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News Framing on Indo-Pak Conflicts in the News (Pakistan) and Times of India: War and Peace Journalism Perspective

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Abstract

This study aimed to explore the news framing of Indo-Pak Conflicts with regard to war and Peace Journalism by Times of India and The News, Pakistan. The foremost objective of this research was to measure the stance of the Pakistani and Indian prestigious newspaper towards treatment of Indo-Pak Conflicts especially the issues relating to Kashmir and Terrorism. This research study utilized the content analysis in which unit of analysis was the entire news story published in above said newspapers for the period of one year. The news slant was categorized into favorable, unfavorable and neutral. It was found that Daily the News published 364 while 435 news stories were published on Indo-Pak Conflict with special reference to Kashmir and Terrorism conflicts throughout the period of study. The peace frame in the News, Pakistan was more likely to be slanted as compared to Times of India. Furthermore, it was also hypothesized that war frame would be used greater by the Times of India and the data confirmed this prediction made by the researcher and it was found that the level of war frame especially on the issue of Kashmir, Times of India utilized the hatred language and such words of war frame were measured in the Times of India coverage which clear cut depicted the picture of promotion of war between India and Pakistan. It can be safely concluded that peace frame in the News, Pakistan while War frame in Times of India were measured as more than their neutral coverage on war and peace. Moreover, the findings revealed that on the issues related to mutual cooperation and Indo Pak relations the favorable portrayal was observed in The News, Pakistan but there was a significant number of unfavorable coverage in Times of India with regard to Indo Pak conflicts. War frames on Kashmir Issue and Terrorism disputes was also found greater in Times of India as compared to The News, Pakistan who promoted peace culture particularly on the issues relating to terrorism and Kashmir.

Keywords: War and peace journalism; Indo-Pak conflict; Kashmir issue; Terrorism; Pakistani and Indian print media

Introduction

Keeping in mind the geographical importance, Pakistan and India are nuclear states having very strong armed forces and abundant natural resources. It can clearly be imagined that any conflict, disability or hostility could result in the infirmity of the whole region. Pakistan's role and significance in war against terrorism has made it more reliable country in the world as most of the actions taken against terrorists are from or with the help of Pakistan. In these circumstances the conflicts between India and Pakistan have got attention of the world especially the issues relating to Kashmir and terrorism. These conflicts would bring havoc in the world.

The trend of peace and war journalism is worldwide phenomenon and no one can deny its importance regarding peace and conflicts. The reporters cover the news stories in such a way that change the whole scenario of the event. This study will provide the whole understanding towards the inclination of peace and war journalism on Indo-Pak conflicts. Media is considered as a tool for the resolution of conflicts. It can escalate and deescalate the issue. This study provides the new horizons to both media groups in peace process between Pakistan and India. It will also explore the role of both newspapers that how they are reducing the differences and enhancing peace process on Indo-Pak conflicts.

The news media is an important source of information about current events and can play a vital role in influencing public opinion. Ross pointed out that media can play a critical role in international dealings and conflicts because citizens are heavily dependent on media to provide timely, trustworthy information of remote events. This dependency of news arises because citizens have not any other source of information or the capability to attain first-hand information about remote events and conflicts; they have to rely on media coverage. While the accurate information on news media can provide the help to reduce the tension of conflict.

However, the news media have to face many challenges during the coverage of disputes, including dependence on government and military sources. Both sources are very careful about how they manipulate the news stream and mold public opinion through the news media. Every person has to rely on media's information; they do not know what could have actually been done behind the information. They see the picture of conflicts through media's eye [1].

With reference to India and Pakistan's relations, media from both sides is trying to minimize the heat and want to enter the relations of two countries into new arena. Two big media groups Jang group of Pakistan and The Times group of India have started peace campaign. This study will focus to explore the news coverage of The News (Pakistan). In other words, the research will try to open the new angles that how both the newspapers cover and frame the clashes of both rivals in peace and war journalism.

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Media and conflict

Media can play an important role in solution of conflicts. It can adjust the whole scenario and create harmony between the two conflicting nations. Media has played a key role in creating awareness among the people and justifies its role as a thought provoking instrument. Mass media have some elements (News media) which are focusing on the Dissemination of information among masses. The News media has the worth to make a sketch of peace on the minds of public. It can involve in opinion making of the people either directly or indirectly.

Geelen argues that media has power to reach large number of audiences in any part of the world, mainly poor countries where most of the conflicts take place, it can be fruitful instrument in resolving disputes. According to him it can raise the tension between conflicts in shaping of war journalism. Hieber argues that "media can be a doubleedged sword [2]. It can be a frightful weapon of violence when it propagates messages of intolerance or disinformation that manipulate public sentiment".

Kashmir issue

Kashmir is the flashpoint between Indo-Pak conflicts. The issue was started after the birth of India and Pakistan when Maharaja Hari Sing annexed its state with India and by passed the desire of Muslims. They wanted to accede with Pakistan but Maharaja Hari Sing signed an agreement with India. In response India offered a military aid to Maharaja Hari Sing. Kashmir dispute between them has become an intractable one. They fought three wars on Kashmir issue in 1947, 1965, and 1999, but unable to resolve it. The Indians and Pakistanis claimed that the Kashmir is their own territory.

Husain describes that "India and Pakistan are the world's most populous countries, with both having nuclear capability, the Kashmir issue has the ominous potential of escalating into a nuclear war" [3]. Alam explains that the only way to normalize the relationship between India and Pakistan is to resolve the issue of Kashmir according to the will of the natives. If we want peace in this region then it is necessary to resolve the issue. The writer feared that this issue may stop the progress of peace process between India and Pakistan [4].

The relations of India and Pakistan are being spoiled due to the tension of Kashmir issue, as the Kashmir issue is the key hurdle in the progress of both countries as well as peace process. The people of Jammu and Kashmir also want to resolve this conflict in peace manner between India and Pakistan. They want complete termination of the dispute.

Terrorism

Terrorism is an activity that can blow a flame of fire between the two peaceful nations. Pakistan and India tried many times to come closer to each other but every time some kind of hindrances would occur between peace processes. Mumbai attacks were the event that created a gap between India and Pakistan Peace Bridge. After Mumbai attacks, situation was very nasty on both sides and they were ready to come in front with each other in the battle field.

Pakistan has asked for the continuation of dialogue to restart the peace process but India refused. According to wade, Pakistani official claimed that 5366 civilians have been killed and 13000 seriously injured in terrorist incident in Pakistan. Pakistan had clear evidence of connection of India in terrorist activities in Pakistan, though furnish or funds and artillery to the militant groups.

Statement of problem

This study aims to find out the coverage of newspapers, The News (Pakistan) and The Times of India (India) on Indo-Pak conflicts regarding Peace and war journalism perspective. The basic purpose of study is to investigate the news framing regarding peace and war journalism between Pakistan and India. In other words, the study will focus on the role of both the newspapers in peace and war framing on Indo-Pak conflicts. Hopefully, the result of this study will provide the new horizon in peace and war journalism between Pakistan and India.

In this study, the researcher explores the framing used in both newspapers while covering the stories regarding the conflicts of Kashmir and Terrorism between India and Pakistan. This could help in better understanding the current direction of the Pakistani and Indian press towards conflict and peace. The study would also testify some of the mindset regarding the inclination of the journalism in both the countries. This study would also help in understanding the overall situation of journalism regarding the peace making.

Objectives of the study

In this research, the foremost objective was to investigate the crisis and confrontation between India and Pakistan with reference to Kashmir and terrorism. Furthermore this study dealt with the media of Indo Pak, the News from Pakistan and The Times of India to analyze the war and peace journalism with regard to Kashmir and terrorism. This study will examine the slant of war and peace journalism as portrayed by the both countries print media.

Literature Review

Khan analyzes the War and Peace framing in his article a comparative Study of Editorial Treatment on Indo-Pak Conflicts in Daily Dawn and the Nation: War and peace journalism perspective [5]. This study was based on Galtung peace and war model. By using content analysis, he evaluated 326 paragraphs, 117 from daily Dawn and 209 from daily The Nation. They are moving towards war and not promoting the peace journalism.

Siraj explores the war and peace journalism framing in his article "War or Peace Journalism in Elite US Newspapers: Exploring News Framing in Pakistan-India Conflict" on Pakistan-India conflict over Kashmir in the New York Times and the Washington [6]. This study theoretically linked with Galtung Model. The content analysis revealed that the dominated frame was war journalism. However, when news articles included more peace journalism framing, Pakistan was portrayed more favorably. Conversely, more stories favored India when using war journalism frames, and less favored India when using the peace journalism frames.

Siraj and Hussain investigated the framing of war and peace journalism in their article "War Media Galore in Pakistan: A Perspective on Taliban Conflict "in the two English newspapers The Dawn and The News and the two Urdu newspapers The Jang and The Express [3,6]. Theoretically linked with war and peace model. The Content analysis of the study expressed that Urdu Newspapers persists the war journalism and English newspaper covered more conflicts.

Kim describes in their article Asian regional conflicts and the war in Iraq. Content analysis of 1,558 stories was conducted to examine the coverage of the War in Iraq and the Asian conflicts involving Pakistan and India's tussle over Kashmir, the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, the Muslim separatist movement in the southern Philippine province of Mindanao, and the Aceh and Maluku civil wars in Indonesia The reporters work towards conflicts linked to elite class.

Youngblood and Harvit determined the framing of war and peace journalism in their article "The New York Times and The Associated Press framed Iraq" [7]. The researchers used content analysis and collected all the Iraqi-dateline stories produced by The Associated Press and The New York Times for a stratified random sample of 28 days in 2006 four randomly selected Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and so forth. Theoretically associated with Galtung Model. War frame focuses on elite class as source. Mostly, news on visible effects of war, as clash and fatalities; and uses distress language, such as "terrorist," "extremist" or "radical."

Fahmy and Neumann illustrated the photographs towards war and peace journalism in their article "Shooting War and Peace in Photographs "they tried to test the model by using content analysis [8]. The study revealed that critical role in constructing and publicized of visual news worldwide. The results of study specified that the newswires provide the better understanding about the role of gate keeping on war reporting. They investigated the degree to which the photographs in these three wires services highlighted war vs. peace journalism. The findings demonstrated in that both promoted the war figures as compare to peace.

Chnung and Lessman studied the news framing in the context of war and peace journalism in their article "War and Peace Journalism Frames in Cross-National News Coverage of North Korea's Nuclear Test" [9]. They explored the differences in news coverage of North Korea's 2006 nuclear test by newspapers from the United States, China, and South Korea. The study Findings based on a content analysis of 290 articles from the highest-circulation native-language newspaper in each country. The unit of analysis was the individual article. The U.S. coverage confirmed the strongest war journalism framing, the Chinese coverage the strongest peace journalism framing, and the South Korean coverage the strongest neutral framing.

Workneh Tewodros evaluated the framing of news in the war and peace perspective in their article A Case Study of U.S. and British Newspapers Coverage of the Somali Conflict [10]. The study is theoretically linked with framing war and peace context. The Results revealed all American and British newspapers analyzed higher degree of war journalism framing. They indicated that the journalists and particularly international journalists rely ritual and elite sources. They don't bother the importance of peace journalism.

Yang investigates the extent of coverage in the context of war and peace frames in their article "Framing Analysis of a Conflict:" Theoretically, this study associated with war and peace journalism model [11]. The content analysis was used of news stories in Sin Chew Daily, the Chinese daily newspaper with the biggest circulation in Malaysia. The unit of analysis was the news stories. The leading frame used in the coverage of keris wielding was war journalism. According to the researcher, that the newspapers can a play critical role in shaping social and political reality because most editors and publishers belonging to the elite class.

Lance and Youngblood inspected the coverage of news in their article "Covering a world in conflicts" [12]. This study based on the categorization system established by Johan Galtung. A content analysis used of randomly selected stories of conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia-Ethiopia and Chad-Sudan in 2006. The results of study originated that The New York Times produced more peace frame. The findings of the study provide significant evidence that the west media promote peace journalism. Patel investigates The Galtung's claim regarding news coverage of conflict that media normally follow the low road and a win lose effect the news coverage in his M.phil thesis "News Coverage and Conflict Resolution" [13]. He argued that media generally cover the violence oriented events and ignore the peaceful treatment of the events. The researcher describes that news coverage can be fertile weapon of violence in the shaping of war journalism. In this study content analysis were used and analyzed 906 news stories from the front page of four publications, Tine Hindu, The times of India, The telegraph and The Indian Express. The study verified the Galtung claim that the news media cover the most hostile aspects of dispute and close the eyes to the peaceful aspect of the conflict.

Theoretical framework

This study is theoretically linked with Galtung's Model of war/ peace journalism, and Framing theory. According the Model by John Galtung the philosophy of peace journalism is that Such kind of journalism always give a message to the people that how to save from the tyranny of war days. It also provides an opportunity to both opponents to come on table for solution. Galtung argues that peace journalism makes the conflict transparent and gives right to hear the voices of everybody which are involved in the conflict and diminishing conflict between two opposing parties [14]. In this research the researcher tried to explore the news coverage regarding peace journalism that how both the newspapers frame the disputes between Pakistan and India. The aim of elite class is to create a clash between the two opponents to achieve their own interests. Elite class launches a propaganda technique to fail one party and triumph over the other. The researcher will try to investigate that how media cover the news regarding war journalism.

Framing theory

The concept of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain issues and then sets them within a field of meaning. Media framing theory is related to the seminal work of sociologist Erving Goffman [15]. He describes frames as "scheme of interpretation that allocate individuals to trace, identify, perceive and label" issues, events, and topics. Robert Entman modernized this definition by specifying that "to frame a communicating text or message is to promote certain facts of a perceived reality" [16].

Hypotheses

H1: The Peace frame in The News (Pakistan) would be greater than the Times of India.

H2: The Times of India would use war frame on terrorism as compared to The News (Pakistan).

H3: The News (Pakistan) would use peace frame on Kashmir conflict as compared to The Times of India.

H4: It is more likely that the proportion of peace and war coverage would be greater in the Times of India as compared to The News (Pakistan).

Methodology of Research

For this study, the researcher used the method of content analysis. The researcher has also used the John Gatling's model for War and Peace journalism for research. The categories are constructed according to guidelines of the model and the war and Peace journalism are classified on the basis of this model. The study is based on John Galtung's war/ peace journalism model presented in 1986, 1999 [14]. He suggested

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some categories; in this study researcher apply the same model presented by Galtung. For instance, if a number of the paragraphs in a news story were peace journalism indicators, the news story was coded as a peace journalism frame. In case both war and peace journalism indicators were equal for example, if six paragraphs in a story carry war journalism indicators and six paragraphs carry peace journalism indicators that news story was coded as neutral. For slant (Favorable, Unfavorable) the complete news story was the coding unit as well as contextual unit. Therefore, the unit of analysis for the study was entire news story.

Findings

To explore the framing on Indo-Pak Conflicts Kashmir and Terrorism the researcher analyzed 799 News stories, 364 from The News (Pakistan) and 435 from The Times of India. The Results revealed that War and Peace frames are being used by both the News Papers in the News Stories on Conflicts between India and Pakistan. Detail description of findings and results are under Table 1.

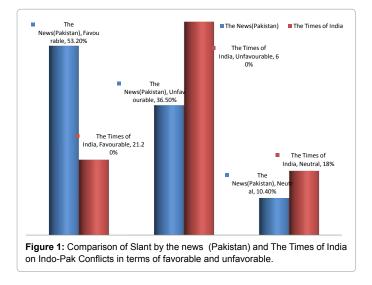
The above table shows the results of the analysis with regard to treatment of Pakistani and Indian newspaper towards Kashmir Issue and Terrorism with special reference to war and peace journalism. It can be easily comprehend from the data given in the above table that there was a significant difference of treatment by both of newspapers towards framing war and peace as it can be noted that war frame was highly promoted and framed by the Times of India while on the contrary the News, Pakistan framed and promoted peace journalism. Both newspapers also differ in frequency of news stories publishing too.

The Figure 1 illustrates that The News (Pakistan) used favorable slant in news stories regarding Indo-Pak conflicts against India which is 53.2% as higher proportion than unfavorable 36.5%. Whereas, The Times of India used unfavorable slant in news stories against Pakistan which is 60% greater proportion than favorable 21.2%. Both the

Newspapers	Total	War frame	Peace Frame	Neutral
	News stories			
The News (Pakistan)	364	158 (43%)	165 (45%)	41 (11.26%)
The Times of India	435	260 (59%)	40 (9%)	135 (31%)

 Table 1: News Framing on Indo-Pak Conflicts on Kashmir and Terrorism by The

 News (Pakistan) and The Times of India war and peace journalism perspective.

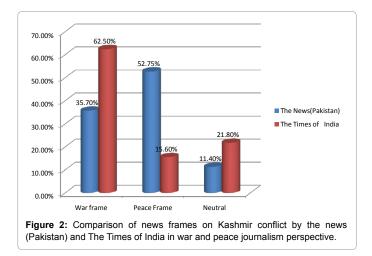


Conflicts	War frame	Peace Frame	Neutral	Total News stories
Kashmir	100 (62.5%)	25 (15.6%)	35 (21.8%)	160
Terrorism	160 (58.18%)	15 (5.4%)	100 (36.3%)	275

Table 2: News framing on Kashmir and Terrorism Conflict by Times of India.

Conflicts	War frame	Peace Frame	Neutral	Total News stories
Kashmir	78 (35.7%)	115 (52.7%)	25 (11.4%)	218
Terrorism	80 (54.7%)	50 (34.2%)	16 (10.9%)	146

 Table 3:
 News framing on Kashmir and Terrorism Conflict by The News (Pakistan).



newspapers used very less total of neutral slanting correspondingly, 10.4%, 18%.

Table 2 explains that The Times of India framed more war journalism on Indo-Pak conflicts regarding to Kashmir and Terrorism. The analysis clearly indicates that the Times of India endorses war culture between Pakistan and India. The majority of news stories succeeding the war journalism with 62.5% on Kashmir and 58.18% as compared to the peace journalism.

The analysis demonstrates the clear picture of war and peace journalism on Indo-Pak Conflicts of Kashmir and terrorism. The frame by the News (Pakistan) on Indo-Pak conflicts is based on peace frame and stress that the issues should resolve peacefully between both countries. The finding reveals that The News (Pakistan) covered the conflicts in pacific manners and emphasis on mutual cooperation and harmony (Table 3).

Figure 2 clearly shows that the Times of India used more war frame on Kashmir conflict which is 62.50% as the greater proportion of war frame by the use of The News (Pakistan) that is 35.77%. The News framed the conflict peaceful way and used more peace frame which is 52.75% as the higher ratio than the Times of India which is 15.62%. The Times of India covered more neutral frame as compared to the The News (Pakistan) correspondingly, 21.87% and 11.46%.

Figure 3 clearly shows that the Times of India used more war frame on Terrorism conflict that is 58.58% as the higher ratio of war frame by the use of The News (Pakistan) which is 54.70%. The News framed the conflict positively and used more peace frame which is 34.24% as the greater proportion than the Times of India which is 5.40%. The Times of India used more neutral frame as compared to the The News (Pakistan) respectively, 36.36% and 10.95%.

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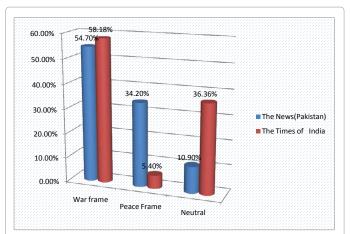


Figure 3: Comparison of news frames on Terrorism conflict by the news (Pakistan) and The Times of India in war and peace journalism perspective.

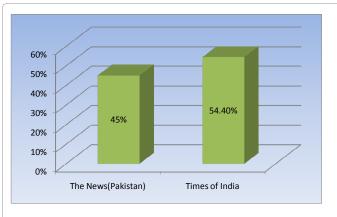


Figure 4: Total News Coverage of war and peace journalism on Kashmir and Terrorism conflict by the news (Pakistan) and The Times of India.

The Figure 4 clearly illustrates that the Times of India gives the more coverage on Indo-Pak conflicts of Kashmir and terrorism as compared to the The News (Pakistan).

Discussion and Conclusion

The present study elaborates the framing analysis of the War and Peace journalism with special reference to Indo Pak conflicts by the daily News, Pakistan and The Times of India. The period of study was one year from 1st October, 2012 to 31st October, 2013. All news stories published in both newspapers were analyzed so it was a census study. The main reason behind the selection of these newspapers was the both newspapers were in favor of harmony and mutual understanding between both countries.

The analysis revealed that the peace frame in The News, Pakistan was more likely to be slanted as compared to Times of India. The level of peace frame in the News, was more than that of Times of India with reference to Indo Pak conflicts, Terrorism and Kashmir Issue. Furthermore, it was also hypothesized that war frame would be used greater by the Times of India and the data confirmed this prediction made by the researcher and it was found that the level of war frame on terrorism and the issue of Kashmir, Times of India utilized the hatred language and such words of war frame were measured in the Times of India coverage which clear cut depicted the picture of promotion of war between India and Pakistan. Moreover, the findings revealed that on the issues related to mutual cooperation and Indo Pak relations the favorable portrayal was observed in The News, Pakistan but there were a significant number of unfavorable slants towards Pakistan in Times of India with regard to Indo Pak conflicts. It is found that "The News (Pakistan) used 52% Peace frame in the news stories on Kashmir conflict between Pakistan and India and The Times of India used 15% Peace frame and the researcher also found that "The Times of India" more practices 58.5% war journalism on the issue of terrorism between India and Pakistan in the news stories and the News" practices 54% war journalism. The Times of India also gave more coverage to the conflicts as compared to The News (Pakistan). War frames on Kashmir Issue and Terrorism disputes was also found greater in Times of India as compared to The News, Pakistan who promoted peace culture particularly on the issues relating to terrorism and Kashmir.

List of words and phrases used by the News (Pakistan)

The above Table 4 list of phrases and words clearly gives the picture that the News (Pakistan) mostly framed peace journalism as compare to war journalism. Content analyses of the news stories designate the clear picture of war and peace journalism. This type of framing will not be only helpful in peace but could be beneficial for mutual understanding and ensuring prosperity in the region. Peace and friend ship, exchanging sweets than bullets, hands with hands, Long term friendship, Practical peace Building a new bridge mostly used in news stories. The tone of the words shows that The News (Pakistan) is a cool customer with regard to India. Even in war frame. The News (Pakistan) adopted a safe passage that leads to peace process. The wording of news stories communicates that stability and development is necessary for peace. Thus, the stance by The News (Pakistan) give the message to

eace journalism	War journalism	
 Most favorite Nation Love the neighbor hands with hands Mutual co-operation exchanging sweets than bullets People to people Reconciliation and harmony democratic standards Mutual understanding Peace building Sustainable peace Better discussion Soft ties Practical peace Meaningful talk Speak up for peace Peace debates Joint declaration Building a new bridge Long term friendship Composite dialogue Peace campaign Trade Ties Restoration of peace Khelne do Aaghaz-e-dosti Peace difficust 	Terror attack Illegal occupation Negative mindset Indian Troops Derail dialogues Indian aggression Torture and trembling Blasting Militants Causalities Sponsor to terror Killing Condemnable attack Retaliate to Indian firing Martyred Fresh firing Indian allegation Violation of ceasefire Open Firing	

Table 4: List of words and phrases used by the News (Pakistan).

Peace efforts

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War Journalism	Peace Journalism
 War of words Horrific Barbaric attack Pakistan's spy Pakistan imilitant Summons Pakistan Suspend peace talks Tit for tat Act tough Avenge Tests patience Escape route Clean chit Plotting Terror export Aiding infiltration Accused Occupied Extremist Terrorist outfit Pro-jihadi Revenge Proxy war Brutality Teach the lesson Terror camps Killing 	 De-escalate tensions Welcome dialogues Flag meeting Resolve conflicts Positive steps Common currency Mutual trade Joint business Better future Peace oriented Peace campaign Joint business

Table 5: List of words and phrases used by the Times of India.

India that Pakistan remains committed to discussing and resolving all outstanding issues with India through a meaningful dialogue.

List of words and phrases used by the Times of India

Above Table 5 list of the phrases and the words demonstrates that The Times of India has used more war frame as compared to peace frame. Qualitative analysis reveals that The Times of India is promoting war culture with Pakistan. Content analysis communicates the harsh attitude of The Times of India in news stories. The intensity of the words shows the level of enmity by The Times of India in war promotion coverage. Overall, The Times of India attempt to create tensions between the two countries through the use of anti-Pakistan language in news stories. The tone used in The Times of India remained aggressive in most of the news stories. On the other hand, The News (Pakistan) has been friendlier in news coverage towards India. The framing analysis of both the newspapers shows that The Times of India has used anti Pakistan sentiment in news stories while The News (Pakistan) portray a positive picture of Indian government on different issues.

Media is said to be the powerful tool in the society and it can be safely and conveniently expressed that it has played and continue to play a pivotal role in dissemination of information to build the perception and opinions of the general public. As a social agent of change media should abide by the rules and regulation set by the different media sociologists and as well government in order to safeguard the public and national interests. Furthermore, media could play a strong and efficient role in peace building and mutual understandings not only amongst the different groups but between the countries as well. Millions of poor people are living in both countries. So it is better than that take care of people rather than going to war against each other. These are things that we need thus; the media should play a sensible role during the coverage of conflicts between India and Pakistan. "The world today is thirsty for peace. There is no big or small war. Even the death of one citizen is a war".

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