War on Terrorism as Portrayed by the Leading Pakistani Newspapers: Exploring War and Peace Framing

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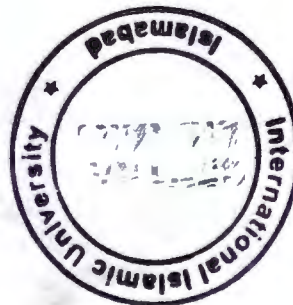**Prepared By: Kasim Sharif**

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Abstract

The study empirically tests peace journalism theory propounded by Galtung .It examines the coverage of "War on Terror" in the two Pakistani newspapers namely The Nation and Business Recorder. The period of content analysis is one year (2008-2009) .The state of Pakistan is engaged in war on terror and suffered a lot of human and material losses. The role of media cannot be negated in the reporting of the conflict because it is media who shapes the views of the conflict by its framing and formulates the policy of the state. The aim is to find out the coverage of "war on terror" by Pakistani press in war or peace frame and to find out difference between governments policies as front line ally in the war on terror and press approach towards this problem. The study also analyzes the image of Taliban in the print media by developing frames of Taliban as friend or foe. Each paragraph was the coding unit and the whole story was the contextual unit. The facility of Lexis-Nexis is acquired to generate a sample of 998 stories on war on terror. War and peace frames are devised by using Galtung peace journalism model. Each story was coded for war frame and peace frame in order to determine which frame is dominant in the news stories. Overall results show that Pakistani print media framed most of the stories in peace journalism .The reason behind this peace framing is the active engagement of government of Pakistan in dialogue with Taliban forces and the media active support to peace due to human and material losses of Pakistan in its war against terror. Regarding the coverage given to Taliban Pakistani print media portrayed Taliban as foe rather than friend.

Keywords: War, peace, reporting, Taliban, framing, war on terrorism, portrayal, print media

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<u>Final Approval</u>

It is certified that we have read this thesis submitted by Mr. Kasim Sharif. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic University Islamabad for the MS Degree in Media and Communication Studies.

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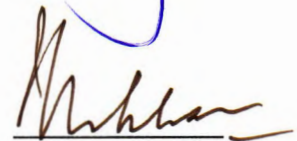
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Journalism is the art of conveying news by using old and new forms of mass media. Media personnel of all categories such as writers, editors, photographers, broad casters and producers are the opinion maker because they mold the public opinion and the information provider because they provide up to date information to the masses in the present era. Conflict is an important news value for reporting since time immemorial and even today it is prevailing characteristic of contemporary mass media. Media gives more coverage to the conflict on national and international level and it follows two patterns in conflict reporting i.e., war reporting and peace reporting.

War Journalism

War Journalism is an important trend of conflict reporting. It follows the simple and familiar pattern of dichotomy. It presents two mutually exclusive sides of a conflict and ignores other sides. It labels the parties involved in the conflict as hero and villain. For example in gulf war media labeled president Saddam of Iraq as bad guy and President Bush as good guy. The media receives information from official sources and then compiles it. News stories are written in a fashion emphasizing violence, death toll, and military action. It is often seen that in these war reports, reasons for the conflict are not mentioned. Moreover its focus is only on the conflict and when hostilities come to an end it shifts its focus to the area where a new conflict takes birth. It often returns to a conflict when it flickers up again, for example the media started giving coverage to Kashmir issue when the Kargil war started between Pakistan and India. Some journalists began asking the question: Can media be used as a peace builder? This led to the development of another approach namely peace journalism.

Peace Journalism

Peace journalism is an attempt to overhaul traditional war reporting by shifting the focus from violence and conflict to creativity, empathy, and non-violence, through a method known as peace journalism. Peace Journalism highlights the conflict by making it to appear transparent to the masses and exposes lies, covers up all the parties involved in a conflict .It reveals the sufferings of parties involved in a conflict as its focus is on conflict resolution so it reports on post-war developments. Peace journalism adopts different style of war reporting by framing stories in a completely different way as compared to traditional war reporting. The term "peace journalism" was coined by Johan Galtung who criticized conflict-focused war reporting in his paper titled as "The Structure of Foreign News". His ideas created the framework for the movement of peace journalism.

Extension of Peace Journalism

Jake Lynch, a former BBC reporter and modern proponent of peace journalism, explains: "Peace journalism is when editors and reporters make choices — about what to report, and how to report it — that create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict." It reprograms war reporting, changes the way people think about war, and gives nations a new way to handle war by employing four main principles. Principles of Peace Journalism, according to Lynch the first guiding principle of Peace journalism is that it recognizes the complicated web of conflicting parties and goals and covers all sides of a story. It reports news with a wider lens that is more inclusive and less ethnocentric.

The second principle of peace journalism is to shed light that how violence affects the people in all areas of the conflict, regardless of borders. It gives weight and value to human sentiments. The third principle is to give chance to parties other than two major parties to raise their concerns about the conflict with meaningful input, creative ideas, and non-violent solution. It begins a new narrative to actively change the way people understand violence. Finally, it educates the public on the difference between public statement and hidden agenda. It is usual practice that how government official information released for the public is incomplete and

biased. The public needs better-balanced information in order to make informed decision and it is peace journalism that provides it. Peace journalism seeks all of these goals without distorting facts or only covering peaceful perspectives. It is believed that if peace journalism is fairly written and used correctly, it can prove to be a new way of handling conflict and in this way it will promote global dialogue, de-escalation, and avoidance of violence altogether.

Terrorism

The word of "terrorism" is derived from Latin word terrere, means "to frighten". The UNO gave comprehensive definition of terrorism in these words, "Any act intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act".

Terrorist's main objective is to inculcate fear among the masses that they are not safe and their lives are vulnerable and they do this in order to serve their self interests .They achieve their objectives by indulging in activities like bomb blasts, suicide attacks, hijacking, killing innocent people, making people hostages, attacking civilian and government installations.

In this way they try to put pressure on the governments to acknowledge their demands. Advancement of technology paved the way for the terrorist groups, who are now working on their global agenda. Due to commercialization and maddening competition, media is suffering from breaking news syndrome. In this way media is indirectly serving the interests of these terrorist groups by sensitizing the issue and creating anxiety and disturbance among the masses that their very existence is in threat and state is not capable enough to protect them against these terrorists.

War on Terror

On September 11, 2001, nineteen men of al-Qaeda, a terrorist organization, indulged in the terrorist attack on the twin towers of world trade center and Pentagon, the symbol of USA

economic and military might. Three thousand people lost their lives in these attacks. Bush, the President of Unapt a charge on the Afghan government of Taliban that the terrorist attacks were planned in Afghanistan by the terrorist group Al Qaeda. He said, "the war on terra will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated". In response to terrorist attacks, USA launched military operation against Al Qaeda and Taliban in Afghanistan in 2003 with the help of Northern alliance and captured Kabul. A new government of Hamid Karazi was established in Afghanistan. Under the canopy of NATO the operation against "war on terror" was started and according to latest news the operation is on its way in Afghanistan.

Pakistan War against Terror

Pakistan supported US stance on war on terror and took U-turn in its policy of supporting Taliban and provided strategic and intelligence support as an ally and front line state. United States provided Pakistan financial assistance in her war against terror along the border of Afghanistan and in the tribal belt. As a result of this military campaign, Taliban started counter attacks on the civilian and government installations in the form of bomb blasts and suicide attacks to put pressure on the Pakistani government to stop military operation against Taliban in the tribal areas. From 2002 onwards, Pakistan suffered, totaling of 2,273 terrorist attacks and huge rate of casualties .The determination of Pakistani government did not lose up in the wake of bomb blasts and suicidal attacks and operation is continued against Taliban.

Impact of War on Terror on Pakistan

War on terror greatly affected not only the people of Pakistan from social and psychological point of view but also have adverse effect on the economy of Pakistan. A lot of bomb blasts and suicide attacks took place in different parts of the country, resulting in loss of human lives, and infrastructure, destruction of property, and curtailment of short-term economic activity. Institute for conflict management generated a table showing annual fatalities in terrorist violence in Pakistan totaling of 25,329 people including military personnel's and civilians. Terrorist attacks created uncertainty and reduced the rate of investment and greatly influenced growth rate which

came to halt at around 2.00 percent in fiscal year 2009.According to Federal Bureau of statistics the contribution of agriculture and industrial sector to GDP saw significant decline from 2004 to 2009.The State bank of Pakistan reported that the foreign direct investment fell from $1.116 billion to $463 billion due to war against terror. A significant decline of 58.5 percent is observed.

Problem Statement

The aim of this study is to explore war and peace framing in the issue of war on terror in two leading Pakistani dailies: The Nation and The Business Recorder, from March 2008 to March 2009. The war on terror will be the focus of study. The problem will be solved with addressing the following research questions:

1. Whether the newspapers frame the war on terror in peace journalism or war journalism?
2. Whether hard news stories frame more peace journalism?
3. Whether the stories with Pakistani bylines frame more peace journalism
4. What topics were covered by the newspapers during the coverage?
5. Whether the coverage framed Taliban as Friend or Foe?
6.

Objectives

1. To find out the coverage of "war on terror" by Pakistani press in war or peace frame.
2. To find out difference between governments policies as front line ally in the war on terror and press approach towards this problem.
3. To analyze the image of Taliban in print media

Rational of the Study

Pakistan is front line ally against war on terror and has declared war against the militants in the regions of Swat and South Waziristan. Thousands of army officers and soldiers have sacrificed

their lives in this war. Apparently, this war fails to win full support from the media. It would be an inferential leap to say that it is promoting peace. Although media is supporting military operation against the militants yet it has to evaluate the coverage given to the issue. The study has great significance for USA and its allied countries that are fighting a war against terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan with the coalition of Pakistan Army. It will provide media guidance regarding this war and will redirect their energies towards peaceful resolution of the conflict. The study has also great significance for the civil and military bureaucracy of Pakistan in their policy making process against war on terror. It is equally important for public in general as well because it shows approaching frame of media in the coverage of war on terror whether it has peace oriented approach towards the issue or war oriented and to what extent it is supporting government policy in its war against terror. It is also important in a way because it predicts the image of Taliban in Pakistani society because newspapers are reflecting feeling and emotions of the masses and reflect their thought over certain issues. The study also highlights the maturity and responsibility of the Pakistani print media that instead of flickering the conflict in away to root out the causes of the conflict and its amicable solution. Its significance for media cannot be ignored because it predicts the future role of media in portraying the war on terror; whether it will pursue the amicable solution of war on terror by its peace oriented approach.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Media is a double-edged sword because when it is employed positively, it can become an instrument of conflict resolution and prove to be a catalyst for peaceful change. However, when it is employed as a mean to propagate intolerance and hatred, and to incite violence, it becomes a negative force among efforts to foster peace. Media exercises a powerful influence on people and on their perceptions of the world they live in. The primary role of media is to report and disseminate objective information. Media has the unique ability to reach many at an unprecedented rate and this ability makes it an unparalleled tool for disseminating information. The very information given by media should be accurate and balanced, and should be a fair representation of the diverse views, so than the public could make well-informed choices.

Media Coverage the Conflict

Media gives coverage only to a conflict when it manifests violence that is what Jacobsen (2000) observed and its coverage is always biased with nationalistic and ideological tendencies. Examples of such conflicts are there on international level in past and present such as, Afghanistan, Sri lanka, Azerbaijan, East Timor, Kashmir, Liberia, Moldova, Nagorno Karabakh, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tajikistan, etc. Kellner (1992), on the basis of his analysis of international channels, concluded that news media did not do neutral reporting during the Persian Gulf War and followed national ideology. Wolfsfeld (1997) examined the conflict in the Middle East and found that news media gave more coverage to the extremists from both sides and less coverage to the peace makers and to the people who call for the resolution. Carruthers (2000) explains that the media while reporting the conflict follow the line set by the state .Hence it accomplice state in its wartime propaganda, and instigates the conflict. Wolfsfeld claims, "Default mode of operation for the press is to cover tension, conflict, and violence". Fawcett (2002) observed that as compared to the peace frames Irish media used more war frames.

Galtung the Theory of Peace Journalism

Taking clue from this Galtung coined the term peace journalism in 1970,s and gave two different patterns of war reporting, i.e. war and peace journalism. Galtung did not follow "low road" in reporting conflict-chasing war rather he provided an alternative route of peace reporting. It brings before us all the black and white of the conflict. In this way it de-escalates the tension and minimizes the difference between the two parties involved in the conflict. It avoids repetition of facts that blames the one party or the other party and in this way increases the intensity of the conflict. Peace journalism objective according to John Galtung is to "identify the conflict formation, the parties, their goals and the issues, and not fall into the trap of believing that the key actors are where the action (violence, war) is". Galtung wants to see the journalists who work on the principle of objectivity by covering all facets of the conflict during their war reporting. Peace journalists first of all identify the conflict then they trace out the cultural and historical reasons of the conflict and finally they moves towards the solution of the conflict acceptable to all the parties of the conflict. Galtung describes that how the columns and editorial can develop consensus among the aggrieved parties by adopting peace approach.

Lynch Expansion of Peace Theory

Johan Galtung founded Transcend Peace University where two experienced lecturers namely Mcgoldrick and Lynch (2000) expanded peace model of Galtung and proposed 17 peace journalism-based practices for war reporting. The basis of war reporting is sensationalism because it is done to increase circulations and to gain ratings. War journalism uses military triumph list language, its focus is on action so its action orientated its narrative is superficial with no background. The journalism of peace tells about the causes of the violence and it does not follow the principle of division. It covers all the aspects and explains the phenomena working under the conflict. It provides the platform to all the parties involved in the conflict to share their views about the conflict and give innovative ideas for peaceful solution of the conflict. It brings the real picture of the issue and sufferings of the people affected by the conflict. Its focus is on stories that have bent towards peace and also cover post developments

after the war. It basically promotes peace and differentiates between the actual picture and hidden agenda. It supplements the news conventions to give peace a more chance by its solution oriented approach, i.e. Seeking opinions from and basing news reports on common people, reporting on all parties involved or affected, and the use of precise language. Lynch (2001) in his peace study found that war journalism was dominant in the coverage of Iraqi war by the western media and proposed peace reporting for the realistic coverage of the Iraqi war by media. The concept of Peace Journalism was further improved by Lynch and Mcgoldrick. They stressed on the practical side of the peace concept and gave peace journalism model. Reporters and editors are the key players in this model. According to them "Peace Journalism is when editors and reporters make choices, about when to report and how to report it, which create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent, developmental responses to conflict."

Hanitzsch Comparison of War and Peace Journalism

Hanitzsch (2004) makes comparison of war and peace journalism in these words:
War journalism focuses on the present arena of the conflict. Neither it tells the background of the conflict nor does it find its solution. It only tells the victory of one party and defeat of another on the basis of factual data. It starts with the outbreak of the conflict and only present details of damage, destruction and human causalities. It only brings the cruelties of the enemy's camp and hides its source atrocities. It shifts its focus from one conflict to another conflict on the basis of its importance on national and international level and comes to old conflict if it revives again. Peace journalism on the other hand gives its audience the background of conflict. It peeps into the past by telling the ground reality of the issue and does its utmost efforts for peaceful solution of the problem. It involves all the concerned parties to arrive on consensus regarding peaceful solution of an issue. It also helps to avoid further wars in future. It brings a real picture by exposing the wrong doings of all the parties .It also spotlights the issues of the suffering people of the war and continues its work even after the war towards the betterment of humanity as well.

Maslog Peace Research Manual

Maslog (1990) offered a manual for reporters practicing peace journalism on the basis of Mindanao conflict in Philippines. He emphasized that how a reporter should emphasis on common ground between opposing parties, should avoid the cultural norms and values that are offensive and source of further conflict and there should be linguistic precision in reporting.

Peace Journalism Controversy

Peace journalism does not exist without criticism. Its opponents raised a number of objections. Firstly peace journalism is complete departure from objectivity .It Compromises the reliability and disseminators uprightness of a journalist and confuses his role as neutral source of information. Peace journalism negates the traditional journalistic values of detachment, objectivity and neutrality. In other words peace journalism violated the principle of objectivity by promoting a journalism of attachment, a term coined by BBC correspondent Martin Bellto. Taking sides or relinquishing neutrality in favor of moral stance is against the cannon of journalistic objectivity. Secondly peace journalism gives much credence to direct and powerful effects of media. It ignores the fact that journalist could not stand outside the cultural influence of the society in which he lives and works. Thirdly peace journalism is a normative model that fails to take account of the constraints in news production due to organizational and institutional factors. In spite of all this criticism peace journalism is evolving as a new approach towards conflict reporting, that is Wilhelm Kempf writes: "I would argue that peace journalism is far more gracious than any other journalistic orientation in supplying readers with the opportunity to formulate their own stands on current affairs. The approach of peace journalism is geared towards the stimulation and maximization of readers' judgment ability and prudence. By challenging routine coverage methods and by providing the broadest possible range of accounts, peace journalism writers entrust the onus of interpretation to their readers. By doing so they do not treat the audience as a passive monolith, but rather supply an elementary and essential commodity for all readers... "

Suleyman Irvan Ethical Code of Peace Journalism

In order to promote peace journalism as an alternative route to contemporary journalism in the future, Suleyman Irvan devised an ethical code of peace journalism on the suggestions given by Mowlana, Tehranian, Galtung & Vincent, and Lynch & Mcgoldrick. Firstly the goal of journalist is to uncover truth and seek resolution. Journalist should use all means to find out the underline truth. He should not take side of any party involved in the conflict rather affectively contribute towards peaceful solution of the problem. Secondly, he should gather news from people instead of elite sources should confirm the facts, investigate all the wrongs done by the parties involved in the conflict. Thirdly, he should provide the background of the conflict that how it could take place, what were its reasons and his focus is not only on the conflict but also on the consequences of the conflict. He should highlight peace in his stories. He shows respect in his stories and adopts the principles of accuracy, clarity and does not use abusive language against any party involved in the conflict.

Peace journalism future

Peace journalism is evolving field of post modern era and is now taking the form of academic discipline among other disciplines in different universities. It is now an ideal subject for Faculties of Communications all over the world and there is need of more research in this field especially in developing countries like Pakistan. Especially in South Asia, there is need of peace journalism due to decades old controversy among the states on different issues affecting the lives of South Asian people and major hurdle for the economic prosperity of the region. Peace approach by the media of South Asia can effectively contribute its role by the adoption of peace approach.

Application of peace journalism

A lot of literature is available on war journalism and applied work has been done in the field of war journalism. It does not mean that academic work on peace journalism is normative or theoretical in nature and its practical application is invisible.

Lee and Maslog were among the first who operationalized peace journalism and tested it empirically via quantitative content analysis. They examined newspapers from war and peace framing and analyzed the application of peace journalism theory.

Lee and Maslog (2005) analyzed the newspapers of four ASIAN countries regarding the conflict on regional level. They found that 56 percent of the stories had framed in war journalism. Kashmir issue is an apple of discord between Pakistan and India since independence and up till now three wars have been fought between these two countries over the Kashmir issue. The newspapers of these two countries framed the Kashmir conflict in war frame. Instead of being remained neutral they supported their respective government stance on the Kashmir issue and did not do any positive contribution towards peaceful solution of the problem. Peace framing was observed in the conflict between Sri Lankan government and liberation tigers of Tamil Elam because a peace deal took place between the two parties involved in the conflict. In Philippines the conflict of Mindanao was also framed in peace journalism due to the negotiations between the two parties on the peaceful settlement of the problem. Indonesian newspaper framed the Aceh conflict in peace journalism whereas the same newspaper framed Maluku issue in war journalism. A tendency towards war and peace reporting is seen that where there is use of military war framing is seen and where there is dialogue and negotiations, peace reporting takes place.

Kim (2006) explained that how the newspapers predominantly chose war journalism frames when they gave coverage to local conflicts and predominantly peace frames when they gave coverage to the Iraq War .The reason behind this is the little involvement of newspapers' countries in the conflict. The war frame stories are shorter and locally produced whereas peace frames are longer due to longer features/opinion pieces.

In a related study of frames in Asian newspapers' coverage of the initial stages of the Iraq war, Maslog, Lee and Kim (2006) found the majority of stories had a neutral or peace journalism framing. Moreover they found that stories produced by Western news organizations, such as The Associated Press, showed more war journalism framing than stories produced by local news organizations.

A cross-national study of USA, South Korea and Chinese newspapers shows that how the newspapers of these three countries covered the nuclear issue in a different frames. USA covered it in war frame; the china covered it in peace frame whereas South Korea framed it in neutral way. The findings reveal differences among these countries in framing the issue of North Korea nuclear explosions.

Siraj (2007) reveals that in the coverage of Pak India conflict by USA newspapers, Pakistan was reported in war frame. The stories contributed by the American reporters have tendency towards peace reporting but Indian reporters of USA newspapers reported Pakistan in war frame. Due to war reporting the negative image of Pakistan is portrayed in these newspapers on one hand and positive image of India is portrayed at the same time in these newspapers.

Annabel (2008) in her study explained the psychological effect of these two styles of journalism. The results showed that how journalism war had more serious negative psychological feelings than peace journalism upon the people.

Blood (2008) research shows that majority of stories in these two newspapers were framed as peace journalism. The most prevalent war frame is elite-oriented focus, and the most prevalent peace frame is avoiding victimizing language.

Siraj (2010) in his study analyzed that the Pakistani print media is portraying negative image of Taliban and is actively supporting Government because Taliban is challenging the writ of the state and wants to establish state within state. Moreover they are considered as threat to the civilization of Pakistan due to their obsolete ideology of implementing. Most of the stories regarding the image of Taliban in Pakistan are framed in war journalism. The length given to

war frame is greater than peace frame in these stories .In the overall coverage by Pakistani press regarding Taliban, the slant of the newspapers is unfavorable and negative.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical Framework

Framing is the theoretical foundation of the present study because war journalism frames and peace journalism frames are used to analyze news stories on "war on terror" and it all showed that how Pakistani print media framed war on terror in war or peace frame.

Although a lot of framing definitions are available yet no definition of framing is universally acceptable. Entman gave standard definition of framing in these words "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described," (p. 52). In reality framing of news reveals the pattern adopted by the mass media to convey a specific message. The media framing makes certain aspects of an issue more salient then the other aspects. It directs the audience to consider certain facts and ignore certain other facts. In this way it affects perceptions of people about an event or issue. In news writing framing reinforce certain ideas at the cost of other ideas. So keeping in view of news framing, Entman's 1993 definition considers framing from both a media and consumer standpoint. The media is involved in the salience of issues. It not only includes and omits, but also emphasis on particular aspects of the reality described at the cost of others. That is why it resembles with second-level agenda setting in which mass media influences the people that how should they think about the issue. Framing theory provided the solid background for research scholars and they used it as an important tool to explain both War and Peace news stories (Christensen, 2005; Yang, 2003; Scheufele, 1999). Previous news framing research pinpointed a number of frames commonly used in certain types of news coverage. Empirical research of conflict or war coverage operationally defined news frames in variety of ways resulted in a number of frames. In order to study the Arab-Israeli conflict Gamson (1992) identified four news frames such as Arab intransigence, feuding neighbors, Israeli expansionism, and strategic interests. Lindsay, and Mogensen (2002) used frames such as crime, economy, disaster, human interest, environment politics, safety and religious to study initial USA electronic media coverage of 9/11 attacks. Dimitrova et al. (2005)

analyzed 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq through six frames such as human interest, military conflict, responsibility, self-referential, diagnostic, and prognostic. Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) added two new frames namely violence-of-war frame and anti-war-protest frame in their cross-national research on Iraqi war coverage. Maslog and Lee (2006) used war and peace frames in their cross-national conflict studies. Siraj (2007) also used Galtung war and peace journalism frames to analyze Pakistan and India 's conflict over Kashmir in the elite newspapers of USA. In 2010 he again used war and peace frames to analyze image of Taliban in the Pakistani print media.

HYPOTHESIS

The above mentioned discussion and analysis of news stories resulted in the development of following hypothesis:

H1. The coverage frame more peace journalism than war journalism.

　H1a. Stories with Pakistani byline frame more peace journalism.

　H1b. Hard news stories frame more peace journalism than soft news stories.

H2. The newspapers cover bomb blasts more than the other topics.

H3. Taliban are framed more as foe than friend.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

Content Analysis

The study is basically a content analysis of Pakistani newspapers. Content Analysis, according to Colorado state university (2011) is defined as:

"Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts."

Content Analysis is quantified and analyzed by the researcher. The presence, real meanings and multiple relationships of certain words and concepts are analyzed. The inferences are made after analyzing the text. Text can be described as any written or visual matter e-g books, essays, letters, stories, drama, discussions, newspaper news, columns, articles, historical documents, speech, conversation, advertising, TV content, or any communicative language. (Palmquist)

According to Jones (2011) content analysis gives clear and tangible description of the content expressed textually or visually. It provides the foundation for comparing content between multiple mediums to identify gaps and lacking elements. It offers insight that can make decisions more easily e-g what to prioritize and how?

According to Fox (2008) content is anything that can be structured or described as Words, Features, Images, Services, Video, Physical items, Tools or applications and Signage. For content analysis, the text is coded into categories at a variety of levels including words, meanings, sense, phrase, sentences, idea, theme, and framing etc.

Content analysis is any piece of writing of communication; used in a number of fields. The following list is adapted from Berelson, 1952 that content analysis (Busha & Harter, 1980).

1. Reveal international differences in communication content

2. Detect the existence of propaganda

3. Identify the intentions, focus or communication trends of an individual, group or institution

4. Describe attitudinal and behavioral responses to communications

5. Determine psychological or emotional state of persons or groups

According to Dennis to count content, there is a need to have a units, e-g size and length. It also includes the presence and absence of something. nits in a corpus, but in general the larger the unit, the fewer units you need. Units can also be defined as "per thousand words". The present study examines the coverage of "War on Terror" by the content analysis of the two Pakistani newspapers namely Nation and Business Recorder from March 2008 to March 2009.The study is based on the classification of war and peace journalism given by John Galtung.

Sampling

The criteria of newspapers selection is based on their availability on Lexis-Nexis and their reputation in the country .The business recorder has good ranking among its readers from business point of view and Nation has good prestige in the English newspapers. All the news stories published on war on terror in these two newspapers during the specified period are the population of the study. The key word" war on terror" is entered into the Lexis-Nexis and a sample of 998 stories is generated for content analysis. Each story is coded for topics (Drone attacks, Bomb blast, Coalition, US policy, Pakistan policy, Economy, Society and People, Foreign aid),byline(Foreign ,Pakistani and others),type(hard news and soft news), source(Government, private ,and others),frame1(war, peace, and neutral),frame2(Taliban as a friend / Foe).

Coding Scheme

By using Galtung´s peace model war journalism and peace journalism frames were devised. For coding purpose, the whole story was taken as a contextual unit while a single paragraph was considered as a coding unit. At first all stories were coded for war journalism indicators and

then for peace journalism indicators. In second phase, after counting the total number of war and peace journalism indicators, the coding of the story was decided by determining the dominants frame as either war journalism or peace journalism. For instance, if the number of peace journalism indicator paragraphs in a story is greater than the war journalism indicator paragraphs, the story falls in the peace journalism category. If war and peace journalism indicators are equal in a story, the story falls in neutral journalism. If the number of war journalism indicators is greater than the peace journalism indicator paragraphs in the story, the story falls in the war journalism category. For the determination of Frame regarding Taliban (favorable, unfavorable and neutral), each paragraph was the coding unit and the whole story was the contextual unit. Thus story was the unit of statistical analysis .In order to measure each variable and its categories Comprehensive rules were developed for the study.

Data Collection and Analysis Tool

Data was analyzed by using SPSS. Cross tabulation, difference of proportion and frequency were used for the analysis of the data and Chi-square and t-test were the tests used for the testing of hypothesis.

Pilot Study

A small separate study of 25 stories was conducted to test the reliability of the coder. The sample study yielded 90% agreement for topic, 88% for story type, 87% for story byline, 81% for war and peace frame and 89%for Taliban frame.

Operationalization of Concepts

1. Peace Journalism
Peace journalism means journalism that promotes peace and resolution.
2. War Journalism
War journalism means journalism that portrays only the conflict by factual reporting and its focus is on action and its source is government.

3. Framing

Framing means that how a news story was presented and organized in the context of war on terror. The present study used three frames namely peace frame and war frame devised by Galtung and neutral frame that include those stories that do not fall within war or peace frame. .

4. Friend

Stories that portray Taliban as a friend by its whole context or words used by it

5. Foe

Stories that portray Taliban as foe of humanity by its whole context or words used by it

6. Hard News

Stories that are based on facts and statistics and are mostly published on the front and back pages of daily newspaper

7. Soft News

Stories that tell back ground draw conclusions and also offer opinions. It includes columns, features and editorials.

7. Byline

It means the author's or reporter's name at the top of a story.

Limitations of the Study

Every study has limitations as Robert Browning says," perfection is beyond this earth" Time constraint is one such major problem in the present study because it covers only one year newspapers. Secondly, it does not cover all the print media in the form of newspapers, journals and quarterly. Thirdly, it does not cover electronic media and new stream media such as internet and blogs. Fourthly, its population is not whole of stories published in a newspaper because stories are generated by using keyword war on terror by Lexus-nexus.

CHAPTER 5
FINDINGS

Finding 1

The overall coverage in both the newspapers promoted peace journalism in relation to war on terror. Out of total 998 stories, the share of Nation and Business Recorder is 556 (55.7%) and 442 (44.3%) stories respectively. Nation contributed more peace stories 419 (53.7%) as compared to Business Recorder,i.e,361 (46.3%).Both the newspapers gave more peace coverage,i.e,780 (78.2%) peace stories in contrast with war stories,i.e,182 (18.2%).Number of stories promoting peace is more than the stories promoting war and the difference is statistically significant.(Chi square= 15.368; p=0.000).

Table 1: News stories distribution in Newspapers by war and peace journalism

Name of Newspaper	War Frame	Peace Frame	Neutral	Total
Nation	118 64.8%	419 53.7%	19 (52.8 %)	556 55.7%
Business Recorder	64 35.2%	361 46.3%	17 (47.2 %)	442 44.3%
Total	182 100.0%	780 100.0%	36 (100.0%)	998 (100.0%)

Finding 2

The overall coverage in Hard and Soft news stories was found promoting peace journalism. The result is not significant because a major difference is not seen that hard news stories frame more peace journalism. (Chi square= 5.556; P= .062).

Table 2- Story type

Story Type	War	Neutral	Peace	Total
Hard News	76 (41.8%)	15 (41.7%)	396 (50.8%)	487 (48.8%)
Soft News	106 (58.2%)	21 (58.3%)	384 (49.2%)	511 (51.2%)
Total	182 (100%)	36 (100%)	780 (100%)	998 (100%)

Finding 3

Pakistani and other bylines gave more coverage to peace journalism as compared to war and neutral journalism. Nevertheless, a tilt was more towards peace journalism by the other bylines; however it was not significant at the Chi square. (Chi-square =.638; P=.727).

Table 3- Byline

Byline of the story	War	peace	neutral	Total
Pak Reporters	82 (45.1%)	356 (45.6%)	14 (38.9%)	452 (45.3%)
Others	100 (54.9%)	424 (54.4%)	22 (61.1%)	546 (54.7%)
Total	182 (100%)	780 (100%)	36 (100%)	998 (100 %)

Finding 4

The newspapers covered bomb blast stories more intensively, i.e., 247(24.7%), followed by Society and People stories, i.e., 200 (20.0%), coalition in war against terror stories 142(14.2%), and120 (12.0%) stories of Drone attacks respectively. Most of the coverage given to the issues promoting peace journalism and the difference is significant was related to peace journalism (Chi square= 73.037; p=.000).

Table 4- Topics in the coverage

Topics	Frequency	Valid Percent	Chi square
Drone attack	120	12.0	
bomb blast	247	24.7	
Coalition	142	14.2	73.037;
US policy	100	10.0	p=.000
Economy	112	11.2	
Society and people	200	20.0	
Aid	32	3.2	
Total	998	100.0	

Finding 5

The overall coverage of both the newspapers   Nation and the Business Recorder framed
Taliban more as foe (65.5%) than as friend (22.0%) and Neutral (12.4%)) and the difference is
statistically significant. (Chi square=479.431; p= .000).

Table 5- Taliban

Frame	Frequency	Valid Percent	Chi squire test
Taliban as friend	220	22.0	
Taliban as foe	654	65.5	479.431; p= .000
Neutral	124	12.4	
Total	998	100.0	

Finding 6

Peace stories contributed by private source are 663 (85.0%) as compared to Government source which is 117(15.0%) . Both private and Government source contributed more peace stories, i.e 77.5% and 81.8% respectively in contrast with war stories, i.e.18.6% and 16.1% respectively. A significant difference of proportion exists between Government and private source in contribution of peace stories.

War and peace frame by Source of the story

Source of the story				
	neutral	war	peace	Total
government	3	23	117	143
	2.1%	16.1%	81.8%	100.0%
	8.3%	12.6%	15.0%	14.3%
private	33	159	663	855
	3.9%	18.6%	77.5%	100.0%
	91.7%	87.4%	85.0%	85.7%
Total	36	182	780	998
	3.6%	18.2%	78.2%	100.0%

Finding 7

Peace journalism framing is seen in all the topics relating to war on terror. In total of 998 stories relating to topics of war on terror, the dominant frame is peace journalism 78.25 % followed by frame of war journalism 18.2% and neutral frame 3.6%.Even in topic of impact on people and society, the peace frame is80.5%as compared to war frame 18.5% and the difference is statistically significant(chi square=293.912;p=0.000).

Table 7 War and Peace frame by topics

Topics in the coverage			neutral	war	peace	Total
drone attack		Count	15	34	71	120
		% within Topics in the coverage	12.5%	28.3%	59.2%	100.0%
		% within war and peace frame in the story	41.7%	18.7%	9.1%	12.0%
		% of Total	1.5%	3.4%	7.1%	12.0%
bomb blast		Count	1	32	214	247
		% within Topics in the coverage	.4%	13.0%	86.6%	100.0%
		% within war and peace frame in the story	2.8%	17.6%	27.4%	24.7%
		% of Total	.1%	3.2%	21.4%	24.7%
Coalition		Count	9	33	100	142
		% within Topics in	6.3%	23.2%	70.4%	100.0%

		the coverage				
		% within war and peace frame in the story	25.0%	18.1%	12.8%	14.2%
		% of Total	.9%	3.3%	10.0%	14.2%
	Pak policy	Count	3	9	33	45
		% within Topics in the coverage	6.7%	20.0%	73.3%	100.0%
		% within war and peace frame in the story	8.3%	4.9%	4.2%	4.5%
		% of Total	.3%	.9%	3.3%	4.5%
	US policy	Count	4	8	88	100
		% within Topics in the coverage	4.0%	8.0%	88.0%	100.0%
		% within war and peace frame in the story	11.1%	4.4%	11.3%	10.0%
		% of Total	.4%	.8%	8.8%	10.0%
	Economy	Count	2	24	86	112
		% within Topics in the coverage	1.8%	21.4%	76.8%	100.0%
		% within war and peace frame in the story	5.6%	13.2%	11.0%	11.2%
		% of Total	.2%	2.4%	8.6%	11.2%
	Society and people	Count	2	37	161	200
		% within Topics in the coverage	1.0%	18.5%	80.5%	100.0%
		% within war and	5.6%	20.3%	20.6%	20.0%

		peace frame in the story				
		% of Total	.2%	3.7%	16.1%	20.0%
Aid		Count	0	5	27	32
		% within Topics in the coverage	.0%	15.6%	84.4%	100.0%
		% within war and peace frame in the story	.0%	2.7%	3.5%	3.2%
		% of Total	.0%	.5%	2.7%	3.2%
Total		Count	36	182	780	998
		% within Topics in the coverage	3.6%	18.2%	78.2%	100.0%
		% within war and peace frame in the story	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	3.6%	18.2%	78.2%	100.0%

Finding 8

The frequency of peace stories is 78.2% as compared to the frequency of war stories, i.e. 18.2% followed by neutral stories,i.e3.6%.The table shows that majority of news stories are framed in peace journalism and difference is statistically significant(chi square=934.325;p=0.000).

Table 8- War and Peace Frame in the Story

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	neutral	36	3.6	3.6	3.6
	war	182	18.2	18.2	21.8
	peace	780	78.2	78.2	100.0
	Total	998	100.0	100.0	

Finding 9

The mean story length of peace journalism is 689.97 whereas the mean story length of war journalism is 580.04 followed by mean story length of neutral journalism, i.e. 597.28 and the difference is statistically significant (t- test=45.206;p=0.000).

Table 9- Length of the Story

war and peace frame in the story	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Neutral	597.28	36	402.571
War	580.04	182	415.410
Peace	689.97	780	432.198
Total	600.71	998	419.789

Complexion of Data

War and Peace Frame by Newspaper
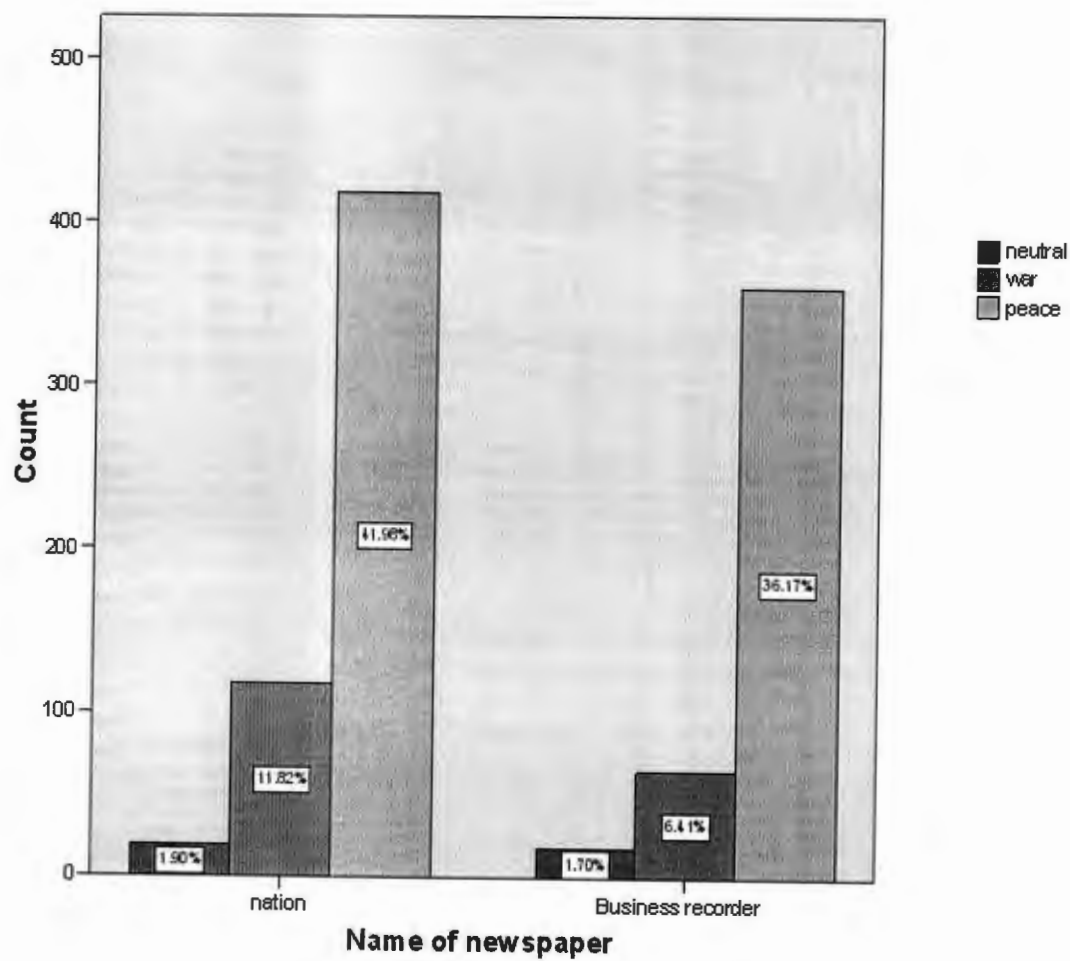
War and Peace Frame by Topics
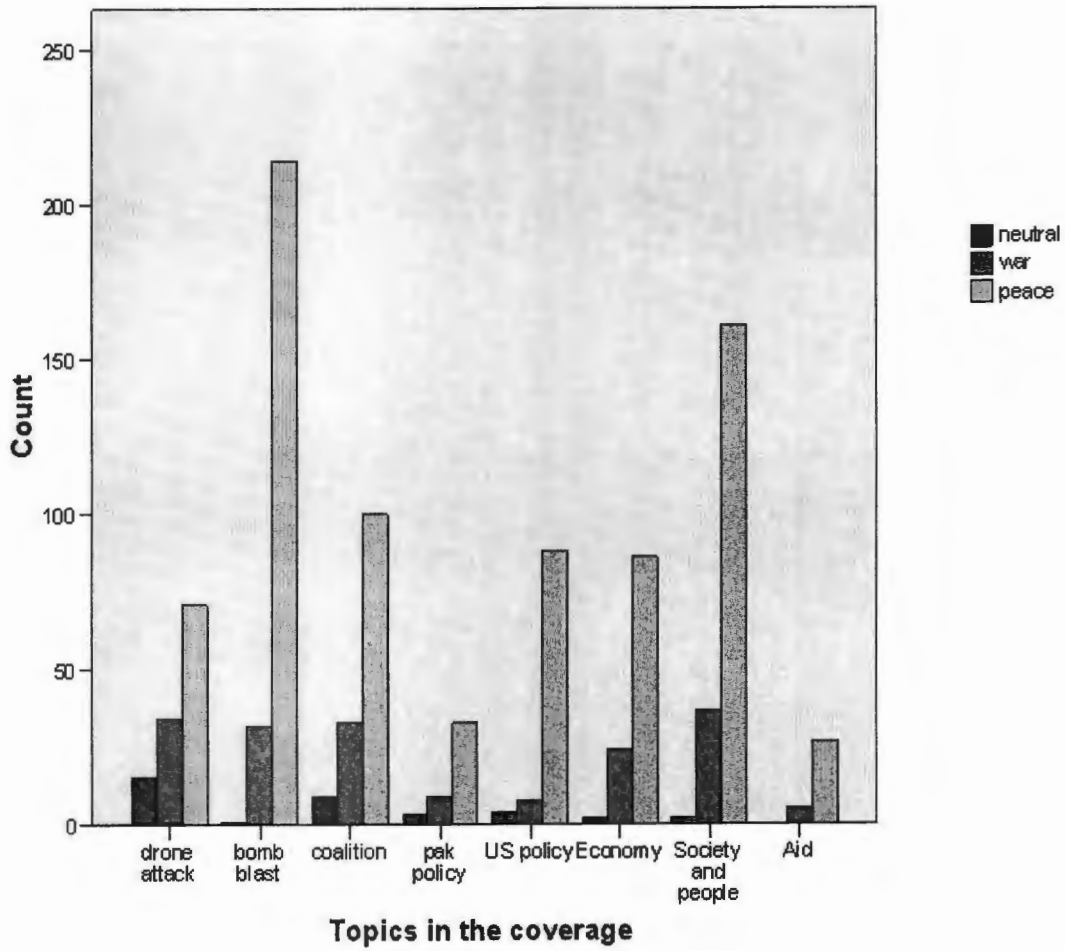
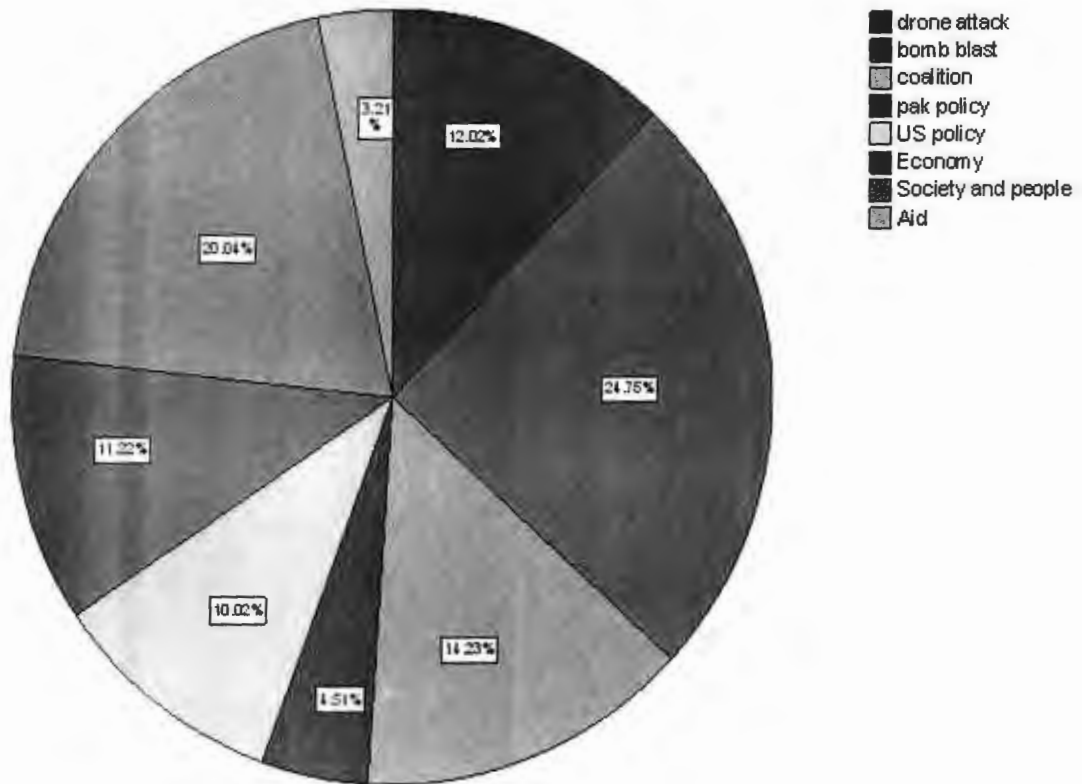# War and Peace Frame by Type
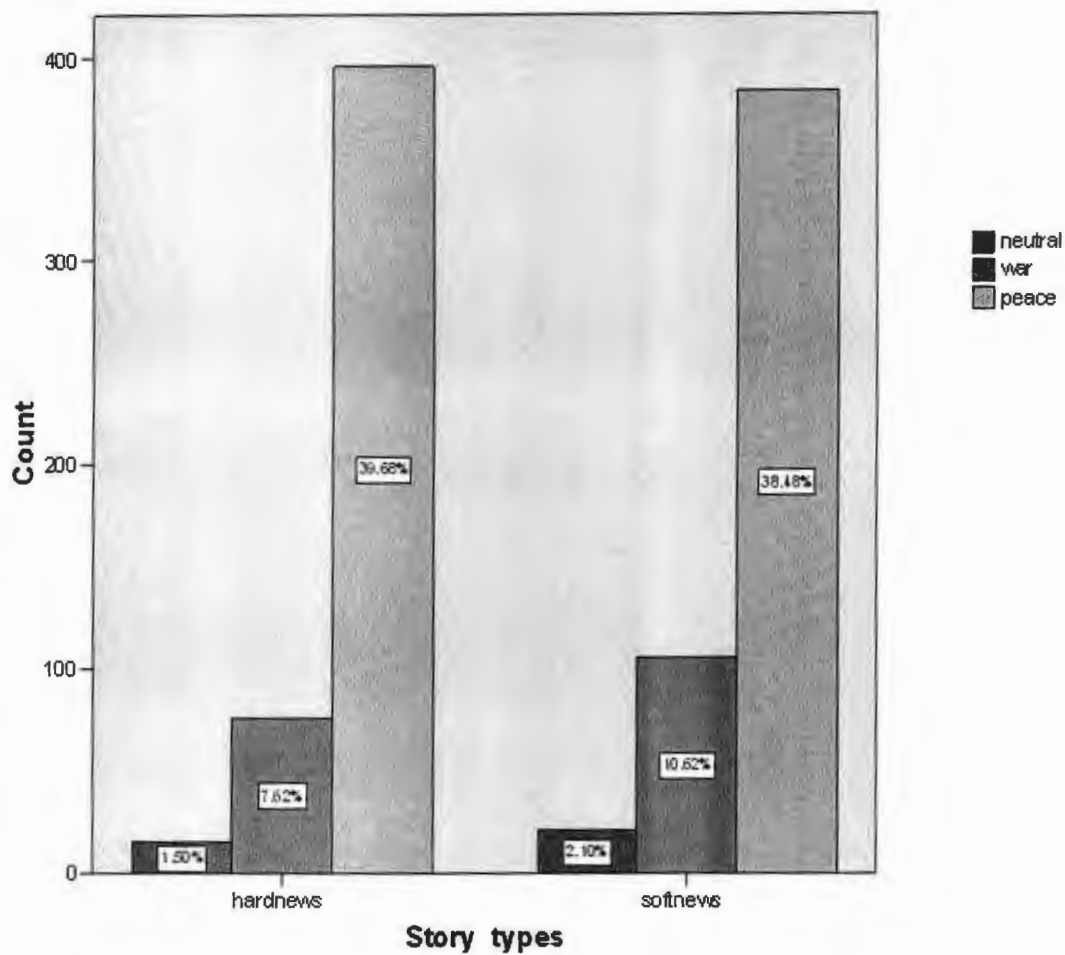
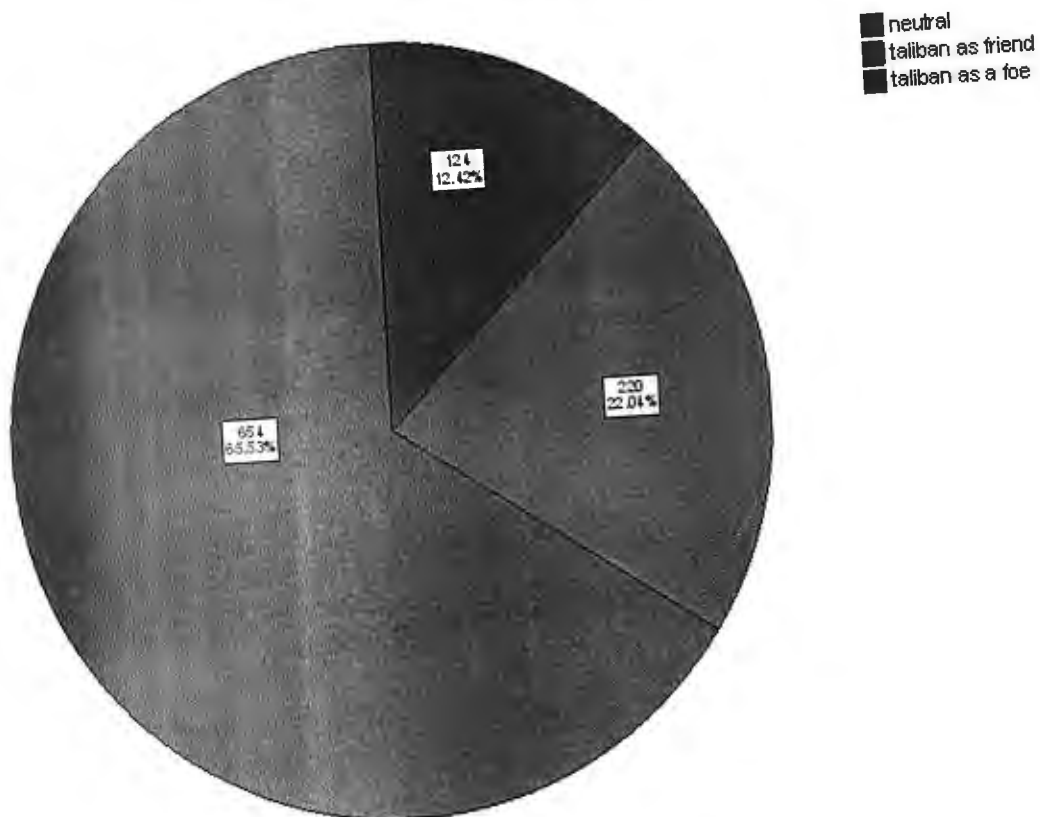# War and Peace Frame by Source
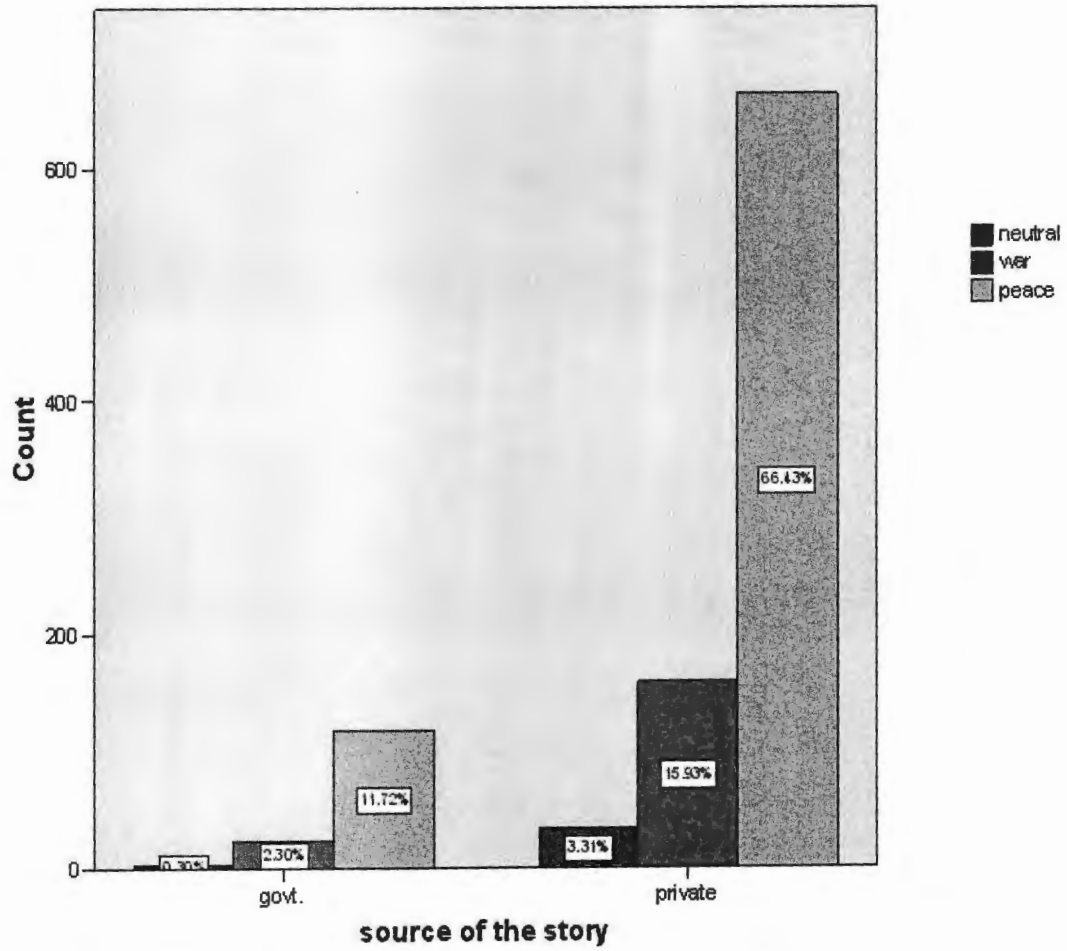
War and Peace Frame by Length

length of the story

Count

war and peace frame in the story

neutral   war   peace
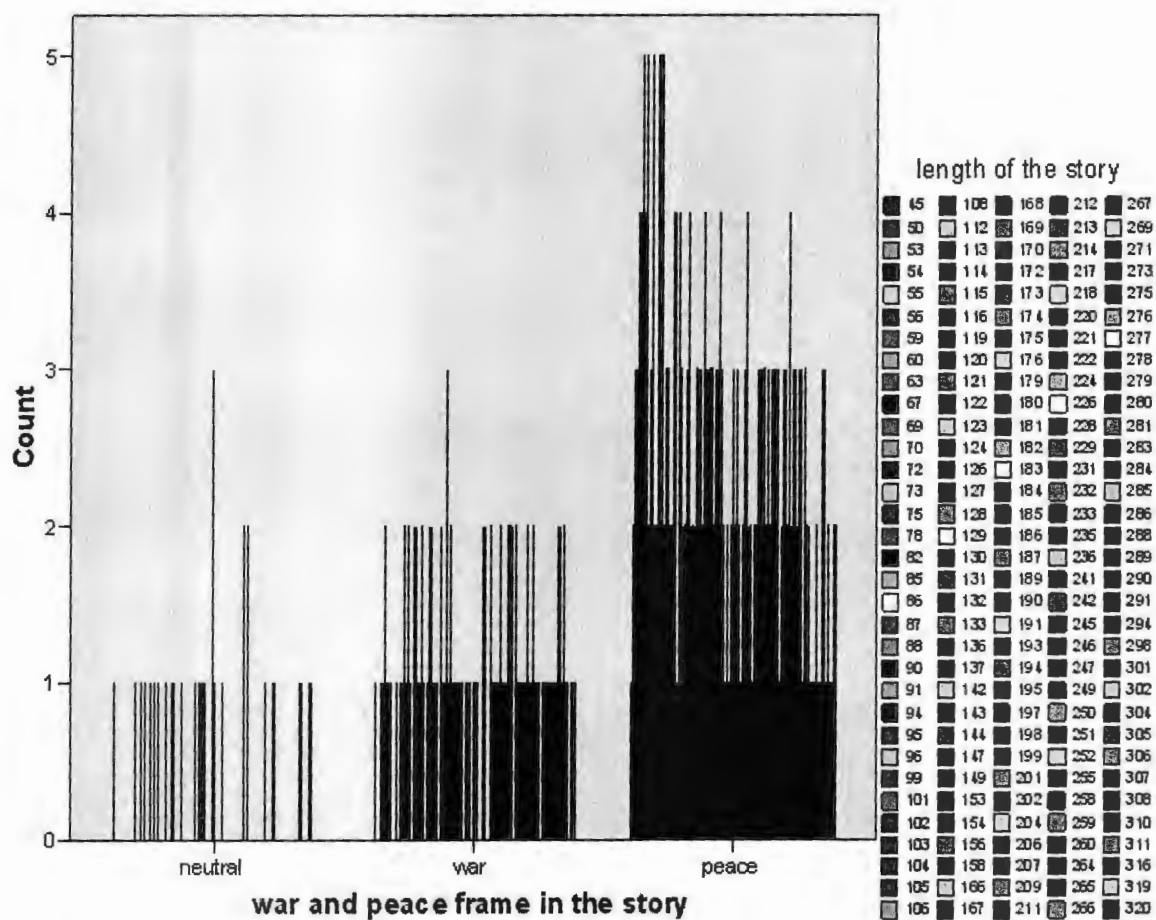
Topics in the Coverage

Topics in the coverage

Legend:
- drone attack
- bomb blast
- coalition
- pak policy
- US policy
- Economy
- Society and people
- Aid

Values shown on chart: 12.02%, 24.75%, 3.21%, 20.04%, 11.22%, 10.02%, 4.51%, 14.23%

Frame in the Story

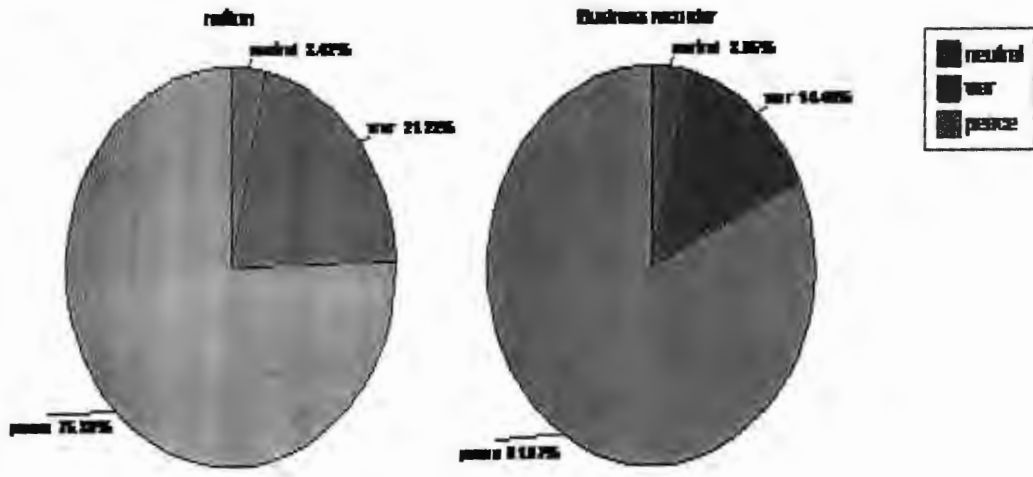frame in the story

WAR and PEACE Frame

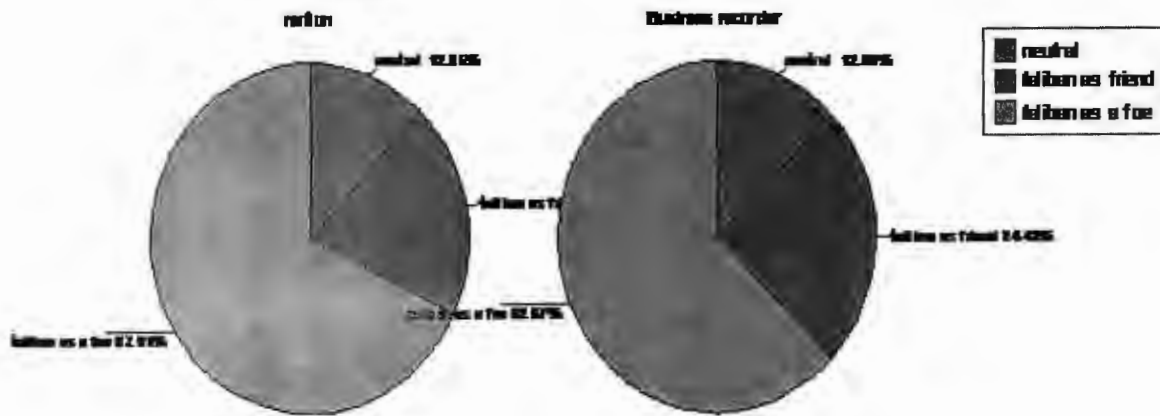**WAR AND PEACE FRAME**

Image of Taliban

TALIBAN AS FRIEND OR FOE

Discussion

Total of 998 news stories were examined for the study. Out of these 556 and 442 stories were published by the Nation and Business Recorder respectively. The mean length of story in the overall coverage was 600.71. The mean story length of the Nation and Business Recorder was 723.66 and 446.05 respectively. The number of stories relating to peace, war and neutral were 780 and 182 and 36 respectively. Total stories published by Pakistani bylines and others bylines were 452 and 546 stories respectively. Most of the stories were relating to soft news genre, i.e., 511, followed by hard news genre487 respectively. The coverage was dominated by the topic bomb blast (247 stories) and followed by the stories having social impact on people and society (200 stories). Lee and Maslog (2005) suggest that war journalism frame remained dominant in the coverage of   conflicts in south Asia. Over Kashmir issue the war reporting is dominant by Indian and Pakistani reporters whereas the print media of Sri Lanka and Philippine reveals a tendency of peace journalism on the issue of Tamil tigers in Sri Lanka and Mindanao conflict in Philippine.

Lee et al. (2006) note that the peace journalism tendency was found in the Muslim majority states regarding Iraq war (2003) .In contrast war journalism tendency was found in the non-Muslim states. They believe that religion and sourcing were the factors behind the news coverage of the conflict.

Analysis of 998 stories from two English dailies suggests that overall coverage given to the issue of war on terror is dominated by Peace journalism approach. Thus it supports our first hypothesis that the coverage framed more peace journalism rather than war journalism. There are two important factors behind this trend of peace journalism. The first factor is that during this period Government of Pakistan engaged in dialogue with Taliban forces because of continued war against terror and drainage of resources it was believed that military approach is short term measure to tackle terrorism. Simply killing terrorist is not going to end the war on terror. Rather violence begets violence whereas peace approach is long term approach to fight terrorism by bringing them on the dialogue table and beating their ideological orientation by superior ideology. The second important factor is that media too supported peace because a lot

of human and material losses of Pakistan has taken place due to this war on terror i.e., 1.7 million people were internally displaced and Pakistan suffered, totaling of 2,273 terrorist attacks and huge rate of casualties besides affecting economic cost of 35 billion dollar. Exports of Pakistan decline from 5.711billion dollars in 2007-08 to 4.635 billion dollar in 2008-09. Foreign direct investment falls from 1.117 billion dollars to 463 in a period of three years from 2007-2009. . In the second hypothesis, a tilt is more towards peace journalism by the other bylines; however the difference between promoting peace and war journalism is not statistically significant. Hence it does not support the second hypothesis, that stories with Pakistani byline promote more peace journalism because other byline also gives more peace coverage. The reason behind this is the concern of the families of soldiers of allied forces from European countries who are fighting against this war on terra and disillusionment of Americans regarding the continuity of war on terror .The new government of Obama resulted a change in USA-AFPAK policy of war on terror and USA government agreed to engage in dialogue with moderate Taliban. So, a trend of peace journalism is also seen in foreign bylines regarding coverage of war on terror. Peace journalism was found in both Hard and Soft news stories. In hard news stories peace frame is dominating as compared to the soft news stories. However, the difference is not significant. Hence it does not support our sub hypothesis that hard news stories frame more peace journalism as compared to war journalism a trend of peace journalism is seen in the overall coverage of war on terror in both hard and soft news. Regarding topics covered during the war on terror, most of the coverage is given to bomb blasts followed by people and society, coalition and suicide attacks. It supports our hypothesis that these newspapers cover bomb blasts more than the other topics. The chi square test is significant (73.037; p=.000). A lot of civil and security forces causalities took place due to series of bomb blasts throughout the length and breadth of Pakistan and media covered the bomb blast stories. After bomb blasts media paid more focus on the social and economic impact of war on terror on people and society. In all these topics the framing is mostly done in peace journalism because the approach of media here is towards amicable solution of the problem facing Pakistan in the form of loss of human capital and for this it avoided demonizing language. The coverage of Taliban as a friend or foe by Pakistani media is another area of the investigation because Taliban are party to the war on terror and war on terror is fought against them. It is necessary to know what image they have among the media i-e whether the media portrays them as a friend or foe. The result shows

that overall coverage of both the newspapers namely Nation and the Business Recorder framed Taliban more as foe (65.5%) than as friend (22.0%) and Neutral (12.4%)) (Chi square=479.431; p= .000). It endorsed the study of Siraj (2010) that how in the overall coverage, Taliban received more unfavorable rather than the favorable coverage.

Conclusion

Firstly, the frame of peace journalism is dominant as compared to the frame of war journalism. It shows the tilt of Pakistani print media towards peace frame regarding its coverage of war on terror and a step towards responsible journalism. Secondly, the study highlights that the media covered more stories of bomb blasts but framed in peace by reporting hidden effects of the war on the people and society and sufferings of the people due to human and material losses. The study also brought the image of Taliban in media as foe rather than friend. The first hypothesis that Pakistani print media covered war on terror in peace journalism as compared to war journalism is proved whereas third hypothesis that stories with Pakistani byline frame more peace journalism did not prove because other bylines also contributed peace journalism. The fourth hypothesis is also rejected because hard news stories did not contribute more peace journalism as compared to soft news stories. The hypothesis of more coverage of bomb blast stories is proved. The hypothesis of image of Taliban as foe in Pakistani print media is also proved.

Implications

The study has great implications for the civil and military policy makers of Pakistan. It is helpful for their future policy making regarding war on terror .It shows the prevailing trend in Pakistani press towards war on terror and predicts the future role of media in war on terror. The study is equally useful for USA because it will help them to know the peace orientated approach of Pakistani print media due to heavy losses suffered by Pakistan in the form of causalities and economy stagnancy. In this way it will help US in developing more comprehensive policy for Pakistan to counter this threat of terrorism. The study gives food for thought to the media experts at university level to launch peace journalism course at bachelor and master's level. It will give new approach to the future reporting journalists regarding reporting of conflict. This study provides the base for future studies regarding the effects of war and peace reporting on the opinion making of the public and formulating policy of the Government and media Moguls.

Recommendations of the Research

The study can be replicated by analyzing the content of electronic media of Pakistan. It will help to know that how electronic media is framing war on terror in war journalism or peace journalism. The present study used lexis-nexus to generate war on terror stories from two daily newspapers namely the Nation and Business Recorder because these two papers have subscription for lexis- nexus. The same study can be conducted on other English newspapers such as Dawn and the News. A valid study of application of war and peace journalism is possible by analyzing the content of Urdu dailies in Pakistan. They are in national language and read by large number of masses. Such analysis will bring that how Urdu press is framing war on terror that whether it is framing the issue in war journalism or peace journalism.

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Appendix

Categories and rules for war and peace journalism

War Journalism	Peace Journalism	Neutral
1. **Visible effects of war:** *Casualties, dead and wounded.* 2. **Differences oriented:** *Report leads to the conflict* 3. **Elite-oriented:** *Focuses on leaders and elites as actors and sources of information)* 4. **Here and now:** *Reporting on the war arena.* 5. **Dichotomy:** *Good guys and Bad gays or victim and villain* 6. **Two-party orientation:** *one party wins, one party loses* 7. **Partisan:** *Biased for one side in the conflict.* 8. **Zero-sum orientation:** *one goal: to win.* 9. **Uses of Demonizing language:** *Use of language such as vicious, brutal, barbaric, inhuman, tyrant, savage, ruthless, terrorist, extremist, fanatic, fundamentalist.*	1. **Invisible effects of war:** *Emotional trauma, damage to society, damage to property and culture)* 3. **Solution oriented:** *Report leads to solution to the conflict.* 2. **People-oriented:** *Focuses on common people as actors and sources of information.* 4. **Causes and consequences:** *Reporting on the causes and future effects of the conflict.* 5. **Avoid Labeling of good and bad guys** 6. **Multi-party orientation:** *gives voice to many parties involved in conflict* 7. **Non-partisan** (Neutral, not taking sides) 8. **Win–win orientation:** *Many goals and issues, solution-oriented.* 9. **Avoid demonizing language:** *Report on more precise descriptions, titles or name that the people give themselves.*	*Story that contains non of the two approaches, i.e., war and peace Journalism in the paragraph/s or number of neutral values in a story are greater than the war and peace approaches, the story will be coded as neutral*