

**Media Conflict Resolution: Framing of the Govt-TTP Dialogue in the Editorials of  
Nawa-i-Waqt and Jang newspapers**

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## FRAMING GOVT-TTP DIALOGUE IN EDITORIALS

### Abstract

Every newspaper dedicates space called editorial to put up its official stance on some topic. Contrary to objectivity being minded in news stories, an editorial either endorses or rejects an issue with stating its own editorial stance. The government of Pakistan, when initiated dialogue with the banned Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), in 2014, two leading Urdu newspapers – Daily Jang and Daily Nawa-i-Waqt - in their editorials from January 2014 to July 2014 took up different positions.

To analyze the editorial contents, agenda-setting and framing approaches were used. These newspapers discussed the dialogue activity under themes like pre-parliament discussions, the impact of terror attacks on talks, discussion in the National Assembly on talks, different stakeholders' stance on talks, terms of the government and TTP for the dialogue, impact of terrorism and TTP terms for the dialogue and military operation during the dialogue process. The Nawa-i-Waqt, though an extreme right paper, opposed the dialogue whereas the Jang, a center to right paper, favored the activity and showed its tilt towards the banned TTP's stance.

### Introduction

Kuusik (2010) states peace building process can be aided by the mass media and prominent coverage. In a way, the media can be an effective device in restoring peace in war-torn areas. Pakistan saw a barrage of deadly terror attacks after it went for an operation against radical elements in the Red Mosque operation in Islamabad in 2006. During the Pakistan People's Party rule from 2008-2013, such demands were not bought by the government quarters.

However, when the Pakistan Muslim League-N (PML-N) took over in 2013, it showed signs of entering into dialogues with the banned outfit. It was on January 29, 2014, when then prime minister Nawaz Sharif announced in the National Assembly going for peace dialogues with the banned TTP.

Pakistani English and Urdu language newspapers' editorials on the dialogue held between the Pakistani government and the TTP influenced the outcome of the process. This shows the power of the media in the powerful policymaking circles. The mass media plays an important role in shaping public opinion while analyzing the pressing issues of state and society, which subsequently influence policymakers. The tools in hands of the press are agenda setting, news angling, and framing. The editorial section represents a newspaper's official views on the most pressing issue of the day.

Straus (1956) sees conflicts a mean where either side try to either defuse or damage or eradicate each other. He says that a conflict is not inherently pathological or always necessarily dysfunctional although it is inevitable. Strauss (1958) found that every culture had its share of conflicts and that the elements shaping norms could counter the impacts of conflicts. The definition of conflict by Rubin, Bruitt, and Kim (1994) is considered the perfect definition as it can be applied widely across cultural settings. They say that a conflict is an outcome of simply clash of interest, or of a belief that parties involved in a conflict cannot accept simultaneously.

Among third parties, one can be the mass media. The news coverage of a conflict resolution, when aided by glorious elements, boasts the level of resolution (Galtung and

Ruge, 1965). Media can either pacify or instigate mobs on the occasions of death, destruction and wounds (Nohrstedt, 2009).

### **An overview of Pakistani Press**

According to Shah (2010), more or less the press in Pakistan functions without restrictions. There is, however, a stark difference in the English press and the Urdu press. She says the Urdu press has less influence from their English counterparts even though Urdu is the national language of Pakistan. Kahlique (2006) sees English a modern and international language and one of the key sources of knowledge, benefits its users with easy access to international markets, and that it is an easy source of communication across the globe. Shoeb (2008) says that Pakistani English newspapers represent left-on-centre and liberal views. On the other hand, Urdu newspapers in Pakistan are also equally powerful because of their massive circulations.

### **Overview of government-TTP dialogue**

The government of Pakistan offered peace talks to the TTP after a multi-party conference held in Islamabad in September 2013 recommended the process for the government. The inception of the TTP began in 2007.

On January 28, 2014, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said in the National Assembly that the government would begin talks with Taliban militants, represented by the banned TTP, for bringing normalcy to the country (*Dawn*, 2014). A four-member committee consisting on Prime Minister's Adviser on National Affairs Irfan Siddiqui, famous English reporter Rahimullah Yousufzai, former diplomat Rustam Shah Mohmmand and retired Major Amir Shah was formed for the dialogue with the militants.

The TTP announced their five-member body on January 31, 2014, to do negotiations with government's committee. The TTP representatives were Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf chief Imran Khan, Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam-S chief Maulana Sami-ul-Haq, *Lal Masjid cleric* Abdul Aziz, Jamaat-i-Islami leader Prof Mohammad Ibrahim, and Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam-F's Mufti Kifayatullah (*Dawn*, 2014). Controversies erupted as Imran Khan, Abdul Aziz and Kifayatullah said they would not be part of the TTP committee. The TTP soon formed

## FRAMING GOVT-TTP DIALOGUE IN EDITORIALS

another committee which included Maulana Sami ul Haq, Professor Ibrahim and Maulana Abdul Aziz. Both bodies were to hold their first meeting on February 4 but the meeting never took place. On February 9, the Taliban's political shura or core committee put up 15 demands for holding the talks which included:

When the talks were on, terrorist activities kept on killing the people as on February 11, 2014, a blast at a cinema in Peshawar claimed the lives of 13 people. The terror incident was a sort of breach of a ceasefire earlier announced by the TTP.

On March 12, 2014, the government introduced a new committee for the dialogue, which included bureaucrats. They were Habibullah Khattak (secretary of the Ports and Shipping), Arbab Arif (FATA Secretary), Fawad Hassan Fawad (Prime Minister's Additional Secretary) and Rustam Shah Mohmand (former diplomat).

Later on, talks never progressed. On March 1, 2014, the TTP declared a month-long ceasefire to show their readiness for the talks with the government (BBC, 2014). The government also ceased air strikes on TTP's strongholds in North Waziristan.

### **Overview of the selected newspapers**

For this study, the editorials of *Daily Jang* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* were selected.

*Daily Jang*: *Daily Jang* was launched in 1939, which makes it the oldest newspaper of Pakistan. The popular newspaper is published from seven stations: Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Quetta, Multan, Peshawar and Birmingham, UK.

*Nawa-i-Waqt*: Founded by Hameed Nizami, *Nawa-i-Waqt* was launched in 1941. It is published from Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Quetta, Multan, Peshawar and Birmingham, UK. The newspaper has the largest numbers of readers from all over the country as it is the guardian of Pakistan's ideology, with well-established center-right and nationalist credentials.

## FRAMING GOVT-TTP DIALOGUE IN EDITORIALS

### Research Questions

The questions to be researched in the study are as under.

### Main Question

What stance/frames were taken up in the editorials of *Daily Jang* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* on the issue of talks between with the government of Pakistan and the TTP dialogues from January 2014 to July 2014?

### Sub-questions

- a) Of *Daily Jang* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*, which newspapers wrote more editorials on the talks between the government and the TTP?
- b) Did the editorials of *Daily Jang* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* written from January 2014 to July 2014 on the government-TTP dialogue highlight the need for conflict resolution?
- c) What issues did editorials of *Daily Jang* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* discuss while discussing the government-TTP dialogue during the course of the dialogue?

This paper was the part of this researcher's thesis for MPhil in mass communication with the Government College University, Faisalabad in the 2016-2018 session.

### Theoretical framework

This paper explored the numbers of editorials by two leading Urdu newspapers of Pakistan *Daily Jang* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waq* published from January 2014 to July 2014 on the issue of the government-TTP dialogue. This paper also attempted the content analysis of editorials by *Daily Jang* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* regarding the policies of the government of Pakistan, the military leadership, the TTP and political parties on the negotiation exercise between the government team and the TTP team. This paper also aimed at analysing the slants in the editorials of the two bestselling Pakistani Urdu newspapers on the talks between the government and the TTP when the dialogue exercise was on from January to July 2014.

## FRAMING GOVT-TTP DIALOGUE IN EDITORIALS

The paper also took the quantitative content analysis of editorials of the two Urdu newspapers being discussed for the study, written during the dialogue period. The study adopted Agenda Setting on the data to see if the theory was confirmed or not by the results.

The editorials of *Daily Jang* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* on the peace dialogue between the Pakistan government and the TTP were selected as the sample of the study. The selection of editorials was done through purposive sampling, and newspapers were accessed through the archive sections on the website of the two newspapers. The editorials of the two newspapers were the unit of analysis. The editorials were selected on the following criteria: any editorial figuring the TTP and the government with words ‘peace negotiations’, ‘peace talks’, ‘peace dialogues’, ‘negotiations’, ‘dialogues’, and ‘talks’ was taken up a unit for analysis in the study.

The paper examined the coverage and direction of the editorials of top two Pakistani-leading Urdu newspapers *Daily Jang* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* on the circumstances and situations in pre-dialogue, during-dialogue and after-dialogue days from January 2014 to July 2014. The analysis was categorized as pro-TTP, pro-government of Pakistan and neutral.

The coded topics were taken with slants as ‘supportive’, ‘opposition’ or neutral. Also, the Likert Scale was adopted to measure data. Likert Scale is the ultimate choice of social science researchers for they give validity besides single scores from a set of items. These scales’ reliability rate is 0.085 and 0.094 and allows ranking of respondents.

### **Quantitative Analysis of Editorials**

*Daily Jang* wrote 103 editorials and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* published 118 editorials on the peace talks between the government of Pakistan and the TTP from January to July 2014.

Of those editorials, *Daily Jang* wrote 78 editorials supporting the process or the stance of the TTP and opposed the talks nine times, whereas *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*’s 56 editorials had

## FRAMING GOVT-TTP DIALOGUE IN EDITORIALS

strong non-favorable content and 11 editorials were written in the favor of the process. This is quite shocking to see as *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* is considered to be a newspaper with strong ideological roots with its tilt to center to far right. If we see the month wise break up, *Daily Jang* published 13 editorials on the talks in January, 28 in February, 22 in March, 16 in April, 10 in May and June each and four in July whereas *Nawa-i-Waqt* wrote 19 pieces in January, 30 in February, 20 in March, 19 in April, 16 in May, 12 in June and 2 in July.

The placement of the editorials also matters a lot. Both newspapers publish three editorials every day, and of them, the most important issue is editorialized in the lead editorial. The findings show that *Daily Jang* 87 times placed the dialogue times in its lead editorial while *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* placed the dialogues-related editorials at the first place. Similarly, the dialogue issue found its place in the second editorial nine times and seven times in the third editorial place in *Daily Jang*. *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* covered the topic 28 times in the second editorial and 12 times in the third edition.

The editorials under the discussion published in *Daily Jang* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* on the peace talks covered a range of topics, the stance of the government was much editorialized as *Daily Jang* discussed it 54 times and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* 49 times.

The other much-discussed topic was terrorism affecting the process. *Daily Jang* wrote 14 editorials on this topic, whereas *Nawa-i-Waqt* wrote 14. TTP terms and stance consumed eight editorials of *Jang* and 17 of *Nawa-i-Waqt*.

Civil-military relations in connection with the talks grabbed three editorials in *Daily Jang* and 11 in *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*. The views of political parties on the peace talks and conflict resolution were discussed in *Daily Jang*'s six editorials and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*'s seven editorials. Eight editorials of *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* and nine of *Daily Jang* were related to the dialogue committees' formation.





## FRAMING GOVT-TTP DIALOGUE IN EDITORIALS

Once again, *Daily Jang's* editorial “کب چیت بات سے طالبان؟” (January, 2014), the newspaper showed its desperation to remove bottlenecks in the talks. The editorial mentioned that,

”اگرچہ ملک کی تمام بڑی سیاسی جماعتیں قیام امن کے لئے اصولی طور پر طالبان سے مذاکرات کا آغاز کرنے کی حمایت کر چکی ہیں اور اس سلسلے میں آل پارٹیز کانفرنس میں اس کی منظوری بھی دی جا چکی ہے لیکن ابھی تک اس حوالے سے کوئی موثر پیش رفت ہوتی نظر نہیں آئی۔ حکومت کی جانب سے اگرچہ طالبان سے بات چیت کے لئے مولانا سمیع الحق کو باقاعدہ ناسک دے دیا گیا تھا لیکن خود ان کو یہ شکوہ ہے کہ حکومت نے مذاکرات کا گرین سگنل تو دے دیا ہے لیکن وہ تذبذب کی شکار ہے اور بات چیت کے لئے سنجیدہ دکھائی نہیں دیتی۔۔۔۔۔ اس سے اندازہ ہو سکتا ہے کہ اس سلسلے میں پیش رفت کتنی مشکل ہے لیکن سیاسی و عسکری قیادت اس امر پر بہر حال متفق ہو چکی ہے کہ مذاکرات صرف آئین کو ماننے والے اور مسلح جدوجہد کو ترک کرنے والے گروہوں سے ہی کئے جائیں گے۔ یہ بات بہر طور کسی وضاحت کی محتاج نہیں کہ یہ کام صرف حکومت کے کرنے کا نہیں بلکہ اس میں طالبان پر اثر و سونخ رکھنے والی تمام شخصیات کے تعاون کی ضرورت ہوگی اور اگر پوری سنجیدگی، خلوص اور یکسوئی سے اس ضمن میں اجتماعی جدوجہد کی جائے تو امکان غالب ہے کہ اس تگنٹائے سے نکلنے کی کوئی نہ کوئی صورت ضرور نکل آئے گی۔“

The content shows the editorial is totally in the favor of talks. It not only supports the process as the only mean to achieve peace, it also suggests the government to consult religious figures who wield influence in the TTP circle to bring the faction to the negotiation room. Its editorial “اعلامیہ امن” (February, 2014), on the ulema convention, stated all religious schools of thought had openly supported stopping terrorist activities through peace talks. The editorial stated

”علماء کرام اور مشائخ عظام کا بڑی تعداد میں اس کنونشن میں شرکت کرنا اور حکومت طالبان بات چیت کو طاقت کا آپشن استعمال کئے بغیر ڈائیلاگ اور مکالمے کے ذریعے حل کرنے پر زور دینا غیر معمولی اہمیت کا حامل ہے“

The editorial says that peace talks were being supported by every Muslim scholar in the convention. No one in the convention said anything against the TTP, which had claimed responsibility for terror strikes. In the subsequent editorial “مذاکرات اور دھماکے اکٹھے کیسے چلیں گے؟” (February, 2014), *Daily Jang* asked the stakeholders to consider the delicacy of the time and urged them refrain from issuing such statements that could derail the talk process. The editorial went ahead as,

”توقع کی جانی چاہئے کہ فریقین جب تک کسی حتمی نتیجے پر نہ پہنچ جائیں، میڈیا پر بیان بازی سے گریز کریں گے اور تھل، بردباری اور اعلیٰ ظرفی کے ساتھ مکالمے کو آگے بڑھاتے ہوئے ان عناصر کی کوششیں ناکام بنادیں گے جو بد امنی کے ذریعے مذاکرات کو سبوتاژ کرنا چاہتے ہیں کیونکہ مذاکرات اور دھماکے ساتھ ساتھ جاری رہے تو بات بگڑنے کے

غدشات کو مسترد نہیں کیا جاسکتا۔"

The newspaper never condemned the TTP for terror strikes and instead it kept on pacifying the terror outfit. The editorial advised both parties to keep away from the media as inflammatory statements could damage the talks process. The newspaper sees 'external elements' as a sabotaging factor for the peace talks. It can be said *Daily Jang* was sincerely preaching peace through talks.

In March 2014, *Daily Jang* editorial "فیصلہ ساز مذاکرات اور قتل و غارت" states that the stalemate in talks is due to some explicit realities but the process should continue despite bloodshed. The newspaper wrote,

"وزیر اعظم نے سرکاری مذاکرات کاروں کی اس تجویز کو منظور کر لیا کہ مذاکراتی عمل میں سرکاری اداروں اور فوجی حکام کو شامل کیا جائے جس کے بعد بدھ کے روز اکوڑہ تنک میں حکومتی کمیٹی اور طالبان کمیٹی کے درمیان ملاقات میں مشترکہ اعلامیے کے ذریعے واضح کیا گیا کہ امن مذاکرات فیصلہ کن مرحلے میں داخل ہو چکے ہیں اور دونوں کمیٹیاں اس بات پر متفق ہیں کہ نئی حکمت عملی اور موثر لائحہ عمل طے کیا جائے۔"

The newspaper declared the resumption of dialogues between government and TTP bodies a courageous move by both sides. After the murder of FC personnel by the TTP, talks had been suspended. The newspaper, however, put blame on 'some external elements' for sabotaging the peace talks as both the parties were losing their trust over each other.

In another editorial, on March 2014, it was suggested by the newspaper that. پیشرفت

In this editorial, the newspaper covered that,

"اس وقت صورتحال یہ ہے کہ حکومت اور طالبان شوری کے درمیان مذاکرات کے دوسرے اور اہم مرحلے کے لئے ملاقات کے مقام کے تعین سمیت بعض اہم امور فیصلہ طلب ہیں جبکہ تحریک طالبان کے ممکنہ مطالبات کے حوالے سے سرکاری حلقوں میں غور و خوض کی خبریں بھی میڈیا پر آرہی ہیں۔ ان متوقع مطالبات میں عام معافی، طالبان قیدیوں کی رہائی، قبائلی علاقوں سے فوج کو ہٹا کر ایف سی اور دیگر قانون نافذ کرنے والے اداروں کی تعیناتی جیسے امور شامل ہیں"

In all, editorials time and again wanted the peace talks to succeed. It even envisioned rehabilitation and streamlining of TTP militants once the country was on way to normalcy. These pro-dialogue editorials stated negative propogandas and misconceptions regarding the TTP be addressed for the success of the talks. It can be concluded from the content analyses of *Daily Jang*'s editorials that each and every editorial comprising the advocating stance of Taliban and peace talks by virtue of abolishment of terrorism and upbringing of peaceful environment.

**Daily Nawa-i-Waqt's editorial**

In January 2014, in editorial “کیا دہشت گردوں سے حکومتی رٹ تسلیم کرانے کا اب بھی وقت نہیں آیا؟”, the newspaper took a stern stand against TTP's terrorism in unequivocal terms. The editorial also did not spare the government from criticism, saying such flawed policies were the real causes fanning terrorism. It was stated that,

"چنانچہ دہشت گردی کے خاتمہ سے متعلق حکومتی پالیسی میں موجود اس دو عملی نے ہی امن وامان میں مزید بگاڑ پیدا کیا ہے۔ اگر حکومت یکسو ہو کر اپنی سیوریٹی فورسز کے ذریعے دہشت گردوں کے ٹھکانوں کا قلع قمع کرنے کی پالیسی کو عملی جامہ پہنائی تو ملک میں دہشت گردی کی زسریوں کے پروان چڑھنے کی فضا کبھی ہموار نہ ہوتی"

Without mincing words, the newspaper stated that there should not have been any soft corner for the insurgents. The editorial came up with logical arguments to combat terrorism through full force. The editorial took the government to the task for engaging the TTP in talks instead of dealing it through firearms.

The newspaper wrote another hard-hitting editorial on March 2014, raising questions about the roles of dialogue committee members from the government. In "طالبان کا بھی مذاکرات کیلئے پانچ رکنی مذاکراتی کمیٹی کا اعلان اور اس کمیٹی کی نمائندہ حیثیت پر ابہام... اگر طالبان کسی معاہدے کو توڑیں گے the newspaper elucidated the whole scenario as "اس مجوزہ کمیٹی کی حیثیت اور دائرہ کار بھی ابھی تک واضح نہیں۔ اگر کل کو مذاکرات کے کسی مرحلہ پر طالبان کی جانب سے دو طرفہ مذاکرات میں طے پانے والے کسی معاہدے کی خلاف ورزی کی جاتی ہے تو کیا طالبان کی نامزد کمیٹی اس کی ذمہ داری قبول کرے گی یا اسے طالبان کا ذاتی فعل قرار دے گی، بے شک اس کمیٹی کے ارکان کی غالب اکثریت ان سیاسی اور دینی قائدین پر مشتمل ہے جو طالبان کے لئے نرم گوشہ رکھتے ہیں"

The editorial showed concerns over the dialogue committee members' credentials. In its view, the TTP committee was non-representative and that the TTP was a non-binding party in the process.

The newspaper was critical of the dialogue and warned the government about the outcome of the exercise. The scathing title of the editorial “کیا حکومت مذاکرات کی کامیابی کی خاطر اپنا” (January, 2014) speaks volume. The editorial said the government must take a saner approach and end the fruitless exercise. The editorial articulated contradictions in the process. It said the primary reason for the likely failure of the talks is the difference of opinion between the army and political leaders. The other reason was a breach of the

## FRAMING GOVT-TTP DIALOGUE IN EDITORIALS

ceasefire by the TTP as they killed the FC personnel captured by them earlier in 2017. Despite these glaring violations, political leaders were optimistic about installing peace through talks with the TTP.

In June 2014, *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* editorial “15 دن میں پیش رفت نہ ہوئی تو فوج کو فری ہینڈ دے” gave some extreme suggestions to government in case of failure of the peace talks because the TTP had violated its commitments many times in the past. The editorial described that,

"مسلم لیگ(ن) کی حکومت نے مذاکرات کے ذریعے دہشت گردی ختم کرنے کی کوشش کی، طالبان شکستوں اور جوابی شکستوں کے بعد مذاکرات کی میز پر آگئے۔ انکے مطالبات میں ڈرون حملوں کا خاتمہ اور اپنے قیدیوں کی رہائی سرفہرست تھی۔ انکے متعدد قیدی رہا کر دیئے گئے اور پاکستان کی درخواست پر ڈرون حملے بھی امریکہ نے روک دیئے۔ مذاکراتی عمل کا آغاز ہوا لیکن طالبان گروپوں کی آپس کی لڑائی اور مذاکرات کرنیوالے گروپوں کی جنگ بندی کے اعلان کے باوجود دہشت گردی کی کارروائیاں مکمل طور پر نہ روکنے کے باعث مذاکرات ناکام رہے۔"

The newspaper strongly criticized the government for its backdoor favor's to TTP activists during the talks and even before the start of talks. Exhausted by continuous non-seriousness by the TTP, and inaction by the government, the newspaper editorial demanded that the government field the army only for two weeks and it would deliver. The newspaper wrote that the TTP was fighting with the army and the nation at the behest of some external hands. In a way, the army would fight both the TTP and external hands if it were given free hands only for two weeks.

The comparative analysis of the editorials shows that *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* strongly opposed the TTP for its terror activities and criticized the government for its flawed vision of talks. *Daily Jang*, however, supported talks and remained reluctant to condemn the TTP for its terror activities.

### Conclusion

The study shows both leading newspapers gave huge coverage to the talk process. Of them, *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* showed harsh response towards the process for the reason the outfit has been responsible for a relentless spree of death and destruction. The newspaper also discussed the government's confused, undecided and ambiguous strategy to tackle militancy. *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* took the move of the dialogue by the government with the militant outfit

## FRAMING GOVT-TTP DIALOGUE IN EDITORIALS

as caving into militants. Another reason was that militants had no stakes to lose as they did not believe in the statehood and the Constitution of Pakistan.

On the other hand, *Daily Jang* saw dialogues the only way to achieve peace as the usage of power against terror outfits was a long process. It kept on stressing the government to make the talks success being a major partner in the process. Some editorials also asked the TTP to show seriousness to make the talks success. The newspaper's editorial board failed to condemn terror strikes taking place at the times of dialogue.

The difference of editorial opinions of the two major newspapers shows that the media in Pakistan is free to take their editorial lines.

### **Recommendations**

The detailed study of editorials of *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Daily Jang* written in the first six months of 2014 brings some recommendations.

The analysis of editorials shows both newspapers took extreme lines, instead of taking an agreed, shared line of editorial on this sensitive issue. *Daily Jang* was the supporter of the dialogue despite militants' apathy towards people's life and lamb. *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* was on the other side and this exhibits the diversity of minds in newsrooms. This diversity, however, does not follow the elements of peace journalism. It is recommended that editorial boards not show too much pessimism or optimism in their editorial policies regarding conflicts.

One newspaper discouraged every step by the government from the very beginning of the dialogues whereas the other newspaper kept pressuring the government to keep the process on and make it a success. This creates confusion among the public as well as the negotiators regarding the talk process. Conflicts are in fact testing times for nations, and such circumstances should be addressed with unity and pro-peace approaches. In such times, the

## FRAMING GOVT-TTP DIALOGUE IN EDITORIALS

state should awake to editorials policies and create a liaison with editorial boards to inform them regarding the process.

In conflicts and wars, the mass media should stand by the state without compromising on atrocities by the army or the state. The best way would be that policymakers and defence personnel should brief the media about the critical issues so that the editorial boards are clear about what they are writing in editorials.

Conflicts and wars give an opportunity to media people to highlight the root causes of conflicts and wars and educate the public and the world on how to stem the bloodshed.

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