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Article:	Media, War, and Peace: A Post Pulwama Comparative Study of India and Pakistan
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Abstract

According to Johan Galtung's theory, war journalism and peace journalism are two frames. Peace journalism is a solution oriented while war journalism escalates conflicts. This study aims at comparatively exploring the nature of coverage during a conflict. This paper examines the role of the Pakistani and Indian elite press after the Pulwama attack, leading to the Balakot airstrike. For the collection of data, researchers have selected four leading elite newspapers i.e. two from Pakistan and two from India. The researchers have collected two month's data after the incident of Pulwama leading to air craft conflict between the two states. Data is collected through content analysis which is further analyzed. The findings indicated that the media with dominate war frames compromise national security.

Keywords: War, Conflict, security, Peace, Pulwama attack, Airstrike attack.

Introduction

Peace and conflict journalism argues that during any crisis, unlike the government, media has several choices. It can decide what news should be covered and how. As an initiator of public discourse, the media has to decide whether to promote jingoism during a conflict to please war maniacs and increase its audience or it can work to transcend peace for regional good at large. According to the theory, in any conflict media through its coverage and reporting of a conflict can instigate violence spread hate and promote aggression. It never looks at viable solutions and proposes acceptable resolution of the issue. Rather it avoids them and it creates existentialist heroes and villains in its coverage, further strengthening and stretching a conflict. Any media industry that aims at supporting the above-mentioned roles can be called media that supports 'conflicts and wishes war'. While if a media landscape tries to look at larger good of the people and in its coverage offer peaceful and non-violent solutions to the issue, its coverage and reporting of the conflict can be called 'Peace Journalism'. The media working for peace, does not only promote greater peace of a region but also highlights the turmoil and destruction of war and miseries faced by people stranded in the eye of a conflict.

The relationship between these two countries has been mostly unsound, and destructive. Both countries have fought wars in 1947, 1965, 1971 and the Kargil war in 1999 (Hagerty, 2009, p. 102). Besides these major wars, both countries are facing problems like cross-border terrorist activities, low intensity wars, cross border firing, and intelligence operations (Metcalf & Metcalf, 2006). This region has become the most dangerous region in international politics from the time of partition due to many reasons such as British tilt towards India in distribution of assets, wrong demarcation of boundaries, water flow from India to Pakistan and most importantly Kashmir issue were not resolved which remains the subject of conflict between these two countries (McLeod, 2016). No wonder for the last 72 years both have lived in an atmosphere of disbelief, uncertainty, anxiety, pressure and hostility.

On 14 February 2019, a convoy of vehicles carrying Indian Army personals on the Jammu Srinagar National Highway was attacked by a vehicle borne suicide bomber in the Pulwama district of Jammu and Kashmir. The attack resulted in 40 deaths and 35 injuries. (Feyyaz, 2019). Soon after the attack India blamed Pakistan for this attack, although the Pakistani Government offered state level investigation to find the suspects of attack, but India decided to execute a surgical strike in Pakistan and take revenge. On 26 February 2019, Indian warplanes crossed the border and dropped bomb in the Balakot, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Research Questions:

1. What is the leading frame applied in the Daily Dawn, The News, The Hindu and The Tribune after the suicide attack in the Pulwama district of Jammu and Kashmir.
2. What are the prominent indicators of war journalism after Pulwama incidents, in the above newspapers?
3. What are the prominent indicators of peace journalism in the above newspapers after Pulwama attack?

Literature review

Since independence in August 1947, relation between these two countries have been conflictual, inflexible, risky and very tense not only in south Asia but in global context (Mukherjee, 2016, p. 511) collected data from ordinary people through interviews and concluded that people of Kashmir are not happy with the way India is dealing with them. And the situation is getting more challenging and worst with the passage of time. Human rights situation needs urgent attention regarding police brutality, abused often caused by Indian Army and the parliamentary forces.

M. K. Khan (2011, p. 73-108) studied that Pakistan is blessed by natural resources but still it is facing many challenges in form of security, economy and stability. The leaders of Pakistan must understand now that we are living in the 21 century and many opportunities can be explored. Pakistan should be able to think forward and look beyond the present security challenges. National policy should be made and implemented to achieve security and economy targets. R. M. Khan (2012, p. 50) stated that bilateral, regional and global factors that have hindered the peace process between India and Pakistan. He concluded that for durable peace, the leadership of both sides needed to continue talking to each other. Both sides need to find solution for the Kashmir conflict and promote trade. Gouse et al. (2018, p. 435-449) highlighted that war journalism and peace journalism are two competing frames. Lee and Maslog (2005, p. 316) through a content analysis of the Asian newspapers concluded that the most of the time print media reporting's are violence oriented during conflicts all over the world.

Media freedom in Pakistan

Apparently, journalists of Pakistan seem free among all the south Asia. But there are some factors that influenced journalists such advertising, ownership, laws and regulations and editorial policies. Journalists sitting in higher positions enjoy greater autonomy as compared to journalists on lower positions. Liaquat et al. (2016, p. 21) stated that although freedom of speech and expression is practiced in Pakistan however there are several constitutional. Eijaz et al. (2014, p. 256), highlighted that in Pakistan, media plays an important role in making public opinion, spreading political awareness and mobilization of people. But on the other hand, media is facing many challenges in the form of terrorist attacks, security risks, and decline in number of print media. Benford and Snow (2000, p. 631) concluded that elite press is mostly considered trustworthy, and unbiased in Pakistan.

Media role in security and conflicts

A. U. Khan et al. (2017, p. 24) stated that Pakistan is facing traditional and nontraditional security threats. These security threads can be handled by good leadership, problem solving skills, transparency and strengthening institutions. Khayyam et al. (2018, p. 55) highlighted that Pakistan is facing traditional threats in the form of terrorism which is destroying economy, stability and national development. (Mushtaq & Baig, 2015) through comparative analysis of Pakistan and Afghanistan media concluded that media of Pakistan has given positive coverage to Pak-Afghan relations while Afghanistan media gave negative coverage. Prakash (2013, 621-636) studied the Baluchistan conflict through content analysis of traditional media and social media. He concluded that traditional media use war-oriented frames and escalated the problem by negative reporting. While surprisingly the social media highlighted the problem in more intellectual and positive way. Hussain and Sultan (2008) stated that media is always used in the favor of government when it comes to national interest. Media gives coverage and make public opinion for the support of military units and government policies. Even in more challenging time when Pakistan tested nuclear weapons in 1998, both government and public media presented Pakistan's view and explained threats faced by Pakistan. Loizides (2008, p. 278-297) concluded that framing technique is used to influence masses. Framing roots can be found in national and domestic politics and institutions thinking of the country. Sabir (2011, p. 11-37) stated that despite facing many challenges, Pakistani media is building image of Pakistan and capturing sound image of nationalism. Okaka (2007, p. 19-22) suggested that media can be used to advertise tourism which lead boost economy, and strengthen security.

Theoretical framework:

The researcher used Galtung (1980) "Framing Theory" to reveal the role of elite press in national security. Galtung viewed peace journalism and war journalism as two competing frames in the coverage of wars and conflicts. According to his classification peace journalism

is based on truth, people and solution oriented while war journalism focuses war, violence, propaganda, elites and victory. McGoldrick and Lynch (2000) expanded war and peace journalism into 17 good practices in covering war. Their framework included focusing on solutions, reporting on long term effects, angling the news on ordinary people, reporting unbiased, using precise language and focus on solutions. In peace journalism, the media forward such messages which have the power to secure people from harm, violence, war and clashes by covering the war with transparency. The people perceive particular phenomenon in a way the media present it to them. Benford and Snow (2000) also described frames as “scheme of interpretations that allocate individuals to trace, identify, perceive and label” the topics, events and issues covered by media. Entman (1993, p. 52) explained framing “a communicating text or message to stimulate certain facts of a perceived reality”

Methodology

This study through quantitative and qualitative analysis examines how the elite press of Pakistan (Daily Dawn, The News) and India (The Hindu, The Tribune) framed suicide attack in the Pulwama district of Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir commonly known as “Pulwama Attack”. The researchers have selected editorials and columns to study because they reflect the editorial policy, stance and ideology of the organization. It is a significant aspect of print media which formulates public opinion on issues. Editorials and columns written in both Pakistani and Indian newspapers influence their societies at a considerable level. As editorials are known to be powerful in making and molding opinion of officials, policy makers and public (Paracha et al., 2012, p. 471-482).

Two highly circulated English newspapers of India and two of Pakistan are selected to study. Selection of newspapers are made on number of circulations, and availability of archive. The content analysis of the selected four newspapers was conducted from 15 February 2019 to 15 May 2019. A quantitative approach was used to measure the frequency of published editorials and columns regarding selected frames. A coding sheet was structured and each editorial and columns was analyzed.

Table No 1. Number of total observations from Pakistan and India:

Pakistan				India			
131				86			
Dawn		The News		The Hindu		The Tribune	
56		75		28		58	
War Journalism	Peace journalism	War Journalism	Peace journalism	War Journalism	Peace journalism	War Journalism	Peace journalism
35 (62.5)	21 (37.5)	46 (61.3)	29 (38.6)	23 (82.1)	5 (17.8)	46 (79.3)	12 (20.6)

Table 1 explain that war journalism is a dominant frame in elite press of both countries. By making comparison it is clear that Pakistani newspapers have more tilt towards peace than Indian newspapers. Daily Dawn and The News have comparatively less war journalism stories, 62.5 % and 61.3% respectively, while Indian newspaperese The Hindu and The Tribunes have 82.1 and 79.3%.

Table 2: Angling and slanting in Columns and editorials

Newspaper	Column			Editorial		
Dawn	36			20		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral

	6	25	5	12	7	1
The news	36			39		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
	12	23	1	15	21	3
The Hindu	16			13		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
	3	12	1	1	11	1
The Tribune	37			21		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
	8	27	2	2	18	1

Table 2 show that Dawn newspapers Negative angles in columns are 69.4%, and editorial 35%. The News used 63% negative frames in columns and 53.8 % in editorial. The Hindu applied 75% negative slants in columns and 84.6 % in editorials. Likewise, The Tribune used 72.9 % biased angles in columns and 85% in editorials. These results also show that The News and Daily Dawn's editorial policy is tilted towards peace journalism while The Hindu and The tribune's editorial policy favor war journalism.

Table 3. Major war journalism categories

Newspaper	Types of News	Pulwama Attack	Airstrike Attack	Kashmir	Terrorism	Border Firing	Other
Dawn	Column	13	7	6	3	0	2
	Editorial	3	2	3	3	1	1
The news	Column	15	10	5	3	2	0
	Editorial	14	13	4	1	0	2
The Hindu	Column	4	3	1	4	0	0
	Editorial	7	2	1	3	0	0
The Tribune	Column	7	9	6	6	0	0
	Editorial	3	6	1	5	0	3

Table 3 explains war journalism categories such as Pulwama attack, Airstrike attack, Kashmir issue, terrorism and cross border firing. The findings show that the major concern of each newspaper during the selected time frame was Pulwama Attack, and Airstrike attack in Balakot, due to Kashmir conflict which is still not resolved. Collectively 66 war journalism stories were written on Pulwama attack, second highest issue was Airstrike attack on which 52 stories were reported. Likewise next major conflict is Kashmir, Terrorism and last border firing. We can also assume that these highest number of war journalism frames leads us from Pulwama to Airstrike and then to current crises of Kashmir due to India.

Table NO. 4. Peace journalism categories

Newspaper	Types of News	Peace Talks	Trade	Sports	Entertainment	Visits	Other
Dawn	Column	7	0	1	0	0	1
	Editorial	8	0	0	0	0	1

The news	Column	8	1	0	0	0	0
	Editorial	9	1	1	0	0	2
The Hindu	Column	2	0	1	0	0	0
	Editorial	0	0	0	0	1	0
The Tribune	Column	6	2	0	0	0	1
	Editorial	1	0	0	0	1	0

Table 4 presents peace journalism categories such as peace talks, trade, sports, entertainment, and visits. According to findings, peace talks remain a prominent category in each newspaper. The News is on top which published 17 stories on Pulwama conflict; Dawn published 15, The Tribune 7 and last is The Hindu which published merely 2 stories related to peace talks. Overall Pakistani newspapers covered more peace stories than Indian newspapers.

Findings and discussion:

What is the leading frame applied in the Dawn, The news, The Hindu and the Tribune?

The leading frame applied in elite press is war frame. The Hindu reported 82% war frames, the tribune 79.3%, Dawn 62.5% and the News 61.3%. Most of the times, the elite press used negative frames and propagated the war, from this we can also assume that due to repeated negative reporting of media the war mongering opinions escalate between the two countries.

What are the prominent indicators of war journalism after Pulwama incidents?

All the newspapers reported Pulwama attack and Airstrike Attack. Total 66 stories were reported on Pulwama and 52 on Airstrike attack. It is also very important that base of Pulwama attack is Kashmir conflict, which is still not resolved. After Pulwama, Airstrike and Kashmir other stories reported terrorism and cross border firing.

The researchers have selected categories such as peace talks, trade, sports, entertainment, and visits. Findings indicate that peace talk is the most prominent among peace journalism. It is also clear that Pakistani media insists on peace talks more than the Indian media.

Analysis

After the Pulwama attack, the nature of India-Pakistan relations got further worsened, with tensions being escalated, war rhetoric and jingoism overcasting the political horizon of the region, the role of media during this situation became even more crucial. The media is not only a source of communication among nations but it is also taken as a mode of mediation that it could downplay tensions or amplify them. The timeline has also been made for the better understanding of the media’s policy during the crisis which is as following:

T1	15-2-2019 to 25-2-2019
T2	26-2-2019 to 3-3-2019
T3	3-3-2019 to 15-4-2019

T1: 15-2-2019 to 25-2-2019

Following the Pulwama attack, Daily Dawn on its editorial on February 16 did not only acknowledge Pakistan’s history of looking out for peace and negotiations but It also urged India and Pakistan that the problem can only be solved by peace. On the other hand, The Tribune adopted a much more stern editorial policy, by not only calling Pakistan responsible for the attack but also proposing that India should be militarily ready to prosecute and strike those behind the attack. It is important to note that in its editorial, The Tribune held JeM and

Pakistan as a country responsible of the attack. The Hindu also blamed Pakistan for being behind the perpetrators of the attack. However, it also urged Indian government to talk a cautious stance. The News condemned the attack and suggested both governments to adopt a peaceful solution to the issue. On 18th Feb, The Tribune in its editorial while coalescing Masood Azhar (JeM Chief), PM Imran Khan and Pakistan Army as responsible of the attack suggested an option of hitting hard to the government. In its editorial next day, The Tribune tried to make Kartarpur Corridor controversial. It shed doubts over Pakistan's decision of opening of the corridor to the Sikh pilgrims.

After PM Imran Khan's offer to investigate the perpetrators of Pulwama attack and peaceful solution to the Kashmir Conflict, The Tribune took up a much more hostile policy. It directly blamed ISI for the Pulwama attack in its editorial. It also supported the prevalent war propaganda in India by blaming Pakistani civil and military leadership for patronizing Mahmood Azhar and his outfit. In another editorial published on 23 February, The Tribune discussed and supported PM Modi's plan of isolating Pakistan in the global arena. On the contrary, Daily Dawn continued with its peace transcending editorial policy and applauded peace offer by PM Imran Khan's and stressed the importance of peace during crisis. Daily Dawn also called for a non violent approach to contain conflict. It gave an over view and comparison peaceful solution and negotiations being adopted in other international conflicts. It also acknowledged Pulwama as a huge tragedy. Moreover, it criticized Indian celebrities and non political actors for spreading war rhetoric and jingoism in the country. On February 23 after actions against JeM and Masood Azhar, Daily Dawn commended Pakistan Government's policy of taking actions against militant groups. Furthermore, it also critiqued past government of Pakistan for not taking essential actions. This editorial indicates two important points. Firstly, actions against militancy in Pakistan are supported by press, if they please India, secondly Pakistani media can criticize its government when required. The actions against JeM were not welcomed by both the Hindu and The Tribune. Latter, used sarcasm while commenting on Pakistan's action and The Hindu criticized PM Imran Khan's speech. The News, however, stressed the importance of negotiations between all stakeholders and said that talks are the only and viable solution.

T2: 26-2-2019 to 3-3-2019

Subsequent to Indian Air Force bombing in Balakot on the alleged JeM camps, the relations between India and Pakistan entered diplomatic dead end. The media of both countries again adopted polarized editorial policy. Pakistani media prophesied for peace and Indian media, on the other hand, enchanted a violent and provoking adventure of the Indian government that brought the two neighboring countries on the brink of a nuclear face off. Daily Dawn in its editorial analyzed possible outcomes of aggressive Indian actions. Although, it called Pakistan's right to retaliate as 'unqualified', yet urged the government to use diplomatic channels. It also tried to bring attention on the possible outcomes if a war breaks off. On the other hand, The Tribune named its editorial 'Perfect Preemptive Strike' on February 27, and implicitly supported the Indian violent action. The Hindu called it a shift in PM Modi's policy and also supported the IAF action.

It is said that Karma haunts. The Indian war jingoism was kneeled down on February 27, when after a dogfight two Indian airplanes were downed and one of the pilots captured in the Pakistan territory. Instead of celebrating like enthused battle field victorious, the Pakistani media again showed maturity and supported the government's stance of peace and restraint. Daily Dawn instead of celebrating Pakistan's military response and air superiority victory over India, it adopted much more sensible stance. It calling for immediate end of hostilities, and urged that war must avoided. It also explained that the Pakistan's military response was not only humane but was also not an effort to the escalation or war. The Tribune's policy was pretty confused and obnoxious. At one point, it called the then DG

ISPR's statement 'desperate', stressed Indian defence impregnable and did not anywhere discuss the downing of plan. At the end of the editorial, gave suggestions to the Indian government to bring back the captured pilot. Even there, the paper avoided discussing Indian defeat that could help in downsizing Indian war jingoism. The News while praising Pakistan Army's response also stressed on the importance of peaceful solution to the Kashmir Issue.

The capture of India pilot saw a surprise turn in Indian newspapers' editorial policy. The Tribune, that has been enchanting India war jingoism for quite a long time now, for the first time stressed the importance of diplomatic solution to deescalate tensions. After Pakistan voluntarily announced the return of the captured pilot, the move attracted global and local praise. The Hindu welcomed the Pakistani move in its editorial 'Homecoming.' However, the Tribune on the other hand restarted their rigid policy. It once again blamed ISI for being behind the Pulwama attack. It also tried fed its readers with another hate speech calling PM Imran untrustworthy for ordering military strike against India. It is very ironic that a news organization that was suggesting diplomatic solutions one day earlier returned to their original war rhetoric after release of the captured pilot. The Pakistani press welcomed the government's stance to release the captured pilot as it helped in the de-escalation of the tension. Daily Dawn also explained the cost of war. It highlighted Kashmiri's suffering and called for immediate cease fire.

T3: 3-3-2019 to 15-4-2019

After the release of captured Indian pilot, although the tensions between Pakistan and India started to de escalate, yet the Pakistan continued with its commitment of curbing militancy in the country. Pakistan took strict actions against JeM and related militant groups. The Tribune that been spreading mistrust against Pakistan in its stories published rather a balanced story about Pakistan's actions against militant groups. The Hindu, however, adopted an unfavorable approach and raised suspicions over Pakistan's actions and its sincerity. Daily Dawn kept also kept a balance yet peaceful approach. It highlighted that Pakistan's policy to fight terrorism, extremism and militancy is necessary for its own sake. It also pushed world community to not ignore or look away from Kashmir issue as till the complete its solution, the situation in the sub-continent could be never peaceful for a long time. The News talked about several problems prevailing in Indian Occupied Kashmir as the result of violent policies. It also urged India to welcome and acknowledge Pakistan's response of eliminating the Pulwama accused non state actors. In another editorial on March 7, The News pressed Pakistan to pace up the dismantling militancy in the country.

The Tribune continued with their war jingoism in the mid of March of as well. In its editorial published on March 11, it criticized elite Western Media for supporting Pakistan's stance both in Balakot bombing and downing of Indian Jets. It called western media 'prejudiced' and 'move fast' about its analysis of the issue. Meanwhile, Daily Dawn indicated the use of disinformation in information warfare during the pulwama Crisis with regard to Indian claim of downing a Pakistani F-16. It also proposed that in South Asia peace can only be ensured if all sides deal the conflicts with constructive manner and avoid disinformation to feed war rhetoric's and jingoism to the people. In an editorial on March 13, The Tribune once against supported the violent and provoking Indian military action against Pakistan and continued its hostile policy towards even peace posing gestures of Pakistan. It tried to make Kartarpur corridor controversial once again. It implied that Pakistan could use corridor in spreading militancy in India by encouraging Khalistan movement like elements in India. However, unlike India media, Daily Dawn in its editorial on 15 March stressed what could be achieved if India shows flexibility and sincerely in talks with Pakistan and the political leadership of the India occupied Kashmir. It implied that the region could enter a new era of peace and prosperity by solving the issues with justice.

The Hindu in its editorial criticized China for blocking a move to declare Mehmood Azhar an international terrorist. In its editorial published on 23 March, the Tribune discussed the acquittal of responsible of Train Attack of 2007. Even in a editorial unrelated to Pulwama, the news organization once again fed its readers with hate against Pakistan. It once blamed Pakistan for sponsoring terrorism in India.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, it is imperative to discuss the difference in the editorial policies of media in both India and Pakistan. As the findings indicate, Indian media did not only support the violent actions of its government which sabotaged the diplomatic situation in the region but also, time and again, supported and proposed war frames in its coverage by suggesting violent and stern actions against Pakistan. It drowned itself in the blame game against Pakistan, and kept on feeding its reader with xenophobic hate speech. It is very important to mention here that Indian media not even once discussed Kashmir as an issue and kept its coverage in a sense of denial. On the other hand, Pakistani media, through course of the Pulwama and Post Pulwama conflict stressed restraint, peacemaking measures and negotiations. It also criticized the government where necessary, and also pressed the importance of solution of the Kashmir issue. It avoided war jingoism, excluded violent rhetoric from its coverage. It also did not feed its readers against anyone.

Recommendations

1. The media must always try to outweigh the outcomes of a peaceful solution to any conflict from a war.
2. It must not indulge in blame game and war rhetoric during an issue, rather it must always perform its primary function of informing people with sanity.
3. It must never support the violent agendas of its country's politicians that could result in destruction and violence.

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