# ANALYSIS OF ELITE PRESS DURING WAR AND PEACE TIMES BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN: A PEACE JOURNALISM PERSPECTIVE

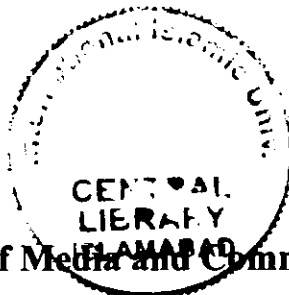Researcher

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# Analysis of Elite Press During War and Peace Times Between India and Pakistan: A Peace Journalism Perspective

By

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**Registration # 13-FSS/PHDMC/F16**

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctorate in Philosophy

In Media and Communication Studies

in the

Department of Media and Communication Studies

Faculty of Social Sciences

**International Islamic University**

**Islamabad**

**NOV 2019**

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# DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled "Analysis of Elite Press During War and Peace Times Between India and Pakistan: A Peace Journalism Perspective " was undertaken under the supervision of Dr. Shabir Hussain. The entire work was undertaken and submitted as partial requirement for the degree of Ph.D. (Media and Communication Studies).

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# ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Manager, Embassy of The United States of America, Pakistan, who helped me during retrieval of data from Nexis.com. He used all of his abilities and worked for late hours with me during retrieving data.

Nobody has been more important to me in the pursuit of this study than my brother Mr. Tanzeel-ur-Rehman, whose love and guidance was with me in whatever I pursue. He is the ultimate role model. Most importantly, I wish to thank my loving and supportive wife, who provides unending inspiration.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank all of my office colleagues and university supporting staff for their support in their respective field specially Mr. Tahir Mehmood.

# DEDICATION

I am dedicating this thesis to my beloved father, Ch. Nawazish Ali Waraich, Whose love for me knew no bounds and, who taught me the value of hard work. Who has meant and continue to mean so much to me. Although he is no longer of this world, his memories continue to regulate my life. Thank you so much "ABBU", You will always be in my heart.

Last, I would like to dedicate this thesis to all Muslims of Indian occupied Kashmir, who are fighting for their freedom. May Allah give you reward

Amen.

# Certification

Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled "Analysis of Elite Press during War and Peace Times between India and Pakistan: A Peace Journalism Perspective" submitted by Haseeb ur Rehman, Registration # 13-FSS/PHDMC/F16, have been found satisfactory for the requirements of the degree of Ph.D. Media and Communication Studies.

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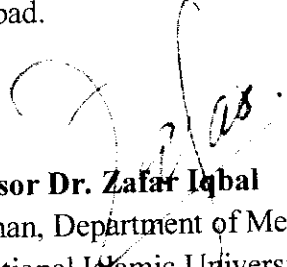
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# ABSTRACT

In this study, the researcher has contently analyzed the prevalence of war and peace journalism in the elite press of India, Pakistan and UK on the reporting on three war and three peace events in the past twenty years between India and Pakistan. The data was collected by operationalizing the war and peace journalism model as developed by Johan Galtung. The three war events included the Kargil conflict (1999), Mumbai attacks (2008) and the uprising in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir region from 2016-2018 and the three peace events included the Lahore Declaration (1997), Agra Summit (2001) and Confidence Building Measures (2011-2012). The three elite newspapers included *Dawn* (Pakistan), *The Hindu* (India) and *The Guardian* (UK). The data was obtained through lexis-nexus database. The total number of stories in the final sample was 3889, which included both news reports and opinion pieces. The researcher found that selected press mainly reported the six events through war journalism approach. Interestingly, the three warring events got more war journalism stories as compared to the peace events. Unlike the existing literature, the researcher 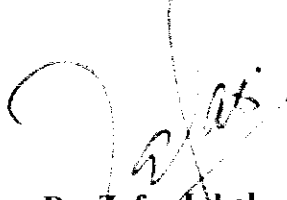found that the peace events were also reported in war journalism approach. The economic confidence building measures (CBMs) on the other hand got equal distribution of war and peace journalism. The researcher found that those peace events that occur in highly politicized and elitist environments are also reported in war journalism approach. Quite consistent with the existing scholarship, the researcher also found that opinion pieces were more tilted towards peace journalism as compared to the news reports that are usually developed in the hastiness of journalistic culture. The researcher concludes that the nature of war and peace journalism approach is linked with the nature of an event. If an event involves a direct confrontation between rival groups, the national media is bound to produce more war journalism. If the level of intensity of a conflict decreases,

opportunity for peace journalism increases. Finally, the researcher found that unlike the war journalism approach, which is often conducted by the media professional as a deliberate act, the occurrence of peace journalism is devoid of any agency. While the war journalism indictors were active and specifically chosen by the media professionals to report on certain events, the peace journalism indictors were of mild nature that can be treated as practices imbibed with journalistic ethics rather than an active agential duty by journalists to promote peace and harmony between India and Pakistan.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

| CONTENTS | PAGE |
|---|---|

# LIST OF TABLES

| CONTENTS | PAGE |
|---|---|

**Chapter 1**

# INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, the researcher has contently analyzed one elite newspaper from Pakistan, India and UK on the reporting of three major violent events including Kargil war (1999), Mumbai attacks (2008) and recent Kashmir uprising (2016) and three major peace events including Lahore declaration (1997), Agra summit 2001 and the economic CBMs in 2012 between India and Pakistan. The researcher applied the peace journalism approach as developed by Johan Galtung to analyze the key strategic themes in *Dawn, The Hindu* and *The Guardian*. The dissertation discusses how events of different nature like having warring and peace undertones are reported in the selected newspapers. It sheds light that how the considerations like the foreign policy, patriotism and ideological orientations of press are influencing media discourse and identifies shifts (if any) in the policies of the three newspapers over a period of time. Since media are important institutions that can help cultivate greater understanding between people and also have the potential to inflame conflicts (Galtung, 2006), this study has been design to investigate the conflict escalatory and de-escalatory potential of Indo-Pak press as well media of a non-contending country (UK). Before discussing these issues in detail, it is essential to briefly shed light on the important aspects of Indo-Pak relations over a period of time for a proper perspective.

## 1.1 Background of Indo-Pak Relations

Both Hindus and Muslims lived together in India for centuries. Despite religious differences, both the communities share a common culture, spoke same languages and

honored similar societal norms. When the British invaded India and deposed the Muslim rulers, both the communities jointly fought the war of independence. However, they could not withstand the might of rising British Empire and India was made a colony in the aftermath of 1857 war.

During the British rule, the Muslims of sub-continent suffered the worst victim of vengeance (Hamid, 2009). Since in the wake of British invasion, Muslims were deprived of the political rule in India, the colonial masters knew the latter would resist and hence started a discriminatory attitude towards them. On the other, The Hindu leaders were quick to decipher the situation and started making compromises with the British. The subsequent reforms in India under the colonial rule were mainly devised to uplift The Hindu community and provided them opportunities in the governmental affairs. The discriminatory attitude towards Muslims community offended the educated Muslims leaders and they started efforts to pressurize the Raj to provide equal opportunities to the Muslims. Since the establishment of All Pakistan Muslim in 1906, the Muslims were able to raise their voices against the injustices (Gnguly, 2009).

In the subsequent years, differences between the Hindu and Muslim leaders widened on important political and administrative issues that India faced under the British Raj. By 1930s, the Muslims of sub-continent were able to organize themselves strongly against the Congress leaders of Hindu community and they started demanding a separate homeland due to strong ideological differences on issues pertaining to public and private life (Hamid, 2009; Gnguly, 2009). During the Second War World, the British Raj realized that a separate homeland for Muslims was inevitable. Soon after the war, the colonial representative tried to ditch differences

2

between the two communities but to of no avail. On August 14, 1947, the Indian Viceroy announced dividing India into two separate states Pakistan for the Muslim population and India for the Hindu population.

However, the division of India in two separate states did not bode well for peace and harmony between the two communities. Alongside the historical tension, a number of political and administrative mistakes by the British colonial masters rendered the region into a state of perpetual tension (Pant, 2012).

Relations between India and Pakistan have been complex and largely remained hostile due to a number of historical and political events. The relationships between the two have been defined by the violence that erupted during the partition time in 1947, the question of accession of princely states with either of the states, the subsequent wars fought between the two nations and most recently the issues of water distribution, strategic position of Afghanistan and challenges associated with bilateral trade and economic cooperation (Pant, 2012; Hamid, 2009; Gnguly, 2009).

The Indo-Pak partition resulted in the killings of about one million innocent people alongside the displacement of up to 12.5 million people (Rabasa, 2009). Though soon after their independence both India and Pakistan established diplomatic relations but the violent saga of partition and the emerging territorial disputes overshadowed their bilateral relationship. As of now, the two countries have fought three major wars, one undeclared war on the Kargil sector and have been remained involved in many armed skirmishes and military standoffs. For example, The 2001 Indian Parliament attack almost brought the two nations to the brink of a nuclear war (Ganguly, 2008). The Samjhauta Express bombings in 2007 in which 68 innocent

3

civilians killed (majority of them were Pakistani) was another crucial point in the bilateral relations (Hamid, 2009). Additionally, the 2008 Mumbai attacks resulted in a severe blow to the ongoing India-Pakistan peace talks (Pant, 2012). In the 2016 Pathankot attack, bilateral relations nosedived to the lowest ebb in the wake of the killings 19 Indian Army soldiers (Nabeel et al, 2016). Indian government claimed that the Pakistani-sponsored jihadist groups had orchestrated these deadly attacks.

Pakistan denied its involvement and claimed that the attack was due to local reaction to the unrest in the Kashmir and because of the large number of military force deployed by the Indian government against the Kashmir people who were demanding freedom from India (Riedel, 2008). The ongoing confrontation and the increased nationalistic rhetoric on both sides has resulted in the collapse of bilateral relations with little expectation that these will recover anytime soon in the future (Kumar & Semetko, 2018; Pant & Lidarev, 2018).

On the other hand, numerous attempts were made to bring betterment in relationship notably, the Shimla summit, the Agra summit and the Lahore summit (Ashraf, 2015; Gehlot & Satsangi, 2004; Wirsing, 2016). Many confidence-building measures such as the ceasefire agreement in 2003 and the Delhi–Lahore Bus service were successful in de-escalating tensions between India and Pakistan (Bose, 1999; Ghosh, 2009). However, these efforts have been impeded by the geo-strategic rivalry between India and Pakistan. According to a BBC World Service poll, conducted in 2017, only five percent of Indians view Pakistan's influence positively with 85 percent expressing a negative view while the 11 percent of 71Pakistanis view India's influence positively, with 62 percent expressing a negative view (BBC,

4

2017). Below follows a detailed discussion on the important factors that have shaped up the Indo-Pak relations as these are right now.

## 1.2 Root Causes of Hostile Relations between Pakistan and India

While many researchers have analyzed the 79 main reasons of tension between Pakistan and India, here is a brief discussion on some of the most important issues.

### 1.2.1 Plight of Refugees after the Partition

As many as one million people of different religions were killed in the communal riots following the partition of British India(Akbar, 1988). Likewise, more than 12 millions of people emigrated between the two countries which is considered as one of the most colossal transfers of population in the modern era (Khan, 2017; Pandey, 1992). Both countries accused each other of not providing adequate security to the minorities emigrating through their territories. These suspicions and possible collusions led to increased tensions between the two newly-born countries (Roy, 2012).

### 1.2.2 Accession of Princely States

According to the British plan for the partition of British India, all the 680 princely states were allowed to decide which of the two countries to join (Metcalf & Metcalf, 2006).

Except a few, most of the princely states where Hindu's were in majority joined India whereas the Muslim Majority states acceded to Pakistan (Lapierre & Collins, 2017). However, the decisions of some of the princely-states could not be done simply according to this rule and the subsequent developments would shape the India-Pakistan relationship in coming years (Menon, 1985). Here is a brief discussion on the

5

two most controversial accession decisions that have strained the Indo-Pak relations

for decades

## a. Jonagarh State

Soon after the partition plan, the issue of accession of Junagadh to either Pakistan

and India came to the surface (Ali, 1967). Junagadh state situated on the south-

western end of Gujarat, with the dynasties of Manavadar, Mangrol and Babriawad

(Prasad, 2017). It was not contagious to Pakistan. The state had an overwhelming

Hindu population, which constituted more than 80 percent of its citizens, while its

ruler, Nawab Mahabat Khan, was a Muslim. On August 15, 1947, Mahabat Khan

acceded to Pakistan. (Bangash, 2015). Pakistan confirmed the accession on 15

September 1947. India did not accept the accession as legitimate. The point of view of

the Indian Government was that Junagadh was not contiguous to Pakistan, that *The*

*Hindu* majority belongs to Junagadh wanted it to be a part of India, and that the state

was surrounded by Indian Territory on three sides.

Both India and Pakistan were unable to resolve this issue amicably. Sardar Patel,

who was the India's Home Minister, urged that if Junagadh was allowed to go to

Pakistan, then communal unrest would be created across Gujarat.. The government of

India gave Pakistan time to void the accession and hold a plebiscite in Junagarh to

pre-empt any violence in Gujarat (Bangash, 2015; Puri, 1995). The Indian

government later invaded the state and on 26 October 1947, the Nawab of Junagadh

and his family fled to Pakistan following clashes with Indian troops. On 7 November,

Junagadh's court, facing collapse, invited the Government of India to take over the

State's administration. The Dewan of Junagadh, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, the father of

the more famous Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, decided to invite the Government of India to

intervene and wrote a letter to Mr. Buch, the Regional Commissioner of Saurashtra in the Government of India to this effect (Oguadinma, 2016). The Government of Pakistan protested. The Government of India rejected the protests of Pakistan and accepted the invitation of the Dewan to intervene (Cloughley, 2016). Indian troops occupied Junagadh on 9 November 1947 (Afraz, 1989). In February 1948, a plebiscite was held and majority voted for accession to India (Thokchom, 2012).

### b. Kashmir Conflict

The Kashmir conflict, which is often referred to as the bleeding ground of South Asia is the major conflict between India and Pakistan which has influenced the bilateral relations to a great deal. Kashmir was a Muslim-majority princely state, ruled by a Hindu king, Maharaja Hari Singh(Rai, 2004). At the time of the partition of India, Maharaja Hari Singh, the ruler of the state, preferred to remain independent and did not want to join either the Union of India or the Dominion of Pakistan(Schofield, 2000). He wanted both India and Pakistan to recognize his princely state as an independent neutral country. However the Muslim majority population resisted the move and protested the Maharaja decision. This offended the maharaja and he started persecution of the Kashmiri Muslims. Pakistan readied its armed volunteers to help the Kashmiri in response to Maharajah's attempt of Muslim's genocide in the Kashmir state (Trial et al., 2013).

The Pakistani sponsored paramilitary forces entered Kashmir in October 1947 under the code name "Operation Gulmarg" to seize Kashmir (Barua, 2011; Nawaz, 2008; Schofield, 2000). They reached and took over Baramulla. (Oguadinma, 2016). Rather than advancing towards Sirinagar, which was just at a distance of 50 KM and taking control of its airbase, they prolonged their stay and remained there for

7

many days. Kashmir's Security forces of Kashmir turned out to be too ill-equipped and weak to fight. The Maharaja of Kashmir had fear that this attack would result in accession to Pakistan so he requested India to send their troops to protect his rule. Indian Prime Minister Nehru wanted to give a positive gesture, but Lord Mountbatten, the Governor General of India, advised the Maharaja to accede to India before India could send its troops (Abdullah, 1965). The accession was signed by The Maharaja on October 26, 1947, which was accepted by the Indian Governor General on October 27, 1947 (Bajwa, 2003). With this princely state of Jammu and Kashmir became a part of Dominion of India as per the Indian Independence Act 1947 passed by the British parliament (Diwan, 1953).

While the Pakistani paramilitary forces were near to the Srinagar, Indian soldiers were airlifted from Delhi and arrived at Srinagar on October 27, 1947. After weeks of intense fighting between Pakistan and India, Pakistani leaders and the Indian Prime Minister Nehru declared a ceasefire and sought U.N. arbitration with the promise of a plebiscite (Wani & Suwirta, 2016). The UN passed two resolutions but these could not be acted upon due to the intransigence of India. By 1957, northwestern part of Kashmir was fully occupied by Pakistan, becoming Azad state of Jammu and Kashmir (Pakistan-administered/ Pakistan Occupied Kashmir) and remaining parts were occupied by the Indian forces (Jalal, 1990). China got control of Aksai Chin in 1962 ( Anand, 2012). Operation Meghdoot was launched by India in 1984 and India captured around the eighty percent of the entire Siachen Glacier, which Pakistan retaliated in 1999, but of no avail (Baghel & Nüsser, 2015; Nair, 2009).

The Pakistani stance on Kashmir issue is UN-centric. It maintains that Kashmiris should be given the right to self-determination through a plebiscite. Whereas Indian

government was of the view that after signing accession by Maharaja, Now Kashmir became part of India. This divergence of opinion has resulted in three wars between them and bilateral ties remained sever for most of the times since their independence (Khan, 2017). The state of Jammu and Kashmir is divided between the two countries by the Line of Control (LoC), which demarcates the ceasefire line first agreed in the 1947 and then modified in 1972 according to the as per Simla Agreement (Bremner, 1999).

## 1.2.3 Wars between India and Pakistan

### a. War of 1948

The first war between India and Pakistan started in October 1947 when Pakistan sent its paramilitary forces to the Kashmir region who were fighting against the Maharaja Hari Singh' decision of accession with India as against the dictates of the accession of princely states (Sisson & Rose, 1991). At the time of the partition of the Indian subcontinent, the State of Jammu and Kashmir was one of the 564 princely states that had to choose either joining with India or Pakistan in accordance with the twin principles of geographical contiguity and self-determination (Behera, 2007). Though Kashmir had a clear Muslim majority as around 77 percent of the total population were Muslims according to the 1941 census ( Nandy, 2016) and had a long border with Pakistan, the Maharaja refused to join Pakistan To safeguard his rule from the Kashmiri fighters, the Maharaja requested the assistance of the Indian armed forces in lieu of acceding to India. However, there is considerable debate among historians on the accurate timing between when the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir signed the document of accession and when the Indian army moved into the state. One group of historians believes the Maharaja signed the

9

agreement under duress, the other group believes the decision was made voluntarily by him (Hussain, 2009).

While concerned with the developments in the Kashmir region, Indian Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru approached United Nations and accepted holding of UN-administered plebiscite for deciding the final status of Kashmir as part of the agreement for ceasefire with Pakistan in 1948(Schofield, 2000). The UN passed a resolution that "both India and Pakistan desire that the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite" (UNSC, 21 April 1948). On 13 August 1948, UNSC adopted another resolution that also states that future status of the state Jammu and Kashmir will be determined in accordance to the will of the people of the state(UNSC, 13 August 1948). However, these resolutions and commitments were never acted upon and even after seven decades, the stalemate continues.

**b. The 1965 War**

India and Pakistan fought the second war in 1965. This war is attributed to two factors: First, the border skirmishes in the Runn of Kutch in April 1965 when Indian troops penetrated into Pakistani side and secondly, the operation Gibraltar which Pakistan army launched to support 'freedom struggle' in Indian controlled Kashmir in August 1965. According to an Indian author, Pakistani army resorted to war because it wanted to wrest Kashmir from the Indian control(Ganguly, 1990). However, instead of limiting the war to Kashmir, India opened up international border near Lahore and Sialkot, which resulted in a full-scale war between the two countries. By September 22, 1965, both sides agreed to a UN mandated ceasefire. The United Nations Security Council unanimously passed a resolution on 20 September, calling for a cessation of

10

hostilities(Ganguly, 1990). On January 10, 1966, Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahdaur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan signed an agreement at Tashkent (Uzbekistan) agreeing to withdraw to the pre-August lines.

**c. 1971 War**

This war started in March 1971 when a civil war erupted in the East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) due to the lopsided policies of ruler mainly hailing from the West Pakistan now the Pakistan(Palit, 2012). The military ruler of Pakistan General Yahya Khan ordered action against the suspected 'Bengali separatist' (LaPorte, 1972; Murphy & Tamana, 2010). India took this opportunity against the arch rival and intervened in the civil war between the two parts of Pakistan and actively supported the Bengali separatists who wanted separation from the West Pakistan (Ayoob, 1985). On their request, India launched a land, air and sea assault on East Pakistan and in just 13 days, she was able to force Pakistan army to surrender at Dhaka, and took 90,000 soldiers as war Prisoners (Zürcher, 1996). East Pakistan turned into an independent country of Bangladesh on 16 December, 1971 (Bose, 2005). Hostilities between India and Pakistan continued till July 1972 when both the countries signed Shimla Agreement and vowed to settle their differences through peaceful means (Haqqani, 2003).

**1.2.4 Afghanistan**

Afghanistan is the other major source of friction between India and Pakistan in the recent strategic scenario in the South Asia. Both the two countries are engaged in tug of war to exert influence on the affairs happening in Afghanistan. Pakistan was a major player when the Taliban regime was ruling the country. However, after their fall after the 9/11 incidents, India got prominence in the eyes of international

community and gave her a say in the Afghanistan affairs. Pakistan has long accused India of using Afghanistan as a base to create problems for Pakistan like for example support for the separatists in the Baluchistan province and involvement in the terror activities inside Pakistan. India denies these accusations and claims she is assisting Afghanistan in the development projects. India believes through a strategic position in Afghanistan, it can significantly influence and pressurize Pakistan on its Kashmir issue. At present, Pakistan is finding itself in a fix, as it has not devised a new policy role for herself in the scenario in which India and Afghanistan are closing together and in which Pakistan has to deal with a defiant Afghanistan (Haqqani, 2018).

### 1.2.5 Water Resources

Water is the other contentious issue between India and Pakistan, which has created escalation in the bilateral relations. The two countries disagree over the use of the water resources flowing down through the rivers that originate in the Indian administered Kashmir and run into the Indus river basin in Pakistan. The use of the water is governed by the 1960 Indus Water Treaty under which India was granted the use of water from three eastern rivers, and Pakistan the use of three western rivers. Pakistan criticizes India for unfairly diverting water with the upstream construction of barrages and dams (Haqqani, 2018). India denies the charge. Pakistan has engaged World Bank as an arbitrator in which the later has upheld the Indian decision.

The water distribution problem between India and Pakistan is fueling a complicated relationship between these two neighbors. In recent years the trouble of water resources has taken the center-stage. Though both sides consider the Indus Treaty as a fair and equitable distribution of Indus water resources with enough room for both of them to get the terms altered, the situation on the ground is different. The

12

treaty does not suggest that the water usage is exclusive to either country. India for instance can use the water in western rivers for non-consumptive requirements such as irrigation, storage, and electricity generation. The Indus Water Treaty does not allow any control structures to interfere and store water beyond what it permits in its exceptions, which are provided. Despite fighting four wars both side honored this treaty. But is it changing now, because in last three years India has fast tracked hydro power projects of 15$ billion in Indian administrated Kashmir where all the western rivers flow through. But critics in Pakistan blame India for limiting the flow of water and data across the border. Pakistan opposes the project and also criticizes India for delaying their expert's inspections while India on the other hand says that it is not contravening the treaty. How crucial the water in for the both countries, India harnesses significant hydroelectricity from the region and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi also said that Indian administrated Kashmir can provide the enough electricity to the whole country. Pakistan is also heavily dependent on this water for its agriculture-based economy. Pakistani Prime minister Imran khan has even asked the Diaspora to donate towards the construction of dams, one them which falls in this region. To coup with the country increasing water requirements Pakistan is not in position to allow anyone to use their waters. These waters are the lifelines of Pakistan as its 60 percent of GDP depends on agriculture. Factors such as population growth and global warming have also raised questions on whether the treaty should be revisited. The combined population of India and Pakistan has more than tripled from 485 million in 1961when the treaty was signed, to more than 1.5 billion in 2018 raising the demand for the waters. Environmentalists say that the climate change could alter the situation, melting glaciers on the mountains of Tibet could influence the water supply. There are also some concerns that the region could become

increasingly prone to drought and the Indus could become a seasonal river by 2040. In the South Asian regions, the water table has sunk the fastest perhaps. They have depleted the fastest anywhere in the world. Stress on water resources is there everywhere especially in the south Asian regions. If the two sides cooperate with each other then there will better use of water resources and better preparedness for the effects of water scarcity of water among the two countries. Better management of water resources can overcome the possibility of becoming an instrument of conflict between the two nuclear powers.

Since in this study, the researcher is interested in the comparative analysis of the press coverage of three deadly and three peace-oriented events between Pakistan and India in the last 20 years, so the following events have been selected.

**1.2.6 Kargil War (1999)**

The Kargil War was an armed conflict between India and Pakistan that took place between May and July 1999 in the Kargil district of Kashmir and elsewhere along the Line of Control (LOC) (Swami, 2000). In India, the conflict is also referred to as Operation Vijay which was the name of the Indian operation to clear the Kargil sector (Lambeth, 2012). The immediate cause of this war was the occupation by the Kashmiri fighters of the highland in the Kargil sector, which was under the control of Indian forces. During the initial stages of the war, Pakistani government blamed the fighting entirely on the independent Kashmiri militants, but later revelations showed involvement of Pakistani paramilitary forces (Qadir, 2002). India retaliated with full military power and recaptured a majority of the positions on the Indian side of the LOC. After international diplomatic opposition, the Pakistani forces withdrew from the Kargil area. Kargil war dealt a deathblow to the India-Pak peace process. In this

study, the researcher is investigating how the daily *Dawn*, *The Hindu* and *The Guardian* have reported this conflict while applying the war and peace journalism classification.

### 1.2.7 The Mumbai Attacks (2008)

The 2008 Mumbai attacks occurred in the waning months of 2008 when a group of militants carried out a series of shooting and bombing attacks that lasted for four days across Mumbai ( Iqbal, 2015). The attacks began on 26 November and lasted till 29 November 2008. As many as164 people were killed and 308 were wounded in the attacks ( Agrawal, & Rao, 2011; Rabasa, 2009). These attacks received global condemnation. Pakistan also condemned these attacks but the Indian government blamed Pakistan for her role in it. Indian media was successful in convincing the global community about the hand of Pakistani security forces. The joint investigations by the two countries later found that certain splinter groups were involved with no backing of the Pakistani government. But the attacks jolted the already weak relations between Pakistan and India and almost brought the two countries to the brink of the fourth major war. In this study, the researcher is investigating how the daily *Dawn*, *The Hindu* and *The Guardian* have reported this conflict while applying the war and peace journalism classification. The researcher analyzes what themes and frames get prominence in the media reportage of this conflict.

### 1.2.8 Kashmir Uprising (2016-2018)

The 2016–18 unrest in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir started after the death of young Kashmiri militant leader Burhan Wani. His death led to a to a sequence of violent and aggressive protests in the Indian occupied Jammu and Kashmir. Burhan Wani, was killed by the Indian forces on July 8, 2016. After the

15

death of Wani, protests against India were started in all ten districts of the Indian administered Kashmir and on 15 July, Indian Government imposed curfew in all ten districts and Government had suspended Mobile services. Protesters violated curfew with attacks on public properties and security forces. Mobile services were suspended by the government. Curfew remains imposed for 53 consecutive days that was than lifted on last day of August. In few areas curfew has to be re-imposed in the very next day. Police and paramilitary forces of India used tear gas shells, pellet guns, rubber bullets, and assault rifles, that resulted in deaths of around 90 civilians and more then 15,000 civilians were injured. Due to pallet guns, many civilians got blind. Pakistan reacted strongly to these attacks on civilians and protested to the world community. Pakistani Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif expressed his grief on the killing of Burhan Wani and condemned the use of force against the unarmed people of Kashmir by Indian authorities. The UN secretary general Ban Ki Moon also expressed his concerns about the tense situation after the death of Wani and also regrets the human losses in the clashes. His death got so much attention on social media and protests erupts in the whole valley of Kashmir. Pakistan sees excesses against the Kashmiri people as violations of their human rights and has been vocal in condemning the Indian atrocities. In this study, the researcher is investigating how the daily *Dawn*, *The Hindu* and *The Guardian* have reported this conflict while applying the war and peace journalism classification. The researcher analyzes what themes and frames get prominence in the media reportage of this conflict.

### 1.2.9 The Peace Events

Under this heading, the following three peace events have been selected for analysis in this dissertation.

### 1.2.10 Lahore Declaration (1999)

The Lahore Declaration was a bilateral agreement between India and Pakistan, which was signed on 21 February 1999 at the conclusion of a historic summit in Lahore, and ratified by the parliaments of both countries the same year (Agrawal, 2018; Mathur, 2017; Michael, 2018).The initiative for Lahore Declaration was taken by Pakistan in 1997 when it offered No-War Pact to Indian prime minister Gujral of India and both the leaders agreed on to find the ways to low the tension between two countries. However steps for peace making stopped for some due to the fall of Gujral government in November 1997. In the third month of 1998, the Hindu nationalist right wing party Bharti Janta party won the elections and declared their leader Attal Bihari Vajpayee as Indian prime minister. Nawaz Sharif Prime Minister of Pakistan sent a message to Vajpayee and greets him for becoming prime minister. Both the countries leaders have the forward approach for bi-literal relations and due to rights backgrounds both leaders found the space for peace making initiatives and step forward to normalize the relations which resulted in the resumption of bi-literal dialogues.

The nuclear test which were conducted by both the countries in 1998, created the alarming situation, for the whole world. The world leaders also suggested to both countries to solve their problems and issues with dialogues while aware them that war will not serve the interests of both countries. On July 1998 in the SAARC conference held in Colombo, Pakistan prime minister called on Indian prime on the side line of conference and urged Mr. Vajpayee to start a fruitful process of dialogue to normalize the relations between India and Pakistan. Both the countries agreed upon to start the process of dialogues and in New York both the countries formally agreed to start the process on secretaries' level while the prime issues of peace, were security and

17

Kashmir. In an interview to Indian media Pakistani prime minister expressed his deep desire to welcome Indian prime minister on inaugural ceremony of bus service which was started between the Delhi and Lahore with the agreement of both countries as peace gesture and the response from the Indian prime minister was also positive and he agreed to come to Lahore.

On 20<sup>th</sup> February 1999 the Indian prime minister visited Lahore formally launch of bus services which was termed a historic visit. He was the first prime minister of India who visited Pakistan after the visit of Rajeev Ghandi visit in 1989. This visit was praised by both countries and the world leaders compared it with the visit of President Nixon to china and Gorbachove visit wall of Berlin in 1989.

Under the terms of the treaty, both countries vowed to peacefully resolve all their bilateral issues including the disputed Jammu and Kashmir region. The two sides reached to a mutual understanding towards the development of atomic arsenals and to avoid accidental and unauthorized operational use of nuclear weapons. The Lahore Declaration brought added responsibility to both nations' leadership towards avoiding nuclear race, as well as both non-conventional and conventional conflicts.

The Lahore Declaration signaled a major breakthrough in overcoming the historically strained bilateral relations between the two nations in the aftermath of the publicly performed atomic tests carried out by both nations in May 1998. Widely popular in the public circles in Pakistan and hailed by the international community, the relations would soon lose impetus with the outbreak of the controversial Kargil debacle in May 1999. In this study, the researcher is investigating how *Dawn*, *The Hindu* and *The Guardian* have reported the Lahore Declaration while applying the

war and peace journalism classification. The researcher analyzes what themes and frames get prominence in the media reportage of this conflict.

**1.2.11 Agra Summit (2001)**

The Agra summit was a historic two-day summit meeting between India and Pakistan, which lasted from 14–16 July 2001. It was organized with the aim of resolving long-standing issues between India and Pakistan. At this meeting, a proposal was made to drastically reduce nuclear arsenals, and address the outstanding issues including the Kashmir dispute, and cross-border terrorism. The two archrivals and nuclear powers of South Asia came to negotiating table due to international pressure and domestic compulsions. Pervez Musharraf Chief executive of Pakistan arranged referendum and became President in order to look taller in India. Furthermore, he got legitimacy in Pakistan because of his frank, direct and vocal nature which was highlighted by free Indian media. The talks lasted for twice the scheduled time and following this the release of a joint nine-point "Agra Declaration" was repeatedly put off. The talks, which covered many bilateral issues, concentrated on the Kashmir dispute. Pakistan insisted that Kashmir is the core issue while India wants a more broad based dialogue linking "cross-border terrorism" in the valley with it. The two countries resolved to start tangible changes in confrontational politics of the region.

However, the negotiations broke down and the process collapsed even before work could be done on it. According to Kampani (2002) there were three major reasons for the Indian government's reluctance in accepting Pakistan's assurances at face value. First, the Vajpayee government did not trust President Pervez Musharraf and the establishment that he represents in Delhi. In India alone, it was widely felt

19

that it was Musharraf who sabotaged joint peace efforts of Pakistan Prime Minister

Nawaz Sharif and Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee at the Lahore Summit

in 1999. Second, India was not satisfied with Pakistan's pledge to halt cross-border

infiltrations; thirdly the Indian government had plans for holding regional elections in

Indian Kashmir in October 2002. Similarly, Indian leadership considered Musharraf's

refusal to give up support to the cross-border insurgency in Kashmir as the reason

behind the failure of the Agra Summit in June 2001. In this study, the researcher is

investigating how *Dawn*, *The Hindu* and *The Guardian* have reported this conflict

while applying the war and peace journalism classification. The researcher analyzes

what themes and frames get prominence in the media reportage of this conflict.

### 1.2.12 Confidence Buildings Measures 2012

Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) are the initiatives undertaken by rival

states to reduce hostility and to enhance the level of trust by addressing mutual

concerns. CBMs are not new in South Asian strategic environment, but have been in

practice for years. In 2012, the rival governments agreed on a slew of

recommendations to expand people-to-people contacts and bolster strategic trust

between the two neighbors. Since the beginning of 2012 the prospects of

establishment of economic relations with India have been debated in Pakistan. Over

this period a number of CBMs were initiated, starting with the granting of Most

Favored Nation (MFN) status to India, easing non-tariff barriers like liberalization of

the visa regime, opening the doors to investment, developing physical infrastructure,

and enhancing customs cooperation (Ramzan, 2012). Both states also exchanged list

of prisoners with each other and agreed to inform one another in case of missile tests

and work for safer use of nuclear energy. Pakistani cricket team visited India and was

20

warmly received. All these developments paved way for bringing some normalcy to the Indo-Pak ties. In this study, the researcher is investigating how the daily *Dawn*, *The Hindu* and *The Guardian* have reported this conflict while applying the peace journalism classification. The researcher analyzes what themes and frames get prominence in the media reportage of this conflict.

## 1.3 Profiles of the Selected Newspaper

Important features of the selected newspapers for this dissertation are presented below.

### 1.3.1 Profile of *Dawn*

Daily *Dawn* is the Pakistan's oldest and widely read English language newspaper. It is the flagship newspaper of Dawn Group of Newspapers, published by the Pakistan Herald Publications. The group owns the Herald, a monthly magazine, Spider, an information technology magazine and Aurora, an advertising, marketing and media magazine. It was founded by the founder of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in Delhi, India, on 26 October 1941 as a mouthpiece for the Muslim League. Daily *Dawn* has offices in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. The weekday circulation of *Dawn* is over one million. The CEO of *Dawn* group is Hameed Haroon, and the current editor of *Dawn* is Zaffar Abbas. *Dawn* is considered an agenda-setter for the English press in Pakistan. *Dawn* is a progressive, elitist and liberal newspaper. In this study, the researcher will investigate the nature and frequency of war and peace journalism while reporting on the three war and peace events between Pakistan and India.

### 1.3.2 Profile of *The Hindu*

*The Hindu* is an Indian daily newspaper, headquartered at Chennai. It was started as a weekly in 1878 and became a daily in 1889. It is one of the two Indian newspapers of record and the second most circulated English-language newspaper in India, after *The Times of India* with average qualifying sales of 1.21 million copies. *The Hindu* has its largest base of circulation in southern India. Kasturi and Sons Ltd was a family held company, which owned newspapers and other publications in *The Hindu* Group. 16000 workers were employed by the newspaper in 2010. Subscription and advertising were the main sources of income. *The Hindu* became, in 1995, the first Indian newspaper to offer an online edition. It is published from 21 locations across 11 states. In this study, the researcher will investigate the nature and frequency of war and peace journalism.

### 1.3.3 Profile of *The Guardian*

*The Guardian*, a British daily newspaper, was known as *Manchester Guardian* from 1821 until 1959. It is part of *The Guardian* Media Group, owned by the *Scott Trust*. The *Scott Trust* became a limited company in 2008, with a constitution to maintain the same protections for *The Guardian*. The paper's readership is generally on the mainstream left of British political opinion. The newspaper's reputation as a platform for liberal and left wing editorial has led to the use of the *"Guardian* reader". *The Guardian's* print edition had an average daily circulation of roughly 162,000 copies in the country. Since 2018 it has been published in tabloid format. The newspaper has an online UK edition as well as two international websites, *Guardian Australia* (founded in 2013) and *Guardian US* (founded in 2011). The newspaper's online edition was the fifth most widely read in the world in October

2014, with over 42.6 million readers. Its combined print and online editions reach nearly 9 million British readers. In this study, the researcher will investigate the nature and frequency of war and peace journalism.

## 1.4 Problem Statement

Mass media are often described as double-edged weapons. They can be utilized for forging peace and harmony among nations and at the same time they can become horrific weapons of destruction (Howard, 2003). According to Hemer and Tufte (2005) although media cannot solve every problem, it can contribute to problem solving. For example, during the Bosnia's civil war, the media's provision of public forums for communication and dialogue have proved useful in conflict management and the peace settlement processes. This type of journalism is referred to as peace journalism. Conversely, the media can also serve as a destructive agent, as an opponent of the peace process, by promoting hatred, fear and violence: this type of journalism is referred to in this thesis as 'war journalism'. Examples of war journalism include most of the western media reporting of the events of 9/11, the Iraq war and the war in Afghanistan and the Pakistan media reporting of Taliban conflict (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005; Hussain and Siraj, 2018).

Keeping in view the potential of media as escalatory or de-escalatory agents, it is important to investigate its role in the Indo-Pak conflict. Both India and Pakistan inhabited by about one-sixth of humanity and are engaged in deadly confrontation since independence. What is the role of media in Indo-Pak rivalry? Do the media contributing to escalation or playing a more constructive role? Do the media follow consistent strategies during violent and peace events or they remain susceptible to factors like patriotism, war and peace, public pressure, civil society etc.

## 1.5 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are:

- To analyze the war and peace journalism frames in the selected newspapers during the reportage of violent and peace events.

- To determine the extent to which the selected newspapers apply war-oriented frames while reporting on violent events between India and Pakistan.

- To analyze the main indictors of was and peace journalism approaches in the selected press while reporting on the Indo-Pak conflicts.

- To determine the extent of difference among the selected newspapers while reporting on violent and peace events between India and Pakistan.

- To determine the extent of variations in framing of violent and peace events over a time period spanning from 1997 till 2016.

## 1.6 Significance of the Study

Since the Crimean War, the role of media in all major wars and conflicts has been put to rigorous academic analysis (Knightly, 2004; Carruthers, 2011). The critical media scholars have identified a number of key determinants of war-media nexus like willingness of media to play the patriotic card, self-censorship, government censorship, role of lobbies and the commercial interests of media industries (Entman, 2004). In South Asia, a number of researchers have analyzed the role of during wars between India and Pakistan (Seth, 2016; Thussu, 2002). Despite making a valuable contribution to understanding the role of media in Indo-Pak wars, there is a need to complement the literature through various perspectives. First, the available literature mainly focused on the role of media in the Kargil war in 1999 and make scant

references to role of media in other conflicts. There is a need to do a comparative analysis by including few other major standoffs between the two countries for a comprehensive understanding of media role in conflicts. Secondly, researchers have paid little attention to analyzing media role in peace times. This would help identify the key factors influencing media content and strategizing for peace journalism in violent times. Thirdly, most of the available work on the subject is available in the form of reports of NGOs and graduate students theses. So, there is a need for a rigorous academic analysis of the Indo-Pak media during wars and peace purposes. Fourthly, most of the peace journalism scholarship is rooted in peace studies which are advocate in nature and lack critical analysis (Hanitzch, 2007). Researchers believe that the scope of peace journalism can be better understood if media nexus with policy making is studied (Youngblood, 2017; Teneboim et al, 2016). In this study, we therefore bank on the political communication research to know that how the media of both Pakistan and India behave during violent and peace times and to that extent the media follow the foreign policy considerations. Last but not the least, conflicts differ in terms of context, level of violence, role of stakeholders and media coverage so there is a need to comparatively analyze a host of conflicts for better understanding and generalization.

**Chapter 2**

## LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, the researcher has reviewed the relevant literature pertaining to media and conflicts, peace journalism and debates and issues surrounding the peace journalism approach. First, the available scholarship on the nexus between media and wars is analyzed. The general debate on war-media nexus leads to a more specific scholarship where researchers have criticized the existing journalistic practices on reporting of wars and violence and called for constructive and pro-active practices. Secondly, these normative demands are then related with the approach of peace journalism that calls for more peace-oriented media approach. Alongside the history and important works on peace journalism, the theory and conceptual debates relating to agency and structure are analyzed. Thirdly, this chapter also accumulates all the important studies on peace journalism conducted in the South Asian context as well as studies in other parts of the world. Finally, major takeaways from the literature are discussed which are later accommodated in the study's research hypotheses and research questions.

### 2.1 Media and Wars

From the times immemorial, rulers and conquerors have been aware of the importance of media and communication particularly during times of wars and conflicts. From the 16th century onward, credible academic scholarship is available on the usage of prevalent media for war and propaganda purposes (Knightley, 2011; Carruthers, 2011). During the two World Wars (1914-1919, 1939-1945), the entire Cold War era between the US and the Soviet Russia, conflicts in the Middle East, the

US sponsored war against Al-Qaeda, invasions of Iraq and Syria, media have been extensively used for the jingoistic purposes and pursuit of national interests (Lynch, 2008; Youngblood, 2017). The available scholarship shows that journalists perform patriotic duties and become ethnocentric during wars and conflicts and leave the cannons of journalistic professionalism when their own countries are involved in wars and conflicts (Knightly, 2004; Allan & Zelizer, 2004). From the Crimean war in 1870s to the Spanish invasion of Cuba in 1890s to the recent attacks on Iraq (2003) and Syria (2016), news media have mainly approved the warring initiatives of the policymakers. Many researchers have documented instance when the warmongers utilized media for propaganda purposes and identifying the enemy as threats to national security (Forge, 2007). Much of the century old literature on media and wars has been supported by the recent scholarship in which researchers have analyzed the US media for its treatment of the reporting of invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan and found the otherwise objective media as docile, escalatory and subservient to the national elites (Hammond, 2007; Snow & Kamilpour, 2004).

Many researchers have attributed the prevalent propagandist and escalatory approaches of conflict reporting to different factors like the commercial and financial needs of the media industries (Carruthers, 2011), professional practices like the demands of journalistic objectivity which often leads to elitism (Lynch, 2013) and the ideological orientations of journalists to always lend uncritical support to the Western interests shrouded in the Western values (Herman & Chomsky, 2010). One important issue that conflict communicationists have emphasized is to make an arrangement for the ethos of processional journalism with the considerations of national security that comes with national responsibilities for journalists. While the political and military elites would always try to strategize utilizing news media for their warring objectives

27

through censorship, self-censorship and secrecy during wars and conflicts, professional journalists would try to report on events in an impartial and neutral way (Ottosen & Nohresdet, 2010). Researchers, on the other hand have found support for argument that in modern times the role of powerful journalist is fast diminishing and the military and political elites do not need to censor media and put curbs on news media rather the later themselves would become obedient servants (Wosfeld, 1997). In her thesis, conflict journalism researcher Carruthers (2011) found that during the two World Wars journalists themselves demanded restrictions on free reporting so that national interests are not threatened. During the Iraqi invasions in 1991 and 2003, many media houses and journalism personalities criticized independent reporters and scholars for their disloyalty and un-patriotism (Knightly, 2004). In the case of US, as found by the researchers Brooke Barnett and Laura Roselle, after the 9/11 terror incident, the news media responded with a huge amount of patriotic slants and frenzied opinion. "Television news was marked by news reporters wearing flag pins; flag images; and red, white, and blue, patriotic banners". Citing Berge (2004), they argue in their article "if any of the pillars of journalism have been shaken (since the 9/11 incident) it has been independence of media" (Barnett & Roselle; 2010). Likewise, in his critical analysis of the US media after the incident of 9/11, Conniff (2002) criticized US news media reporters for having "little to do but wear flag lapel pins and read Pentagon press releases about the war".

On the other hand, one can find examples where the policymakers who were wary of the war-mongering role of media, have called for more peace oriented media content. When the League of Nations was established after the First World War, peace radios were established to promote peace in the Europe and other parts of the world. Similarly, after the Second World War, peace-oriented media projects were

28

initiated throughout the troubled regions in the world to bring the warring parties together (Howard, 2003). In modern times, there are dozens of peace related media projects undergoing in many countries of the Asian and African continents to resolve and facilitate disputes within and between states the world.

In a seminal study, Becker (2004) found that the code of ethics devised for media by the different international and national bodies have stressed for more responsible reporting of conflicts to avoid escalation of conflicts. He criticizes commercial media for escalating conflicts for to get more revenues. Similarly, Hanitzch (2004) argued that unlike the Western world ethos for journalism, the Asian and Islamic conventions supported peace-oriented media strategies.

## 2.2 Peace Journalism

Wary of the propagandist and jingoistic role of media during wars and conflicts, peace journalism is the call for a more constructive and responsible reporting to promote peace and harmony in a society. Before discussing what peace journalism is, it is necessary first to briefly analyze what is a conflict, how is it different from violence and what are the types of violence.

According to Johan Galtung, the most famous peace studies professor, conflicts arise due to incompatible goals between two or more groups. A conflict is different from violence, asserts Galtung (1965). Violence is the phase in a conflict when the parties involved in a try to resolve their issues through force. In his later work, Galtung (1998) classified violence into three types; direct violence (altogether war), structural violence (institutional imbalances in a system like unequal distribution of power, social inequalities and institutional repression) and cultural violence (symbolic

environment that thrives on the dominant structures and perpetuate stereotypes). Absence of visible and direct violence is not peace. Galtung (1998) believes this would be rather a negative peace and that is not durable. He has coined the term "positive peace" which is equivalent to social justice, equity and a fair distribution of power that would contribute to the attainment of a more harmonious society.

Based on the concept of negative and positive peace, Galtung (1998) classified conflict reporting in two dichotomous frames war journalism and peace journalism. According to the Galtunic model, four major indicators characterize war journalism it is violence oriented, it is propaganda oriented, it is elite oriented and it is differences oriented. On the other hand, the alternative of peace journalism is peace oriented, truth oriented, people oriented and solution oriented. Obviously critical of the traditional journalism practices, the concept of peace journalism calls for a more constructive reporting of conflicts.

Peace journalism researchers like (Lynch, 2013; Galtung, 1998) have argued that traditional journalism promote wars and conflicts by reducing the parties involved in a conflicts and wars to the 'us versus them' dichotomy. In fact, majority of the work conducted through the theoretical perspective of peace journalism has found that the traditional way of media reporting is predominantly tilted towards the war journalism practices (Hussain, 2017; Lynch, 2013).

Further dilating on the theory and practice of peace journalism, Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) argued that peace journalism provides a widest and broad account of conflicts by highlighting the invisible aspects like the social and psychological effects of instead of reducing the reportage to mere direct violence. Peace journalism accounts would delve deep into the root causes of conflicts and wars and provide all

30

the information related to the context, history and background. Moreover, Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) continues that peace journalism practices would help bring closer the conflicting stakeholders in a conflict by focusing on the similarities and commonalities among them and would evaluate opportunities to explore the avenues that could facilitate a win-win option for all the parties involved in conflicts.

Interestingly, though Professor Dr Johan Galtung developed the corrective strategy of peace journalism in 1960s, it got the serious attention of academicians and researchers only after the first Iraqi invasion in the 1990s when a number of studies established close connection between the military elites and news media content during the war and need for a more professional media outlets was realized. In the coming years, a series of seminars were arranged on the best practices of peace journalism at Tap-low Court, England in 1993 which were followed by a series of workshops all around the world. Now almost six decades down the road, a voluminous amount of research articles, student theses, books and dedicated research journals are available that deal with the theory and practice of peace journalism in the conflicts zones all around the world.

The two most prominent students of Professor Galtung Jincluding ake Lynch and Annable McGoldrick have further expanded the boundaries of peace journalism concept. Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) have provided the classic definition of peace journalism. It says "Peace journalism is when editors and reporters make choices - of what stories to report, and how to report them - which create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict".

Another peace journalism researcher Kempf (2012) defines peace journalism in these terms. "When editors and reporters are aware of their contributions to the

31

construction of reality and of their responsibility to give peace a chance". While agreeing with the core arguments in the peace journalism scholarship, a report published by UNESCO on the global state of media affairs in conflicts have stressed for a more nuanced understanding of the key factors that lead to violence like the political, economic and social factors (2005).

The advocates of peace journalism assert that media should highlight the perspectives of all concerned in a conflict to provide more detailed information (Lynch, 2008; Shinar, 2003). According to Johan Galtung (2005), peace journalism prioritizes peace, people and solution. Very much aware of the potential role of media to contribute to peace developments, the World Bank in its annual report (2009) has called for a special role of media during wars and conflicts. In conflict-affected states, the communication sector becomes even more crucial in helping to accomplish the vital tasks of managing expectations, building both trust in and oversight of state institutions, aiding the formation of an inclusive national identity, and fostering a participatory and engaged citizenry.

## 2.3 Studies on Peace Journalism

Many researchers have analyzed the role of media in conflict scenarios while using the theory of peace journalism. While it is not possible to include all the studies conflicted in this thesis, the researcher will briefly introduce some of the most important work on this area.

While applying the war and peace journalism scholarship, Shinar (2006) investigated Canadian and Israeli press on the Lebanon war. Through content analysis, the researcher found that the news media in the two countries mainly

reported the Lebanon conflict through the lenses of war journalism despite presence of some peace journalism. Shinar (2006) identified national ideology and political pressure on journalists that significantly circumvent chances of good constructive reporting of national conflicts.

The US based peace journalism researcher Susan Dente Ross undertook two separate studies to investigate presence or absence of peace journalism in the US media while reporting on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Ross (2006 and 2008) found that the powerful groups while reporting on this conflict dictated the US news media. The researcher found that the media ignored the voices of peace and highlighted the war-mongering elites. The study of the two Israeli researchers Lea Mandelzid and Samuel Peleg (2008) also supported the earlier studies that media become easy targets for government elites during war times. Both the researchers found that through manipulative tactics, Israeli media serve the interests of military and those in power.

In a seminal study, researchers Yakubu Sueiman and Sidin Ahmad Ishaq (2011) investigated the three leading global media outlets including the CNN, Aljazeera and Press TV on the reporting of Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While applying the peace and war journalism criteria, the researchers found media mainly adopted escalatory approach to report on this conflict.

Perez (2006) analyzed the media coverage of invasion of Iraq in three US leading newspapers through the perspective of war and peace journalism. Like other studies, she found support for the dominance of war journalism. The researcher found that very much in tune with the foreign policy, the US press stressed that peace was not an option while dealing with the Iraqi issue and that force was the only solution.

33

In line with this, Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2008) found that the media framing of Iraq war was dictated by national political system and the perceived foreign policy interests. Similarly, Nord and Strömbäck (2008) investigated news coverage of three incidents terror attack on the US and the sub-sequent attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq. Using content analysis technique, the two researchers found that media were predisposed towards war and eschewed practices of professional reporting.

Likewise, Lynch (2006) found dominance of war journalism in the UK news media reporting of Iran nuclear issue. This study supports the findings of majority of other studies that Western media reporting of Islamic world is propagandist and based on false information. For example Izadi (2007) and Marandi (2009) while analyzing the US media reporting on Iranian issue argued that the US media was dancing to the tunes of administration by beating the drums of war and producing untruthful news and dehumanized Iran as backward, inferior and barbaric.

In a seminal study, Lee (2010) examined three conflicts in Asia including Kashmir issue, LTTE movement in Sri Lanka and separatist led tension in Indonesia. While applying the peace journalism perspective, the researcher found that these conflicts were mainly reported in the war journalism fashion. Lee (2010) concluded that organizational and structural forces determine conflict reporting and that the theory of peace journalism must take account of these two factors.

Peace journalism scholar Walakkamol Changkamol investigated the ethnic and religious conflict in the Southern Thailand. Changkamol (2013) applied content analysis and used peace journalism indicators to determine the nature of conflict reporting in the six leading newspapers of Thailand. The researcher found that the

34

news media focused on the visible effects of this conflict, used highly emotive language and did not provide context and background information about this conflict.

Likewise the critical media researcher Richard Lance Keeble analyzed US and UK led wars since 1980s in Chad, Libya, Falklands Island, Grenada, Panama, Iraq, and Afghanistan. While appreciating the peace journalism scholarship, Keeble (2011) advises the theoreticians to take notice of the crucial part of media in the manufacture of new militarist warfare.

Fahmy (2004) analyzed the photographs of three western leading newswires AP, AFP and Reuters portraying afghan women before and after the Taliban regime in which afghan women is shown without veil (Burqa) as a sign of liberty after Taliban regime but in reality women without Burqa is just a glimpse of rare cultural reality in Afghanistan. The main cause of biased representation of images is embedded access as found by King and Lester (2005) by analyzing the pictures of gulf war 1992 and Iraq Invasion 2003 and they concluded that the people around the globe will get better image of war horrors when journalist are allowed to conflicts more closely. In Lebanon and Israel conflict in 2008 the war images of both sides published in The Time and *The Guardian*, were analyzed (Parry, 2010) and the results concluded that both the News organizations visually present the conflicts with similar motive of human cost and neutrality.

By ignoring the critical role of media is corresponding more space to propaganda and when the unkind realities of war are not allowed to the surface and war is shown as solution than there is greater chance that people believe in war rather than negotiations or economic pressure (Schawlbe, 2013, Sharkey, 2003). In the conflict zone journalists work is embedded and it is not easy to keep on the balance reporting,

35

which results in war journalism but at this time media organization have to play role of information gatekeepers which can keep the reporting balanced. The results of Sri Lankan civil war study (Fahmy, 2009) concluded that generally war frames are dominant in the western newswires (AP, AFP, Reuters) when taken as whole but covering Sri Lankan civil war these newswires provided with slim majority of visuals with peace frames. Embedded journalism results in the claustrophobic view of Afghanistan war after 9/11, not knowing the intention of photojournalist but war is presented to the people with military strategy (Campbell, 2011). Analyzing the pictures of gulf war Griffin and Lee (1995) examined that most of the pictures focuses on the superiority of technology of US against the enemy while the ongoing conflict got less attention in the visuals of Time, Newsweek and US News & World Reports as well as the Non-Combatant, children, and women suffering from War got very little space in these three leading Magazines. Visuals are used on very large for propaganda in conflicts and politics by main stream media as well as on social media sites in the modern age. In the Syrian conflict a large number visuals are used against each other by Syrian government and Syrian liberations forces (Seo & Ebrahim, 2016). Another study suggested that journey of Olympic torch relay covered by US and Chinese press in different perspectives, US press focuses more on protest while the Chinese press covered it as journey of harmony (Fahmy & Huang, 2013). Perception of photojournalist during coverage of any event is very important in making the public opinion which has been proved through many researches an in recent research it has been concluded that photographs of 9/11 are shown more powerful and emotional than the photographs of afghan war after 9/11 (Fahmy, 2015). Visual representation of war on terror and invasion of Iraq in 2003 in US magazines also dominates the military power, depicting US president as powerful man, US army

as a force which is ready to vanish the enemy, ignoring all the subtleties of economic and foreign affair, the magazines followed the Washington policy and basic human interest was invisible (Griffin, 2004). During Gaza conflict 2008-2009 the photographs of three western news wires were analyzed and the results show that all the three news wires provided more pictures with war frames focusing on conflict but AP provided more peace frames during coverage as compare to Reuters and AFP (Fahmy &Neumann, 2012). Ottosen (2004) in his study concluded that in Afghanistan Norwegian newspapers did not fulfill the humanitarian interest and neutrality was absent from their coverage in Afghanistan war. Thus there is no surprise that one party of war depicts the war in visuals in advantageous light (Zelizer, 2004). Actually in the modern war the war photography is war of images through which the perception of people is framed who were far away from the battle fields and taking one step further, war photographs are vital part of (PSY-OPS)psychological operation (Book Review by Wilson, 2015). Ethical responsibility of photojournalist also lacking in the coverage of war, most of the photographs of war are published but people who are witness of horrors of war are ignored on very large scale (Chouliaraki, 2013).

While most of the peace journalism studies have been conducted during tense violent times, peace journalism research during peace times is rather scant. Byzoto (2011) applied the war and peace journalism indicators on the journalistic standards in Brazil. The researcher found traits of both types of journalism. He concludes, "Though the media do not contribute entirely to an escalated perception of the conflict, it doesn't break down the pre-conceived antagonistic and polarized perceptions".

Like other parts of the world, many researchers have analyzed conflicts in the African continent through the war and peace journalism model. Goretti (2007), Obonyo and Fackler (2009), Ogenga (2012) examined conflicts in Kenya and Uganda through content analysis technique to know the prevalence of peace journalism. These researchers found that news media by and large escalated the conflicts and created problems between the antagonist groups and systematically ignored the genuine issues that make real causes of these conflicts.

Conflict journalism scholar Bonde (2008) analyzed conflicts in three different continents of the world to examine global media practices. The researcher found predominance of the characteristics of war journalism thus giving credence to the existing scholarship that the existing journalistic practices are against the attainment of peace and harmony between nations.

While identifying issues in the peace journalism theory, Fawcet (2002) analyzed the coverage of UK media in the reporting of Northern Ireland conflict. Her analysis found news media would be required to re-organize the discursive structures and professional culture to make the theory and practice of peace journalism practicable and implemented.

In one of the most influential studies on peace journalism, Wolsfeld (2011) analyzed the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Northern Ireland conflict. He found that media reporting is determined by elite consensus and intensity of crises. In Israel, the less consensus and high crisis led to more escalatory coverage while in the case of Northern Ireland, more consensus and less tension was responsible for more de-escalatory coverage.

Blasi (2004) contributes to the theory of peace journalism by linking it with the actual conditions that influence conflict reporting like the media structure, the conflict situation, journalists in the conflict zone, political environment, lobbies and audiences. In detailed interviews with 25 German war correspondents, he stressed for accommodating these themes within the peace journalism scholarship to satisfactorily address queries raised by the critics.

Many researchers in Pakistan have applied the peace journalism theory to analyze the different deadly conflicts. Hussain (2016) investigated the deadly Taliban conflict by mixing quantitative and qualitative methods to identify the framing strategies of Pakistan media and at the same time knowing the reasons behind particular type of conflict reporting. The researcher found that the Pakistani media adopted mainly war journalism approach by focusing on elites and policymakers and completely ignored the sufferings and problems of the common people. Hussain (2016) argues that in conflicts of having serious threats to national security, media usually become handmaiden of security forces and leave behind practices of good quality reporting.

Similarly, Rawan and Hussain (2017) examined the role Pakistani news media in the reporting of the deadly the ethno-political conflict in Karachi through the perspective of peace journalism. Two leading television channels (Geo TV and Dunya TV), two English dailies (*Dawn* and *The Nation*) and two Urdu dailies (daily Jang and daily Express) were selected. Only the front and back pages of the four newspapers and 9 o'clock newscasts of the two TV channels were analyzed for a period of one year ((November 01, 2012- 31st October 2013). The data were collected through the operationalization of dichotomous variables of an original contextual model developed by the researchers. This model was developed in line with the Galtunic

typology of war and peace journalism. The contextual model contains dichotomous categories of politicization/de-politicization, securitization/humanization and sensationalism/ responsible. The researchers also conducted semi-structured interviews with journalists. They found that the Pakistan news media was escalatory and sensationalizing the conflict. The conflict was mainly reported through political perspective where the political victims are considered as worthy; the non-political victims are ignored and treated as less-worthy victims. The researchers advocate a more humanitarian perspective for news media in this conflict to reduce ethno-political tension in Karachi in particular and elsewhere in general.

Hussain and Rehman (2015) analyzed the insurgency marred Balochistan conflict in the Pakistani news media. Applying both content analysis and discourse analysis techniques, the researchers found that peace journalism reporting dominated the coverage. The coverage was people-oriented and solution oriented. The reporters and editors told the researchers that they were a aware of their responsibility to the society. Despite serious security problems, the journalists bought the conflict onto the public attention. The survey part showed the media have been able to inculcate solution-oriented approach among the people. Majority of the people agreed that the people of Baluchistan needed solace and that they have been mistreated both rhe political and military establishments. The people agreed that the time was ripe to grant rights to the people for which they have been striving for the last few decades resulting in human loss and property.

Similarly, Hussain and Munawar (2017) examined the coverage of the Taliban conflict in the four main Pakistani newspapers from war and peace journalism perspective. Through content analysis method, the researchers selected as many as

821 stories from the four newspapers. The researchers found that the Pakistani media showed more war journalism framing as compared to the peace journalism framed. The two Urdu dailies *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Express* showed more peace journalism as compared to the English dailies *Dawn* and *The News International*. Supporting the existing peace journalism scholarship, the findings revealed that the selected newspapers indexed to the official versions and ignored alternative voices that called for a more peaceful and harmonious resolution to the conflict.

Likewise, Iqbal and Hussain (2017) investigated coverage of four major conflicts in Pakistan in Geo TV and Dunya TV by applying the war and peace journalism typology as developed by Galtung. The selected conflicts included the religiously inspired Taliban conflict, insurgency led Baluchistan conflict, the sectarian conflict between Shia and Sunni sects, and the ethno-political conflict in the largest city of Pakistan—Karachi. The study applied content analysis technique to collect data from 2014 to 2015. The findings revealed that the news TV channels reported conflicts of Taliban and Karachi from war journalism perspective and the conflicts of Baluchistan and the sectarianism through peace journalism perspective. These findings are in line with current trends in the relevant literature that suggests that the news adopt would become propagandist and nationalistic when the assumed threats to the demands of national security are highest in conflicts as compared to those that pose no serious threats to national security in which media could adopt more humanistic and peace-oriented approach.

Agha and Hussain (2017) explored the attitude-change towards national security among those journalists who have been embedded with the Pakistani armed forces during operations against the Taliban fighters. During interviews with embedded

journalists, the two researchers found that embedding with the Pakistani security forces proved effective tool for journalists to report on the Taliban conflict that was inaccessible to media people otherwise. The journalists proved very patriotic and were alive to the sensitivities of national security. They agreed that journalistic profession should not impede the fulfillment of national security. Most of the journalists agreed that Pakistan was fighting for its territorial and national sovereignty and that they their national duties needed them to be patriotic, nationalistic and support the armed forces. The journalists agreed that news media should be free and independent but during wars and conflicts, the news media must assist the security forces for the cause of national interest. They openly agreed that Taliban were the national enemy because they have challenged the sovereignty of Pakistan and that the whole nation should be united in defeating them.

Very much relevant to this dissertation, Siraj (2008) examined coverage of Indo-Pak conflict in the News York Times and Washington Post. The researcher applied the war and peace journalism model. Siraj (2008) found that both the newspapers preferred war journalism in the overall coverage. Pakistan got more unfavorable coverage in the war journalism frame and favorable coverage in the peace journalism frame.

Likewise, during border tension with Pakistan in 1999, researchers have found that Indian media were jingoistic and inflammatory. They not only openly sided with their government but what the military positively viewed as force multiplier to win popular support for war efforts (Thussu, 2002; Joshi, 2004). Similarly, in a detailed analysis of Pakistan and Indian media during Kargil and Mumbai attacks, Dwaipayan Bose (2011) found that the media of the two countries were 'part of the problem'. She

further writes, "The media of both the nations have been fighting a proxy war that is blurring out factual and unbiased coverage of events in the subcontinent. Overly nationalistic posturing and jingoism lie at the heart of this. Journalists, columnists, TV anchors and analysts of the one country are busy exposing the {bias and hypocrisy} of the other, and in the process, adding insult to a 64-year-old injury". Likewise, Vandana Seth (2016) found the Indian and Pakistani media were jingoistic and sensationalistic while reporting on bilateral relations. She writes, "media penchant for sensationalism has arisen to such an elevated level that it has overtaken coherent arguments made by sane voices. A certain level of detachment from the brouhaha produced owing to the skirmishes, which surfaces intermittently with our neighbor, is desirable for critical analysis". Rahul Madirataa (2014) laments that media of the two countries is more preoccupied with security events, to the exclusion of non-security issues such as trade. He believes this approach has minimized chances for peace diplomacy which otherwise has serious chances for success.

Although the canons of professionalism demand objectivity and fairness from media persons during peace and even during war times but contrary to these principles, national media are supposed by the government as well countrymen to promote national cause by manipulating representations in different forms i.e., spoken, written, pictorial and musical. The national mass media are also expected to play a very active part in psychological warfare against the enemy.

## 2.4 Debates in Peace Journalism

Peace journalism has got a fair amount of criticism from media theorists and practitioners from different perspectives. Considering it as part of peace diplomacy, Hanitzch (2007) equates it with Peace Public Relations as both have similar values to

convince elites to promote peace and avoid war. Lyon (2007) on the other hand believes that if journalists assume the role of conflict resolution for themselves, they would make a hash of everything. He therefore suggests that peacemaking should be left to policymakers and journalists should do their job (Lyon, 2007). Similarly, Fawcett (2002) believes that the theory and practice of peace journalism are not in tune with the actual journalistic practices. She has argued that the various structural and cultural factors in the journalistic profession would always throw it in the search for more drama and sensation. Wolsfeld (1997) believes it is the inherent contradiction between peace process and journalistic practices that impede peace journalism. Last but not the least, Hanitzch (2007) has pointed towards the place of peace journalism in the mass communication theories and approaches. Peace journalism assumes powerful effects of media which many modern scholars of communication have rejected. Many communication theorists have rejected. Media do not have powerful effects rather these are mediated by a range of factors Baran and Davis, 2006). Moreover, if peace journalism advocates the 'mass society notion', it runs the risk of ignoring the interests of its audiences and hence prospects of economic existence in jeopardy (Hantizsch, 2004).

The above level of criticism has been addressed by the advocates of peace journalism. Lynch (2007 and 2008) has dealt particularly with the critique. He has clarified that peace journalism is not advocacy for peace rather it is a quest for more constructive and responsible reporting of conflicts. As a peace journalist, Lynch (2014) argues all aspects of conflicts are reported including the violent and non-violent aspects. Others like Galtung (2006) and Ottosen (2008) have also stressed the same point that peace journalism is against the current practices of conflict reporting because states and powerful groups have used propaganda and misinformation to

present false information to the people. Peace journalists have also criticized the theory of objectivity because it is abstract and unachievable in practice (MacGoldrick, 2006). As an alternative, the peace journalism advocates call for more responsible reporting of conflicts (Hackett & Lynch & Seaga; 2010).

Alongside these arguments and counter arguments between the exponents and critics of peace journalism, media researchers have also proposed useful changes in the peace journalism scholarship. Balsi (2004) believes the peace journalism scholarship has to take stock of the news production process to strategize for practice. These factors include structural aspect of media, journalists themselves, conflict zone, lobbies, audiences and the political climate. Similarly, Tehranian (2002) argues peace journalism can be more successful in transforming national conflicts as compared to the international conflicts.

The advocates of peace journalism (Galtung & Lynch 2010; Kempf, 2008; Aslam, 2010) are hopeful that a paradigm shift is going on in the current journalism profession as more and more journalists are wary of the misinformation and propaganda campaign launched by the modern warfare. Some exponents of peace journalism call it as good journalism (Kempf 2007). Others have objected to this role as it espouses an innovative approach to conflicts by facilitating actors in resolving them peacefully to the satisfaction of all concerned (Lynch, 2007; Peleg, 2007).

Though the available literature on peace journalism has significantly contributed to know the patterns of conflict escalation, however certain aspects still need scholarly attention. Fist, most of the work on peace journalism focus on just one conflict and hence comparative analysis is missing. This issue is exacerbated by the existing literature which predominantly focuses on conflicts in Middle East and

conflicts in other parts are usually ignored. So, there is a need to focus on conflicts in Africa and Asia as well. Secondly, the available scholarship mainly report on conflicts during violent phase. Many researchers (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005; Kempf, 2013) believe that to know the actual performance of media, it is necessary to analyze it during peace times. Many patterns of media during war times are actually the result of practices learned during peace times (Conniff, 2002). So, there is a need to investigate media role during peace times as well. Likewise, there is need to analyze media content over a longer time period to identify features of conflict escalation and de-escalation. This would help more usefully generalizing the findings of studies that could be applied in wider contexts. Last but not the least, the available literature on peace journalism is influenced by peace studies with scant references to other disciplines like the critical media studies and cultural studies. The researcher of this proposed dissertation believes the approach of peace journalism could be richly developed if applied in international contexts by borrowing from the political communication research. This would significantly contribute to the scholarship by explaining contexts like foreign policy considerations, pressures from elites etc. The present study takes stock of these factors and would contribute to the literature by focusing on the media coverage of Indo-Pak conflict during different events.

## 2.5 Theoretical Framework

Framing theory and indexing theory determine the theoretical framework of this dissertation. While the framing theory guides in identifying the key frames during the coverage of war and peace events, the indexing theory will help capture the nuances of the relationship between the news media and the policymakers that ultimately lead

46

media coverage either towards war or peace journalism. Below is description on each of the two theories.

### 2.5.1 Framing Theory

A number of peace journalism scholars have argued that framing theory supports the epistemological position of peace journalism (Lynch, 2008; Hussain, 2018; Lee and Maslog, 2005; Lee, 2010). In fact, framing theory is the most frequently used conceptual framework for studying the peace journalism (Youngblood, 2017). There is no one standard definition of framing but broadly speaking news framing refers to the process of organizing a news story, thematically, stylistically, and factually, to convey a specific story line. According to Entman (1993), "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". Tankard et al. (1991) described a media frame as "the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration". Frames package key ideas, stock phrases, and stereotypical images to bolster a particular interpretation. Gamson and Modigliani (1987) maintained framing is the core organizing idea that gives meaning to the unfolding strip of events.

As per the key tenets of framing theory, news media through the process of news selection, organization and presentation, present information that covey particular aspects of a given reality. By making some portions of social reality more prominent and salient, audiences are presented certain facts about a phenomenon and persuaded to ignore other aspects of a given reality. These types of presentation of news by the

47

application of particular words and phrases significantly influence the perception and beliefs of people about certain issues. Framing theory is the extension of agenda setting theory that focuses on the salience of a given issue at the cost of other issues to present a social phenomenon (Entman, 1993). According to Entman, framing influences the explanation and interpretation of incidents and events and thus shape up the public discourse on important national issues. Likewise media sociologist Gitlin (1980) argues that news framing helps organize and structure information that guides newsmen to disseminate. On the other hand, Scheufele (1999) extends the debate further by adding that framing not just deals with the production and dissemination of information but is also concerned with the effects on audiences, so it mixed the line between the news presentation and the comprehension of news by the audiences.

The prominent Canadian critical media scholar Hackett (2007) argued that framing theory provides a promising interrogatory approach towards news analysis as it encourages examination of the multitude of subliminal messages. According to Reese (2007) framing approach identifies the common shared tenets that construct the symbolic meaning of the events and issues. This approach to deconstructing meaning offers multiple insights into the major issues surrounding the media's interpretation of particular events (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

A number of researchers in Pakistan have applied the framing theory to investigate framing of different issues by the national and foreign media (for example, Hussain and Rehman, 2015; Siraj, 2008; Rehman, 2012). In his seminal study, Siraj (2008) found that the US press frame in unfavorable terms against India which got more favorable coverage. He found that after the 9/11 incident, there was a slight

48

improvement in the image of Pakistan in the New York Times and Washington Post. Similarly, Hussain and Rehman (2015) found that Pakistani media applied more humanistic frames while reporting on the Baluchistan conflict. The researchers found that peace journalism was dominant in the news coverage about events in Baluchistan which was a good omen for resolving this conflict. Likewise, Rehman (2012) investigated the framing of Pakistan women in the foreign news media. She found that the global news media frame Pakistani women as victims of repression who are suffering in the mass dominated society.

Two US based researchers Rosas-Moreno and Bachmann (2012) compared and contrasted the framing strategies in the US and Pakistan news media on the death of former prime minister Benazir Bhutto. The Pakistani news media applied three existing latent frames including the devastating effects of her death, the fulfillment of a prophetic demise, and efforts to keep the assassination's details under wraps. Also, it employed two absent latent frames obscured gender and religion, and candidate without an election to organize the information. In contrast, the U.S. coverage relied on two prevalent latent frames the secret diplomacy behind Bhutto's return to Pakistan and the individual and national danger surrounding her life.

Framing theory is relevant to this dissertation as the researcher is investigating the prevalence of war and peace journalism in the reporting of Kashmir conflict in the selected newspapers of Pakistan, India and UK. The framing theory approach will be helpful in identifying the key themes and frames that characterize conflict reporting in the selected newspapers. In majority of studies on peace journalism scholarship, the researchers have found that usually the traditional news media apply zero-sum oriented frames during conflict reportage by reducing wars to winning or losing.

Utilizing this theory, the researcher will identify certain perspectives that are usually prioritized by media practitioners while covering conflicts. This theory is central to this investigation because the war and peace journalism model contains dichotomous frames whose presence and absence make a significant part of this study.

### 2.5.2 Indexing Theory

Lance Bennet (1990 & 2011) developed the indexing theory which says that news content in US media is indexed implicitly to the dynamics of governmental debate. Media never initiate a critical debate on policy matters, rather they passively report on the elites and lowlight criticism from other quarters like people and think tanks. Bennet (1990) studied US media coverage of Nicaragua conflict in 1980s and found strong support for his hypothesis. The theory found substantial support from other researchers like (Zaller & Chui, 1996; Mermin, 1999; Livingstone & Eachus, 1996). Bennet later on improved his theory in subsequent years (Benett et al 2007; 2011 & 2016) with some modifications. However the basic premise remains the same that media debates are indexed to the elitist perspectives with little respect to alternative discourses.

While discussing the press-politics interaction, this theory postulates that (a) the nexus between media and foreign policy can be mainly discussed in the elite press organizations (b) that the theory mainly applies to legitimate and credible sources, excluding societal voices that involve civil disobedience, protests, or lawless acts (c) and that this theory best fits areas such as foreign affairs, military decisions, trade, and macroeconomic policy.

Political communicationist have pointed out that media coverage mostly relies on news cues provided by the prominent officials, and keeps itself within the framework of institutional debate. Disregarding public views outside the elite debate and highlighting official sources reinforces the mechanism that elite debate influences public discourse on public affairs issues (Bennett & Manheim, 1993).

Bennett (1990) found that mass media news professionals overwhelmingly use government elites as official sources and that they tend to index news to the range of official debate. The major driver of indexing is elite conflict. When disagreements between factions of political elites emerge, media issue coverage increases. The decline of issue coverage does not follow the resolution of a problem, or as an issue disappears from the formal agenda, but rather when official elites stop discussing it. Coverage declines in the absence of internal institutional opposition.

Government officials are preferred as sources because they have power (Gans, 1979), they lend legitimacy to news stories (Sigal, 1973) and because the economy of information encourages journalists to establish relationships with elite sources (Bennett 1990, 110). These relationships are symbiotic in that all parties benefit. Government officials also "go public" through the media in order to gather support for policies, to explain political actions, and to capitalize on "free" publicity (Kernell, 1993 and Sigal, 1973).

This theory has received its own fair amount of criticism. Althaus (1996 and 2003) tested the indexing hypothesis and find, contrary to Bennett's findings, that domestic elites are not the only or majority of official sources in news stories. They conclude that journalists sometimes abandon indexing for balanced coverage by including foreign sources as opposition voices. "The terms used to describe the

hypothesized central engine of media discourse- mainstream government debate or official debate- require further refinement. We should distinguish three ways of segmenting U.S. elites: governing elites as a whole; the executive branch or administration and oppositional officials, whom the media generally identify among members of the opposition party in Congress" (Althaus et al 1996, p.408). This line of criticism also posits that how indexing theory would fare beyond the Washington consensus. The theory argues that the U.S. government has many mechanisms for holding journalists under its spell- regular press briefings, access to exclusive parties, an elaborate PR machine, experienced and savvy spokespeople. There is also the unspoken feeling that both journalists and the politicians play an important and, arguably, democratic game.

Despite criticism, many researchers have found support for this theory during times of tension and crisis. The theory argues that news professionals tend to index viewpoint to news, articles and editorial to policy makers. It postulates that elites usually dictate media agenda in the realm of important foreign policy issues. Althaus, Edy, Entman and Phalen (2007) applied indexing theory to investigate the Libyan crisis. They found that media work for elites, those who are in a powerful position at times of coverage. They argue that media present viewpoint of elites and powerful people, when the government is powerful media work for the government.

Applying this theory in the present study would be original contribution to the peace journalism scholarship. As discussed in the literature review part, most of the work on peace journalism is inspired by peace studies that limit its approach as a well-rounded journalistic strategy. Since the researcher is investigating the Indo-Pak conflicts during different phases which are mainly political in nature, the key

52

argument of indexing theory that media are influenced by elites and officials would be utilized in my approach. The explanation of peace journalism problem though the political communication perspective would shed light on some unidentified aspects of the conflict reporting.

### 2.5.3 Theoretical Synergy

Though both framing theory and indexing theory refer to different aspects of media reporting, the two theories share some common ground as well. As the framing theory suggests that media presents just certain aspects of a reality through presentation and selection, the indexing theory extends the discussion further and qualifies that what sources and arguments would be getting more space and time in media debates. The basic premise of framing theory is that news narratives are so tailored to provide consistent explanations about problem definitions, moral standpoint and solution to issues. How this theory does not specify which sources, arguments or agents would be prioritized in media debates. The indexing theory builds on this argument and dilates that politicians, policy-making elites, military establishment and bureaucrats usually dominate media coverage.

Now the important point for this dissertation would highlight is that (as evident from the scholarship on peace journalism) during violent times, media would follow frame the events as per the directions of policymakers. Would media also frame peace events as per the directions of elites who are engaged in the peace process or they apply more war-oriented frames. Critical media scholars have found that media usually inflame a conflict even when peace is discussed due to the inherent tension between the norms of journalism and norms of attaining peace. This is the important

53

question that this dissertation would address by empirically investigating conflicts between India and Pakistan during violent and peace phases.

Applying this theory in the present study would be original contribution to the peace journalism scholarship. As discussed in the literature review part, most of the work on peace journalism is inspired by peace studies that limit its approach as a well-rounded journalistic strategy. Since I am investigating Indo-Pak conflicts that are mainly political in nature, the key argument of indexing theory that media are influenced by elites and officials would be utilized in my approach.

## 2.6 Research Hypotheses

**H1:** *Dawn, The Hindu* and *The Guardian* predominantly adopt war journalism approach as compared to peace journalism approach while reporting on the selected war and peace events between India and Pakistan.

**H2:** The three war events (Kargil war, Mumbai Attacks and the popular uprising in Kashmir) are predominantly reported in war journalism approach as compared to the peace events (Lahore declaration, Agra Summit and economic CBMs).

**H3:** The Kargil war involving direct military confrontation between India and Pakistan produce more war journalism stories as compared to the other two events.

**H4:** The economic CBMs (2011-12) predominantly results in peace journalism approach as compared to the other peace events.

**H5:** News Stories contain more war journalism as compared to the opinion stories while reporting on the war and peace events between India and Pakistan.

## 2.7 Research Questions

**R.Q.1:** How the reporting of war and peace events is distributed in the selected press in terms of war and peace journalism approach?

**R.Q.2:** What are the major attributes of war and peace journalism approach used by *Dawn*, *The Hindu* and *The Guardian*?

**R.Q.3:** How did the selected newspapers differ from each other in terms of key attributes while reporting on the six events?

**Chapter 3**

# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This dissertation examines the role of the Indo-Pak and UK elite press in the reporting of three violent and three peace events between India and Pakistan in the past twenty years. The selected newspapers are included in the elite categories as these are independent from the government control and financially viable organizations (Hallin & ManCini, 2004). However, it needs to be clarified that freedom from government ownership does not guarantee freedom from government influence but it is reduced to a certain level. Researchers believe that media can play a significant role in conflict resolution while reporting on conflicts and peace process if they do it with accuracy, impartiality and responsibility which is possible if news media are independent from the control of government machinery as well as their nationalistic and ethnocentric biases (Howard, 2003). The Indo-Pak relations are central to each other's foreign policy so the governments have significant role in how the news media of two countries report on the bilateral relations and most importantly the conflicts.

Most of the studies on peace journalism are inspired by normative tradition and hence it is criticized for being advocative and hence impractical (Hanitzch, 2007). This dissertation applies post-positivist approach to empirically analyze the role of elite press in the reporting of Indo-Pak conflicts. The researcher believes the empirical approach would be a valuable addition to the peace journalism to emerge as a well-rounded academic discipline due to its reliability and generalizability. In this regard, the researcher has contently analyzed the selected newspapers on their coverage of the selected war and peace events between India and Pakistan.

## 3.1 Content Analysis

According to Berelson (1971) content analysis technique offers an objective and systematic analysis of the discernible content of communication. This technique has three major components. Firstly, it focuses on the inferences between the intent and content to understand the objectives and intensions of those involved in the content disseminations. Secondly, the analysis of content is meaningful in a situation when the relevant stakeholders including the communicators, the audiences and the analysts agree on the commonness of objectives of communication. Thirdly, the quantitative analysis of media content is a meaningful and noteworthy element of the processes in a communication phenomenon (Berelson, 1971).

Relevant literature on conflict journalism indicates that researchers and scholars have applied the content analysis approach to investigate the presence or absence of peace journalism in the media content relating to conflicts (Entman, 2003; Lynch, 2008; Siraj and Hussain, 2012). Since this study is mainly concerned with investigating the escalatory or de-escalatory role of Indo-Pak press media in a number of violent and peace events, the researcher has selected one English daily *Dawn* from Pakistan, one English daily *The Hindu* from India and *The Guardian* from UK for content analysis purpose. All the selected three newspapers are considered among the influential news media organizations of the respective countries.

## 3.2 Population

The population of the study comprised all the news stories and news opinions relating to the selected three war events and the three peace events. The data was retrieved through the Lexis-Nexis database from the three newspapers including

*Dawn, The Hindu* and *The Guardian.* By including the specified keywords (to be discussed later), as many as 7778 stories were retrieved from the database.

## 3.3 Systematic Sampling

Looking at the sheer amount of stories in the population, the researcher applied systematic sampling technique to collect all the stories relating to the study. To be specific, every second story was included in the data appearing in *Dawn, The Hindu* and *The Guardian* on the start and ends dates of Kargil war (1999), Mumbai attacks (2008) Kashmir uprising (2016) and three major peace events including Lahore declaration (1997), Agra summit 2001 and the economic CBMs in 2012.The data was retrieved through the Lexis-Nexis database. As discussed, the total of 7778 stories was there in the sampling frame. For this study, the total sample frame was divided by two to get the required amount of studies.

For example: Total number of stories /2

So in this case: 7778/2= 3889 stories

### 3.3.1 Dates and Keywords

For all the three violent and peace events, the following dates and keywords were registered in the Lexis-Nexis network.

### i. Kargil War

Start Date: 1st May 1999

End Date: 30th Nov. 1999

**Key Words**

Kargil War, LOC, Kashmiri Militants, Operation Vijay.

## ii. Agra Summit

Start Date: 15th June 2001

End Date: 15th Nov. 2001

**Key Words**

Agra Summit, India and Pakistan,

## iii. Lahore Declaration

Start Date: 1st Feb. 1999

End Date: 15th May 1999

**Key Words**

Lahore Declaration, Dosti Bus,

## iv. Mumbai Attacks

Start Date: 24th Nov. 2008

End date: 1st May 2009

**Key Words**

Mumbai Attacks, Ajmal Kasab, Taj Hotel,

### v. Confidence Building Measures (CBM)

Start Date: 1st Jan 2012

End date: 31st Dec. 2014

### Key Words

Confidence building measures, Most Favored Nation, Visa Restrictions,

### vi. Kashmir Uprising

Start Date: 1st Jan. 2016

End Date: 31st Dec. 2018

### Key Words

Burhan Wani, Kashmiris, Pellet Guns.

The above keywords resulted in a large number of data. The researcher first read all the stories and only those stories were selected that contained the relevant information in the headline or intro part. Once the relevant stories were selected, then through the systematic sampling technique, every second story was included in the sample. Thus a total of sample of 3889 stories was obtained.

## 3.4 Univariate Analysis

In this dissertation, only one variable the type of journalism is used which has two distinct categories war journalism and peace journalism. Both the war and peace journalism categories have further nine indicators each. These indicators were developed by Maslog and Lee (2005) from the original peace journalism model which

was first developed by Galtung (1998) and then improved by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005). The war and peace journalism model is presented below.

## 3.5 Conceptual and Operational Definitions of the War and Peace Journalism Frames

### i. Reactive vs Proactive

War journalism is reactive and it waits for a conflict to erupt into full violence before reporting on it and its cost for the people (Galtung, 2000).The journalists in this type of reporting work as spectator to report on what they see instead of being critical professionals to keep a vigilant eye on the affairs in a state.

On the other hand, peace journalism is proactive. While exercising peace journalism, the reporters do not wait for a conflict to erupt into some violence rather it cautions against the injustices that may lead to violence. It offers peace-oriented coverage at the start to stem the flow of violence (Galtung, 1998).

### a. Operational Definition of Reactive Approach

A story is included in the reactive category if:

- It does not include information about the events past events and contexts that shape the nature of conflicts

- It simply tells that a conflict has erupted due to the violent activities of just one party

- It contains information that delink the broader issue from the political and economic factors that are responsible for the origination of a conflict

- The stories on a conflict stop once the violent phase is over.

For example consider this story.

One representative story from *The Guardian* (June, 1999) is headlined like this: "India close to declaring all-out war in Kashmir; PM faces clamor for invasion of Pakistani area as death toll rises". In this story, the newspaper just counts on the activities of war and treats it as a logical outcome of the troublesome history of the two countries.

**b. Operational Definition of Proactive Category**

A story is labeled as proactive if:

- It predicts and analyzes conflict scenario in the broadest perspective

- It analyzes the existing socio-economic and political context and warns against the upcoming events

- The journalists are critical enough and discuss the ramifications of existing policies on people, region and course of events

- It suggests a broader range of alterative while dealing with conflicts and violent scenarios

For example consider this story. "Early deal to end Kashmir conflict was ignored" (*The Guardian*, June 1999). In this story, the newspaper criticizes the governments of both India and Pakistan for ignoring the chances of peace and showing aggression, which is bound to bring more problems for the poor people.

**ii. Visible Effects vs Invisible Effects of Violence**

While war journalism is pre-occupied with reporting on visible violence like deaths, injuries and damages to infrastructure (Galtung, 2000), peace journalism on

the other hand focuses on the invisible but important aspects of conflicts like the cultural violence and structural violence that usually foment violence (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005).

### a. Operational Definition of Visible Effects

A story is coded as focusing on the visible effects if:

- It focuses only on the number of people killed, injured and damages to infrastructure

- The reports contain information on issues and materials that are clearly visible and oversimplify the outcome of a conflict

In this study, stories like "Indians climb from valley of hate to ridges of death" (June 7, 1999, *The Guardian*) were included in the visible effects category. This story focuses on the deaths and injuries on the two sides and ignores the structural and cultural effects of violence.

### b. Operational Definition of Invisible Effects

A story is included in the invisible effects category if:

- It deconstructs a conflict by focusing on the structural and cultural aspects of a conflict.

- It narrates the ordeal of traumatic and psychologically affected people in conflicts scenario

- It goes beyond the visible effects of a conflict by highlighting the socio-economic hardships, living experiences in camps etc.

On the other hand, "Villagers return to hollow victory in Kashmir" (September 9, 1999, *The Guardian*) is included in the invisible effects category. In this story, the reporter focuses on the personal and societal loss that people have undergone in this war due to the systematic imbalances.

### iii. Focus on Here and Now vs Focus on Causes and Consequences

One key feature of war journalism is the focus on the events that occur. Stories included in this frame do not report on the complete information and do not provide causes and impact of violence (Galtung, 2006).

On the other hand, peace journalism approach would particularly focus on the cause and consequences of violence, the context and history of events to provide a complete picture to audience. Such an approach demystifies a conflict and prepares people to look at a conflict through a broader canvass.

### a. Operational Definition of Here and Now Category

A story is coded in the here and now category if:

- Only the events are reported a bomb explosion, people, statements by the political and military policymakers
- The conflict is oversimplified by taking the statements and events as final decisions
- Events are linked with the recent developments in a conflict to produce a convincing narrative

For example *Dawn* (July 8, 2017) reported a story headlined, "Rallies blast India" in which the newspaper focused on the events happening during these rallies but

64

completely ignored the background information and contexts that why these rallies were held and what were the main reasons.

## b. Operational Definition of Causes and Effects Category

A story is included in this category if:

- It sheds on the causes and reasons of a conflict

- It shares with the audiences the important historical, political and economic reasons that give birth to injustices that generate a conflict

- It reports on the issues and factors that inflame a conflict by aggravating the insecurities and insensitivities of people

One representative story in this category is The Nation (September 23, 2016) report titled "Voice for Kashmir" in which the article reported on the history and provided background information about the Kashmir conflict.

## iv. Elites vs Common People

Another important feature of war journalism is that it mainly highlights the perspectives and opinions of elite stakeholders in a conflict and narrates events from their positions. In this case, the people get a single elitist perspective on the state of a conflict (McGoldrick, 2006).

On the other hand, peace journalism approach mainly highlights the events in a conflict from the people perspective. It comes with an understanding that in wars and conflicts, common people are the worst affected and hence their opinions are important (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005).

### a. Operational Definition of Elite-Oriented Coverage

A story is included in this category if:

- It includes perspective of only the political and military elites—like the politicians and military generals

- It shares perspectives that are usually expressed by the established authorities in a region

- Information is linked with the viewpoints of policy elites in a conflict region

For example consider this story in *Dawn* (July 8, 2017). "Burhan Wani's sacrifice is testimony against Indian atrocities: COAS. In this story, the report focuses on the elitist perspective and securitizes the conflict and ignores the voices of common people.

### b. Operational Definition of People-Oriented Coverage

A story is included in this category if:

- It takes a broader perspective by sharing the viewpoints of common people, conflict victims.

- The dominant opinions are challenged by highlighting the perspective of war-ravaged people who have first-hand information about the conduct of the war

- Solution to the conflict is sought from the common people and their opinions equally shared in the media reports

One representative story in this regard is reported in *Dawn* (January 16, 2017): Kashmiri youth: Symbol of hope in this story, the voice of Kashmiri people is highlighted and the conflict is reported through the common people perspective.

### v. Two-Party vs Multi-Party

War journalism reduces a conflict to just two parties and mainly the events are reported from the perspective of the party to which the media belongs (Lynch, 2008).

On the other hand, peace journalism approach is multi-perspective. it highlights the opinions of all the parties in a conflict and tries to reach some commonalities (Galtung, 2006).

### a. Operation Definition of Two-Party Oriented Coverage

A story is coded in this category if:

- If it says there are exist just two parties in a conflict

- If the perspective of just two parties is shared

- If one side is framed as bad and the other as good

In one representative story, *Dawn* (December 14, 2016) in a detailed story entitled "Pakistan, India moving backward in bilateral context" reduced the Kashmir conflict to just warring countries and ignored other stakeholders like the Kashmiri people, international community, civil society and other parties.

### b. Operational Definition of Multi-Party Oriented Coverage

A story is coded in this category if:

- It reports that there are many groups involved in a conflict

- It shares the perspectives of all sides in a conflict

- It gives equal space to the perspectives of all sides and does not show biasness in the favor of one party

67

For example consider this story in *Dawn* (July 13, 2016) entitled "UNSC powers asked to press India on Kashmir". In this story, the newspaper highlights the role of stakeholders in the Kashmir conflict like the United Nations, regional organizations etc. and called on the governments to work for peace and resolve their differences amicably.

## vi. Labeling Parties as Good or Bad vs Avoiding Labeling Parties as Good or Bad

Another important distinction between war and peace journalism is the determination of good and bad. In the war journalism approach, the media usually hold the opposing group as bad and responsible for all the ills and absolve its own side of any wrongdoing.

Peace journalism approach is critical and exposes all the parties for their misdeeds and violent actions (Galtung, 1998; Tehranian, 2002).

### a. Operational definition of Good vs Bad

A story is coded in this category if:

- It frames one party either as good and bad

- It casts one party as responsible for all problems and issues in a conflict

- It rests responsibility with just one party

For example, daily *The Hindu* (November 29, 2008) reported a story entitled "Ban Indo-Pak train and bus services". In this story, the newspaper relied on anti-Pakistan and anti-peace sources and did not give alternative opinion. While the Pakistan was framed as bad, India was declared good. Good reporting inhibits such labeling.

68

### b. Operational Definition of Avoidance of Good and Bad

A story is coded in this category if:

- It uncovers all the parties in a conflict by sharing their part in a conflict

- It avoids labeling one party in a conflict as good or bad

- It rests responsibility of blame with all the parties

For instance, *The Hindu* (November 29, 2008) reported a story "Britain, US urge India and Pakistan to keep talking". In this story, the newspaper called for more robust dialogue to resolve all intending issues between India and Pakistan without declaring one country as good and the other as bad.

### vii. Partisan vs Non-Partisan

War journalism is partisan news stories are reported from the perspective of a party in a conflict. The media are biased and the journalists are imbued by narrow nationalism and ethnocentricity (Galtung, 2000).

On the other hand, peace journalism approach is aware of this problem and do not sides in a conflict. Stories are reported in an impartial way where the facts and opinion are separated from each other.

### a. Operational Definition of Partisan Coverage

A story is coded in this category if:

- It shows biasness towards a party in a conflict

- It fabricates information to promote the interests of a party

- It shares the perspective and interests of a party by declaring their stance justified in a conflict

For example *The Hindu* (November 2008) reported "Mumbai terror strikes may lead to Pak destabilization." In this story, the newspaper openly takes an anti-Pakistan approach and reports the events of Mumbai attacks from the Indian perspective.

**b. Operational Definition of Impartial Coverage**

A story is coded in this category if:

- It does not show biasness towards a particular party in a conflict
- It does not take side by narrating the opinions of all parties, their stances and suggestions for improvements
- It clearly separate facts from opinion to provide a more objective account of a conflict

For example, *The Hindu* (December 2008) reported "the MQM leader Altaf Hussain condemns attacks in Mumbai". In this story, the newspaper stance is impartial and does not associate the scourge of terrorism with any country.

**viii. Differences vs Similarities**

War journalism frames present a conflict in a way that is likely to further polarize by focusing on the problems and differences between the actors, ignoring similarities and solution strategies (Galtung, 2000).

On the other hand, peace journalism does not just focus on a conflict as a hopeless problem, but instead seeks common ground and aims to transform the conflict (Shinar, 2003).

**a. Operational Definition of Differences-Oriented Coverage**

A story is coded in this category if:

- It focuses on the difference between the conflicting parties

- It draws attention to the socio-economic and politically different stances of the conflicting parties and the impracticality of common ground

- It ridicules instances of mutuality of interests and draws border of separation

For example  (December 2008) reported "Border uneasy, trade suspended for three days". In this story, the newspaper focuses on the differences between India and Pakistan and argues that two countries are bound to have adverse relations in the future.

**b. Operational Definition of Similarity Coverage**

A story is coded in this category if:

- It highlights the similarities between the conflicting parties

- It highlights the commonality of interests between the conflicting parties and explore opportunities for more understanding

- It encourages rapprochement between the antagonistic parties inspire hope in these initiatives

For example *The Hindu* (December 9, 2014) reported "Business community calls for closer trading cooperation between India and Pakistan". In this story, the paper emphasized for closer and deeper trade and economic ties between India and Pakistan to promote peace in the region. The story main focus was on the importance of trade relations to address poverty and financial issues between the two nations.

### ix. Zero-Sum vs Win-Win Oriented

War journalism is zero-sum oriented which means it presents a conflict like a sport. Either one group wins or the other. And that there are no chances for compromises (Galtung, 2000).

Peace journalism, conversely, offers options to clear-cut wins and victories and explores orientations where the parties can have win-win positions (Galtung, 2000).

### a. Operational Definition of Zero-Sum Oriented Coverage

A story is coded in this category if:

- It out rightly rejects chances of peace and understanding

- It reports that peace and reconciliation is not possible

- It considers compromises and peace agreements as tantamount to breaching the national security and promotes war as the only solution

For example, *Dawn* (January 2013) reported, "India has sinister designs behind CBMs, diplomatic overtures". In this story, the entire peace process with India is criticized because the paper relies on war-mongers who fear concessions to India would endanger the security of Pakistan.

### b. Operational Definition of Win-Win Orientation

A story is coded in this category if:

- It encourages peace and understanding between the conflicting parties

- It reports that peace and reconciliation is possible and is the only best option

- It credits parties for coming out of stated positions and exploring new opportunities

For example, *The Hindu* (August, 2014) reported a story entitled as "Signalling a thaw, India issues visas to 30 Pak traders for Mumbai expo". In this story, the newspaper stresses on close ties between India and Pakistan and argues that both countries are bound to get maximum benefits from it.

## x. Demonizing Language vs Avoiding Demonizing Language

In the war journalism approach, demonizing language is used for a party in a conflict like terrorists, thugs etc.

Conversely, the peace journalism approach is constructive. It refers to the parties with their original names and does not borrow the titles from the opposing groups (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005).

## a. Operational Definition of Demonizing Language

A story is coded in this category if:

- It uses demonizing language for a party in a conflict
- It uses words and phrases like terrorists, thugs, yahoos
- The demonizing vocabulary has cultural connotations

For example, *Dawn* (July, 2016) reported a story "Protest bang AJK against India's reign of terror". In this story, the newspaper uses demonizing language against one party in a conflict and eulogizes the other party.

### b. Operational Definition of Non-Demonizing Language

A story is coded in this category if:

- It mentions groups with their original names and titles

- It does not obfuscate information that call for a fairer representation of parties in a conflict

- It does not fall prey to the name-calling techniques of other parties

For example, in a news story, entitled "Answering the Kashmir question", *Dawn* (July 13, 2013), avoids demonizing language for the parties concerned and use serious language to describe situation in the Kahsmir region.

## 3.6 Data Coding

Following Lee and Maslog (2005) and Hussain and Siraj (2018), for the coding purpose, unit of analysis were a single paragraph. All the paragraphs were identified either in war or peace journalism frames on the basis of nine indictors for each frame as shown above. Then on the basis of total number of paragraphs, a particular story was placed in a specific frame. For example, if a story got 2 invisible frames and one visible frame, the entire story was included in the invisible frame. Initially, neutral frame was included in the study but later on deleted due to the very low frequencies. This data was collected at two levels. At the indictors level as well as at the overall frame level to get a more nuanced understanding of the war and peace journalism approach in the selected press.

## 3.7 Reliability and Validity

Researchers usually conduct reliability and validity and generalizability tests to check the propriety of research method.

Validity is related with the substance of research constituents. It enquires how meaningfully the objectives and intentions of researcher are put into the enquiry mechanism. Though the experts agree there are no final words on the certainty of research enquiry, yet substantive steps can be taken to ensure maximum validity for measuring different components.

In this study, the researcher ensured validity by properly measuring and analyzing all the significant dimensions of the variables being discussed. The whole study was guided by well defined media theories that formed part of the theoretical framework in this dissertation. The supervisor and the doctoral committee of the department were immensely helpful to guide me in ensuring content validity and devising the most appropriate research methodology. Furthermore, the research objectives were outlined in advance. The dissertation supervisor advised improvements in the data collecting techniques and the statistical tests for analysis.

Similarly, reliability is the consistency and stability of measurement. It means we will get the same results when measures are tested over different conditions. Any problem with reliability will fail the measurement test and unsuccessful to detect relationship between variables. As this study is quantitative nature, I have used content analysis technique. The dependent variables in the study were conceptually and operationally defined.

Three students of Media and Communication department at the International Islamic University at MS level were trained in the coding purpose. Inter-coder reliability was tested for the overall war and peace journalism frames as well as for all the 18 indicators at the 10 percent of the data. Except for 'here and now' and 'avoiding dichotomy' frames, there was over 80 percent agreement. The two variables were elaborated further and in the second test, the reliability score was over .81 and .85 respectively which is considered academically acceptable.

**Chapter 4**

# RESEARCH FINDINGS

In this study, the researcher has contently analyzed the prevalence of war and peace journalism in the Indo-Pak and UK press while reporting on three war and three peace events in the past twenty years. The data was collected by operationalizing the war and peace journalism indicators as identified by Galtung (2000), Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) and Maslog and Lee (2005). The three war events included the Kargil conflict (1999), Mumbai attacks (2008) and the uprising in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir region from 2016-2018 and the three peace events include the Lahore Declaration (1997), Agra Summit (2001) and Confidence Building Measures (2011-2012) while the selected elite press *Dawn* (Pakistan), *The Hindu* (India) and *The Guardian* (UK). The data was obtained through lexis-nexus database. The final sample comprised of 3889 news reports. The answer of research hypotheses and questions are as

**H1:** *Dawn, The Hindu* and *The Guardian* predominantly adopt war journalism approach while reporting on the three selected war and peace events between India and Pakistan.

**Table 1: Distribution of War and Peace Journalism Stories**

| Newspapers | WJ | PJ | Total | Chi-Square | P value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Dawn* | 836(53) | 739(47) | 1575(100) | 112.3 | .02 |
| *The Hindu* | 1134(63) | 657(37) | 1791(100) | 81.5 | .00 |
| *The Guardian* | 347(66) | 176(34) | 523(100) | 105.7 | .00 |
| Total | 2317(60) | 1572(40) | 3889(100) | 91.8 | .01 |

As shown in the above table 1, the three newspapers predominantly covered the six events in war journalism approach. Out of total of 3889 news stories, the war journalism category got 60 percent stories and the peace journalism category got 40 percent stories. The low p value (.01) suggests that the difference is significant and hence the hypothesis is supported. These findings are quire consistent with the existing literature that news media usually adopt war journalism approach when reporting on conflicts and wars (Lee and Maslog, 2005; Lynch, 2008; Woslfeld, 2004; Youngblood, 2017; Ottosen, 2008; Hussain and Lynch, 2018; Hussain and Siraj, 2018).

Separately, *Dawn* reported 53 percent stories in the war journalism category and 47 percent stories in the peace journalism category. The statistically significant difference (p value .02) reveals the newspaper is predominantly war-oriented while covering the six events. Interestingly, *Dawn* is considered as a progressive and liberal newspaper that often goes against the security policy of the country. However, these findings suggest *Dawn* is following the state narrative on conflicts with India. Comparatively speaking, *Dawn* however, produced more peace journalism stories as compared to the other two newspapers. This is quite in line with the Pakistan government narrative. Except for the Kargil War in which the two states were engaged in direct confrontation, the Pakistan government sympathized with India over the deadly events in Mumbai. In one representative story, *Dawn* (December 4, 2008) reported that "Pakistan stood for rooting out terror" from the region and was concerned about the problem. However, the coverage changed from mild to berserk when the Indian side implicated Pakistan in the Mumbai attacks. Likewise on the Kashmir uprising, the Pakistani government has expressed concerns over human rights violations and hence the coverage is people-oriented. Similarly, the

governments sponsored the peace events and *Dawn* saw these as positive developments and hence more peace-oriented coverage. For example, in a detailed news story headlined "Govt working on MFN status for India", *Dawn* (August 23, 2016) emphasized on the two sides to normalize ties for the betterment of people.

Similarly, *The Hindu* reported the six war and peace events through the war journalism perspective. As many as 63 percent news stories were reported in war journalism category and 37 percent stories were reported in the peace journalism category. The low p value (.00) suggests the difference between the two categories is significant. A number of studies by Indian researchers (Thussu, 2002; Bose, 2016) have found that the press is escalatory and war-oriented while reporting on conflicts with Pakistan. For instance, in one representative story, *The Hindu* (March 3, 2008) reported a news story headlined "Mumbai attacks show Pakistan has lost control of jihadists". In this story, the newspaper criticized Pakistan for creating jihadist groups that are responsible for doing terrorism in the neighboring countries.

Finally, *The Guardian* was included in this study to analyze how a newspaper from a third country having no direct stakes in the Indo-Pak conflicts would report the six events. As the above table suggest, like the other two newspapers *The Guardian* also reported the Indo-Pak conflicts through war journalism perspective. The low p value (.00) suggests the difference between the war and peace journalism categories is significant. In one representative news story, daily *The Guardian* (June3, 1999) reported, "One road is India's lifeline to war zone; Delhi was caught out. Now its troops are on the low ground in Kashmir facing Pakistan's army". In this story, the newspaper put the two armies in a non-negotiable position where war is the only position. No reference is given to the causes and background of the conflict and war

79

and differences is presented as inevitable. Researchers believe even if media are free to report on conflicts, war journalism approach is usually followed due to the typical journalistic conventions and standards (Fawcett, 2010; Youngblood, 2017; Hussain, 2015).

**H2:** The three war events (Kargil war, Mumbai Attacks and the popular uprising in Kashmir) are predominantly reported in war journalism approach as compared to the peace events (Lahore declaration, Agra Summit and economic CBMs).

**Table 2: Distribution of War and Peace Journalism in Terms of the Nature of Events**

| Nature of event | WJ | PJ | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Violent events | 1595(62) | 974(38) | 2569(100) | Chi-square 4.5 |
| Peace events | 722(55) | 598(45) | 1320(100) | p-value .07 |
| Total | 2317(60) | 1572(40) | 3889(100) | |

The hypothesis 2 conjectured that war journalism would be more prominent in the war events as compared to the peace events. As shown in the above table, in the war three events, as many 62 percent stories were reported in the war journalism category and 38 percent stories were reported in the peace journalism category. Similarly in the peace events, 55 percent stories were reported in the war journalism category and 45 percent stories were reported in the peace journalism category. The higher p value (.07) suggests that war journalism is dominant in both types of events and the difference is not significant and hence the hypothesis is not supported. These findings are quite consistent with the existing scholarship with some variations. Relevant literature suggests that peace journalism is possible when the overall environment is positive towards peace overtures (Wolsfeld, 2004; Hanitzch, 2007; Hussain, 2017; Iqbal and Hussian, 2017). These researchers believe more peace-oriented coverage

becomes the norm when parties in a conflict enter peace agreements. However, in this study, despite a sizeable number of peace journalism stories in the peace events, war journalism stories were still dominant due to the elite orientation of the process.

**H3:** The Kargil war involving direct military confrontation between India and Pakistan produce more war journalism stories as compared to other warring events.

**Table 3: Distribution of War and Peace Journalism in Terms of Nature of Conflict**

| Nature of conflict | WJ | PJ | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kargil war | 588(72) | 230(28) | 818 (100) | |
| Mumbai attacks | 597(64) | 343(36) | 940(100) | Chi square 12.5 |
| Kashmir uprising | 410(51) | 401(49) | 811(100) | P value .03 |
| Total | 1595(62) | 974(38) | 2569(100) | |

As shown in the above table 3, the Kargil war being a border conflict between India and Pakistan was mainly reported in the war journalism perspective as compared to the Mumbai attacks and the Kashmir uprising. As many as 72 percent stories reported it in the war journalism category as compared to the 28 percent stories in the peace journalism category. Similarly, the Mumbai attacks got 64 percent coverage in the war journalism fashion and 36 percent coverage in the peace journalism fashion. Finally, the Kashmir uprising got 51 percent stories in the war journalism category and equally higher number (49 percent) got peace journalism approach. Statistically the p value is lower than the .05 and hence it is deduced that the war journalism is not equally distributed among all the categories and hence the hypothesis is supported. The above data reveals that the prevalence of war journalism

81

is related with the nature of a conflict. Higher the intensity of a conflict, higher the prevalence of war journalism. In a detailed analysis, Hussain and Lynch (2018) found that peace journalism was inversely related with the assumed security nature of a conflict. While peace journalism was less prominent in the Taliban conflict, the score of peace journalism improved as the intensity of a conflict decreased. For example, the sectarian conflict is mainly reported in the peace journalism approach by the Pakistan media (Hussain and Rehman, 2015).

**H4:** The economic CBMs (2011-12) are predominantly reported in peace journalism approach as compared to the other peace events.

**Table 4: Distribution of War and Peace Journalism Stories on the Peace Events**

| Events | WJ | PJ | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lahore declaration | 342(62) | 210(38) | 552(100) | |
| Agra summit | 270(59) | 184(41) | 454(100) | Chi square 13 |
| Economic CBMs | 110(35) | 204(65) | 314(100) | P value .02 |
| Total | 722(55) | 598(35) | 1320(100) | |

As shown in the above table 4, among the three peace events between India and Pakistan, the Lahore declaration got 62 percent stories in the war journalism category and 38 percent stories in the peace journalism category. Similarly the reporting on Agra summit got 59 percent stories in the war journalism category and 41 percent stories in the peace journalism category. Unlike the above two events, the economic CBMs got 35 percent stories in the war journalism category and 65 percent stories in the peace journalism category. These findings suggest an important departure from the existing literature on peace journalism that it is possible when the structural forces are supporting it (Wolsfeld, 2004; Hanitzch, 2007; Hussain, 2017; Iqbal and Hussain,

2017). In this study, apart from the economic CBMs, rest of the two peace events is reported in the war journalism perspective. Some important reasons for this type of coverage are the elite-orientation of these events heads of governments were involved, the excessive political nature of the two events (to normalize relations after years of hostility and wars) the political environment. The opposition parties in the two countries were criticizing the respective governments for comprising on national security, which got maximum coverage in the press and hence more war journalism. Similarly, due to the typical professional demands of journalistic profession, the peace talks were reported to have failed even before some headway was made. The extensive media coverage often resorted to critical politicians, military generals etc. and hence the coverage became negative. Unlike these two events, the talks on economic CBMSs which were held at a ministerial level went with lesser critical debates and hence more peace journalism. It means lesser an issue in political and elite orientation greater are the chances for peace journalism.

**H5:** News Stories contain more war journalism as compared to the opinion stories while reporting on the war and peace events between India and Pakistan.

**Table 5: Distribution of War and Peace Journalism in Terms of Type of Story**

| Type of story | WJ | PJ | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| News | 1843(64) | 1053(36) | 2896(100) | Chi-square 65.3 |
| Opinion | 474(48) | 519(52) | 993(100) | P value .06 |
| Total | 2317(60) | 1572(40) | 3889(100) | |

As shown in the table 5, news stories were mainly war journalism oriented. As many as 64 percent news stories are reported in the war journalism category and 36 percent news stories were reported in the peace journalism category. Opinions pieces

on the other hand, were almost evenly distributed between war and peace journalism approach. However, as the probability is higher then 0.5 so statistically this difference is not significant and the hypothesis is not supported. A number of researchers (Lee and Maslog, 2005; Siraj, 2008; Hussain and Siraj, 2018) have found that peace journalism is dominant in opinion pieces because here the writers are not bound by the journalistic deadlines and restrictions (Fawcett, 2002) and they can dig into the causes and consequences of conflicts. In this study, a number of opinion pieces discussed background and contexts of Indo-Pak conflicts and empathized for peaceful resolution of bilateral tensions.

**R.Q.1:** How the reporting of war and peace events is distributed in the selected press in terms of war and peace journalism approach?

**Table 6: Event-Wise Distribution of War and Peace in the Selected Press**

| Events | Dawn | | The Hindu | | The Gaurdian | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | WJ | PJ | WJ | PJ | WJ | PJ | |
| Kargil Wars | 194 (23) | 106 (14) | 294(26) | 78(12) | 100(29) | 46(26) | 818 (21) |
| Mumbai Attacks | 163(19) | 181(24) | 352(31) | 129(19) | 82(23) | 33(19) | 940(24) |
| Kashmir Uprising | 171(20) | 216(30) | 195(17) | 164(25) | 44(13) | 21(12) | 811(21) |
| Lahore declaration | 150(18) | 85(12) | 150(13) | 97(15) | 42(12) | 28(15) | 552(14) |
| Agra Summit | 110(13) | 68(9) | 111(10) | 92(14) | 49(14) | 24(14) | 454(12) |
| CBM's | 48(6) | 83(11) | 32(3) | 97(15) | 30(9) | 24(14) | 314(8) |
| Total | 836 | 739 | 1134 | 657 | 347 | 176 | 3889 |
| | (100) | (100) | (100) | (100) | (100) | (100) | (100) |

As shown in the above table 6, the coverage of the six events are presented in the three selected newspapers in terms of war and peace journalism. In the war journalism category, *Dawn* reported the three war events including the Kargil war, Mumbai

attacks and the uprising in Kashmir in highest war journalism fashion. Of all of these, the Kargil war got 23 percent of stories in the war journalism approach followed by the uprising in Kashmir, which got 20 percent stories. The three peace events got relatively lower percentage of war journalism. Likewise, in the peace journalism category, the uprising in Kashmir got more peace journalism stories followed by the Mumbai attack. The higher peace journalism presence in the war events is mainly due to the more coverage that these events got. The uprising in Kashmir is predominantly reported in human rights perspective and hence more peace journalism. Similarly, the Mumbai attacks were initially reported through sympathetic lenses over civilian casualties that got turned into war journalism when Pakistan was implicated in these attacks.

While talking about *The Hindu* Newspaper, in the war Journalism category, *The Hindu* reported Mumbai attacks and Kargil war in highest war journalism fashion. As many as 31 percent of total stories appeared in the war journalism category in the Mumbai event followed by the Mumbai attack. It is quite obvious since kargil was the first active border war between India and Pakistan after the 1971 war. The peace events got relatively lesser percentage of war journalism as shown in the above table. Similarly in the peace journalism category, *The Hindu* gave more coverage to the uprising in Kashmir (25 percent) followed by the Mumbai attack (19 percent). The peace events also got sizable amount of peace journalism.

*The Guardian* on the other hand, predominantly reported the Kargil war and the Mumbai attacks through the war journalism approach. Of all the six events, as many as 29 percent stories were reported in the war journalism followed by 23 percent stories in the Mumbai attack event. Similarly, in the peace journalism category, of all

frame was the usage of demonizing language for the stakeholders. Similarly, the emphasis on the visible effects and partisanship suggest the media showed biasness. Likewise, among the peace journalism indicators, people-oriented got 20 percent coverage, focus on invisible effects got 17 percent coverage, solution oriented coverage got 15 percent and win-win orientation got 11 percent coverage. These indictors are of mild peace journalism nature where it occurs due to situational factors and not as an agential force (Lynch, 2008; Hussain and Siraj, 2018). In one representative news story, daily *The Guardian* (July 22, 1999) reported a detailed story entitled as "Early deal to end Kashmir conflict was ignored". In this story, the newspaper criticized the policymakers of India and Pakistan for ignoring the human cost of the Kargil war through military dilly-dallying 'that cost hundreds of lives and increased the chances of an all-out **war** between the two countries'. The application of active war journalism frames imply that journalists consider themselves part of a conflict and promote the interests of a particular party.

**R.Q.3:** How the *Dawn*, *The Hindu* and *The Guardian* differ from each other in terms of key attributes while reporting on the six events.

**Table 8: Key Indictors in *Daily The Hindu***

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Differences oriented | 118 (5) | Solution oriented | **182 (15)** |
| Visible effects | **297 (14)** | Invisible effects | **219 (18)** |
| Elite oriented | 227 (10) | People oriented | **284 (24)** |
| Here and now centered | 201 (9) | Causes and effects | **115 (10)** |
| Dichotomous | **293 (14)** | Avoid of good/bad guy | 45 (4) |
| Two-party oriented | 226 (10) | Multi-party oriented | 95 (8) |
| Partisan | **271 (12)** | Non-partisan | 45 (4) |
| Zero-sum-oriented | 185 (9) | Win-win orientation | 102 (9) |
| Demonizing language | **365 (17)** | Avoid demonizing language | 95 (8) |
| Total | 2183(100) | Total | 1182(100) |

As shown in the above table, the key four indicators of war journalism are demonizing language (17 percent), dichotomy (14 percent), visible effects (14 percent) and partisanship (12 percent) in daily *The Hindu*. In one representative story, *The Hindu* (September, 2017) reported as headlined "Paramilitary forces receive special training to deal with protests". In this news story, information is provided about the military preparedness and discuses how the terrorists can be defeated. The article stresses on the use of force against the militants and advises that 'peace overtures are of no use'. In another story, the same newspaper (July 7, 2017) reported a story in which it criticized Pakistan for 'glorifying' militant Wani. The story does not focus on the situation in the Kashmir valley and reduces the conflict to the violence protests and the law and order situation created after the death of activities of Kashmir militant leader Burhan Wani. These stories represent active war journalism by *The Hindu* while reporting on the war and peace events between India and Pakistan.

Similarly, in the peace journalism context, *The Hindu* reported the six events mainly through the people-oriented frame (24 percent), invisible effects (18 percent), solution-oriented (15 percent) and causes and effects (10 percent). In one representative story, *The Hindu* (February 2017) reported "Lockdown in the Valley, 5 women injured in shelling". In this story, the newspaper dwelt on the plight of injured people and stressed on the forces to avoid shooting non-combatants.

**Table 9: Key War and Peace Journalism Attributes in *Dawn***

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Differences oriented | 98 (6) | Solution oriented | **98** | **(15)** |
| Visible effects | **246 (15)** | Invisible effects | **122** | **(19)** |
| Elite oriented | 198 (12) | People oriented | **187** | **(28)** |
| Here and now centered | 148 (9) | Causes and effects | 58 | (9) |
| Dichotomous | **198 (12)** | Avoid of good/bad guy | 23 | (3) |
| Two-party oriented | 195 (12) | Multi-party oriented | 48 | (7) |
| Partisan | **203 (12)** | Non-partisan | 23 | (3) |
| Zero-sum-oriented | 98 (6) | Win-win orientation | 55 | (9) |
| Demonizing language | **268 (16)** | Avoid demonizing language | 48 | (7) |
| Total | 1652(100) | Total | 662(100) | |

Quite in line with *The Hindu*, *Dawn* mainly applied the demonizing language (16 percent), visible effects (15 percent) and 12 percent coverage each for the focus on elite-orientation, dichotomy and two-party oriented. In one representative story, *Dawn* (November, 2016) reported on the "Indian war hysteria". The article focused on the Indian jingoism but did little to highlight the part of Pakistan as well. Partial and one-sided information often lead to wrong conclusions are lead to war journalism (Lynch, 2013). In a study, Lee and Maslog (2005) found both the India and Pakistan press resorted to demonizing language while reporting on the Kashmir dispute.

Similarly, in the peace journalism category, the four key indicators are people-oriented (28 percent), invisible effects (19 percent) and solution-oriented (15 percent). The focus on people-oriented coverage makes *Dawn* different from *The Hindu*. In one representative story, *Dawn* (December 2018) reported "A defendable solution for Kashmir" in which the newspaper focused on the exploration of different avenues for

resolving the Kashmir dispute. This is a good story in terms of peace journalism because here cost of war is counted and peace is preferred over jingoistic emotions.

**Table 10: Key Indicators of War and Journalism in *The Guardian***

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Differences oriented | 30 (5) | Solution oriented | **94 (23)** |
| Visible effects | 55 (8) | Invisible effects | **51 (12)** |
| Elite oriented | **107 (17)** | People oriented | **96 (24)** |
| Here and now centered | 55 (8) | Causes and effects | **37 (9)** |
| Dichotomous | **105 (16)** | Avoid of good/bad guy | 27 (6) |
| Two-party oriented | 38 (6) | Multi-party oriented | 33 (8) |
| Partisan | **83 (13)** | Non-partisan | 12 (3) |
| Zero-sum-oriented | **97 (15)** | Win-win orientation | 34 (8) |
| Demonizing language | 77 (12) | Avoid demonizing language | 27 (7) |
| Total | 647(100) | Total | 411 (100) |

As shown in the above table, *The Guardian* mainly reported the six events through elite-oriented frame (17 percent), dichotomous frame (16 percent), zero-sum oriented frame (15 percent) and partisan frame (13 percent) in the war journalism category. While *The Hindu* and *Dawn* applied the demonizing language frame, *The Guardian* did not focus on it and applied zero-sum oriented coverage. For example in one story (July 2012) *The Guardian* reported "Mumbai terror attacks suspect arrested by Indian police". Instead of focusing on the ongoing bilateral talks between India and Pakistan, the newspaper goes to the deadly event of Mumbai attacks and reignites the enmity between the two nations. Similarly on the peace journalism side, the four most frequent indicators are solution oriented (23percent), invisible effects (12 percent), people-oriented (24 percent) and causes and effects (9 percent). These

indictors are very much in line with the other two newspapers that focused on almost
the same indicators while reporting on the six events.

# DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this study, the researcher has contently analyzed the prevalence of war and peace journalism in the elite press of India, Pakistan and UK on the reporting on three war and three peace events in the past twenty years between India and Pakistan. The data was collected by operationalizing the war and peace journalism indicators as identified by Galtung (2000), Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) and Maslog and Lee (2005). The three war events included the Kargil conflict (1999), Mumbai attacks (2008) and the uprising in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir region from 2016-2018 and the three peace events included the Lahore Declaration (1997), Agra Summit (2001) and Confidence Building Measures (2011-2012). The three elite newspapers included *Dawn* (Pakistan), *The Hindu* (India) and *The Guardian* (UK). The data was obtained through lexis-nexus database. The total number of stories in the final sample was 3889, which included both news reports and opinion pieces.

The findings from this study are interestingly very much in line with the existing literature with few original contributions to the scholarship as well. As discussed in the findings chapter, the war journalism approach proved to be the dominant perspective in the reporting of selected events. This is not surprising, as majority of the studies on the conflict reporting have found that war journalism is the norm and peace journalism in an exception (Fahmy, 2004; Wosfield, 2004; Lynch, 2008; Ottosen, 2008; Youngblood, 2017; Hussain and Lynch, 2018). In the Indo-Pak context, previous studies have found preponderance of war journalism due to the entrenched nationalistic discourses and ideological differences (Thussu, 2002; Lee and Maslog, 2005; Lee, 2006; Siraj, 2008; Sreedharan, 2013; Bose, 2016). As shown

in the research hypothesis one, the liberal and progressive newspaper *Dawn* from Pakistan reported the Indo-Pak conflicts from the nationalistic perspective. This challenges the dominant view among the Pakistani security establishment, which consider *Dawn* as compromising on national security. Iqbal and Hussain (2018) also found that *Dawn* followed the nationalistic perspective while reporting on conflicts with India. These findings support the indexing theory, which argues that media follow national interests while reporting on international events. Interestingly, as compared to *The Hindu*, *Dawn* is less war-oriented. The reason for this is the particular contexts of the events. Except for the Kargil War, the other warning events Mumbai attacks and uprising in Kashmir occurred on the Indian side. The Pakistani government sympathized with India over the Mumbai attacks but later the conflict intensified when India implicated Pakistan in the attacks. On the Kashmir issue, the Pakistani side is emphasizing on the human right violations. So the initial Pakistani stance on Mumbai attacks and on the Kashmir issue, Pakistan position is less jingoistic and more conciliatory and hence chances for more de-escalatory coverage.

Similarly, *The Hindu* appeared to be more war-oriented as compared to the other two newspapers. One main reason for this dominance of war journalism is the Indian-centricity of these war events. A number of studies by Indian researchers (Thussu, 2002; Bose, 2016; Seth, 2011; Sreedharan, 2013) have found that the country's press is escalatory while reporting on conflicts with Pakistan. *The Guardian* was included in this study to analyze how a newspaper from a third country having no direct stakes in the Indo-Pak conflicts would report the six events. As shown in the findings, *The Guardian* was no less war-oriented and jingoistic. These findings are supported by the literature where researchers have found that war journalism approach is usually

followed due to the typical journalistic conventions and standards (Fawcett, 2010; Hussain, 2015; Youngblood, 2017).

The critics of peace journalism argue that it is a normative concept and could not be practiced during wars and conflicts when national feelings and patriotism rule supreme. Relevant literature suggests that peace journalism is possible when the overall environment is positive towards peace overtures (Wolsfeld, 2004; Hanitzch, 2007; Hussain, 2017; Iqbal and Hussian, 2017). These researchers believe more peace-oriented coverage becomes the norm when parties in a conflict enter peace agreements. However, in this study, this formulation is not supported. The press appeared to be war journalism oriented during both war and peace events. This tendency is due to the long-standing enmity and mistrust between India and Pakistan and the sensationalistic nature of the media environment where even peace overtures are viewed with suspicion.

However, as shown in the hypothesis three, the key arguments in the peace journalism scholarship are supported by this study. The Kargil war, which was an active war between the armies of India and Pakistan war reported mainly in the war journalism fashion as compared to the other warring events. This means the prevalence of war journalism is related with the nature of a conflict. Higher the intensity of a conflict, higher the prevalence of war journalism. In a detailed analysis, Hussain and Lynch (2018) found that peace journalism was inversely related with the assumed security nature of a conflict. While peace journalism was less prominent in the Taliban conflict, the score of peace journalism improved as the intensity of a conflict decreased. For example, the sectarian conflict is mainly reported in the peace journalism approach by the Pakistan media (Hussain & Rehman, 2015). Similarly, the

Israeli media report Palestinians more in war journalism approach as compared to the Jordanian who are considered less problematic (Wolsfeld, 2004).

The view that peace journalism approach is possible in less securitized and less elitist environment is evident from the hypothesis four where among the three peace events, the economic CBMs were more prominently reported in the peace journalism fashion. The Lahore and Agra summits were major peace talks between India and Pakistan that were conducted after very hostile incidents. However, as shown in this study, both these events got less peace journalism frequencies due to the elites involvement and typical journalistic cultures. So it is deduced from this study that peace events are not likely to be reported in peace journalism fashion if these are conducted in high elitist environment. These findings suggest an important departure from the existing literature on peace journalism that it is possible when the structural forces are supporting it (Wolsfeld, 2004; Hanitzch, 2007; Hussain, 2017; Iqbal and Hussian, 2017). In this study, apart from the economic CBMs, rests of the two peace events are reported in the war journalism perspective. Some important reasons for this type of coverage are the elite-orientation of these events-heads of governments were involved, the excessive political nature of the two events (to normalize relations after years of hostility and wars) and the political environment. The opposition parties in the two countries were criticizing the respective governments for comprising on national security, which got maximum coverage in the press and hence more war journalism. Similarly, due to the typical professional demands of journalistic profession, the peace talks were reported to have failed even before some headways were made. The extensive media coverage often resorted to critical politicians, military generals etc. and hence the coverage became negative. Unlike these two events, the talks on economic CBMs which were held at a ministerial level went

with lesser critical debates and hence more peace journalism. It means lesser an issue in political and elite orientation greater is the chances for peace journalism.

In this study, the researcher also tested the possibility of peace journalism in the opinion pieces. A number of researchers (Lee and Maslog, 2005; Siraj, 2008; Hussain and Siraj, 2018) have found that peace journalism is dominant in opinion pieces because here the writers are not bound by the journalistic deadlines and restrictions (Fawcett, 2002) and they can dig into the causes and consequences of conflicts. In this study, however, the difference between news story and opinion piece was not very discernable in terms of war and peace journalism.

Separately, the three newspapers were also investigated in terms of war and peace journalism as per the six events. Dawn produced more war journalism while reporting on the Kargil war and Mumbai attack and produced more peace journalism while reporting on the uprising in the Kashmir region. Similarly, The Hindu produced more war journalism while reporting on the kargil war as compared to other events. On the other hand, The Guardian was almost equally divided between war and peace while reporting on the events.

This study also investigated the dominant features of war and peace journalism. The major indictors of war journalism are the usage of demonizing language, emphasis on visible effects and labeling the parties in the conflict in terms of good and bad. These indicators are a clear departure from professional ethos of journalism and are considered as active form of war journalism. It means most of the times, in these conflicts, the journalists violated the ethical considerations of their professions and worked for the interests of policy elites of their respective countries. Likewise, among the peace journalism indicators, people-oriented coverage, focus on invisible

effects and solution oriented coverage were the major indicators. These indicators are of mild peace journalism nature where it occurs due to situational factors and not as an agential force (Lynch, 2008; Hussain and Siraj, 2018).

This dissertation offers an original contribution to the peace journalism scholarship in some important directions. While the peace journalism scholars usually believe that peace opportunities would result in peace journalism (Lynch, 2013; Youngblood, 2017), this study found that the nature of peace events are important contributing agents. In longstanding disputes like between India and Pakistan where mutual suspicions are high, institutions are weak, popular sentiments and political positions are at stake, peace events are more likely to be reported in the war journalism approach. Peace journalism has more chances to be practiced if the issues are of less political and strategic nature, media attention is de-focused and talks conducted at closed bureaucratic levels. In this study, the talks economic CBMs got more peace oriented coverage because these were held in less political and media glare as compared to the Lahore and Agra summits which involved meetings between heads of governments of India and Pakistan.

Secondly, the nature of war and peace journalism approach is linked with the nature of an event. If an event involves a direct confrontation between rival groups, the national media is bound to produce more war journalism. If the level of intensity of a conflict decreases, opportunity for peace journalism increases. In this study, the Kargil war got more war journalism as compared to the Mumbai attacks and the violence in Kashmir.

Finally, the researcher found that unlike the war journalism approach which is often conducted by the media professional as a deliberate act, the occurrence of peace

journalism is devoid of any agency. As shown in this study, the war journalism indictors were active and specifically chosen by the media professionals to report on certain events. On the other hand, the peace journalism indictors are of mild nature that can be treated as practices imbibed with journalistic ethics rather than an active agential duty by journalists to promote peace and harmony between India and Pakistan. The findings from this study can be presented in the following list of policy recommendations.

## 5.1 Recommendations

Following are the recommendations from this study

1. The media in both India and Pakistan should highlight the conflicts through the context and background in which these originated. De-contextualization often leads to misinformation and wrong conclusion.

2. The media in both India and Pakistan should do critical and professional reporting. As shown in the study, the media as in its present form, is part of the problem.

3. Peace and harmony are the guarantee for a prosperous South Asia. Media in India and Pakistan should promote peace overtures and discourage belligerencies by highlighting the loss and costs of wars.

4. When the governments are in a state of a conflict, peacemaking by media is difficult. But media can highlight the invisible effects of wars like its effects on people, culture, economy and values.

5. Both India and Pakistan are involved in long entrenched conflicts. Peacemaking process would be always difficult to start on sustainable basis. It

is the duty of media to cease sensationalism and create awareness that compromises and gives and takes are for mutual benefits.

6. As shown in this study, it is unfortunate that the media of both countries are escalatory even during peace talks. As important stakeholders, it is incumbent on media to eschew destructive reporting of conflicts and come up with broader and transcending perspectives.

7. Media need to highlight the sufferings and problems of common people. One important way to get out of the present imbroglio is to focus on people-oriented narratives.

8. Peace journalism scholarship offers worthy guidelines on responsible and ethical reporting of conflicts. Journalists of the two countries can learn from the numerous books on peace journalism on how to implement it for the lager benefit of humanity.

9. It has been shown that parties in a conflict usually find it difficult to come up with innovative ideas due to an array of factors. Different international bodies like UNESCO etc. can come up with proposals to train journalists in responsible reporting of conflicts.

10. Last but not the least, though media people of both countries would find it difficult to report constructively on hot conflicts like Kahsmir conflict, cross-border firing, they can do peace-oriented reporting of less political topics like art and culture, economy and entertainment businesses. There is a need to revive the Aman Ki Asha like programs to kick-start the peace and reconciliation process at some level.

## 5.2 Limitations

Like all human endeavors, this study has several important limitations.

1. In this study, the researcher was able to analyze content of just one newspaper from India, Pakistan and UK. This could be increased to more newspapers and TV channels for a more thorough understanding of the media reporting of these conflicts.

2. The study was conducted only at quantitative level. Future studies could include more qualitative investigations like interviews with stakeholders and critical analysis of text.

3. Social media are important institutions that can be utilized for peace process. In this regard, different platforms are already in place. It is feasible to analyze the scope of social media in the Indo-Pak conflicts.

4. The concept of peace journalism is evolving. Apart from the theoretical model used in this study, there are other models are Shinar model, Kempf model etc. These models should be selected and operationalized for future analysis.

5. In conflict zones, newspapers are usually depended on news agencies for information. In this regard, future studies could be conducted on the role of foreign news agencies in promotion of war and peace journalism.

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