

# Periodic Research

## Dominant Narratives in Print Media: An Analysis

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#### Abstract

Media has been able to set a dialogue about different events and happenings that help to nurture ideologies and shape reality. These ideologies in turn have led to on-set of diverse range of discourses within media and these procedures interplay together to construct a definite discourse. Therefore, it can be said that media sets the agenda for the people and can lead to the development of a prominent discourse.

Within this context, Print Media discourse has tremendous scope for interactivity. It provides a platform for exchange of ideas and experiences. Saliency, agenda setting and gate-keeping of different news items over a period of time help in building a definite discourse.

Media content portray and reflect multiple discourses. These can vary from political, socio-cultural, to economic and entertainment. The discourses can also be multi-layered or even have a local, regional, national or international perspective. This study is an attempt to study the dominant discourse prevailing in print media and its representation by analyzing content of national and local dailies. The paper will identify, analyze and interpret the various discourses portrayed by print media and also the discourse presented by print media within the dominant frame.

**Keywords:** Discourse, Ideology, Power, Interactivity, Socio-cultural, Representation, Gate-keeping, Dominant discourse, Frame.

#### Introduction

Media have become a dominant social institution in contemporary society supplanting the influence of traditionally older institutions such as the education system, political systems and religion. Media attempts to mould the thinking process of readers, viewers and listeners, thereby contributing in building of public opinion. Hence media have a tremendous social responsibility.

Media has been able to set a dialogue about different events and happenings that help media organizations to nurture ideologies. These ideologies in turn have led to on-set of diverse range of discourses within media. Various kinds of media disseminate information to masses differently and create a multilayer discourses over that range of media-T.V, radio, print, internet etc.

#### Aim of the study

In order to ascertain multiple and multilayer discourses emanating from the content of print media, a definite approach of methodology was selected to achieve the specified objectives, selected for study. The study will serve as a base and motivation for new studies related to discourse analysis.

This study aims to delineate the distinctive theoretical and methodological features of different approaches by presenting a draft of the dominant discourses portrayed by print media. Multiple approaches have been undertaken to prove the pre-assumptions stated for the study. This involved both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

In this helpful analysis, representations constructed within a limited scope of meaning by different genres of print media and the discourses set by the newspapers of national and local reputation are dealt separately. This is to facilitate an individual focus on the themes identified for the discourses of these newspapers.

The study entails the policies of print media in shaping and portraying different discourses. The different news items of the newspapers were analyzed to get an overview of the dominant

discourses portrayed by the print media of national and local reputation.

The analysis entails studying the central policy texts of front page news stories and other news items in great detail. Each section of this research determines the influence of print media, ideology and different narratives of coverage as portrayed by the newspapers.

## Media discourse

Media discourse can be widely understood as any way in which the media-including news outlets, publishers, and others-frame certain issues and generates discussions among the public. In some sense, all media promotes some sort of discourse simply as a function of its essential nature.

In understanding media discourse as various means of communication, two primary types exist: written communication and spoken communication. Discourse refers to the manner in which individuals and groups communicate. At a deeper level, it may symbolize the systems of thoughts and beliefs that determine how individuals understand and interpret the world. Media discourse would include the various outlets that individuals in the media use, such as newspapers and magazines, television, radio, and the Internet. If media discourse is understood as the beliefs that guide media output, then principles like objectivity or ideological bias might describe it. (Mills Sarah 2000: 62)

## Media and the Dominant Discourse

Media is a conveyor belt of discourse. Discourses are spread by specific institutions and divide up the world in specific ways. The dominant discourses are understood by existing system of law, education and the media, and are in turn reinforced and reproduced, and less powerful discourses marginalized, misunderstood and ignored.

News related to various sectors-social, political, cultural and economics through a definite set of statements and words create altogether multilayer discourse in the same society amounting to different class of people (readers) but it should be clearly noted here that discourse is speech or writing seen from the point of view of the beliefs, values and categories which it embodies. These beliefs constitute a way of looking at the world, an organization or representation of experience and ideology in the neutral non-pejorative sense. Different modes of discourse encode different representations of experience; and the source of these representations is the communicative context within which the discourse is embedded. (Hawthorn, 1992)

Discourse is used to describe the way that language (and beyond) operates to produce meanings, that is the range of forms of representation, codes, conventions and habits of language that produce specific fields of culturally and historically located meanings. The dominant discourses are understood by existing system of law, education and the media, and are in turn reinforced and reproduced, and less powerful discourses marginalized, misunderstood and ignored.

## Media Discourse and Kashmir

Difference in point of view of different newspapers published within and outside state has paved way for different discourses in Kashmir through a regulated group of statements which combine with others in different predictable ways. These discourses are regulated by a set of rules which lead to the distribution and circulation of certain utterances and statements thus altering the discourse set previously. So in understanding the Discourse in a broad sense we should draw a line between reality and the discourse prevailing. Discourse should be seen as a system which structures the way that we perceive reality.

Media in Kashmir have been found to play a crucial role in shaping political life. The relationship between the Kashmir media and Kashmir politics is defined by a complicated sort of mutual dependence. Contemporary media of Kashmir covers politics extensively, and the print media relies on politics to fill much of its timely content. As politics is covered extensively by print media here, most of the regional political parties can be seen setting their own agendas, thereby starting their own newspapers and disseminating the content for their own greater common good.

News media has been used by different political entities in Kashmir to set the agenda of their political parties. Similarly, there have been many newspapers run by different political parties who try to set up their own agendas for the political discourse in Kashmir in order to influence public opinion.

There have been many prominent political discourses in Kashmir. Media has played its part in setting up the agendas for all the discourses including:

1. Political scenario of Kashmir.
2. Turmoil and Violence.
3. Development.
4. Governance.
5. Economy.

Print media in Kashmir has been able to set great discussions and debates over all the agendas mentioned above with politics being the dominant discourse. Political scenario includes both pro-politics .i.e. the mainstream politics of the state and anti-politics including separatism plus likewise elements of the state.

## Background

Discourse uses a number of literary and non-literary texts to illustrate how the term has been used. In a book namely "Discourse-a critical idiom" by Sarah mills, term discourse has been defined thoroughly and has been used in connection with other processes like constructivism and post constructivism. In this clear and helpful analysis, Sara Mills has provided a sense of the historical development of the term discourse as well as some straight-forward working definitions, as they are currently used within different disciplines.

The book tries to enquire the relationship between the text and the talk and highlights various sectors-social, political, cultural and economic through a definite set of statements and words create

altogether multilayer discourse in the same society amounting to different class of people (readers). It should be clearly noted here that discourse is speech or writing seen from the point of view of the beliefs, values and categories which the prevailing discourse embodies.

In their literary work on media discourse and its interaction with politics-Busch, Brigitta have focused on the politics, media and discourse. The whole article is divided into two parts-first part of this article discusses the correlations between media and politics and their historical perspective on developments that become visible in the media order, in conceptions of the public sphere, and in media theory more generally.

The second part focuses on approaches to the analysis of political discourse in media. The authors have aptly pointed that the given political field and the media field both undergo a process of rapid change, a flexible framework is needed, which is not based on fixed categories such as ownership or media genre and which establishes close connection between media texts and contexts of production and reception. The article therefore foregrounds approaches developed within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Teun A. Van Dijk in his study entitled "Media Content: The interdisciplinary Study of News as Discourse" have focused on the critical discourse analysis of the news media and the critical approach to the media. Discourse analysis accentuates the obvious, but as yet not fully explored fact that media messages are specific types of text and talk.

The book analyses the theories and methods of the new interdisciplinary field of discourse and lays emphasis on analysis that may be brought to bear in a more systematic and explicit account of the structures of media messages. It not only presents discourse analysis as a multi-disciplinary enterprise, but also relates its structural account to various properties of the cognitive and socio cultural context. The author further focuses on the production, reception, uses, and socio cultural functions of media discourse and deals briefly with such a broader study aspects of mass communication.

The article reads that though in media studies news is one of the most widely studied media forms yet the connection between media and politics has not been sufficiently investigate and no coherent theory that integrates media theories, political theory and social change has been developed so far.

## **Methodology**

For the purpose of this study, content analysis of the print media sources was carried out quantitatively to gather all the relevant information pertaining to different type of discourses present in the newspapers. The reference period for the study was from January-2014 to December -2014.

## **Sampling**

Since, It was not humanly possible to consider all the newspapers, therefore a representation sample of four newspapers which

includes two national and two local dailies was selected, which includes.

1. Times of India and The Hindu (National newspapers)
2. Greater Kashmir and Kashmir Times (Local newspapers)

According to the need, newspapers were categorized into national and local newspapers rendering to their place of publication. The two newspapers, i.e. TH and Tol are published from New-Delhi and the two local newspapers; i.e. GK and KT are published from Srinagar in Kashmir respectively. The newspapers published outside the state and with countrywide relevance are considered national and papers published and printed within the valley are considered regional, vernacular or local newspapers.

Multistage sampling was done to analyze and identify the different discourses portrayed by print media. A quantitative approach was adopted to study and analyze the different discourses portrayed by newspapers and to analyze and interpret dominant print media (newspapers) discourse related to Kashmir in two local and two national newspapers. A sample of four newspapers was selected-two nationals (TH & Tol) and two locals (GK & KT).

## **Quantitative Analysis**

The results of the quantitative analysis were numbers and percentages of the total news items. Quantitative technique was used to get an overview of the total magnitude of news items present in newspapers of national and local reputation. Quantitative approach makes use of the content analysis where emphasis is usually laid on numbers and percentages.

In order to study the discourses in the newspaper content it was observed that all the four newspapers (constituting the sample under study) carried multidimensional news items about different issues and incidents. Based on the nature of discourses, six main themes were identified for analysis as per the objectives specified for the study. The six themes that were identified include:

1. Political.
2. Social.
3. Culture.
4. Economics.
5. Violence.
6. Miscellaneous

## **Quantitative Analysis of the Content of National Dailies 'The Hindu (TH) and Times of India (Tol)**

In the period under study, i.e. one year (Jan 2014-Dec2014) a total of 84 editions of the national newspapers i.e. 'The Hindu' and 'Times of India' were selected. Among 84 editions of both papers, The Hindu comprised 50% and 'Times of India' comprised 50% of the total sample selected for the study. A total of fourteen editions were selected from each sub-period (four months) and the editions of the newspapers for the study were selected using multi-stage sampling. For each sub-period, two weeks were selected-a 'natural week' and another a 'constructed week'. A natural week consisted of seven consecutive days of a week and a composite week was

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constructed by randomly selecting seven systematic days of a week from each sub-period selected for study.

### Total News Items Published by The Hindu

For the time frame selected, The Hindu published items on different themes ranging from political, social to economic. With political theme being the dominant theme most of the items, that were published carried political news in one or the other way. In a total of 240 items published, the Hindu published 79 news items related to political issues. These include hard news items, editorials and opinion pieces. This was followed by news items concerning social issues. 55 items among total were of social importance. Mostly social issues included governance, corruption, scams, development issues, health etc.

Economy related items were also present up to a considerable part. Nearly 38 among total news items were of economic relevance. Different aspects of country's economy were portrayed by the paper including finance, investments, taxation, budget etc.

**Tabular Representation of all the News Items of TH**

Type	Political	Social	Culture	Economic	Violence	Miscellaneous
Hardnews	39	27	09	17	15	11
Editorials	14	09	03	08	04	04
Op-pieces	26	19	07	13	06	09
<b>Total</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>24</b>

### Total News Items Published by Times of India

Almost all the themes that were defined for analysis vary greatly in their magnitude and frequency in all the editions of the national daily-Times of India. Times of India vary greatly in extent of coverage than the Hindu. Among the total news items published by Times of India, news items of political nature constituted dominant part as around 83 items contained news of politics in or the other way. This was followed by news of social importance. At least, 53 news items portrayed news associated with people

News items concerning to violence also formed a major part of the news items published during the year. 25 among the total items comprised stories and news items concerning violence.

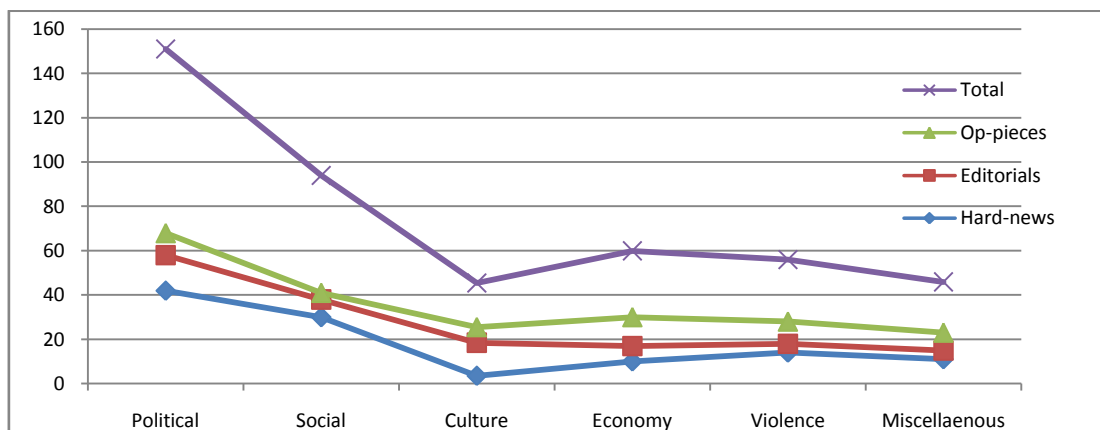
Other items included stories related to different topics and were put under a banner of miscellaneous theme. A total of 24 news items formed the miscellaneous part of the themes defined for study, thus forming a considerable part of the total coverage of the items and themes already defined. All the sub-periods that were selected during the time frame carried an evenly distributed scale of news items varying from political, social to miscellaneous. The news items carrying political items were maximum during the first and the second phase of time selected for study.

During the reference year selected for study, The Hindu published different themes in following order -Political, social, economic, violence, cultural and Miscellaneous.

directly, i.e. social news. This was followed by items pertaining to economics of the country and various issues related to it. In total 39 news items were of economical nature. Violence also formed a significant part. A total of 28 items contained news of violence of different kind. News items related to culture and miscellaneous theme were almost equal in number. As 20 of the total news identified for analysis formed cultural part and 23 of the total items formed miscellaneous part.

**Tabular Representation of all the News Items of Tol**

Type	Political	Social	Culture	Economic	Violence	Miscellaneous
Hardnews	42	30	10	10	14	11
Editorials	16	08	03	07	04	04
Op-pieces	25	15	07	13	10	08
<b>Total</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>23</b>



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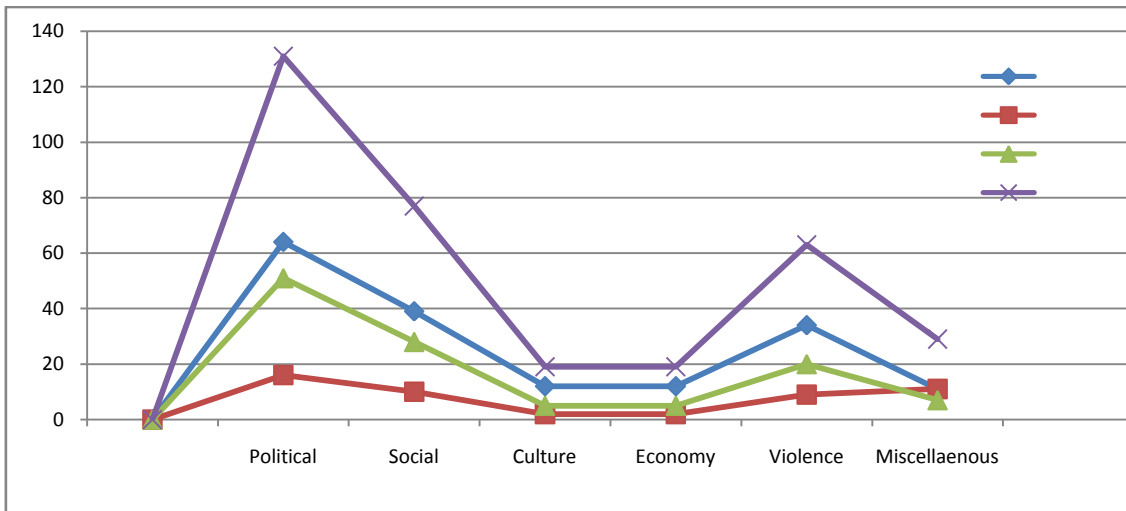
It can be concluded that both TH and Tol published a diverse range of news items. Though differing in their orientation, both national dailies displayed politics in their dominant frames. Politics was the main theme covered by both dailies. Above numbers clearly show that the themes that were initially stated for analysis show a great fluctuation as far as their presence is concerned in both papers, but the count presented by both newspapers on politics coincide. Politics was followed by issues pertaining to social theme. It can clearly seen that news items concerning culture were also present in same numbers among both papers. Other news items were present in proportionate numbers in both newspapers.

Thus, quantitative analysis of both national dailies reveals that a range of different discourses are set and portrayed by both national dailies though differing in their extent of portrayal. But main stream politics and its related issues form an over-riding discourse on both newspapers of national reputation.

Among a total of news items published by GK, politics formed overriding part. An estimated figure of 131 items was of political theme. It was followed by socially relevant items and then by violence theme. News items pertaining to miscellaneous nature also formed a countable percentage among the themes specified.

**Tabular Representation of Total News Items Published by GK**

Type	Political	Social	Culture	Economic	Violence	Miscellaneous
Hard-news	64	39	12	12	34	11
Editorials	16	10	02	02	09	11
Opinion-pieces	51	28	05	05	20	07
Total	131	77	19	19	63	29



**Quantitative Analysis of Local Dailies-Greater Kashmir and Kashmir Times**

During the time period selected for this study, a total of fourteen editions were selected from each sub-period comprising of four months. The editions for the study were selected using multi-stage sampling. A composite and a natural week were selected from each sub-period. A natural week consisted of seven consecutive days and a composite week was constructed by randomly selecting seven systematic days of a week from a definite sub-period. In total 42 editions of each paper were selected for study, which formed 84 editions of both local dailies-Greater Kashmir and Kashmir Times. Among 84 editions of both papers, Greater Kashmir comprised 50% and Kashmir Times comprised 50% of the total sample selected for the study.

Among 84 editions, an average number of front page stories published daily is five, thus a total of around 420 (approx.) stories were published in the sample selected for the study. During the weeks

chosen, Greater Kashmir and Kashmir times published 168 and 148 news items respectively. News reports with length and breadth of 4cms were selected for analysis as they formed complete news reports. Thus a total of 312 stories were taken for analysis from both locals.

Below table specifies the number of stories from Greater Kashmir and Kashmir Times together that were present in different sub-periods. Together Greater Kashmir and Kashmir Times presented 94, 108 and 126 news stories on front page during the three sub-periods. Third sub-period, i.e. from September to December had the maximum number of stories followed by 2nd sub-period. The number of stories of both locals in third sub-period coincide while as the numbers of stories in 1st and 2nd sub-period vary greatly with Greater Kashmir.

Tabular representation of total front page news stories of GK & KT

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## Greater Kashmir+ Kashmir Times

Sub-period I Jan- April (4 months)	Sub-period II May-August (4 months)	Sub-period III Sep-December (4 months)
(GK)52 + 42 (KT)	(GK) 59+49(KT)	(GK) 62+64(KT)
Total=94	Total=108	Total=126

The table shows the number of stories present during three sub-periods. Both the local dailies presented stories on different subjects though in different magnitudes. Together greater Kashmir and Kashmir times contained 94,108 and 126 news stories respectively with former having more number of stories in all the three sub-periods.

Below table depicts that both Greater Kashmir and Kashmir Times showed a fair coverage of different issues ranging from political, social, and economic to cultural. It can be seen that Greater Kashmir has more number of stories in the end, i.e. sub-period three (September to December). While as Kashmir times showed a constant number of stories within all the sub-periods and published maximum

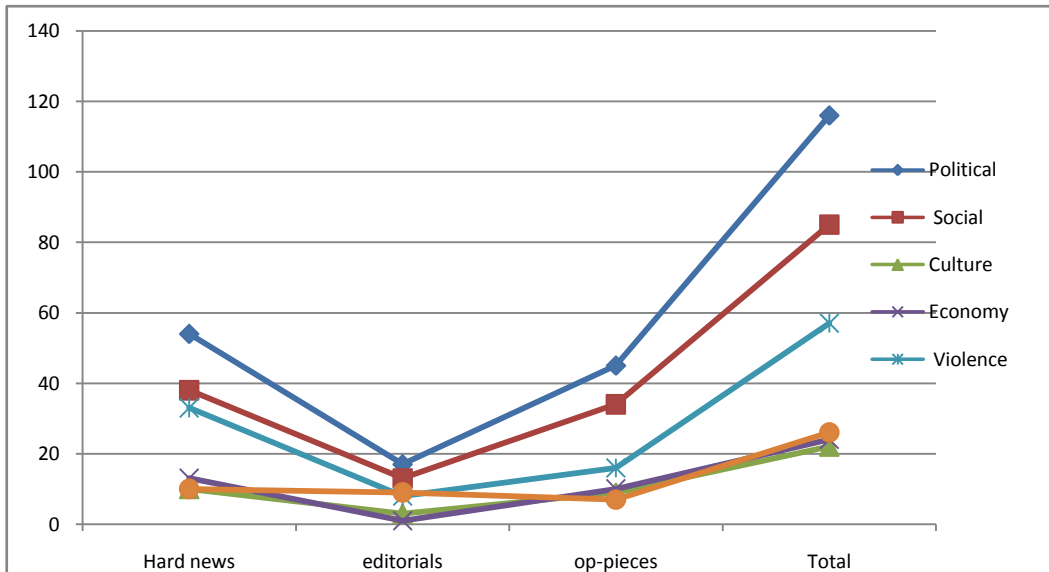
number of stories in third sub-period. Among a total of 312 stories, Kashmir Times published 148 stories and a total of 162 stories were published by greater Kashmir. Stories with more than 4cms in length were undertaken for analysis

## Total News items published by Kashmir Times

Among the total news items published by Kashmir Times, news items of political nature constituted a dominant part as around 116 items contained news of politics in or the other way. This was followed by news of social importance. At least, 85 news items portrayed news associated with people directly, i.e. social news. Violence also formed a significant part. A total of 57 items contained news of violence of different kind. This included news of shutdown, killings, encounters etc. Economy and culture were also presented in fair percentage as 24 and 22 items were portrayed by Kashmir Times respectively.

Tabular Representation Total News Items Published by KT

Type	Political	Social	Culture	Economy	Violence	Miscellaneous
Hard news	54	38	10	13	33	10
Editorials	17	13	03	01	08	09
Op-pieces	45	34	09	10	16	07
<b>Total</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>26</b>



It can be clearly seen from the numbers that both local dailies, i.e. Greater Kashmir (GK) and Kashmir Times (KT) covered different themes differently. On the basis of numbers and percentage, it can be said that politics in both locals constituted the dominant theme. Different patterns of coverage given to different political news stories form the dominant part of both newspapers. Ranging from front page, that is designed to attract the reader to editorial and opinion-pieces of both newspapers, most of the stories related to politics were present. Different angles of politics were present by both newspapers ranging from local, national to international. Positive

politics formed the main theme. However, anti-political stories were also present in a considerable amount.

This was followed by stories of governance, development, corruption etc. these were categorized under broad theme of social theme. Despite being one of the dominant themes, social news items formed a respectable part. The news coverage given to social issues also formed one of the key frames of both local dailies. News regarding development, corruption and governance formed the key focal point among social issue of both newspapers.

Being a conflict ridden region, news of violence forms one of the key elements of news coverage. Both GK and KT gave a considerable

coverage to issues pertaining to violence. Violence related items included issues related to protests, shutdowns, killings, encounters etc. Local dailies selected for study presented a fair coverage of violence related news with greater Kashmir having more violence related news items than Kashmir Times. Photographs of dead and injured youth too dominated the pages. The protests mainly consisted of Stone Pelting youth. Both the newspapers unquestionably covered stone pelting extensively and its portrayal as a mode of open resistance against the forced invasion.

Other news worthy items under broad themes like Culture and economy formed least part of the coverage in both dailies. Both newspapers portrayed news related to culture and economy in countable way though, least number of news items were present under these broad themes.

Greater Kashmir published a total of 131 news items related to politics followed by social news items that were 77 in number. Violence associated news items also formed a major part as 63 items contained news pertaining to violence of different kinds. Culture and economy related news formed the least part as only 19 and 29 news items were of cultural and economic relevance.

The different themes that were identified during analysis in all the newspapers (sample as mentioned above) followed a descending order in their magnitude: Political<Social<Violence<Economic<Cultural<Miscellaneous.

## Conclusion

The content selected for the study during the reference period shows that a diverse range of discourses are portrayed by different newspaper of national and local status. A multitude of themes was selected for analysis to achieve the objectives stated for study. On analysis it was observed that print media being one of the dominant media of information dissemination contains and portrays multiple discourses ranging from political, social, economic to cultural.

Political reportage during the course formed the majority part. Most of the news items from national newspapers were about different political sectors and happenings across the country. The newspapers also portrayed the news items of floods creating havoc across Kashmir though to a lesser extent. Both TH and Tol published content mostly of elections and various right wing political parties including BJP, UPA, BSP, AIDMK, AAP etc.

Political discourse shifted from national to local level during later part of the year (mostly in sub-period 3rd from Sep to Dec) as many news worthy items related to Kashmir were present on both national dailies. The text and the language used by the newspapers on analysis reveals that a trend has been followed by both the national dailies about reporting of events concerning politics. The Hindu published political events with flexibility than Tol and provided more space to other items of human interest on front page.

Prominent news stories were about the Lok-Sabha elections in the first and second sub-period in both newspapers. During later part of the year, (3rd sub-period) news items related to Kashmir were presented by both newspapers ranging from pro-politics to anti-politics. This also comprised of results of elections that were declared in third sub-period and then the calling of different parties by governor for government formation within the state.

Embedded within a definite field of meaning, Kashmir issue can be understood as a dominant political discourse as presented by newspapers during above time period. This was followed by news items concerning social issues. At least, 108 news items in total were of social importance. Mostly social issues included governance, scams, corruption, development and issues pertaining to health were present in varied numbers. Only 47 among total news items carried information pertaining to economics. This was followed by violence and culture related news items including hard news stories, opinions and editorials. This shows that news items related to economics and culture were mostly sidelined by all the newspapers. Less coverage of these themes reveal that discourse of economic and social relevance is least portrayed by above sample. It can be possibly because most of the space is either occupied by politically relevant news items or by advertises. All the newspapers under study have been found to display advertises more than culturally and economy related news items.

Other items included stories related to different topics and were put under a theme of miscellaneous theme. A total of 24 news items formed the miscellaneous part of the themes defined for study, thus forming a considerable part of the total coverage of the items and themes already defined.

Local newspapers; i.e. Greater Kashmir & Kashmir Times had most number of news items under the theme of politics. Both Pro-political and anti-political stories formed the dominant part of both locals. Political reportage forms dominant discourse.

Political theme was the dominant theme in almost all the newspapers selected for study. During the course of study, politics related news items formed an overriding percentage of all the news items thus setting a base for political discourse. The dominant discourse of Kashmir ranges from pro-political to anti-political and it was found that several different discourses work in the construction of a particular dominant discourse, and these discourses are often in conflict with one another.

On the other hand, equal proportions of pro-political and anti-political news items corresponding to pro-politics and anti-politics were present in both dailies. The dominant discourse besides elections was about Kashmir portrayed as an issue between two Asian giants- India and Pakistan. Main news items that dominated the front page were about the statements of the pro-political actors of Kashmir. In contrary to this, news stories of anti-politics, boycott of elections, pro-freedom parties also dominated the local newspapers thus shifting the political discourse in other direction.

On analysis one can conclude that local media of which the two newspapers Greater Kashmir and Kashmir Times are prime representatives give appropriate coverage not only to pro-political but anti-political issues as well. In total, both Gk and KT published an overriding 247 news items of pro-political and anti-political relevance. Anti-political issues include separatism, negative politics, Boycott of polls, calling for shutdowns; protests formed the dominant part on this political discourse. The negative stories related to politics were analyzed and can be seen as altering the political discourse set by the main stream parties. Election discourse set by the mainstream parties formed the center of focus of analysis during this period and contrary to this, newspapers also contained news items of different rather opposite ideology thus setting altogether a different discourse.

Negative layers of politics portrayed mainly the boycott of elections, debates and speeches over K-resolution by mainstream separatists. Existing possibilities of forging pre-poll alliance of different political parties-both regional and local also was framed collectively by both dailies.

It should be clearly noted here that violence also formed dominant part of newspaper content. News stories of protests, stone-pelting, clashes, encounters, civilian killings also dominated the newspapers of local reputation.

Photographs of dead and injured youth too dominated the pages. The protests mainly consisted of Stone Pelting youth. Both the newspapers unquestionably, covered stone pelting extensively, and its portrayal as a mode of open resistance against the forced invasion.

This was followed by stories of governance, development, corruption etc. these were categorized under broad theme of social items. Despite being one of the dominant themes, social news items formed a respectable part. The news coverage given to social issues also formed one of the key frames of both local dailies. News regarding development, corruption and governance formed the key focal point among social issue of both newspapers.

Other news worthy items were under broad themes Culture and economy which formed least part of the coverage in both dailies. Both newspapers portrayed news related to culture and economy in a countable way though, least number of news items were present under these broad themes.

It can be clearly observed that news worthy items related to culture and economy were mostly marginalized by the dailies. The researcher tried to distinguish between those news items that mark an onset of discourse by analysis on a definite topic (extended text), and those news stories that have been used to develop a politically inflected angle of that dominant discourse.

So it has come to the fore that all the newspapers (in the sample under study) are purely constructive in shaping the political discourse-both national and local level. The dominant frames as covered by the newspapers reveal that political

discourse is the dominant and prevailing discourse in all the newspapers.

Development doesn't seem to figure as an important aspect of the content. Newspapers, through the various genres of news stories, editorials, features, opinion-pieces, etc. attempt to portray reality. But, the nature and extent of portrayal also represent a spectrum of varied and multilayered discourses. Political discourses form the dominant discourse; Security related discourses also form a considerable element in a place like Kashmir, which has been in socio-political dis array for last many decades. It is noteworthy though, that development, cultural, human interest and other discourses are marginalized to a great extent. Commercial factors, establishment oriented factors and other state related factors also go a long way in creating this multiple discourse natured content in print media.

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