

Sources of Foreign News and Salience of Countries in Indian Newspapers in New Millennium

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Abstract

When the debates on international news flow controversies and NWICO reigned in UNESCO in the 1970s, researches had examined various facets of foreign news content in newspapers of different countries. A couple of studies had found a decrease in the dependency of Indian newspapers on the transnational new agencies (TNNAs) for foreign news in the 1980s as compared to 1970s. In those decades, the contribution of the Indian news agencies and the correspondents of Indian newspapers was lower than that of the TNNAs. The most dominant countries in the news spectrum of India dailies in the 1970s and 1980s were the US, UK and Pakistan. Since then, have changes manifested in the dependence of Indian newspapers on TNNAs and in the salience of countries? This study provides answers to these questions by comparing the foreign news content in four prominent Indian newspapers in 1986, and 2016. Briefly, in 2016, the TNNAs were no longer the principal source of foreign news and the salience of the US, UK and Pakistan had remained unaffected in the new Millennium.

Keywords

International News Flow, Foreign News Sources, News Agencies, News Factors, Composite Week.

Introduction

International news flow debates raged in international fora in the 1970s and early 1980s. The root causes of the debates were the imbalances and flaws inherent in the world news distribution system, a domain of four transnational news agencies (TNNAs) – Reuters of Britain, Associated French Presse (AFP) of France, and Associated Press (AP) and Unites Press International (UPI) of the US. In the news distributed by the TNNAs, all nations were not treated equally. As a result, in the media of both the developed and developing nations, the news of the developed nations tended to have a high salience, and the news of the developing countries tended to be sparse, and often it presented a distorted picture of their reality.

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Such imbalances and flaws in international news flow were of concern to the developing nations, most of whom had gained independence from their colonial masters in the post-World War II period. They were cognizant of the need to reduce their dependence on the TNNAs and to raise issues of imbalances in the international news flow distribution system. The nonaligned movement (NAM), a collective of the developing nations formed to remain neutral in the Cold War politics of the East and West blocks led by the USSR and the US respectively, provided the cohesive impetus to address these matters in their meetings and UNESCO conferences¹. At the 16th session of UNESCO General Conference held in 1970, delegates from the developing countries for the first time outlined the need for a two-way flow of information between the developed and developing nations and for the development and strengthening of national agencies of the developing countries to overcome imbalances in news flow (UNESCO, 1971, p 109).

In 1973, the Heads of Governments of non-aligned countries at their Algiers summit resolved to take concert action for the interchange of information among themselves. Two years later, the action came forth in Jan 1975 with the setting up of the Nonaligned News Agencies Pool (NANAP)², a cooperative system of news agencies of nonaligned countries for a better flow of news among developing countries.

Outcome of NWICO Debates

Following the establishment of NANAP, the nonaligned countries raised the demand for a new international information order during the 19th session of the UNESCO General Conference held in 1976. As the new order demand evoked contentious arguments on international information flow issues, the Conference enunciated the need for a review of the totality of problems of communication in modern society. Accordingly, in 1977, the then UNESCO Director-General, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, constituted a Commission under the chairmanship of Sean MacBride to study all facets of communications problems in the present-day world.

After studying diverse facets of global communication for over two years, the Commission finalised its exhaustive report published as *Many Voices and One World: Towards a New More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order* (MacBride Commission, 1980). The Commission's report in its wide-ranging analysis of communication problems addressed the imbalances in international information flow. Much to the annoyance of the US and Western nations, the 20th session of UNESCO General Conference held in 1980 approved MacBride Report and adopted a resolution (Resolution 4.19) to bring about the new world information communication order (NWICO) through a series of measures including the

elimination of imbalances in information flow and strengthening of the communication capacities of the developing countries. With that aim, UNESCO established the International Programme for the Development (IPDC) in 1981 to assist the developing countries to fortify their communication infrastructure and services.

Between 1982 and 1986, IPDC mobilised US \$9.74 million and supported developing countries for the promotion of broadcast media, media independence and pluralism, training of media professionals, and the development and modernisation of 14 national news agencies and three regional news agencies, namely Pan Africa News Agency (PANA), Asia-Pacific News Network (ANN), and Agencia Latino Americana De Servicios Especiales do Information (ALASEI).

A year before the withdrawal of US followed by UK and Singapore³, the 22nd General Conference of UNESCO held in April 1983 had noted that NWICO goals are achievable through an “evolving and continuous process” (UNESCO, 1984, p 28). In the evolutionary process, some positive outcomes were in evidence in the flow of news as a result of the establishment of regional news agencies in the developing regions. For instance, following the setting up of ANN, the flow of news in the Asia-Pacific region had increased by about 20 per cent (UNESCO & UNDP, 1986), a new trend in international news flow. Another new trend relates to the reduction in the dependence of Indian newspapers on TNNAs for foreign news in the 1980s as compared to the previous decades.

In the context of the present study framework, a brief review of relevant international news flow studies from the 1950s onwards is essential.

Literature Review

The international news flow research evolved in the first half of the 20th century. In the news flow studies of that period, the focus was on coverage of certain events and issues of one country in the newspaper(s) of another country⁴. The canvas of news flow research broadened from the 1950s onwards with the conduct of comparative studies of foreign news in the media of different countries. The first comparative study was the one conducted for UNESCO by Kayser (1953) wherein he analysed domestic and foreign news in 17 newspapers (including *Times of India*) of five world regions for a week in 1951. The study revealed that in Western newspapers, the news of the Western countries was more dominant than that of the developing countries.

In 1953, the International Press Institute (IPI) undertook a more exhaustive comparative analysis of foreign news in newspapers of ten countries as well as in five international news agencies, namely AP, UPI and

international News Service (INS) of the US, Reuters of the UK and TASS of USSR. The results showed that international news agencies were the primary source of foreign news, and their coverage was limited to a few powerful elite nations. (International Press Institute, 1953, p. 219). Another IPI study carried out by Balaraman (1954) had shown that India was among the worst reported countries in the American press, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Schramm had analysed international news reports published on Nov 2, 1956, in 14 newspapers of different regions. In a subsequent discourse, he had noted that the flow of news among nations was unbalanced and tended to favour "a few highly developed countries", paid scant attention to the developing countries, and in some cases, it tended "to distort the reality it presents" (Schramm, 1964, p. 64).

Markham's (1961) comparative analysis of foreign news in seven newspapers of South America and the US in 1959 showed that AP, UPI and AFP were the sources for 80 per cent of foreign news both in the press of both the countries. Moreover, the South American newspapers printed more foreign news than the US newspapers. Likewise, the Arabic press (Abu-Lughod, 1962), Korean press (Graver, 1962), Canadian press (Hart, 1963: 70-74), as well as English press (Hart, 1966: 443-449) were publishing a disproportionately large amount of international news than US newspapers. A study of top newspapers of India, Kenya, Lebanon, Japan and Norway in 1961 and 1968 by Salamore (1975) had revealed that at least half of the international news items were from the TNNAs.

Between the 1970s and early 1980s when debates on international news flow controversies and NWICO reigned in UNESCO, there was a "geometric progression" in the news flow research (Mowlana, 1985, 18). Barring a few, most studies of that period had revealed a considerable dependence on the TNNAs for international news in the press of Latin America in 1975 (Reyes-Matta, 1976), Asia⁵ in 1977 (Schramm et al., 1978), Canada in 1978 (Sparkes 1978), and Japan in 1979 (Asano 1984).

What was the dependence of Indian newspapers on TNNAs and which countries and regions figured consistently in Indian press Between the 1970s and 1980s? Answers to these and related questions have come from a couple of studies. The first one is the 'foreign images' study conducted by IAMCR for UNESCO in which media of 29 countries, including five newspapers of India, were analysed for two weeks in April – June quarter of 1979 (UNESCO, 1985). The study results showed that the share of TNNAs in the foreign news hole of Indian newspapers was 39 per cent as compared to 37 per cent in the newspapers of the US and slightly lower share in the newspapers of Netherlands and FRG. The share of TNNAs in the foreign news hole of the

newspapers of a few developed countries such as Finland, Iceland and Greece was higher than that of India. A much higher reliance on TNNAs for foreign news was in the newspapers of the developing countries such as Indonesia (51 per cent), Iran (53 per cent), Mexico (55 per cent), and the highest proportion of 70 per cent in the newspapers of Lebanon (UNESCO, 1985, p. 49).

The second study was a repetition of 'foreign images' by Yadava (1984), a member of UNESCO's 'foreign images' study team. Yadava repeated the study in 1984 to gauge the changes in the foreign news spectrum of Indian newspapers following the NWICO debates. The study results indicated to a few 'new order trends': the dependency of Indian dailies on the TNNAs had decreased from 39 per cent in 1979 to 36.6 per cent in 1984, while the contribution of Indian agencies, UNI and PTI, had increased from 21 per cent in 1979 to 32 per cent in 1984; and the Asian news coverage had improved by about 6 per cent in 1984 as compared to 1979. (Yadava, 1984, p. 114). Yadava had described the decline in the dependence of Indian press on TNNAs for foreign news "as a happy development toward the goal of new world information and communication order" (p.120).

The 'new order trends' noticed in Yadava's study were also in evidence in a longitudinal study conducted by Ahmed (1992) in which he had analysed foreign news content in four Indian newspapers for four years: The first year, 1971, corresponded to the pre-NWICO period., The subsequent two years, 1976 and 1981, represented the NWICO period. The year 1986 represented the post-NWICO period. In all periods of the study, the first principal sources of foreign news for Indian newspapers were the TNNAs. The second and third primary foreign news sources were the Indian news agencies (PTI and UNI) and the newspaper's correspondents, respectively. However, in 1986, the post-NWICO period, two new order trends were in evidence: (1) the dependence on TNNAs had decreased to a lower proportion of 44.3 per cent; and (2) the reliance on Indian news agencies (PTI and UNI), and newspapers' correspondents had increased to a higher proportion of 19.7 per cent and 17.9 per cent respectively.

In respect of the geographic regions, Ahmed's analysis had shown that north America followed by Western Europe and South Asia had the largest share of foreign news in all years of the study except in 1971, In that year, South Asian news topped the list as East Pakistan's struggle for independence had intensified resulting in the third Indo-Pak war and the liberation of East Pakistan as the sovereign state of Bangladesh. On account of these reasons, Pakistan had the highest salience in 1971. In the rest of the study periods, the US had the highest share in the foreign news of Indian newspapers followed by the UK and Pakistan. The salience of other countries such as USSR, China, Sri Lanka, Japan, France, and Spain fluctuated widely. Most developing countries figured when they were in a crisis of one or the other kind.

Study Objectives

In the backdrop of the studies reviewed, the present study⁶ was conceived to revisit foreign news in Indian newspapers in 2016 and compare it to what it was 30 years ago, in 1986. Specifically, the study sought to examine changes, if any, in the (1) dependence of Indian newspapers for foreign news on the TNNAs, Indian news agencies, newspapers' correspondents and other sources in 2016 as compared to 1986; and (2) salience of different countries in the news spectrum of Indian newspapers in 2016 as compared to 1986.

Methodology

To realise the study objectives, foreign news data relating to 1986 was drawn from Ahmed's study (1992) which was based on the content analysis of four leading English dailies – *The Hindu* (Chennai edition), *The Indian Express* (New Delhi edition), *The Times of India* (Mumbai edition) and *The Statesman* (Kolkata edition). Foreign news content in these four dailies in 2016 was analysed following the methodological protocols of Ahmed's (1992) study in respect of the sampling procedure, unit of analysis, operational definition of foreign news and its categories, and the base of analysis.

Accordingly, in 2016, each of the four dailies was analysed for two composite weeks⁷. The first composite week of six days (excluding Sunday) was drawn from the first six months of 2016, and the second composite week was constituted from the remaining six months. The unit of analysis was a foreign news item defined as a news item originating outside and within India and dealing with foreign events, issues, personalities, relations between among nations, and international organisations such as UN and its bodies, NAM, International Monetary fund, and the like. The analysis covered all generic categories such as straight news items, editorials, features, opinion columns, reader's comments, as well as pictures and caricatures on international events and subjects presented as independent items. The foreign news items were read more than once to place them in the categories of geographic regions, countries, and sources of news. Frequency count of the news items was the base of analysis.

Before examining the foreign news spectrum in respect of the study objectives, it must be noted that news programming practices vary from one newspaper to another based on their editorial policies vis-a-vis the needs and expectations of their readers, the prevailing socio-political climate in their home country, and the size of the newspaper. The larger the size of the newspaper, higher will be the news content. The selection and display of news on pages rests on the news values or factors which were determined first by Galtung and Ruge (1965) and subsequently reframed by several other scholars (Dupree 1971;

Robinson and Sparkes 1976; Rosengren 1977; Peterson, 1979; Nnaemeka & Richstad 1980; Kariel & Rosenvall, 1984; Ahern, 1984; Wu, 2000, and Harcup & O'Neill, 2001). The news factors fall into two broad categories: Intrinsic factors and extrinsic factors. The intrinsic factors are the inherent properties of news such as importance, sensationalism, prominence, conflict, negativity, timeliness, and proximity. The extrinsic factors are the extra-media determinants such as news-making countries' economic status, geographical and cultural proximity, colonial ties, and political ideology. These factors, either independently or in combination, serve as the yardstick in the selection and display of the foreign news in news media.

Analysis and Findings

The analysis revealed that the quantity of foreign news in the sampled dailies was not similar in 1986 and 2016. In 1986, as detailed in Table 1, *The Indian Express* stood first with the highest number of foreign news items (380) and the *Times of India* ranked fourth with the smallest quantity of 275 items. In 2016, their positions had reversed: *The Times of India* topped with 651 foreign news items and *The Indian Express* ranked fourth with 387 items. *The Hindu* ranked second, and *The Statesman* was third in both the periods.

Table 1: Foreign News Quantity in Sampled Dailies in 1986 and 2016

Newspapers	Number of Foreign News Items		Per cent Increase
	1986	2016	
The Times of India	275	651	136.7
The Statesman	317	514	62.1
The Hindu	279	457	63.7
The Indian Express	380	387	1.8
Total	1251	2009	60.6

More importantly, there was an increase in the quantity of foreign news in the study newspapers individually and cumulatively in 2016 as compared to 1986. Individually, the highest increase was in *The Times of India* wherein the number of foreign news items had risen from 275 items in 1986 to 651 items in 2016, a staggering 136.7 per cent increase. In *The Hindu* and *The Statesman*, the per cent of the increase was relatively similar, 63.7 per cent and 62.1 per cent respectively. In *The Indian Express*, the increase in 2016 was a nominal of 1.68 per cent. The cumulative increase was 60.6 per cent as the foreign news quantity in four newspapers had increased to a high of 2009 items in 2016 as against 1251 in 1986. Such a high coverage of foreign events and issues suggests that Indian newspapers attached much higher importance to foreign matters in 2016 than in 1986.

Dependence on TNNAs

The first objective of the study was to examine the changes in the dependence of Indian newspapers on the TNNAs, Indian news agencies, newspapers' correspondents and other sources in 2016 as compared to 1986. The analysis yielded encouraging results. As detailed in Table 2, the collective share of TNNAs in the foreign news spectrum of the sample dailies had declined from 44.3 per cent in 1986 to 32.5 per cent in 2016. Individually, the share of FPI had increased from 10.1 per cent in 1986, 13.9 per cent in 2016. The share of Reuters, AP and UPI had decreased in 2016. Likewise, DPA of Germany and Koyodo of Japan, which had a nominal share in 1986, had lost their significance in 2016. At the same time, a couple of new sources such as *The Independent* daily of the UK, *New York Times News Service*, *The Economist* of London, Bloomberg, Getty Images and Graphic News had provided 150 items in 2016.

Table 2: Foreign News Sources in 1986 and 2016

Foreign News Sources	1986		2016	
	N	%	N	%
TNNAs				
Reuters	214	17.1	200	10.0
AP	195	15.6	164	8.2
AFP	126	10.1	279	13.9
UPI	19	1.5	9	0.4
TNNAs' Total	554	44.3	652	32.5
Other Sources of Developed World				
DPA	25	2.0	0	0
Koyodo	12	0.9	0	0
Other	20	1.6	150	7.4
Indian Sources				
PTI	147	11.7	306	15.2
UNI	99	8.0	0	0
PTI, UNI Total	246	19.7	306	15.2
ANI	-	-	20	1.0
IANS	-	-	20	1.0
Newspapers' Correspondents/ Columnist	224	17.9	417	20.8
Indian Sources Total	470	37.6	763	39.1
Other Sources				
NANAP	17	1.4	-	-
Tanjug	17	1.4	-	-
Bernamea	3	0.2	-	-
TASS	2	0.2	-	-
Xinhua	15	1.2	5	0.2
Readers' letters	8	0.6	23	1.1
Multiple Sources	17	1.4	144	(7.2)
Sources Not Cited	91	7.3	272	(13.5)
TOTAL	1251	100.0	2009	100.0

In 2016, Indian sources had emerged as the principal providers of foreign news as their share had increased to 39.1 per cent as against TNNAs' share of 32.5 per cent. Among the Indian sources, the correspondents of Indian newspapers had retained their status of being the single largest provider of foreign news in both periods of the study: 17.9 per cent in 1986 and 20.8 per cent in 2016. No TNNAs was anywhere closer to the share of the correspondents of Indian newspapers. Similarly, in 2016, India's leading news agency PTI had emerged as the second-largest source of foreign news as its share of 15.2 per cent was higher than the share of any of the four TNNAs. Two other Indian agencies, Asian News International (ANI) and Indo-Asian News Service (IANS) had surfaced as foreign news providers for Indian dailies in 2016.

Another result that besieges attention relates to the NANAP in whose formation India and Yugoslavia had played an important role. In 1986, NANAP had a token salience. In 2016, NANAP's new avatar NNN was invisible. Similar was the fate of three agencies, namely, Tanjug of erstwhile Yugoslavia, Bernama of Malaysia, and TASS of Russia.

In sum, the principal sources of foreign news for Indian newspapers in 2016 were the newspapers' correspondents and Indian news agencies which together provided a higher proportion of foreign news than the four TNNAs. Thus, the TNNAs appear to have lost their decades-long position of being the principal source of foreign news for Indian dailies.

Dominance of a few Countries

The second objective of the study called for assessing the coverage of countries in 2016 as compared to 1986. The strength of the news making countries in the sample of newspapers had a slight increase from 94 in 1986 to 106 in 2016. From the perspective of the second objective, 15 countries which had the highest coverage in 1986 were compared with 15 top-ranking countries of 2016. As detailed in Table 3, the 15 top-ranking countries in both the years of the study accounted for about 66 per cent of foreign news.

In both the periods, the US, followed by UK and Pakistan, had the highest coverage in the foreign news content of Indian dailies. Together, these three nations had a share of 32.1 per cent in 1986 and a higher share of 38 per cent in 2016. Individually, the US had the highest share of 15.3 per cent in 1986 and 19.4 per cent in 2016. The US-made news in 2016 in the context of a wide range of subjects such as domestic politics, developments in science and technology, sports, international relations, trade and commerce, entertainment and celebrities, and crime/terrorism.

Table 3: Top 15 News Making Countries in 1986 and 2016

1986			2016		
Countries	N	%	Countries	N	%
1. US	192	15.3	1. US	390	19.4
2. UK	114	9.1	2. UK	213	10.6
3. Pakistan	97	7.7	3. Pakistan	161	8.0
4. USSR	94	7.5	4. Spain*	66	3.3
5. Sri Lanka	68	5.4	5. Australia	65	3.2
6. Bangladesh	41	3.3	6. France	64	3.1
7. China	38	3.0	7. China	61	3.0
8. South Africa	32	2.6	8. Bangladesh	55	2.7
9. Australia	28	2.2	9. Russia	43	2.1
10. Philippines*	28	2.2	10. FRG	42	2.1
11. France	27	2.1	11. Turkey*	41	2.0
12. Japan	21	1.7	12. Japan	39	1.9
13. Libya*	18	1.4	13. Sri Lanka	37	1.8
14. FRG	16	1.3	14. South Africa	37	1.8
15. South Korea*	16	1.3	15. Iraq*	36	1.8
Total	830	66.1	Total	1350	66.8

* countries figuring only in one year

Compared to the US, the share of UK was lower and had a marginal increase from 9.4 per cent in 1986 and 10.6 per cent in 2016. In respect of subjects, UK news was similar to those of the US, except that it had more sports news.

Pakistan, the third most salient nation in both years of the study, had a fractional increase in its share from 7.7 per cent in 1986 to 8 per cent in 2016. News of Pakistan in 2016 was confined to sports, crime/terrorism, bilateral relations, military matters and domestic politics.

The fourth-ranking country in 1986 was USSR, the leader of the Socialist block and a competitor to the US in geopolitics in the Cold War era – 1945 to 1991. Following its disintegration in 1991, Russia had emerged as the news leader of the erstwhile USSR. However, its coverage had shrunk significantly pushing it down to ninth rank among the 15 top-ranking countries in 2016. Likewise, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and South Africa had reduced coverage and ranking in 2016 as compared to 1986. While Russian news in 2016 primarily dealt with sports and international politics, Sri Lankan news related to sports and domestic politics. In 2016, the three major topics of Bangladesh news were crime arising out of religious activism, sports and domestic politics. Most of the South African news items dealt with sports.

Three other countries, namely France, Australia, FRG had a slightly higher coverage in 2016. The focus of the coverage was restricted to a few topics. In 2016, sports was the dominant topic in the news of Australia and FRG, whereas France made news in the context of sports and 2015 terrorist attack on Paris.

Besides, the US, UK and Pakistan, two other countries which had consistent ranking were China and Japan, though with low share. While China ranked seventh with a low share of 3 per cent in 1986 as well as in 2016, Japan ranked twelfth as its share was a mere 1.7 per cent in 1986 and 1.9 per cent in 2016.

In the list of top 15 news making countries, only 12 had figured in both the years. While the Philippines, Libya and South Korea had figured in 1986, Spain, Turkey and Iraq had appeared in 2016. Spain made news in 2016, in the context of sports events. Turkey was in the news on account of its political turmoil and the failed coup attempt by a section of its military. The news of Iraq related to terror-related events and issues.

In sum, the results clearly show that there was not any drastic change in the coverage of various countries in 2016, as compared to 1986. In both the periods, the news of US, the superpower of the world dominated the foreign news content in Indian newspapers, followed by the UK, the second most powerful nation and Pakistan, India's opposing neighbour. The rest of the countries irrespective of their development status and stature in geopolitics had low coverage which accentuated when they had domestic and socio-political turbulences, crime and terrorist activities in their home regions, and when they were involved in sports events of global importance.

Conclusions

The study examined the dependency of Indian newspapers on the TNNAs for foreign news and the salience of different countries in foreign news content in 2016 as compared to what it was 30 years ago, in 1986. The study findings unambiguously point out to an interrelated change in the dependency on the TNNAs and Indian news sources. The interrelated change is that the four TNNAs are no longer the principal source of foreign news for Indian dailies. That position now belongs to the collective of Indian news sources comprising of the correspondents of Indian newspapers including their columnists and the Indian news agencies. Of these Indian news sources, the correspondents and columnists continue to maintain their position of being the single largest provider of foreign news. Their contribution to the foreign news spectrum of Indian dailies is far higher than any of the four TNNAs. These changes indeed are welcome developments in realising the goals of the new world information and communication order. However, these changes cannot be solely attributed

to NWICO debates and the measures taken by UNESCO and Nonaligned countries to strengthen the media systems and the news agencies of developing countries. The reason is that a progressive decrease in the dependency of Indian newspapers on the TNNAs was in evidence in studies conducted in the 1960s by Salamore (1975), in 1907s by UNESCO (1985), and in 1970s and 1980s by Yadava, (1984), and Ahmed (1992). Hence, a progressive reduction in the dependency of Indian newspapers on the TNNAs can best be attributed to their increased reliance on Indian sources for foreign news.

In respect of the second objective, the conclusion is that the coverage of different countries in Indian newspapers has not changed since 1986. Among the countries, the US remains the most reported country, and the UK gets the second-highest coverage followed by Pakistan. In all probability, these three countries would retain a high salience in the foreign news spectrum of Indian newspapers in the years ahead as both the US and the UK are likely to maintain the preeminent positions in geopolitics, and global economy. Pakistan too will be in focus of Indian media as Indo-Pak relations remain plagued by hostility and suspicion.

Endnotes

1. The issues of imbalances in international news flow were discussed in UNESCO from 1972 onwards during the debates on two media-related declarations based on the resolutions moved by the Soviet Union in the 17th General Conference of UNESCO in 1972. The first resolution called for a Declaration on the Guiding Principles in the Use of Satellite Broadcasting for the Free Flow of Information, the Spread of Education and Cultural Exchange. The Declaration which contained a provision that countries broadcasting via satellite should obtain the prior consent of nations receiving the broadcast was approved with 55 in favour, seven against and 22 abstentions. The second resolution called upon the UNESCO Director-General to prepare a declaration on the principles governing the use of mass media for strengthening peace and international understanding which came to be known as Mass Media Declaration (MMD). Irreconcilable arguments and discussions on the MMD drafts continued in every biennial General Assembly of UNESCO, from 1972 to 1978. The developing countries raised the demand for a new international information order in the midst of the debates on a draft of the MMD in the 19th session of the UNESCO General Conference, held in 1976.

2. The strength of NANAP participants grew from 12 countries in 1975 to 87 at the end of 1984. In the subsequent decade, it lost its vigour and relevance. In 2006, it was renamed as Non-Aligned Movement News Network (NNN). Presently, NNN is an Internet-based news exchange mechanism hosted by Malaysia's national news agency Bernama.
3. The US withdrew from UNESCO in 1984, followed by the United Kingdom and Singapore in 1985 only to re-join a few years later. The US rejoined in 1997, the UK in 2003 and Singapore in 2007.
4. Some such studies conducted in the early decades of the 20th century were: a study of the news of Russian Revolution in New York Times between 1917-20 by Lippman and Charles (1920), status of foreign news in 40 American morning dailies by Woodward (1930), Heindel's (1939) study of foreign news in British press, and Kriesberg's (1946) study of Soviet news in the *New York Times*.
5. Schramm and his associates had analysed 14 dillies from nine countries, namely, India, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, South Korea, Singapore and the Philippines.
6. The present study is a part of the present author's Emeritus Fellowship project (2017 -2019) funded by the University Grants Commission of India.
7. In analysing the content of newspaper(s), researchers use either a composite week and a continuous week, or two composite weeks, excluding Sundays. The two composite week technique outlined by Stempel (1952) and Jones and Carter (1959) has been followed by several other researchers such as Budd, Thorpe and Donohew (1967), Liu and Gunaratne (1972), Vilanilam (1977), Gunaratne (1982), and Riffe et al. (1993). This technique gives equal representation to each day of the week (Monday through Saturday) and each week and month of the chosen year.

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