

Reporting Kashmir: Sourcing Pattern in National and Regional Press

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Abstract

Journalists serve as mediators of reality, shaping the narrative surrounding various issues and events. Oftentimes, conflicting interests and perspectives become intertwined with the reporting process, leading to divergent interpretations (Ting Lee & C. Maslog, 2005, Fowler, Roger, 1991)). The Kashmir conflict provides a noteworthy case that contributes to the ongoing discourse on the media's impartiality, objectivity, and fairness in reporting conflicts. This study examines the news sourcing practices employed by national and regional newspapers when reporting Kashmir conflict. Specifically, the study focuses on the coverage of the Times of India, The Hindu- two national newspapers and Greater Kashmir, and Rising Kashmir - two regional newspapers from Kashmir, with an emphasis on their portrayal of the killing of Burhan Wani - a young militant leader- and its aftermath in 2016. Employing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the primary research methodology, this investigation delves into the sourcing patterns utilized by these newspapers. The findings of this study uncover noteworthy disparities between national and regional newspapers regarding the prioritization and utilization of sources for news collection. While national newspapers appear to assign greater importance to official sources that offer a favorable perspective on New Delhi's Kashmir policy, exhibiting a lack of critical evaluation, regional newspapers from Kashmir predominantly rely on the viewpoints of local residents and non-official actors, reflecting a greater sensitivity to the local context and divergent perspectives surrounding the conflict.

Keywords

News sourcing, Framing, Lapdog theory, critical discourse theory

Introduction

The media frequently exhibits a tendency to prioritize specific narratives while disregarding alternative viewpoints, thus shaping public perception of conflicts. A range of factors, including political, economic, and ideological considerations, influences this inclination. Government perception plays a pivotal role in determining the nature of media coverage of a conflict. For instance, if a government portrays a conflict as a "war against terrorists," as exemplified by the Bush administration's description of its invasion of Saddam's Iraq, mainstream media outlets are likely to align with the

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government's perspective and contribute to the formation of a narrative that fosters public support for the continuation of the conflict, regardless of its tragic consequences, including civilian casualties.

Corporate media organizations, despite purporting to adhere to professional principles and ethical values, often accord prominence to the views and concerns of the elite while disregarding those of marginalized and oppressed groups, particularly when the latter contradict the former (Fairclough, 1998). The lapdog theory elucidates these media practices.

The Indian media, in general, does not consistently exhibit a similar approach when reporting on issues of a similar nature. Various elements, such as official policies, exert influence on the media's coverage of certain issues, particularly armed conflicts involving the state and security forces. The perception and narrative construction of specific political issues and developments by government authorities significantly shape their media coverage, rendering them less independent and often impeding their ability to maintain objectivity and fairness. In light of these circumstances, an important question arises regarding how the media, particularly in democratic societies, navigate the complex task of covering multifaceted issues. The coverage of the Kashmir conflict by Indian media serves as a valuable case study for examining the intricate behavior of the media in reporting on such politically charged developments.

On June 14, 2018, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights released a report on the human rights situation in Kashmir. This landmark report, the first of its kind issued by a UN body, called for an "international inquiry" into multiple instances of rights abuses. It represents a significant milestone in the international monitoring of the situation in Kashmir, a conflict that has engendered extensive debate. The ongoing and violent events associated with the conflict have resulted in the loss of tens of thousands of lives, including armed forces personnel, civilians, and militants.

Situation in Kashmir

The current state of affairs in Kashmir, as reported by various regional, national, and international media outlets, along with documented accounts from human rights groups, reveals a situation that deviates from normalcy. A pivotal moment in the recent history of the region occurred with the death of Burhan Wani in July 2016. Wani, a leader of Hizbul Mujahideen, an armed group primarily composed of local Kashmiri youth engaged in combat with Indian armed forces in the area. Subsequent to Wani's demise, the region

witnessed a series of significant developments. Mass protests unfolded, with thousands of individuals participating and engaging in clashes with government forces. Tragically, numerous civilians lost their lives or sustained severe injuries during these protests, while security personnel faced targeted attacks both on and off duty. Furthermore, the incident served as a catalyst, attracting more youth to join the ranks of militancy. The gravity of the situation prompted the United Nations to initiate an investigation into the human rights conditions prevailing in the region, with a specific focus on the period subsequent to Burhan Wani's killing.

Within the country, the media often overlooks or fails to present the nuanced complexities inherent in the Kashmir conflict. Certain perspectives consistently dominate the narrative, while others are routinely neglected. Joseph (2000) aptly observes that although a considerable number of Indian media reports on Kashmir may find themselves on the front pages, these reports tend to be "mere quotations of official speeches and press releases or straightforward news lacking any form of analysis." The sources for such reports primarily comprise press releases, statements, and speeches from government officials and leaders of mainstream Indian political parties. In the relentless pursuit of maintaining the status quo in Kashmir, the casualty, as Joseph (2000) asserts, is often the veracity of the facts and the tenets of independent and principled journalism. Indian media outlets, in general, are accused of manipulating and misrepresenting the events and realities unfolding in Kashmir.

Polarised Media Coverage

Any comparison of the coverage of the developments in Kashmir in regional, national and international media would reveal how controversial and polarised the issue is. After Burhan Wani was killed, for example, the Times of India, India's leading English language newspaper identified him as a "tech-savvy face of home-grown terrorism in Kashmir", while The Hindu, another major Indian English daily, described him as "Hizbul Mujahideen commander ... the architect of the social-media driven psychological warfare in Kashmir". But the newspapers that are based in Kashmir told a different story. The Greater Kashmir and Rising Kashmir, two leading English language newspapers in Kashmir region, termed him "top Hizb-ul-Mujahideen commander ... the face of new-age militancy in Kashmir" and "the face of Kashmir militancy and most wanted Hizbul Mujahideen commander", respectively. International media, however, had a different perspective. For example, The New York Times and The Guardian, two widely regarded international newspapers, in their reports about the killing of Burhan Wani and related incidents, called

Burhan as “a top separatist militant killed by Indian forces” and “the top rebel commander in the disputed Himalayan region”. Al Jazeera, another international news organisation, called Burhan “rebel fighter”.

So, for different media, Burhan had different identity: commander, fighter, militant, rebel, separatist, and terrorist. And this sharp contrast among different news organisations in their reports on the killing of Burhan in fact gives a glimpse of hugely contradicting narratives on Kashmir in media – some of them come close to propaganda and some has nothing to do with the reality.

The current study attempts to find out the sourcing pattern followed to cover Kashmir conflict by Indian national and Kashmiri regional newspapers after the killing of Burhan Wani. The study is based on the reportage of four daily newspapers: Times of India, The Hindu, Greater Kashmir and Rising Kashmir.

Lapdog Theory of Journalism

Different perspectives exist regarding the functioning of media within a society, particularly in relation to its interaction with the government. While the "watchdog" theory contends that the press serves as a critical monitor of democratic processes, journalism scholars espouse the "lapdog theory," which posits that the media caters to the interests of societal elites. Richardson summarizes the lapdog theory with three assumptions (2005). Firstly, media lack independent power and depend on government, corporate, and elite sources for information and economic support. Secondly, journalists exhibit limited understanding and interest in the opinions, attitudes, and information needs of groups outside the elite establishment. Finally, due to the preceding assumptions, news media consistently display a biased and argumentative stance that favors social and corporate authorities to the extent that they appear subservient to them.

The lapdog theory provides a pragmatic lens through which to view journalism. It asserts that mainstream media aligns with the interests of the elite and capitalizes on the disadvantages and inequalities faced by marginalized segments of society. Media outlets are disinclined to amplify the voices of the lower class, particularly when those voices contradict the interests of the elite. Even if an alternative idea is factually grounded and significant, if it challenges the dominant narrative, it is likely to be either disregarded or presented in a distorted manner by the mainstream media. This theoretical framework holds significance for this study, and the Kashmir conflict, the subject of examination, offers a suitable context for analyzing the applicability of the theory within the Indian media landscape.

Furthermore, the lapdog theory highlights the lack of understanding and interest among journalists regarding the opinions, attitudes, and information requirements of groups beyond the societal elite. In the context of Kashmir conflict coverage, one can observe this trend as journalists heavily rely on official and elite sources, affording little to no importance to the perspectives of other groups in the region.

Lapdog theory further talks about a situation where the absence of both understanding and interest among the journalists in the opinions, attitudes and information requirements of any other group other than those of society's elite. Regarding the coverage of Kashmir conflict, one may see this trend among the journalists as most of the coverage significantly relies on the official and elite sources, giving little or no importance to the voices of any other group in the region.

In her research paper titled "Kashmir, Human Rights and the Indian Press", Teresa Joseph (2000) explains how the "media are evidently an integral part of the political power structure, reflecting the priorities and preoccupations of the dominant power groupings, and thereby supporting and perpetuating the basic norms and values of the dominant order and the business interests of the media." She further adds that "issues ostensibly having a bearing on national security are usually portrayed from a state-security perspective, relegating the priorities, concerns and sufferings of the people to invisibility."

The current study, a critical analysis of the pattern of news sourcing in respect of post-Burhan developments, is expected to contribute to the critical understanding of the functioning of Indian media. It is observed that many reports on Kashmir betray the truth and the interests of Kashmiri population, as mainstream media in general focuses the official version of the events, instead of strictly adhering to truthfulness and other journalistic principles that may not satisfy the authorities.

Methods

In order to examine the characteristics of the media coverage of the Kashmir conflict, a close, critical reading has been applied on the data selected for the study – five each copies of four newspapers. While two of these four newspapers have circulation across India (Times of India and The Hindu), the other two are the newspapers that are published from Kashmir (Greater Kashmir and The Rising Kashmir). Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as primary research method, this study critically looks at the sourcing pattern that these newspapers follow while covering Kashmir conflict. This study

focuses on the coverage of the conflict following the killing of Burhan Wani, a popular militant leader whom India officially designated as terrorist. CDA is an inter-disciplinary research area in which linguists and (media) textual analysts like Norman Fairclough, Teun A. Van Dijk, Roger Fowler and Ruth Wodak are generally considered as prominent figures. Van Dijk (1998, 2001) defines CDA as: Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.

In this context, significance of sourcing process in news reporting is to be conceptualized. The people, places and organizations that supply journalists with ideas and general information (and often quotes) for potential news stories and features are known as sources, some of which may be routine points of contact, while others may be one-offs (Carvalho, A., 2010). It can be a sensitive and tricky relationship between the media and governments whose informational purposes might be beyond the objective needs of those it is supplying a form of propaganda which has become known as spin. Well-written press releases or public relations hand-outs could also influence the public discourse.

The Case Under Study

Burhan Wani was a member of Hizbul Mujahideen, a militant organisation whose membership was constituted predominantly by young Kashmiri men. While Indian government considered Burhan Wani as a dangerous terrorist who needs to be eliminated, Burhan Wani was popular among local Kashmiri population, many of whom found in him a symbol of resistance against unpopular Indian rule in the region.

Popularity of Burhan, who was active online unlike several other militants, was particularly high among local youth. Burhan was eventually killed by Indian government forces on July 08, 2016. The killing resulted widespread anti-India protest in Kashmir, leading to more casualties and destruction.

The conflict in Kashmir witnessed a new phase following the killing of Burhan, as huge number of civilians participated in the protests that followed the killing. In attempts by Indian government forces to control the angry protestors, several civilians lost their lives, and several others received serious injuries. The use of pellet guns, which were particularly lethal to eyes, sparked separate criticism, both in Kashmir and beyond, on the handling of the situation by government of India.

Sampling and Data Collection

The researcher collected the primary data through non-random sample method. The researcher selected the copies of the four newspapers published on five consecutive Saturdays immediately after the killing of Burhan. These days include July 09, 2019, the day after the killing of Burhan. The reason behind this 'Saturday selection' is that Kashmiris often plan their street protests on Fridays. Even though one can see protests on other days, Friday protests, often organised after 'Juma', an Islamic joint prayer held during Friday noon, attract more people. Therefore, one can perhaps say that Fridays have a special status in the history of civilian protests in Kashmir.

Though the researcher collected altogether 20 issues (five copies each of the four newspapers selected), the analysis mainly focused on a total of 40 pages (two pages from each copies). This decision, which may not be correct in some ways, including that Kashmir newspapers give coverage to the conflict-related stories in more than two pages, has been made to keep a balance between different newspapers selected for the study. For the Times of India and The Hindu, the coverage of the topic, when they cover the issue at all, was for maximum two pages: the main page and one inside page. This inside page coverage often can be seen as a continuation of the front page news stories.

But for the Kashmiri newspapers – Greater Kashmir and Rising Kashmir – which sometimes devoted the entire front page exclusively for the stories related to the conflict, the coverage of the conflict almost always go beyond two pages. Hence, the researcher's decision to confine the analysis on two pages each, for keeping a balance among different newspapers studied, in effect omits a portion of the coverage in a section of the newspapers studied.

This study focuses on the news stories, and doesn't include the study of the editorials, articles, and other opinion pieces. The copies were collected from both their print and online archives.

Profile of The Newspapers

The researchers selected four newspapers for the current analysis: Times of India, The Hindu, Greater Kashmir and Rising Kashmir. Times of India (TOI or ToI) is the largest circulated English language newspaper in India. Among all the Indian newspapers, according to the records of India's Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC) as of June 2018, ToI, a Mumbai-based broadsheet, is ranked third, behind two Hindi language newspapers, with average qualifying sales of 2.82 million copies.

The Hindu, a Chennai-based broadsheet, according to the ABC data, is India's the second largest English language newspaper, after the ToI, with average qualifying sales of 1.39 million copies. Greater Kashmir and Rising Kashmir, on the other hand, are two newspapers that are circulated and read most among the English language newspapers published from Kashmir. Both the newspapers are based in Kashmir's Srinagar.

The Reporting of Burhan's Killing on First Day – July 09, 2016

Burhan Wani, a young militant leader associated with Hizbul Mujahideen, was killed by Indian government forces on July 08, 2016, in Tral, Kashmir. The killing, considered as significant by everyone who have stake in Kashmir conflict, was reported prominently in Kashmiri newspaper. The killing has also become an important news in Indian national media as well, though the tone of the coverage, sourcing and construction pattern, and narrative style followed by the national media were either partly or completely different from those followed by Kashmiri regional newspaper.

From the newspapers selected for the present study, all the newspaper except The Hindu covered the news of the Burhan's killing on the next day, i.e. July 09. The Hindu, however, covered the developments on the days that followed.

Sourcing pattern

On the first day of Burhan's killing, July 09, the sourcing pattern adopted by different newspapers suggest that there is a scope of the analysis using Gans' (1980) 'the known' and 'the unknown' binary. While 'the knowns' refers to, according to Gans, elites and official sources, like heads of government, ministers and deputy ministers, official spokespersons, leaders of NGOs, experts and celebrities, 'the unknowns' are, on the other hand, he persons who are not at the higher hierarchy, but rather ordinary people or non-elites who become relevant sources because of their connections with certain news events, like as eyewitnesses, victims and families of victims.

Times of India, on July 09, when the newspapers first reported the killing of Burhan, a Kashmiri militant who was popular among the local populace in Kashmir, largely used official sources, or 'the known' sources, for its coverage. While the killing was celebrated, mourned and criticised by different corners, the Times of India apparently took a position similar to Indian official stand, justifying the killing.

In its report the newspaper used official sources, including J&K police chief K Rajendra and another unnamed police officer. It also used separatist Syed

Ali Geelani, but with visibly lesser significance. Times of India, strikingly, did not report anything quoting locals or eye witnesses – ‘the unknowns’.

Both the Greater Kashmir and the Rising Kashmir, on the other hand, used both official and non-official sources for its coverage, which included the lead story of the day and some related stories. Both ‘the knowns’ and ‘the unknowns’ were present in Kashmiri newspapers. While the main story of the Greater Kashmir relied on the police sources for the specifics of the killing and the circumstances that led to the killing, the same story went ahead with independent reporting on how the locals responded to the killing. “As soon as the word about Burhan’s death in the Kokernag gunfight spread, people in Kokernag, Anantnag, Kulgam, Kaimoh, Khudwani, Redwani and Bijbehara instantly took to streets, held pro-freedom demonstrations and clashed with forces. Scores of mosques quickly reverberated with pro-freedom slogans while people used Public Address Systems to raise pro-azadi, pro-Pakistan, pro-Burhan and anti-India slogans, witnesses told Greater Kashmir,” the GK report said. Such people-centric reporting, relying on ‘the unknown’ sources, was missing in the Times of India coverage.

Similar to the Greater Kashmir coverage, the Rising Kashmir in its lead story conveyed both the official account of the killing and a rather independent description on what response the killing evoked in Burhan’s own society. This independent or firsthand reporting, relying on ordinary people or ‘the unknown’, is significant as it gives a record of what happened/ is happening on the ground after the major incident – the killing of Burhan. In one such account, the Rising Kashmir reported the exact slogans chanted by locals as a tribute to Burhan. Greater Kashmir approached Burhan’s neighbours to narrate the nuances of his life.

Unlike the Times of India, both the Greater Kashmir and the Rising Kashmir also prepared separate stories based on the statements by Kashmiris, like Hurriyat leaders, who are important players in the context.

Sources Used by Different Newspapers

Following is a list of the sources used by Times of India, Greater Kashmir and Rising Kashmir:

Table No.: 04:01. Table Title: List of Sources - July 09, 2016

Times of India	J&K police chief K Rajendra, other police officers, video clips of Burhan and his Twitter handle, ‘separatist’ Syed Ali Geelani
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<p>Greater Kashmir</p>	<p>Police, J&K's Director General of Police, -- K Rajendra Kumar, Chief of Laskher-e-Toiba -- Mehmood Shah, Srinagar district administration, Burhan's neighbours and friends, local witnesses, Burhan's father, Syed Ali Geelani -- Hurriyat (G), Mirwaiz Umar -- Hurriyat (M), Yasin Malik – JKLF, Aasiya Andrabi -- Dukhtaran-e-Millat, Burhan's video messages</p>
<p>Rising Kashmir</p>	<p>Police sources, journalist's firsthand reporting, DGP, Chairmen of both factions of Hurriyat Conference -- Syed Ali Geelani and Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, Muzaffar Wani -- Burhan's father, official documents, Burhan's video clips and audio messages, Board of School Education</p>

The pattern of the sourcing adopted by different newspapers can be understood from the list given above.

Perhaps one could argue that the ToI used 'the unknown' sources like Burhan's old videos and tweets as well as the Kashmiri separatist/pro-freedom leader Syed Ali Geelani. But here, an understanding of Van Dijk's (1998) 'ideological square' may be helpful to understand the nature of these sources.

'Ideological square' constitutes good 'Us' and bad 'Them'. It includes: 1. Express/emphasize information that is positive about Us; 2. Express/emphasize information that is negative about Them; 3. Suppress/de-emphasize information that is positive about Them; 4. Suppress/de-emphasize information that is negative about Us. These four moves, according to Van Dijk, play a significant role in the broader contextual strategy of 'positive self-presentation' and 'negative other-presentation'.

According to the Times of India coverage, both Burhan and Syed Ali Geelani belong to 'Them'. Within the larger discourse of ToI about the topic, the inclusion of Burhan and Geelani as sources helped the newspaper to express negative information and suppress positive information about 'Them'.

Sources used by Greater Kashmir and Rising Kashmir, as shown in the list above, were diverse and included both 'the known' and 'the unknown'.

Killings, Counter Statements and More– July 16, 2016

Burhan's killing caused continuous and massive civilian protests across Kashmir. On July 15, the first Friday after the killing, people participated in protest events. Fresh killings took place and Indian and Pakistani leaders, among others, made statements on the ongoing violence. Different newspapers' coverage of these developments were however different, and hence being analysed below.

Sourcing pattern

By July 16, a week after the killing and subsequent protests, Kashmir was still witnessing civilian unrest, and clashes with security forces resulted in more killings. Within a week of protests, which followed the Burhan's killing, more than 40 Kashmiris have lost their lives. The United States, Pakistan and the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) responded to the cycle of violence.

- An overview on the coverage done by the four newspapers on July 16 shows that there were the following developments at the time.
- Two more civilians killed in firing by security forces, death toll passed 40
- Kashmiri parties called for extending shut down for three days
- Violent clashes between protestors and forces reported in South Kashmir, peaceful protests in areas of Jammu region
- Delegates from the Opposition, National Conference, meets the Governor
- J&K govt. to High Court: 1882 civilians injured by the protests
- Indian Home Minister Rajnath Singh reviews Kashmir situation
- More troops deployed to secure military installation in Kashmir
- Kashmir tourism hit by the unrest
- The United States commented on the situation
- Multiple responses from Pakistan, including its Prime Minister and Defence Minister. It's move at the UN for an inquiry
- India counters Pak statement on Kashmir
- OIC condemns civilian killings

There were clear differences on which newspaper carried and omitted which story. Stories critical of Indian security forces and Indian policies on Kashmir attracted lesser attention by Times of India, whereas such stories were given prominence by Kashmiri regional newspapers. However, this doesn't mean that Kashmiri newspapers didn't give importance to official Indian stand.

In terms the use of various sources, there were no visible manipulation. Most of the stories, like response from the United States and Pakistan or India's counter to Pak response, were dependent on one or two specific sources.

While most of the developments listed above were reported by the Greater Kashmir and the Rising Kashmir, two items appeared notably missing were the statements by the United States and the RSS.

Conclusions

A general idea being derived from the present study, on the news media coverage of the killing of Burhan Wani is that the news media discourse, particularly on a conflict with conflicting interests, cannot be the same across the news platforms. The difference is evident in, among other elements, the use of sources, news selection and construction pattern, and narrative style. One finds several contradictions on how the Kashmir conflict has been covered by Indian national and Kashmiri regional news organisations.

The killing of Burhan Wani considered as significant by everyone who have stake in Kashmir conflict. The killing was reported prominently in Kashmiri newspapers. The killing has also become an important news story in Indian national media as well, though, as mentioned already, the tone of the coverage, sourcing and construction pattern, and narrative style followed by the national media were either partly or completely different from those followed by Kashmiri regional newspapers.

Indian national newspapers appeared to give prominence to official sources, like how the Times of India reported on the killing of Burhan Wani. While the killing was celebrated, mourned and criticised by different corners, the Times of India appeared to have taken a position similar to Indian official stand.

The study further shows that even when the Times of India uses the Kashmiri sources that challenge the official Indian version of the conflict, the use of those sources was being made to support the discourse the newspaper apparently already started to promote.

The trend we could observe in the sourcing patterns of national and regional newspapers regarding the coverage of the Kashmir issue can be attributed to several factors. National newspapers often have better access to official sources such as government officials, spokespersons, and official statements. As the Kashmir issue involves geopolitical complexities and sensitive security

matters, national newspapers may prioritize official sources to avoid potential legal or security risks. National newspapers often have established networks and correspondents in various government departments, agencies, and political circles. This enables them to receive information directly from these sources, which are considered reliable and credible for those outside the region of conflict. Regional newspapers, on the other hand, may have limited resources and rely more on local contacts and community networks to gather news. National newspapers tend to have a broader readership and cater to a more diverse audience across the country. They may prioritize providing a comprehensive overview of the Kashmir issue, including perspectives from government authorities and international actors. Regional newspapers, particularly those based in Kashmir, have a closer connection to the local community and may prioritize amplifying the voices and experiences of the people directly affected by the issue. Regional newspapers from Kashmir may have a stronger level of trust and credibility among the local population. Given the historical context and the complexity of the Kashmir issue, people in the region may feel more comfortable sharing their perspectives and experiences with local newspapers rather than national ones, which they may perceive as being distant and less attuned to their concerns.

The sourcing pattern allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the Kashmir issue, as national newspapers provide insights from official sources while regional newspapers capture the lived experiences and opinions of the local population. However, depending heavily on official sources may introduce a potential bias in national newspapers' coverage, as governments and authorities may have their own agendas or narratives to promote. In contrast, regional newspapers' reliance on local sources could help mitigate the influence of external biases and provide a more authentic representation of the local sentiment.

Yet another implication of the sourcing pattern found in the study is that regional newspapers' direct sourcing from local people empowers the voices of those directly affected by the Kashmir issue. It helps highlight the impact of policies and conflicts on the ground and can contribute to a more inclusive and participatory media landscape. Also, regional newspapers' sourcing pattern allows for a deeper understanding of the local context, cultural nuances, and historical background of the Kashmir issue. This can help bridge the gap between the national narrative and the ground realities, providing a more accurate portrayal of the situation.

It is important to note that while these trends and implications may be generally observed, there can be variations among different newspapers,

journalists, and specific coverage instances. Journalism is a dynamic field, and individual publications may employ diverse sourcing strategies based on their editorial policies, resources, and target audiences.

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