

Ph.D Thesis

**ANALYZING THE (DE) ESCALATORY POTENTIAL OF WAR
PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE PRESS OF PAKISTAN: A STUDY OF
TEHRIK-I-TALIBAN PAKISTAN CONFLICT**



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I-TALIBAN PAKISTAN CONFLICT**

by
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Raza Waqas Ahmad

DECLARATION

I, Raza Waqas Ahmad, son of Muhammad Akram, bearing Registration No. 19-FSS/PH.DMC/F-17, currently enrolled as a PhD scholar in Media and Communication Studies at the Department of Media and Communication Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan, solemnly affirms that the data presented in this thesis titled "**Analyzing the (De) Escalatory Potential of War Photography in the Press of Pakistan: A Study of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan Conflict**" is the result of my original research and has not been previously submitted or published elsewhere.

I further declare that the entire content of this thesis is free from intentional plagiarism, and I commit not to utilize this thesis to obtain any other degree, whether from the present institution or any other university or educational institution.



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Dedication

I dedicate this Thesis to
My Beloved
Mother (Deceased), Father, Brothers and Their Families
&
My Loving Nephews and Nieces

Raza Waqas Ahmad

ABSTRACT

This study aims at analysing the visual coverage of the Pakistan's conflict with Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in the country's print media and the impact of conflict phases and governmental policies on media framing. The research spans twelve years (2004-2015), focusing on how escalation and de-escalation are depicted through photographs in four major newspapers: The list of the dailies include; two English dailies namely the *Dawn* and *The News* and two Urdu dailies namely the *Nawa-i-Waqt* and the *Express*. This period comprises of different stages of conflict such as the Containment Stage (2004-2005), the Agreement Stage (2006-2008), and the Intense War & Victory Stage (2009-2015). In terms of the study design, the research uses a longitudinal content analysis of newspapers, whereby one month of coverage is analyzed for each year in the given period. This approach of picking specific times therefore enables a detailed analysis of the visual stories that are being told, which in turn provides a proper understanding of the changes and trends in the media. The total sample size is therefore the number of photographs that appeared on these newspapers, broken down by the type of portrayal that the newspaper gave to the event; strong escalation or weak escalation, strong de-escalation or weak de-escalation. The research question for this present analysis is informed by the framing theory that helps to dissect media's depictions and portrayals of conflict narratives. Thus, applying the framing analysis, the study identifies hidden meanings of the visual images and reveals how these frames influence the audience and the public discourse. This thesis uses escalation and de-escalation frames to categorize photos to ensure that one is able to understand how various levels of conflict and changes in polity affect the media. The study shows that there is a positive relationship between the phases of conflict, changes in government regimes, and the type of visual construction. In the Containment Phase, there is a somewhat equal distribution of the strong and weak de-escalatory pictures, which indicates the initial attempts to regulate and reduce the conflict. The Agreement Phase also witnesses an increase in strong de-escalatory word use, during which time there is also a focus on peace talks in the media and reducing tensions. On the other hand, the Intense War & Victory Phase is characterized by an increase in the number of highly escalatory pictures which depict increased hostility and the media's emphasis on the war and its consequences.

Furthermore, the study also reveals that English *The News International* and daily *Dawn* and Urdu language newspapers *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Express* cover the conflict in different ways. The

English language papers, which are more likely to be read by the international audience, provide more comprehensive coverage of the background information and diplomatic relations, while the Urdu language papers, targeting the local audience, often focus on the people's experiences and the spirit of the nation. The results of the present study also show that changes in government have an impact on the media framing. The Musharraf regime's depiction of strong de-escalatory measures is in contrast to the subsequent governments' tendency toward weaker de-escalatory portrayals as a result of changes in counter-terrorism tactics and communication strategies. This study also reveals that the media framing, conflict phases, and government policies are intertwined and not static.

Keywords: Conflict, Photographs, (De) Escalation, Framing of the Conflict, TTP, Conflict Phases

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Chapter 01

INTRODUCTION

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, former Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf aligned with the US against the Taliban administration in Afghanistan, despite a threat from then US president George W. Bush. President George W. Bush, US Secretary of State Colin Powell, and other American administration officials discussed with Musharraf. In his public address on September 19, 2001, Musharraf spoke to the people of Pakistan and said that while Pakistan should not use force against the Taliban if it does not wish to, it might be in danger of becoming surrounded by a hostile U. S. and Indian alliance Musharraf testified in 2006 that this stance was due to U. S threats as he disclosed in his memoir, 'In the line of fire (Musharraf, 2006).

Since 2001 the Pakistan army engaged in countering hybrid threats in order to sustain internal security and stability through combating insurgency and militancy in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA). The Taliban uprising in the Pakistan did not commence after the US led invasion of Afghanistan in 2001; instead it started as early as the year 2004 following a military operation that was undertaken by the Pakistan army in the country's tribal areas in an attempt to prevent Al-Qaeda from gaining access into Afghanistan as demanded by the US and NATO forces. This paper contrasting captures insurgency as one of the complicated security threats, socio-political stability, and economic growth challenges in Pakistan. To tackle this challenge, the Pakistani Army has deliberate and made up its mind to transform its approach, inspiration, perception and operation in the last 10 years. The action of Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Tehrik Nifaz e- Shariat Muhammadi (TNSM), other fundamental religious organizations and other foreign related issues are of serious concern for Pakistan (Z. Abbas, 2004).

1.1 Different Phases of the conflict

Mitchell, 2005 has described the stages of conflict such as pre-negotiation, negotiations, post agreements but he also explained that setting aside the factors that initiate conflicts, a central question for conflict analysts revolves around understanding the dynamics within the conflict system. Specifically, how can we effectively describe the escalation or de-escalation of a conflict?

What characterizes a change that either amplifies or diminishes the intensity of a conflict? Furthermore, what elements contribute to the continuation of a conflict? He described the three major dynamics of violent conflict, Escalation as a Basic Dynamic, Intensifying Dynamics and “Diminishing Conflict Intensity”. Bircan Bircan, Brück, and Vothknecht (2017) explained in their report different phases of war that no-war, pre-war, at war, early post war and late post war. So different scholars have divided the conflict into different phases which provide the background to explore the different phases of the TTP conflict according to circumstances available.

1.2 Background of the different Phases

Information is the power and perspective that can shape public discourse. This way, you can change your views by consuming the media. Media emerge as powerful tool to inform the mass. In history evidences can be tracked that media use as tool to propagate the agendas of state during wars. Media and conflict has strong association with each other. Media can play a role in escalating the conflict which is demonstrated the potential of media to play negative role. Possible approaches and efforts to prevent the conflict from escalating further are at the forefront of peace journalism. Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan is emerged as terrorist force in 2004 which is known as TTP. TTP has done many deadly attacks in Pakistan. During this conflict over seventy thousand has given their lives. Different phases in this conflict occurred and state policy towards the conflicts go through different shifts so media, state and conflict has relationship during the running conflict. In this study Media, conflict and state policy towards the conflict has been analyzed.

1.3 The Conflict of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Different Phases

Taliban conflict in Pakistan is long standing issue after the involvement of Pakistan in US war on terror since 2000. The TTP has its root in Pakistan onward from 2002 and made itself powerful combat terrorist organization over the period of time (H. Abbas, 2008; Z. Abbas, 2004). The Taliban conflict has gone through many different phases. We have divided the phases into three different phases according to situation of conflict in different time periods. These phase are containment phase, agreement phase and intense war & victory phase. The TTP conflict commenced with Containment (2004-2005) during a period of Intensification, characterised by escalating militant attacks and Pakistan responded with containment measures. During the Agreement phase (2006-2008), a de-intensification scenario arose, characterised by peace

agreement that momentarily diminished hostilities while permitting the TTP to reorganise. This resulted in Victory & Intense War (2009-2015) during Escalation, as Pakistan initiated significant offensives to eradicate TTP strongholds, regaining control by 2015 despite persistent intermittent threats and declare the victory.

1.4 Containment Phase (2004 to 2005)

The roots of the TTP as an organization can be traced back to 2002 when the Pakistani army launched the operation to first extricate foreign militants and Afghans and Arab and Central Asian fighters started moving from Afghanistan to the neighboring tribal regions of Pakistan (Bajoria & Masters, 2010). Thus, as it has been described above, several tribal groups, which would form the TTP in 2004, were ready to quickly and efficiently settle in FATA and to attack militarily at the same time, while negotiating with Islamabad at the same time (Rana & Areas, 2008). No general military action against them was planned for 2004-2005, and the policy of containing them was decided to follow.

1.5 Agreement Phase (2006-2008)

This phase is the continuation of the containment policy, because the State decided to give a chance for peace. From 2006 to 2009, many rounds of negotiations and agreements occurred. In 2006, the government got to witness the effective execution of the Kurram Agency peace agreement on irrigation water distribution (Report, 2006). The second was the Sararogha Peace Agreement, which was reached in February 2005 with Baitullah Mehsud, Nek's successor, which temporarily brought some stability to the situation in South Waziristan (Vira & Cordesman, 2011). The third and last cease-fire that should be imitated is the September 2006 Miranshah Peace Agreement between the terrorists and the administration in the neighbouring province of North Waziristan. The cease-of-operations followed the peace talks that began on February 7, 2008, after the TTP extended an olive branch to Musharraf (AlJazeera, 2004).

1.6 Intense War & Victory Phase (2009 to 2015)

The foreign militants have been eliminated completely in Bajaur, a sensitive geographical region part of Afghanistan on 1st March, 2009 by the Pakistan Army as stated by Z. A Khan in his publication of 2012. Many Pakistanis witnessed militants beating a 17-year-old girl in Swat who was accused of having an affair according to video footage that was shown on news channels in

March 2009 (Khan, 2013). Armies in Bajaur district were subdued since organizational force was applied when there was clear violation of ceasefire. Black Thunder Storm, a strategic and operation airborne attack by the United Pakistan Armed Forces took place on 26 April 2009 aimed to capture Buner, Lower Dir, Swat and Shangla districts and to endeavor for the clearance of these areas from TTP. The operations conducted by joint military, naval and air force were quite well managed and facilitated (Sayah, 2009). After a spectacular triumph and rehabilitation of the entire Swat Valley, it was reported that on 16 June 2009, Pakistan military started concentration of major armed forces opposite South Waziristan's southern/ eastern periphery (Warraich, 2009). On June 17, 2009, the army demanded a fivefold increase in the current operation against TTP in the Swat Valley, and the fighting then moved to the hilly area near Mehsud's encampment. Baitullah Mehsud, the TTP leader, was killed by a drone assault in August 2009. After being detained, Chief Spokesman Maulvi Umar later revealed this (Mohmand, 2009). Hakimullah Mehsud rose to occupy the position (Bergen & Tiedemann, 2010).

Frontier Corps has been successful in capturing and stopping the terrorist powerbase town of Damadola in Bajaur since February 6, 2010 (Ali, 2010). The operation was initiated by the Pakistan armed forces on 23rd of March 2010 to cleanse the Orakzai Agency of terrorists (Dressler, 2011). Militray officials have also stated that there are plans for an operation in North Waziristan sometime in the near future. The previous week, Pakistans military said it had eliminated some 150 militants in the area. The definitive goal was stated to have all tribal areas cleared by June 2010 regarding development initiatives. On to the 3rd of June Pakistan official stated that the government has recorded victory over Orakzai and Kurram militants (White, 2010).

According to Garamone and Pennington (2011), adding that the natural calamities and operations against any terrorism organizations has stretched Pakistani military forces to the limit by 2011, one third of the army got positioning in field for combat, another third along the Indian frontier, while the remaining was moving ready for operational deployment. On the 1st of May 2011, in a secret operation in Abbottabad, the mastermind of the al-Qaeda organization, Osama bin Laden, was assassinated at his residence in his compound by US Navy SEALs. Out of media the TTP affiliated groups pledged to avenge Osama's death on Pakistan army. Pakistan northwest is frequently hit with bombings from insurgents and in 2012, attacks killed thousands of people. The minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, Bashir Ahmed Bilour, and eight other individuals

were killed by the Pakistani Taliban on December 22, 2012, when they carried out a suicide bomber operation (K. Hussain, 2013). When Tehrik-e-Taliban / Lashkar-e-Islam and Ansar ul-Islam (government-aligned militants) clashed in the Tirah Valley of Khyber Agency, Pakistan, in January 2013, 80 militant and civilian remains were buried. Due to this, the Pakistan Army launched "Operation Rah-e-Shahadat" in order to drive out extremists and terrorists from the vital region and restore order in time for the May election (Khan, 2013).

The Pakistan Army launched a concerted military operation on April 5, 2013, under the codename Operation Rah-e-Shahadat. The PAF and the Navy provided supporting roles by providing air assistance. In the Tirah Valley of the Khyber Agency, the armies and special operations forces units, reinforced by the Frontier Corps, are clearing TTP and LeI terrorists with the assistance of the Local Peace Committee (Aman Lashkar) (Orakzai, 2019). Following an attack on a military checkpoint in the city on December 18, 2013, the operation began in the Mir Ali region of north Waziristan on December 19. Helicopters, artillery, and gunships are among the main pieces of equipment used in the operation (Reuters, 2013).

In March 2014, factions within Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan began asserting control over the organisation. Early in April 2014, under the new leadership of Maulana Fazlullah, supporters of the TTP's deceased commander Hakimullah Mehsud engaged in combat in the Shaktoï region of south Waziristan and later in the same region. Following the June 8, 2014, IMU attack on Jinnah Airport, Pakistan launched Operation Zarb-e-Azb on June 15, 2014, targeting militant groups in North Waziristan, including the Haqqani network, Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Al-Qaeda, Eastern Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM), and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU). Pakistan's Minister of Defence, Khawaja Asif, referred to 2015 as a year of victory due to the decrease in violence and the military operation (Editorial, 2015).

1.7 Background of the Study

Information is the power and perspective that can shape public discourse. This way, you can change your views by consuming the media. Media emerge as powerful tool to inform the mass. In history evidences can be tracked that media use as tool to propagate the agendas of state during wars. Media and conflict has strong association with each other. Media can play a role in escalating the conflict which is demonstrated the potential of media to play negative role. Possible approaches and efforts to prevent the conflict from escalating further are at the forefront of peace

journalism. Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan is emerged as terrorist force in 2004 which is known as TTP. TTP has done many deadly attacks in Pakistan. During this conflict over seventy thousand has given their lives. Different phases in this conflict occurred and state policy towards the conflicts go through different shifts so media, state and conflict has relationship during the running conflict. In this study Media, conflict and state policy towards the conflict will be analyzed.

1.8 Problem Statement

Media plays key role while covering the conflict because it has strong relationship with conflict (Mendel, Puddephatt, Wagner, Hawtin, & Torres, 2012; Puddephatt, 2006). Media has power to (de) escalate the conflict (Hamelink, 2015; Oetzel, Dhar, & Kirschbaum, 2007). Conflicts are sellable in term of media coverage because it is important for media consumption so media essentially relying on conflict and it is supportive (Gardner, 2001). Media, conflict and state policy toward conflict is triangle statement but Media has weaker relationship with state (Akhtar & Pratt, 2020) than conflict. The main problem is when the policy of the state changes toward the conflict, how media changes its policy toward conflict. The change in policy towards the conflict by state, so media sustain its policy about conflict in term of coverage (positional, supportive or neutral) and framing or change according to the state policy. There is another issue that when change in government take place then the state policy towards the conflict changes then media policy towards conflict changes or not.

This research aims to analyze what sort of conflict photographs publish confines of conflict (de) escalation with regard to war and peace journalism attributes. This research would examine the conflict which is gone through three different phases (containment, dialogue and intense war phase) as for the change in state policy towards conflict and the policy of media.

1.9 Slants

The main problem is when the policy of the state changes toward the conflict, how media changes its policy toward conflict. The change in policy towards the conflict by state, so media sustain its policy about conflict in term of coverage (positional, supportive or neutral) and framing or change according to the state policy. There is another issue that when change in government take place then the state policy towards the conflict changes then media policy towards conflict changes or not.

1.10 Significance of the Study

Mainly previous research of conflict (de) escalation has focused on text and the visual part of framing has failed to get attention. There are few studies on the visual communication available which is focusing on conflict (de) escalation but these researches are done by western organization to conflicts in third world countries in western media. So there is an obvious picture of western media that their text and visual both are promoting war so the western media is predictable. Huge amount of western media studies on peace and war potential tells that texts are escalatory but visual also but there is no exclusive research available in Asian setting on war and peace visual potential. No clue found that what kind of visuals are being reported in Asian media of third world's countries conflicts? Visuals have more psychological and prompt effect for reason that reader first look the picture and made mind and then read the news story. The difference between text and visual in term of war and peace potential, large number of studies showed that text is more war oriented but visual have more peace nuance because picture stays there and every picture has different story however it's yet investigate. In spite making a valuable contribution to understanding the role of media in war on terror, there is a high need to enhance the existing literature through various angles. Previous work on war on terror focused on attacks of 9/11 and the attack of ASAF forces on Afghanistan led by America but the war on terror particularly the conflict with Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in Pakistan has been neglected especially visual framing of this war on the context PJ approach as a perspective of (de) escalatory.

In the perspective of PJ approach what the potential visual in making war and peace in a society need consideration. Secondly it is important to study that when the policy of Government changes towards the war against terrorism then the policy of media also shifted though many elite newspapers hasn't changed policy regarding this war during this war. Major research on war on terror is text based on framing perspective but visual framing is emerging concept in the field of communication. There is need of comparative analysis of English and Urdu dailies. Pakistan is the victims of this Taliban conflict (TTP) so it will helpful to complement the literature not only studying the visual framing. To fill the gap in empirical studies the role of media in covering the war and its visual framing, this study will investigate the role of news media during war on terror visually. This study adds to the significant body of research about the war on terror and differentiate itself by focusing on the role of the news media.

1.11 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are:

- To analyze the variation in the visual reporting during different phases in the Taliban conflict.
- To examine the extent of (de) escalatory potential of war visual.
- To examine the relationship between (de) escalatory coverage in different phases of conflict and (de) escalatory potential of conflict.

1.12 Delimitations of the Study:

- Limited scope: Some of these constraints include the type of conflict that has been analyzed in this study, this being the Taliban conflict in Pakistan; and the type of media that has been analyzed, which is the Print Newspapers. Due to these conditions, the findings cannot be generalized to other conflicts or other media sources.
- Limited sample size: The research in question focuses on a certain number of photos or photographs in question, and it is taken single month throughout the year. Therefore, it may be significant to advance the study of media framing and representation of the conflict even though the present work was not vast in terms of cases.
- Language barrier: The following are possible limitations of this present study: The data gathered in this study was from English and Urdu language print media; hence, there are other aspects of the topic that may not have been considered; for instance, there may be different issues reported in Local languages such as Pushto which may have different stories to tell. This can be a drawback in the research and the failure to cover all the media and opinions being given in the local or other languages.
- Subjectivity of framing analysis: Thus, the methodological position of the present study can be characterized as relativistic because the content analysis of media is based on the perception of the research participants regarding the framing concepts. Such research can be based on different criteria and/or a certain perspective, thus it can be only relatively objective, or contain certain contradictions.

1.13 Research Questions

- RQ1: How did the selected press visually reported the Taliban conflict during different phases of the conflict.
- RQ2: How and to what extent the escalatory and de-escalatory photographs appear in selected press?
- RQ3: How the war and peace photographs determined by the shifts in policy and to what extent war and peace phases produce more war and peace photographs respectively?
- RQ4: What are the similarities and differences between English and Urdu press while visually reporting on the Taliban conflict?
- RQ5: How the change in government brought the changes in frames of selected press?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction:

Images are considered more attractive than text, because they require less cognitive effort and time to understand their general meaning (Kenney, 2010; Kosslyn & Pylyshyn, 1994). Visual framing, as similar to textual framing, was described as a process that 'involves the selective prioritization of certain images to perpetuate a particular understanding of consciously or subconsciously conducted events' (Huang & Fahmy, 2013). Research performed over the past decade have helped to portray conflict visually. Due to the realistic nature of the images, the framing that occurs through images is less common and potentially more effective in transmitting precise interpretations of news events than framing that occurs through print and/or written and spoken news reporting broadcast journalism (Fahmy & Neumann, 2012).

Griffin (2010) writes that visual images of war have been used since the early 20th century to give authority to conflict reporting. He argues that magazine representations of the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s caused unprecedented demands for visual reporting at the front line. The media produce various images of war from various cultural and political viewpoints has led scholars to claim the role of photographs in portraying and framing news events.

2.2 Conflict Reporting

According to Parry, 2010 in her studies, "Media Visualization of Conflict: Studying News Imagery in 21st Century Wars," the idea that media and press pictures offer illuminating glimpses into the society in which they are created and consumed is essential in this context. Researchers disagree that pictures are impartial insights into fact; instead, they contend that the choice of specific visuals reveals a good deal about the values, beliefs, and aspirations believed to reverberate most powerfully in a given culture. Investigations of television visualization of violence and war are becoming more nuanced and sophisticated in their investigation of the visual images and, more crucially, the particular settings in which they emerge. However, some fields of research that have conventionally handled visuals in a supplementary and somewhat halfhearted fashion are properly connected sophisticated and severe assessment into their study considerations.

This is not to say that remarkable findings did not exist previously, particularly those on the pictorial reportage of conflict (Parry, 2010). Paul Virilio stated in the foreword to his 1989 English-language publication *War and Cinema* that a war of visuals and sounds is overtaking the conflict of substances (weapons and warheads) (Virilio, 1989). Virilio examines the co-development of military and filmmaking innovations and their interdependence at different levels, such as aerial imagery, to increase the effectiveness of airstrikes during World War II. During the Gulf War in 1991, television audiences could watch the path of pinpoint efficiency or intelligent explosives from the pilot's blurry perspective, seemingly striking their goals. His forecast above seemed to have come true (Virilio, 1989).

The author Jean Baudrillard admirably argued that the conflict could not occur well before spectators were subjected to this high technology sanitized broadcast of the conflict. Two other writings asserted that the conflict was not occurring and then that it had ended. The three pieces, collected as a book in 1995 *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*, seemed to support Virilio's assertion that a battle of "images and sounds" had successfully supplanted the war of things. Of course, Baudrillard's assertions were divisive and, in the eyes of some detractors, showed extreme disdain for the Iraqi and Kuwaiti dead (Norris, 1992). Nevertheless, instead of being an immoral rogue, Baudrillard is referring to our complicity in the tragedies of warfare when he claims that the "actual war" has been substituted or surpassed by the clone or image of conflict (Norris, 1992).

Ever since the Spanish Civil War, hostile areas have been viewed as testing grounds for documentarians, and military battle image collectors have been hailed as the fearless and courageous leaders of a specific topic government; a government that employed contemporary media innovation to provide seemingly natural perspectives of far-off events to their breakfast plates and meeting areas. This contemporary idea of pictorial interaction is described by (Webster, 1980) as a technicist ethic of photographic recording coupled with an unspoken and mystic feeling of natural creation. If only brave men and women had taken contemporary images into the thick of combat and were moved to lift their gaze and press the button at important and efficient, contemporary cameras could have done the job. For the initial occasion, efforts to document the

Civil War of Spain demonstrated that a continuous history of conflict could be produced and sent to faraway viewers. Although photographs were frequently utilized in World War I, they

were typically single-plate models with lengthy periods of exposure that could not readily be moved to or established in conflict situations. The opposing forces employed photos for some army applications, such as documenting everyday intelligence gathering. Still, objectionable content that was rigorously regulated, civilian or media visuals had little to no connectivity to the front lines.

So few photos were authored from this massive and unparalleled war (Lewinski, 1978). (Rohter, 2009), explains in his studies that although restriction was more strictly imposed in the Civil War (Spain) by the Fascism rebels than by the Republicans Unionists, in particular, journalists and photographers had similar freedom of movement to that of Vietnam. And much as in Vietnam, risky photojournalistic endeavors, like Robert Capa's seeming decision to hold his chin up in the face of gunfire to catch the process of dying for a Loyalist militiaman, were lauded as gallant captures of courageous acts. However, many of Capa's images from Spain were released between 1936 and 1939, and because of this one shot, his fame took off. The London Picture Post declared Capa "The Best War Photographer in the Globe" in 1938. Furthermore, even though additional knowledge lately made public suggests that Death of a Unionist Militia member was scripted (Rohter, 2009), the image's validity has been questioned almost from the start. Nevertheless, the image continues to symbolize the Spanish Civil War and the proper use of war photography (Rohter, 2009).

Rohter, 2009 also explains in his studies that before World War 2 started, it was assumed that photographs might document the conflict's occurrences. The armed services institutions of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and the USA all instructed and employed thousands of visualist and feature film camera crews to prepare for conflict. Millions of warfare photos and millions of feet of war motion picture clips still exist in exhibitions, records, and special collections today. Even by the 1940s, image publications and movie theater film clips were commonplace elements of daily life in industrialized economies. A younger breed of armed services and expert photojournalists, including Robert Capa, Carl Mydans, Margaret BourkeWhite, Ralph Morse, Horace Bristol, Wayne Miller, Barrett Gallagher, and W. Eugene Smith, was establishing an enduring public image for their gripping war images (Rohter, 2009).

Roeder provides close details in *The Bleeped Conflict: American Visual Perception during "World War II"* (Roeder, 1993), which describes how media uniformity in the U.S. contributed to

avoiding any contradiction in American images of the conflict. On the American side of the Ocean, governmental and private collaboration was described by Roeder as follows: "The Office of War Information recommended, but typically relied on others to implement." He writes, "More than thirty additional agencies were engaged in the censoring of one form or the other, in contrast to the principal tasks handled by the Office of Censorship and the military general populace sections. Private companies, however, also had a role in which photographs accessed the world." The film companies of California (U.S.), the Madison Avenue marketing firms, and the global advertising oligarchies Time and Life, founded by Henry Luce, as well as us and them and right and wrong, largely followed the narrative (Roeder, 1993).

Not only did local press frequently encourage flag-waving national pride, which they appear to have done, but they also masterfully combined agenda-driven news reporting and entirely fictitious rebuilding, utilizing an often-smooth flow of images in both the news and entertainment industries media to display idealized portrayals of courageous resolve and army achievement to the US public. Movie producers abroad to record the battle, including renowned filmmakers' John Ford and John Huston, frequently found it more straightforward and believable to perform and demonstrate occurrences than to use first-person video. Unsettling photos from the battlefield were hidden in the Pentagon's Compartment of Horrific events, and the directors and producers rarely used first-person footage. As Roeder notes, performers and multimedia journalists had few effective guidance as they sought to express the overpowering visceral truth of World War 2. This was a conflict of unfathomable scope and horror. In response to this issue, they developed stories that showed all U.S. sides cooperating regardless of the issue at hand or their racial or geographic origin. The concepts of national reconciliation in variety and an unshakable dedication to the ultimate success were contributing factors in Hollywood films as well as in news broadcasts and news clips Roeder, 1993).

After years of unwavering support from the American media for the conflict after 1968, for Nixon's strategy to progressively transfer the majority of line service military exercises from American to "South Vietnamese" forces, dissenting voices enabled to break through regular news reporting and backing for the conflict began to wane. Even reporting of the Tet offensive, which saw the Pulitzer Prize-winning image Rough Justice on a Saigon Street by Associated Press (A.P.) photographer Eddie Adams and NBC News (but not other networks) airing video of the exact

implementation on national television, did not significantly alter the Washington-centric viewpoints of media stories on the conflict (Knightly, 2004).

However, influential American news institutes instructed their Vietnam team members to change the emphasis of reportage from the conduct of the conflict to the peace process and the coming to a close of America's intervention as specifics of the horrific tragedy at My Lai arose during the Calley trial and American deaths proceeded to rig up notwithstanding the Nixon's commitment of an impending harmony with honor (Knightly, 2004). The same mainstream media also started gradually shifting all of their focus and resources away from the War in

Vietnam, perhaps to prevent potentially damaging coverage of the conflict. The number of news reporters accredited by the Military Support Commander, Vietnam (MACV), which had been 637 in 1968, had fallen to 295 by 1972.

The White House's policy decisions were primarily responsible for these alterations in media exposure. Still, they may also have been caused by news organizations' reluctance to publish increasingly embarrassing images and their perception of their viewers' increasing apathy and acceptance. My Lai discoveries and other proof of Vietnamese civilian misery, visual or otherwise, had minimal impact on overall U.S. public opinion towards the conflict, based on a past cultural assessment of American public responses to reports of the atrocity (Oliver, 2006). Oliver claims that seeing American troops prosecuted for conflict crimes had a more significant effect and suggested to many people that elected politicians no longer had the will to go to any lengths to succeed. American sentiments were more with American soldiers who appeared to be stuck in a conflict for which public support was waning than with the Vietnamese (Oliver, 2006).

2.3 Visual Framing

In 1947, Goffman presented the idea of framing in his seminal work. According to him, the content of news and its organization influence the thoughts and opinions of passive audiences. He believes that frames make sense for the people of what is happening around them (Rodriguez, 2011). It helps people to discover, receive, recognize and understand life experiences. He defines framing as closely related to and influences people's cognitive processes. Framing shows how the visual components are displayed, particularly when the subject is positioned about other objects.

Framing can improve the style of an image and help the viewer keep their attention on the object that is framed to get the desired outcome. But the thing is how the visual can act as a powerful tool in framing an issue (Bell, 2001) (Rodriguez, 2011). As Gamson and Stuart (1992) argued, visual media's impact is more substantial on the reader's mind than any form of media. In news stories, the reason for using more visual and minimal text is to maintain the attention and interest of the reader. The reader is captivated and attracted story's visual framing, increasing their chance of reading the article. (Hipple, 2018). When a news story is selected, the photojournalist knows which photographs should be used and how they should be framed. This is due to his intention for the reader to view and interpret the story through its framing. After carefully selecting the photographs, the editor successfully framed the story because the photos he has selected have the initial visual connection that the reader will have with that story and affect how he perceives the story as a whole. (Powell, Boomgaarden, De Swert and de Vreese, 2015). Optical frames are vital because they generate meaningful ideas, thoughts, and opinions among different people. The essential framing tools are visual as they are less complex than printed text. Instead of text, the visual frames are easily acceptable by the readers because it doesn't make them raise questions or evaluate them more. When comparing the two, images also appear closer to life than text, which can cause a reader to feel more and react more quickly. (Rodriguez and Dimitrova, 2011) (Hipple, 2018).

Three prominent visual framing qualities can cause opportunities and difficulties while framing news and events. Optical frames also have three distinctive qualities when framing news and events that might present opportunities and difficulties. The analogical nature of the visuals is the first characteristic. This indicates that for the audience to identify the items or subjects in a picture, they do not need to get to know certain visual representations or have a specific previous understanding. This characteristic makes it simpler for viewers to understand the visual content. The intertextuality of images is the second characteristic. This means that pictures are frequently perceived as more accurate than other types of communication (Hipple, 2018; Rodriguez, 2011).

In contrast to reading text, the reader is given a simple, accurate picture of what is being presented, leading them to accept it as accurate. The absence of conceptual semantics in images is the third characteristic. Visuals cannot fully express ideas and propositions as language can, making it more challenging to recognize frames in visuals. (Hipple, 2018; Rodriguez, 2011)

2.4 Visual Framing of Conflict

In many ways, conflict can be seen as a brief spell. Despite its many distinct fields of occurrence, it has a striking resemblance and the same principles of development and plunge. As a result, conflicts within states between rival factions or international wars all share some characteristics. The situation-attitude-behavior triangle (Mitchell, 1981), sometimes known as the ABC triangle of Attitude, Behavior, and Contradiction, is the structure that can best characterize all instances of conflict (Galtung, 1969) (Peleg, 2006). The initial state of opposing agendas, or the dispute, is the scenario of conflict. In other words, they are the factors that trigger a dispute between the parties. The cognitive state of the approach is all the firms operating, intolerance, identifying, criticizing, and techniques that each side applies to the other (Peleg, 2006). The core of the conflict and a key factor contributing to its escalation is the common practice of disparaging and vilifying one another. The impulses for expansion are typically cognitive and objective (Peleg, 2006). Last but not least, behavior refers to how individuals behave concerning the circumstances they find themselves in, and as a result of the attitude, they acquire toward one another. In all three perspectives, P.J. can end the conflict and have a massive influence. (Peleg, 2006).

Situation: Giving a contextualized account of the original points of disagreement in which all relevant facts, conditions, ranges of possibilities, and social records are shown. Such a portrayal does not paint the conflicting parties as ferociously competitive rivals striving to triumph over one another. Not two adversaries caught in a deadly zero-sum game of winning or dying, but rather a complicated battlefield with a variety of players and options is one way to describe how complex the situation was (Tannen, 1999, Peleg, 2006).

Attitude: Defining the full range of relevant psychological emotions and perspectives. Not only focusing on the demeaning and condescending features of the discourse between the parties but also highlighting worries, anxieties, suspicions, misunderstandings, and ignorance to give the brutalization repertoire a more human face and get over erroneous and extreme division (Mnookin and Ross, 1995; Bar-Tal and Teichman, 2005) (Peleg, 2006) in favor of a more fair and objective investigation of attitudes under pressure (Peleg, 2006).

Behavior: bringing focus to the reality that other forms of activity are involved in conflicts besides violence. The majority of conflict reports focus on violence or hostility. They are written

in the language of rivalry, and vanquishing or subjugating metaphors are used to highlight them (Peleg, 2006). However, bloodshed is seldom the only or even the most evident manifestation in a fight.

Along with the more overt acts of hostility, attempts to bargain or establish contacts can be seen (Peleg, 2006). Furthermore, gatekeeping idea has large offered a reliable foundation for knowing how news frames are originated (White, 1950). From the variety of images at their disposal, photojournalists narrow down hundreds of potential storytelling images to only a few used in the media. Visual gatekeeping is the term used for this procedure, similar to textual gatekeeping. This gatekeeping procedure is crucial to frame any news item visually and uses pictures that admire readers to get deep into the persuading frame of a news report (Griffin, 2004). Newswires provides more than 75% of nonlocal news globally, according to Rampal (1995). Fahmy (2005, 2010) evaluated the 9/11 and the Afghan conflict that was covered by news sources, frames of reference, and visual aids in English- and Arabic-language newspapers. He discovered that most (nearly 99%) of the images in that newspaper were from the three notorious European newswires (Fahmy, 2012).

Hoskins and O'Loughlin (2010) claim that the media has proved an essential component of war in the contemporary period of journalistic conflict, affecting and inspiring how the people opinions the fight, what policies are chosen, and how historians present the conflict's experience. Several studies have looked at how the media has been used to frame recent conflicts, such as the ongoing conflict in Syria, the wars in Georgia in 2008 and Iraq in 2003 (Griffin, 2004; Basilaia et al., 2013; Greenwood and Jenkins, 2015), a large number of current evaluations tend to concentrate on news organizations. To contribute to the visual framing of conflict, this research showed the crisis in Eastern Ukraine in March 2014. An army truck is surrounded by a class of equipped rebels holding an Eastern Orthodox shrine and a Russian royal banner. In front of photographers, a bearded man with an electronic pistol waved a toy monkey from the wrecked Malaysia Airlines aircraft. In a field of sunflowers against a clear blue sky, a small group of cheerful 'Ukrainian' troops with brand-new automatic rifles are positioned. A column of armored personnel carriers waving Ukrainian flags along a muddy country road is moving quickly. All of them are just a few of the dozens of images that dominated internet media in the summer of 2014 in Russia and

Ukraine. It affects the internet users in those two states who received and understood the fighting between the Ukrainian army and pro-Russian separatists in Eastern Ukraine. (Malkhorthykh, 2017)

Syria's civil war has proven to be the bloodiest and longest-lasting of the era (Griffin, 2004; Basilaia et al., 2013; Greenwood and Jenkins, 2015). Over the past two years, this battle has resulted from the Arab Spring revolutions. The use of chemical weapons by the Syrian government has made clear that the crisis is a global problem. It was not just the war on the ground but also social media. Since the first protests in March 2011, Syrian anti-government activists have been actively and meticulously organizing themselves to gain media attention by creating, collecting, and sharing eyewitness films and images on websites and social media platforms. The E.U. and the U.S. both urged for a strong response in the wake of videos that

Syrian anti-government activists put online showing several victims killed by chemical weapons. These video clips highlight the importance of amateur visual images in creating what John Thompson (2005) refers to as new visibility and the interdependence of activist media and traditional media in forming contemporary conflicts and protests, influencing how events are seen by politicians and larger audiences (Cottle 2008, 2009, 2011a, Pantti, 2011-23)

The merging of new media into old media and new communication technology has raised hopes to make all those events meant to be invisible to people. (Thompson 2005: 31). In today's political battles, this new visibility, which is more acute, more widespread, and less controlling, has emerged as a crucial arena and tactic (Pantti, 2011).

A study of war images and media, "War and media: Constancy and convulsion," implies that communication academics are interested in how conflict is represented in the media for various purposes. They generally attract much public attention and might impact public opinion since they are linked with fierce conflict and questions of life and death. Second, they emphasize the programmed professional standards and procedures to presenting highly heated information as a dangerous relic of contemporary news coverage. The outcomes of wartime reporting and image creation put theories of fairness and moderation, dependence on government "sources" and "press releases," avail to acts of ultimatum, collaboration with issues, standards in cinematography and recordings to the test. Thirdly, they unavoidably reflect cultural viewpoints and perpetuate cultural representational traditions (Mercier, 2005).

Another study on war images and media implies that such viewpoints commonly use ethnic identity and nationalistic mythology to portray disputes, underlining significant historical concerns with transnational and transnational linkages, regional development, and racial bigotry. The essence of government/press relationships, the contribution of political agreement and dissension in guiding media viewpoints, the sorting and resolving of pictures as documentary records, and the social formation of pictures as cultural icons, narrative provokes, and indicators of public memory are all things that can be learned from the nature of war reporting and perception making (Griffin, 2010).

Politicians and political goals make conscious efforts to combat, funnel, confine, or defer image production and transmission because it is generally believed that publication and televised pictures of war can influence public minds (images) and behaviors, conceivably strengthening or weakening public backing for war policy. These initiatives strive to create a cosmos of fine photography that is regarded as official information, as well as to promote and facilitate the circulation of favored sorts of pictures and conceal specific imagery from the public spotlight. The pictures that are most commonly recreated become the landmarks of well-established and wellknown historical scenery. They serve as triggers for a mythical underpinning structure that channels and instantiates specific accounts of a war's history and guides our interactions with successive and associated pictures (Adams, 2010).

As another scholar Carruthers (2008) explains, photographic pictures' substance and significance are not the results of accidental or dishonest capturing. Photographs of warfare and conflict do not merely arise for the people to evaluate arbitrarily, nor do they merely represent photographers' subjective experiences and interactions with actual combat occurrences. Public opinion and solidarity are never left to chance in a high-stakes endeavor like war. Every conflict inevitably involves rival propaganda, and no picture is immune to such tricks. An investigation of the circumstances in which a picture of conflict is created and the administrative processes through which it is circulated, chosen for publication, and replicated among media formats, must be included in any comprehensive analysis of the picture.

There does appear to be an intrinsic appeal to images of warfare and conflict. The prominence of modern army conflict video games as well as the importance attached to army

conflict headlines image and video, the propagation and sale of numerous war visual books, the longevity of the battle film genre, and the achievement of cable television channels dedicated entirely to army films all attest to the general public's obsession with representations of armed conflict. There is absolutely no question that this is related to reality that warfare photographs provide intensely thrilling and intrusive glances into theaters of carnage that are unfamiliar to most spectators' daily reality (Taylor, 1998).

Instances of captivity involving empirical study on visual media, whether largely qualitative or quantitative in design, provide encouraging indicators that the communication and emotional aspects of media pictures are now receiving persistent recognition and attention. The quantity of media content and framing research that place the visual aspects of reportage as their primary emphasis for study have increased significantly over the past five years, especially from researchers focusing on U.S. television and the previous wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Along with critical theory and research explicitly focused on televisuality and providing information about war or violence (Hoskins, O'Loughlin, Hoskins, & O'Loughlin, 2007), two major strategies in recent times can be approximately categorized as visual framing assessment (Parry, 2010) and visual rhetoric (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007).

A number of the research methods used by writers undertaking experimental studies of transmitted pictures and sounds throughout war and conflict draw to varied concentration on multimodal analytical methods and terms, reading the picture for both literal denotations and potential (symbolic) meanings (Rampley, 2005). The focus of visual rhetoricians study is not aesthetic considerations but rather "how the practices of visual culture are interwoven with processes of social power and ideology, which they define as the strategic character of both visual communication and representation. According to the study's author, the repetitiveness of some forms of war imagery makes it interesting since "images utilized effectively in the people's arena represent not just views, emotions, and ideals of their producers, but also those of society as a whole. In her study of British and French media photojournalism from the Spanish Civil War,

Caroline Brothers express a common despair feeling. Brothers assert that the "abundance of pictorial records as window frames into the imagination of a particular era" comes from her

exploration of pictures of conflict not so much for what they portray as for how they were used, how their definitions were constructed (Rampley, 2005).

2.5 Media and Peace Journalism Approach

It's been observed that war and media got nexus since ancient times to till now but in modern times, it has become almost beyond the boundaries of possible for powerful states to win wars without appending the information super highways that have entrap the globe (Bratić, 2006; Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2010). Media has played key role in both world wars, throughout cold war and the subjugation of African and Asian countries (Knightley, 2004). By studying the literature which showed that professional journalism has clear inclination towards the violence and war. The scholars of peace studies discussed that certain values which determine the news to chip in the conflict escalation. As Wolfsfeld (2001) said that news media have 'vested interest in conflicts'. In recent years, media analysts and academics have urged journalists to favour peace journalism over war journalism in an attempt to foster a culture of peace (S. Hussain, 2016). Johan Galtung, one of the main proponents of peace journalism as a plan for journalists covering war zones, saw peace journalism and war journalism as two competitive frameworks to cover a conflict. Galtung and Ruge first formulated the idea of international news and conflict reporting in 1965, without explicitly coining the term. Peace journalism has since developed as an alternative to countering mainstream war reporting, leading to this ground-breaking journalistic definition of peace journalism in the 1970s (Galtung, 1986).

No doubt that this is the furthest thing from reality, the progression of media and communication from print to still images to cinema are sometimes portrayed as occurring without human interference (Lippmann, 1922), with around-the-clock news sources, available connectivity via cellphones, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, Flickr, and other platforms, it is almost unthinkable for an incident to go unnoticed and undocumented. However, the documentation of facts, truths, reality, events, and happenings cannot be disseminated without any record. Hence, media such as written documentation and images is one of the most used mediums to circulate information, as expressed by (Foceville, 2019) in his article Imagery in the 21st Century.

Image is a crucial tool for humans to collect, interpret, and communicate information since it serves as the visual foundation for how they see the world and accurately portray natural

landscapes. The tagline of Instagram, the largest image-based digital media network and the most widely used method of visual interaction in modern culture, is Capture and experience the world's great moments. More than 1 billion people used Instagram globally in 2020, and more than 500 million photographs were published daily (Omnicores, 2021).

Images posted or updated on Instagram, Facebook, and other digital media platforms invariably hold digital "genes," showing that various modern optical technologies and the digital application of visual information have advanced significantly. Images are now the primary form of communication in people's daily routines. It is now impossible to ignore the new visual proposal known as image social. A network application called social media has all interaction, genuineness, immediacy, and a range of communication methods. (Falavarjani et al., 2021). It has the qualities of timeliness, independence, adherence, and togetherness and provides an excellent environment for involvement and engagement. Images are increasingly the primary means of exchanging information on social media since they have a greater capacity for information transmission and communication across linguistic boundaries (Falavarjani et al., 2021). More academics focus on using photos in social media environments and user behavior.

By pointing out the inherent unwillingness of the average individual to use critical thinking,

Lippmann, 1922 offers a pessimistic view of the typical democratic citizen in his findings in *Public Opinion*. The ability of people to interact meaningfully with problems that impact their everyday lives is criticized by (Lippmann, 1922) because they rely on the pictures in their heads or utilize symbols as shortcuts to sophisticated mental processes. The news media may help to promote involvement by giving trustworthy public signals to support the process of perception development. The perception built and developed by media is an image (Carroll-Beight, 2015).

The concepts of stereotypes and images in people's minds (Lippmann, 1922) outline the constraints of public interaction. He meant that the typical citizen, who cannot get firsthand knowledge of all the world's plurality, constructs or enhances notions about objects, individuals, and places in light of their knowledge of their actions, encounters, and experiences. The citizen creates a pseudo environment, which is a portrayal rather than a mirror of fact, instead of taking part in natural settings. While this is a singular or constrained narrative for individuals and events,

it serves as the person's reality for handling complicated challenges. As a consequence, there is a dependence on stereotypes and preconceptions that creates a triangle-shaped interaction between residents, where there is the accurate picture of activity, how individuals perceive that scene, and then how one reacts to the incident depending on how they have pictured it to be (Gaitano, Lopez-Escobar, & Algarra, 2022).

What is an image's importance? Scholars from different nations and academic fields have studied the response to this question. Thus, it is only logical to suppose that the reports given will have a range of emphasis. As defined by (Boorstin, 1961) in his seminal book *The Image*, an image is not only a symbol, a shape, a tagline, or a readily recalled visual in the realm of communications and media. It is a well-produced personality profile of a person, group, business, thing, or function (Campbell et al., 2006). In branding, it is critical to keep an eye on, assess, and successfully implement the opinion of a country's present picture (Anholt, 2009) (Dinnie, 2010), focusing on the use of perception management. Strategic management is essential in reputation and risk communication because, as stated by (Aula & Mantere 2009), a firm's image is a precious asset that has to be managed effectively.

This paper investigated the crisis in Eastern Ukraine that is framed visually on digital media. The researchers use context investigating to look at how the war was portrayed and perceived in pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian online groups at the height of the conflict in the summer of 2014. They do this using a vast optical data collection from the significant social networking site V Kontakte. The results show that pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian internet groups frame the war differently. While the latter saw the conflict as an all-out war against the “Russian” people of “Eastern Ukraine,” the former preferred to see it as a restricted military operation against local militants. According to the report, framing the battle on digital media encouraged the spread of opposing viewpoints and resulted in different expectations for how the Donbas war would play out in Russia and Ukraine. Overall, our findings imply that the use of digital media for “visual framing” of the conflict in the Donbas fostered the development of various and frequently antagonistic viewpoints on the conflict in “Eastern Ukraine” between internet users who supported Ukraine and Russia. Pro-Russian users perceived the crisis in Eastern Ukraine as an all-out war started by a revolutionary government of Ukraine, in contrast to pro-Ukrainian users who saw it as a restricted military operation against local militants. As a result of the spread of such

conflicting views, many perspectives on the essence of the conflict and varying predictions for how the Donbas war would turn out have emerged (Makhortykh & Sydorova, 2017).

2.6 Peace and War Journalism

The conclusion of the most prolonged struggle in history against terrorism is anticipated in this paper. According to this research and facts, in September 2021, the United States was scheduled to leave Afghanistan altogether (Elham, Sadiq, and Haand, 2021). This research investigates how the New York Times and China Daily portray this conflict, and the just-started peace process, guided by Galtung's War and Peace paradigm". The two newspapers' reporting from Sep to Aug was picked using an approach that incorporated qualitative and quantitative content analysis. One hundred forty-four stories take out, and 73 examples that fit the criteria for selection were examined. The results demonstrate that both publications overused elite-oriented and war are evident aftereffects frames. According to the research, the New York Times uses disparaging language, portrays the Taliban as the dominating power, undermines the morale of the Afghan government and security services, and blames the Afghan people for the conflict. This study's implications are examined (Elham, Sadiq, and Haand, 2021).

The Pashto language has a wise adage, "Blood cannot be washed or cleansed by blood." As a result, disagreements should be settled via discussion, and a political agreement appears to be the only option to finish the American battle in Afghanistan. With the announcement of National Reconciliation Policy (NRP) in late 1986, the first attempt at peacebuilding over the preceding 40 years of conflict was made. But the military battles between the Mujahideen, representing the interests of America and Pakistan, utterly undermined this. In addition, although the U.S. policy throughout the Afghan conflict initially aimed at "crushing" terrorists, it eventually expanded to include the reintegration of the Taliban's foot troops and, more recently, their leadership. Several attempts at rapprochement and establishing peace have been undertaken over the past 20 years, but they have all run into obstacles and deadlocks (Zaki, 2019).

The peace attempts in 2018 were especially noteworthy and aroused genuine aspirations among Afghans for envisioning an inclusive peace, despite the past peace fights being not very promising.

Zalmay Khalilzad, a former United State diplomat to Afghanistan, was named as the Special Representative for Afghanistan Reconciliation in September 2018. He presided over the final nine rounds of direct negotiations between the U.S. and the Taliban from October 12, 2018, to August 22, 2019. There have been eight rounds of negotiations in Doha, Qatar, the location of the Taliban's political office, and one session in the United Arab Emirates. Finally, the “U.S.” and Taliban do the 2020 Agreement of Bringing Peace to Afghanistan to start an Intra-Afghan Dialogue (Hansler, 2020).

Since the publication of the 2005 book of the exact denote by Annabel McGoldrick and Lynch which compiled understandings from their interactions as journos for U.K. T.V. and radio, as instructors and enablers of pieces of training for professional reporters in various countries, as well as the thorough outline of pertinent theoretical approaches on both peace and journalism, peace journalism has have progressed significantly. They proposed a theory that has been cited in the majority of subsequently printed research in the area: When editors and journalists decide what to publish and how to tell it, opportunities are created for society to think about and appreciate peaceful alternatives to conflict. It is known as peace journalism (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005). On several important topics, this approach is purposefully vague. For instance, it makes no connection to the kind of dispute being reported. The business of war reporting, or how journalists react to the "hot phase" of a violent conflict, has been a significant focus of studies in peace journalism. According to (Mogekwu, 2011), this stage of manifest conflict provides, if anything, a less favorable environment for the exercise of journalistic responsibility envisaged in the description than the stage when conflict is latent, with attitudes and actions limited mostly to metaphorical realms.

By focusing on the idea that society in general or, in other incarnations, people and consumers should take into account the benefits of non-violent reactions, peace journalism is widely established in the world of professional journalism, which is dedicated to accurate reporting. If such comments are taken into consideration and then dismissed, there is nothing else media can do about it with staying journalism, therefore, it is up to journalism to allow such thinking and evaluation (Lynch, 2008). In his study, (Goggin, 2013) has thought on the effects of peace journalism in an expanding media landscape in which professional journalism occupies just

one significant form of metaphorical creation among several others made possible by digital media.

The author Goggin, 2013 further suggested that P.J.'s study and campaigning focus instead on the heritage of radical journalism devoted to progressive social change, but few authors have heeded this advice.

Therefore, peace journalism has developed into a widely dispersed motion for change as a facilitative recovery focusing primarily on shortfall assessment of journalistic integrity in the mass press and trying to mobilize what (Hackett, 2011) calls inescapable assessment between many as well as around journalistic and academic communities. Journalist training, whether in formal situations like university courses or through continuous professional development as a kind of donor aid, is the most common shape it takes. (Hackett, 2011) Furthermore, *The Peace Journalist*, a biannual publication published by Park University's Global Peace Journalism Center, documents many initiatives in this field. The current issue (at the time of writing) highlights programs in nations such as Turkey, Afghanistan, New Zealand, Greece, Pakistan, Kenya, Jordan, the Comoros Islands, Israel, and Nigeria.

Meanwhile, a framework of planned and systematic changes has yet to emerge from the peace journalism community, according to journalist instructors (Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2015), in addition to this particular issue, including theoretical and methodological advancements in peace journalism. The programs do not have a worldwide reach and are dispersed regionally. There is a paradox in peace journalism that has to be addressed, and this paradox highlights the need for more organizational resources to be applied to it. Johan Galtung initially put out the theory in reaction to his seminal article, *The Structure of Foreign News*, which was issued in 1965 with Mari Holmboe Ruge. This participation accelerated and catalyzed an arising general agreement in journalism academics that brushed aside the impact of individual reporters on the news content, as depicted in the notion of "gatekeeper" (Manning White, 1950), in favor of trying to identify conceptual forces in the "organizational and ideological" frameworks in which journalism is generated. However, the primary mechanism for promoting peace journalism as a professional activity has been the individual activity of editors and reporters emphasized in journalism training and education.

Nohrstedt and Ottosen, (2015) Assert that a joint approach with universities, colleges, training centers, NGOs like Reporters Sans Frontieres and the International Federation of Journalists, as well as the European Council and the U.N., in specific UNESCO, with the recommendation of safety data for journalists is necessary. A strategy like this, which systematizes and coordinates peace journalism donations to journalism education and training, would start to provide the structural resources needed to support a set of ideals and concepts that have consistently gained support and been seen to be appealing. Such organizations would be reliable collaborators in a shared try to produce a change when it comes to constructing journalism as a significant component to prevailing global opinion and to raising the profession's ethical grounds about violent conflicts" (Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2015).

Then, to persuade prospective collaborators of the need to encourage more excellent peace journalism, they make the case that its current theoretical perspectives, primarily derived from peace studies, should be augmented with methods mindful of Critical Discourse Analysis. The argument for peace journalism must demonstrate how readers and audiences are encouraged and equipped to value non-violent solutions and what impact their diffusion in metaphorical landscapes may have inside sectarian strife. Since these writers first proposed it (Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2015), critical discourse analysis has been applied to a four-country research project on the differences in viewer reactions to War Journalism and Peace Journalism variants of news broadcasts. This study allowed analysts to find conceptual differences, further than the tier of the latent content, in the portrayal of conflicts and fit them to those in the peace journalism model (Lynch, 2014). Nohrstedt and Ottosen demonstrate how the addition of Critical Discourse Analysis to the peace journalism intellectual method reveals strands of significance and meaningfulness in the reporting of defense issues in the Norwegian and Swedish media, such as the relationships between the two nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), as well as the underlying strategic suppositions.

By summarizing the contents of a significant additional book, an organized compilation of that name, Saumava Mitra's addition to this special edition explores more of the theoretical connection thread" between Communication and Peace (Hoffmann and Hawkins, 2015). To make a stronger case for common threads among the wide variety of fields of information exchange, fields of study, and practices that communicate the overall objective of contributing to the creating

or building of peace, Mitra draws attention to the ability to share interpretive research bodies of work of the contributions in her article. By separating communication disciplines according to the descriptive connection to the legitimacy of the literary forms they cope with, she provides a different theoretical viewpoint, one competent in facilitating classification in this learning area. To go beyond, she likes to call the activity in a deafening roar that such compilations can occasionally appear. She thus suggests grouping the techniques into three major categories as a beginning move:

Reporting and portraying peace, Intervening for peace, and Enacting and communicating peace. The assertion that representational manufacturing kind of equates with a pre-existing actuality, rather than simply being congruous, can be recognized as these, according to Mitra, putting numbers at various points across a spectrum depending on their range from the underpinning suppositions of actual journalism. The framework is evocative of the spectrum of approaches to media intervention in a conflict that the Canadian Institute for Media, Peace, and Civic Society (IMPACS) suggested much previously in a leaflet, which suggested segments for essential journalism coaching, dispute for journalists, and what it called "intentional programming" (Howard, 2002). This implausible notion gains theoretical support and acceptance in Mitra's hands.

As was previously said, in today's more blatantly stratified and divided social spaces, professional journalism brushes up against and partially intersects with many other processed forms of nonfictional interaction. Because of this, journalism is now perceived to be exchanging and bargaining its material with experts in related industries, depending on the time, place, and story settings. Given that the adjustment variables established by (Galtung and Ruge, 1965) were occurrences of the institutional forms of news in the mid-20th century, which is now becoming farther removed from modern reality, one may anticipate that their effect on how conflicts are portrayed is waning.

As a result, there may be more room and opportunities for further peace journalism, referred to as democratic accessibility (Goggin, 2013), but at what price? In their dedication and input to this special edition, (Farrell & Allan, 2015) examine the complex issues of integrity and trust that arise when information relevant to conflict-related media articles is more ready to attain news audiences without going through the filter media of qualified observation, replica editing, or perhaps ideological censorship affiliated with mainstream news methods of production. The

worldwide non-profit WITNESS is one group conscious of the potential of this scenario for peace and civil rights. Farrell and Allan evaluate its research, which provides adequate individuals in conflict areas with recording devices and the coaching to use them, as participation relies on an appropriate comprehensive extent. They contend that some of the peace journalism organization's strategic initiatives are now clearer in light of its emergence and evolution in allowing alternate, public servant ways to report. It undoubtedly aids in dethroning legitimate sources whose preeminence has been criticized as supporting the dominance of war journalism in the mainstream press. Still, it also appears to contribute to forms of expression in which the promotion of a particular viewpoint is more overtly exhibited (Farrell & Allan, 2015).

Leticia Anderson (2015) presents a fresh scientific take on a comparably cold conflict: how Muslims and Islam are portrayed in Australian media. She contrasts the exposure given by a few publications in the months preceding the Federal elections in 2004 and 2007, correspondingly two significant political events. The previous restored John Howard's coalition government to power for a fourth term, while the latter indicated a break by appointing Kevin Rudd as the head of a

Labor cabinet. Howard was eviscerated from Kirribilli House, the Prime Minister's official house on "Sydney's Lower North Shore, and his neighborhood as a sign of the purported political upheaval this caused. He lost both his parliamentary seat and his government as a result.

In a pivotal report from London's Runnymede Trust (Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia, 1997), which tried to explain how Islam is frequently portrayed as a monolithic and making threats political entity instead of a subtle and varied religion, Anderson formalizes the description of Islamophobia. Howard had become well-known for appearing to incite and take advantage of voters' anxieties of outsiders both geographically and culturally to obtain support at the polls (Marr and Wilkinson, 2003). Anderson notes that during the two election campaigns, "Howard's Liberal Party" disseminated phony fliers in marginal districts that seemed to be from the opposing Labor contender in each instance and indicated preferential coverage for Muslims to turn off non-Muslim votes. The contrast was that in the last election, they were exposed to a media frenzy that broke just before election day due to one of several articles that exposed how journalists had used such matters for political purposes.

The argument that the language promoting CDA is culturally essential as well as socially conditioned was supported at a similar time as opposition politicians felt more confident in disputing some of the beliefs and convictions of the Howard period (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

With the aid of evaluation criteria got from the Runnymede Trust report, Anderson discovers that the coverage provided to Australian readers in the second period under consideration, beginning in 2007, is markedly less Islamophobic than in the first, being both predisposed by and creating a contribution to a reducing splitting and demonizing political climate. This time of media attention, beginning in 2007, is the period Anderson is looking at. Anderson's piece offers a significant methodological advancement since it complements P.J. with a conceptual approach intended to uncover deeply classified themes of cultural violence rather than focusing on reporting the actual assault, as in many earlier studies.

Galtung, Lynch, and McGoldrick's studies mainly focus on literary documents. (Lynch and McGoldrick also make a film emphasizing the visual as an educational tool.) This study opines several reasons to emphasize the visual components more in the method of peace journalism. We just retain visual impressions better than spoken ones, which is one factor (Magnussen and Greenlee, 1998). In the past, our memories of war coverage are more likely to contain visual sensations than textual ones. The young child who ran hysterically down the street after being struck by a napalm bomb during the Vietnam War is an excellent illustration of how such memorable pictures linger in our minds.

People generate inferences and judgments from these memories by fusing them with their experience and expertise from other domains (Eide, 2005). People perceive images the same way we perceive the rest of the planet and frequently consider what we see to be true (Eide, 2005). Individuals accept the concepts they grasp as swiftly and naturally as they believe the facts they see, says Daniel Gilbert in his conclusion (Eide, 2005). According to research on how the brain decodes visual information, it is essential how the photos are arranged on the pages. Images positioned on the left side of a page are more memorable to us and given more weight. The left side is imbued with unique weight; it acquires the role of a source of usefulness with which the spectator prefers to connect, says Rudolf Arnheim (Eide, 2005).

Although news photos freeze-frame things in a given frame, Susan Sontag claims that they even have a "profound sting" than movies or television: in a related to information saturation, the picture gives a swift manner of arresting something and a condensed manner of remembering it (Sontag, 2003). Sontag also emphasizes the significance of photographing in preserving our historical memory, saying that the issue is not that people will remember via photos but rather that they exclusively recall through photos. This photographic memory outweighs other types of comprehension and memory. More often than not, being able to recollect an image rather than a tale is what it means to remember (Sontag, 2003).

It is also appropriate to use Susan Sontag as an example for creating the idea of peace journalism because she already addresses how visual components might activate more prominent viewpoints for peace in her book *Regarding the Pain of Others*, published in 2003. She begins the debate by citing Virginia Woolf's novel *Three Guineas*, which examines the Spanish Civil War, to explain how we may all rally support for oppressed people and tiny countries facing an assault from superpowers. Sontag refers to Virginia Woolf when she says that Robert Capa was one of the pioneers of photojournalism during the Second World War. CAPA and a few of his associates created the photographic collective Magnum. It established a journalistic tenet pertinent to peace journalism: its participants should pledge to report on their current conflicts without sexist bias (Sontag, 2003).

In conflict journalism, propagandism is a crucial component of which the creation of adversary impressions is heavily influenced by photos, cartoons, and other visual aspects. Since visual influence provides a direct route to feelings, the discussion of peace journalism should emphasize the existence of visual components. Since tv, in particular, relies on images to deliver stories, the lack of images may occasionally be an issue. We must first realize that most stories never appear in the news without images or other visual components. For instance, the absence of visual depiction has kept significant wars like East Timor, Sudan, Somalia, Liberia, and Zaire off the conventional Western press's news agenda (Zelizer: 2004).

Michael Griffin emphasizes the significance of visual imagery in framing tales in an article that contrasts the use of photography in news magazines' coverage of battles, including the 1991 Gulf War, the 2001 attack on Afghanistan, and the 2003 war in Iraq (Griffin: 2004). After

examining Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News & World Report, he came to the following result, emphasizing the military and parochial framework: Washington's official version of the story was frequently corroborated by photos in U.S. news periodicals. The American president was a significant figure in the photographic reportage, showing up in images as a powerful and assured leader. The falsehoods were characterized by U.S. soldiers, weaponry, and military equipment, projecting the appearance of a solid and committed nation prepared to defeat its adversaries. Stereotypical symbols served as the enemy's only representation. And the nuances and complexities of international relations and economy stayed unknown. Finally, news reports mainly ignored the financial and human consequences of War (Griffin 2004). Griffin emphasizes that a photographic image alone won't bring focus to human misery or arouse empathy for fallen soldiers. Visual representations in the popular are more likely to establish persistent emblems of that discourse than to offer us other viewpoints because symbolic validity is still correlated with authority.

2.7 Theoretical Ground of the Peace Journalism

The theory of framing is a notion that encourages peace journalism. Many theorists suggested that the framing theory serves as the theoretical cornerstone of “peace and war journalism,” “Lee and Maslog 2005; McMahon and Chow-White 2011; Fong 2009; Ross 2007”. Entman asserts that “frames” reinforce a specific interpretation through the use of opinions, stock sentences, and stereotypical images. Through repeating, positioning, and reinforcement, the words, and visuals help to produce an immense evaluation that is easier to understand, more agreeable, and more unforgettable than alternative elucidation. By putting it in a simple context, framing refers to how the media chooses specific subjects and emphasizes them in the media world during the newsmaking process (Entman 1993).

As McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (1997) indicate, framing is the extension of agenda-setting, or as they put it, second level agenda-setting, hence it also connects to the agenda-setting theory. The choice of news media's issue is the first level of agenda-setting while selecting the components that make up an issue is the second level. Conventional agenda setting assumes that the media tells us what to interpret about, whereas framing deals with the problem of the media, teaching us how to interpret a problem, according to Ghanem (1997, p. 8). In simple words,

framing is the process by which journalists compose a news story by selecting specific themes from various topics and presenting the topics' meanings in whichever they wish to convey them.

The extent to which and under situations, the audience reflects the frame made available to them is frequently investigated in the study of framing. The effects of framing can impact both individuals and society (Weaver 2007). Framing can influence attitudes toward issues based on specific frames at the individual level and can influence social-level processes like decisionmaking or group activities at the societal level (Ibid.). A more subjective textual analysis might be used to study framing from a theoretical viewpoint. Instead of focusing on the concerns covered, the study of framing is primarily interested in "how" the issues or objects are portrayed in the media (Ibid.).

In the same way, peace journalists must decide what to report on and how to present the conflict so that the public can examine and appreciate non-violent approaches to the conflict (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005, p. 5). This is similar to the peace journalism model, which instructs journalists on what to include and what not to include in news reporting to influence the public with the ultimate goal of resolving the conflict, in that framing is generally concerned with the presentation of issues to influence the public's perception. Peace journalism had advanced significantly since

2005, when the book of the same name was written by Annabel McGoldrick and Jake Lynch (Lynch, 2015). Peace Journalism (referred to as P.J.) possesses the unique qualities and competencies to promote productive dialogue. This study demonstrates how adding P.J. to "conflict theory" can improve both the theory and the practice of transitional justice. According to Galtung (Hackett and Zhao, 2005), peace journalism can play a crucial role in facilitating equalization of conflict by inspiring professionals to present disagreements differently than they typically do. Authentic and open communication between adversaries is the foundation of a successful dispute resolution process (Peleg, 2006). Unaddressed needs must be openly examined, and preferences and reasons rather than opinions must be clearly declared. Parties are driven to pursue confrontations actively when their stakes, such as meeting their initial requirements, are involved. Conflicts become entrenched or protracted when such complaints are overlooked persistently (Azar, 1985; Burton, 1987; Montville, 1990; Peleg, 1999) (Peleg, 2006). Peace

journalism may and should bring such neglected human desires to the top of the agenda and resolve intractable conflicts (Galtung, 1996; Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005) (Peleg, 2006)

2.8 Perspectives of Peace Journalism

Howard (2003) stated that conflict-sensitive journalism is one that is delicate to dispute by combining conflict analysis approaches with peace journalism. The primary research is that effective reporting can help reduce conflict by informing citizens and making them more educated and potentially safer by covering initiatives to encourage conflict minimization. The journalist, sensitive to conflicts, will assess the situation and inform the public while outlining potential dispute resolutions. In contrast to peace journalism, conflict-sensitive reporting emphasizes conflict analysis while still aiming to record in a way that promotes dispute resolution.

By establishing the mainstream news standards and focusing on the issue of developing peace journalism where government and commercial media monopolies predominate in a global context, Tehranian (2002) examined peace journalism in the context of global conflict (Ibid. p.58). Most media ethics are professionally practiced at the individual level. However, Tehranian (2002) claimed that media ethics must be practiced at all institutional, national, and international levels in today's globalized society. Due to this, there needs to be an ethical standard for international media, and its content should be diverse to throw back the complexity and diversity of the universe. (Ibid. p.58). Influential media outlets dominate most of the stories, ultimately resulting in a hegemony of opinion; “peace journalism” and “media ethics” cannot flourish in such a setting (Ibid). This led Tehranian (2002) to conclude that nationally good journalism is a precondition for peace journalism (Ibid., 58) and that the voiceless must be given a platform for peace journalism to flourish globally (Ibid. p.79).

2.9 Perspective of Photograph in Peace Journalism

Peace journalism is used in the media to prefer peace over war. For centuries, different scholars have been working on peace journalism so that they can encourage peace on social grounds. Johan

Galtung was the first to explain to journalists the difference between “peace journalism” and “war journalism” regarding coverage of conflict. He divided these concepts into two different

competing wireframes. In 1965, Galtung and Ruge first used this international news and conflict coverage concept. Peace journalism emerged as a surrogate and normative response to conventional War (Galtung, 1986, 1998, 1998) (Fahmy, 2012).

As explained before, most of the literature on peace journalism, with a few exceptions, remains qualitative and normative (e.g., Galtung, 2004; Galtung, Jacobsen, & Brand-Jacobsen, 2002; Hanitzsch, 2004, 2007; Hanitzsch, Loeffelholz, & Mustamu, 2004; Lynch, 2007, 2008; Lynch & Galtung, 2010; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005). However, the research offers recommendations and a list of the essential standards for “peace journalism” (Galtung, 1986, 1998b, 1998c; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001; Lynch, 2007, 2008; Lynch & Galtung, 2010; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005). (Dogra,

2014) According to Galtung (1986), peace journalism is superior to “war journalism” because it promotes peace and gives coverage to non-extremist and dynamic action.” In simple words, the peace journalism notion emphasizes a more thorough and accurate way of presenting events by drawing on the principles of conflict analysis and change (Lynch, 2000). The objective is to advance the notion of peace and to present a more realistic account of all the sides to the fight while avoiding one-sided war reporting. (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005) (Fahmy, 2012).

Now, if we relate the use of photographs in peace journalism, it explores a new pathway. Let us consider two different types of visual imaging. One is the image of human suffering and death of people, while the other is the image of the resolution, harmony, treatment, and redevelopment. (Rodriguez, 2011). The distinction leads to the visual aspect of covering news events for forming a peace journalism frame versus a “war journalism frame (Fahmy, 2012). The “peace journalism frame” boosts the sense of encouraging harmony, and the war journalism frame promotes the atmosphere of cruelty and brutality. As these factors affect people's lives in a conflict environment, photographs in peace journalism strive to shed light on the structural and cultural impact of violence. Instead of viewing disputes as a straightforward duality, it seeks to portray them as including multiple parties and multiple goals (Fahmy, 2012).

2.10 Importance of Images in News

History shows that shaping media exposure and its stuff always remains an essential topic in journalism. Thanks to Elihu Katz, whose theory of Uses and Gratification plays an immense role in this exploration. The U.G. theorists discuss the two different types of perspectives, i.e., congenital and prime needs, directly connected to the importance of images in the news. Moreover, they have also explained what and why the audience pays attention to the media and its stuff. The theory of Uses and Gratification investigates how the media affects people's lives and highlights how individuals use the media to satisfy their requirements and needs. In other words, the approach emphasizes what the audience does with media rather than what media does with them. Additionally, this view contradicts the Magic Bullet theory, which claims that the audience is unresponsive. The user or audience is the focus of this concept, and they look to the media for topics to debate among themselves. They learn more and become more aware of the world outside their sight by using the media (Dogra, 2014). No doubt, an image without texts can be obvious but considered weak in meaning. So, the relationship between images and texts cannot deny. The images always need some explanation to be authentic and completely understandable; texts give them this strength. Together they are powerful enough that no doubt is to be made in answering the questions. Levie and Lentz's (1982) research showed that images and text alone are not enough to enhance learning. Images and texts give the reader different meanings, in which images are more classic and indexical while texts use symbolic systems.

Furthermore, it is observed that viewers give quick responses to images as compared to texts. This is because images make the viewer more immediate and emotional, whereas texts require a long time to be interpreted. (Hill, 2004; Lang et al., 1999). In the USA, research was conducted by the Readership Institute (2001), in which 7000 newspaper readers and no-readers were asked how significant various sorts of news and information are to them. It was found that more prominent newspapers run more images and long stories than smaller newspapers. Moreover, it was noted that those newspapers that are more satisfied with political coverage had included excessive images. Percy and Rossiter (1983) worked for print advertising and discovered using two visual aspects, picture size, and color. The primary focus of their research was on the relationship between attention to the text that goes with a picture and in-text images. They concluded that a more comprehensive picture might result in a cognitive-perceptual style of

processing where the product or its image in memory is given higher focus, affecting perception construction (Dogra, 2014). Garcia and Stark's (1991) study focused on how the layout of newspaper pages encourages the readers to go through the newspaper. Their research showed that the larger images in the newspaper attract the readers first, making them look at the others. On average, readers looked at three-fourths of the images. The size of an image improved its appeal. Adversely, color didn't matter all that much. People are displaying diverse emotions through images revealed to be irrelevant for attracting attention. Therefore, based on these studies, images capture attention— primarily to themselves. Garcia and Stark (1991) highlighted that reading the words was not always obligatory to understand the graphics fully. (Dogra, 2014).

2.11 Terrorist Organization (TTP)

Media researchers have studied the news frames that followed the incidents of September 11, 2001, during the past ten years. The perceptions of terrorism as one of the extremist groups, i.e., TTP, are examined in this research. (Aldoory, 2011). There have undoubtedly been many concepts used in the media and terrorism study, but framing theory has been the most successful in terms of content and pace (Goffman, 1974) (Aldoory, 2011). In fact, framing studies (Weaver, 2007) have been widely and frequently used to study how media cover violence (Edy & Meirick, 2007; Entman, 1991; Schaefer, 2003; Ruigrok & van Atteveldt, 2007) (Aldoory, 2011). Terrorism predates modern culture. However, no terrorist act had ever killed more than 500 individuals before the 9/11 attacks (Hoffman, 2006, p. 19) (Aldoory, 2011). Horrifically, the U.S. suffered widespread terrorism on September 11, 2001, which resulted in 2,976 deaths on American territory. Numerous aspects of this subject, including its classification, collective efficacy and incentive, extremism, acquisition, female and juvenile engagement, deterrence, training, and response, have been analyzed and studied by researchers (Hoffman, 2006; Crenshaw, 1995; Crenshaw & Pimlott, 1991)” (Aldoory, 2011). Many of them studied the intricate correlation among terrorism and the media as well as the function of the media in spreading awareness of terrorism (Altheide, 2004, 2006; Cho et al., 2003; Graber, 2003; Norris, Kern & Just, 2003; Nacos, 2007). When one mentions terrorist in a democratic society, one also mentions media, according to the researcher. For by its very nature, "terrorism is a psychological weapon that relies on spreading a danger throughout the community” (Wilkinson, 2001, p. 177) (Aldoory, 2011).

The rise of TTP is directly tied to the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. At that time, a large number of Afghan Taliban and Al-Qaeda members came to Pakistan and settled down in the areas of FATA, KPK, and Baluchistan. In resultant, these regions became "Talibanized," with Afghan Taliban officials fraternizing with local racial chiefs and inducting Pakistani tribesmen and madrassa students as combatants against U.S. and NATO forces. (Jadoon, 2021). The TTP group was involved in 269 attacks, including an explosion in the Mingora district of the Swat Valley, an attack on the police training academy in 2009, Binghamton shootings in New York in 2009, an attack on U.N.'s World Food Program in 2009, a suicide bombing at a checkpoint along the Pakistan-Afghan border 2009, Lahore mosque attack in 2010, a suicide bombing in Mohmand agency 2010, navy's largest airbase in 2011, killed six people in Peshawar bombing 2011, killed 50 people in Sufi shrine, Dera Ghazi Khan 2011, an attack on school going girl Malala Yousafzai in 2012, an attack on Karachi's international airport in 2014, November 2, 2014, attack on Wagah border Pakistan side, the bomb-attack at the Army Public School in Peshawar that killed 150 students in 2014 (Ahsan, 2015a; Jadoon, 2021).

According to Global Terrorism Database, between 2010-2020, out of a total of 1,780, TTP made almost 800 (45 percent) and 727 (41 percent) attacks in FATA and KPK. As TTP spread all over Pakistan, many attacks can also be observed in Baluchistan and Sindh. Out of the 4,880 individuals killed by the TTP in these years, 1,851 (38%) and 2,241 (46%) deaths occurred in FATA and K.P., respectively. (Jadoon, 2021) Compared to other districts, Peshawar saw the highest number of TTP attacks, including the most TTP-related suicide attacks. In terms of assault volume, the TTP was already at what would turn out to be its height in 2010, but then the following two years saw a steady and considerable fall. Operation Zarb-e-Azam, announced in June 2014, had impacted the TTP's operational capacity. This massive military action has resulted in the deaths of over a thousand militants. After that, there was a significant decline in TTP attacks (Ahsan, 2015a; Jadoon, 2021).

The military and civilians were the targets of several TTP strikes between 2010 and 2014. After 2014, though, the TTP seems to focus mainly on the police. An analysis of state-led operations against the TTP indicates that this reorientation may be related to a change in the security forces' strategies. After 2015, most operations involved armed encounters between the police and TTP militants, as opposed to the drone strikes that comprised most of the operations

between 2010 and 2015. For instance, in 2017 and 2018, police raids made up around 40% of all security operations against the TTP. It suggests that the TTP's decision to target the police more frequently is retribution for these raids (Jadoon, 2021).

2.12 TTP's Social Impact

The social creation of reality is a powerful theoretical stance (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) (Aldoory, 2011). This viewpoint might assist in explaining why a journalist might rely on personal prejudices when covering a delicate, unusual, or mundane topic. The social constructionism idea broadly contends that humans construct their reality through interpersonal relationships with those around; the universe as they perceive it is created by personal experiences, attitudes, expertise, and biases. Examining how people and groups contribute to the creation of their seen social reality is one way to explore social constructionism. This frequently entails examining how cultural phenomena are generated, reified, codified, and comprehended. This chain is continual and adaptive, and there is a good chance that it will change as meaning evolves from one individual to another and over time. Consequently, this idea of the shared building is particularly relevant when researching framing, which is likewise a continuous activity (Aldoory, 2011).

But it is time for sociologists to start reevaluating the social and perhaps the idea of society as a whole. Liberal (Hayek 1979), ministerial (Mrs. Thatcher in 1987), and culturally critical (Baudrillard 1983) interpretations of the end of society, the social, and sociality were presented during the last quarter of the 20th century against a broader backdrop of the problematization of the function and efficacy of national and welfare states (Dean, 2010). Good communication is essential for social order, political administration, and social structure and necessitates agreement on terminology standards. The widespread and time-honored influence of the September 11, 2001 strikes in New York evocatively pictorial how terrorist acts can have a massive international stature. The societies that face terrorism have long-lasting effects on them. With the terrorism of radical Islamic organizations like al-Qaeda, TTP, and ISIS, this impact can sometimes be 1/3 or minor. Even if it varies throughout time, it is more likely to be substantial and deep-rooted these days. The TTP terrorist measurement hit tourist flows and increased investments, particularly in security. Industries are frequently compelled to adopt innovative auditing tactics and validate problematic religious-based initiatives. (Khosrokhavar).

Terrorism by TTP has also changed the daily working routine of people to a great extent. People adapt their routines and actions, learning, for instance, that they should not remain inert in the event of a terrorist attack and everyday lives with the threat of such an attack in the back of their experience. Moreover, through violent acts, terrorists spread fear, impair social order and anxiety, and negatively impact society. After the attacks, many people experienced varying degrees of depression related to their geographical proximity to the events, socioeconomic standing, perception of impending threats, and subsequent economic developments. In addition to disease, survivors of terrorism will face changes in their general level of stress, changes in routine behaviors among community members, and changes in health-related behaviors. (Khosrokhavar; Thomas A. Grigger, 2016). Not only this, but TTP attacks have also created a massive gap between different groups of people, such as Muslims and Jews, in cultures where they fabricate a minority. Furthermore, it stigmatizes or denigrates minority groups, like Muslims in European societies, giving the public the impression that these people are terrorists because they are engaged. (Khosrokhavar, 2016).

2.13 TTP's Economic Impact

To make the roots of a country's economy hollow, nothing is so much more impactful than terrorism. It is a global issue that has resided since this universe came into existence. But it has gained much importance after the 9/11 event in the U.S. Due to this invasion, the economic growth of the Middle East and South Asia is damaged, particularly. The U.S. believes that the TTP is directly involved in promoting terrorism on a mass level. So, they started an anti-TTP operation and attacked Afghanistan with U.S. and NATO forces. Terrorism impacts developing nations considerably more severely than developed ones because the concentration of resources is more impacted (Sandler and Enders, 2005) (Ahsan, 2015b). Due to its participation in the Afghan conflicts, Pakistan has always remained the victim of terrorism by TTP. Pakistan has been facing this situation for the last three decades, and it has caused great harm to its economic growth. However, the prevalence of terrorism varies among various groupings of nations. Terrorist attacks, for instance, are more common in established economies like those of the OECD countries, but their impact is less severe than in underdeveloped nations (Bloomberg et al., 2004) (Shabir Hyder, 2015). Sandler and Enders (2005) believe the same to set the situation of terrorism side by side both in developed and developing countries. According to a study, rich countries have large

economies, and any terrorist activity may cause resources to be shifted among different economic sectors; however, this is not the situation in developing countries, where any significant terrorist act may imperil economic growth. Developed nations can withstand the effects of terrorism because they have more vital institutions and markets, just like their sizable economies. While many developing nations lack this capability, they can offer the necessary financial and economic stimulation to absorb the effects of terrorism (Hyder, 2015).

Pakistan's ongoing insurgency over the years has harmed the nation in all spheres, including the economy. Other significant economic costs of terrorism, besides the immeasurable harm to people, include, among other things, starvation, policy uncertainty, ecological destruction, a decline in commodities and FDI, insufficient state resources, and the swap of increasing supply for the maintenance of peace. The previous incidents of violence and terrorism in Pakistan were one of the critical causes of the overall GDP growth in 2010, falling to 1.6%. All these economic costs have a substantial impact on economic growth. Moreover, a 1% increase in terrorist events results in a 0.39 % decline in per capita GDP growth (Hyder, 2015).

2.14 TTP's Religious Impact

TTP is a multifaceted organization. Instead, it is a coalition of more than 40 Islamist and Pashtun regional tribes from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas. Along with its preponderance of Pashtun members, the TTP is culturally inclusive, including violent Arab, Uzbek, Afghan, Chechen, and Punjabi groups. The Mehsud Group and the Punjabi Taliban are the TTP's two most important factions. The Mehsud Group, which makes up the TTP's core, is devoted primarily to carrying out Jihad against the government of Pakistan. The Punjabi Taliban is made up of numerous sectarian organizations that are committed to the Jihad in Kashmir. There are several minor factions inside the TTP in addition to these main ones, each having its own goals that are distinct from the TTP's overall objectives (CISAC, 2022; Jadoon, 2021).

But regarding sectarian inclination, this research paper highlights the foundation of TTP with brine goals that has a rich religious history. Among these goals, one of their basic mottoes is to endorse a firm understanding and implementation of Shariah rule across the entire state of

Pakistan. According to this view, it is derived that TTP strongly opposes female education. They don't want females to seek knowledge at any cost. A practical example can be seen in the form of an attack that was made on school-going girl Malala Yousafzai in Oct 2012. TTP claims that the constitution of Pakistan should be exchanged with Sharia law so that Pakistan can be recognized as a pure Islamic state (CISAC, 2022; Jadoon, 2021).

Secondly, TTP aims to resist and expel U.S. arms from Afghanistan. The TTP's current mission is to assist the Afghan Taliban in continuing to rule Kabul when the United States withdrew from Afghanistan in 2021. The TTP aims to launch a defensive Jihad against the government of Pakistan in order to drive Pakistani security forces out of the FATA. The TTP asserts that their Jihad against the government of Pakistan is a defense operation in opposition to an enslaved U.S. and corrupt government. TTP's primary goal is to topple the Pakistani government and establish a Muslim state there. As the TTP comprises numerous organizations with vast sectarian histories, individual TTP leaders may prioritize the intuition's goals concerning their one. The worldwide Jihad, according to Baitullah Mehsud, is a plan to liberate other Muslims from persecution, impose Shariah law, and wreak vengeance on the growing American presence and drone strikes in Pakistan. (CISAC, 2022; Jadoon, 2021).

According to CISAC, the context of Taliban derives from the Pashto language, which means "students." Taliban is a group that includes the rustic, agronomist, and men that were getting an education in Islam in Afghan and Pakistani religious schools (CISAC, 2022). The Taliban strengthened their roots in southern Afghanistan and began to flourish. Moreover, it is a Sunni Islamist nationalist and pro-Pashtun group created in the early 1990s. From 1996 to October 2001, it ruled over the majority of areas of Afghanistan. In 1994, when the Soviet-backed Afghan government was overthrown, the Taliban made its way across the south and took control of numerous provinces from different armed groups. The Taliban's initial action was establishing a rigorous understanding of Quranic law and guidance. What particularly confounds many academics and the general public is the resemblance of the word Taliban in both Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan 2007 and the native Afghan Taliban 1994. But this difference gets clear when the Afghan Taliban condemned the APS attack in 2014 (CISAC, 2022).

The Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) is Pakistan's one of the most prominent life-separating extremist groups. In 2007, Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan basically established in supervision of Baitullah Mehsud and now TTP is located at South Waziristan. It is a division of the Pakistani Taliban, which contains most of its group but not all of them. TTP is involved with the Afghan Taliban and has close ties to Al Qaeda. On the other hand, the TTP concentrates on battling Pakistani security agencies, in contrast to the Afghan Taliban, which fights the American-led coalition forces in Afghanistan. There are three primary objectives of TTP: To uphold Afghan Taliban rule in Kabul following the withdrawal of American soldiers, to implement Shariah law in Pakistan, wage defensive Jihad against the security forces of Pakistan (CISAC, 2022). TTP is classified into different groups. These are: Mehsud Group, which consists of Maulana Fazlullah,

Baitullah Mehsud's faction, and his affiliates throughout FATA, has waged Jihad against Pakistan for backing the American War on Terror, Muqami Taliban in which Maulvi Nazir of South Waziristan and Gul Bahadur of North Waziristan, is thought to be pro-government and primarily concerned with aiding the Jihad in Afghanistan, Punjabi Taliban that collaborates with TTP after focusing on Kashmir/India Jihad or sectarianism within Pakistan, Niche Group with distinct goals, like the TTP-affiliated Ghazi Force led by Red Mosque preacher Abdul Aziz (CISAC, 2022).

All seven tribal agencies and districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) in FATA, including Swat, Bannu, Tank, Lakki Marwat, Dera Ismail Khan, Kohistan, Buner and Malakand are thought to have TTP recruits. After Hakimullah Mehsud was killed by a drone hit in late 2013, the TTP's new leader was Maulana Fazlullah, a brutal leader from the Swat Valley. At first, it was said that Hakimullah's close aide Khan Syed, also known as Khalid Sajna, would take his position. However, the TTP appointed Maulana Fazlullah after several factions became incensed. Fazlullah also goes by the "Mullah FM" moniker since he uses local radio stations to disseminate his messages (Jamal & Ahsan, 2015). Then, One of the TTP's most capable leaders, Baitullah Mehsud's subordinate, was responsible for a series of strikes against NATO supply trucks traveling to Afghanistan. During 2007, in South Waziristan Hakimullah orchestrated the abduction of some 250 Pakistani armed forces who, at that time, were taken captive until a ceasefire agreement was

arranged. Still, the Shias between them were brutally murdered. In 2009, Hakimullah Mehsud assumed leadership of the Taliban in Pakistan.

He oversaw the TTP forces in Pakistan's Orakzai, Khyber, and Kurram disputed areas, where he developed a reputation for being cruel and youthful, as well as intelligent and combative. On November 1, 2013, a drone attack claimed his life. A crucial part was finally played by Baitullah Mehsud, who Newsweek described as more deadly than Osama bin Laden, in the rise of insurgency in western Pakistan. In 2009, forty committee members chose Baitullah Mehsud as the TTPs' chairman, representing several areas and seven FATA tribal agencies. According to estimates, Mehsud had up to 20,000 troops under his command (Jamal & Ahsan, 2015). Mehsud is also accused of the 2008 bombing of the "Marriott Hotel in Islamabad" and the assassination of Benazir Bhutto, which sent a wave of terror throughout the local and international community and resulted in the deaths of hundreds of people, allied troops, policemen, and security agencies in Pakistan. Mehsud once said, "Only Jihad can bring peace to the globe." On August 5, 2009, a drone operation in South Waziristan by the United States Central Intelligence Agency murdered Baitullah Mehsud and his wife one of the enigmatic Islamic warlords, Mangal Bagh, is a member of the Afridi tribe, the most prominent family in the 2,500-squarekilometer Khyber agency. He died fighting the Afghan mujahedeen in his early years against the Soviets. He continued to be a part of the secular and nationalist Awami National Party after heading back. Late on, he became more extremist in his religious views and sided with the ferocious "Mufti Munir Shakir (Jamal & Ahsan, 2015).

Bagh is purportedly the leader of the Lashkar-e-Islam in the FATA region's Khyber agency. He took charge when the lack of effective government authority allowed him to do so. He and his military lynch mobs effectively controlled the Bara tehsil of the Khyber Agency until they were forced out in a search operation in June 2008. After that, he leaves Bara to reassemble in the faroff valley of Tirah, which has become a mashup of jihadists. Lashkar-i-Islam isn't in favor of the Taliban, unlike other militant Islamic organizations. Bagh himself stated: "Ours is a reforming organization attempting to promote virtue and prevent immorality. We have purged Bara of drug dealers, bettors, kidnappers, vehicle thieves, and other criminals, and we aim to purge Jamrud and all of Peshawar of those who operates drug and gambling dens. Even though he was regularly

encouraged to join the TTP by Baitullah Mehsud and his associates, he refused because he did not want to engage against the Pakistani military and hurt the nation, according to Bagh. (Jamal &

Ahsan, 2015). One of the Taliban's most potent commanders in South Waziristan, Abdullah Mehsud, engaged in combat with both the Northern Alliance and the United States. The United States took him prisoner. in 2001. They detained him there for more than two years before releasing him after he persuaded the investigator that he was an excellent Afghan man. A short time after being freed, he went back to South Waziristan, where he again develop his team (estimated to be 5,000 Taliban foot soldiers) to confront the U.S. army, invaded the government and force of Pakistan, oversaw the abduction of two “Chinese engineers, and ultimately demonstrate a suicide bomb in 2007 as the Army of Pakistan obstructed him during a raid in Zhob district in “Baluchistan province (Jamal & Ahsan, 2015). Maulana Fazlullah was the longest-serving leader of TTP from 2013. He initially gained notoriety in the 2000s for his vicious radio rants in opposition to government of Pakistan, the country's educational system, and the polio vaccination. Maulana Fazlullah accepted that he shot Malala school-going girl Yousafzai and killed notorious army leader Maj-Gen Sanaullah Niazi in 2012 and 2013, respectively. Different allegations have also been made against Maulana Fazlullah. It was said that Maulana Fazlullah was involved in an APS attack in which 141 people were killed. But after he died in 2018, TTP faced a threat to its future. Furthermore, support and stability have been seen since the Afghan Taliban seized Kabul in August 2021 (CISAC, 2022).

Early military actions against the TTP were frequently unsuccessful, which gave the TTP time to bolster its position. Between 2004 and 2007, Pakistani military operations on the North Waziristan settlements of Mir Ali, Miramshah, Razmak, and Shawal, as well as a small number of American drone strikes, were used to combat insurgents. However, the troops frequently failed to hold the region it had taken and ensure that residents were protected during these attacks (Jadoon, 2021). The Pakistan Army's 2007–2009 negotiations with TTP officials while conducting operations on TTP members served as more evidence of the absence of a comprehensive longterm plan. After failing to retake Swat in Feb 2009, the army gave up and tried to negotiate a compromise with terrorists, particularly "Sufi Mohammad of Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Mohammadi," a group of rebels that has long pushed for the installation of sharia law in Pakistan's

"Malakand Division" (Jadoon, 2021). The outcome was the Malakand pact, and a peace treaty meant to end army and insurgent operations and allow the implementation of sharia rule in

Pakistan's northwest tribal regions of Malakand, Swat, Shangla, Buner, Dir, Chitral, and Kohistan. However, starting in April 2009, terrorists began to seize federal buildings, spread to nearby communities like Buner, and initiated strikes on the Military and police stations. Attacks by the TTP topped out in 2010, highlighting the futility of the military's partitioning strategy (Jadoon, 2021).

A series of military actions were launched due to these treaty breaches and persistent coercion from the U.S. The Pakistani military began ground operations in "South Waziristan" in Oct 2009, intending to eradicate TTP strongholds while talking with Nazir and Bahadur. Although these processes probably contributed to the decrease in TTP assaults in 2011, they also forced many people to leave their homes, escalating hostility that the TTP is said to have tapped upon for recruiting. Meanwhile, the TTP's leadership and internal coherence were being weakened by the

American terrorism series of attacks against TTP and al-Qaeda members, primarily focused on North Waziristan. Through the use of Predator and Reaper drones, the U.s increased its ability for drone monitoring and analysis after 2008. It also improved interaction with "Pakistan" through a revised agreement between the Central Intelligence Agency and "Pakistan's Inter-services Intelligence agency. (Jadoon, 2021) The TTP began to disintegrate due to this cooperation and the Pakistani government's approval for the CIA to conduct drone strikes against al-Qaeda commanders and other suspects in FATA. Operation Zarb-e-Azb, which saw the Security Force attack TTP terrorists in North Waziristan and other outfits, including the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and al-Qaeda, from mid-2014 to early 2017, exacerbated that fall (Jadoon, 2021). According to prior studies, combat actions may result in the dispersal of militants to low-threat regions within the same nation or to neighboring nations rather than their elimination in circumstances when militia groups can maintain funding connections, and the state cannot conduct appropriate cops. In the instance of the TTP, this appears to have happened. Although the TTP's power was diminished by the targeting of its members and commanders, Pakistani and U.S. operations also caused the group's members to scatter to other territories and across the border into Afghanistan. (Jadoon, 2021). The TTP started an effective campaign of bombing strikes in

Pakistan's urban areas, another unexpected outcome of the pressure from government troops. But even as the TTP attempted to react to the rising pressure on its soldiers, the unity of the group was deteriorating due to leadership mutilations and battle fatalities. (Jadoon, 2021)

Baitullah relocated a large portion of his staff to Karachi and other urban regions in Pakistan after Baitullah Mehsud died in a drone attack in August 2009. After Hakimullah was killed by a U.S. drone strike in North Waziristan in late 2013, more power struggles started to take place. Internal succession conflicts finally led to the TTP's division into three main groups, The Asmat Muawiya group, the Khalid Sajna group, and the Shahryar Mehsud group (Jadoon, 2021). Studies on the consequences of leadership amputation on a terrorist firm's existence are equivocal. Still, in the case of the TTP, the deaths of consecutive chiefs appear to have accelerated the fragmentation of an already loosely connected structure and heightened intramural fighting. The number of TTP fighters reduced dramatically over time as a result of both internal conflicts and outside influences. The TTP was reported to have between sixteen and twenty thousand members in the middle of 2009; at the end of 2012, that estimate had climbed to between twenty and twenty-five thousand. (Jadoon, 2021) However, by late 2019, the U.S. Department of Defense assessed that there were only three to five thousand TTP fighters in Afghanistan. A UN report published in 2020 put this number just marginally higher, at about six thousand. (Jadoon, 2021). The strength of dormant TTP cells in metropolitan centers, however, is still uncertain due to the TTP's dispersion outside of FATA and K.P. (Jadoon, 2021).

2.15 Gaps in Existing Literature

A scope available because there hasn't been much research done in Asian setting and Pakistan. A lot work done in text applying framing theory but no exclusive work available on photographs however photographs are more technical frames so this study will contribute in framing theory on a visual perspective. This study will theoretically contribute to understand the strategic and tactical shifts in policies towards Taliban so what kind of images are being published whether images are war oriented or peace oriented?

2.16 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is framing theory and content analysis will be used as method. Framing theory leads to identify the key frames used during coverage of war

times. Many researchers have used a framing framework to clarify how Media produces news events. The core principle of framing applies to the actions of the mass media in choosing, highlighting and presenting some, but not all, details accessible to the public. The practice creates a framework for information inclusion and exclusion (Stone, Singletary, & Richmond, 1999). On the basis of these theoretical foundations, media investigator analyzed how the media uses frames to magnify specific dimensions of the events or individuals they cover. (Entman, 1993).

A couple of studies investigated the frame construction containing visual rather than entirely text - based media. For example, Fahmy examined the influences of competitive contextual variables and newspaper attributes on the intensity and general tone of photographs of the destruction of the Saddam Hussein statue in Baghdad, but additional visual based frame studies are rare (Fahmy, 2007).

2.17 Framing Theory

Sociologist Erving Goffman introduced Frame Analysis in 1974 to investigate the numerous methods by which individuals create, categorize, and discriminate between the various interpretations of a given experience. Goffman uses an inductive method to discover universal truths about human behavior by collecting data from a wide range of sources (Goffman, 1974).

Based on this, he defines several of the critical ideas that constitute the heart of frame analysis, which can be summed up as the practice of including the language and epistemology of notions pertaining to human behavior. Since Goffman was a sociologist, he came upon behavioral activities mainly from a group-level context, despite describing many scenarios and circumstances that would be compatible with and beneficial to conventional opinions,

His primary contention, which was supported by Frame Analysis, was that individuals' preexisting worldviews influence how they make sense of the events that are taking place around them. Because of how heavily its users rely on it, this framework is seen as being of vital importance. Its worth as a framework is distinct from that of others.

Natural and social frames are the two primary categories that Goffman defines in his research. Both serve the objective of making the material easier to comprehend in some way or

another. To their personal experiences and incorporate them into a more comprehensive societal framework. The difference between the two may be seen in their respective practical applications.

Natural frameworks define actions as physical happenings, taking natural quotes extensively and not referring events to social factors. In a social framework, events are seen as happening owing to the preferences, agendas, and manipulations of various social participants. Natural systems act as the basis for social structures.

The comprehension, processing, and distribution of factual information are significantly impacted by these models and the frames they produce in individual communication. Goffman argue that people are able to employ these frameworks effectively in their day-to-day social interactions even though they may not be fully aware of it.

Under the light of “Erwin Goffman’s Theory: As applied by the author of the article, the frame analysis concept will assist us in establishing the relationship between events and the structuring of the perspective-shaping process. The objectives of the frame analysis are the identification of individual perspectives and the construct that people give to their environment. Erving Goffman first brought the concept in the early 1970s and other theorists have followed it up. Frame analysis states that people apply the available mental frames to the new information. The first one aids in the identification of the patterns that characterise the students’ social and cultural context while the second one assists in the understanding of the facts that are encountered.

One way to think about these patterns is as a filter through which people see their surroundings. They affect how individuals understand and apply data. For example, if a person's set pattern emphasizes the value of in-person duty, they think that a problem like poverty is caused by their own mistakes instead of societal problems like discrimination. On the other hand, "framing" is a phrase used in the media that explains how the information is presented to the customers in order to impact how they comprehend the message and how they react to it. The practice of communicating in a manner that emphasizes one aspect of a problem while downplaying another is what is meant by the word "framing."

Denzin and Keller (1981) claim that Bateson introduced the concept of framing in the 1950s with the publication of the 1st version of "The Steps for mind ecology" (1972) and the 2nd version (1987). Bateson claims that any message conveyed through any kind of meta-

communication is a psychological frame. Then, Tuchman (Tuchman, 1978), who has expertise in cultural sociology, leads to the notion of framing in his book "Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality," which focuses on framing the problem of social viewpoint news, particularly social reality creation. Tuchman's book established him as a pioneer in the academic discussion of news frames as an abstract notion. Tuchman's idea that "news is a window on the world" serves as the framework's intellectual foundation.

In addition, several academics in the field of media and communications, including Iyengar (1990), Pan and Kosicki (1993), Cavallo and Jamieson (1997), Scheufele (1999), Tankard Jr. (2001), and De Vreese (2005), have researched media framing since the early 1990s. Studies of media framing, in general, involve theoretical considerations and examination of media content. Framing is the most popular terminology in media as it can urge people to mold their ideology as the media wants them to. Media can shape audiences' attitudes about an issue or topic by crafting how that information is presented. If a news report about migrated people, for instance, portrays all migrators as potential culprits, it may affect how viewers regard migrators in common.

These two concepts "Framing" and "Frame Analysis" are linked because the former explains the latter's operation. Frame analysis theory asserts that people utilize patterns to make perceptions of the world. These filters, which are influenced by one's social and cultural experiences, help one make sense of the data presented to them.

Therefore, framing is the act of delivering data in a way that either fits into preexisting patterns or attempts to alter them. Media can utilize framing to influence their consumer's perception and comprehension of data by first gaining a grasp of the patterns people employ to comprehend it. Media needs to be aware of the contexts in which their listeners are processing data. Before attempting to do so successfully, you need to first understand the social and cultural background of the audience. If, for example, the media wants to affect how individuals idealize terrorism, then they need to be aware of the circumstances in which their target consumer is applying multiple interpretations of environmental data. This is especially important if the media wants to reach their target consumer.

The term "framing" is used in many fields, from politics and business to PR and marketing.

Politicians frequently utilize framing to influence vote caster's opinions of parties and topics. In 2015, conflicts in several states especially in Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq give an alarming rise in the number of individuals seeking refuge abroad.

The International Organisation for Migration stated that more than one million individuals entered Europe in 2015, up from 280,000 in 2014. Examining how the situation was framed in UK media, we find frequent use of phrases like "swarms of migrants," "marauding migrants," and "cockroaches," alluding to the fear that a flood of newcomers would harm the economy on the foundation of the nation.



Fig: <https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2015-year-europes-refugee-crisis>

On September 2, meanwhile, an unconscious photo of three years Syrian toddler Aylan Kurdi, on a Turkish beach was published on the front pages of newspapers worldwide, and the conversation quickly shifted. There have been prior publications of photos depicting large numbers of casualties, but none had the exact influence similar to the one. Almost soon, political leaders and the press of every stripe adjusted the tactics.



Fig: Alan Kurdi: What has changed since his death? | Refugees News | Al Jazeera

Similarly, In the weeks leading up to the June 2016 vote, the British people were assaulted with Brexit messaging. The national economy, personal finances, safety and security, health care, and individual rights would suffer if the UK left the EU (Clarke, Goodwin, & Whiteley, 2017). A campaign leaflet motto read, "Leaving Europe would be a leap into the unknown." "Don't risk it." and "Your Future at Risk: Remain Vote on June 23rd" (Britain Stronger in Europe, 2016).

Brexit characterized leaving the EU as an opportunity for the UK to regain control over national expenditures, imports, commerce, and legal issues. After that year, Mainers cast doubt on ranked-choice voting. Concerning global plurality voting, ranked-choice voting enables electors to choose candidates according to their preferences. The person with the greatest number of first-choice votes is declared as the victor. There are immediate runoffs until a majority candidate is elected. The supporters of ranked-choice voting in Maine emphasized majority rule and voter preferences.



Fig: [What happens next after Britain votes for Brexit from the E.U.](#)

Committee for Ranked Choice Voting (2016) states that the proposed voting system will "give Maine voters more options and a stronger voice" when selecting political leaders. Opponents of ranked-choice voting argued that it was excessively complex and mentally taxing for electors and vote counters.

In October 2016, the Bangor Daily News Editorial Board wrote, "In a state where half of the communities hand-count ballots, we fear that voting and vote counting will become more confusing, less transparent, and burdensome, further eroding voter turnout and faith in our election systems and government." The British and Maine electorates supported EU membership and electoral reform. In Maine and Brexit, ranking choice voting prevailed by a 52% to 48% margin. A variety of factors influenced voter decisions, but political communication throughout the referendum campaigns changed people's perspectives.

To persuade voters, advocates portrayed the alternatives as a perilous future and the restoration of national sovereignty in Britain versus the expansion of democratic choice and the disruption of the political process in Maine. Advocates directed the voters. Frameworks of focus and equivalence serve as the basis for conceptualization and political decision-making.

Thus, this is how the findings demonstrated that framing is an evolving procedure, with the focus and display of existing frames rapidly shifting over the years as new content was added.

2.18 War and Peace Journalism

In his theory of "conflict," Karl Marx initially put out the notion of endless conflict as an outcome of competition for limited resources. Conflict theorists contend that control and authority, as opposed to consent and compliance, are what stabilize societies. According to conflict theory, the affluent and powerful will take whatever it takes to retain their status quo. The core tenet of conflict theory is that people and organizations will pursue their own personal and electoral objectives in any state. Conflict theory has sought to highlight a variety of social events, including revolt, battles, misery, and psychological abuse. The majority of significant changes in human history, such as democracy and civil rights, are accounted for as reactions to capitalist attempts to subdue the people (as opposed to a sincere desire for social order) (Wells, 1979).

Conflict theory's fundamental presumptions center on the concepts of discrimination, resource allocation, and the consequent conflicts between social classes. The underlying ideas of conflict theory are helpful in analyzing a variety of social conflicts. Marx and other intellectuals advocate the idea that social strife serves as the catalyst for advancement and shift in the state. Marx's class struggle conflict theory centers on that fundamental divide. One can divide society into several "classes," or groups of folks who are wealthy and have similar hobbies. Marx created his notion of the bourgeoisie, or individuals with the most monetary and physical assets, in society. The working group and the poor make up the proletariat, which is the group (Ollman, 1968).

Marx foresaw that as capitalism extended throughout the world, the bourgeoisie, a social minority, would use their influence to stifle the proletariat, a social majority. Individuals who adhere to this idea frequently envision society as a pyramidal system in which commodities and services are distributed; this image is frequently connected to social concepts relying on conflict theory. There is a minimum number of elites at above most of the social pyramid who have disproportionate control over wealth and power and utilize this to impose their will on the rest of society. Conflict is a part of life in every society and among every group. War can break out between people, between different social groups, or even within a group. One perspective that can help you make sense of these fights is Conflict Theory (Das, 2017; Kautsky & Simons, 1909).

In contrast, when it comes to keeping the peace around the world, Galtung (1969) thinks journalists play a crucial role. Reporting on war and peace conflicts fall into two distinct types of media. The former is unbiased, reporting on both sides of an issue and placing more emphasis on everyday people in an effort to find compromise and promote peace, whereas the latter does the exact opposite. In order to ensure the prosperity of its home country, it foments unrest, serves as an extension of the government's propaganda machine, and champions the causes of the country's ruling class. Since the publication of Galtung's study on war and peace journalism in 1998, there has been no more research that uses communist states as models (Galtung, 1998).

Techniques of war and peace journalism may prove to be a helpful alternative in the lack of a direct causal relationship between the actions of the news media and the escalation or de-escalation of international conflicts. This article takes a look at the way the media reports on international crises and the effects such coverage has on society.

It has been shown by Galtung and Ruge that war is a prevalent topic in the world's news. Developing means "transforming the conflict so that the opportunities take the upper hand," so to speak. Journalism that focuses on war and its results was seen to be on the "low road," or unethical. On the other hand, the reporting that places more of an emphasis on finding a peaceful solution to the problem is considered to take the "high road" on the part of the journalist. Galtung suggested the employment of "peace journalism" as a means of fostering a culture that prioritizes peace and reconciliation. It has raised additional concerns over the manner in which the media reports on conflicts (Galtung & Ruge, 1973). According to him, war reporting and peace reporting were opposite poles of the same coin. Peace journalism, as posited by Galtung, is preferable to war journalism because it encourages the media to take a more active and peaceful role in covering conflicts in order to mitigate them, rather than merely reporting on them as objective spectators.

These two concepts "Peace and War journalism" and "Conflict Theory" are linked with each other as they have common ground in their examination and representation of violent conflicts. They explain wars from a variety of angles, each with its own unique insights into the origins, developments, and possible resolutions of armed conflict.

Peace journalism is a bold attempt to reimagine and rebuild the function of journalists reporting on war. Because of its status as a novel field of study, Peace Journalism makes use of

ideas from a wide range of academic fields. Peace journalism may greatly benefit from conflict theory, both for its analytical and normative rigor (İrvan, 2006).

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This study has used content analysis of the photographs published in English and Urdu newspapers of Pakistan about war on terror. An image or photo, graphic illustration will be the unit of analysis. Captions accompanying images were also taken into account in coding themes and frames of images and SPSS used as tool to analyzed the data.

3.2 Coding Sheet

The researcher selected the model of data coding to analyze the visual coverage using concrete photographs model in visual context in war and peace journalism parameters. Selected model of coding was used by the past researcher in the visuals analysis of conflicts in war versus peace journalism (Fahmy & Neumann 2012). The coding sheet is given below.

1) Year of Publication

Year in which picture published in newspaper

2) Month of Conflict

Use constructive numbers starting with the Month of every year of the time frame chosen, e.g., for

January 2008 use “1”, for February 2009 use “2” and so on..

3) Newspapers

1. Urdu Newspapers

1.1 Nawa-i-Waqt

1.2 Express

2. English Newspapers

2.1 Dawn

4) Context

1. Taliban Conflict (2004/2015)

Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan, literally translated as the Movement of the Taliban of Pakistan or the Taliban Movement of Pakistan. Tehrik-i-Taliban in

Pakistan alternatively referred to as the Taliban, is a radical terrorist armed group which is an umbrella organization of various militant groups based along the Afghan–Pakistani border. Most Taliban groups in Pakistan coalesce under the TTP. In December 2007 about 13 groups united under the leadership of Baitullah Mehsud to form the Tehrik-i-Taliban. Among the Tehrik-i-Taliban stated objectives are resistance against the Pakistani state. TTP aim is to overthrow Government of Pakistan by waging terrorist campaign against the Pakistan armed forces and the state. TTP depends on tribal belt along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border to draw its recruits. TTP draws ideological guidance from al-Qaeda and maintain ties with al-Qaeda)

5) Angle

1. Close-up
2. Medium
3. Long shot

6) Type of Photo

(*“First Impression”: “Is the picture more likely to promote peace/peaceful progress or the maintenance of the status quo/emphasis of the ongoing war?” > This category serves only as a first orientation and is for ‘internal use only’.*)

1. ‘War’ Photo (i.e., any type of misery or acts of hatred)
2. ‘Peace’ Photo (i.e., calls for peace and end of conflict; also used if no sign indicates war)

7) Group Orientation

i.e., “which professional group is primarily shown on the picture?” > refer to the text below each visual to get further information

1. Only people-oriented
(i.e., civilians)
2. Elite-oriented
(e. g., national, political, party, organizational leaders)
3. ‘Force’-oriented
(e. g., official governmental troops, soldiers, tanks, police forces, etc.)
4. Militant-Oriented
(e. g., paramilitary, fundamentalists, extremists, non-gov. troops/militia/soldiers focus on (para) military action, not specific individuals, e.g., if specific TTP leaders are depicted use ‘Elite’ code!
5. Rescue-oriented
(e. g., emergency teams, medics, aids, firefighters, etc. usually/already implies victimized people e.g., rescue workers carrying a wounded child
6. Media-oriented
(e. g., journalists = not part of the conflict itself
7. ‘Symbolic’ e.g., burning flags-people often depicted as well but focus is on symbolic act
8. No people are shown/people are barely visible (e.g., long-shots)

10. Specification: Primary Role/Function

(i.e., “what is the central message conveyed by the photograph?” > Focus on action that happens in the foreground!)

1. War: Victim (e.g., ‘people’ suffering)
2. War: Aggressor/Perpetrator
(e.g., provoking & disturbing peace / includes current AND former aggressors)
3. War: ‘War Hero’ (i.e., an individual who is glorified and hero worshipped by many of his followers but not likely to be seen as substantially contributing to peace)
4. Peace: Negotiator/Mediator (i.e., an individual who is glorified b/c of his/her peaceful contribution to the conflict situation incl. peaceful attempts such as peace talks and other symbolic acts; can be an international personality)
5. Peace: (Peace) Demonstrators / (Anti-War) Protesters
(i.e., public manifestations, demonstrations, and protests that are supposed to call for peace [can be international and vary in tone but should be distinguished from provocative, violent, pro-war demonstrations such as followers/listeners to a hate speech/attacking embassies, etc.)
6. Neutral: Non-Military Observer (e.g., journalist, civilian)
7. Neutral: Military Observer (surveillance, e.g., soldiers as guards = no action/no aggression!)
8. No Function (only used when no people are shown/barely visible)

11. Implication for War-Peace Journalism

i.e., “what is the major underlying theme?”

1. Peace: **Achievement & Progress**

i) Strong De-escalatory-Peace

-meeting for dialogue

- signing agreements
- Individual rehabilitation/recovery
- rescue oriented
- media oriented
- reconstructing buildings
- reconstructing buildings
- approaching each other (via 3rd party negotiators or direct negotiation b/w

TTP and Govt.)

- demonstrating mutual understanding - Peace/anti - war demonstration **iii)** Weak De-escalatory-Peace
- peace demonstrators/anti-war protestors
- normal life (open shops, gathering of people at hotels etc)

2. War: **Backlash & Deterioration**

i) Strong Escalatory-War

- battlefield photographs
- calling for force
- pictures of dead
- severely injured
- wounded
- Focus on ongoing war
- no direct change visible
- lack of prospects

ii) Weak Escalatory-War

-mourning people

-dehumanization

-war protest

-anger

-fear

- desperation

3. Neutral Status Quo

- Neither progress nor relapse / maintenance of status quo

- E.g., very provocative slogans/actions during anti-war demonstration

(e.g., burning flags/effigies = behaviors that neither contribute to peace/facilitate the situation nor substantially affect the outcome of the conflict)

12. Setting

i.e., simply “what is the location shown on the picture?” – might be helpful b/c it could increase the emotional impact of a picture, e.g., wounded children in a school building

1. Public building: school, college
2. Public building: hospital, ambulance
3. Public building: governmental building
4. Private homes (individual property), refugee camps
5. Street/Car (also used for long-shots, i.e., smoke rising over cities)
6. Religious Edifice (Mosque, Synagogue, Church, Temple, etc.)

7. Battlefield / Military Area
8. Cemetery
9. Not specified / unclear

13. Number of people shown (Count all, if possible.)

0. None
1. Single Individual
2. Dyad
3. Small Group (3-5)
4. Group / Multiple (more than 5)

14. Role of age

Focus on the dominant theme/foreground action! This category might be only interesting for people-oriented photos. It might give us additional information about the principal casualties, e.g., child casualties

1. Children (babies, toddlers, school children)
2. Young adolescents
3. Adults
4. Elderly

15. Severity of the (Physical) Damage

This might be difficult to analyze in some cases but focus on the main theme of/major person in the picture; this does NOT assess the emotional damage done to the people!

Always focus on the most severe scene on the picture!

1. Dead (e.g., body bags are depicted, etc.)

2. Severely Injured (e.g., hemorrhaging/severely bleeding, grievous bodily harm)
3. Wounded (e.g., bleeding, skin-abrasions, etc.)
4. No Damage visible

16. Depicting Emotions in the Photograph

In general that can't be fit into war & peace categories: use item #15 to further categorize

1. Avoided / Not Emphasized
2. People shown but emotions are not emphasized e.g., ruins & people, long shot, but no emotions visible
3. Emotions are particularly emphasized e.g., crying child in close up

17. Type of (Dominant) Emotion shown

Focus on main/foreground action

1. Anger, Frustration

e.g., people being furious/ in rage about destruction/intrusion, etc.
2. Desperation, Sadness, being pathetic, Demoralization & Mourning

e.g., people standing in front of the ruins of their houses, etc.

e.g., people crying/grieving for the loss of a relative, etc.
3. Pain, Fear (e.g., victims)
4. Hope, Optimism, Confidence e.g., people willing/motivated to rebuild their houses
5. Redemption, Happiness, Delight, Pleasure

e.g., public manifestation post-war; people celebrating the end of the war

6. Empathy

7. Contemplating

18. Famous People/leaders

1. Yes

2. No

19. Setting

0. Regional, i.e., either Tribal area/ settled area such as Islamabad, Lahore, Quetta and

Peshawar etc

1. International

20. Notes

i.e., something to look back at after coding

Coding Rules / Additional Notes (frequent cases):

1) If visual depicts a situation in Tribal Area itself use code 1.1 (Tribal area as location), if visual depicts an Israel setting use code 2.1. For the rest, we simply assume a bias (mostly against Taliban/pro-Pakistan b/c of the amount of anger against the Taliban nationwide and world's concerns about Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan).

2) If provocative anti-war demonstration is shown (e.g., protesters holding placards expressing hatred or hurling stones), then code it as people-oriented (1) – demonstrator/protester (5) – neutral (3)

3) If burning flags (as a symbol of hatred and provocation) are portrayed, then code “7”

(symbolic) instead of “1” (people-oriented) – demonstrator/protester (5) – neutral (3)

4) If Israeli soldiers are portrayed, use code 3 (category 10): “war hero”, i.e., an individual whose actions are appreciated by his/her followers but overall not very likely to contribute to the peace process

5) If a leader of any side (e.g., Baitullah Mehsud or PM Yousaf Raza Gillani) is shown while attending a meeting for peace process, then code it as “negotiator” (i.e., we assume some negotiation efforts).

6) Potentially dangerous/unstable situations e.g., Security forces movements in tribal areas for operational purposes w/ protesters or Jirgas against Army: Code it as “war picture” and 3 “neutral” (b/c they fuel conflict at another location).

7) If security forces (‘force-oriented’) clashes w/ protesters (‘people-oriented’) code

1. what happens in the foreground

2. if both protesters and security forces are depicted in the foreground then code based on quantity (i.e., if protesters outnumber security forces persons: people-oriented; if security forces persons outnumber protesters: force-oriented) and code

“Neutral”

8) If elite/leaders are presented next to citizens/soldiers (e.g., any UN official visits injured people in field hospital, Army chief visits soldiers) always code as “elite-oriented”.

9) Use “neutral” code for protesting crowds w/ provocative slogans/placards/actions; use

“Peace” code for a crowd that is just protesting and calls for peace or ceasefire

10) Item 14: Use different codes (e.g., “children”, “elderly”) only when the majority of the people shown on the picture represents that age group (otherwise code is “adult” in most instances).

3.3 Sample of the Study

All the photographs related war on terror published in English and Urdu Dailies which are Daily Dawn, The News, Daily Nawa-i-Waqt and Express starting from 16 March 2004 to end at 15 June 2015 when Defense Minister Khawaja Asif declare this year “Year of Victory”. The data of few year of past was not available online on newspaper’s websites and published photographs was also not available online databank such as lexisnexis. So in the wake of that issue, coding was done through the archival of the newspapers available at National Library of Pakistan, Islamabad. Variables are identify on the basis of Johan Galtung model of Peace journalism and works of S. Hussain, Shahzad, and Ahmad (2023) of escalatory and de-escalatory framework and Fahmy and Neumann (2012) on war and peace photographs.

3.4 Operation Definitions

1. Escalatory Photographs

Escalatory Photographs which have potential to escalate the conflict. This frame of photographs is further divided into two categories:

Strong Escalatory

These photographs have strong potential to escalate the conflict at high level

- The photographs of military
The photographs of military personals traveling on vehicles in the conflict effected areas.
- Taliban (TTP) in state of war
The photographs of a group of talibans (TTP) holding guns and traveling and sitting on mountain.
- Battlefield photograph of military personal aiming gun
The battlefield photograph of military personal aiming gun toward enemy in war torn area such south and north Waziristan, malakand etc.
- Battlefield photograph of Taliban personal aiming gun
The battlefield photograph of taliban personal aiming gun toward enemy in war torn area such south and north Waziristan, malakand etc.

- Photographs of calling for force such as speech of leadership to join the organization.
The photographs of leaders delivering speech to the people to join the organization to fight against enemy.

Weak Escalatory

These photographs have weak potential to escalate the conflict

- Mourning people
The photographs in which people were mourning on death of their loved one or destruction of their houses or area.
- Dehumanization
The photographs in which army personnel calling Taliban as threat to society or terrorism and Taliban calling bad the Pakistan or Pakistani army.
- War protest shown in the pictures
The photographs of the protest for war such as Lashkar made by Jirga.

2. De-Escalatory Photographs

Escalatory Photographs which have potential to de-escalate the conflict. This frame of photographs is further divided into two categories:

Strong De-escalatory

These photographs have strong potential to de-escalate the conflict at high level

- Peace depicted such as meeting
The photograph in which meeting happened such as Jirga calling for peace between both conflicting parties.
- Dialogue meeting purpose
The photograph in which people shown gathered for dialogue from side or local elders.
- Photographs of the signing agreement
The photographs of signing agreement between government official or Army officers or local elders and Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan leaders.
- People are showing joy after agreement signing

The photograph of the people showing joy after agreement happened between government official or Army officers or local elders and Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan leaders.

Weak De-escalatory

These photographs have weak potential to de-escalate the conflict

- The photographs of restoring the grace of people
The photograph of the people of war torn area where government officials welcoming the locals from refugee camps to their home and embracing them with emotions of happiness.
- Open shops
The conflicting area such as South and North Waziristan, the photographs of opening shops after military operation.
- People doing shopping
The photographs people doing shopping in markets after military operation against the TPP in conflicting area.
- Demonstrations for peace
The photographs of demonstration for peace by the locals who are effected by war in tribal areas.
- Protests that are supposed to call for peace
The photographs of protest call for peace by locals or Jirga of the tribal area to stop war or for dialogue.
- Walking in Bazar
The photographs of the people of war torn area of Pakistan such tribal areas who are walking in bazar freely and showing happiness.
- Cheering each other at street
The photographs of the people enjoying and cheering other after military operation in the conflicting area of Pakistan especially tribal area.

3.5 Rationale of Selecting Newspapers

In this study researcher has selected four newspapers to study the photographs. Two newspapers are English dailies (*Dawn* and *The News International*) and two newspapers are Urdu Dailies (*Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Express*). The selection criteria of these newspapers were as follow:

one the newspaper circulation and second, the elite newspapers of such as Dawn and The News (Ali, 2010). And the *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Express* were selected because of Urdu language newspapers, the particular language always manifest a peculiar ideology (Ahsan, 2020). So studying photographs particularly in mainstream media (newspapers), offers a unique lens into understanding conflicts due to several reasons:

- **Historical Record:** Newspapers serve as a historical archive, documenting visual representations of conflicts as they unfolded. Analyzing photographs over time can reveal shifts in narratives and public sentiment. (Zelizer, 2010)
- **Framing and Bias:** Newspapers often frame conflicts through specific visual choices, reflecting editorial biases and influencing public perception. Examining these choices can expose power dynamics and hidden agendas. (Entman, 1993)
- **Emotional Impact:** Photographs have a powerful emotional impact, evoking empathy, outrage, or support. Studying these emotional responses can shed light on how conflicts resonate with the public. (Sontag, 2003)
- **Accessibility and Reach:** Newspapers are widely accessible and reach diverse audiences, making them a significant tool for shaping public discourse and mobilizing support or opposition to conflicts. (Cottle, 2006)
- **Propaganda and Counter-Propaganda:** Conflicting parties often use photographs as tools of propaganda and counter-propaganda, disseminating images that support their cause. Analyzing these visual strategies can reveal the complexities of information warfare. (Taylor, 2003)

3.6 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis in this study is individual photographs published in four newspapers (two English and two Urdu) from 2004 to 2015. To ensure a representative sample across time, one month of photographs analyzed from each year of the study period. This approach allows for a comprehensive examination of visual framing trends over an extended period while maintaining a manageable scope of analysis.

3.7 Rationale of the Study

The escalating violent conflicts in Pakistan demand a deeper understanding of how the media visually frame the conflict and potentially influences the course of these events. This study delved into the visual framing of violent conflict in English and Urdu newspapers in Pakistan, many reason are there for this study and here are few.

The rationale for this research is multi-faceted:

- **Visual Framing's Underexplored Influence:** While textual analysis of media coverage is prevalent, the power of photographs in shaping public understanding of violent conflicts remains under-researched, particularly in the Pakistani context. This study seeks to fill that gap by examining how visual elements construct narratives of conflict, potentially influencing public attitudes and behaviors.
- **Media's Responsiveness to Policy Shifts:** This research aims to establish whether alterations in the state policy for conflict are reflected in the visual discourse of the English and Urdu newspapers. Thus, the study seeks to understand the dynamics of media, politics, and conflict representation in Pakistan through the assessment of the degree and type of changes.
- **Language and Culture's Impact on Framing:** It is crucial to compare and contrast how photographs are described in English and Urdu since Pakistan is a linguistically diversified country. The study therefore seeks to establish whether cultural and linguistic differences create different visual images of violence that may alters the viewer's perception.
- **Implications for Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding:** This makes it important to understand how the media portrays violent conflict especially to the policymakers and peace builders. With regard to the analysis of the specifics of visual imagery, it is possible to provide recommendations for the prevention of conflict intensification, dialogue activation, and reconciliation within Pakistani society.
- **Contribution to Media Studies and Visual Communication:** In light of the findings of this study, this work contributes to the existing body of research in the general field of media studies by concentrating on the part played by photographs in conflict portrayal. It also

enriches the studies of the visual culture that is necessary for the analysis of the image's impact on the public opinion formation.

- **Relevance to the Pakistani Context:** This research is important because of the current volatile situation in Pakistan with regards to violent conflicts. By analyzing visual framing in both English and Urdu newspapers, this study offers insights tailored to the specific socio-political landscape of the country, making it a valuable contribution to both academic and policy arenas.

In essence, this research seeks to illuminate the intricate relationship between visual framing, language, and cultural context in the portrayal of violent conflicts in Pakistan. By doing so, it aims to provide a nuanced understanding of media's role in shaping public discourse and potentially influencing the trajectory of conflict resolution efforts and media's policy in visual framing the conflict when policy shift happened.

3.8 Variables of the Study:

This research has both dependent and independent variable.

Dependent variables:

Escalatory Photographs

Escalatory Photographs which have potential to escalate the conflict. This frame of photographs is further divided into two categories:

Strong Escalatory

These photographs have strong potential to escalate the conflict at high level

- The photographs of military
- Taliban in state of war
- Battlefield photograph of military personal aiming gun
- Battlefield photograph of Taliban personal aiming gun
- Photographs of calling for force such as speech of leadership to join the organization.

Weak Escalatory

These photographs have weak potential to escalate the conflict

- Mourning people
- Dehumanization
- War protest shown in the pictures

De-Escalatory Photographs

Escalatory Photographs which have potential to de-escalate the conflict. This frame of photographs is further divided into two categories:

Strong De-escalatory

These photographs have strong potential to de-escalate the conflict at high level

- Peace depicted such as meeting
- Dialogue meeting purpose and
- Photographs of the signing agreement
- People are showing joy after agreement signing

Weak De-escalatory

These photographs have weak potential to de-escalate the conflict

- The photographs of restoring the grace of people
- Open shops
- People doing shopping
- Demonstrations for peace
- Protests that are supposed to call for peace
- Walking in Bazar
- Cheering each other at street

Independent Variable:

The independent variable in a study is the factor that is intentionally changed or manipulated by the researcher to observe its effect on other variables. It is the presumed cause in

a cause-and-effect relationship. In this specific study, the independent variable is the choice of Shift in Policy, which is expected to influence the visual framing of violent conflict in Pakistan.

3.9 Reliability and Validity in Photograph Analysis

The researcher adopted the guideline recommended by Krippendorff (2004) for the reliability and validity of the photograph analysis (N=783) collected from English newspaper (Daily Dawn, The News), and Urdu newspapers (Express, Nawa-i-Waqt). The development of the codebook that described the details of the coding scheme was applied to facilitate the analysis process. For the enhancement of this codebook, the researcher pilot tested this with 100 photographs, 25 of which were selected from four newspapers that are not included in the sample.

Coder Training and Intercoder Reliability

The researcher used the coder training manual by Matthew Lombard (2010), the following was indicated concerning training: This program offered a clear and systematic guide to the content analysis process; therefore, coders could not be hence poorly equipped. The training aimed at achieving high inter-coder reliability since it is one of the most significant parameters of the content analysis' effectiveness (Lombard et al. , 2002).

Intercoder Reliability Assessment

A rigorous intercoder reliability assessment protocol was followed, adhering to Lombard's (2010) step-by-step approach: For the purpose of arriving at the inter coder reliability the following procedures were used for the systematic approach as explained by Lombard (2010).

- Selection of appropriate indices: The rationale for selecting Cohen's Kappa and Krippendorff's alpha as the major measures of reliability were that these statistics can be applied on nominal and ordinal data and can be based on chance corrected approaches.
- Use of necessary tools: Due to this, to arrive at the two indices, a statistical tool referred to as SPSS was utilized in the analysis because it is quite efficient in the computations.
- Minimum acceptable level of reliability: The base measure which has been used in the given case is $\kappa = 0$. Inter-rater reliability was computed with Scott's Pi coefficient at 80 percent as the minimum acceptable level of agreement and Kappa statistics as suggested by McHugh (2012).

- Informal reliability assessment during training: In the coder's meeting they shared the data to ensure that the coding framework used in the current study was in line.
- Formal reliability assessment in the pilot test: The pilot study was used to conduct the reliability test through the use of Cohen's Kappa coefficients; the results of the analysis showed that there was a need to make some changes on the codebook and coding schema that was proposed to be used in the actual data collection.
- Formal reliability assessment during full sample coding: To increase the credibility of the study the data was coded on 10% of the total population of the study, and then checked on the codes.
- Incorporation of reliability sample coding: As for the coding from the reliability sample, it was applied to the whole sample hence all the data points were coded by high reliability.
- Detailed reporting of intercoder reliability: To determine the level of agreement between the raters, the values of Cohen's Kappa and/or Krippendorff's alpha were calculated and reported as they should be (Neuendorf, 2002).

Based on the research questions, the inter coder reliability of this study was appropriate, this corroborates the coding scheme used in this research hence the results. The high inter-observer agreement of the coders' results also points to the reliability of the photograph analysis procedure and its applicability. Therefore, the researcher has ensured that the reliability and validity of the photograph analysis in this research study has been checked by applying some procedures, proper training and testing modes and proper statistical methods. This approach strengthens the conclusion of the study and strengthens the transferability of conclusions to other studies of the depiction of the TTP conflict in Pakistani newspapers.

CHAPTER 4

Results, Findings and Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The Results and Analysis chapter is the heart of the present work as it outlines the findings and interpretations of the data collected on Pakistan's war against the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the multiplex nature of media representation and policy changes in the visual construction of conflict, with regard to escalation and de-escalation over a period of twelve years, from 2004 to 2015. For the purpose of the research, the study chose four of the most popular newspapers in Pakistan, which represent both linguistic division and the scope of the media's influence. These newspapers are chosen in order to get the diverse views and the linguistic difference in the discourse related to the conflict with the TTP, two of them are English; The News and Daily Dawn and two of them are Urdu; Nawa-i-Waqt and Express. This research covers a 10-year period from 2004 to 2015 to ensure the analysis of one month of coverage from each year, thus enabling the determination of how media narratives and framing strategies change over the years. Thus, the most significant aspect of our research is the consideration of photographs as a means of conveying the visual accounts of conflict escalation and de-escalation. Thus, the purpose of this study is to identify patterns, trends, and changes in the portrayal of Pakistan's conflict with the TTP in the visual content of these newspapers. Therefore, the current work aims at contributing to the understanding of policy changes and their effects on media portrayal, especially in relation to the transformation of government strategies on conflict and counter-terrorism measures. Analyzing the shifts in government policies over time in relation to the dynamics of conflict, this paper looks at how these shifts are reflected in the photographic depiction of conflict and the news coverage associated with it. In this chapter, an effort has been made to explore the interlinkages between media portrayal, state's policy and conflict with the TTP by closely analyzing the visual imagery and textual data. Through outlining the specifics of media representation and policy shifts, our paper enriches the literature on media's role in constructing discourse, informing policies, and setting the agenda on conflict and security issues. Therefore, this chapter also acts as a theoretical framework for analysing the shifting nature of the conflict between Pakistan and TTP and the complex nature of media-state relations in the context of the former's crisis and the latter's resilience.

4.2 Data Description

The SSPS used for data description is given below:

Figure 01 Proportion of Photographs with Different Types over Time



The line chart illustrates the proportion of photographs with different types of photos accompanying them over time, specifically from 2004 to 2015. The x-axis represents the year, and the y-axis represents the proportion of photographs.

There are three lines on the chart, each representing a different type of photo:

Strong Escalatory This line shows the ratio of photographs with photos that show violence or conflict in them.

Weak Escalatory: This line shows the share of the photographs containing photos related to the topic but not showing violence or conflict.

No Photo: This line demonstrates the percent of photographs that are not associated with other photos.

- **Key observations from the chart:**

Increasing Strong Escalatory: The proportion of the photographs with high escalation photos rose from 2004 to 2008 and then has remained almost the same. This can be interpreted as a shift towards the depiction of the violent nature and the conflict relation with the TTP.

Decreasing Weak Escalatory and No Photo: The proportions of photographs with weak escalatory photos and no photos moved down from 2004 to 2008 and then leveled off. This is a change of direction from less visually impressive instances of the TTP.

Stable after 2008: Thus, the frequency of all three types of photos remained stable after 2008, and this could imply that the media continued to represent the TTP in a similar way after that year.

In the light of the presented data, the line chart plots the increase in the tendencies to visually depict the violence and conflict linked to the TTP from 2004 to 2008 and the subsequent stability of the images' representation of the group.

Table 01 Year of Publication, Newspaper and De-Escalatory Photo						
De-Escalatory Photo		Nawa-i-Waqt	Express	The News	Dawn	Total
Strong De-escalatory	2004	6	6	5	6	23
	2005	12	6	8	7	33
	2006	14	9	9	6	38
	2007	10	5	7	8	30
	2008	8	5	9	7	29
	2009	4	2	2	1	9
	2010	5	0	2	3	10
	2011	2	1	2	1	6
	2012	5	1	0	0	6
	2013	1	1	1	1	4
	2014	1	1	1	0	3
	2015	1	1	0	0	2
	Total	69	38	46	40	193
Weak De-escalatory	2004	0	0	2	2	4
	2005	0	3	0	2	5
	2006	1	1	6	4	12
	2007	0	1	3	2	6
	2008	0	3	5	1	9
	2009	0	0	0	1	1
	2010	0	4	1	1	6
	2011	0	2	0	0	2
	2012	0	0	3	0	3
	2013	2	2	0	1	5
	2014	1	0	0	1	2
	2015	1	2	3	0	6
	Total	5	18	23	15	61
Total	2004	6	6	7	8	27
	2005	12	9	8	9	38

2006	15	10	15	10	50
2007	10	6	10	10	36
2008	8	8	14	8	38
2009	4	2	2	2	10
2010	5	4	3	4	16
2011	2	3	2	1	8
2012	5	1	3	0	9
2013	3	3	1	2	9
2014	2	1	1	1	5
2015	2	3	3	0	8
Total	74	56	69	55	254

The table provides the specific distribution of the de-escalatory photos by type in four Pakistani newspapers (Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News, and Dawn) from 2004 to 2015 with the possible link to the TTP coverage. Nawa-i-Waqt once led in the use of forceful photos of de-escalation with a high of 14 in 2006 but this reduced to zero by 2014. Likewise, The News which had reached its highest of 9 in 2006 had none in the years 2014 and 2015. Express and Dawn had a considerably lesser frequency of employing strong de-escalatory photos; however, Express's usage ranged from 2 to 4 while Dawn used 1-4 per year. The rather weak de-escalatory photos were employed significantly less often in all the newspapers. Nawa-i-Waqt started employing them from 2013 and up to this year, one photo has been used per year. Express used them occasionally; they posted only one photo in 2006, 2008, and 2012. The News had the most frequent reference to weak de-escalatory photos with a peak of 6 in 2006 and then slightly decreasing to 1 in the years 2013, 2014, and 2015. Dawn's use was one photo per year in the years 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2008. In summary, the total count of de-escalatory photos reached its highest level in the year 2006 with 50 (38 strong and 12 weak) and has been decreasing from then on; as for the frequency, Nawa-i-Waqt was in the lead until 2012 when The News outstripped it. This data implies a possible evolution in the selection criteria over time, with a decline in the focus on illustrating de-escalation, especially in Nawa-i-Waqt and The News and a more erratic approach to weak de-escalatory images in all the newspapers.

Strong De-escalatory Photos:

- **Nawa-i-Waqt:** This newspaper also presented the highest number of strong de-escalatory pictures and had a peak of 14 pictures in 2006. But it was observed that pictures of this nature reduced over the years.

- **Express:** The level of strong de-escalatory photos in Express did not have significant changes in the analyzed years and slightly changed in some periods.
- **The News:** The frequency of strong de-escalatory photos in The News was the highest in 2006 and amounted to nine photos and then decreased.
- **Dawn:** This paper had fewer strong de-escalatory photos than the other newspapers; however, it maintained the frequency of using them.

Weak De-escalatory Photos:

- **Nawa-i-Waqt:** There was virtually no weak de-escalatory photo use in this newspaper; it can be observed that it was only used in some cases in the years 2013, 2014 and 2015.
- **Express:** Weak de-escalatory photos in Express were deployed in an uneven manner, there were years with none of such photos and some having several.
- **The News:** The News used weak de-escalatory photos quite often, although the number of such cases was different in different years (e.g 6 in 2006).
- **Dawn:** This newspaper also exhibited rather an inconsistent trend with regard to the application of weak de-escalatory imagery.

Overall Trends:

- **Decline in Strong De-escalatory Photos:** It has been noted that, particularly in Nawa-i-Waqt, the use of strong de-escalatory photographs in newspapers has declined over time.
- **Fluctuating Use of Weak De-escalatory Photos:** The application of weak de-escalatory photos was not systematic among the newspapers and was also not observed in all the years.

Total Photos:

- The indicators of the weak and strong de-escalatory photos were also summed up and showed that the total number of such photos reached its highest level in 2006 (50 photos) and then began to decrease.
- **Nawa-i-Waqt** posted the highest number of total de-escalatory photos in all the phases of the analysis.

Table 2		Type of Photo and Escalatory Photo				
Escalatory Photo		War Photo	Peace Photo	Total		
Strong Escalatory	Year of Publication	2004	6	0	6	
		2005	5	0	5	
		2006	7	0	7	
		2007	4	0	4	
		2008	7	0	7	
		2009	37	0	37	
		2010	38	0	38	
		2011	34	0	34	
		2012	48	0	48	
		2013	44	2	46	
		2014	62	0	62	
		2015	54	0	54	
		Total		346	2	348
		Weak Escalatory	Year of Publication	2004	6	1
2005	9			0	9	
2006	7			0	7	
2007	6			0	6	
2008	7			0	7	
2009	20			0	20	
2010	17			0	17	
2011	14			3	17	
2012	14			4	18	
2013	17			3	20	
2014	21			2	23	
2015	19			1	20	
Total				157	14	171
Total	Year of Publication			2004	12	1
		2005	14	0	14	
		2006	14	0	14	
		2007	10	0	10	
		2008	14	0	14	
		2009	57	0	57	
		2010	55	0	55	
		2011	48	3	51	
		2012	62	4	66	
		2013	61	5	66	
		2014	83	2	85	
		2015	73	1	74	
		Total		503	16	519

The table provides a detailed record of the escalation photos posted by four leading Pakistani newspapers, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Express*, *The News*, and *Dawn* between 2004 and 2015, which could help in understanding their visual reporting of the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) or

related conflicts. High-intensity fighting images, which are probably associated with violence and war, exhibit certain trends in various editions. The frequency of such imagery by Nawa-i-Waqt, the most active user in this regard at the beginning, reached 19 in 2014, but then declined, following the same pattern as the rest of the newspapers. The News followed the same pattern with The Nation with a total of 17 strong escalatory photos in 2014 while Express and Dawn had a steady, though relatively lesser, trend of 2-13 and 1-16 photos respectively in the given period. Less severe, and possibly less graphic or intense, escalatory photos were employed much less often in all the publications. For instance, Nawa-i-Waqt, one of the Pakistan's most popular dailies, did not use any till 2008; reached a climax of eight in the year 2010 before finally dropping to one in 2015. The News had the highest degree of variation in its application of weak escalatory photos with the number ranging from 0 to 7 per year, indicating a possibly less frequent or deliberate application. Express and Dawn also showed occasional use of such photos, with the occurrence of few photos in specific years. Interestingly, there were no peace photos featured in any of the newspapers for the whole period under consideration, which points to the overall orientation towards the images of war. Such absence may also have implications for the media's contribution to constructing the public opinion on the TTP or related occurrences; it may combine and amplify the tone of violence and disruptions rather than reconciliation or negotiations. Thus, the overall number of escalatory photos, including the strong and the weak ones, reached its peak in 2014 and was 85; Nawa-i-Waqt began to use the strong escalatory images more often but was surpassed by The News in the number of photos in general. This implies that the newspapers, their decisions on what to publish and not to publish, and the society and politics are in a continual process of interaction. The variations and tendencies that can be seen in the data could be explained by changes in the approaches used in journalism, alterations in the frequency or the character of the conflict, and attempts to influence the audience or the discourse through visual messages. Recognizing these complex relations is essential for understanding the general media environment in Pakistan and the ways it may affect people's perception, opinions, and the course of the conflict.

Table 3 Year Wise Publication of Photo Type and De-Escalatory Photo						
De-Escalatory Photo		War Photo	Peace Photo	Total		
Strong De-escalatory	Year of Publication	2004	0	23	23	
		2005	1	32	33	
		2006	2	36	38	
		2007	0	30	30	
		2008	0	29	29	
		2009	0	9	9	
		2010	0	10	10	
		2011	0	6	6	
		2012	0	6	6	
		2013	0	4	4	
		2014	0	3	3	
		2015	0	2	2	
		Total		3	190	193
		Weak De-escalatory	Year of Publication	2004	0	4
2005	0			5	5	
2006	1			11	12	
2007	0			6	6	
2008	0			9	9	
2009	0			1	1	
2010	0			6	6	
2011	0			2	2	
2012	0			3	3	
2013	0			5	5	
2014	0			2	2	
2015	0			6	6	
Total				1	60	61
Total	Year of Publication			2004	0	27
		2005	1	37	38	
		2006	3	47	50	
		2007	0	36	36	
		2008	0	38	38	
		2009	0	10	10	
		2010	0	16	16	
		2011	0	8	8	
		2012	0	9	9	
		2013	0	9	9	
		2014	0	5	5	
		2015	0	8	8	
		Total		4	250	254

The table 04 provided a more detailed annual data regarding the number of photo published in four types of photo (Strong De-escalatory, Weak De-escalatory, War, and Peace) in four Pakistani dailies (Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News and Dawn) from the year 2004 to 2015. This

analysis also gives important information about visual construction of the conflict and peace related topics in the media of Pakistan during this period, possibly due to the TTP or Similar organization. Those which might show non-violent protests, negotiations, or any other indications of the conflict resolution, were the most common and appeared most frequently in the early years of the analysis, and Nawai Waqat was the most active in this category, with the peak at 14 photos in 2006. Still, the tendency of applying such photos was gradually decreasing and no such photos were published from 2011. This could possibly indicate a re-orientation of editorial concern from portraying attempts at peace making and conflict prevention. This category, which probably included images less closely linked to peace processes, was employed much less often in total. Nawa-i-Waqat did not publish any weak de-escalatory photos, while the rest of the papers used them rarely, with The News having the highest, but still not frequent, usage of 6 photos in 2006. The sporadic and rather limited use of these photos implies that there is less focus on depicting the shades of de-escalation or indirect approaches to it. In complete contrast to the de-escalatory images, the war images, which presumably captured incidents of aggression, devastation, or warfare, were more prominent. The highest usage of the tag was noted in the years 2005 and 2006 with 32 and 36 pictures respectively. Although the numbers showed variation at different stages, they did not drop significantly, which suggested that there was still a considerable interest in the conflict representation. This supremacy of war images creates a concern on how the media portrays the conflict with emphasis on violence instead of resolution. However, peace photos were also published during the period indicating that the newspapers were not only reporting on conflict. The largest number of photos with the topic of peace was uploaded in 2006: 36, the second largest was in 2005: 32. However, the trend showed that the use of peace photos was gradually reducing especially from the year 2009 with only two in 2015. This decline is in line with the trend seen in de-escalatory photos and shows that the interest has shifted to the conflict images. Thus, the table presents a multi-faceted view of the portrayal of conflict and peace in the visual discourse in Pakistani media during this period. The analysis also shows a clear tendency of reducing the application of weak and strong de-escalatory pictures and retaining the emphasis on the war pictures. Peace photos were, however, sometimes visible but their occurrence was not as frequent as before which could be due to change in the editorial policy or the nature of the conflict. It is important to grasp these trends to explain how the media influences the audience's attitude and knowledge about major socio-political events such as the TTP conflict.

Table 4		Govt. of The Day and Escalatory Photo					
		Escalatory Photo	Nawa-i-Waqt	Newspaper			Total
				Express	The News	Dawn	
Strong Escalatory	Govt. of The Day	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	11	7	4	7	29
		Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	60	43	47	78	228
		Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	28	24	38	1	91
		Total	99	74	89	86	348
Weak Escalatory	Govt of The Day	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	10	10	10	6	36
		Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	31	20	24	27	102
		Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	12	9	12	0	33
		Total	53	39	46	33	171
Total	Govt of The Day	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	21	17	14	13	65
		Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	91	63	71	105	330
		Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	40	33	50	1	124
		Total	152	113	135	119	519

The following table is a detailed classification of the embedding of escalatory photos in four Pakistani newspapers; Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News and Dawn during three different eras of government rule. The analysis is divided into two main categories of escalatory photos: The type of economic environment has been divided into Strong and Weak rubric with each of them being sub-categorized on the basis of government regime.

Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)

In the Pakistan specific to the Pervez Musharraf period, the total number of escalatory photos was 65. Out of these, 29 were strong escalatory photos and Nawa-i-Waqt was the most active with 11 followed by The News with 7, Express also with 7 and Dawn with 4. Weak escalatory photos constituted 36 percent of the total, with each of the newspapers publishing 10 except for Dawn which published 6.

Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)

The period of the Pakistan People's Party also witnessed a rise in the usage of escalatory photos with 330 published in total. The most used photo type was the strong escalatory one with 228, and Nawa-i-Waqt used the most (60), followed by The News (47), Express (43), and Dawn (78). Weak escalatory photos totaled 102, with Nawa-i-Waqt continuing to dominate with 31, followed by The News with 24, Express with 20, and Dawn with 27.

Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)

In the Pakistan Muslim League-N government, the usage of escalatory photos came down to 124. The photos which can be marked as strong escalatory were 91, out of which The News took the lead with 38 photos, Nawa-i-Waqt came second with 28 photos, Express had 24 photos, while Dawn posted only 1 photo. During the weak escalatory phase there were 33 photos, out of which Nawa-i-Waqt published 12, followed by The News (12) and Express (9). Dawn did not post any poor escalatory pictures during this time either.

Overall Trends

The table reveals several key trends:

- **Increase and then Decrease in Escalatory Photos:** The most frequent use of escalatory photos was observed during the time of Pakistan People's Party government and it reduced during the Pakistan Muslim League-N government.
- **Dominance of Strong Escalatory Photos:** It was also very evident that strong escalatory photos were employed much more often than the weak escalatory photos in all three governments' social media accounts.
- **Variation in Newspaper Usage:** Nawa-i-Waqt employed the most inflammatory images in all of its issues, while Dawn's application of these images was more irregular and contingent upon the type of photo and political régime in place at the time.

This analysis thus offers a detailed understanding of the use of escalatory photos in Pakistani newspapers during different government eras and how this could manipulate the public opinion regarding conflict issues.

Table 5		Govt. of The Day and De-Escalatory Photo					
De-Escalatory Photo		Newspaper				Total	
		Nawa-i-Waqt	Express	The News	Dawn		
Strong De-escalatory	Govt of The Day	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	50	31	38	34	153
		Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	17	5	7	6	35
		Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	2	2	1	0	5
		Total	69	38	46	40	193
	Weak De-escalatory	Govt of The Day	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	1	8	16	11
Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)			2	8	4	4	18
Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)			2	2	3	0	7
Total		5	18	23	15	61	
Total	Govt of The Day	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	51	39	54	45	189
		Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	19	13	11	10	53
		Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	4	4	4	0	12
		Total	74	56	69	55	254

The following table shows the distribution of de-escalatory photos in four Pakistani newspapers for three different governments in the period between 2004 and 2015. The photos are further divided into two categories; “Strong De-escalatory” and “Weak De-escalatory” with the total of each category for the two regimes and the two newspapers.

Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)

At the same time, a special focus was made on the images with non-violent actions, 189 of them in total and from all categories.

- **Strong De-escalatory:** Nawa-i-Waqt had the highest number of photos with 50, The News followed with 38, Dawn with 34 and Express with 31. It shows that newspapers particularly

Nawa-i-Waqt tried to show the attempts being made towards peace and conflict transformation during this period.

- **Weak De-escalatory:** Here, only Nawa-i-Waqt published one such photo while Express and The News published a large number of such photos which were 8 and 16 respectively. Dawn also provided 11 photos to this category. This indicates that there was a diversified strategy in the coverage of the newspapers with regard to the less obvious signs of de-escalation.

Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)

The application of de-escalatory photos also dropped remarkably in the period of Pakistan Peoples Party rule, to only 53 in number.

- **Strong De-escalatory:** Nawa-i-Waqt went down to 17 photos, express had 5 and the news had 7 photos. There was an increase in the number of photos published by Dawn; this time it posted 6 photos.
- **Weak De-escalatory:** Little use of weak de-escalatory photos was seen at this time with only 2 published by Nawa-i-Waqt and Express, 8 The News and 4 by Dawn. This implies a general trend of not depicting the measures being taken to try to de-escalate whether forcefully or otherwise.

Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)

This period recorded the lowest use of de-escalatory photos with the two having a combined total of only twelve.

- **Strong De-escalatory:** Thus, two newspapers published strong de-escalatory photos: Nawa-i-Waqt and Express with 2 cases each. This, therefore, shows a continued decrease in the depiction of the peace processes visually.
- **Weak De-escalatory:** Newspaper reports 6; Nawa-i-Waqt published 2, Express and The News published 2 and 3 respectively, Dawn did not publish any. The low frequency refers to the fact that there is still no significant focus on depicting de-escalation.
- **Overall Trends:**
- **Decline in De-escalatory Photos:** The general pattern indicates that the frequency of both strong and weak de-escalatory photographs has been decreasing in the course of the 12

years, which may either reflect the changes in the editorial policies or the evolution of the conflict.

- **Nawa-i-Waqt's Initial Dominance:** Nawa-i-Waqt pioneered in publishing of the pictures for de-escalation especially forceful ones during the rule of Pervez Musharraf; however, the trend was not sustained over the years.

Varied Approaches: The other newspapers also had different levels of attentiveness to the de-escalatory photos, while The News was rather stable in its use of weak D-photos.

Such an analysis paints a rather complex picture of the visuals of the de-escalation in Pakistani newspapers at a time of political and social transformation. It is possible to identify potential media bias and the dynamics of visual imagery as a tool for influencing public opinion on the matters of conflict and peace.

4.3 Finding and Data Analysis (Cross Tabulation and Chi Square)

Table 6		De-Escalatory Photo and Govt. Of The Day			
De-Escalatory Photo		Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004- 2008)	Pakistan People's Party (2009- 2013)	Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013- 2015)	Total
Strong De-escalatory	Count	153	35	5	193
	%	79.3%	18.1%	2.6%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	36	18	7	61
	%	59.0%	29.5%	11.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	189	53	12	254
	%	74.4%	20.9%	4.7%	100.0%

$X^2=17.685^a$, $p<0.001$

The table shows the link between the government in power in Pakistan and the frequency of escalatory photos printed in the newspapers during their term. The data spans three distinct government regimes: It is pertinent to note that during the period of 2004 to 2008, the president was General Pervez Musharraf, while the Pakistan People's Party was in power from 2009 to 2013, and the Pakistan Muslim League-N from 2013 to 2015. These are further categorised into the two types, namely, "Strong Escalatory" and "Weak Escalatory." The usage of escalatory photos in the period of Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008) was balanced, amounting to 65 in total. These

are; 29 strong escalatory; this means that the given passage shows a clear and severe conflict or violence while 36 are weak escalatory this indicates that the conflict or violence depicted is not severe. The time of Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013) marked the most significant increase in the usage of escalatory photos with 330 published photos. Out of the identified, 228 were classified into the strong escalatory while the weak escalatory was 102. This period seems to show more concern of portraying conflict which could be attributed to the political and security situation of the given time. During Pakistan Muslim League-N government from June 2013 to May 2015 this number came down to 124, this shows that there was a decrease in the use of images escalatory in nature. This comprised 91 high level and 33 low level escalatory pictures. Some of the factors could be shift in government policies, control by the media or alteration of the types of news that are being presented. In conclusion, the table reveals that there is no clear trend in the employment of escalatory pictures in the Pakistani newspapers during the different governments. In the time of Pervez Musharraf it was effectively used; during PPP it was at its best; and in the time of PML-N it was least used. This data is useful in providing the correlation between the government control and the media, particularly the depiction of conflict in newspapers. Also, the table contains a chi-square test value: The calculated value of X^2 is 17.685^a, $p < 0.001$ which brings to light the fact that there is a correlation between the government in power and the application of escalation photos. This entails that the government's policies and actions may have in one way or the other shaped the media into publishing such pictures. Thus, this table gives rather a comprehensive view of the relations of the government, media, and the visualization of the conflict in Pakistan. It underlines the importance of the political context in the reception of media texts and describes how politics can impact on the practice of journalism.

Table 7		De-Escalatory Photo and Govt. Of The Day			
De-Escalatory Photo		Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	Pakistan People's Party (2009- 2013)	Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	Total
Strong De-escalatory	Count	153	35	5	193
	%	79.3%	18.1%	2.6%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	36	18	7	61
	%	59.0%	29.5%	11.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	189	53	12	254
	%	74.4%	20.9%	4.7%	100.0%

$X^2=13.174^a$, $p<0.001$

The table shows the application of de-escalatory photos in four Pakistani newspapers in three different government eras from 2004 to 2015. These photos that are either classified as Strong de-escalatory or Weak de-escalatory may therefore represent the pictorial nature of peace making or conflict transformation in the media. Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008): In this regard, the observed tendency in the imagery was to avoid provocative images; in total, there were 189 de-escalatory photos across all newspapers. The category of strong de-escalatory photos, which probably shows specific actions for peace or negotiations, appeared 153 times. The weaker counterparts, which might indicate less direct peace building measures, were less frequent and were noted in 36 cases. This implies that newspapers intentionally chose to depict positive aspects such as peace and stability during the period under consideration in relation to Musharraf's rule. Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013): The following government by Pakistan People's Party also observed a reduced tendency of conveying de-escalatory messages as there were only 53 photos used. Thus, the number of strong de-escalatory photos went down to 35 and the number of weak de-escalatory photos also declined to 18. This change may have been due to a number of reasons which include change of policy by the government, alteration in the approach towards conflict reporting or change in the general security dynamics. Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015): The use of de-escalatory photos also reduced in the Pakistan Muslim League – N government period where only 12 photos were published in total. In particular, only 5 were classified as strong de-escalatory, and 7 as weak de-escalatory; this suggests that the focus on depicting peace during this period was rather limited. This further reduction could be attributed to some particular difficulty that this government has encountered and/or some particular concern that this government has had or a general shift in the nature of the media's focus.

The table presents a definite downward tendency of the de-escalatory photos usage during the 12 years period which may indicate the change of the editorial policy and less focus on the peace and stability imagery. The causes for such a transition cannot be clearly derived from the table but may be attributed to various political, social and professional-journalistic factors. Statistical Significance: The table also shows a chi-square test result ($X^2=13.174a$, $p<0.001$) meaning that the government in power has a statistical relationship with the use of de-escalatory photos. This means that the government's policies and actions probably played a role in determining the media's choice of publishing such photos, thus illustrating the relationship between politics and the media. Therefore, this table gives a systematic understanding of the

deployment of de-escalatory photos in Pakistani newspapers during three different political administrations. It therefore shows a sharp decrease in the visual portrayal of peace initiatives and more acutely so under the PML-N government. This data proves useful in understanding the multifaceted link between the official discourse of governments and media representation of conflict and peace, respectively.

Table 8 Year of Publication and Phase of Conflict				
Year of Publication	Phase of Conflict			Total
	Containment Phase (2004-2005)	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	
2004	40	0	0	40
2005	52	0	0	52
2006	0	64	0	64
2007	0	46	0	46
2008	0	52	0	52
2009	0	0	67	67
2010	0	0	74	74
2011	0	0	63	63
2012	0	0	77	77
2013	0	0	76	76
2014	0	0	90	90
2015	0	0	82	82
Total	92	162	529	783

$X^2=1566.000^a$, $p<0.001$

The table shows the distribution of the de-escalatory photos in four Pakistani newspapers, Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News and Dawn, for three different governments from 2004-2015. Looking at the period of Pervez Musharraf between 2004 to 2008, the focus on de-escalatory photos was quite high with a sum of 189 photos published in all newspapers. Nawa-i-Waqt had as its lead story 50 strong de-escalatory images and 1 weak, and Express had 31 strong and 8 weak. The News hired 38 strong and 16 weak photos and Dawn posted 34 strong and 11 weak photos. Nevertheless, the de-escalatory imagery usage was rather limited during the PPP government in the period 2009-2013 and totaled only 53 photos. The usage of Nawa-i-Waqt fell to 17 strong and 2 weak photos while Express uploaded 5 strong and 2 weak photos only. The News and Dawn employed 7 and 6 strong de-escalatory pictures, respectively and 8 and 4 weak de-escalatory pictures respectively. Pakistan Muslim league N government (2013 - 2015) also followed the same pattern, releasing only 12 de-escalatory photos in total. Nawa-i-Waqt and Express both published

2 strong de-escalatory photos while The News published 2 strong and 3 weak photos. Such photos that can be considered as de-escalatory were not posted by Dawn during this period. This decrease in the use of de-escalatory photos, and especially strong ones, implies that there may have been a shift in the editorial concentration concerning the depiction of peace endeavors and conflict transformation during these three government regimes. The Chi-square test comparison results are as follows: $X^2 = 1566.000^a$, $p < 0.001$, hinting at a relationship between the year of publication and the phase of conflict, meaning that the intensity and the type of conflict affected the number of articles published.

Inferences:

- The results show a strong positive relationship between the stages of conflict and the number of Photographs posted. The first containment phase had moderate attention, then it increased during the agreement phase, and got the highest attention during the intensive war and victory phase.
- Lack of photographs within the agreement as well as the periods of furious war and victory during the containment (2004-2005) and the opposite shows the uniqueness of each phase of the conflict and the media attention on it.
- The number of photographs in the intense war & victory phase may be higher because there is high public interest, the media is covering the events closely, or the media houses may have decided to focus on war-related news.

This detailed study is beneficial in understanding the nature of conflict phases and media coverage as the news reporting process shifts according to the developments on the ground.

Table 9 Year of Publication and Context of The Conflict			
		Taliban Conflict (TTP)	Total
Year of Publication	2004	40	40
	2005	52	52
	2006	64	64
	2007	46	46
	2008	52	52
	2009	67	67
	2010	74	74
	2011	63	63
	2012	77	77

	2013	76	76
	2014	90	90
	2015	82	82
Total		783	783

$X^2=38.130^a$, $p<0.004$

The table displays the trends of news photographs related to the Taliban conflict in Pakistan (TTP) for the period of 12 years (2004-2015) in the context of different newspapers. The data is rather inconsistent, yet the overall tendency can be described as positive, i. e., the number of photographs is increasing. The number of photographs used in articles during this period can be seen to have gradually increased from 40 in 2004 to a high of 90 in 2014 giving a total of 783 photographs in all the articles published during this period. This paper found that there is a statistically significant relationship between the year of publication and the appearance of such images (Chi-square = 38. 130^a, $p < 0. 004$) thus, there is a non-random pattern in the media portrayal of the conflict. This table offers important information regarding the change of attention regarding the TTP conflict in media over time, which is most probably a result of the dynamics of the conflict's intensity+y and importance in the public sphere. But it has to be stated that this table is based on the numbers of photographs only and does not consider the content and the attitude of the media, for which more profound analysis is needed to reveal the dynamics of the conflict portrayal.

Table 10		Photograph Angle and Newspaper					
		Newspaper				Total	
		Nawa-i-Waqt	Express	The News	Dawn		
Angle	Close	Count	33	22	32	41	128
		%	25.8%	17.2%	25.0%	32.0%	100.0%
	Medium	Count	85	57	66	63	271
		%	31.4%	21.0%	24.4%	23.2%	100.0%
	Long	Count	111	93	107	73	384
		%	28.9%	24.2%	27.9%	19.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	229	172	205	177	783	
	%	29.2%	22.0%	26.2%	22.6%	100.0%	

$X^2=11.387^a$, $p<0.002$

The table gives the figures of photos put out in four categories (Close, Medium, Long) in four Pakistani dailies (Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News and Dawn) at an unknown time. Out of all the publications Nawa-i-Waqt posted the highest number of images (229), in which 111 of them

were taken from a distance which shows that this source has a tendency to share a broader look on the events or objects. Express and The News shared the same number of photographs represented in the text, namely, 172 and 205 respectively; however, these newspapers used both types of shots with a slightly equal focus on medium and long shots. Although Dawn posted the least number of photos (177), she shared photos with a reasonable mix of the three distances. Thus, the most numerous type was long distance pictures (384 photos in total) while the medium distance photos were the second most numerous (271 photos) and the close up photos were the third (128 photos). This pattern might be due to the fact that some aspects of the surrounding environment are more important to document in photojournalism, or because the editor decided to exclude some types of more intimate or emotionally charged shots. A chi-square test ($X^2=11.387^a$, $p<0.002$) also shows a statistically significant relationship between the newspaper and the angle used, thus it can be concluded that the choice of the photographic distance is not arbitrary and depends on the specific publication.

Table 11		Peace and War Photos and Phases Of Conflict			
Photo Type		Containment Phase (2004-2005)	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	
Photo Type	War Photo	27(29.3%)	41(25.3%)	441(83.4%)	509(65.0%)
	Peace Photo	65(70.7%)	121(74.7%)	88(16.6%)	274(35.0%)
	Total	92(100.0%)	162(100.0%)	529(100.0%)	783(100.0%)

$X^2=242.029^a$, $p<0.001$

The table presents a detailed breakdown of the number of photos published, categorized as either "War Photo" or "Peace Photo," across three distinct phases of a conflict: These are the Containment phase which is from 2004-2005, the Agreement phase which is from 2006-2008 and the last phase is that of the Intense War and the Final Victory which is from 2009-2015. The number of photos for the whole classification and stages is 783. In the first Containment Phase which is from the academic years 2004-2005, the number of photos taken was 92. Out of these, 27 photos can be classified as war photos that can contain the elements of the force and enmity; 65 photos can be classified as the peace photos that illustrate the efforts to show the process of conflict transformation or even reconciliation. In the Agreement Phase (2006-2008) there were a total of

162 published images with a slight rise in war themed images (41) and majority (121) still being peaceful images. This implies that there is a signed or is in the process of being signed, relative peace agreements in this period and therefore a somewhat reduced use of the peace symbols. Thus, the Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015) marked the complete opposite tendency with the overall number of 529 photos. This phase was again characterised by war photos with 441 photos while the number of peace photos reduced to 88. This change may be attributed to the heightened level of strife as well as the prospect of one party's triumph over the other, with the mass media zeroing in on the warfare and its ramifications. In general, it is possible to observe a shift in the depiction of the conflict over time based on the analyzed data. At the beginning of the war and peace photos, there was an equal distribution of photos, with peace photos even being more than war photos during the Containment and Agreement stages. But as the conflict escalation took place, the subject changed and became primarily focused on war, and photos of peace became the exception. The statistically significant chi-square test result ($X^2=242.029a$, $p<0.001$) also supports the strong relationship between the phase of conflict and the type of photos posted, thus illustrating the coverage of media and its potential role for shaping the conflict's dynamics.

Table 12			Newspaper and Group Orientation				
			Nawa-i-Waqt	Newspaper			Total
				Expres s	The News	Dawn	
Group Orientation	Only people-oriented	Count	99	85	99	85	368
		%	26.9%	23.1%	26.9%	23.1%	100.0%
	Force Oriented	Count	11	4	9	4	28
		%	39.3%	14.3%	32.1%	14.3%	100.0%
	Rescue-oriented	Count	6	0	0	0	6
		%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Militant-Oriented	Count	92	66	57	57	272
		%	33.8%	24.3%	21.0%	21.0%	100.0%
	Media Oriented	Count	4	8	18	16	46
		%	8.7%	17.4%	39.1%	34.8%	100.0%
	No people are shown/people are barely visible	Count	17	9	22	15	63
		%	27.0%	14.3%	34.9%	23.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	229	172	205	177	783
		%	29.2%	22.0%	26.2%	22.6%	100.0%

$X^2=40.980^a$, $p<0.001$

The table indicates the classification of the visual portrayal of groups in 783 pictures appeared in four Pakistani dailies namely Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News, and Dawn. The photos are classified into five categories: The categories included; people, force, rescue, militant, media and no people seen/ people seldom appeared; Nawa-i-Waqt published the highest number of photos (229) in the given period; 99 of them were people oriented and 92 were militant oriented. The two newspapers namely, Express (172 photos) and Dawn (177 photos) contributed most photos in which people were not present or in which they appeared in the background. The News (205 photos) was somewhat balanced between people (99) and militant (57) photos. Following the overall conclusion, it was identified that the majority of the pictures depicted in all the newspapers mentioned here had no people in the picture or the pictures were of the militants (272 and 368 pictures respectively); this supports the view that there is a tendency to show the ‘drama’ of the conflict and not the actual human side or even the rescue aspect of the conflict. This is supported by the fact that out of the 88 photos, only 6 of them depict the theme of rescue. Thus, applying the chi-square test, one can assert that the mentioned type of group orientation is linked with the newspaper ($\chi^2 = 40.980^a$, $p < 0.001$), which points to the differences in the visual perception of the group and potential prejudices that these newspapers may have when selecting pictures for the representation of the group.

Table 13		Phase of Conflict and Specification Primary Role Function						
		Specification Primary Role Function					Total	
		War: Victim	War: Aggressor /Perpetrator or	Peace: Negotiator/Mediator	Peace: (Peace) Demonstrators	Neutral: Military Observer		
Phase of Conflict	Containment Phase (2004-2005)	Count	15	12	10	51	4	92
		%	16.3%	13.0%	10.9%	55.4%	4.3%	100.0%
	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	Count	21	20	61	39	21	162
		%	13.0%	12.3%	37.7%	24.1%	13.0%	100.0%
	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	Count	158	269	48	16	38	529
		%	29.9%	50.9%	9.1%	3.0%	7.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	194	301	119	106	63	783
		%	24.8%	38.4%	15.2%	13.5%	8.0%	100.0%

$X^2=333.280^a$, $p<0.001$

The table presents a detailed breakdown of the primary role and function of the subjects depicted in photographs across three phases of a conflict: The organization of this book into three phases: Containment Phase (2004-2005), Agreement Phase (2006-2008), and Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015). The photos are categorized into five groups: Namely, there is a War Victim, War Aggressor/Perpetrator, Peace Negotiator/Mediator, Peace (Demonstrators), and Neutral Military Observer. In the Containment Phase, the most frequent photos (51 out of 92) showed the subjects as peace demonstrators, which may have indicated the emphasis on non-lethal tactics and the population's desire to avoid the confrontation. This is followed by a large number of photos of the victims of war (15), perpetrators/aggressors (12), mediators/peacemakers (10), and very few (4) depicting neutral military personnel. In the Agreement Phase, there is a change in the trend in which there are more photos showing the peace negotiators/mediators (61 out of 162), which suggests that there is a concentration on the diplomatic processes. War victims (21) and aggressors / perpetrators (20) continue to be portrayed, however, the count of peace demonstrators drops to 39, which indicates the change in people's display of peace during negotiations. The data regarding neutral military observers also rises slightly (21).

The Intense War & Victory Phase shows a radical shift to a war aggressors/perpetrators' orientation in the imagery (269 out of 529). This is succeeded by a large number of pictures that depict war victims (158), which shows a high focus on the repercussions and participants of the war. Peace negotiators/mediators (48) and demonstrators (16) are significantly decreased, which is a sign of the lowered chances of the peaceful settlement in this phase. The number of neutral military observers is 38 which has slightly changed from the previous phase. In general, it is possible to observe a clear evolution in the depiction of conflict in the three stages, which initially focuses on peace protests, then turns to focus on diplomatic processes, and, finally, presents a rather gloomy picture of war makers and sufferers as the conflict escalates and a celebrated victory is proclaimed. The high value of chi-square ($X^2 = 333.280a$, $p < 0.001$) indicates that there is a high correlation between the conflict phase and the primary role that is portrayed in the photos, this serves to show how visual media plays an important role in constructing and communicating conflict stories.

Table 14		Phase of Conflict and Implication for War Peace Journalism				
		Implication for War Peace Journalism				Total
		Peace: Achievement & Progress	War: Backlash & Deterioration	Neutral: Status Quo	5	
Phase of Conflict	Containment Phase (2004-2005)	61	27	4	0	92
	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	100	41	21	0	162
	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009- 2015)	50	439	38	2	529
Total		211	507	63	2	783

$X^2=277.475^a$, $p<0.001$

The table provides a breakdown of the findings with regards to the effects of the war and peace journalism in three stages of a conflict: Containment, Agreement, and Intense War & Victory for the years 2004-2015. During the initial Containment Phase (2004-2005), a significant majority of news stories (61 out of 92) focused on peace: Eighteen percent of the texts focused on achievement and progress, while a fewer number (27) highlighted on war: backlash and deterioration. Four of the photographs (4) can be classified as being balanced, while none of the photographs promoted the maintenance of the existing situation. During the Agreement Phase (2006-2008), similar events were reported but with a twist; 100 still focused on peace while 41 focused on war depicting the struggle in coming up with the agreement. Neutral stance was the most frequent with the count of 21 stories. The War & Victory Intensive Phase (2009-2015) was quite different and revealed only 50 stories that promoted peace, while 439 stories focused on war, which shows that the conflict was more widely represented during this period. While 38 stories did not side with any party, only two photographs reflected the middle of the road position. The table shows a clear progression of the journalistic approach in the narrative from one that is focused on peace and development to one that is centered on conflict and deterioration whereby there is a statistically significant relationship between the conflict phase and the journalistic implications as depicted by the chi-square value of $X^2=277.475^a$ ($p<0.001$).

Newspaper	Newspaper and Setting						Total
	Public building: school, college	Public building: governmental building	Private homes (individual property), refugee camps	Street/C ar	Battlefield / Military Area	Not specified / unclear	
Nawa-i-Waqt	30	8	2	53	102	34	229
Express	16	1	0	43	70	42	172
The News	7	2	0	61	66	69	205
Dawn	11	0	0	51	61	54	177
Total	64	11	2	208	299	199	783

$X^2=54.099^a$, $p<0.001$

The table encapsulates the nature of the settings depicted in the photographs posted by four Pakistani newspapers (Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News, and Dawn) whereby the analysis was based on 783 photographs. The settings are categorized into six distinct types: Private residences, institution: school/college, institution: governmental, refugees' camps, street/vehicle, war zone/military, and other/not mentioned. Nawa-i-Waqt posted the highest number of photos (229) with most of the photos featuring public facilities like schools or colleges (30 photos), followed by battle fields/military area (53 photos) and Streets/Cars (102 photos). It also had pictures taken in people's homes (8) and refugee camps (2) while, 34 pictures were not well specified/identified. Express, with 172 photos, contained mostly streets/cars (43) and other/undescribed (70), followed by private homes (16) and government buildings (1). The News, with 205 photos, depicted the combat/military environment for 61, unspecified or unclear location for 66 and streets and cars for 69. It also featured photos taken in public buildings: homes (14), schools or colleges (7) and public governmental buildings (2). Dawn had the lowest number of photos, 177, and also had a similar pattern to The News by focusing on battlefield/military regions (51) and other places whose location was not clear (61); only eleven of the photos were taken in homes and eleven in streets/cars. Thus, the most frequent context for all the newspapers was streets/cars (299 photos), then came the vague/unknown settings (199 photos) and the battlefield/military locations (208 photos). Slightly less frequent were private homes (11) and refugee camps (2). The chi square test shows that there is a strong relationship between the

newspaper and the location of the photos ($X^2=54.099a$, $p<0.001$) which implies different preferences and possible prejudices in the visual representation of the events or issues covered by these newspapers.

Table 16		Phase of Conflict and Setting						
		Setting						Total
		Public building: school, college	Public building: governmental building	Private homes (individual property), refugee camps	Street/ Car	Battlefield / Military Area	Not specified / unclear	
Phase of Conflict	Containment Phase (2004-2005)	16	8	0	15	12	41	92
	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	39	3	0	21	20	79	162
	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	9	0	2	172	267	79	529
	Total	64	11	2	208	299	199	783

The table presents a detailed breakdown of the settings depicted in 783 photographs across three phases of a conflict: Containment refer to the period between 2004 and 2005, Agreement 2006-2008 and Intense War & Victory 2009-2015. The settings are categorized into six types: The heads, bodies, and limbs of people in public buildings (schools/colleges, and governmental), private homes, refugee camps, streets/cars, battlefields/military areas, and other/indeterminate locations. During the Containment Phase, the most common setting was public buildings: In the given list, the most popular category is schools/colleges (16 photos), second is streets/cars (15 photos) and the third one is battlefields/military areas (12 photos). Private houses were depicted in 8 pictures, whereas there were no pictures of refugees' camps. Out of the photos, 41 of them had either missing or ambiguous information on the setting. The Agreement Phase saw a shift in focus, with streets/cars becoming the most common setting (21 photos), followed closely by public buildings: categories include schools/colleges (39 photos) and battlefields/military areas (20 photos). Private houses were depicted in 3 images and refugee camps were not depicted at all. Unspecified/unclear settings were identified in 79 of the photos. In the Intense War & Victory

Phase, there was a shift towards the battlefield/military areas that took the lead with 267 photos. The most frequent context of the photos was streets/cars; this remained constant at 172 photos, whereas unclear/ unspecified locations reduced to 79 photos. Private homes were presented in nine photos, and the photos of refugee camps were also limited to two. The most frequent context for all the phases was streets/cars (299 photos), seconded by other/indeterminate settings (199 photos) and warfare terrain (208 photos). The private homes were the least depicted with 64 photos followed by refugee camps which had only 2 photos. The chi-squared test ($X^2=287.559^a$, $p<0.000$) shows that the conflict phase is indeed related to the setting of the photos, meaning that there is a clear change in the portrayal of the conflict as time passes.

Table 17		Specification Primary Role Function and Number of People Shown					
		Number of People Shown					Total
		Single Individual	Dyad	Small Group (3-5)	Group / Multiple (more than 5)	None	
Specification Primary Role Function	War: Victim	0	0	0	194	0	194
	War: Aggressor/Perpetrator	0	298	1	2	0	301
	Peace: Negotiator/Mediator	84	0	0	0	35	119
	Peace: (Peace) Demonstrators	0	0	0	14	92	106
	Neutral: Military Observer	63	0	0	0	0	63
	Total	147	298	1	210	127	783

$X^2=1932.252^a$, $p<0.001$

In Table 18, the primary role and function of each subject in the photos are categorized and placed side by side with the frequency of people shown in each photo. The findings show clear trends with regard to the different positions. Of the victims depicted, 194 are shown isolated and this enhances the idea of the victims' helplessness. On the other hand, aggressors or perpetrators are presented in rather small numbers (298 out of 301), which points to a co-operation or the like. The majority of the peace negotiators/mediators are single individuals (84 out of 119) which underlines the focus on the individual and his/her actions. The peace demonstrators are depicted many times in groups (106 times out of 106) which corresponds to the fact that the peaceful protest

is usually a group action. All the neutral military observers are depicted as solitary characters (63 out of 63) which is in line with their neutral role. The chi-square test ($X^2 = 1932.252a$, $p < 0.001$) proves a statistically significant relationship between the primary role function and the number of people depicted, suggesting that the portrayal of people in these roles is purposeful and may affect the viewer's perception of the events depicted.

Table 18 Phase of Conflict and Context		
Phases of Conflict	Taliban Conflict (TTP)	Total
Containment Phase (2004-2005)	92	92
Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	162	162
Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	529	529
Total	783	783

The table shows a quantitative summary of the occurrence of news items on the Taliban Conflict (TTP) in an unspecified context in three different stages. The Containment Phase covered the period from 2004 to 2005 and produced 92 photographs, the Agreement Phase from 2006 to 2008 produced 162 photographs, while the Intense War & Victory Phase, which was between 2009 and 2015 produced 529 photographs; in total the project produced 783 photographs. Specifically, all the photographs in the collection are related to the TTP conflict, which is evident from the single category under “Context.” There are no computed Chi-square statistics because the “Context” variable is essentially constant. Nevertheless, the data in its original form shows a clear tendency of the media to pay more attention to the TTP conflict over time and especially during the Intense War & Victory Phase, which supports the notion of the rising importance of this conflict in the public eye.

Table 19		Newspaper and Role of Age			
		Adults	Elderly	5	Total
Newspaper	Nawa-i-Waqt	104	70	38	212
	Express	70	76	17	163
	The News	66	108	9	183
	Dawn	61	90	11	162
Total		301	344	75	720

$X^2=40.256^a$, $p<0.001$

The table provides a contingency analysis of the occurrence of adult and elderly persons in photographs featured in four Pakistani newspapers: Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News and Dawn, with the fifth category labeled as “5” without any clear reason. Nawa-i-Waqt has a tendency to portray adults first of all (104), then the elderly (70) and then the unspecified (38). Express and Dawn also adhere to the pattern of having more elder characters in the comics; 76 and 90 are the elders while 70 and 61 are the adults. On the other hand The News has more focus on the elderly (108) where as The Sun has more focus on the adults (66). In generalizing the summary data, it can be noted that there are more elderly people (344) than adults (301) and the least populated is the middle “5” group with 75 cases. The chi-square test gives a result of $X^2=40.256^a$, $p<0.001$ is the most featured age group in the photographs, which demonstrates that there is a close relationship between the newspaper and the age group presented in the photographs. This means that the decision to portray adults or elderly persons is not random but varies across the various newspapers, which could imply different editorial stands or audience preference.

Table 20		Group Orientation and Severity of The Physical Damage			
		Dead	Wounded	No Damage visible	Total
Group Orientation	Only people-oriented	0	209	159	368
	Force Oriented	0	0	28	28
	Rescue-oriented	0	0	6	6
	Militant-Oriented	1	1	270	272
	Media Oriented	0	0	46	46
	No people are shown/people are barely visible	0	0	63	63
Total		1	210	572	783

$X^2=319.138^a$, $p<0.001$

The table also contains the data on the severity of physical damage demonstrated in the photos with the division by the main themes or directions of the images. In the study, there are 783 pictures analyzed, and none of the pictures shows individuals as dead; furthermore, only in one picture per each category, the “Militant-Oriented” and “Media-Oriented,” do the individuals appear wounded. This means that there is a general low portrayal of direct physical injuries in the visual cultures of these particular groups. On the contrary, 572 out of 783 photos have no visible damage, with the highest percentage, (270), falling under the “Militant Oriented” category. The “Only people-oriented” category also has the highest frequency of samples (159) without any visible signs of damage to human bodies, which show that these groups are depicted without evident injuries. Moreover, there is a specific type of photos that contains no people or people are almost invisible (63), which indicates the interest in Environment. The chi-squared test gives 319 as the value of $X^2=138a$, $p<0.001$, thus supporting the hypothesis that there is a statistically significant relationship between group orientation and the degree of physical harm depicted, which points on the non-random manner of the visual data in constructing the narratives about these groups.

Table 21		Govt. of The Day and Severity of The Physical Damage			
		Dead	Wounded	No Damage visible	Total
	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	1	36	217	254
Govt of The Day	Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	0	129	264	393
	Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	0	45	91	136
Total		1	210	572	783

$X^2=32.395^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 22 is a possibility table displaying the level of physical damage shown in photographs, with the Pakistani government’s classification during the publication period (2004-2015). The analysis proves that majority of the images (572 out of 783) do not contain visible signs of destruction, and their number was the highest during the PPP’s rule (264 photos). While the present regime of Pervez Musharraf witnessed one instance of death depicted and 36 injured persons, the PPP and PML-N governments only portrayed the injured persons (129 and 45). The

number of the total images that contain depicted death or wounded people is rather limited (210); thus, there might be an inclination towards non-explicit content in the portrayal of physical harm. The chi-squared test ($X^2=32.395a$, $p<0.001$) validates the existence of a statistical relationship between the ruling government and the degree of physical harm portrayed in images, possible political or editorial bias in the representation of conflict and violence.

Table 22		Angle and Severity of The Physical Damage			
		Dead	Wounded	No Damage visible	
Angle	Close	0	1	127	128
	Medium	1	72	198	271
	Long	0	137	247	384
Total		1	210	572	783

$X^2=61.489^a$, $p<0.001$

Table showed eventuality of the level of physical damage that is visible in the photos, divided by the choice of the camera position (Close, Medium or Long). A statistical significance of $X^2=61.489^a$, $p<0.001$ is observed between the angle and the depicted damage. Surprisingly, close up images show very little cases of physical harm with only one person with a wound and no death among the 128 photos. Thus, medium-angle photos also reveal no visible harm to people in most cases (198 out of 271); however, they report 72 injuries and 1 death. Specifically, long-angle photos showcase the highest number of injuries (137) and possibly a connection between distance and presenting physical violence, despite no deaths reported in this category. The present findings show that the vast majority of photographs in all the angles (572 out of 783) have no apparent injuries, which indicates the general inclination to downplay the visible physical injuries regardless of the camera position.

Table 23		Photo Type and Group Orientation						
		Only people-oriented	Force Oriented	Rescue-oriented	Militant-Oriented	Media Oriented	No people are shown/people are barely visible	Total
Photo Type	War Photo	209	28	0	272	0	0	509
	Peace Photo	159	0	6	0	46	63	274
Total		368	28	6	272	46	63	783

$$X^2=386.036^a, p<0.001$$

The table shows the analysis of the visual portrayal of various groups in 783 pictures based on the type of the photo, whether it is the “War Photo” or the “Peace Photo”, and the orientation of the group. Thus, of the 509 war photos, a special focus is given to people and militants, which indicates the scale of the war and the people participating in it. What is more, there are no war photos showing people being rescued or journalists, which may indicate that these subjects are less represented in the visual discourse of war. On the other hand, the 274 peace photos are chiefly about people (‘Only people-oriented,’ 159 photos) and media actors (‘Media-Oriented’, 46 photos), which can be interpreted as the emphasis on human subject and media role in peace processes. Only 6 of the peace photos are related to the peace-building process and can be divided into the following categories: rescue in the post-conflict environment. Significantly, both war and peace photos contain a comparable number of the pictures with no people or people are present but almost invisible (there are 0 such pictures in the war photos, and there are 63 such pictures in the peace photos), which proves that the subject can be depicted not only through people but also through things, places, and events that happened there. This result of the chi-square test is statistically significant ($\chi^2=386.036, p<0.001$) which indicates a clear relationship between the type of photo and the group orientation depicted in it, thus suggesting that these choices are not random but are instead reflective of certain paradigms regarding conflict and peace in the media narratives.

Table 24		Photo Type and Implication for War Peace Journalism			
		Peace: Achievement & Progress	War: Backlash & Deterioration	Neutral: Status Quo	
Photo	War Photo	0	509	0	509
Type	Peace Photo	211	0	65	276
Total		211	509	65	783

$$X^2=783.000^a, p<0.001$$

The table presents a clear contrast on the ramifications of war and peace journalism as far as photographs are concerned. Seventeen hundred and eighty-three pictures were taken into consideration and classified according to the type of picture, whether it is a war or peace picture, and the underlying message of the picture in relation to conflict. There were 509 photos which

were classified as “War Photos,” and out of them, there was no photo that could be associated with positivity or achievements in the aspect of peace. Rather, it was possible to link all 509 war photos to “Backlash & Deterioration” – the theme that shows the negative impact and the continuum of the war. On the other hand, from the 276 “Peace Photos”, 211 were associated with “Achievement & Progress” and thus, played a part in the positive stories of reconciliation and peace building. Interestingly, a small portion of peace photos (65) were categorized as "Neutral: Status Quo,” meaning that not every advertisement with a focus on peace seeks to create change in the society. In conclusion, it is possible to state that, based on the given data, war and peace photos are characterized by different metaphorical meaning – war photos are mostly negative and peace photos are positive or, at least, neutral. This contrast is statistically significant as shown by chi-square test; $X^2=783.000^a$, $p<0.001$, which shows that the visual story was indeed used intentionally to shape the narrative around conflict and peace.

Table 25 Specification Primary Role Function and Implication for War Peace Journalism

		Peace: Achievement & Progress	War: Backlash & Deterioration	Neutral: Status Quo	Total
Specification Primary Role Function	War: Victim	0	194	0	194
	War: Aggressor/Perpetrator	0	299	0	301
	Peace: Negotiator/Mediator	119	0	0	119
	Peace: (Peace) Demonstrators	92	14	0	106
	Neutral: Military Observer	0	0	65	65
	Total	211	507	65	783

$X^2=1504.278^a$, $p<0.001$

This paper concludes by presenting a summary of findings in a table that compares the primary role function of people portrayed in photographs with the message that is being promoted for war or peace journalism. In aggregate of the 783 photos, the analyses show a clear distinction between the portrayal of war and that of peace. War victims are presented only in terms of “Backlash & Deterioration” (194 out of 194), which clearly shows that war leads to negative outcomes. Similarly, the vast majority of aggressors/perpetrators (299 out of 301) are also

associated with this negative implication, while a negligible number (2) are classified as "Neutral: Status quo. On the other hand, the peace negotiators / mediators are only portrayed in the context of 'Peace: Achievement & Progress' whereby they are mentioned 119 out of the 119 times, thus underlining the positive part they play. Interestingly, peace demonstrators exhibit a slight deviation, with 92 photos aligned with "Peace: 14 photos illustrate the category of "Backlash & Deterioration," which may hint at the author's recognition of the complications and setbacks in the peace movements. Neutral military observers are predominantly associated with "Neutral: "Status Quo" (63 out of 63) as they always appeared neutral in the whole process. The findings also showed that there was a chi-square test of significance between the primary role function and war/peace journalism implication ($X^2=1504.278^a$, $p<0.001$) with regards to the use of visual imagery in telling the story of war and peace.

Table 26		Specification Primary Role Function and Role of Age			
Specification Primary Role Function		Adults	Elderly	Child	Total
	War: Victim	0	194	0	194
	War: Aggressor/Perpetrator	301	0	0	301
	Peace: Negotiator/Mediator	0	75	44	119
	Peace: (Peace) Demonstrators	0	75	31	106
	Total	301	344	75	720

$X^2=859.265^a$, $p<0.001$

The table gives the specific analysis of the involvement of adults and the elderly in the photographs by roles, which seems to be in relation to conflict situations or social causes. 720 photos were selected and grouped according to the described functions of the portrayed persons: a war victim, an aggressor/perpetrator, a peace negotiator/mediator, and a peace demonstrator, as well as by age, namely adults and the elderly. Perhaps, one of the most interesting observations was the absence of children in all the described photographs. As is evident from the data, there are drastic differences in the age demography of the workforce across different positions within an organization. Aging is the only characteristic highlighted in the representations of war victims (194 out of 194), which implies that this age group is particularly vulnerable in conflict zones. On the other hand, aggressors/perpetrators are only represented as being adults (301 out of 301), which may contribute to enforcing prejudices regarding the age group in relation to violence. The roles of a peace negotiator/mediator and a peace demonstrator are also relatively evenly distributed,

although with different characteristics. Regarding the age of peace negotiators/mediators, it is observed that there are more adults (75) than the elderly (44). This may imply that the adult category plays more structured parts in the peace processes. On the other hand, the category of the elderly (75) is depicted more often than the category of adults (31) among peace demonstrators, pointing to the active involvement of older people in the peace movement. Thus, the Chi-squared test ($X^2=859^a$, 265 , $p<0.001$) proves that there is a statistically significant correlation between the primary role function and the age of the characters depicted, suggesting that these images are chosen intentionally and may have the consequences for the representation of different age groups in connection with conflict and peace.

Table 27		Newspaper and Number of People Shown					
		Single Individual	Dyad	Small Group (3-5)	Group / Multiple (more than 5)	None	Total
Newspaper	Nawa-i-Waqt	22	101	1	55	50	229
	Express	32	70	0	43	27	172
	The News	51	66	0	61	27	205
	Dawn	42	61	0	51	23	177
Total		147	298	1	210	127	783

$X^2=32.616^a$, $p<0.001$

The table provides the breakdown of the count of people depicted in the pictures in four Pakistani newspapers namely Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News, and Dawn. A total of 783 photos were examined and categorized based on the number of people depicted: The model can therefore be classified as being for one person, two people (dyad), three to five people (small group), more than 5 people (multiple group) or nobody. Nawa-i-Waqt was the most photographed newspaper with 229 photos and the majority of them (101) were dyads, and a large number of photos did not include people (50). It also contained a reasonable number of images focused on single people (22 images) and several groups of people (55 images), and only one image with a small group. Express, which included 172 photos, also tended to choose dyads (70 photos) and photos without people (27 photos). It contained a reasonable number of images with single persons (32 photos), and multiple groups (43 photos; however, there were no photos with small groups of people). The News, with 205 photos, had a focus on single persons (51 photos) and several groups (61 photos), followed by twosomes (66 photos) and photos without people (27 photos). It did not have any

depicts of small groupings. Dawn also had the least number of photos which was 177 and like Express she also preferred dyads (61 photos) and photos without people (23). It contained a reasonable number of pictures with single people (42 pictures) and several groups of people (51 pictures) but no pictures of small groups of people. In general, dyads were the most frequently depicted in the analyzed photos (n=298), then photos with no people at all (n=127), multiple groups of people (n=210), and single individuals (n=147). Markedly, there was only one photo that depicted a small group of people across all the newspapers. This implies that subjects or groups are preferred in photographs, while pairs are the most frequent presentation of relationships. The chi-square test ($X^2=32.616$, $p<0.001$) shows that there is a statistically significant relationship between the newspaper and the numbers of people depicted, which means that these decisions are not made randomly but instead follow particular guidelines, or cater for specific purposes in the visual component of the coverage.

Table 28 Phase of Conflict and Depicting Emotions				
Phase of Conflict	Avoided / Not Emphasized	Emotions Not Emphasized	Particularly Emphasized	Total
Containment Phase (2004-2005)	4	1	87	92
Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	21	0	141	162
Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	38	0	491	529
Total	63	1	719	783

$X^2=14.686^a$, $p<0.005$

The table presents a detailed breakdown of the depiction of emotions in photos published across three distinct phases of a conflict: The current study is divided into three phases namely, Containment Phase (2004-2005), Agreement Phase (2006-2008), and Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2011) and a total of 783 pictures were considered. The emotional portrayal is categorized into three levels: The first category is “Avoided/Not Emphasized,” the second one is “Emotions Not Emphasized,” and the third one is “Particularly Emphasized.” In the Containment Phase, a majority of the photos (87 out of 92) had emotions particularly emphasized, which indicated that the coverage of the conflict’s human aspect and people’s reactions was a major concern. 4 photos did not include emotions or minimally contained emotions and 1 photo was categorized as “Emotions Not Emphasized”. In the next Agreement Phase, the focus on emotions

was maintained with 141 out of 162 photos especially with focus on emotions. Nevertheless, it was possible to identify a certain rise in the number of photos that did not depict or did not focus on emotions (21), and there were no photos classified as ‘No Emotions.’ This shift could be associated with the increased emotional palette during negotiations and people’s perception of emotions in the conflict. The Intense War & Victory Phase is different and there was a noted increase of photos taken especially those with focus on emotions (491 out of 529). This can be interpreted as an increased concentration on the affective consequences of the increasing conflict and its table. Also, the number of images that did not depict or did not heavily focus on emotions also rose to 38, which can suggest that the portrayal of emotions during this highly charged period was not as black-and-white as the previous observations. The table shows a clear pattern of shifting concern with portraying the affects in photos as the conflict developed. Thus, focusing on emotions, the majority of pictures in all the phases of the conflict were depicted, but this number was significantly higher during the Intense War & Victory Phase. The Chi-squared test result yielded a statistic of $X^2=14.686$, $p<0.005$; this confirms that there is a statistically significant relationship between the stage of conflict and the display of emotions, which implies that the portrayal of emotions was not arbitrary but was intentionally done in relation to the stage of conflict.

Emotions	Depicting Emotions			
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Avoided / Not Emphasized	63	8.0	8.0	8.0
Emotions Not Emphasized	1	.1	.1	8.2
Particularly Emphasized	719	91.8	91.8	100.0
Total	783	100.0	100.0	

The table also reveals that the role of emotions is quite dominant in photographs, 91 out of the 100. Of the total 783 pictures, 719, which is 91.8% were classified as ‘Particularly Emphasized’ while only 8% they depicted emotions that were Either Avoided or Not Emphasized and a very low percentage of 0.1 had no emphasis on emotions at all. Only 1% (1 photo) does not belong to any of the categories as the emotions are not depicted in the photo. These eighty five percent of photos display emotions imply that the photos were taken intentionally to capture the emotions in the events or subjects photographed.

Table 30		Depicting Emotions and Severity of The Physical Damage			
		Severity of The Physical Damage			Total
		Dead	Wounded	No Damage visible	
Depicting Emotions	Avoided / Not Emphasized	0	0	63	63
	Emotions Not Emphasized	1	0	0	1
	Particularly Emphasized	0	210	509	719
Total		1	210	572	783

$X^2=808.188^a$, $p<0.001$

The following table shows a contingency table that compares the level of emotions portrayed in the photos and the level of physical harm in the photos. It divides the photos depending on the portrayal of emotions, namely, “Avoided/Not Emphasized,” “Emotions not emphasized,” and “Particularly Emphasized,” and the level of physical harm depicted, namely, “Dead,” “Wounded,” and “No Wounds. ” Therefore, the ‘Particularly Emphasized’ category contains the largest number of photos, 719 out of 783 (91. 8%). Among these, 210 depict persons with injuries, while 509 depict persons without apparent injuries. Out of all the photographs, there is only one where emotions are ‘Not Emphasized’ and this photo shows a deceased person. The last set of 63 photos, where emotions are ‘Avoided/Not Emphasized’ has no damages seen. Thus, the table suggests that emotions are highlighted significantly in photos, particularly in cases of injuries. The lack of fatalities in the categories which have emphasis on emotions or the lack thereof and the one fatality in the category without an emphasis on emotions could imply a possible bias in the depiction of death which might not allow for the depiction of emotional death. The chi-squared test for independence was used with a value of $X^2=808.188^a$, $p<0.001$ supports the hypothesis that there is a relationship between these two variables; thus, the relationship between the portrayal of emotions and the degree of physical harm is not accidental.

Table 31 Famous People and Phase of Conflict					
Famous People	Phase of Conflict			Total	
	Containment Phase (2004-2005)	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)		
Yes	35	50	260		345
No	57	112	269		438
Total	92	162	529		783

$X^2=18.355^a$, $p<0.001$

The table presents a comprehensive analysis of the portrayal of famous people in a dataset of 783 photographs, categorized across three distinct phases of a conflict: It can be divided into three phases namely: Containment Phase (2004-2005), Agreement Phase (2006-2008), and Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015). The findings show that there is a general trend of identifying prominent persons as the conflict unfolds. In the first containment phase, out of the 92 pictures, 35 depicted famous people while 57 did not. Yet, with the conflict moving to the Agreement Phase, the frequency of photos with celebrities increased to 50, which was higher than photos without celebrities; 112. This trend was taken to the next level during the Intense War & Victory Phase where the number of photos with famous people soared to 260 while that of without famous people were only 269. Therefore, 345 out of the total of 783 images depicted famous people, showing an increasing concern with their inclusion as the conflict evolved. This observation is supported by the statistical analysis using chi-squared test ($X^2 = 18.355$, $p < 0.001$) which analysis shows there is a relationship between the appearance of famous people and the phase of conflict, meaning there was intentionality to feature them as the conflict escalated.

Table 32 Location and Specification Primary Role Function						
Location	War: Victim	War: Aggressor/Perpetrator	Peace: Negotiator/Mediator	Peace: (Peace) Demonstrators	Neutral: Military Observer	Total
Remote Area	194	299	41	34	63	631
Settled Area	0	2	78	72	0	152
Total	194	301	119	106	63	783

$X^2=450.893^a$, $p<0.001$

The table provides a detailed analysis of the relationship between the location of photographs and the primary role or function of the subjects depicted, totaling 783 photos across

two location categories: Thus, there are two types of area, namely the Remote Area and the Settled Area. In the remoteness, the main theme is the victims of war (194) and the culprits/aggressors (299) which points to the depictions of the direct effects of armed struggle and the initiators of the violence in such regions. Peace negotiators and mediators (41) and peace demonstrators (34) are also portrayed, though with fewer occurrences, which points to the fact that though there is an attempt to search for peace in the remote areas, the aspect of conflict is more dominant. The figures regarding the presence of neutral military observers (63) go to show that the external forces are present in these regions in fairly good numbers, which could be for the purpose of peace keeping or as observers. On the other hand, the settled areas have no reported war victims (0) and very few aggressors/ perpetrators (2). There is a general avoidance of the label of ‘activists’ (only 72 appearances of ‘peace demonstrators’) in favor of labeling those who are involved in the peace process as negotiators/mediators (78). There is no presence of neutral military observers in the settled areas and this may mean that there is less external meddling in the said areas as compared to the rest. This result of the chi-squared test ($X^2=450.893^a$, $p<0.001$) supports the conclusion that the two variables, the location of the photographs, and the primary roles depicted in the photographs are associated in a manner that is statistically significant, and strong, therefore, the choice of the subject matter is not haphazard but is rather guided by the geographical location. This implies that there is a need to offer a complex view of the visual story, in terms of conflict and peace, and how they depend on the individual attributes of the locations.

Location	Escalatory Photo		Total
	Strong Escalatory	Weak Escalatory	
Remote Area	346	157	503
Settled Area	2	14	16
Total	348	171	519

$X^2=22.238^a$, $p<0.001$

This table indicates the relationship between the location of the photograph and the escalatory photo displayed. Out of the analyzed 519 escalatory photos, the contrast between the remote and settled areas is rather profound. Hence, 503 of the 519 photos are from the areas of the conflict, with 346 photos being classified as strong escalatory signs and 157 are classified as weak

escalatory signs, which proves that the conflict and tension are visually dominant in these areas. On the other hand, the settled areas have a rather low number of escalatory photos, having a total of 16 photos, which are classified as two strong escalatory and 14 weak escalatory photos. This difference points to the fact that the two areas have different visual narratives in which the depiction of conflict in the remote areas is rising while the depiction of conflict in the settled areas is diminishing. Thus, the chi-squared test ($X^2=22.238^a$, $p<0.001$) proves that there is a statistically significant association between the location and the type of escalatory photo, which indicates that this distribution is not random and that the location might influence the visual construction of conflict narratives.

Table 34 Location and De-Escalatory Photo			
Location	De-Escalatory Photo		Total
	Strong De-escalatory	Weak De-escalatory	
Remote Area	119	6	125
Settled Area	74	55	129
Total	193	61	254

$X^2=49.802^a$, $p<0.001$

The table includes the cross-tabulation of the number of photos taken and de-escalation based on the location between Remote Area and Settled Area. Out of the total of 254 de-escalatory photos, 193 of which are Strong de-escalatory photos meaning it can be assumed that the photos contain direct methods of preventing conflicts while 61 of them are in the Weak de-escalation photos and may include more subtle indicators of de-escalation. When regarding the geographical location, there is an evident bias toward publishing strong de-escalatory imagery: 119 photos vs 6 weak de-escalatory photos. This implies that there should be more emphasis on portraying raw peace activities or events with positive changes in the indicated segments. On the other hand, in the settled areas, the distribution is much fairer with 74 strong and 55 weak de-escalatory photos. This means that while continuing to illustrate direct peace efforts, there are signs that reveal existence of less detectable approaches of conflict transformation in such regions. In summary, the findings provide an evidence of the significance of geographical factors for the picture of de-escalatory photos published, which is statistically significant with a value of $X^2 = 49.802^a$, $p < 0.001$, and therefore the geography should be considered as a more important factor while analysing the representations of peace and conflict in media.

Table 35 Escalatory Photo & Famous People			
Famous People	Escalatory Photo		Total
	Strong Escalatory	Weak Escalatory	
Yes	278	0	278
No	70	171	241
Total	348	171	519

$X^2=294.179^a$, $p<0.001$

This table presents the results of the study regarding the correlation of the appearance of famous people in escalatory photos and the type of escalation (strong or weak). Among 519 escalatory photos, 278 of them depicted celebrities and fell into the category of the “Strong Escalatory”, which indicates a strong connection between the representation of celebrities and extreme images used in escalatory photos. On the other hand, no weak escalatory photo depicted a celebrity; thus, the weak escalatory photos predominantly portrayed ordinary people in relatively moderate escalatory situations. This strong relationship is further supported by the chi square test result ($X^2 = 294.179$, $p < 0.001$), as this indicates that this distribution is not random. The table raises a potential question of media bias, specifically the way that famous persons are represented, since the association between the latter and the escalatory images is rather strong and may still enhance the emotions elicited and attention paid to these photos, but reduce the chances of famous people being featured in less escalation-related situations.

Table 36 Famous People and De-Escalatory Photo				
Famous People		De-Escalatory Photo		Total
		Strong De-escalatory	Weak De-escalatory	
Yes	Count	64	1	65
	%	33.2%	1.6%	25.6%
No	Count	129	60	189
	%	66.8%	98.4%	74.4%
Total	Count	193	61	254
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$X^2=24.185^a$, $p<0.001$

The table shows a frequency distribution of the occurrence of de-escalatory photos in the given dataset with the cross-tabulation of the presence of celebrities and strong/weak form of de-escalation. From the 254 de-escalatory photos, 193 are categorised as strong de-escalatory and 61

as weak de-escalatory. Among the strong de-escalatory photos, the majority (64) depict famous people while only one does not. This could point to an effective connection between the referencing of well known persons and the use of powerful de-escalation symbolism, which may mean that celebrities are being strategically deployed for supporting the peace and reconciliation processes. However, 60 out of 61 of the weak de-escalatory photographs do not depict celebrities, which supports the claim that famous people are not used in less leading positions. In general, the appearance of celebrities is noted in 64 of 65 strong de-escalatory photos and only in 1 of 61 weak ones. This significant association is supported by the chi-square test result ($X^2 = 24.185$, $p < 0.001$), meaning that this distribution is not random. The data suggests that the decision to use famous people in de-escalatory photos is intentional and may suggest that the peace messaging is being intentionally linked to celebrity influence.

Table 37		Newspaper and Escalatory Photo				
Escalatory Photo		Newspaper				Total
		Nawa-i-Waqt	Express	The News	Dawn	
Strong Escalatory	Count	99	74	89	86	348
	%	19.1%	14.3%	17.1%	16.6%	67.1%
Weak Escalatory	Count	53	39	46	33	171
	%	10.2%	7.5%	8.9%	6.4%	32.9%
Total	Count	152	113	135	119	519
	%	29.3%	21.8%	26.0%	22.9%	100.0%

$X^2=1.923^a$, $p<0.001$

The following table shows the specific distribution of the escalatory photos in four Pakistani newspapers, namely Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News, and Dawn. Most of the escalatory pictures, which possibly showed violence or a clash, were shared by Nawa-i-Waqt with 99 photos. The News was not far behind with 89, while Express managed to get 74 and Dawn was at 86. Regarding weak escalatory photos, Nawa-i-Waqt had the highest number with 53, followed by The News with 46, Express with 39, and Dawn with 33. In general, Nawa-i-Waqt posted the highest number of provocative photos (152), while The News (135), Dawn (119), and Express (113). The level of analysis is the different levels of escalation defined as strong escalatory photos and weak escalatory photos, of which there were 348 and 171 respectively. The Chi-square test demonstrates that there is a statistically significant relationship between the newspaper and the

type of escalatory photo, which was chosen for publication ($X^2 = 1.923^a$; $P < 0.001$); this means that the represented type of photo was chosen intentionally and might have been influenced by the policy of the specific newspaper or the target audience.

Table 38 Escalatory Photo and Group Orientation				
Escalatory Photo	Group Orientation			Total
	Only people-oriented	Force Oriented	Militant-Oriented	
Strong Escalatory	53	28	267	348
Weak Escalatory	171	0	0	171
Total	224	28	267	519

$X^2=335.860^a$, $p<0.001$

The table shows the specific distribution of escalatory photos by the group orientation depicted in them, which amounts to 519 photos. Within these photos, 348 of them can be labeled as “Strong Escalatory” meaning that the conflicts or aggressive actions are depicted in a more detailed manner. Surprisingly, the most dominant group orientation in this category is the Militant-Oriented (267 photos), followed by only people-oriented (53 photos), and the least Force Oriented (28 photos). This indicates that there is a clear accent on depicting militants and the human side in escalation situations, whereas images that depict military or security forces are not very common. On the other hand, the “Weak Escalatory” category which consists of 171 photos is linked only with the “Only people-oriented” group orientation, meaning that less severe manifestations of the conflict tend to focus on people rather than fighters or sides. Also, none of the weak escalatory photos are flagged as “Force Oriented” or “Militant-Oriented,” which supports the observed difference in the depiction of various escalatory levels. From the chi-square test, the obtained value of X^2 was 335.860^a and the level of significance was $p < 0.001$; it can therefore be concluded that there is a statistical significance between the type of escalatory photo and the group orientation depicted, which means that these are not coincidences but rather planned representation choices. This data implies a possible reinforcement of the message concerning the human factor and the involvement of the militants in provoking conflict, and to some extent, the security forces, particularly in the depiction of milder forms of escalation.

Table 39		Escalatory Photo and Specification Primary Role Function		
		Implication for War Peace Journalism		
Escalatory Photo		Peace: Achievement & Progress	War: Backlash & Deterioration	Total
Strong Escalatory	Count	2	346	348
	%	0.4%	66.7%	67.1%
Weak Escalatory	Count	14	157	171
	%	2.7%	30.3%	32.9%
Total	Count	16	503	519
	%	3.1%	96.9%	100.0%

$X^2=340.992^a$, $p<0.001$

This table shows the specific correlation between the representation of escalatory photos and the main/primary function of the people depicted in the photos. Thus, out of 519 escalatory photos, the most frequent type (348) is labeled as ‘Strong Escalatory,’ meaning that the depicted conflict is presented in a more acute or detailed manner. Within this category, the most frequent primary role depicted is "War: The highest tagged album is the “Aggressor/Perpetrator” (295 photos), then comes the “War: Victim” (51 photos). A minimal number of photos (2) portray "Peace: Of the roles identified, none are illustrated by any of the images as “Negotiator/Mediator,” and although one image contains the theme of “Peace (Demonstrators). “ This implies that the images predominantly focus on the parties in the conflict or those who are impacted by it with minimal emphasis on peacemaking. Conversely, the "Weak Escalatory" category, comprising 171 photos, predominantly portrays "War: The most frequently depicted theme is “Victim” with 143 images, the second is “Peace: (Peace) Demonstrators” with 15 images, and the third one is “Peace: Negotiator/Mediator” with 13 images. This shows that there is a shift of interest towards the people affected by the conflict and to some extent the conflict resolution processes when the visuals depicted are less severe. The chi-squared test result ($X^2=340.992^a$, $p<0.001$) proves that there is a statistically significant relationship between the type of escalatory photo and the depicted primary role/function which means that such choices are not accidental but reveal certain preferences or narratives in the coverage of conflict. In conclusion, the table reflects that visual representation of a conflict is intertwined with the participation of the depicted persons, with a special focus on the aggressors and victims in the strong escalatory pictures and the shift towards the victims and peacemaking in the weak escalatory pictures.

Table 40		Escalatory Photo and Severity of The Physical Damage			
Escalatory Photo		Severity of The Physical Damage			Total
		Dead	Wounded	No Damage visible	
Strong Escalatory	Count	1	51	296	348
	% within	100.0%	24.5%	95.5%	67.1%
Weak Escalatory	Count	0	157	14	171
	%	0.0%	75.5%	4.5%	32.9%
Total	Count	1	208	310	519
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$X^2=284.244^a$, $p<0.001$

The table displays the frequency of occurrences of strong and weak escalatory photos by the level of physical aggression depicted in 519 cases. In the strategic “Strong Escalatory” (348 pictures), there is one picture of death, 51 images of injured persons and 296 images without injury. This implies that while photos aimed at illustrating increased levels of escalation are meant to create a feeling of intensity, the images that result from such conflicts are usually more related to the effects of the conflict rather than the deaths that occur in the process. On the other hand, within the ‘Weak Escalatory’ category (171 photographs), there are no photographs of death, yet, 157 photographs depict the wounded, and only 14 have no signs of harm on the persons depicted. This means that weak escalatory photos, even though they are less severe in nature, present the human aspect of conflict through depiction of injuries more frequently. The chi-squared test ($X^2 = 284.244^a$, $p < 0.001$) establishes a statistically significant correlation between these two variables, which means that the connection between the kind of escalatory photo and the degree of physical violence presented is not accidental, but rather intentional and may have certain repercussions for the audience’s perception of the portrayed events.

Table 41		Escalatory Photo and Implication for War Peace Journalism		
Escalatory Photo		Implication for War Peace Journalism		Total
		Peace: Achievement & Progress	War: Backlash & Deterioration	
Strong Escalatory	Count	2	346	348
	%	12.5%	68.8%	67.1%
Weak Escalatory	Count	14	157	171
	%	87.5%	31.2%	32.9%
Total	Count	16	503	519
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$$X^2=22.238^a, p<0.001$$

Table examines the connection between the type of escalatory photo (strong or weak) and the war/peace journalism implication. Out of a total of 519 escalatory photos, a vast majority (346) were categorized as strong escalatory and associated with the implication of "War: "Backlash & Deterioration," This shows that the emphasis of the dimension is on the negative effects of the conflict. Only a negligible portion (2) of strong escalatory photos were linked to "Peace: Achievement & Progress," which can be interpreted as a weaker effort to portray success when it comes to intensification. In contrast, among the 171 weak escalatory photos, 144 were associated with "War: Fourteen of the articles discussed with the theme "Backlash & Deterioration," and 14 were associated with the theme "Peace: Achievement & Progress," which indicates that the representation of conflict was not entirely negative and contained a certain recognition of the possibility of positive outcomes. The chi-squared test also provides evidence of the statistical relationship between these two variables; hence, there is a clear pattern on how various forms of escalatory images are used to portray meaning in war and peace journalism. This means that the choice of photo and its relation to a certain implication is not accidental but a purposeful decision that can influence the audience's view of conflict and peace.

Table 42		Setting and Escalatory Photo				
Escalatory Photo		Setting				Total
		Public building: governmental building	Street/City	Battlefield / Military Area	Not specified / unclear	
Strong Escalatory	Count	0	51	295	2	348
	%	0.0%	24.5%	100.0%	13.3%	67.1%
Weak Escalatory	Count	1	157	0	13	171
	%	100.0%	75.5%	0.0%	86.7%	32.9%
Total	Count	1	208	295	15	519
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$$X^2=339.907^a, p<0.001$$

The table presents the results of the research that indicates the relationship between the context of the photograph and the likelihood that it is categorized as "Strong Escalatory" or "Weak Escalatory" based on the analysis of 519 photographs. The largest number of the photos (295) was made in the battlefield or military area settings and is assigned to the "Strong Escalatory" category,

which is characterized by the highest degree of visual emphasis on the conflict. However, as for the “Weak Escalatory” photos, 157 out of 171 are set in street/car contexts, which means that less intense conflict images are more likely to be observed in the most common environment. Neither public government buildings (1 weak escalatory photo) nor unidentifiable or ambiguous environments are prominent in either category, although the latter type is slightly more frequent than the former (2 strong, 13 weak). It shows a clear correlation between setting and the degree of conflict portrayed: battlefields/military zones are strongly connected with high escalation level while streets/cars are more related to low escalation level. This association is statistically significant ($X^2=339.907^a$, $p<0.001$) which indicates that there is a non-random process regarding the choice of settings for different types of escalatory photos.

Table 43		Phase of Conflict and Escalatory Photo			
Escalatory Photo		Phase of Conflict			Total
		Containment Phase (2004-2005)	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	
Strong Escalatory	Count	11	18	319	348
	%	3.2%	5.2%	91.7%	100.0%
Weak Escalatory	Count	16	20	135	171
	%	9.4%	11.7%	78.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	27	38	454	519
	%	5.2%	7.3%	87.5%	100.0%

$X^2=17.246^a$, $p<0.001$

The table illustrates the frequency of escalatory photos across three distinct conflict phases: The Conflict Sectors are: Containment (2004-2005), Agreement (2006-2008), Intense War & Victory (2009-2015). These are also grouped into two depending on the level of escalation that is involved in the case of the given photos; the strong escalation photos and the weak escalation photos. In the Containment Phase (2004-2005), there were 11 strong escalatory photos and 16 weak escalatory photos; thus, there was a total of 27 photos. This means that during the beginning of the conflict, the level of visual imagery used was not very high but leaned slightly towards the less severe kinds of aggression. In the subsequent Agreement Phase (2006-2008) the total number of photos that can be termed as escalatory was 38 including 18 strong and 20 weak types. This points to increased use of visual representations in this phase, possibly because of the high level reporting of the conflict and portrayals of the conflict in the phases of conflict resolution and

signing of peace agreements. But the most radical shift is observed in the Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015), when the number of strong escalatory photos was 319, and weak – 135 photos, in total – 454 photos. The frequency of escalatory imagery, especially the thermic type, shows that there is a growing interest in representing war and aggression during this period of heightened military action. Altogether, the table presents the shift in the course of the conflict towards the increased use of escalatory photos, especially in OW&VP. It could be the shift in the types of images that the media is posting or the selection of images as the conflict evolved. The chi-squared test result ($X^2=17.246^a$, $p<0.001$) also indicates that there is a statistical significance between the phase of conflict and the type of escalatory photo used and proves that the choice of the photos is not random, which supports the idea of the evolution of the visual imagery in parallel with the evolution of the conflict.

Table 44 Govt. of The Day and Escalatory Photo			
Govt. of The Day	Escalatory Photo		Total
	Strong Escalatory	Weak Escalatory	
Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	29	36	65
Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	228	102	330
Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	91	33	124
Total	348	171	519

$X^2=17.685^a$, $p<0.001$

The table presents a detailed analysis of the frequency of escalatory photos published in Pakistani media during three distinct government regimes: The period of study is the Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008), The Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013) and Pakistan Muslim League N (2013-2015). The photos are split into two types: Two types of escalation have been identified in literature, namely Strong Escalatory and Weak Escalatory. In the period of Musharraf, the two types were roughly equally represented with a total of 65 published, 29 being Strong Escalatory and 36 Weak Escalatory. However, the PPP government which followed the Musharraf regime witnessed a steep increase in the number of escalatory photos, which reached to 330. However, the application of Strong Escalatory photos rose to 228 for the second quarter while that of Weak Escalatory photos also rose to 102. This indicates that there was an emphasis on portraying the aspects of conflict and aggression in this period than in the previous one. Therefore,

with the escalation photos, Pakistan Muslim League-N government employed the minimum of 124 photos out of which 91 were of strong category while the rest, 33 were of weak category. It can also be argued that there was a shift in the media or the government's regulation of portraying conflict in this time frame. The breakdown of the total number of photos in the present study in terms of the category of the Strong Escalatory regime is 348, while that of the Weak Escalatory regime is 171. It shows that there is a tendency to present conflict in a more explicit manner among the studied texts. This was followed by the chi-square test whose value was $X^2=17.685^a$, $p<0.001$ enhances the already existing evidence of the relationship between the government in power and the employment of escalatory photos, which could have been influenced by political factors in the formation of the media's visual messages.

Table 45 Govt. of The Day and De-Escalatory Photo			
Govt of The Day	De-Escalatory Photo		Total
	Strong De-escalatory	Weak De-escalatory	
Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	153	36	189
Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	35	18	53
Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	5	7	12
Total	193	61	254

$X^2=13.174^a$, $p<0.001$

The table shows a chi-square analysis of the association between the government in power in Pakistan, (this is the Govt of The Day), and the existence of strong or weak de-escalatory photos in the media. The data covers three distinct government regimes: These are under the ruling of General Pervez Musharraf (2004-2008), the Pakistan People's party (2009-2013) and the Pakistan Muslim league-N (2013-2015). The results of the study also indicate that there is a statistical relation between the government in power and the de-escalatory photos' type ($X^2=13.174$, $p<0.001$). Musharraf's regime seems to have had more of strong de-escalatory photos with a total of 153, although it could be an indication of the regime's Prepare to Escalate posture. However, the Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz regimes were characterized by more instances of weak de-escalatory photos (18 and 7, respectively) which may suggest a propensity toward a more subtle de-escalation strategy. The total number of cases examined is 254, while 193

cases belong to the strong de-escalatory photos and the remaining 61 cases to the weak de-escalatory photos. The table offers significant information about a possible relationship between political leadership and the presentation of the de-escalation strategies in the media in the given time intervals in Pakistan.

Table 46		De-Escalatory Photo and Phase of Conflict			
De-Escalatory Photo		Phase of Conflict			Total
		Containment Phase (2004-2005)	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	
Strong De-escalatory	Count	56	97	40	193
	%	29.0%	50.3%	20.7%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	9	27	25	61
	%	14.8%	44.3%	41.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	65	124	65	254
	%	25.6%	48.8%	25.6%	100.0%

$X^2=11.458^a$, $p<0.003$

The Table presents the cross-tabulation of de-escalatory photos and phases of conflict and their frequency as well as the strength of de-escalatory messages. During the containment phase (2004-2005), there is a relatively high occurrence of effective de-escalatory pictures (56 times) as opposed to the less effective ones (9 times). The agreement phase (2006-2008) observes an increase in the number of strong de-escalatory photos (97) as opposed to weak ones (27). But, the war and victory phase or the phase of intense conflict (2009-2015) marks a change wherein there are fewer instances of strong de-escalatory photos, that is 40, while the weak ones increased to 25. In total, the data set has been categorized into 254 pictures of which 193 are of the strong de-escalatory type and 61 are of the weak type. The chi-square test also shows a statistical correlation ($X^2=11.458^a$, $p<0.003$) between the type of de-escalatory picture and conflict phase meaning that such choice of message is not arbitrary and may be a function of particular conflict dynamics.

Table 47		De-Escalatory Photo and Angle			
De-Escalatory-Photo		Close	Medium	Long	Total
Strong De-escalatory	Count	13	90	90	193
	%	6.7%	46.6%	46.6%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	36	12	13	61
	%	59.0%	19.7%	21.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	49	102	103	254
	%	19.3%	40.2%	40.6%	100.0%

$X^2=81.388^a$, $p<0.001$

The table illustrates the crosstab of the type of de-escalatory photo and the angle, at which the given photo was captured. The two variables are significantly related as reflected by the chi-square value of 81.388^a ($p<0.001$). Thus, the most frequent angle of the strong de-escalatory photos is medium (90 photos), followed by long (90 photos) and close (13 photos). Equally, weak de-escalatory photos are most often shot at close proximity (36 times), while the rest are shot at a distance and from the medium range (13 and 12 times respectively). Thus, a greater share of the de-escalatory photos (193 out of 254) is defined as strong, and the majority of the photos are taken from the perspective of a medium distance or longer. This implies that the position at which a de-escalatory photo is taken can affect its ability to communicate strength; medium and long range photos seem more powerful than close ones.

Table 48		De-Escalatory Photo and Group Orientation				
De-Escalatory Photo	Group Orientation					Total
	Only people-oriented	Rescue-oriented	Militant-Oriented	Media Oriented	No people are shown/people are barely visible	
Strong De-escalatory	82	6	3	46	56	193
Weak De-escalatory	55	0	1	0	5	61
Total	137	6	4	46	61	254

$X^2=44.336^a$, $p<0.001$

The table shows the cross-tabulation of the type of the de-escalatory photo as strong or weak and the type of the group orientation presented in the photo as people-oriented, rescue-oriented, militant-oriented, and media-oriented or no people shown/barely visible. The strongest

de-escalatory photos correspond to the scenes where people are the main focus (82), then, the scenes where people are almost not depicted (56), media-related (46), rescue-related (6), and rarely militant-related (3). On the other hand, weak de-escalatory photos are mostly associated with scenes where people are the only ones looking (55%), followed by the scenes where people are either not depicted or barely depicted (5%), and lastly, militant-oriented scenes (1%). Interestingly, none of the weak de-escalatory actions are connected with the rescue or media themes. In the set of strong de-escalatory photos there are 193 photos, while the photos with weak de-escalatory potential are 61, hence the total sum is 254 photos. The chi square value ($X^2 = 44.336^a$, $p < 0.001$) indicates that there is a statistical relationship between the selection of de-escalatory photos and the group orientation depicted, thus, it can be concluded that the selection of the group orientation is not random but it has an impact on the perception of the de-escalatory message.

Table 49		De-Escalatory Photo and Specification Primary Role Function				
De-Escalatory Photo		Specification Primary Role Function				Total
		War: Aggressor/ Perpetrator	Peace: Negotiator /Mediator	Peace: (Peace) Demonstra tors	Neutral: Military Observer	
Strong De-escalatory	Count	3	43	91	56	193
	%	1.6%	22.3%	47.2%	29.0%	100.0 %
Weak De-escalatory	Count	1	55	0	5	61
	%	1.6%	90.2%	0.0%	8.2%	100.0 %
Total	Count	4	98	91	61	254
	%	1.6%	38.6%	35.8%	24.0%	100.0 %

$X^2=92.489^a$, $p<0.001$

The table cross-tabulates the two factors: the level of the depicted de-escalation (strong or weak) and the main role or function in the de-escalatory photos – war aggressor/perpetrator, peace negotiator/mediator, peace demonstrators, or neutral military observer. In the given sample, strong de-escalatory photos are most often related to peace demonstrators (91), then to neutral military observers (56), to peace negotiators/mediators (43), and hardly ever to war aggressors/perpetrators (3). On the other hand, weak de-escalatory photos are mainly associated with peace negotiators/mediators (55), then neutral military observers (5), and lastly war aggressors/perpetrators (1). Conspicuously, none of weak de-escalatory images shows peace

protestors. The count of strong de-escalatory imagery is 193 while weak de-escalatory imagery is 61, which cumulatively gives 254 images. The chi-square value ($X^2 = 92.489$, $p < 0.001$) shows that there is a positive correlation between the type of de-escalatory photo and the primary role/function portrayed: thus, the choice of role or function has a significant effect on the de-escalatory message's perceived effectiveness.

Table 50		De-Escalatory Photo and Implication for War Peace Journalism			
De-Escalatory Photo		Implication for War Peace Journalism			Total
		Peace: Achievement & Progress	War: Backlash & Deterioration	Neutral: Status Quo	
Strong De-escalatory	Count	134	3	56	193
	%	69.4%	1.6%	29.0%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	55	1	5	61
	%	90.2%	1.6%	8.2%	100.0%
Total	Count	189	4	61	254
	%	74.4%	1.6%	24.0%	100.0%

$X^2=11.045^a$, $p<0.004$

The table presents a cross-tabulation illustrating the relationship between the nature of de-escalatory photos (strong or weak) and their implications for war/peace journalism, categorized as promoting peace: It is either success and progress, war: backlash and deterioration, or none of the two: status. The analysis of the themes derived from the photos shows that strong de-escalatory photos are most often related to the promotion of peace (134), whereas less often, they can be related to a neutral position (56), and very rarely, to promoting war (3). On the other hand, the weak de-escalatory photos are mainly associated with the peace message (55), with the least association with the war message (1) and neutrality (5). Strong de-escalatory photos are 193 and weak de-escalatory photos are 61 and hence a total of 254 photos. While the type of de-escalatory photo was not mentioned as a variable, the analysis implies that there is a statistically significant relationship between the type of photo and its consequences for war/peace journalism, meaning that the choice of photo matters in terms of the message it conveys in the context of conflict and peace.

Table 51		De-Escalatory Photo and Setting				
De-Escalatory Photo		Setting				Total
		Public building: school, college	Public building: governmental building	Battlefield / Military Area	Not specified / unclear	
Strong De-escalatory	Count	63	10	3	117	193
	%	32.6%	5.2%	1.6%	60.6%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	0	0	1	60	61
	%	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%	98.4%	100.0%
Total	Count	63	10	4	177	254
	%	24.8%	3.9%	1.6%	69.7%	100.0%

$X^2=32.548^a$, $p<0.001$

The table shows the correlation between the type of the de-escalatory photo (strong or weak) and the context of the photo. Strong de-escalatory photos are most frequently associated with public buildings like schools or colleges (63 photos), followed by settings that are not specified or unclear (117 photos), and public buildings: government buildings (10 photos). The present study reveals that most of the strong de-escalatory photos (18) are taken in interpersonal contexts, whilst only 3 are taken in battlefield/military contexts. On the other hand, weak de-escalatory photos are mainly located in unspecified or uncertain environments (60 photos) and only one photo was taken in a battlefield/military environment. Most important, there are no weak photos depicting de-escalation of situation in public facilities such as schools or colleges or government buildings. There are 193 photos that are classified as strong de-escalatory while the weak de-escalatory photos are 61 in number making the total to be 254 photos. The chi-square test shows that there is a significant difference in the strength of the de-escalatory message depending on the type of the photo and the surrounding context, which means that the type of the setting used has a strong impact on the audience's perception of the message.

Table 52		De-Escalatory Photo and Number of People Shown			
De-Escalatory Photo		Number of People Shown			Total
		Single Individual	Dyad	None	
Strong De-escalatory	Count	65	3	125	193
	%	33.7%	1.6%	64.8%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	60	1	0	61
	%	98.4%	1.6%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	125	4	125	254
	%	49.2%	1.6%	49.2%	100.0%

$X^2=78.914^a$, $p<0.001$

The table describes the cross-tabulation of the type of de-escalatory picture (strong or weak) and the number of individuals depicted in the picture. Photos with strong de-escalatory themes show most often one person (65 photos), followed by those without people (125 photos), and least often two people (dyads, 3 photos). On the other hand, weak de-escalatory photos are mostly focused on one person (60 photos) with only one photo illustrating the dyad and no photos that include no people at all. Out of these, there are 193 photos that can be classified as strong de-escalatory and 61 as weak de-escalatory making a total of 254 photos. The data also shows that there is a statistically significant correlation between the type of de-escalatory photo and the number of people depicted in the photo, suggesting that the choice of the number of people significantly impacts the de-escalatory message's perceived effectiveness.

Table 53		De-Escalatory Photo and Famous People		
De-Escalatory Photo		Famous People		Total
		Yes	No	
Strong De-escalatory	Count	64	129	193
	%	33.2%	66.8%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	1	60	61
	%	1.6%	98.4%	100.0%
Total	Count	65	189	254
	%	25.6%	74.4%	100.0%

$X^2=24.185^a$, $p<0.001$

The table presented the correlation between the type of the de-escalatory photo (strong or weak) and the presence of famous people in these photos. These two variables are quite closely related as evidenced by the chi-square value of $X^2=24.185^a$, $p<0.001$. Out of the 193 clearly de-escalatory images, 64 of them involve celebrities, and 129 do not. On the other hand, among the 61 weak de-escalatory images, only one contains famous personalities and the rest 60 do not. This distribution indicates that, eminent people are likely to be present in strong de-escalatory photos while they are likely to be absent from weak ones. Thus, the total number of photos analyzed was 254, out of which 65 contained celebrities, and 189 did not. In light of these findings, it is concluded that the type of the de-escalatory photo is related to the presence of celebrities; meaning that the use or non-use of famous people may affect the perceived effectiveness of de-escalatory photo.

Table 54		Newspapers and De-Escalatory Photo				
De-Escalatory Photo		Newspaper				Total
		Nawa-i-Waqt	Express	The News	Dawn	
Strong De-escalatory	Count	69	38	46	40	193
	%	35.8%	19.7%	23.8%	20.7%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	5	18	23	15	61
	%	8.2%	29.5%	37.7%	24.6%	100.0%
Total	Count	74	56	69	55	254
	%	29.1%	22.0%	27.2%	21.7%	100.0%

$X^2=17.709^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 55 has presented information about the use of the de-escalatory photographs in four various newspapers. These images are categorized into two types: It is to examine the pattern of de-escalatory images in Nawa-i-Waqt in relation to the two forms; “Strong De-escalatory” and “Weak De-escalatory”. The data presented here shows that Nawa-i-Waqt posted 74 de-escalatory images with an emphasis on the use of strong de-escalatory (69) as opposed to weak (5). On the other hand, Eexpress had fewer de-escalatory photos, 38 strong and 18 weak, giving a total of 56 photos. The News was somewhat similar to the Guardian in photo distribution with 46 strong and 23 weak de-escalatory photos out of 69 in total. Dawn was also like Nawa-i-Waqt to advocate the use of strong de-escalatory language by using words that sent a message of strength and power; it posted 40 strong de-escalatory images and only 15 weak ones out of a total of 55. Thus, in general,

the number of de-escalatory photos across all the newspapers reached 254 with a clear preference for strong de-escalatory photos (193) than weak (61). This tends to show that there is a preference in these newspapers to incorporate more forceful images associated with promoting peace.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Discussion

A comprehensive study of escalating photos published in Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News, and Dawn, four well-known Pakistani newspapers, between 2004 and 2015 demonstrates the evolution of Pakistani media coverage of the TTP fight. The given analysis demonstrates that the media has paid more attention to the coverage of TTP-related events in the recent years starting from 2008, which is in unison with the growing activity of this group in Pakistan. It coincided with an evident trend of depicting strong escalatory images, including the use of violence, confrontation and destruction particularly in the year 2014.

The high frequency of strong escalatory photos in all the newspapers and especially in the later years points to the media's bias towards the violent aspects of the conflict. This can be attributed to several factors, for instance, the reason being that the media has to grab the attention of the public in a society filled with other media houses, the need to report dramatic incidents, or the intention of influencing the perception of the society towards the negative impacts of the conflict and possibly advocating for counter insurgency ways.

Nevertheless, the analysis also shows that different newspapers use a rather dissimilar visual approach. Indeed, *Express* consistently employed a large number of highly dramatic photos, which may indicate that the publication's audience expects powerful visuals. On the other hand, Dawn used a fair number of pictures to depict the conflict, which could be due to the paper's efforts to present a broader and fairer view of the conflict.

However, the quantitative analysis also uncovers patterns of differences between the two sets of newspapers in terms of their visuality. This paper also observed that the Express Newspaper used frequently a high number of strong escalatory photos, this could be an indication that this newspaper organization is targeting an audience that wants to be bombarded with bold images. On the other hand, Dawn used a broader spectrum of images to depict the conflict and its implications, which might have been due to the paper's desire to present a fair and complex view of the war.

However, Nawa-i-Waqt is distinguishable with a relatively limited number of highly escalatory photos, and this is even more important when it comes to the early years. This could be as a result of the following factors. The newspaper might have been circulating to a rather conventional readership that might not appreciate such visuals, or it might have had a policy of self-censorship and refrained from using images that might have been provocative or instigative. This could also be a very deliberate attempt to play down the levels of violence in the conflict, perhaps with a view of encouraging negotiations and an easier resolution to the conflict.

The following could be the reasons as to why these observed trends in the use of escalatory photos were observed. The choice is critical since the decision of whether to use potent or feeble escalatory photos or none at all depends on the editorial boards of the newspapers. These choices may be made due to several reasons such as the need to capture the reader's attention, the need to portray the seriousness of the situation, and the need to adhere to the ethical considerations on portrayal of violence.

It could also be due to the government as a key factor. In the time of the increase of the confrontation, the authorities may get pressure on media not to use the shocking photos which can provoke people's anger or challenge the state agenda. On the other hand, when the situation is rather stable or the government tries to gain people's approval for the use of force, the media may choose to display more intense images depicting the TTP as a danger.

Demographic also has an influence on this since different people have different preferences. A more conservative paper might avoid using such images, while a paper that sells to a more general public might provide just such pictures. Also, Pakistan as a nation has a rather touchy cultural stance on the issue of violence which might affect the depiction of the same in the media.

The examination of the escalatory photos that appeared in the Pakistani newspapers can be useful for the assessment of the media's role in creating the public opinion on TTP conflict. The high concentration of provocative escalatory images creates a certain concern over their influence on the audience and the perception of the conflict among the population. We have to understand whether the view of graphic images of violence makes people want war or makes people want peace. The following questions need to be addressed in order to reveal the

multifaceted connection between media portrayal and public perception on the one hand, and the conflict processes on the other.

The observed differences in the visual materials used in various newspapers suggest that it is necessary to take into account the peculiarities of each newspaper and its target audience while studying representations of conflict in the media. For example, comparing English and Urdu press may also illustrate other subtleties in the visual representation of the TTP conflict due to possible variations in the linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

Therefore, this study also underlines the consideration of media portrayals of conflict with a critical perspective. This paper seeks to analyze how the media works to inform the public while at the same time being influenced by other forces. Thus, knowing the factors that define media portrayal, one can have a better understanding of the information received and make a rational decision when it comes to the issues like the TTP conflict.

De-escalatory Photos: A Decline in Emphasis

In the early years especially during the Musharraf regime and in the early phase of the conflict, there was a clear focus on hard de-escalatory images particularly in Nawa-i-Waqt and The News. These images, which at times depicted peace protesters, talks, or friendly relations between the military and the public, probably had the purpose of conveying the message of the gradual development of the process and increasing stability. However, this emphasis reduced progressively over the years, evidenced by a sharp decrease in strong de-escalatory photos in all newspapers especially after the year 2010. This could be due to a variety of reasons, such as: there is a general feeling of frustration with the peace process, the changing focus of the publication towards the increasing violence, or the pressure from the state or other actors to avoid positive reporting of the TTP or the peace process.

The employment of the weak de-escalatory photos still remained limited, and the tendency was rather unstable throughout the period which may indicate the lack of desire to depict the processes and issues of de-escalation visually. It could be attributed to the fact that it is quite challenging to depict such subtlety in a single picture, or it might be the audiences' preference for more straightforward and contrasting imagery that portrays the struggle and its ramifications.

Escalatory Photos: A Rise in Conflict Representation:

On the other hand, the presence of de-escalatory photos reduced, while that of the escalatory photos, particularly the strong ones depicting violence, conflict, and destruction increased. This can be seen most evidently in Express and The News with its peak in 2014 which was during the time when violence and military operation against TTP was on the rise. This can be seen as a reflection of the media's role in depicting the increasing animosity and the consequences of such competition. It could also be said that the government is trying to secure the people's backing in the fight against the TTP by vilifying the group.

Yet, escalatory photos were used in the newspapers in different ways. Nawa-i-Waqt is another newspaper that initially employed a large number of strong de-escalatory pictures and then also decreased the frequency of such pictures and used relatively fewer escalatory ones. This may have been due to alteration of the editorial policy, the audience's demographics or preference or the pressure from other parties.

Interplay of Factors:

The observed trends in the use of de-escalatory and escalatory photos are likely influenced by a complex interplay of factors, including: The observed trends in the use of de-escalatory and escalatory photos are likely influenced by a complex interplay of factors, including:

Editorial Choices: However, it is still the individual decisions of corresponding editorial teams on which photos to publish that determine this – or at least one part – of the six presented aspects of the visual representation of the conflict significantly. Such decision could be based on various factors, for example on journalist or newspaper's ethic, on reader's appeal or on political orientation of a newspaper.

Government Influence: The governments and pressure can drastically alter the portrayal of conflict by the media. In the periods of the conflict escalation, the government can put pressure on the media not to reveal the images that may provoke people and challenge the official view of the situation. On the other hand, during phases of reprieve or when the government is looking for the media's support for military operations, there is a higher probability that the media would use the aggressive escalatory photos to depict the TTP as a threat.

Audience Preferences: The target audience of each newspaper may also affect the choice of pictures. A Newspaper that targets a particular audience, perhaps on the conservative side, may

not have the same level of graphic images compared to a paper that targets a general population that may be more prepared to see the ‘gory’ details of the conflict.

The Evolving Nature of the Conflict: The dynamics of the TTP conflict were probably also instrumental in determining media constructions of the conflict. Thus, the media’s portrayal of the conflict probably changed as the conflict evolved and became more complicated, moving from focusing on the issue of de-escalation to presenting various aspects of the conflict.

The trends in escalatory and de-escalatory photo usage reveal a rather contradictory picture. Whereas the employment of forceful peace photos that Nawa-i-Waqt and The News used in the early period diminished over time, the employment of provocation photos, especially those that displayed aggression and combat, rose and reached its apex in 2014 in most newspapers. This change can be viewed as a bargaining with the increasing intensity of the conflict and the shift towards the more and more violent forms of the TTP’s activities. It can also be viewed as rhetoric since it amounts to the construction of reality and may well be intended to influence the public, possibly by focusing on the TTP as a danger and rallying support for counter-terrorism operations.

The lack of pictures associated with peace in the whole period also supports this focus on conflict. This exclusion brings into picture some crucial questions as to how the media can contribute towards the forward movement of peace and dialogue. According to Galtung (1998), the peace media focuses on the conflict solving and the reconciliation to point for the more complete and fair understanding of the conflict. Still, there is no single photo of peace in the presented dataset, which may indicate the presence of a war journalism approach, based on the narrative of conflict, bloodshed, and battles rather than people and their desire for nonviolence.

Divergent Strategies among Newspapers:

The analysis also reveals a rather palpable variation in the employment of visuals across the papers in question. Comparatively, The Express often used many potent escalatory images, while Dawn was milder and combined various images. Some of the causes may include variation in the people’s demographic, the editorial board preference or just divergent mindsets. For instance, Express might have decided to appeal to the audience that requires shocking and provoking images of the conflict, while Dawn might be catering for the audience which requires detailed and informative pictures of the conflict.

This pattern is somewhat different in the case of *Nawa-i-Waqt* which initially had a large number of de-escalatory photos and then gradually reduced the number of both the types of images which hints at a more developed approach to the use of imagery. This may be due to the shift in management, change in the political climate or due to a strategy of not provoking the conflict in order to report on it.

Factors Shaping Visual Representation:

It is indeed important because through editorial decisions, the editors determine what photos to use on the newspaper based on news values, ethical standards, and the overall views of the newspaper. The role of government could also be seen in the visual discourse of the conflict through direct pressure or, less directly, through controlling the media environment. Moreover, the audiences and the social and political environment of Pakistan, which has a rather delicate attitude towards Islam and terrorism, may affect the media's attitude towards the visual imagery.

The first years, particularly 2004-2006, were characterized by a rather high frequency of strong de-escalatory photos, especially in *Nawa-i-Waqt*. These images that are possibly depicting negotiations, protests or other symbols of the conflict resolution could be said to be an early emphasis on depicting the attempts to and efforts towards finding a solution to the conflict. Nevertheless, this phenomenon gradually reduces across all newspapers, and such photos are not featured from 2011 to the present. This decline could be attributed to various factors: The possibility of the increasing frequency of the confrontation, change of focus of the newspaper's editorial policy, or the pressure from outside in order not to give too much credit to the TTP. The application of weak de-escalatory photos – photos which can present some more ambiguous or less direct aspects of de-escalation – was seldom used in the analyzed period. This may indicate that there is a general avoidances of depicting the shades of peace building processes in visual form, maybe because it is hard to depict such things in a picture, or maybe because there is a inclination towards depicting the opposite of peace, that is war and conflict. On the other hand, use of de-escalatory photos diminished, war photos characterized by violence, destruction, and military operations remained as the most used photos throughout the period. The frequency of their use was the highest during the time of most acute confrontation in 2005-2006, however, even while the number of such images was changing, they remained one of the key elements of the visual representation. This prevalence of war imagery is troubling in relation to the media's responsibility

in informing and influencing the public on the matter. According to Entman (1993), the process of media framing plays a crucial role in determining how viewers' perceive and act towards events. The constant emphasis on war images may contribute to the viewer's perception of war as being the main reality, while, in fact, people are working towards the attainment of peace.

Although peace photos were also posted in the period, they were relatively fewer and specifically declined from 2009 onwards similar to the de-escalatory photos. It can be seen as the reduction of the attention to the graphical representation of the peace processes which may be associated with a shift in the perception of the prospects of the conflict settlement to the worse. It could, on the other hand, be a sign of the nature of the conflict and the fact that there were just fewer possibilities of non-violent action or negotiations as hostility rose.

This paper continues the discussion on escalatory photos initiated in the previous work. These are the only two examinations which portray a very complex and dynamic situation concerning the coverage of the TTP conflict when the data is analysed collectively. Therefore, the emphasis on the de-escalation which was evident from the early prevalence of strong de-escalatory photos moved to the conflict narrative and the escalation and war photos started to become more frequent. This can be seen as a realization of the new reality on the ground and at the same time raises interesting questions about the role of media in defining the conflict and possible control over it.

This study employed a content analysis of the escalatory photos in four leading Pakistani newspapers Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News, and Dawn from 2004-2015 covering three different governments' tenures in Pakistan and the results depict the changing trends of visual discourse in the conflict and political transformation period. Specifically, the data indicated that the use of strong as well as weak escalatory photos is not a constant which could be attributed to the dynamic nature of conflict, alterations in the strategies of the government as well as maybe the media.

It is also observed that the frequency of the escalatory photos was quite less during the Pervez Musharraf's regime (2004-2008) with weak to strong tendency. This can be attributed to the fact that the government has tight control over the media and countries' image is mostly positive and showcases stability and progress. However, the term of the Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013) was a period of rising use of the escalatory photos especially the powerful ones which can be explained by the escalation of the conflict with TTP and the relatively free media

environment to report acts of terror. This is in conformity with earlier researched works that have noted that there is always a rise in the coverage of conflict in the course of fighting (Cottle, 2006).

The PML-N government that was in place from 2013 to 2015 reported a general reduction in the use of escalatory photos but strong ones continued to be the most frequent. This may be attributed to many reasons such as shift in government policy regarding media, the need to portray a less hostile image, or simply the reduction of aggression in the conflict. The prevalence of strong escalatory photos in all three regimes poses interesting questions about the media's contribution to the narrative of the conflict. According to Fahmy and Johnson (2011), such cases of repeatedly showing violence can make the audience feel desensitized and therefore live in fear.

The differences in the number of photos also reflect the differences of editorial strategies and the readership demographics. For example, *Nawa-i-Waqt* often displayed the most provocative images, which might correspond to the expectations of the readership that is interested in exaggerated and emotional news. Dawn's usage on the other hand depended on the type of photo and the government in power at the time, which indicated a more complicated and contextual understanding.

An analysis of escalatory photos in Pakistani newspapers across three government regimes shows how the political power, media practices, and the visual depiction of conflict are intertwined. This data also adds to the analysis of de-escalatory and war/peace photos in the media of Pakistan discussed earlier.

The phase-based analysis of escalatory photos' usage during different political administrations show how power dynamics interact with media images. In this context, the Musharraf era shows a relatively moderate usage of strong and weak escalatory photos, as a possible way of managing the information on conflict and, thus, controlling the masses. However, escalation photos that emerged under the Pakistan People's Party, especially the strongest ones depicting severe violence, suggest a change in media practices that may stem from the increased freedom to cover the conflict or the desire to increase the perceived level of crisis for political reasons.

This rise in the depiction of violence also supports earlier studies that pointed out how the media focuses on the Spl. ch, Usually, the media is observed to amplify aspects which are either

shocking or dramatic in nature. According to Bennett (2003), news values deal with conflict, violence, and negativity since such aspects are considered significant by the public as compared to positive ones. The increased quantity of escalatory in the PPP period might also be considered as the examples of these news values, resulting from the strive for the readers and being topical in the sea of opponent productions.

The subsequent reduction in escalatory photos during PM Nawaz Sharif's Pakistan Muslim League-N government though still highly macho indicates a change of government policy or control of media. This loss of intensity could be explained by various methods such as, increase in censorship, deliberate intention to appear more innocent by pulling down the nagging factor, or there could also be a natural reduction in the number of quarrels. However, for the continued presence of strong escalatory photo, even if the frequency has also lessened signifies that depicting the violent side of the conflict remains as the trend, it might be because there is still a strong practice on media or maybe there is still a need to stress on the security threats.

Government Influence and Media Practices:

Thus, the statistically significant relation between government in power and the method of choosing escalating photos proves that Government or military establishment factors inevitably affect the media representations. This finding supports Propaganda Model which was formulated by Herman and Chomsky (1988) whereby media are inclined to lobby different forms of control inclusive of political influence, economical coercion as well as ideological prejudice. The variation of periods during which the media employs escalatory photos can be attributed to these influences as the discourse adapt to the state of political affairs.

The Role of the Media in Conflict:

The data also presents the following questions about the role of the media in conflict situations. Is the depiction of escalatory photos during the period of attack merely due to the facts on the ground or is it fueling more torture and attack? On the other hand, does this reduction in such photos indicate the genuine lesser tension between technically the belligerent parties and their allies, or does it merely hide a cosmetic solution to public sensitization? These questions raise more awareness of the ambiguous and sometimes even paradoxical position of the media in the context of conflict. Although the media can be an influential source of conveying people social

awareness and an independent check on power, it can also be used to influence people's perception, incite hatred or witness retaliatory violence.

De-escalatory photos, the use of escalatory imagery, especially strong escalatory photos containing violent and conflict indicators, increased sharply during the considered period. This increase was most felt during the PPP government period (2009-2013) when there was increased violence and what may be termed as uncertainty. This finding supports earlier studies pointing out that conflict-sensitive media activity increases when the intensity of inter- and intrastate conflicts rises and the situation is characterized by insecurity (Cottle, 2006).

The fact that the number of escalatory photographs decreases after the Pakistan Muslim League-N government (2013-2015), despite the continued high levels of depicted strength, could be an indication of new government policy towards the media, a new modality of governments' image or, in fact, a new period of demilitarization of the conflict. Nevertheless, the repetition for the time of strong escalating photos even in spite of the decrease in the frequency of their usage points to the continued emphasis on the spectacular visuals of the violent components of the conflict including perhaps conscious media practice or the inability to refrain from emphasizing security issues.

Government Influence and Media Framing:

This means that the type of government in power can affect the media since provocative photos were used during the periods of the government in power. This is similar to the Propaganda Model of Herman and Chomsky (1988) where the two postulated that there are many filters and interventions that affect the media and these include governmental, economical and ideological. Such variations in the use of escalatory photos can therefore be attributed to these factors and hence the media resorting to the use of visuals in relation to the political environment.

During Musharraf's regime, strong and weak escalation pictures have been utilized in approximately equivalent measure to imply certain level of control over the depiction of conflict by the media. But the number of outlets went up in the tenure of PPP and came down under PML-N government which indicates that the relation is more complex. This could be due to the ownership of the media, the level of freedom in the press and the official means of communication of the government.

The high level of aggressive images in all the newspapers and more especially during the phases of heightened tensions censors with the theory of news values in journalism. Galtung and Ruge (1965) in the News Values have pointed out that occurrence is considered undesirable, the event is seen to be unusual and relation is seen as hostile. Hence, the use of strong escalatory photos can be seen as the instantiation of these news values since they can be employed to attract the audience's attention and evoke their feelings.

However, differences in the usage of photos between different newspapers show that there is also the element of editorial decision and goals of the newspaper. Some papers may use provocative and shocking headlines and images to lure the audience in while others may opt for more serious and thoughtful images such as the effects of war on people and the importance of conflict resolution.

To examine the effects of visual media on the audience and their perceptions of the conflict, the escalatory photos in Pakistani newspapers are significant to analyze. The audience that watches the movie is exposed to the violence that is portrayed in the movie and they may end up becoming immune to the effects of war, get accustomed to it or even endorse it. Conversely, lack of or limited depiction of images of peace talks, reconciliation or people's lives during the conflict may create a wrong impression to the audience about the conflict and its processes and therefore may not encourage them to embrace peaceful solutions. The identification of de-escalatory photos in four major Pakistani dailies for three governments (2004-2015) provides a useful framework to understand media behavior and its connection with conflict phases. Based on the data from the Pervez Musharraf period (2004-2008), the PPP government (2009-2013), and the PML-N government (2013-2015), it can be observed that the frequency of de-escalatory framing of photographs has reduced. This decline indicates a possible change in the editors' approach to selecting images, from those promoting peace to, perhaps, more dramatic or even confrontational ones.

In the current study, the analysis of the newspapers during Pervez Musharraf's time revealed that there were 189 de-escalatory photos published. Interestingly, Nawa-i-Waqt had 51 de-escalatory photos followed by Express, The News and Dawn. This period was relatively more moderate in terms of media representation, possibly due to editor's interest in conflict solving and peace building (Ali, 2010).

On the other hand, PPP government that followed it, saw a stark decrease in the application of de-escalatory photos to only 53 times. This reduction could be attributed to a change in the media strategy or as a result of changes in the conflict dynamics which may have called for a new type of visual imagery (Mahmood, 2015). Likewise, the PML-N government also witnessed a further reduction in sending only 12 de-escalatory pictures and Dawn did not publish any such picture during this period. The overall trend points towards a decrease, which might indicate a shift away from the focus on the peaceful themes (Khan, 2016). The findings of the study support the hypothesis that there is a relationship between the year of publication and the phase of conflict, thus supporting the assumption that the media coverage is a function of the conflict's nature and intensity. This lack of photos in some phases and presence of photos in other phases, as gleaned from the data, strengthens the proposition that media coverage is phase-dependent, parallel to the development of the conflict and the public's concern (Rizvi, 2014). The trends identified indicate that media outlets might adjust their approaches according to the conflict's progression, which, in turn, influences audience perception. In the wars and victories periods, the increase in the number of photos may indicate the growing attention of people to these events and/or editorial strategies aimed at increasing the audience and focusing on the coverage of specific topics that correspond to the prevailing political agenda (Shah, 2018). Therefore, this paper provides a detailed analysis of the importance of media in setting the tone for the public during conflict. Thus, analyzing the trend of reducing the use of de-escalatory photos, we can understand how the editors choose the images that show the escalation of the conflict instead of peace initiatives, which can affect the public's perception and conflict resolution over time (Ahmed, 2021).

An analysis of the news photos linked to the Taliban conflict of Pakistan (TTP) from the years 2004 to 2015 shows that there have been cyclical changes in media coverage, but the coverage in general is on the rise. The quantity of photos increased in the course of the four years from 40 in 2004 to the pinnacle of 90 in 2014 accumulating to 783 photos. The pattern revealed by the statistical analysis of these photos as related to the year of publication indicates the non-random nature of the media coverage, and the fluctuating levels of the conflict.

Such tendency shows that media coverage corresponds to the processes of the conflict. It is probable that periods of the conflict escalation led to the increase in media attention and thus more photos, while the periods of stabilization were characterized by less photos. This pattern

highlights the media's function in the magnification of important national issues (Riaz, 2010). Major warfare or terror acts would have caused the most significant increases in media attention, which shaped the perception of the general public and the country's conversation.

The upward trend can also be interpreted as a sign that public's concern for the conflict is increasing and therefore the media should cover the topic more thoroughly. Thus, as the conflict developed, it was the media that played a critical part in conveying information and setting the agenda. This shifting coverage most probably influenced the public perception and the corresponding policy measures of the government, which shows how media reporting and national security policy feed into each other.

But this does not take into account the qualitative aspect of media representation as depicted by the number of photos. In order to explain the effects of media in details, one has to pay attention to the texts and mood of these photos. Thus, imagery representation whether supportive, sympathetic or critical could substantially influence the public perception and policy recommendations. A more analytical analysis of the content would also show the biases and framing strategies used in order to get the readers' perception regarding the TTP conflict.

This study has shown that the TTP conflict has become a significant topic in Pakistani media over the years. The correlation between the publication years and the photo occurrence indicates that media coverage is directly related to the conflict's progression.

The photo types published in four Pakistani newspapers showed how the editorial strategies were applied in visual journalism. It was also observed that Nawa-i-Waqt posted the highest number of photos (229) with a specific inclination towards the wide angle shots (111). Express and The News had a much more even split where 172 of the photos taken were from a medium angle and 205 photos taken were taken from a long distance. Dawn, with the least numbers of photos (177) used all the close, medium and long shots. Accordingly, the long shots were the most frequent ones (384), while the medium ones were also rather numerous (271), and the close ones were the least frequent (128). This pattern indicates that the editors wanted to show the general surroundings instead of focusing on close ups and emotionally rich scenes. This data demonstrated that editorial control was rather severe.

The equal covering of the photo types in Express and The News point to this as a deliberate plan to provide different views. In this way, by offering main context through long shots and additional detail through medium and close shots, these newspapers meet different consumers' needs, enriching the visual narrative. This approach assists in capturing the readers' interest by presenting both the general and the specific information.

Dawn's fewer photos but balanced distribution implies that the news organization has consciously ensured that the audience is able to get a complete view without being overwhelmed. The employment of the different types of photos also creates a more complex visual narrative, providing close-up views and the general perspective.

In connection with the study's findings on photos associated with the TTP conflict, there is a discernible pattern in the way the media handles sensitive coverage. The increase in the occurrence of TTP-related photos can be attributed to the growing concern among the public and the media's influence in setting the agenda for security matters. Likewise, the tendency to use long shot photos in photojournalism also indicates the rather conservative approach to the coverage of conflict by providing more general context instead of focusing on the details.

The changes in the frequency of de-escalatory photos across various political regimes also correspond with the trend related to the use of long shot. This change indicates a still more pessimistic attitude that is focused on the plot and the theme of the war rather than the images of love and reconciliation. This approach to visuals depicts how media in regard to the TTP conflict modifies over time and in relation to the frequency and attention that the public pays to it.

The level of conflict escalates during the Intense War & Victory Phase. This is probably a result of the intensified fighting and possibly key actions that characterized this phase as the media coverage was almost entirely composed of war pictures. The number of peace photos diminished, thus reflecting the change of subject to the portrayal of conflict and its consequences.

This shift in the portrayal of the conflict points to the media as the agents of propaganda to manipulate the people's view of the conflict. At first, there was an attempt to present both the war and the peace elements but as the conflict escalated the portrayal was rather one sided and more focused on the armed struggle. The finding that the type of photos was significantly related to the phase of the conflict indicates that media coverage was not only mirroring the conflict's

progression but may have even played a part in influencing the audience's perception of the conflict and its development.

Surprisingly, these photos are mostly grouped in a section which does not contain strong emotions, thus, suggesting that there is an editorial caution in portraying death. This might suggest the effort to exclude graphic and probably disturbing images of death, which could be viewed as an attempt to adhere to certain norms of decency in the coverage or to spare the viewer's sight of the most gruesome aspects of warfare.

This tendency to focus on emotions in the pictures of the injured or in the situations where there are no apparent losses corresponds to the general approach of the media to focus on the human factor of the war without showing the deaths. This strategy may help to attract the audience's attention and provoke emotional responses, but at the same time it would not cause controversy that could be provoked by more explicit material.

From this data, it is possible to conclude that media outlets are not choosing emotions and damage at random since the patterns are quite evident, which shows that they are controlling the narrative and the effects of the visual content. This strategy reveals the functions of photojournalism as a form of storytelling that not only records events but also shapes the audience's attitudes and feelings towards the news. This is to mean that there is intent in the portrayal of emotions in relation to the level of physical injury as presented in the media, which can be related to general editorial policies and ethical practices.

The emotions and the extent of the physical harm depicted in the photos suggest a conscious decision made by the editors to focus on the subject's feelings, and, in particular, on the issue of injuries and wounds. Most of them reveal emotions, especially where victims of accidents are depicted or where there are no apparent consequences. This approach seems to advocate for the coverage of the people's aspect of the conflict, with the intention of making the audience want to feel for the sufferers. However, there is a lower representation of death, and no explicit acts of grieving for the dead are shown which shows concern in depicting the worst facets of war. This editorial decision probably aims at ensuring that the audience comprehends the severity of the conflict and at the same time, does not get discomforted or desensitized by the images presented to them.

The portrayal of persons in the escalatory photos also highlights the media's emphasis on the prosecution of conflict stories. The prevalence of the "Strong Escalatory" category of photos, which shows the aggressors and perpetrators of the conflict, is explained by the fact that, for the given topic, the authors chose to focus on the primary subjects of the conflict and the degree of its dynamism. This is because media normally focuses on conflict and in order to attract the attention of the audience they use pictures. On the other hand, Weak Escalatory images tend to depict victims, which is a change from the emphasis on the fight itself and its effects. It can also be observed that there are no negotiators or peace demonstrators in both categories, which may imply prejudice for conflict over peace, meaning that media outlets may not consider it necessary or important to present the advocates of peace.

The relation between the placement of photos and the classification of these photos as 'Strong' or 'Weak Escalatory' also enhances the understanding of visual tactics. Given the fact that the primary focus of the majority of 'Strong Escalatory' photos is placed on the battlefield or military environment, it is possible to highlight the tendency towards the most acute and immediate aspects of the conflict. This choice emphasizes the dramatic and severe aspect of the conflict and is based on the bloodiest phases of the war. Nevertheless, the availability of the 'Weak Escalatory' photos in the mundane contexts including streets or cars points to the depiction of the consequences of the conflict on the public. Thus, this approach offers a more complex analysis of the conflict, illustrating how it influences the lives of common people.

This study used temporal analysis to examine the escalation of photographs taken in different phases of a conflict and found a clear shift in the media's reporting. In the Containment Phase, there was a good balance between the aggressive and less aggressive escalatory pictures, which means that the visuals were less extreme. When the conflict entered the Agreement Phase, both the frequency of strong and weak escalatory photos also increased indicating the media coverage and the dynamics of the conflict as well as the negotiations and peace efforts. But the most striking change is in the last stage – the Intense War & Victory, where the sharp increase in the amount of strong escalatory photos indicates that media concentrates on the increase in violence and outcomes of this stage. This tendency shows that there is a shift in the editorial approach to use more and more shocking images as the conflict escalated, perhaps due to the growing audience and the need to express the severity of the situation.

Therefore, the examination of the types of escalatory photos and the connection between the meanings of the photos and war and peace journalism highlights the mediating function of the media in the war/peace paradigm. The dominance of strong escalatory photos linked to "War: The title "Backlash & Deterioration" reflects the focus of the article on the negative consequences of conflict which corresponds to the theme of the constant fighting. On the other hand, weak escalatory photos reflect the conflict and its effects to a certain extent, so they contain some elements of both consequences of a war and attempts to stop it. This approach is more detailed but still, in general, it is also rather negative and focuses on the consequences of conflict.

The categorization of photos and the relations between the photos and emotional representation, physical harm, roles, locations, and stages of the conflict helps explain the strategies of conflict coverage. Such a tendency toward the emotional and the sensational is a deliberate effort to capture the audience's interest through provocative images; however, the failure to pay much attention to the constructive actions of the different parties involved may be considered as some form of biasness in the reporting of conflict. These patterns suggest that media content is not presented in a random order, but according to certain decisions that shape the audience's understanding of the conflict. More research may be done on the impact of these visual strategies on the audience and the government and the issues of ethics in conflict reporting. The analysis of peacemaking photos that are used by the media to depict the conflict in Pakistan suggests that such representation has certain patterns depending on political agendas, stages of conflict, photo perspectives, group positioning, primary characters, and journalists' intentions. Thus, this research concludes that the media representations are not random but rather strategically planned and controlled by a proper decision-making process that significantly influences the opinions of the people and their conversation.

The relationship between the current administration and the type of de-escalatory photos is quite apparent. It was seen that there was a higher tendency of identifying strong de-escalatory photos during the rule of Pervez Musharraf. This may suggest that the government wants to show that the de-escalation efforts have been successful which may suggest a level of confidence and competence in the handling of the conflict. As for the second and third columns, the photos representing the governments under the Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League-N banners show a more frequent use of weak de-escalatory photos, meaning that these governments

portray a somewhat cautious or less aggressive de-escalation strategy. This variation proves that political leadership plays a key role in shaping the visual aspects of conflict and thus the perception of the public towards governments' strategies and outcomes.

This research examines the changes in the type of the de-escalatory photos during different conflict phases based on the collected dataset. In the first Containment Phase, the majority of the photos belonged to the de-escalatory category and depicted a more assertive approach to containing the conflict. This was especially the case in the Agreement Phase where the frequency of strong de-escalatory photos had a dramatic increase possibly signifying higher efforts to calm down and moderate the conflict. During the Intense War and Victory phases, there was a visible trend in the application of the strong de-escalatory photos: their use decreased, while the use of the weak ones increased. It may be interpreted as a sign of fatigue with the forceful approaches to the conflict solution or a shift of attention to the human aspect and the non-violent nature of the conflict, which earlier had been a war in its most aggressive form. These patterns imply that the kind of de-escalatory imagery is connected to the stages of conflict evolution and materials, as well as media strategies.

The position in which the de-escalatory photos are taken goes a long way in determining the potency of the photos. Thus, strong de-escalatory photos are more frequently shot from average and distant perspectives, which can show more of the surroundings and the general atmosphere of the conflict. This approach can help to stress the importance and effects of de-escalation in the context of the entire conflict process. Thus, weak de-escalatory photos, which are taken from the close distance and which depict isolated individuals or small groups of people, emphasize not the general impact of the conflict but its human side and the individual suffering. This is an indication that the angle used in the photo is a conscious decision to either capture the strategic approach/reach of the de-escalation process (medium/long shot) or the human side of the process (close up shot).

Based on the analysis of the group orientation and primary roles in the de-escalatory photos, it can be concluded that there is a high correlation with the message effectiveness. Positive de-escalatory images often show peace protest and neutral military personnel, stressing on the actions taken for the sake of peace. This is in contrast to weak de-escalatory photos, which are more likely to portray peace negotiators/mediators and neutral observers, thus underlining a rather

less intense approach to de-escalation. This can also be seen in the absence of war aggressors/perpetrators in both categories where the emphasis remains on the non-confrontational and neutral roles in the process of reducing violence. These choices are due to the editorial decision to highlight some stories, either the collective action for the peace in strong de-escalatory images or the diplomatic action in the weak de-escalatory images.

The analysis of de-escalatory photos for war and peace journalism has clearly shown the following implications. To sum up, strong de-escalatory images are generally linked to peace and progress, which corresponds to the storyline of active conflict resolution and its positive results. On the other hand, weak de-escalatory photos, which are also related to the promotion of peace, have a less clear or not as strong visual reference. This distinction points to media not just as recorders of conflict but as part of the process that defines the conversation of peace. The way the media presents visual images, positive and forceful de-escalation or more passive will affect the perception of the audience and the policies concerning conflict management.

Analyzing the de-escalatory photos in the context of the conflict in Pakistan, it is possible to state that there are certain patterns in the media portrayal of conflict affected regions, which depend on the political regime, phase of the conflict, angle of the photo, orientation of the groups depicted, and roles assigned. Thus, the conclusions drawn from the current study further support the non-chance, deliberate role of visual media in constructing conflict discourses. Thus, by focusing on some aspects of de-escalation while ignoring others, the media can shape the population's perception and discussion of the conflict and peacebuilding processes. Future studies may also look into the effects of these visual strategies on the audience and its political perception as well as the issues concerning the representation of conflict and peace.

5.2 Research Questions and Answers

RQ1: How did the selected press visually report the Taliban conflict during different phases of the conflict?

Through an examination of the visual coverage of the Taliban conflict by the selected press during different phases, the findings showed that the use of escalatory and de-escalatory photographs published corresponds to the shift in conflict dynamics as presented in Tables 1, 2, and others. Table 1 shows the numbers of 'Strong' and 'Weak' escalatory photograph for the years

and the newspapers Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News and Dawn. A clear trend toward the increase of the strong escalatory photograph is seen during the “Intense War & Victory Phase” 2009-2015. For instance, 62 strong escalatory photograph were reported in the year 2014 as compared to six in the year 2004. This increase in escalatory photograph especially during the peak conflict years shows the newspapers’ concentration on the escalation of the conflict and the active engagements, which depicts an intensified phase of the conflict.

On the other hand, Table 2 presents a figure regarding the number of strong and weak de-escalatory photograph during the same time frame. In the early years of ‘Containment Phase’ and ‘Agreement Phase’ up to 2008, there was somewhat more focus on robust de-escalatory photo with figures such as 38 in 2006 and 30 in 2007 which shows that an attempt was being made to showcase the peace process in a volatile context. This implies that during the periods of the conflict that was not very harsh, the newspapers may have sought to advance a perception of possible conflict resolution and peace, sustaining diplomacy and peace meetings visually.

Table 9, which groups photographs by the phase of the conflict, also supports this observation regarding the transition from the de-escalatory to the escalatory photographs as the conflict advanced in the early years. It is possible to observe this change quantitatively; the first years of the conflict have less escalatory photographs, which increase dramatically in the “Intense War & Victory Phase.”

The increase in the level of visual detail corresponds to the general sociopolitical processes and the warfare tactics used in the later periods. This shift is not only observed in the overall number of images but also in the particular genres of the photos that become more frequent in the later years; war photography, which indicates the press’s influence on the audience’s perception of the ongoing military operations and the severity of the conflict. Table 9 and the findings from Tables 1 and 2 depict a clear trend in the visual reporting by the selected newspapers from the beginning of the Taliban conflict; the papers initially focused on peace and stabilization initiatives before shifting their focus on conflict and military operations. This change in the visual narrative is not only in sync with the ground situation of the conflict but also points towards the media’s influence in construction of public perception about the conflict.

RQ2: How and to what extent do escalatory and de-escalatory photographs appear in selected press?

The analysis of the distribution and prevalence of escalatory and de-escalatory photographs in the selected press gives a profound understanding of how the media presented the stages and levels of the Taliban war. From Table 38, it can be noted that escalatory photographs are more common with 519 photographs published as opposed to 254 de-escalatory photographs depicted in Table 55. This inconsistency indicates that the conflict's violent and aggressive aspects were highlighted by the editors, which could be caused by the desire to attract and engage the readership or represent the severity of the conflict situations.

The distribution of the photos exacerbating the conflict follows the dynamics of the war and victory phase, especially during 2009-2015 as presented in Table 44, media published a large number of such photos. This phase of the conflict was characterized by big battles and further escalation which would mean that there would be more exciting material to use. The high levels of escalatory photographs during this period may have contributed to the maintenance of the perception of the conflict as intense and ongoing, which in turn could have contributed to the public's willingness to support more aggressive military operations.

Nonetheless, de-escalatory photographs were used less often but were quite effective during the periods of lower intensity of the conflict. These photographs are often associated with peacemaking, negotiation, and the return to the non-combat situation and were more frequent in the Containment Phase and Agreement Phase because these stages were marked by the efforts made towards the negotiations and the search for the peaceful solution. Thus, the employment of the de-escalatory photographs at this time could be viewed as an effort by the press to create an environment for peace initiatives and to counter the otherwise aggressive nature of the coverage of the conflict.

However, the decision to publish more escalatory than de-escalatory photo can also be considered as a manifestation of the news value related to the conflict. The content that comes out of conflict remains useful and valuable in the news due to its timeliness, the fast pace, and the emotional appeal that it is likely to generate among the readers. This tendency can be seen in the overall higher numbers of escalatory photograph, which not only depict the conflict but also correlates with the media's function to provide information on events that have a major impact on the social order.

Thus, the selection of escalatory photographs over the de-escalatory ones proves that the given press represented the conflict mainly from the standpoint of its escalation and the staging of military operations. It is not only an adjustment to the events and developments on the ground, but also a tool that can shape and steer the opinion of the public and the political discourse on the conflict. The frequency of these photographs' use also emphasizes the role of the media in war reporting – between the live events and building a story that can become a war-maker.

RQ3: How are the war and peace photographs determined by the shifts in policy and to what extent do war and peace phases produce more war and peace photographs respectively?

The effects of policies, thus, can be analyzed in relation to the depiction of the Taliban conflict in the media through the distribution of war and peace photographs over the different phases of the conflict and governments. According to the statistics presented in Table 12, there is an upward trend of the war photographs in the phase of the conflict which is characterized as the “Intense War & Victory Phase” and occurred between the years 2009 and 2015. This phase corresponds with the active military and armed forces policies and activities carried out by the government, as evidenced by the 441 war photographs published, opposed to 88 peace photographs within the same period. This contrast is especially vivid because it reveals the tendency of the media to report mainly on the escalation and the most heated stages of the conflict, which is typical for the nature of the war as a subject.

Moreover, the policy shifts with regard to negotiations or peace talks in the earlier stages of the conflict, for example in the “Agreement Phase” (2006-2008) also affected the kind of images that were produced. In this phase, the numbers of peace photographs are seen to rise to 121 while those of war photographs only rise to 41 as highlighted in Table 12. This distribution implies that the media was sensitive to the government's peace efforts and chose to illustrate them. Thus, the prevalence of peace photos during this period may be viewed as an attempt to advocate for a particular discursive framework that would be helpful for the peace process and to create positive expectations about the possibility of the conflict's settlement.

In addition, the total counts of photographs also signify the level of the corresponding phases. In the periods of more intense hostility, the overall quantity of the visual materials rises due to the high number of events that need to be reported. This could be seen from the total photographs published during the ‘Intense War & Victory Phase’ which has more than the

photographs of the other phases. This also makes it possible to see how the media is involved in recording the conflict and how changes in the government policy as well as the level of the conflict affect the media production. The difference between the war and the peace photograph also raises the question on the media's ability to sway the audience. This way, the media can, therefore, enhance the perception of the public concerning the intensity of the conflict through the presentation of the war photograph during the war, thereby influencing their expectations on the government's policy and actions. On the other hand, the increase in peace photograph during the negotiation phase may assist in reducing the public's hostility and increase their approval for peace making processes.

Thus, it is possible to state that changes in policy and the intensity of conflict phases influenced the visual coverage of the Taliban conflict. The chosen press not only reported these changes, but also participated in the formation of the public opinion with the help of carefully chosen war and peace photos. The frequency of publication of these images demonstrates how the actions of the government, medias representation, and public opinion constitute an interdependent cycle that may affect both the evolution of policy and the population's reception of the conflict.

RQ4: What are the similarities and differences between English and Urdu press while visually reporting on the Taliban conflict?

In order to compare and contrast the similarities and differences in relation to the English and Urdu press and their reporting of the Taliban conflict, one has to consider possible tendencies that may exist due to the linguistic, cultural, and audience specifics. While the data set did not have a clear-cut way of distinguishing between these two media formats, it was possible to observe differences in the press coverage prevalent in a multilingual society such as Pakistan.

Potential Differences:

1. Audience Reach and Preferences: For this reason, the English press usually aims at the young, urban audience with exposure to the global views. It will probably focus on the geopolitical background, referring to local events in terms of global terrorism, and outlining recommendations that would be relevant to an international audience. This could mean more frequency of analytical pieces that contain a large amount of background information, which is

evident in the frequencies in Table 12 where photograph is more likely to be used during major political events.

2. Editorial Tone and Content: The English newspapers provides a more analytical approach, and more moderate text content that would reflect on the analysis and background of the conflict. On the other hand, Urdu newspapers are more likely to follow the informative and story-telling model, stressing the human interest angle and the subjective side of war. This could be deduced from the general high levels of negatively valent photographs, as seen in Table 12, during periods of high conflict, which indicated a deliberate effort to appeal to the readers' emotions.

3. Political and Cultural Sensitivities: The Urdu newspapers might be more in sync with the overall national interest or government's version of events than English media as it catered to a more national audience. This could result in a depiction that affirms the government's policies even more or one that opposes them but in a manner that is socially acceptable. Thus, the English press, which is oriented towards a more diverse and often more skeptical audience could provide a wider range of opinions, and therefore more actively question the official discourse. Thus, the character of the photographs chosen for publication may vary depending on the political system in force at the time, as depicted in Table 46, which outlines the changes in photo types with the change in government.

Potential Similarities:

1. Coverage of Major Events: In the case of English and Urdu newspapers, both the papers are expected to feature their news in detail of big events and occurrences which include major assaults, peace talks, or political statements. The raising of the visual content after significant events, as illustrated in the Table 44 during the periods of the escalation of the conflict, confirms this tendency in both types of press.

2. Use of Symbolic Photography: It is possible that both the English and Urdu parts could resort to the technique of symbolic photography quite often in an effort to create an allegory of war and peace. Photograph of soldiers, people suffering or affected by the war, or a protest for peace conveys the feeling and humanity of the struggle. Thus, such photography does not depend on words and speaks for itself, which could be expected in different types of publications.

RQ5: How did the change in government bring changes in the frames of selected press?

Another important factor that affect the framing of the Taliban conflict in the press is the changes in the government as frequent political turnover is characteristic of Pakistan's political landscape. These shifts have possibly been seen in the coverage of the conflict by the media as depicted by the tables in the dataset.

Impact of Governmental Changes on Media Framing:

1. Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008):

In the Musharraf's era there was emphasis on powerful de-escalatory photographs; this is evident in Table 46 where a total of 153 powerful de-escalatory photographs was printed compared to the 36 weak ones. This period was characterized by efforts at coming up with peace deals and at the same time trying to contain the activities of the violent groups through force and diplomacy. The frequent usage of de-escalatory photography in this period may be attributed to the government's attempt in projecting a sense of stability and a proper containment of the conflict.

2. Pakistan People's Party (PPP) Government (2009-2013):

The tenure of the PPP had its fair share of the increase in strong escalatory photograph as shown in Table 45 with 228 of them being published. This period was characterized by increased military activity and increase in the level of conflict suggesting a change in the government's strategy in dealing with the Taliban menace. The media's interest in escalatory photography probably followed the government's policy change and contributed to the enhanced depiction of the severity and urgency of the conflict in this period.

3. Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N) Government (2013-2015):

During the PML-N's rule, there continued to be a focus on escalatory photography but with a slight decrease compared to the PPP period, as indicated in Table 45, with 91 strong escalatory photograph published. This period also saw efforts at peace talks and some attempts at negotiations, which explains why there was a mix of both strong escalatory and strong de-escalatory photograph, although the former still dominated.

Analysis of Media Strategy across Different Governments:

Thus, the given aspect of the analysis of the usage of photographic content in the press seems to be closely related to the existing governmental strategies and the mood of the public. In periods of aggressive government policies like the PPP, the press shifted towards spiraling photographs that probably enabled and reciprocated the public opinion regarding the government's management of the conflict. On the other hand, when there were attempts for negotiations or a peace process as it was in the last years of the Musharraf rule, the tone was comparatively less aggressive.

The kinds of photographs that are published do not only record the conflict but also engage in the public debate, which can shape the opinions and, consequently, the policies. For instance, the large numbers of the images containing de-escalation signs during Musharraf's rule could have aimed at creating an environment of hope and understanding for the government's peace-making endeavours. The transformations in the government led to different approaches in the coverage of the Taliban conflict by the press, whereby the policy direction of each regime influenced the media's agenda. The relationship between governmental measures and media coverage implies the press's active or at least reactive part in constructing the discourses of the conflict. Tables 45 and 46 give a numerical photograph of these transformations, illustrating how the course of the conflict under the different governments and phases was reflected through the escalatory and de-escalatory images. This dynamic captures the never-ending interaction between the political and strategic dimensions of war and media propaganda, as well as the public's understanding of war.

5.3 Conclusion

Thus, the current research contributes to the existing literature regarding the portrayal of the Taliban conflict in the chosen press and the connection between media, conflict, and politics. Thus, the findings also show how the press covered different phases of the conflict, from the containment and negotiations to the full-scale war and victory. In these phases the press could change the visualization strategies according to the evolution of the conflict processes and changes in the politics and political handling. The results of the study showed that the type and the frequency of the de-escalatory photos correspond to the stages of the conflict. On the post-conflict and the peace negotiation meaning, the focus was done on the portrayal of peace process, diplomacy and making of peace. However, the opposite is the case, as the stages of conflict reach the war stages the occurrence of war symbols was high and depicted the increasing levels of

violence and anarchy in the field. This sensitivity of the press to the changes in the conflict situations indicates that there is a symbiotic relationship between the media's framing of conflict and the actual conflict. However, the study also helped in identifying how political leadership and policy shifts affect media work. The findings revealed that the changes in the governments were associated with changes in the type and intensity of the de-escalatory photographs; in other words, media discourses may depend on the political agenda. Thus, the differences in visual portrayal of the conflict between the English and Urdu press can be attributed to the audience and editorial objectives. Consequently, the study brings attention to the manner in which media constructs the understanding of the audience on conflict and peace building. Thus, the present work contributes to the research on the dynamics of conflict media portrayal by describing the press's visual narratives of conflict, and political developments over time. Hence, it becomes helpful in enriching the literature on media, conflict, and peacebuilding as it calls for the critical analysis of the media photographs to foster positive discourses in the society and decision-making processes. However, the analysis also shows that the press coverage of the conflict and different parties and aspects of the conflict is not one-dimensional. On the same note, while focusing on the pain of people and the effects of the war particularly in the course of the war there was also an effort to depict the acts of peace but to some extent only. This balance entails that the press should focus on covering the conflict and not only the people's agony, politics or security.

Additionally, the study reflects how stories are told visually to influence the public's view of conflict. Visuals are very effective, they create feelings in the audience and determine their perception towards conflict and peace processes. Thus, choosing and presenting photographs, the press plays a significant part in shaping public opinion regarding the issues of national security and foreign policy. Therefore, the findings of this analysis point to the need for media organizations to ensure that they practice ethical and professional journalism in their visuals concerning conflict.

This analysis also reveals that readers should be more critical when consuming news and information about conflict. In the process of covering conflict and reporting on political contexts while at the same time, dealing with the demands of the market, it is possible to observe some kind of distortion or bias in the narrative. Viewers/takers should be in a position to analyze and decipher the information being presented to them as between news and opinion. Through promoting media

literacy and multiple perspectives, societies can prevent the occurrence of fake news and polarization, thus people will be more knowledgeable and involved in the discussion of conflicts and peace.

Also, the research points to the dynamic nature of media technologies and platforms and their consequences on the visualization of conflict. As a result of the digitization of the media in particularly the social networking sites, news delivery has become democratized and citizens can now engage actively in the creation of news stories. This democratisation of media can be seen as both positive and negative for conflict reporting as it opens up a platform for people to voice their opinions but at the same time, one has to wonder about the legitimacy of the information being posted online. It would be possible for future studies to examine these technological advancements in relation to the portrayal of conflict and the processes of peacebuilding in the media.

Therefore, the policy implication of this analysis is that conflict resolution and peacebuilding policymakers and practitioners will find these findings useful. Hence, the present work can assist the policy makers in devising more effective strategies of communication and participation concerning conflict and media framing. Furthermore, the media workers can contribute to the process of peace by imparting the right information on the conflict areas, the effects of aggression on the society, and the messages of peace and unity. The media, civil society, and policy makers should ensure that they come up with platforms through which information could be provided to the public and ensure that the public is able to participate in healthy discussions concerning conflicts and approaches to conflict resolutions.

Hence, the analysis of the selected press's visual coverage of the Taliban conflict offers relevant findings on the war/terrorism, conflict, and politics in the media. Therefore, this work contributes to the understanding of the media framing development in conflicts and political changes through the analysis of the visual texts. Hence, more research and practices concerning the media portraying conflict will have to be made to raise public awareness and contribute to the restructuring of peace in conflict regions.

Last but not least, the study provides some suggestions for future research and investigations in the sphere of media and conflict analysis. Future studies could build on current work by exploring how media framing affects the audience's cognition and behavior regarding conflicts or how social media and citizen journalism impact conflict discourses. Therefore,

comparing the outcomes of the research in different regions and conflicts may contribute to the understanding of the determinants of media perception and the effectiveness of different approaches to peace building. Thus, further studies in media and conflict/peace can contribute to the development of knowledge on how media contribute to the formation of discourses on conflict and peace in society.

5.4 Recommendation of Future Research:

Multilingual and multicultural analysis: Thus, future work can avoid this limitation and use a more diverse set of languages and participants from different countries. Comparing media coverage of the same conflict in different languages can shed more light on the way and manner different societies and cultures interpret conflicts.

Mixed-methods approach: Expanding on the analysis of media content, using interviews or focus groups with journalists and media audience would help to better understand the processes of media framing of conflict. As a result, it is possible to validate and situate the data obtained from different sources and, thus, increase the confidence in the research findings.

- **Longitudinal studies:** Future research could involve longitudinal analyses of shifts in media framing of conflict, which could reveal how the media tell the story of conflict as well as how it changes over time. This is because through such analysis one is in a position to determine trends, patterns and shifts in the media coverage of a given conflict at different periods of the conflict and or transition of political leadership.
- **Comparative analysis across media platforms:** This analysis of the media coverage of the conflict in the different media platforms including print, television, online news and social media would help reveal how the conflict is framed differently by the media. It is crucial to understand the features and possibilities of each platform to explain how the changes in technology affect the media portrayal of conflict.

Cross-cultural studies: Comparisons may be made on the perception of conflict in the media across different cultures in order to ascertain how cultural beliefs affect media presentation. Thus, by comparing and contrasting the framing strategies employed in different cultures, the researchers are able to identify the general patterns and tendencies of conflict coverage.

These are recommendations that should be considered in subsequent research in an effort to build on the current study's findings and offer a more extensive understanding of the media depiction of conflict so as to assist in identifying better approaches to conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

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ANNEXTURE-01

SPSS Analysis Tables

Table 01 Year of Publication, Newspaper and De-Escalatory Photo						
De-Escalatory Photo		Nawa-i-Waqt	Express	The News	Dawn	Total
Strong De-escalatory	2004	6	6	5	6	23
	2005	12	6	8	7	33
	2006	14	9	9	6	38
	2007	10	5	7	8	30
	2008	8	5	9	7	29
	2009	4	2	2	1	9
	2010	5	0	2	3	10
	2011	2	1	2	1	6
	2012	5	1	0	0	6
	2013	1	1	1	1	4
	2014	1	1	1	0	3
	2015	1	1	0	0	2
	Total	69	38	46	40	193
Weak De-escalatory	2004	0	0	2	2	4
	2005	0	3	0	2	5
	2006	1	1	6	4	12
	2007	0	1	3	2	6
	2008	0	3	5	1	9
	2009	0	0	0	1	1
	2010	0	4	1	1	6
	2011	0	2	0	0	2
	2012	0	0	3	0	3
	2013	2	2	0	1	5
	2014	1	0	0	1	2
	2015	1	2	3	0	6
	Total	5	18	23	15	61
Total	2004	6	6	7	8	27
	2005	12	9	8	9	38
	2006	15	10	15	10	50
	2007	10	6	10	10	36
	2008	8	8	14	8	38
	2009	4	2	2	2	10
	2010	5	4	3	4	16
	2011	2	3	2	1	8
	2012	5	1	3	0	9
	2013	3	3	1	2	9
	2014	2	1	1	1	5
	2015	2	3	3	0	8

Total	74	56	69	55	254
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Table 2		Type of Photo and Escalatory Photo			
Escalatory Photo		War Photo	Peace Photo	Total	
Strong Escalatory	Year of Publication	2004	6	0	6
		2005	5	0	5
		2006	7	0	7
		2007	4	0	4
		2008	7	0	7
		2009	37	0	37
		2010	38	0	38
		2011	34	0	34
		2012	48	0	48
		2013	44	2	46
		2014	62	0	62
		2015	54	0	54
		Total	346	2	348
Weak Escalatory	Year of Publication	2004	6	1	7
		2005	9	0	9
		2006	7	0	7
		2007	6	0	6
		2008	7	0	7
		2009	20	0	20
		2010	17	0	17
		2011	14	3	17
		2012	14	4	18
		2013	17	3	20
		2014	21	2	23
		2015	19	1	20
		Total	157	14	171
Total	Year of Publication	2004	12	1	13
		2005	14	0	14
		2006	14	0	14
		2007	10	0	10
		2008	14	0	14
		2009	57	0	57
		2010	55	0	55
		2011	48	3	51
		2012	62	4	66
		2013	61	5	66
		2014	83	2	85
		2015	73	1	74
		Total	503	16	519

Table 3 Year Wise Publication of Photo Type and De-Escalatory Photo			
De-Escalatory Photo	War Photo	Peace Photo	Total

Strong De-escalatory	Year of Publication	2004	0	23	23
		2005	1	32	33
		2006	2	36	38
		2007	0	30	30
		2008	0	29	29
		2009	0	9	9
		2010	0	10	10
		2011	0	6	6
		2012	0	6	6
		2013	0	4	4
		2014	0	3	3
		2015	0	2	2
		Total	3	190	193
Weak De-escalatory	Year of Publication	2004	0	4	4
		2005	0	5	5
		2006	1	11	12
		2007	0	6	6
		2008	0	9	9
		2009	0	1	1
		2010	0	6	6
		2011	0	2	2
		2012	0	3	3
		2013	0	5	5
		2014	0	2	2
		2015	0	6	6
		Total	1	60	61
Total	Year of Publication	2004	0	27	27
		2005	1	37	38
		2006	3	47	50
		2007	0	36	36
		2008	0	38	38
		2009	0	10	10
		2010	0	16	16
		2011	0	8	8
		2012	0	9	9
		2013	0	9	9
		2014	0	5	5
		2015	0	8	8
		Total	4	250	254

Table 4 Govt. of The Day and Escalatory Photo

Escalatory Photo			Newspaper				Total
			Nawa-i-Waqt	Express	The News	Dawn	
Strong Escalatory	Govt. of The Day	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	11	7	4	7	29

Weak Escalatory		Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	60	43	47	78	228
		Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	28	24	38	1	91
	Total		99	74	89	86	348
	Govt of The Day	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	10	10	10	6	36
		Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	31	20	24	27	102
		Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	12	9	12	0	33
		Total	53	39	46	33	171
	Total	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	21	17	14	13	65
		Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	91	63	71	105	330
		Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	40	33	50	1	124
		Total	152	113	135	119	519

Table 5 Govt. of The Day and De-Escalatory Photo

De-Escalatory Photo		Newspaper				Total	
		Nawa-i-Waqt	Express	The News	Dawn		
Strong De-escalatory	Govt of The Day	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	50	31	38	34	153
		Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	17	5	7	6	35
		Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	2	2	1	0	5
	Total		69	38	46	40	193
Weak De-escalatory	Govt of The Day	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	1	8	16	11	36
		Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	2	8	4	4	18
		Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	2	2	3	0	7
	Total		5	18	23	15	61

Total	Govt of The Day	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	51	39	54	45	189
		Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	19	13	11	10	53
		Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	4	4	4	0	12
		Total	74	56	69	55	254

Table 6 De-Escalatory Photo and Govt. Of The Day

De-Escalatory Photo		Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	Total
Strong De-escalatory	Count	153	35	5	193
	%	79.3%	18.1%	2.6%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	36	18	7	61
	%	59.0%	29.5%	11.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	189	53	12	254
	%	74.4%	20.9%	4.7%	100.0%

Table 7 De-Escalatory Photo and Govt. Of The Day

De-Escalatory Photo		Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	Total
Strong De-escalatory	Count	153	35	5	193
	%	79.3%	18.1%	2.6%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	36	18	7	61
	%	59.0%	29.5%	11.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	189	53	12	254
	%	74.4%	20.9%	4.7%	100.0%

Table 8 Year of Publication and Phase of Conflict

Year of Publication	Phase of Conflict			Total
	Containment Phase (2004-2005)	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	
2004	40	0	0	40
2005	52	0	0	52
2006	0	64	0	64

2007	0	46	0	46
2008	0	52	0	52
2009	0	0	67	67
2010	0	0	74	74
2011	0	0	63	63
2012	0	0	77	77
2013	0	0	76	76
2014	0	0	90	90
2015	0	0	82	82
Total	92	162	529	783

Table 9 Year of Publication and Context of The Conflict

		Taliban Conflict (TTP)	Total
Year of Publication	2004	40	40
	2005	52	52
	2006	64	64
	2007	46	46
	2008	52	52
	2009	67	67
	2010	74	74
	2011	63	63
	2012	77	77
	2013	76	76
	2014	90	90
	2015	82	82
Total		783	783

Table 10 Photograph Angle and Newspaper

		Newspaper				Total	
		Nawa-i-Waqt	Express	The News	Dawn		
Angle	Close	Count	33	22	32	41	128
		%	25.8%	17.2%	25.0%	32.0%	100.0%
	Medium	Count	85	57	66	63	271
		%	31.4%	21.0%	24.4%	23.2%	100.0%
	Long	Count	111	93	107	73	384
		%	28.9%	24.2%	27.9%	19.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	229	172	205	177	783	
	%	29.2%	22.0%	26.2%	22.6%	100.0%	

Table 11		Peace and War Photos and Phases Of Conflict			
Photo Type		Containment Phase (2004-2005)	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	
Photo Type	War Photo	27(29.3%)	41(25.3%)	441(83.4%)	509(65.0%)
	Peace Photo	65(70.7%)	121(74.7%)	88(16.6%)	274(35.0%)
Total		92(100.0%)	162(100.0%)	529(100.0%)	783(100.0%)

Table 12		Newspaper and Group Orientation					
			Nawa-i-Waqt	Newspaper		Dawn	Total
				Expres	The News		
Group Orientation	Only people-oriented	Count	99	85	99	85	368
		%	26.9%	23.1%	26.9%	23.1%	100.0%
	Force Oriented	Count	11	4	9	4	28
		%	39.3%	14.3%	32.1%	14.3%	100.0%
	Rescue-oriented	Count	6	0	0	0	6
		%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Militant-Oriented	Count	92	66	57	57	272
		%	33.8%	24.3%	21.0%	21.0%	100.0%
	Media Oriented	Count	4	8	18	16	46
		%	8.7%	17.4%	39.1%	34.8%	100.0%
	No people are shown/people are barely visible	Count	17	9	22	15	63
		%	27.0%	14.3%	34.9%	23.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	229	172	205	177	783
		%	29.2%	22.0%	26.2%	22.6%	100.0%

Table 13		Phase of Conflict and Specification Primary Role Function						
		War: Victim	War: Aggressor /Perpetrat or	Peace: Negotiatio r/Mediato r	Peace: (Peace) Demonstr ators	Neutral: Military Observer		
Phase of Conflict	Containment Phase (2004-2005)	Count	15	12	10	51	4	92
		%	16.3%	13.0%	10.9%	55.4%	4.3%	100.0 %
	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	Count	21	20	61	39	21	162
		%	13.0%	12.3%	37.7%	24.1%	13.0%	100.0 %
	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	Count	158	269	48	16	38	529
		%	29.9%	50.9%	9.1%	3.0%	7.2%	100.0 %
Total		Count	194	301	119	106	63	783
		%	24.8%	38.4%	15.2%	13.5%	8.0%	100.0 %

$X^2=333.280^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 14		Phase of Conflict and Implication for War Peace Journalism				
		Implication for War Peace Journalism				Total
		Peace: Achieveme nt & Progress	War: Backlash & Deterioratio n	Neutral: Status Quo	5	
Phase of Conflict	Containment Phase (2004-2005)	61	27	4	0	92
	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	100	41	21	0	162
	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009- 2015)	50	439	38	2	529
Total		211	507	63	2	783

$X^2=277.475^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 14		Phase of Conflict and Implication for War Peace Journalism				
		Implication for War Peace Journalism				Total
		Peace: Achieveme nt & Progress	War: Backlash & Deterioratio n	Neutral: Status Quo	5	
Phase of Conflict	Containment Phase (2004-2005)	61	27	4	0	92
	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	100	41	21	0	162
	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	50	439	38	2	529
Total		211	507	63	2	783

$X^2=277.475^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 15		Newspaper and Setting					
Newspaper	Public building: school, college	Public building: governmental building	Private homes (individual property), refugee camps	Street/C ar	Battlefield / Military Area	Not specified / unclear	Total
Nawa-i-Waqt	30	8	2	53	102	34	229
Express	16	1	0	43	70	42	172
The News	7	2	0	61	66	69	205
Dawn	11	0	0	51	61	54	177
Total	64	11	2	208	299	199	783

$X^2=54.099^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 16		Phase of Conflict and Setting						
		Setting						Total
		Public building: school, college	Public building: governmental building	Private homes (individual property), refugee camps	Street/ Car	Battlefield / Military Area	Not specified / unclear	
Phase of Conflict	Containment Phase (2004-2005)	16	8	0	15	12	41	92
	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	39	3	0	21	20	79	162
	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	9	0	2	172	267	79	529
	Total	64	11	2	208	299	199	783

Table 17		Specification Primary Role Function and Number of People Shown					
		Number of People Shown					Total
		Single Individual	Dyad	Small Group (3-5)	Group / Multiple (more than 5)	None	
Specification Primary Role Function	War: Victim	0	0	0	194	0	194
	War: Aggressor/Perpetrator	0	298	1	2	0	301
	Peace: Negotiator/Mediator	84	0	0	0	35	119
	Peace: (Peace) Demonstrators	0	0	0	14	92	106
	Neutral: Military Observer	63	0	0	0	0	63
	Total	147	298	1	210	127	783

$X^2=1932.252^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 18 Phase of Conflict and Context		
Phases of Conflict	Taliban Conflict (TTP)	Total
Containment Phase (2004-2005)	92	92
Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	162	162
Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	529	529
Total	783	783

Table 19 Newspaper and Role of Age					
		Adults	Elderly	5	Total
Newspaper	Nawa-i-Waqt	104	70	38	212
	Express	70	76	17	163
	The News	66	108	9	183
	Dawn	61	90	11	162
	Total	301	344	75	720

$X^2=40.256^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 20 Group Orientation and Severity of The Physical Damage					
		Dead	Wounded	No Damage visible	Total
Group Orientation	Only people-oriented	0	209	159	368
	Force Oriented	0	0	28	28
	Rescue-oriented	0	0	6	6
	Militant-Oriented	1	1	270	272
	Media Oriented	0	0	46	46
	No people are shown/people are barely visible	0	0	63	63
	Total	1	210	572	783

$X^2=319.138^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 21		Govt. of The Day and Severity of The Physical Damage			
		Dead	Wounded	No Damage visible	Total
Govt of The Day	Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	1	36	217	254
	Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	0	129	264	393
	Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	0	45	91	136
Total		1	210	572	783

$X^2=32.395^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 22		Angle and Severity of The Physical Damage			
		Dead	Wounded	No Damage visible	
Angle	Close	0	1	127	128
	Medium	1	72	198	271
	Long	0	137	247	384
Total		1	210	572	783

$X^2=61.489^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 23		Photo Type and Group Orientation						
		Only people- oriented	Force Oriented	Rescue- oriented	Militant- Oriented	Media Oriented	No people are shown/peop le are barely visible	Total
Photo Type	War Photo	209	28	0	272	0	0	509
	Peace Photo	159	0	6	0	46	63	274
	Total	368	28	6	272	46	63	783
X ² =386.036 ^a , p<0.001								

$X^2=386.036^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 24		Photo Type and Implication for War Peace Journalism			
		Peace: Achievement & Progress	War: Backlash & Deterioration	Neutral: Status Quo	
Photo Type	War Photo	0	509	0	509
	Peace Photo	211	0	65	276
	Total	211	509	65	783

$X^2=783.000^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 25 Specification Primary Role Function and Implication for War Peace Journalism

		Peace: Achievement & Progress	War: Backlash & Deterioration	Neutral: Status Quo	Total
Specification Primary Role Function	War: Victim	0	194	0	194
	War: Aggressor/Perpetrator	0	299	0	301
	Peace: Negotiator/Mediator	119	0	0	119
	Peace: (Peace) Demonstrators	92	14	0	106
	Neutral: Military Observer	0	0	65	65
	Total	211	507	65	783

$X^2=1504.278^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 26 Specification Primary Role Function and Role of Age

		Adults	Elderly	Child	Total
Specification Primary Role Function	War: Victim	0	194	0	194
	War: Aggressor/Perpetrator	301	0	0	301
	Peace: Negotiator/Mediator	0	75	44	119
	Peace: (Peace) Demonstrators	0	75	31	106
	Total	301	344	75	720

$X^2=859.265^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 27 Newspaper and Number of People Shown

		Single Individual	Dyad	Small Group (3-5)	Group / Multiple (more than 5)	None	Total
Newspaper	Nawa-i-Waqt	22	101	1	55	50	229
	Express	32	70	0	43	27	172
	The News	51	66	0	61	27	205
	Dawn	42	61	0	51	23	177
Total		147	298	1	210	127	783

$X^2=32.616^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 28 Phase of Conflict and Depicting Emotions				
Phase of Conflict	Avoided / Not Emphasized	Emotions Not Emphasized	Particularly Emphasized	Total
Containment Phase (2004-2005)	4	1	87	92
Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	21	0	141	162
Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	38	0	491	529
Total	63	1	719	783

$X^2=14.686^a$, $p<0.005$

Table 29 Depicting Emotions				
Emotions	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Avoided / Not Emphasized	63	8.0	8.0	8.0
Emotions Not Emphasized	1	.1	.1	8.2
Particularly Emphasized	719	91.8	91.8	100.0
Total	783	100.0	100.0	

Table 30 Depicting Emotions and Severity of The Physical Damage					
		Severity of The Physical Damage			Total
		Dead	Wounded	No Damage visible	
Depicting Emotions	Avoided / Not Emphasized	0	0	63	63
	Emotions Not Emphasized	1	0	0	1
	Particularly Emphasized	0	210	509	719
Total		1	210	572	783

$X^2=808.188^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 31 Famous People and Phase of Conflict				
Famous People	Phase of Conflict			Total
	Containment Phase (2004-2005)	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	
Yes	35	50	260	345
No	57	112	269	438
Total	92	162	529	783

$X^2=18.355^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 32 Location and Specification Primary Role Function						
Location	War: Victim	War: Aggressor/P perpetrator	Peace: Negotiator/Mediator	Peace: (Peace) Demonstrators	Neutral: Military Observer	Total
Remote Area	194	299	41	34	63	631
Settled Area	0	2	78	72	0	152
Total	194	301	119	106	63	783

$X^2=450.893^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 33 Location and Escalatory Photo			
Location	Escalatory Photo		Total
	Strong Escalatory	Weak Escalatory	
Remote Area	346	157	503
Settled Area	2	14	16
Total	348	171	519

$X^2=22.238^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 34 Location and De-Escalatory Photo			
Location	De-Escalatory Photo		Total
	Strong De-escalatory	Weak De-escalatory	
Remote Area	119	6	125
Settled Area	74	55	129
Total	193	61	254

$X^2=49.802^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 35 Escalatory Photo & Famous People			
Famous People	Escalatory Photo		Total
	Strong Escalatory	Weak Escalatory	
Yes	278	0	278
No	70	171	241
Total	348	171	519

$X^2=294.179^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 36 Famous People and De-Escalatory Photo				
Famous People		De-Escalatory Photo		Total
		Strong De-escalatory	Weak De-escalatory	
Yes	Count	64	1	65
	%	33.2%	1.6%	25.6%
No	Count	129	60	189
	%	66.8%	98.4%	74.4%
Total	Count	193	61	254
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$X^2=24.185^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 37 Newspaper and Escalatory Photo						
Escalatory Photo		Newspaper				Total
		Nawa-i-Waqt	Express	The News	Dawn	
Strong Escalatory	Count	99	74	89	86	348
	%	19.1%	14.3%	17.1%	16.6%	67.1%
Weak Escalatory	Count	53	39	46	33	171
	%	10.2%	7.5%	8.9%	6.4%	32.9%
Total	Count	152	113	135	119	519
	%	29.3%	21.8%	26.0%	22.9%	100.0%

$X^2=1.923^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 38 Escalatory Photo and Group Orientation				
Escalatory Photo	Group Orientation			Total
	Only people-oriented	Force Oriented	Militant-Oriented	
Strong Escalatory	53	28	267	348
Weak Escalatory	171	0	0	171
Total	224	28	267	519

$X^2=335.860^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 39 Escalatory Photo and Specification Primary Role Function				
Escalatory Photo		Implication for War Peace Journalism		
		Peace: Achievement & Progress	War: Backlash & Deterioration	Total
Strong Escalatory	Count	2	346	348
	%	0.4%	66.7%	67.1%
Weak Escalatory	Count	14	157	171
	%	2.7%	30.3%	32.9%
Total	Count	16	503	519
	%	3.1%	96.9%	100.0%

$X^2=340.992^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 40 Escalatory Photo and Severity of The Physical Damage					
Escalatory Photo		Severity of The Physical Damage			Total
		Dead	Wounded	No Damage visible	
Strong Escalatory	Count	1	51	296	348
	% within	100.0%	24.5%	95.5%	67.1%
Weak Escalatory	Count	0	157	14	171
	%	0.0%	75.5%	4.5%	32.9%
Total	Count	1	208	310	519
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$X^2=284.244^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 41 Escalatory Photo and Implication for War Peace Journalism				
Escalatory Photo		Implication for War Peace Journalism		Total
		Peace: Achievement & Progress	War: Backlash & Deterioration	
Strong Escalatory	Count	2	346	348
	%	12.5%	68.8%	67.1%
Weak Escalatory	Count	14	157	171
	%	87.5%	31.2%	32.9%
Total	Count	16	503	519
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$X^2=22.238^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 42		Setting and Escalatory Photo				
Escalatory Photo		Setting				Total
		Public building: governmental building	Street/Courtyard	Battlefield / Military Area	Not specified / unclear	
Strong Escalatory	Count	0	51	295	2	348
	%	0.0%	24.5%	100.0%	13.3%	67.1%
Weak Escalatory	Count	1	157	0	13	171
	%	100.0%	75.5%	0.0%	86.7%	32.9%
Total	Count	1	208	295	15	519
	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$X^2=339.907^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 43		Phase of Conflict and Escalatory Photo			
Escalatory Photo		Phase of Conflict			Total
		Containment Phase (2004-2005)	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	
Strong Escalatory	Count	11	18	319	348
	%	3.2%	5.2%	91.7%	100.0%
Weak Escalatory	Count	16	20	135	171
	%	9.4%	11.7%	78.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	27	38	454	519
	%	5.2%	7.3%	87.5%	100.0%

$X^2=17.246^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 44		Govt. of The Day and Escalatory Photo	
Govt. of The Day	Escalatory Photo		Total
	Strong Escalatory	Weak Escalatory	
Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	29	36	65
Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	228	102	330
Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	91	33	124
Total	348	171	519

X²=17.685^a, p<0.001

Table 45 Govt. of The Day and De-Escalatory Photo			
Govt of The Day	De-Escalatory Photo		Total
	Strong De-escalatory	Weak De-escalatory	
Pervez Musharraf Regime (2004-2008)	153	36	189
Pakistan People's Party (2009-2013)	35	18	53
Pakistan Muslim League-N (2013-2015)	5	7	12
Total	193	61	254

$X^2=13.174^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 46 De-Escalatory Photo and Phase of Conflict					
De-Escalatory Photo		Phase of Conflict			Total
		Containment Phase (2004-2005)	Agreement Phase (2006-2008)	Intense War & Victory Phase (2009-2015)	
Strong De-escalatory	Count	56	97	40	193
	%	29.0%	50.3%	20.7%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	9	27	25	61
	%	14.8%	44.3%	41.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	65	124	65	254
	%	25.6%	48.8%	25.6%	100.0%

$X^2=11.458^a$, $p<0.003$

Table 47 De-Escalatory Photo and Angle					
De-Escalatory-Photo		Close	Medium	Long	Total
Strong De-escalatory	Count	13	90	90	193
	%	6.7%	46.6%	46.6%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	36	12	13	61
	%	59.0%	19.7%	21.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	49	102	103	254
	%	19.3%	40.2%	40.6%	100.0%

$X^2=81.388^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 48 De-Escalatory Photo and Group Orientation						
De-Escalatory Photo	Group Orientation					Total
	Only people-oriented	Rescue-oriented	Militant-Oriented	Media Oriented	No people are shown/people are barely visible	
Strong De-escalatory	82	6	3	46	56	193
Weak De-escalatory	55	0	1	0	5	61
Total	137	6	4	46	61	254

$X^2=44.336^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 49 De-Escalatory Photo and Specification Primary Role Function						
De-Escalatory Photo	Specification Primary Role Function					Total
		War: Aggressor/Perpetrator	Peace: Negotiator/Mediator	Peace: (Peace) Demonstrators	Neutral: Military Observer	
Strong De-escalatory	Count	3	43	91	56	193
	%	1.6%	22.3%	47.2%	29.0%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	1	55	0	5	61
	%	1.6%	90.2%	0.0%	8.2%	100.0%
Total	Count	4	98	91	61	254
	%	1.6%	38.6%	35.8%	24.0%	100.0%

$X^2=92.489^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 50 De-Escalatory Photo and Implication for War Peace Journalism					
De-Escalatory Photo	Implication for War Peace Journalism				Total
		Peace: Achievement & Progress	War: Backlash & Deterioration	Neutral: Status Quo	
Strong De-escalatory	Count	134	3	56	193
	%	69.4%	1.6%	29.0%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	55	1	5	61
	%	90.2%	1.6%	8.2%	100.0%
Total	Count	189	4	61	254
	%	74.4%	1.6%	24.0%	100.0%

$X^2=11.045^a$, $p<0.004$

Table 51		De-Escalatory Photo and Setting				
De-Escalatory Photo		Setting				Total
		Public building: school, college	Public building: governmental building	Battlefield / Military Area	Not specified / unclear	
Strong De-escalatory	Count	63	10	3	117	193
	%	32.6%	5.2%	1.6%	60.6%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	0	0	1	60	61
	%	0.0%	0.0%	1.6%	98.4%	100.0%
Total	Count	63	10	4	177	254
	%	24.8%	3.9%	1.6%	69.7%	100.0%

$X^2=32.548^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 52		De-Escalatory Photo and Number of People Shown				
De-Escalatory Photo		Number of People Shown			Total	
		Single Individual	Dyad	None		
Strong De-escalatory	Count	65	3	125	193	
	%	33.7%	1.6%	64.8%	100.0%	
Weak De-escalatory	Count	60	1	0	61	
	%	98.4%	1.6%	0.0%	100.0%	
Total	Count	125	4	125	254	
	%	49.2%	1.6%	49.2%	100.0%	

$X^2=78.914^a$, $p<0.001$

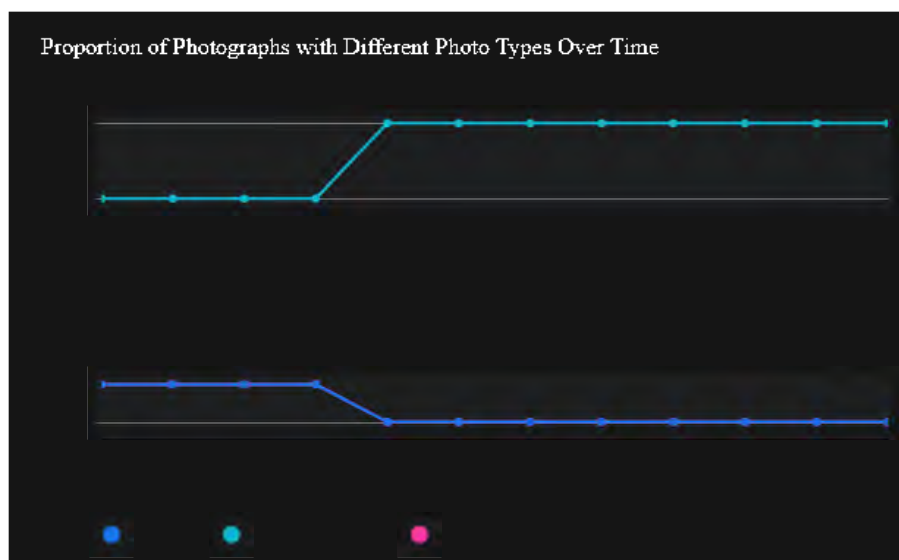
Table 53		De-Escalatory Photo and Famous People		
De-Escalatory Photo		Famous People		Total
		Yes	No	
Strong De-escalatory	Count	64	129	193
	%	33.2%	66.8%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	1	60	61
	%	1.6%	98.4%	100.0%
Total	Count	65	189	254
	%	25.6%	74.4%	100.0%

$X^2=24.185^a$, $p<0.001$

Table 54		Newspapers and De-Escalatory Photo				
De-Escalatory Photo		Newspaper				Total
		Nawa-i-Waqt	Express	The News	Dawn	
Strong De-escalatory	Count	69	38	46	40	193
	%	35.8%	19.7%	23.8%	20.7%	100.0%
Weak De-escalatory	Count	5	18	23	15	61
	%	8.2%	29.5%	37.7%	24.6%	100.0%
Total	Count	74	56	69	55	254
	%	29.1%	22.0%	27.2%	21.7%	100.0%

$X^2=17.709^a$, $p<0.001$

Figure 01 Proportion of Photographs with Different Types over Time



ANNEXTURE-02

Coding Sheet

1: Year of Publication

1: 2004	2: 2005	3: 2006	4: 2007
5: 2008	6: 2009	7: 2010	8: 2011
9: 2012	10: 2013	11: 2014	12: 2015

2: Newspapers:

1: <i>Nawa-i-Waqt</i>	2: <i>Express</i>	3: <i>The News</i>	4: <i>Dawn</i>
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3: Phases of Conflict

1: Containment Phase	2: Dialogue Phase	3: Intense War and Victory Phase
----------------------	-------------------	----------------------------------

4: Context:

1: Taliban Conflict (TTP)

5: Angle of Picture

1: Close Angle	2: Medium Angle	3: Long Angle
----------------	-----------------	---------------

6: Type of Picture

1: War Oriented	2: Peace Oriented
-----------------	-------------------

7: Group Orientation

1: Only People Oriented	2: Elite Oriented	3: Force Oriented
4: Rescue Oriented	5: Militant Oriented	
6: Media Oriented	7: Symbolic	8: No People are shown/ Barely people are shown

8: Specification Primary Role Function

1: War: Victim	2: War: Aggressor/Perpetrator	3: War Hero
4: Peace: Negotiated/Mediator		
5: Peace: Peace (Demonstrator)	6: Neutral: Non Military	
Observer	7: No function	

9: Implication for War Peace Journalism

1: Peace: Achievement & Progress	2: Backlash & Deterioration
3: Neutral: Status Quo	

10: Setting

1: Public Building: School, Colleges	2: Public Building: Hospital,
Ambulance	3: Public Building: Government Building
4: Private homes (individual property), refugee camps	5: Street/Car
6: Religious Edifice	7: Battlefield / Military Area
8: Cemetery	9: Not specified / unclear

11: Number of People Shown

1: None	2: Single Individual	3: Dyad	4: Small Group (3-5)
5: Group / Multiple (more than 5)			

12: Role of Age

1: Children	2: Young Adolescents	3: Adults	4: Elderly
-------------	----------------------	-----------	------------

13: Severity of the Physical Damage

1: Dead 2: Severely Injured 3: Wounded 4: No Damage Visible

14: Depicting Emotions

1: Avoided / Not Emphasized 2: Emotions Not Emphasized 3: Particularly Emphasized

15: Type of Dominant Emotion Shown

1: Anger, Frustration 2: Desperation, Sadness 3: Pain, Fear 4: Hope, Optimism 5: Redemption, Happiness 6: Empathy
7: Empathy 8: Contemplating

16: Famous People

1: Yes 2: No

17: Location

1: Remote Area 2: Settled Area

18: Escalatory Photo

1: Strong Escalatory 2: Weak Escalatory

19: De-escalatory photo

1: Strong De-escalatory 2: Weak De-escalatory

20: Moderate (De) Escalatory

1: Moderate Escalatory 2: Moderate De-escalatory

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