The first stage is the initial stage of the actual attacks itself. The second stage is the period of making sense of what is going on and the third stage that may overlap with the second is providing the longer-term perspective of the event. The results from all four newspapers combined show that citizen sources were used most at the initial and part of the making sense stages of the Mumbai incident, from 27 to 29 November 2008. Table 6 shows a breakdown of source usage in the three stages. The proportion of citizen sources used was 45% on 27 and 28 November 2008 and 39% on 29 November 2008. In contrast, government source use was much lower, at 11% on 27 November 2008, 30% on 28 November 2008 and 28% on 29 November 2008. In considering foreign sources (includes foreign government officials and foreign police/military spokespersons) together with government sources, citizen sources would be the most highly used source at the initial stage of the crisis from 27 to 28 November 2008. This might be a more accurate perspective in considering the influence of sources in the various stages

of the crisis. Government sources clearly took over from 30 November 2008 onwards. Even while citizen source use dipped after 29 November 2008; it continued to be the second most used source after government sources, except for 2 December 2008.

From 29 November 2008 onwards, the media coverage moved beyond description of the event to making sense of it and highlighting the longer-term implications. Government sources appear to be used more than citizen sources in giving voice to these aspects. Government sources were relied upon from 30 November 2008 to 2 December 2008, with its proportion of usage rising from 46% on 30 November, to 68% on 1 December 2008 and dropping to 61% on 2 December 2008. Figure 2 illustrates the high usage of citizen sources in the earlier stages of the Mumbai event and government sources clearly taking over in the later stages. The figure also shows a steady increase of government source use throughout the Mumbai incident. On the other hand, citizen sources already peaked at the start of the crisis and declined steadily, dropping sharply on 1 December 2008 and picking up again on 2 December 2008.

TABLE 6

**Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Overall proportion of source usage in three stages of the crisis[9]**

	Beginning stage		Making sense stage		Long-term perspective stage	
	27 Nov	28 Nov	29 Nov	30 Nov	1 Dec	2 Dec
Citizens	45.45*	45.27	38.96	32.58	19.72	38.96
Govt	11.36	30.35	27.92	39.02	42.96	44.16
Experts	4.55	11.94	7.92	12.12	6.34	0
Media	5.68	1.49	4.17	4.55	4.93	0
Foreign	19.32	8.46	19.58	6.82	24.65	16.88
Terrorists	4.55	2.49	1.46	4.92	1.41	0
NGOs	9.09	12.94	13.13	6.82	25.35	14.29

*Reflects proportion of source usage in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places.

[9] Note: Source usage is shown from 27 November 2008 onwards as there were no print reports on 26 November 2008 when the Mumbai event took place that night. The overall source usage in all four newspapers doubled each day from the second day of the event when the print media starting reporting on the incident on 27 November 2008, peaking on 29 November 2008, the final day of the actual attacks.

FIGURE 2

**Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Overall proportion of citizen and government source usage
from 27 November 2008 to 2 December 2008**
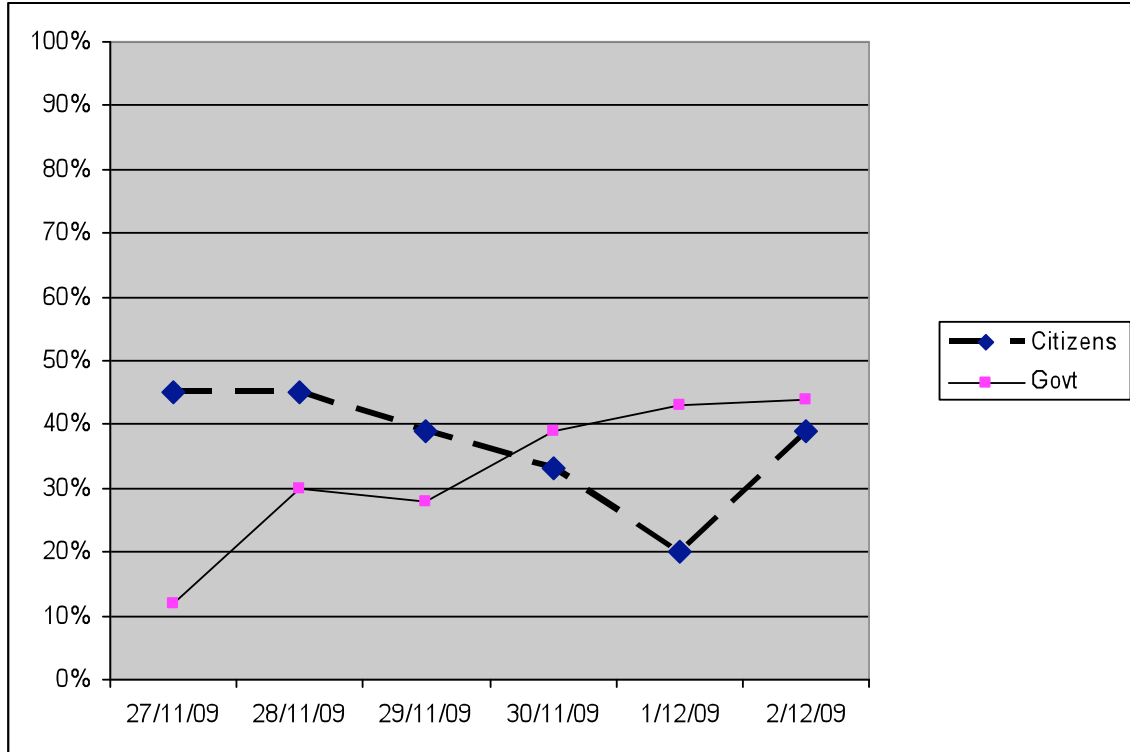
The citizen and government source usage in stages are reflected in percentages.

Upon further examination of the source usage for each newspaper over the three stages, it has revealed three different models of source usage. This ranged from mostly high usage of citizen sources in the initial stages (The New York Times and London Times), to a mix of government and citizen source usage at different stages (New Zealand Herald), and to greater reliance on government sources (Times of India) throughout the three stages. While there were days of the crisis where there was no clear observation of sources in news reports by each newspaper that could be coded, data for each day was analyzed according to the exact days these sources were reflected for greater accuracy.

The New York Times had the highest use of citizen sources on more days than any other newspapers. It saw citizen sources leading on four days of the crisis, from 27 November 2008 (33%) to 30 November 2008 (37%) while the London Times had citizen sources leading only on the first two days from 27 November 2008 (49%) to 28 November 2008 (43%). Foreign sources took over on 1 and 2 December 2008 for the New York Times and on 29 November 2008 and 30 November 2008 for the London Times. The London Times had no observation of source usage on 1 and 2 December 2008. For the New Zealand Herald, government sources were mainly used on two days, on 28 November 2008 (44%) and 1 December 2008 (42%) while citizen sources were mostly used on 29 November 2008 (43%). There was no observation of source usage on three days - 27 and 30 November 2008 and 2 December 2008 for the New Zealand Herald.

In contrast, the Times of India saw a high usage of government sources throughout all stages of the Mumbai terrorist incident (except for 2 December 2008) with the highest usage observed on 28 November 2008 at 57%, after which the usage declined steadily to 29% on 2 December 2008. Interestingly, citizen source usage for the Times of India remained high throughout all stages of the crisis as the second most used source after the government source, increasing sharply on 2 December 2008, to be the highest used source on that day at 31%. Tables 7a, 7b and 7c show the source usage for each newspaper in the three stages of the Mumbai incident.

TABLE 7a

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Source usage in the beginning stage of the crisis for each newspaper

	27 Nov				28 Nov			
	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI
Citizens	33.33*	49.23	0	0	56.52	42.86	37.50	33.33
Govt	9.52	12.31	0	0	0	3.06	43.75	56.67
Experts	0	6.15	0	0	17.39	20.41	0	0
Media	14.29	3.08	0	0	0	1.02	6.25	1.11
Foreign	23.81	18.46	0	0	17.29	11.22	12.50	0
Terrorists	14.29	1.54	0	0	4.35	4.08	0	0
NGOs	4.76	9.23	0	0	4.35	17.35	0	8.89

*Reflects proportion of source usage in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places. Shaded areas indicate dominance of specific sources.

TABLE 7b
Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Source usage in the making sense stage of the crisis for each newspaper

	29 Nov				30 Nov			
	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI
Citizens	27.64*	30.91	42.86	39.20	37.04	0	0	31.28
Govt	20.33	6.36	4.08	40	7.41	0	0	41.56
Experts	11.38	6.45	6.12	6	3.70	46.67	0	9.88
Media	5.69	4.55	8.16	1.20	3.70	6.67	0	4.12
Foreign	24.39	33.64	26.53	1.60	37.02	46.67	0	0.82
Terrorists	0.81	0.91	10.20	0	0	0	0	5.35
NGOs	9.76	18.18	2.04	12	11.11	0	0	6.17

*Reflects proportion of source usage in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places. Shaded areas indicate dominance of specific sources.

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Source usage in the longer-term perspective stage of the crisis
for each newspaper

	1 Dec				2 Dec			
	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI
Citizens	5.41*	0	0	16.88	41.38	0	0	30.51
Govt	2.7	0	41.67	38.96	13.79	0	0	28.81
Experts	13.51	0	0	2.60	0	0	0	0
Media	2.70	0	50	0	0	0	0	0
Foreign	59.46	0	8.33	4.55	44.83	0	0	22.03
Terrorists	0	0	0	1.30	0	0	0	0
NGOs	18.92	0	0	18.83	0	0	0	18.64

*Reflects proportion of source usage in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places. Shaded areas
indicate dominance of specific sources.

C. What type of accounts do most citizens contribute?

The third research question asked which type of public or private accounts were
majority of citizens contributing. The four types of accounts as identified by Cottle
(2000) are private/experiential (Pte/E), private/analytical (Pte/A),
public/experiential (Public/E) and public/analytical (Public/A). The findings from
all four newspapers combined clearly show that citizens tended to contribute
private comments, whether they were private/experiential (86%) or
private/analytical (85%) accounts. Government sources were used more for
public comments, whether they were public/experiential (39%) or public/analytical
(35%) accounts. Foreign, experts and non-governmental sources also tended to
contribute to public comments. The findings show that foreign sources were
contributing mostly to public/experiential (21%) accounts, experts to
public/analytical (18%) accounts and non-governmental groups to
public/experiential (18%) accounts. Figure 3 shows a comparison of source
contribution for two types of accounts reflective of each end of the spectrum -
private/experiential and public/analytical. Citizens' major contribution to

private/experiential accounts agrees with Cottle (2000)'s study findings that showed over 83% of citizen voices gave voice to experiential accounts rather than analytical ones. This implies that journalists often use citizens for their comments that relate to their individual circumstances based on their firsthand account of experiences. Governments, foreign and expert sources on the other hand are used more for their comments that address public affairs and collective concerns, advancing a rationally engaged form of argument or point of view. See Table 8 for a breakdown of each source contribution to the four types of accounts. While the results do show that citizen sources generally tend to give voice to experiential rather than analytical viewpoints, a small number of citizen sources also contributed to public/analytical type of viewpoints (13%), more than non-governmental groups from businesses, hospitals and religious associations (11%).

FIGURE 3

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Overall source contribution to private/experiential and
public/analytical accounts for four newspapers
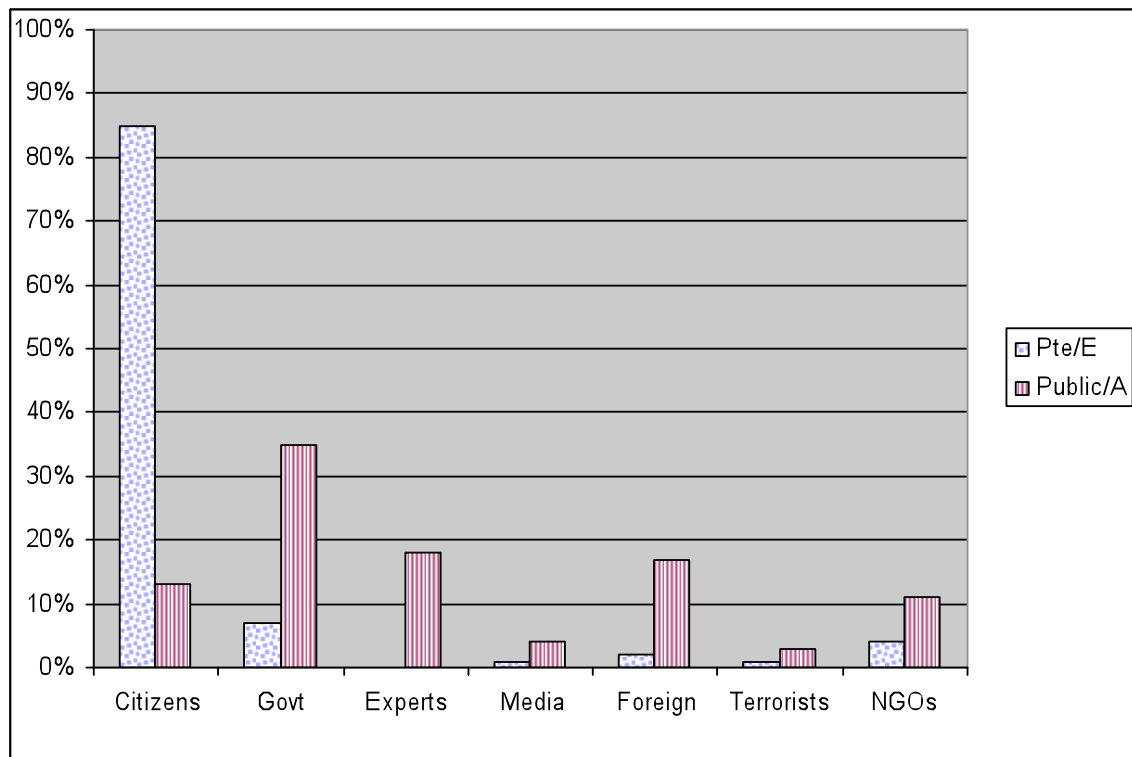
The source contribution to private/experiential and public/analytical accounts are reflected in percentage.

TABLE 8

**Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Overall contribution of sources for four types of accounts**

	Private/E	Pte/A	Public/E	Public/A
Citizens	85.50*	85	12.78	12.61
Govt	6.95	8.33	39.46	34.85
Experts	0	0	0.67	18.21
Media	0.91	0	5.16	3.68
Foreign	1.81	1.67	20.63	16.81
Terrorists	0.60	0	3.14	2.63
NGOs	4.23	5	18.16	11.21

*Reflects contribution of sources to each account in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places.

In comparing the newspapers' use of sources and their contribution to the various accounts, each individual newspaper continued to support the conclusion that citizen sources were used mainly for private/experiential or private/analytical viewpoints. However, in analyzing the use of government and citizen sources for public comments, whether experiential or analytical, the findings show an interesting contrast between the newspapers. For citizen sources, the Times of India appear to use the highest proportion of citizen sources in providing public comments, followed by the London Times and New York Times, with the New Zealand Herald using no citizen sources for public comments. Citizen source contribution to public comments (both experiential and analytical) comments for the Times of India was the second highest after government sources. In terms of government source contribution, The Times of India used government sources mostly for public comments (both experiential and analytical) while the three foreign newspapers used more of foreign sources for public comments (both experiential and analytical). Tables 9a and 9b show the source contribution to private and public accounts by each newspaper. It is significant to note that while

the Times of India relied mostly on government sources for public comments, citizen sources were the second most used source for public comments, showing the important use of citizens beyond commenting on their personal experiences to offering opinion and viewpoints in the public arena.

Upon further analysis on the type of citizens contributing to private/experiential and public/analytical accounts, the findings clearly show that victims and their families tended to provide private/experiential accounts for all four newspapers whereas two different sets of citizen sources were used for public/analytical accounts. The Times of India relied heavily on citizens who did not experience the event firsthand (voxpox; 78%) for public/analytical accounts while the New York Times and London Times used mainly citizens who did experience the event firsthand for public/analytical accounts. The New York Times used mostly witnesses (80%) while the London Times used mainly victims, their families and witnesses (43%). The New Zealand Herald did not use any citizen sources for public/analytical accounts. Tables 10a and 10b show the citizen source contribution to private and public accounts by each newspaper. In terms of citizen-journalist source use by the Times of India and New York Times, each used the citizen-journalist source differently. The New York Times used citizen-journalist sources more for private/analytical accounts (29%) while the Times of India used citizen-journalist sources more for public/analytical accounts (20%).

TABLE 9a

**Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Contribution of sources to private accounts for each newspaper**

	Private/E				Pte/A			
	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI
Citizens	91.74*	86.17	92.86	83.01	100	71.43	0	82.05
Govt	3.70	2.13	0	12.42	0	0	0	12.82
Experts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Media	0	1.06	3.57	0	0	0	0	0
Foreign	1.85	4.26	3.57	0	0	0	0	2.56
Terrorists	0	0	0	1.31	0	0	0	0
NGOs	5.56	6.38	0	3.27	0	28.57	0	2.56

*Reflects contribution of sources to each account in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places.
Shaded areas indicate the dominant source contributing to each type of account.

TABLE 9b

**Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Contribution of sources to public accounts for each newspaper**

	Public/E				Public/A			
	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI
Citizens	12.50*	18.18	2.94	28.97	4.35	7.07	0	17.54
Govt	15.91	7.96	26.47	50.34	15.65	9.09	0	50.29
Experts	0	1.14	0	0.69	20.87	36.36	20	11.99
Media	6.82	4.55	23.53	1.38	5.22	3.03	13.33	2.92
Foreign	48.86	34.09	44.12	1.38	43.48	33.33	33.33	2.34
Terrorists	0	2.27	0	4.14	4.35	4.04	33.33	0.29
NGOs	15.91	31.82	2.94	13.10	6.09	7.07	0	14.62

*Reflects contribution of sources to each account in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places.
Shaded areas indicate the dominant source contributing to each type of account.

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Contribution of citizen sources to private accounts for each newspaper

	Pte/E				Pte/A			
	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI
Victim/ Family	85.71*	91.36	92.31	74.80	28.57	100	0	34.38
Witness	10.20	6.17	7.69	4.72	21.43	0	0	3.13
Voxpox	4.08	2.47	0	20.47	21.43	0	0	59.38
Citizen- journalist	0	0	0	0	28.57	0	0	3.13

*Reflects contribution of sources to each account in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places. Shaded areas indicate the most contribution from the particular citizen source.

TABLE 10b

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Contribution of citizen sources to public accounts for each newspaper

	Public/E				Public/A			
	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI
Victim/ Family	18.18*	25	0	13.79	20	42.86	0	1.67
Witness	18.18	37.50	100	24.14	80	42.86	0	0
Voxpox	54.55	37.50	0	44.83	0	14.29	0	78.33
Citizen- journalist	9.09	0	0	17.24	0	0	0	20

*Reflects contribution of sources to each account in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places. Shaded areas indicate the most contribution from the particular citizen source.

D. What kinds of frames are citizens most commonly associated?

The fourth research question asked which frames citizens were most commonly associated with as compared to other sources. The results show that citizens were mostly associated with the disaster (45%) and human-interest (62%) frames while government sources were associated with political (36%), safety

(52%) and criminal activities (62%) frames. Experts were most commonly associated with the economy frame (42%) and foreign sources with political (20%) and criminal activities (28%) frames. Table 11 has the types of sources used with each coverage frame and Table 12 shows citizen source contribution to the various frames. These results are aligned with Li and Izard (2003)'s findings which found witnesses (citizens) to be strongly associated with disaster (70%) and human-interest (57%) frames, government sources with political frames (66%) and experts with economy frames (46%). Similarly, foreign sources were used more for political (23%) and criminal activities (41%) frames.

The disaster frame consists of factual descriptions of the event as it unfolds, from touching on the numbers killed, to the scale of the attacks, the heightened fear and the perceived western targets. The human-interest frame consists of stories of heroism and personal tributes to the victims. The association of citizen sources with the disaster and human-interest frames reinforce the value of citizen sources for their ability to share firsthand accounts on a personal basis. Types of citizens contributing the most to the disaster (69%) and human-interest frames (81%) were the victims and their families. Witnesses tended to contribute to criminal activities (100%) and safety (75%) frames. Citizens who did not experience the Mumbai incident firsthand were most likely to contribute to political frames. In fact, the voxpoxs (man-in-the-street providing an opinion in their personal capacity) were the highest contributors (78%). When it came to comments on citizen journalism, citizen journalists themselves were contributing the most to this (80%).

TABLE 11

**Media coverage of the Mumbai terrorist incident
Types of sources used with each coverage frame**

	Disaster	Political	Economy	Criminal activities	Safety	Human interest	Citizen journalism
Citizens	45.22*	12.35	0	1.67	4.40	62.35	93.75
Govt	24.02	35.59	10	61.67	51.65	29.41	0
Experts	2.67	16.47	42.50	3.33	6.60	1.18	6.25
Media	4.78	4.12	0	3.33	0	0	0
Foreign	12.36	19.71	10	28.33	8.79	0	0
Terrorists	2.25	2.94	0	1.67	1.10	0	0
NGOs	8.71	8.82	37.50	0	27.47	7.06	0

*Reflects proportion of source association with each coverage frame, rounded off to two decimal places. Shaded boxes reflect areas where the source has greatest contribution to a particular frame.

TABLE 12

**Media coverage of the Mumbai terrorist incident
Types of citizen sources used with each coverage frame**

	Disaster	Political	Economy	Criminal activities	Safety	Human interest	Citizen journalism
Victim/ Family	69.04*	2.04	0	0	25	81.13	0
Witness	11.15	4.08	0	100	75	9.43	0
Voxpox	19.81	77.55	0	0	0	9.43	20
Citizen-journalist	0	16.33	0	0	0	0	80

*Reflects proportion of source association with each coverage frame, rounded off to two decimal places. Shaded boxes reflect the most contribution from a citizen source to a particular frame.

In comparing the results of each newspaper, the findings further support the strong association of citizens with the disaster and human-interest frames. The only exception was that the New Zealand Herald did not have citizen association with human-interest frames as it did not have any human-interest stories and the

New York Times had government sources (8%) contributing more towards human-interest frames than citizens (1%). In addition, citizens were strongly associated with commenting on citizen journalism for the New York Times (89%) and Times of India (100%). The London Times and New Zealand Herald did not have stories on citizen journalism. Upon further analysis of citizen source association beyond the disaster and human-interest frames, only the Times of India showed some significant amounts of citizen source association with the political frame (29%) which was the second highly associated source after the government source (50%). Citizen sources for The New York Times (0%), London Times (6%) and New Zealand Herald (0%) had little association with the political frame.

In terms of government sources associated with particular frames for each newspaper, the findings reveal the various levels of government control over significant frames. The political, criminal activities and safety frames are considered significant frames as these reflect political views on the Mumbai incident and the resolve to address the crisis. On one end of the spectrum, the Times of India showed a higher level of government control than the other three newspapers. It had the strongest association of government sources with important frames like the political (50%), criminal activities (89%) and safety (90%) ones. In the middle of the spectrum, government sources for the London Times had some control over one important frame, namely the criminal activity (60%) frame. At the other end of the spectrum, there was no strong association of government sources with important frames for the New York Times and New Zealand Herald. Political, criminal activities and safety frames were strongly associated with foreign, non-governmental and media sources. For the New York Times, foreign sources were strongly associated with political (51%) and criminal activity frames (100%) as compared to government sources at 2% for political and none for criminal activities. Non-governmental sources were strongly associated with the safety frame at 59%. As for the New Zealand Herald, the media source was strongly associated with the political frame at 50%. Foreign

sources were strongly associated with criminal activities (100%) and the safety frames (100%). Tables 13a to 13c show types of sources used with the various frames by each newspaper.

TABLE 13a

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Types of sources used with disaster, human-interest and citizen journalism
frames for each newspaper

	Disaster				Human interest				Citizen journalism			
	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI
Citizens	41.18*	61.61	50.94	41.83	1.33	50	0	54	88.89	0	0	100
Govt	9.24	7.04	15.09	39.06	8.33	0	0	46	0	0	0	0
Experts	0.84	1.41	0	4.43	0	7.14	0	0	11.11	0	0	0
Media	5.65	1.41	5.66	2.22	0	7.14	0	0	0	0	0	0
Foreign	31.09	20.42	26.42	2.22	0	35.71	0	0	0	0	0	0
Terrorists	3.36	1.41	0	2.22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NGOs	7.56	0.70	3.77	8.03	5.25	0	0	6	0	0	0	0

*Reflects proportion of source usage in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places. Shaded areas indicate the strongest association of a source with a particular frame.

TABLE 13b

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Types of sources used with political, criminal activities and safety frames
for each newspaper

	Political				Criminal activities				Safety			
	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI
Citizens	0	6.06	0	28.76	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	7.69
Govt	1.59*	7.58	0	49.67	0	60	0	89.47	0	0	0	90.38
Experts	1.59	31.82	33.33	13.07	0	0	0	5.36	41.67	33.33	0	0
Media	6.35	6.06	50	3.92	0	0	0	2.63	0	0	0	0
Foreign	50.79	40.91	16.67	3.27	100	20	100	0	41.67	33.33	100	0
Terrorists	1.59	6.06	0	1.31	0	0	0	2.63	0	0	0	1.92
NGOs	0	1.52	0	9.15	0	0	0	0	59.33	33.33	0	32.69

*Reflects proportion of source usage in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places. Shaded areas indicate the strongest association of a source with a particular frame.

TABLE 13c

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Types of sources used with the economy frame for each newspaper

	Economy			
	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI
Citizens	0	0	0	0
Govt	0	0	0	17.65
Experts	37.50*	66.67	0	11.76
Media	0	0	0	0
Foreign	62.50	8.33	0	0
Terrorists	0	0	0	0
NGOs	0	25	0	20.59

*Reflects proportion of source usage in percentage, rounded off to two decimal places. Shaded areas indicate the strongest association of a source with a particular frame.

E. What are the differences between the countries' use of citizen sources?

The fifth and final research question asked for the major differences between the countries' use of citizen sources. Before bringing out the differences, it is important to note some major similarities between the newspapers' use of citizen sources. The findings overwhelmingly show that all four newspapers used a high proportion of citizen sources in the news coverage of the Mumbai incident and most (three out of four newspapers) relied heavily on citizen sources in the beginning stage of the Mumbai incident. However, while usage was high, all four newspapers were using citizen sources more for private, firsthand accounts. Majority of citizens were contributing to private comments (both experiential and analytical), disaster and human-interest frames. The four newspapers were also cautious in using citizen-journalist sources. Only the New York Times and Times of India showed some use of citizen-journalist sources but these were minimal.

As for differences, the results illustrate a significant contrast in use of citizen sources between the four newspapers. There were subtle differences in the proportion of citizen source usage and major differences in the timing of usage, types of citizen sources used and the nature of their contributions. In terms of proportion, while all four newspapers had high usage of citizen sources, the London Times and New Zealand Herald relied slightly more heavily on citizen sources as compared to the Times of India and New York Times. In terms of timing, the two foreign newspapers (New York Times and London Times) used more of citizen sources in the first two days of the Mumbai incident while the New Zealand Herald relied heavily on citizen sources only on one day - the final day of the attacks. In contrast, the Times of India saw a substantial use of citizen sources throughout the Mumbai incident at all stages of the crisis and citizen source usage even went up on 2 December 2008, surpassing government sources.

On a deeper level of citizen source usage, the findings show that the newspapers used different types of citizen sources in their news stories. The three foreign newspapers (New Zealand Herald, London Times and The New York Times) used mainly citizens who experienced the event firsthand (victims, their families and witnesses) for comments, whereas the Times of India relied heavily on citizens who did not (voxpox). While majority of citizens provided private, firsthand accounts for all four newspapers, three out of four newspapers saw some small traces of citizen source usage for public/analytical accounts and political frames. The Times of India had the largest use of citizens for public/analytical accounts and political frames, followed by the London Times and the New York Times. The New Zealand Herald did not use citizen sources for any public/analytical accounts or political frames. In terms of citizen-journalist source use between the New York Times and Times of India, the New York Times used this source more for private/analytical comments while the Times of India used citizen-journalists more for public/analytical accounts. Table 14

summarizes the similarities and differences in citizen source usage across the four newspapers.

TABLE 14

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Similarities and differences in citizen source usage

*Most citizen influence ⟶ **Least citizen influence**

Categories	TOI	LT	NYT	NZH
Proportion of citizen sources used	32% (second most used source after govt sources) 45% of citizen sources were from victims and their families 7% use of citizen-journalist sources (contributed mainly public/analytical accounts)	35% (most used source, more than govt sources) 89% of citizen sources were from victims and their families No use of citizen-journalist sources	38% (second most used source after foreign sources) 79% of citizen sources were from victims and their families 6% use of citizen-journalist sources (contributed mainly private/analytical accounts)	29% (most used source, more than govt sources) 62% of citizen sources were from victims and their families No use of citizen-journalist sources
Timing of citizen source usage	Highest citizen source usage only on one day (2 Dec) but is the second most used source throughout all stages of the crisis	Highest citizen source usage at one stage - the beginning stage (27-28 Nov)	Highest citizen source usage at two stages - the beginning and making sense stages (27-30 Nov)	Highest citizen source usage only on one day (29 Nov)
Nature of citizen accounts	Mostly private/experiential and private/analytical 18% have contributed to public/analytical accounts (mainly from voxpoxs)	Mostly private/experiential and private/analytical 7% have contributed to public/analytical accounts (mainly from victims/families and witnesses)	Mostly private/experiential and private/analytical 4% have contributed to public/analytical accounts (mainly from witnesses)	Mostly private/experiential and private/analytical None have contributed to public/analytical accounts
Citizen source-frame association	Mostly disaster and human-interest frames 29% have contributed to the political frame	Mostly disaster and human-interest frames 6% have contributed to the political frame	Mostly disaster and human-interest frames None have contributed to the political frame	Mostly disaster and human-interest frames None have contributed to the political frame

*Citizen source influence for each newspaper was assessed based on the proportion of citizens contributing to public/analytical accounts and the political frame.

Beyond citizen source usage, it is important to note the differences in the newspapers' use of government sources. The findings show that the Times of India relied the most on government sources while the three other newspapers relied more on foreign sources. The proportion of government sources used was the highest for the Times of India and was relied upon throughout all stages of the Mumbai incident. Government sources were also heavily used for public comments with analysis and important frames like the political, criminal and safety frames. In contrast, foreign sources prevailed more for the New York Times, New Zealand Herald and London Times. All three newspapers had a low use of their local government sources. Foreign sources were the most used source for the New York Times and second most used source for the London Times and New Zealand Herald. The New York Times and London Times also heavily relied on foreign sources in the making sense and longer-term perspective stages of the Mumbai incident. Furthermore, all three newspapers in general used more of foreign sources for public comments (experiential and analytical) and political frames.

4.9 Findings from editorials

The findings from the editorials show that citizens have lower chances of entering the news arena through the editorial pages. Usage of citizen sources was very low. Whenever used, citizens tended to reflect more public/analytical accounts. Only the New York Times seemed to have some use of citizen sources in the editorial pages as compared to the other three newspapers. Twenty editorials were identified from the overall 213 articles analyzed. There were seven editorials in The New York Times, 10 in The London Times, one in the New Zealand Herald, and two in the Times of India. Of the 62 sources identified, citizen source use was low (15%). Foreign sources (27%) led in the editorials, followed by the media (24%) and government sources (19%). In comparing citizen source use across newspapers, only the London Times (5%) and New York Times (24%) had some traces of citizen source usage. The New Zealand

Herald and Times of India had no use of citizen sources in its editorial pages. The Times of India relied mostly on government sources (86%) in its editorials while the foreign newspapers like the New York Times (29% for foreign sources), London Times (40% for media sources) and New Zealand Herald (67% for media sources) relied more on foreign and media sources. See Table 15 in Appendix III for the breakdown of source usage across newspapers for editorials.

In terms of the timing, a variety of sources was used throughout. Citizen sources were mostly relied upon on 30 November 2008 (40%) and government sources were used more on 1 December 2008 (43%). See Table 16 in Appendix III for the use of sources in three stages of the Mumbai incident for editorials. In terms of the nature of the sources' accounts, most comments were of the public/analytical types (81%), with foreign (27%), government (18%) and media sources (18%) contributing mainly to these. The proportion of citizen sources contributing to public/analytical accounts was 16%. Understandably, there were very little private/experiential and private/analytical or public/experiential accounts reflected in the editorial pages analyzed. Only the New York Times had some citizen sources contributing to public/analytical accounts (8%) and these were mostly from voxpoxs (citizens who have not experienced the Mumbai event firsthand) and citizen journalists. Tables 17 and 18 (in Appendix III) show the nature of accounts by sources for each newspaper for editorials.

In terms of frame association, the political frame in general was the main frame used in editorials. As aligned with the results from the news articles, citizens were also associated mostly with the human-interest (50%) and disaster frames (29%) in the editorial pages. The government and foreign sources were clearly associated with the political frame (54%). Foreign sources were the sole source that contributed to the safety frame. See Table 19 in Appendix III for the types of sources used with each coverage frame for editorials.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to find out how citizen sources are used in the mainstream news reporting of a crisis, to uncover how influential are citizens. To investigate this, a quantitative content analysis was carried out to analyze 193 news reports and 20 editorials on the Mumbai incident from The New York Times, London Times, New Zealand Herald and Times of India over a one-week period from 26 November 2008 to 2 December 2008. Citizen sources were analyzed in terms of frequency, direction (includes nature of accounts and frames association) and timing in relation to other sources to uncover when and how citizen sources are most influential. The first three chapters of this study established the scope of this thesis and reviewed literature relevant to the research question. The fourth chapter touched on the goals and rationale for the content analysis taken, the approach to analyzing citizen sources and a detailed description of the results. This fifth chapter analyzes the findings in greater depth, bringing out the significance of the findings in relation to relevant literature and suggest new insights on understanding the role and influence of citizens and other sources in crisis news reporting.

5.2 High use of citizen sources

The findings indicate a high value placed on citizen sources with a large proportion used by all four newspapers in the news coverage of the Mumbai incident. Most relied heavily on citizens in the first two days (27 November 2008 and 28 November 2008) of the Mumbai crisis. The significantly higher use of citizen sources in news articles than editorials imply that citizen sources may have a higher chance of entering the news via news articles than editorials. As compared to other sources, citizen sources were the most highly used source for

the London Times and New Zealand Herald and the second most used source for the New York Times and Times of India. This shows that in times of crisis, journalists may not necessarily rely fully on government sources. Nacos (1996) found in her study on the Iranian hostage crisis and TWA hijacking in the 1980s that journalists used a variety of sources when covering these anti-American terrorist events. Salwen (1995) who studied the newspaper coverage of Hurricane Andrew that hit southern Florida in 1992 found that the media quoted individuals far more often than they quoted government officials. The high use of citizen sources affirms observations from studies (Waxman 1973; Gans, 1979; Berkowitz & Beach, 1993; Vultee & Wilkins, 2004) that emphasize the value of citizen sources during crises. Citizen sources are believed to be most highly sought after where no journalists are present (Lyon & Ferrara, 2005) or where journalists have difficulty gaining access to the scene of the attacks as in the case of the Mumbai incident. In times of crisis, people tend to want to seek comfort or make sense of the disaster by finding out and understanding what is going on. This may prompt both the media and citizens to seek out each other more than in normal circumstances. Citizens are also likely to be assured of a more generous media access because of the central roles they play as victims or hostages during a terrorist act (Nacos, 1994).

Unexpected, dramatic events like the Mumbai incident could also open up possible gateways for nongovernment voices like citizens to shape the news content (Lawrence, 1996; Bennett & Livingstone, 2003; Bennett *et al.,* 2006; Shehata, 2007). The Mumbai incident at its initial occurrence was spontaneous, accidental and not managed by the government within institutional settings. In event-driven news like the Mumbai incident, government officials often have to respond to the news agenda rather than set it (Lawrence, 1996). Such unplanned events like the Mumbai incident may threaten the government's initial ability to have full control of the flow of information as the event unfolds. The Editor-in-Chief of the CNN-IBN news channel lamented that the initial "information flow (during the Mumbai incident) from government sources was terrible." There was

a lot of confusion at the beginning stage of the crisis when government officials were also trying to make sense of what was going on. The London Times reported on 27 November 2008, the first day of print reports on the attacks that "early accounts were confused as mobile phone networks jammed and the police control room was flooded with calls from terrified members of the public. At first, it was thought that the violence was part of a gang turf war. As the attacks mounted, it became clear that it was a co-ordinated terror attack. An Indian police spokesman was quoted as saying: "We have only a very tenuous grasp on what is happening so far. People are scared. The incidents being reported are so many…" In such intense crisis, as journalists seek to contextualize and make sense of the dramatic, accidental event, the news gates may open to new voices and ideas. This is especially so when government sources may initially seem unable to define the meaning of the dramatic event. The Mumbai incident offered such powerful imagery that it provided a momentary opportunity for the media to turn more to nongovernmental sources like citizen sources to make sense of the situation.

To put it in Lawrence's words, this does not mean that citizens are suddenly enjoying the same presumed legitimacy granted to government sources in news reporting. However, the gravity of the event, combined with the status of citizens as victims and eyewitnesses, their exclusive access to the scene of the attacks and the dramatic value inherent in the implications of the event could stretch the limits of the presumed legitimacy of government sources and presumed illegitimacy of citizen sources. It is perhaps then not surprising that citizens constituted a fairly high proportion of voices in the news reporting of the Mumbai incident. According to Lawrence (1996) and Bennett *et al* (2006), the greatest media discretion in choice of sources and frames to use may be in the immediate aftermath of an event when the government may not have full control yet. The findings from this study attests to the potential small window of opportunity offered by event-driven news like the Mumbai incident for a greater proportion of non-governmental voices like citizens to be included in news reports, especially

at the beginning stages of a crisis. However, a high proportion of citizen voices used in news reporting may not necessarily mean citizens automatically have a greater influence in shaping the news content. The next section shows citizens were mostly used in a limited way by the four newspapers.

5.3 Limited use of citizen sources

From the findings, the newspapers quoted citizens more for their personal, firsthand accounts than for their opinions. Majority of citizens were strongly associated with private/experiential or private/analytical accounts and disaster or human-interest frames. These came mainly from those who experienced the attacks firsthand, for example, victims and their families and witnesses. This means that journalists were using citizen sources more for descriptive comments that relate to their individual circumstances and experiences. The findings reinforce studies (Haas, 2005; Safran, 2005; Ward, 2006; Stabe, 2006; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008; Hermida & Thurman, 2008) that argue that the media only use citizen sources in a limited and cautious manner, showing that the media is still using citizen sources at the basic level for firsthand, experiential accounts than for their analysis. This affirms Cottle (2000)'s conclusions that citizens are routinely accessed by the media to symbolically represent and embody the personal experience as victims or witnesses but are often not used to give voice to the analytical point of view. Furthermore, in the 20 editorials analyzed where comments are usually highly analytical, there was little use of citizen sources, illustrating further the limited scope of citizen sources for analysis. Adding to the limited use of citizen sources, the findings also show that very little information from citizen blogs or social networking websites were quoted in the news articles. Only the New York Times (6%) and Times of India (7%) had some use of citizen-journalist sources but the proportion was very low. In spite of the excitement surrounding the potential use of information from citizen blogs and other social networking sites during a crisis like the Mumbai incident, this study found very low traces of such use in the news reports.

A possible reason for the newspapers' cautious use of citizen sources could be due to the challenge of going through huge volumes of information from citizen sources and verifying the accuracy of information from them. Vicky Taylor, the BBC Editor highlighted that the main problem with approaching information from citizen sources was the volume. "It is incredibly resource-intensive. You need to have staff to look at all this material (from citizens) and decide whether to publish it or not (Stabe, 2006)". The Editor of *Mirror.co.uk,* Steve Purcell exclaims:…"ploughing through the number of messages every day became more effort than it was worth". According to Paulussen and Ugille (2008), journalists are more reluctant to use citizen sources as it is perceived to add to their workload having to spend time and effort to verify citizen sources properly.

A further analysis of news reports by the foreign newspapers reveal that the same sources were used especially in the first day of the printed coverage soon after the attacks. This may illustrate how journalists likely chose the most efficient approach to using citizen sources, minimising the time spent on verifying their sources. The New York Times and London Times quoted exactly the same sources - Sajjad Karim (British member of the European Parliament) and Rakesh Patel (British businessman) in their news reports. Both sources were earlier interviewed on Sky Television and the Indian NGTV Station respectively as indicated in the news reports. Sources already interviewed by the broadcast media were assumed to have had their information verified by broadcast journalists and thus the print media appeared more willing to use them as it required minimal effort in verifying their comments. Beyond the first day of the printed coverage, while all four newspapers went on to use a variety of citizen sources for firsthand accounts throughout the Mumbai crisis, the pool of citizen sources used by these newspapers remained small and there were overlapping use of the same sources especially between the foreign newspapers. This indicates a general desire by the newspapers to use sources that are easily verifiable and those that are challenging to verify may have lesser chances of

being selected. Journalists are aware that using citizen sources not properly verified will affect their reputation and credibility. During the Mumbai incident, BBC was criticized for using unsubstantiated citizen reports in its coverage (Sweney, 2008).

Journalists interviewed by Paulussen and Ugille (2008) also point out that the Internet is used mostly for background information and rarely serve as a primary source. Contrary to the belief in citizen-journalist sources' ability to be the first to offer breaking, firsthand insights especially during the initial stage of a crisis, an analysis of news reports by the Times of India and New York Times showed that citizen-journalist sources were used only at the later stage of the Mumbai crisis, from 29 November 2008 onwards. This indicates that journalists may need additional time and effort to search for and verify information especially from citizen-journalist sources, especially those from blogs and social networking websites like twitter. Journalists in the case of the Mumbai incident seemed to prefer using citizen-journalist sources more strategically, when they are able to offer new insights on the Mumbai incident rather than just firsthand, breaking news. The following are two examples showing strategic uses of citizen-journalist sources by the New York Times.

When the video of Mr. Singh's address was posted on YouTube, many said online what others were saying on the ground. He was "expressionless," a "brilliant teacher but no leader," an "ineffective puppet." One user wrote: "He should have given a strong warning and threat to terrorists and those who support them. Unfortunately he is too soft." – The New York Times, 30 November 2008.

A text-message moving among Mumbaikars expressed the uniqueness of the now: "Brothers and sisters, it's time to wake up and do something for the country -- however little -- related to this or not -- start today and continue it through the years -- do not forget as easily as we are used to forgetting." – The New York Times, 30 November 2008.

Ultimately, the credibility of citizen sources is most important to journalists in deciding when and how to use them. Journalists are often reluctant to use citizen sources for opinions, as they may not have the same authority and credibility as official sources (Paulussen & Ugille, 2008; Hermida & Thurman, 2008). Citizen sources will be scrutinized as with other sources for their credibility and influence in affecting outcomes. According to Wolfsfeld and Sheafer (2006), citizens who hope to gain access to the news have to be important, interesting or linked to an ongoing story. In the case of the Mumbai incident, citizens appeared to be more important and relevant for journalists at the beginning of the Mumbai crisis where only they could provide exclusive firsthand accounts from the scene of the attacks. Certain citizen sources were also offering very dramatic stories that made them more newsworthy. For example, the New York Times, New Zealand Herald and the London Times chose to feature a particular British citizen over others for this possible reason. British yacht tycoon, Andreas Liverars was featured prominently in the media following his death hours after he gave an interview on BBC describing how he was trapped in a hotel with gunmen outside.

5.4 Exceptions

While the use of citizen sources by the four newspapers was generally cautious, confined to the beginning stage of the Mumbai incident and quoted for personal and firsthand accounts, the findings did show some use of citizen sources beyond this conventional scope. Amongst the four newspapers, the Times of India was an exception in its use of citizen sources. The Times of India saw a substantial use of citizen sources (second most used source) throughout the Mumbai incident, at all stages of the crisis and citizen source usage even went up on 2 December 2008, surpassing government sources. Citizen sources were the second most used source after the government source to contribute to public comments with analysis (18%), in particular, critical political comments (29%). Even the small proportion of citizen-journalist sources used by the Times of India

reflected mainly public/analytical viewpoints. The spike in citizen voices on 2 December 2008 was possibly due to a peace rally held where thousands were reported to have gathered near the Taj Mahal Hotel throughout the day to express their solidarity. The event itself created the atmosphere for reflection and easy access to citizens. This event gave journalists additional motivation to search for citizen voices to feature in their news reports as it offered a new angle to the ongoing crisis. Citizens were also quoted responding to a controversial remark made by R. R. Patil, the home affairs minister of the Maharashtra State where Mumbai is situated who described the Mumbai massacre as just a "small incident" (Times of India, 2 December 2008). It is interesting to note that while the three newspapers (New York Times, London Times and New Zealand Herald) relied heavily on victims and their families and witnesses for most of their citizen accounts, more than half of the citizens quoted in the Times of India did not experience the Mumbai incident firsthand (voxpox and citizen-journalist sources). This indicates that journalists from the Times of India appear to be acknowledging and recognising citizen sources outside of those who experienced the crisis firsthand as witnesses and victims.

The way in which the Times of India used citizen sources contrasted sharply with the three other foreign newspapers. Citizen source use was only limited to the first two days of the Mumbai incident for the London Times and New York Times. Only a small proportion of citizens contributed to public/analytical (7% for the London Times and 4% for the New York Times) accounts and the political frame (6% for the London Times and none for the New York Times). Even the New York Times' use of citizen-journalist sources were more for private/analytical comments. Of the four newspapers, the New Zealand Herald saw the least use of citizen sources beyond the conventional scope. Despite a high proportion of citizen sources used for the New Zealand Herald, no citizen sources were used for public comments (both analytical and experiential) and citizens were only relied upon more on the last day of the Mumbai attacks on 29 November 2008.

So why were citizen sources in the Times of India able to sustain their voices and even offer challenging, critical viewpoints more than citizen sources in the other three newspapers? As Lawrence (1996)'s event-driven explanation suggests, for underutilized sources such as citizens to sustain their voices in event-driven news like the Mumbai incident, three conditions had to be present. The characteristic of the event itself must offer dramatic narrative possibilities and suggest challenging framings of public problems. Journalists must have marginalized discourse available to them through sources that are actively advancing challenging ideas and the political elite should preferably support these. The Mumbai terrorist incident had all three conditions. The sheer scale and sophistication of the attacks triggered the need for answers to fundamental questions of who was to blame, what caused the attacks and how could this have been prevented. While India has a long history of violence, the Mumbai attacks stood out as the most audacious terrorist attack since September 11 for not only the Indians but the international community. Jeremy Page from the London Times wrote on 27 November 2008 that the Mumbai attacks "felt like India's 9/11. Even in a country whose experience of terrorism dates back to its independence in 1947, the sight of Bombay (Mumbai)'s Taj Mahal Palace hotel in flames after last night's attacks was something that no one could ever have imagined." The Mumbai event itself forced Indians to relook at their problem of violence in order to make sense of the situation.

A further analysis of the news articles in the Times of India showed that a good number of citizens were offering a diverse range of critical viewpoints on India's terrorism problem. Opposing politicians were also featured echoing some of the citizens' viewpoints in the Times of India, openly criticising the Indian government for its failure to prevent and address India's problem of terrorism. The following are examples of citizens' comments from the Times of India on 2 December 2008 showing critical opinions expressed by the Indian citizens about the Mumbai crisis, its longer-term implications and the failings of the Indian government.

"If even a single person is terrorised, it means terrorists have won over us. Mumbai is our city. No one has a right to terrorise us in our own place," said Sachin Goraria.

"We are also very angry with the government agencies for not learning anything from the so many terror attacks that we have seen across the country in recent years," said one of the residents at a peace rally outside the Taj hotel.

"It's an impotent nation and we do not have the power to hit back. Less than a dozen men brought the city to its knees for two days. We will continue to be a soft state," said a Carmichael Road resident Rajesh Jhaveri.

"The entire machinery is paralysed. The common man is wondering what is going on. Honestly, I am totally resigned to the fact that we won't learn any lessons mainly because no politician died," said City-based archaeologist Kurush Dalal. As one SMS said, "The real terrorists are our politicians and bureaucrats."

According to Bennett (1990) and Hallin (1986), conflict between political elites provides the media with the opportunity to widen the range of critical voices and views in the news to reflect the political debate. Critical voices from opposing politicians in the Bharatiya Janata Party provided the avenue for critical discourse in the news and this helped sustain critical voices and views beyond the early stages of the Mumbai incident. Journalists were more willing to reflect a wider range of critical voices and views, including from citizens. Thus, citizen voices in the Times of India could be sustained beyond the beginning stages of the Mumbai incident and were also used for more public and political comments.

In contrast, an analysis of the news reports of the New York Times, London Times and New Zealand Herald found very little conflict between the respective governments' politicians. In fact, government officials appeared united in denouncing the attacks and pledging to help address the root causes of terrorism as part of the global terrorism problem. Additional analysis of the news articles in

the New York Times, London Times and New Zealand Herald showed a strong framing of the event as part of global terrorism, with the attacks speculated to be linked to global terrorist networks like Al Qaeda. The London Times reported on 27 November 2008 that the "multiple attacks on Westerners in Bombay (Mumbai) …showed all the signs of an Al-Qaeda strategy - picking on vulnerable Western 'soft targets' but not in a country where there would be maximum security. The article even made reference to similar past attacks so readers can relate to the Mumbai incident straightaway: "The bombing of Western targets in Bali in 2002 when Al-Qaeda-linked terrorists planted bombs in tourist favoured restaurants and nightclubs was another example where the terror group switched its resources to achieve maximum impact." Similarly, the New Zealand Herald reported on 29 November 2008 that the Mumbai "assault bore some of the hallmarks of an Al Qaeda operation, notably simultaneous attacks and the targeting of Westerners and the hotels used by them. Significant al Qaeda leaders have been struck down by American drones, but if nothing else, the group clearly remains an inspiration for terrorist cells."

The only critical discourse in these foreign newspapers was the failings of the Indian government in preventing the attacks and resolving to address it well. The Mumbai event, while it took place on Indian soil, was familiar as it was framed in the media as part of global terrorism. In some sense, it required almost no cognitive effort to make connections to the global terrorism frame promoted by the respective governments. As Entman (1994)'s cascade model suggests, when the event or issue is familiar and culturally congruent, government officials are likely to have greater success in controlling the framing of their positions and opposing political elites tend to remain silent. Without political dissent, the media has lesser incentive to reflect critical discourse and expand the range of voices and views (Bennett, 1990; Hallin, 1986). This could explain why citizen voices in the New York Times, London Times and New Zealand Herald were limited more to the beginning stage of the Mumbai incident and were used most conventionally for private, firsthand accounts than for their opinions.

5.5 Continued reliance on government sources

While findings from this study have shown that event-driven news like the Mumbai incident does offer potential opportunities for a lesser reliance on government sources, the findings also indicate that this window of opportunity may be temporary. The results show a continued reliance on government or foreign sources (foreign government, military and police spokespersons) for all four newspapers. The Times of India relied most heavily on government sources throughout all stages of the Mumbai incident and used government sources for public comments with analysis and important frames like the political, criminal and safety frames. The foreign newspapers on the other hand relied more on foreign sources than their own local government sources. Foreign sources were the most used source for the New York Times and second most used source for the London Times and New Zealand Herald. The New York Times and London Times used more foreign sources in the making sense and longer-term perspective stages of the Mumbai incident. All three newspapers used foreign sources for public comments (experiential and analytical) and political frames.

Analysis of news articles in the Times of India show a proactive approach taken by the Indian government officials to manage the situation following the Mumbai attacks even though some journalists (as reported in the New York Times) may have felt that information could be shared more regularly. All quotes from Indian officials in the news articles appeared to be from organized press briefings, press statements or deliberate updates made at the scene of the attacks. Very little off-the-cuff comments were made by the politicians, military or police spokespersons. The first official statement made by the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh was on national television on 27 November 2008, a day after the Mumbai attacks. This was subsequently reported in the print media on 28 November 2008 or 29 November 2008. The New York Times reported on 29 November 2008 that the Prime Minister's televised address "clearly sought to

convey that his government was in charge and capable of acting swiftly. He promised to 'strengthen the hands of our police and intelligence authorities,' restrict financing to suspect organizations, check the 'entry of suspects into the country'…"

As Lawrence's event-driven hypothesis suggests, dramatic events may be met by a unified official voice and this could be the case for the Mumbai incident in India as Indian officials strived to gain control of the news agenda. Event-driven news frames, especially those matters of high consequence are constrained by mainstream news organizations' deference to political power (Bennett *et al.,* 2006). Due to the relationship between political power and media access, the political elite will generally still continue to enjoy greater access to the media and dominance of the news agenda. The news media is likely to routinely turn to those with higher levels of political standing for their reaction to even unexpected events as they are expected to do something about it or at least react. Journalists working within constrains are also likely to rely more on officials as authoritative sources because of their perceived hierarchy of credibility within the structures of power in society (Manning, 2001). This is evident from the continued reliance of the Times of India on government, military or police spokespersons to make sense of the situation as they were generally perceived to have the greater authoritative voice. But dominance of government voice does not mean it completely shuts out all challenging, critical voices. These can still prevail as can be observed from the heavy use of both government and citizen sources throughout the Mumbai crisis.

The greater use of foreign sources more than the respective local government sources by the New York Times, London Times and New Zealand Herald can be understood through Althaus and his colleagues' explanations. Althaus *et al* (1996)'s study of the New York Times' coverage of the United States Libya crisis also found a higher proportion of foreign elites used. Althaus observed that when dissent cannot be found within government circles, journalists may decide to

follow the trail of power to non-governmental sources that have a legitimate stake in the policy. The New York Times, London Times and New Zealand Herald quoted a greater proportion of Indian government officials and other foreign government officials as they were perceived to have the power to affect the crisis. The emphasis on objectivity also required that journalists report both sides of the story and journalists naturally wanted to reflect India's official positions to give a full sense of the situation. Foreign sources may also appeal more given that they can offer more updates and insights on what was happening in India itself. One other explanation could be the availability of these newspapers' foreign correspondents within India who likely had good access to Indian government officials as clearly evident from the New York Times indication of foreign correspondents based in India in their news reports.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This study set out to answer the question of when and how influential citizens are in crisis news reporting using the Mumbai incident as a case study. The findings show that while the media continues to be cautious, using citizens more for their conventional role as victims or witnesses with firsthand accounts, there are some clear traces of influence with citizens offering analytical and political viewpoints as with the case of the Times of India. For the media to use citizen sources beyond their conventional roles, three factors must be present as suggested by the event-driven hypothesis raised by Lawrence (1996). Firstly, the news event has to be spontaneous and dramatic at its initial occurrence, taking place outside of routine events initiated by the government. This encourages the media to initially go directly to citizen and other sources to make sense of the situation before the government has the ability to set the news agenda. Secondly, the event itself must offer dramatic enough narrative possibilities or citizens themselves must be able to raise compelling challenging ideas and issues. Thirdly, there must be some political elite support for challenging framings of the event or issues arising from it for citizens and their ideas to sustain themselves beyond the first stage of the crisis.

Findings from this study are also significant in furthering insights about the media-government interdependent relationship. As stated by Bennett and his colleagues (2006), what becomes important for theory building is to understand more precisely the limits of this interdependent relationship and the room provided by events (and other situational factors) for more independent media framing. Event-driven news clearly opens up a small window of opportunity for the media to go beyond government sources to include a greater diversity of voices in the news as evident in the high use of citizen sources in the first two days of the Mumbai crisis. However, this window of opportunity may be

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temporary if government sources are able to regain control of the situation and the news agenda as can be observed from the results.

When it comes to using citizens as sources, the media tends to approach citizen sources like any other sources, scrutinising them for their importance, relevance and newsworthiness. Credibility is critical and verifying citizen sources remains a constant challenge for the media. Contrary to the belief in citizen-journalists offering the potential of contributing to breaking news, its impact on mainstream media remains limited but this is still evolving and use of citizen-journalist sources may grow in future. Findings from this study show that citizens can not only gain a foothold in the news and influence the news agenda, they can also open up the news content to a diversity of challenging viewpoints as with the case of the Times of India. This will have potential implications on the role of the media and sources in crisis news reporting in the long run.

While an obvious limitation for this study is the use of only one case study and the analysis of only the print media, the pilot approach developed advances literature on assessing citizen source influence, offering a more systematic methodology. Future research in this area could include additional case studies of crises across various media and contexts to test the validity of the findings from this study and establish possible patterns and trends overtime. More could also be learned about the differences in event-driven news, where subtle variations in the different types of event-driven news could be assessed for their impacts on the use of sources in news reporting. In-depth interviews with journalists and editors covering crises could also be carried out to enable a deeper understanding on the rationale, criteria and processes taken for the use of citizen sources in crisis news reporting. Additionally, further investigations on the variations between countries' use of citizen sources could be explored.

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APPENDICES

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CODING SHEET

Papers	Medium	Dates	Sources	Viewpoints	Frames
1= NYT 2 = LT 3 = NZH 4 = TOI	1= Article 2 = Editorial	1= 26/11 2 = 27/11 3 = 28/11 4 = 29/11 5 = 30/11 6 = 1/12 7 = 2/12	1 = Vict/Fam (Local) 2 = Vict/Fam (Fgn) 3 = Witness (Fgn) 4 = Voxpox (Local) 5 = Voxpox (Fgn) 6 = Online (Local) 7 = Online (Fgn) 8 = Official (Local) 9 = Official (Fgn) 10 = Mil/poli (Local) 11 = Mil/poli (Fgn) 12 = Expert (Local) 13 = Expert (Fgn) 14 = Media (Local) 15 = Media (Fgn) 16 = Others 17 = Assoc (Fgn) 18 = Assoc (Local) 19 = Wires	1= Private/experiential 2 = Private/analytic 3 = Public/experiential 4 = Public/analytic 5 = Others	1=Description 2= Mention of statistics 3= Scale of attacks 4=Heightened threat 5=Western targets 6=Not LeT 7-9/11 8=Heroism 9=Economy 10=Tourism 11=Pakistan to blame 12=ISI 13=LeT to blame 14=Global terrorism 15=Domestic problem 16=Islamic radicals 17=Govt failings 18=Politician failings 19=Weak security 20=Weak navy 21=Unemployment 22=New world order 23=India-Israel ties 24=Military solution 25=Diplomacy 26=Multilateral solution 27=Change parties 28=Criminal activity 29=Improve security 30=Citizen journalism

DEFINITIONS

Newspapers

Categories	Definitions
NYT	The New York Times
LT	London Times or The Times
NZH	New Zealand Herald
TOI	Times of India

Medium

Categories	Definitions
Article	This refers to all print articles in the newspapers.
Editorial	This refers to the opinion or commentary articles in the newspapers as identified based on use of the words at the top of the articles: "opinion" and "comment" by London Times and "news analysis" by The New York Times.

Sources

Categories	Definitions
Victims/ families	Victims refer to citizens directly affected by the terrorist incident where they are either held hostage or killed in the target locations by terrorists. Families in this same category refer to families of victims commenting about the victims and their situation. An example of a victim (local) is: *The British MEP Sajjad Karim, who was staying at the Taj Mahal Palace, said in a mobile phone call: "I was in the lobby when gunmen came in and people started running... A gunman just stood there spraying bullets around. I ran into the hotel kitchen and then we were shunted into a restaurant in the basement. We are now in the dark in this room and we've barricaded all the doors. It's really bad." –* London Times, 27 November 2008.
Witnesses	Witnesses are citizen passer-bys or bystanders viewing or experiencing the event firsthand as it unfolds but are not those held hostage or have their lives threatened by the terrorists. Examples of witnesses are: *By 5am, Peter Keep, a British entrepreneur, had counted at least 40 dead bodies at Bombay's St George Hospital. "It's not an experience that will leave me soon," he said. –* London Times, 28 November 2008. *The attacks, which left more than 150 people dead by Friday evening, made targets of foreigners, witnesses said. –* The New York Times, 29 November 2008.
Voxpoxs	Voxpoxs refer to citizens quoted with opinions about the event or other related topics but they have not experienced the incident firsthand. An example of a voxpox is: *"In 51 years, I have never seen this kind of thing," said Dev B. Gohil, a tailor and lifelong Mumbai resident. "We're scared for ourselves and for our families." –* New York Times, 29 November 2008.

Categories	Definitions
Citizen-journalist source	Citizen-journalist sources follow Wigley and Fontenot (2009)'s definition where these sources in this category are attributed with the use of citizens who are sourced from any type of new technology such as personal blogs, social networking sites like twitter, the use of text messages through phones and any other citizen journalism ventures. Examples are: *Mr. Shanbhag, who lives in Boston but happened to be in Mumbai when the attacks began on Wednesday, described the gunfire on his Twitter feed — the "thud, thud, thud" of shotguns and the short bursts of automatic weapons — and uploaded photos to his personal blog.* – New York Times, 30 November 2008. *"I am ashamed to say this," Amitabh Bachchan, a superstar of a hundred action movie wrote on his blog. "As the events of terror attack unfolded in front of me, I did something for the first time and one that I had hoped never ever to be in a situation to do…"* – The New York Times, 29 November 2008.
Government - official/military/police	Government sources are defined as government officials and spokespeople associated with local, state or federal government entities. This includes Ministers, Mayors, military, police spokespersons, statements from government ministries, departments, embassies, courts etc. Use of words like "intelligence" officials and "authorities" are to be counted under this category. Example of a police spokesperson (foreign): *A police spokesman said: "We have only a very tenuous grasp on what is happening so far. People are scared. The incidents being reported are so many. Gunmen are under siege at several locations but we are worried about hitting civilians."* – London Times, 27 November 2008.
Experts	Expert sources are defined as spokespeople associated with academic institutions or professional associations, who are specialists in their fields or industries. An example of an expert (local) is: *One counter-terrorist expert told The Times: "They don't choose for the sake of it, they look to see where they have the greatest capability and then order an attack,"* – London Times, 27 November 2008.
Media	Media sources are defined as journalists or media organizations quoted in the article as the original source other than the actual journalist writing the particular article. An example is: *"It is time we stop our political parties from using terror – Hindu or Muslim – to fuel their popularity when they are fuelling a fire that can consume India, " read a front-page editorial in The Hindustan Times.* – The New York Times, 29 November 2008. The following is an example of a media source (India TV) that should not be recorded as a media source, the original source, "militant" should be recorded under others: *A militant hidden in the Oberoi told India TV on Thursday morning that seven attackers were holding hostages there. "We want all mujahedeen held in India released, and only after that we will release the people," he said.* – The New York Times, 27 November 2008.

Categories	Definitions
Associations and other groups	This refers to private or non-government associations, organizations and groups like for example, the Lubavitch (Jewish) movement, hospitals or businesses like the Oberoi Hotel group. Examples are: *A spokesman for the <u>Lubavitch movement</u> in New York, Rabbi Zalman Shmotkin, told the Associated Press that attackers "stormed the Chabad house" in Mumbai.* – The New York Times, 27 November 2008. *<u>Hospitals</u> in Mumbai, a city of more than 12 million that was formerly called Bombay, have appealed for blood donations.* – The New York Times, 27 November 2008.
Wires	This refers to international news wire agencies like the Associated Press, Reuters etc. An example is: *"Reuters quoted a senior police official as saying Sunday that the sole gunman captured alive had told the police he was a member of the Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Taiba organization, blamed for attacks in Indian-administered Kashmir and elsewhere."* – The New York Times, 1 December 2008.
Others	This refers to other sources that are not belonging to government, expert, media or citizen sources, for example from the terrorists. Most other sources consist of terrorist sources. An example is: *MIDWAY through last week's murderous rampage in Mumbai, one of the suspected gunmen at the besieged Jewish center called a popular Indian TV channel. Speaking in Urdu (the primary language of Pakistan and many Indian Muslims), he ranted against the recent visit of an Israeli general to the Indian-ruled section of the Kashmir Valley. Referring to the Pakistan-backed insurgency in the valley, and the Indian military response to it, he asked, "Are you aware how many people have been killed in Kashmir?"* – The New York Times, 2 December 2008.

Viewpoints

Category	Definitions
Private	The comment is considered private if explicitly addressing an individual's own familial world of home and/or personal relationships.
Public	A news source is considered to be making a public comment if addressing the world of public affairs and/or collective concerns. Refer to voices that reference shared circumstances or conditions and draw reference to the collective nature of the experience.
Experiential	Based on account of experience that is describing the event firsthand or is a response that is emotionally charged.
Analytic	A comment can be characterized as analytic if advancing a rationally engaged argument or point of view.

Types of accounts

Category	Definitions
Private-experiential account from a citizen source	*The British MEP Sajjad Karim, who was staying at the Taj Mahal Palace, said in a mobile phone call: "I was in the lobby when gunmen came in and people started running... A gunman just stood there spraying bullets around. I ran into the hotel kitchen and then we were shunted into a restaurant in the basement. We are now in the dark in this room and we've barricaded all the doors. It's really bad."* – London Times, 27 November 2008.
Private-analytic account from a citizen source	*Mr. Shanbhag, an assistant professor at Harvard Medical School, said he had not heard the term citizen journalism until Thursday, but now he knows that is exactly what he was doing. "I felt I had a responsibility to share my view with the outside world," Mr. Shanbhag said in an e-mail message on Saturday morning.* – The New York Times, 30 November 2008.
Public-experiential account from a government source	*A police spokesman said: "We have only a very tenuous grasp on what is happening so far. People are scared. The incidents being reported are so many. Gunmen are under siege at several locations but we are worried about hitting civilians."* – London Times, 27 November 2008.
Public-experiential account from a citizen source	*Rabbi Yehuda Krinsky, who leads the group's missionaries, condemned "the brutal murder of our finest.... Words are inadequate to express our outrage and deep pain at this tragic act of cold-blooded murder."* – New York Times, 29 November 2008.
Public-analytical account from an expert source	*One counter-terrorist expert told The Times: "They don't choose for the sake of it, they look to see where they have the greatest capability and then order an attack,"* – London Times, 27 November 2008.
Public-analytical accounts from citizen sources	*T.K. Bhat, who lives close to the Chabad house, said: "It could be that the attitudes of the Chabad, which gives the sense of an elite club for Jews alone, is part of what provoked the terrorists to target them for the attack."* – London Times, 27 November 2008. *"It's really sad what has happened . But I am not shocked. Since 9/11, terror attacks have become frequent. There were blasts in London, in Madrid, in Islamabad and serial explosions in several Indian cities. They kill and maim the innocent . But they've lost the shock value. The attacks have become part of the new world order. We can't stop living because some maniacs are running loose on the streets," said Davies. She says she won't cut short her visit or shift to another hotel from Oberoi Grand.* – London Times, 29 November 2008.

NOTES

- All sources are to be counted, whether attributed as a quote or as taken from statements, reports, press releases, websites or as conveyed from generic groups like witnesses, experts or officials with cue words like "said", "told", "according to" etc

- When two sources are quoted giving the same specific comment, the original source is to be recorded. In the following example as illustration, the guests are to be counted as the source, not the television station: "Guests who had escaped the hotels told television stations that the attackers were taking hostages, singling out Americans and Britons." – The New York Times, 27 November 2008.

- If the same source is quoted twice in the news article, this source should be counted twice if the source has provided two different viewpoints but if the same source elaborates on his or her earlier account or comments and does not offer new or additional information, it should be counted as one source

- If two or more members or persons from the same family, couple or group are quoted, it should be counted as two or more sources depending on how many are quoted

- Generic groups like "witnesses", "policemen" or "experts" attributed with a comment or quote should be counted as one source

- A media source should be counted only if it is explicitly quoted and attributed to another journalist or media organization in the article

- If the article is an editorial and reflects the journalist's voice, it should not be counted unless there is an explicit quote or attribution to a specific source

- End -

DETAILED FINDINGS SUPPORTING TABLES 3-13

A. FREQUENCY OF SOURCES

Detailed findings of the overall source usage for each newspaper supporting Table 3

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Frequency of sources for each newspaper

	Citizens	Govt	Experts	Media	Foreign	Terrorists	NGOs	Total
NYT	79	34	24	13	94	5	24	273
	28.94%	12.45%	8.79%	4.76%	34.43%	1.83%	8.79%	
NZH	27	9	3	11	21	5	1	77
	35.06%	11.69%	3.9%	14.29%	27.27%	6.49%	1.3%	
LT	109	18	37	9	67	6	43	289
	37.72%	6.23%	12.8%	3.11%	23.18%	2.08%	14.88%	
TOI	248	342	43	14	13	15	94	769
	32.25%	44.47%	5.59%	1.82%	1.69%	1.95%	12.22%	
Total	463	403	107	47	195	31	162	1408
	32.88%	28.62%	7.6%	3.34%	13.85%	2.2%	11.51%	

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of usage of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.

Detailed findings of the overall source usage for each newspaper supporting Table 5

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Usage of citizen sources for each newspaper

	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	Total
Victim/ family	49 (23 are local) 62.03%	86 (70 are local) 78.9%	24 (16 are local) 88.89%	111 (101 are local) 44.76%	270 58.32%
Witness	14 17.72%	14 12.84%	3 11.11%	14 5.65%	45 9.72%
Voxpox	11 (3 are local) 13.92%	9 (6 are local) 8.3%	0	105 (98 are local) 42.34%	125 27%
Citizen-journalist	5 6.33%	0	0	18 7.26%	23 4.97%
Total	79	109	27	248	463

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of usage of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.

B. TIMING OF SOURCES

**Detailed findings of each newspaper for source usage in three stages of
the Mumbai incident supporting Table 6**

The New York Times

	27/11	28/11	29/11	30/11	1/12	2/12	Total
Citizens	7 33.33%	13 56.52%	34 27.64%	10 37.04%	2 5.41%	12 41.38%	78
Govt	2 9.52%	0	25 20.33%	7.41%	1 2.7%	4 13.79%	32
Experts	0	4 17.39%	14 11.38%	1 3.7%	5 13.51%	0	24
Media	3 14.29%	0	7 5.69%	1 3.7%	1 2.7%	0	12
Foreign	5 23.81%	4 17.39%	30 24.39%	10 37.04%	22 59.46%	13 44.83%	84
Terrorists	3 14.29%	1 4.35%	1 0.81%	0	0	0	5
NGOs	1 4.76%	1 4.35%	12 9.76%	3 11.11%	7 18.92%	0	24
Total	21	23	123	27	37	29	260

Note: All percentages are rounded off to two decimal places. The shaded areas indicate where specific
sources have greatest dominance.

Detailed findings of each newspaper for source usage in three stages of the Mumbai incident supporting Tables 7a to 7c

The London Times

	26/11	27/11	28/11	29/11	30/11	Total
Citizens	1	32 49.23%	42 42.86%	34 30.91%	0	109
Govt	0	8 12.31%	3 3.06%	7 6.36%	0	18
Experts	0	4 6.15%	20 20.41%	6 5.45%	7 46.67%	37
Media	0	2 3.08%	1 1.02%	5 4.55%	1 6.67%	9
Foreign	0	12 18.46%	11 11.22%	37 33.64%	7 46.67%	67
Terrorists	0	1 1.54%	4 4.08%	1 0.91%	0	6
NGOs	0	6 9.23%	17 17.35%	20 18.18%	0	43
Total	1	65	98	110	15	289

Note: All percentages are rounded off to two decimal places. The shaded areas indicate where specific sources have greatest dominance.

Detailed findings of each newspaper for source usage in three stages of the Mumbai incident supporting Tables 7a to 7c (continued)

The New Zealand Herald

	28/11	29/11	1/12	Total
Citizens	6 37.5%	21 42.86%	0	27
Govt	7 43.75%	2 4.08%	5 41.67%	14
Experts	0	3 6.12%	0	3
Media	1 6.25%	4 8.16%	6 50%	11
Foreign	2 12.5%	13 26.53%	1 8.33%	16
Terrorists	0	5 10.2%	0	5
NGOs	0	1 2.04%	0	1
Total	16	49	12	77

Note: All percentages are rounded off to two decimal places. The shaded areas indicate where the specific sources have greatest dominance.

Detailed findings of each newspaper for source usage in three stages of the Mumbai incident supporting Tables 7a to 7c (continued)

The Times of India

	27/11	28/11	29/11	30/11	1/12	2/12	Total
Citizens	0	30 33.33%	98 39.2%	76 31.28%	26 16.88%	18 30.51%	248
Govt	0	51 56.67%	100 40%	101 41.56%	60 38.96%	17 28.81%	329
Experts	0	0	15 6%	24 9.88%	4 2.6%	0	43
Media	0	1 1.11%	3 1.2%	10 4.12%	0	0	14
Foreign	0	0	4 1.6%	2 0.82%	7 4.55%	13 22.03%	26
Terrorists	0	0	0	13 5.35%	2 1.3%	0	15
NGOs	1	8 8.89%	30 12%	15 6.17%	29 18.83%	11 18.64%	94
Total	1	90	250	243	154	59	797

Note: All percentages are rounded off to two decimal places. The shaded areas indicate where specific sources have greatest dominance.

C. NATURE OF SOURCES

Detailed findings of the overall source usage in relation to four types of accounts supporting Table 8

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Nature of sources in relation to four types of accounts

	Pte/E	Pte/A	Public/E	Public/A	Total
Citizens	283 85.5%	51 85%	57 12.78%	72 12.61%	463
Govt	23 6.95%	5 8.33%	176 39.46%	199 34.85%	403
Experts	0	0	3 0.67%	104 18.21%	107
Media	3 0.91%	0	23 5.16%	21 3.68%	47
Foreign	6 1.81%	1 1.67%	92 20.63%	96 16.81%	195
Terrorists	2 0.6%	0	14 3.14%	15 2.63%	31
NGOs	14 4.23%	3 5%	81 18.16%	64 11.21%	162
Total	331	60	446	571	1408

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.

Detailed findings of each newspaper for source usage in relation to four types of accounts supporting Tables 9a and 9b

The New York Times

	Pte/E	Pte/A	Public/E	Public/A	Total
Citizens	49 90.74%	14 100%	11 12.50%	5 4.35%	79
Govt	2 3.70%	0	14 15.91%	18 15.65%	34
Experts	0	0	0	24 20.87%	24
Media	0	0	6 6.82%	6 5.22%	12
Foreign	1 1.85%	0	43 48.86%	50 43.48%	94
Terrorists	0	0	0	5 4.35%	5
NGOs	3 5.56%	0	14 15.91%	7 6.09%	24
Total	54	14	88	115	271

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.

Detailed findings of each newspaper for source usage in relation to four types of accounts supporting Tables 9a and 9b (continued)

The London Times

	Pte/E	Pte/A	Public/E	Public/A	Total
Citizens	81	5	16	7	109
	86.17%	71.43%	18.18%	7.07%	
Govt	2	0	7	9	18
	2.13%		7.96%	9.09%	
Experts	0	0	1	36	37
			1.14%	36.36%	
Media	1	0	4	3	8
	1.06%		4.55%	3.03%	
Foreign	4	0	30	33	67
	4.26%		34.09%	33.33%	
Terrorists	0	0	2	4	6
			2.27%	4.04%	
NGOs	6	2	28	7	43
	6.38%	28.57%	31.82%	7.07%	
Total	94	7	88	99	288

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.

Detailed findings of each newspaper for source usage in relation to four types of accounts supporting Tables 9a and 9b (continued)

The New Zealand Herald

	Pte/E	Pte/A	Public/E	Public/A	Total
Citizens	26 92.86%	0	1 2.94%	0	27
Govt	0	0	9 26.47%	0	9
Experts	0	0	0	3 20%	3
Media	1 3.57%	0	8 23.53%	2 13.33%	11
Foreign	1 3.57%	0	15 44.12%	5 33.33%	21
Terrorists	0	0	0	5 33.33%	5
NGOs	0	0	1 2.94%	0	1
Total	28	0	34	15	77

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.

Detailed findings of each newspaper for source usage in relation to four types of accounts supporting Tables 9a and 9b (continued)

The Times of India

	Pte/E	Pte/A	Public/E	Public/A	Total
Citizens	127 83.01%	32 82.05%	84 28.97%	60 17.54%	303
Govt	19 12.42%	5 12.82%	146 50.34%	172 50.29%	342
Experts	0	0	2 0.69%	41 11.99%	43
Media	0	0	4 1.38%	10 2.92%	14
Foreign	0	1 2.56%	4 1.38%	8 2.34%	13
Terrorists	2 1.31%	0	12 4.14%	1 0.29%	15
NGOs	5 3.27%	1 2.56%	38 13.10%	50 14.62%	94
Total	153	39	290	342	824

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.

Detailed findings of each newspaper for citizen source usage in relation to four types of accounts supporting Tables 10a and 10b

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Contribution of citizen sources to private accounts for each newspaper

	Pte/E				Pte/A			
	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI
Victim/ Family	42 85.71%	74 91.36%	24 92.31%	95 74.8%	4 28.57%	5 100%	0	11 34.38%
Witness	5 10.20%	5 6.17%	2 7.69%	6 4.72%	3 21.43%	0	0	1 3.13%
Voxpox	2 4.08%	2 2.47%	0	26 20.47%	3 21.43%	0	0	19 59.38%
Citizen-journalist	0	0	0	0	4 28.57%	0	0	1 3.13%
Total	49	81	26	127	14	5	0	32

Note: All percentages are rounded off to two decimal places.

Detailed findings of each newspaper for citizen source usage in relation to four types of accounts supporting Tables 10a and 10b (continued)

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Contribution of citizen sources to public accounts for each newspaper

	Public/E				Public/A			
	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI	NYT	LT	NZH	TOI
Victim/ Family	2 18.18%	4 25%	0	4 13.79%	1 20%	3 42.86%	0	1 1.67%
Witness	2 18.18%	6 37.5%	1 100%	7 24.14%	4 80%	3 42.86%	0	0
Voxpox	6 54.55%	6 37.5%	0	13 44.83%	0	1 14.29%	0	47 78.33%
Citizen-journalist	1 9.09%	0	0	5 17.24%	0	0	0	12 20%
Total	11	16	1	29	5	7	0	60

Note: All percentages are rounded off to two decimal places.

D. SOURCE-FRAME ASSOCIATION

Detailed findings of the overall source association with each coverage frame supporting Table 11

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Types of overall sources used with each coverage frame

	Disaster	Political	Economy	Criminal activities	Safety	Human interest	Citizen journalism	Total
Citizens	322	42	0	1	4	53	15	437
	45.22%	12.35%		1.67%	4.4%	62.35%	93.75%	
Govt	171	121	4	37	47	25	0	405
	24.02%	35.59%	10%	61.67%	51.65%	29.41%		
Experts	19	56	17	2	6	1	1	102
	2.67%	16.47%	42.5%	3.33%	6.6%	1.18%	6.25%	
Media	34	14	0	2	0	0	0	50
	4.78%	4.12%		3.33%				
Foreign	88	67	4	17	8	0	0	184
	12.36%	19.71%	10%	28.33%	8.79%			
Terrorists	16	10	0	1	1	0	0	28
	2.25%	2.94%		1.67%	1.1%			
NGOs	62	30	15	0	25	6	0	138
	8.71%	8.82%	37.5%		27.47%	7.06%		
Total	712	340	40	60	91	85	16	1344

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.

Detailed findings of each newspaper in terms of the types of citizen sources used with coverage frame supporting Table 12

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident
Types of citizen sources used with each coverage frame

	Disaster	Political	Economy	Criminal activities	Safety	Human interest	Citizen journalism
Victim/ Family	223 69.04%	1 2.04%	0	0	1 25%	43 81.13%	0
Witness	36 11.15%	2 4.08%	0	1 100%	3 75%	5 9.43%	0
Voxpox	64 19.81%	38 77.55%	0	0	0	5 9.43%	3 20%
Citizen-journalist	0	8 16.33%	0	0	0	0	12 80%
Total	323	49	0	1	4	53	15

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.

Detailed findings of each newspaper in terms of the types of sources used with each coverage frame supporting Tables 13a to 13c

The New York Times

	Disaster	Political	Economy	Criminal activities	Safety	Human interest	Citizen journalism
Citizens	49 41.18%	0	0	0	0	19 1.33%	8 88.89%
Govt	11 9.24%	15 1.59%	0	0	0	2 8.33%	0
Experts	1 0.84%	11 1.59%	6 37.5%	0	5 41.67%	0	1 11.11%
Media	8 5.65%	4 6.35%	0	0	0	0	0
Foreign	37 31.09%	32 (50.79%	10 62.5%	8 100%	5 41.67%	0	0
Terrorists	4 3.36%	1 (1.59%)	0	0	0	0	0
NGOs	9 7.56%	0	0	0	7 59.33%	3 5.25%	0
Total	119	63	16	8	12	24	9

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places. The shaded areas indicate where the specific sources have greatest dominance.

**Detailed findings of each newspaper in terms of the types of sources used
with each coverage frame supporting Tables 13a to 13c (continued)**

The London Times

	Disaster	Political	Economy	Criminal activities	Safety	Human interest	Citizen journalism
Citizens	96 61.61%	4 6.06%	0	1 20%	0	7 50%	0
Govt	10 7.04%	5 7.58%	0	3 60%	0	0	0
Experts	2 1.41%	21 31.82%	8 66.67%	0	1 33.33%	1 7.14%	0
Media	2 1.41%	4 6.06%	0	0	0	1 7.14%	0
Foreign	29 20.42%	27 40.91%	1 8.33%	1 20%	1 33.33%	5 35.71%	0
Terrorists	2 1.41%	4 6.06%	0	0	0	0	0
NGOs	1 0.7%	1 1.52%	3 25%	0	1 33.33%	0	0
Total	142	66	12	5	3	14	0

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.
The shaded areas indicate where the specific sources have greatest dominance.

Detailed findings of each newspaper in terms of the types of sources used with each coverage frame supporting Tables 13a to 13c (continued)

The New Zealand Herald

	Disaster	Political	Economy	Criminal activities	Safety	Human interest	Citizen journalism
Citizens	27 50.94%	0	0	0	0	0	0
Govt	8 15.09%	0	0	0	0	0	0
Experts	0	2 33.33%	0	0	0	0	0
Media	3 5.66%	3 50%	0	0	0	0	0
Foreign	14 26.42%	1 16.67%	0	4 100%	2 100%	0	0
Terrorists	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NGOs	2 3.77%	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	53	6	0	4	5	0	0

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places. The shaded areas indicate where the specific sources have greatest dominance.

Detailed findings of each newspaper in terms of the types of sources used with each coverage frame supporting Tables 13a to 13c (continued)

Times of India

	Disaster	Political	Economy	Criminal activities	Safety	Human interest	Citizen journalism
Citizens	151 41.83%	44* 28.76%	0	0	4 7.69%	27 54%	7 100%
Govt	141 39.06%	76 49.67%	3 17.65%	34 89.47%	47 90.38%	23 46%	0
Experts	16 4.43%	20 13.07%	2 11.76%	2 5.36%	0	0	0
Media	8 2.22%	6 3.92%	0	1 2.63%	0	0	0
Foreign	8 2.22%	5 3.27%	0	0	0	0	0
Terrorists	8 2.22%	2 1.31%	0	1 2.63%	1 1.92%	0	0
NGOs	29 8.03%	14 9.15%	12 20.59%	0	17 32.69%	3 6%	0
Total	361	153	17	38	52	50	7

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places. The shaded areas indicate where the specific sources have greatest dominance.

DETAILED FINDINGS FOR EDITORIALS (TABLES 15-19)

TABLE 15

**Media coverage of the Mumbai incident in editorials
Frequency of sources for each newspaper**

	Citizens	Govt	Experts	Media	Foreign	Terrorists	NGOs	Total
NYT	9 90%	5 50%	11 61.11%	5 31.25%	11 61.11%	1 33.33%	1 50%	38
NZH	0	0	0	2 12.5%	0	0	0	20
LT	1 10%	0	7 38.89%	8 50%	7 38.89%	2 66.67%	1 50%	3
TOI	0	5 50%	0	1 6.25%	0	0	0	7
Total	10 14.71%	10 14.71%	18 26.47%	16 23.53%	18 26.47%	3 4.41%	2 2.94%	68

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of usage of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.

TABLE 16

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident in editorials
Overall proportion of source usage in three stages of the crisis

	Beginning stage		Making sense stage		Long-term perspective stage		Total
	27 Nov	28 Nov	29 Nov	30 Nov	1 Dec	2 Dec	
Citizens	1 16.67%	0	2 20%	4 40%	2 14.29%	1 9.09%	10
Govt	1 16.67%	2 11.76%	0	0	6 42.86%	1 9.09%	10
Experts	0	3 17.65%	1 10%	1 10%	1 7.14%	3 27.27%	9
Media	2 33.33%	3 17.65%	4 40%	2 20%	3 21.43%	2 18.18%	16
Foreign	1 16.67%	8 47.06%	2 20%	3 30%	2 14.29%	2 18.18%	18
Terrorists	1 16.67%	1 5.88%	0	0	0	1 9.09%	3
NGOs	0	0	1 10%	0	0	1 9.09%	2
Total	6	17	10	10	14	11	68

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.

TABLE 17

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident in editorials
Nature of sources in relation to four types of accounts

	Pte/E	Pte/A	Public/E	Public/A	Total
Citizens	1 50%	0	0	9 16.36%	10
Govt	0	0	0	10 18.18%	10
Experts	0	0	0	9 16.36%	9
Media	0	0	6 54.55%	10 18.18%	16
Foreign	1 50%	0	2 18.18%	15 27.27%	18
Terrorists	0	0	2 18.18%	1 1.82%	3
NGOs	0	0	1 9.09%	1 1.82%	2
Total	2	0	11	55	68

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.

TABLE 18

Media coverage of the Mumbai incident in editorials
Nature of sources in relation to four types of accounts for each newspaper

	NYT			LT			NZH		TOI
	Pte/E	Public/E	Public/A	Pte/E	Public/E	Public/A	Public/E	Public/A	Public/A
Citizens	1 100%	0	8 24.24%	0	0	1 7.14%	0	0	0
Govt	0	0	5 15.15%	0	0	0	0	0	5
Experts	0	0	6 18.18%	0	0	1 7.14%	0	1 100%	1 14.29%
Media	0	1 25%	4 12.12%	0	3 60%	5 35.71%	2 100%	0	1 14.29%
Foreign	0	2 50%	9 27.27%	1 100%	0	6 42.86%	0	0	0
Terrorists	0	1 25%	0	0	1 20%	1 7.14%	0	0	0
NGOs	0	0	1 3.03%	0	1 20%	0	0	0	0
Total	1	4	33	1	5	14	2	1	7

Note: The percentages reflect the proportion of contribution of each source, as rounded off to two decimal places.

TABLE 19

**Media coverage of the Mumbai terrorist incident in editorials
Types of sources used with each coverage frame**

	Disaster	Political	Economy	Criminal activities	Safety	Human interest	Citizen journalism
Citizens	2 28.57%	2 5.41%	0	0	0	1 50%	0
Govt	0	10 27.03%	0	0	0	0	0
Experts	0	8 29.63%	0	0	0	0	0
Media	2 28.57%	4 10.81%	0	0	0	1 50%	0
Foreign	2 28.57%	10 27.03%	0	0	2 100%	0	0
Terrorists	0	2 5.41%	0	0	0	0	0
NGOs	1 14.29%	1 2.70%	0	0	0	0	0
Total	7	37	0	0	2	2	0