

# War and Peace Framing: the Contextual Analysis of Indo-Pak Relations

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## Abstract

*By adopting John Galtung's war and peace theoretical framework, this study has been conducted to examine the framing of the Indo-Pak relations in the newspapers having large readership such as Dawn and Nation from Pakistan and the Hindu and Hindustan Times from India. The content analysis was carried out from January 1, 2016 to December 31, 2016. The study is grounded in Galtung's model of War and Peace journalism and Media Framing theory. The editorial and columns published in the mentioned newspapers during the aforementioned period of time were analysed. The data collected for this study has been tested by various statistical operations, which are based on Chi Square test. The findings of the study show that the elite press of Pakistan and India, predominantly, used war frames for the coverage of Indo-Pak relations.*

**Keywords:** Peace Framing, War Framing, Indo-Pak Relations, Conflict Reporting, Indo-Pak Journalism, Framing Theory.

## Introduction

Johan Galtung, in 1985, coined the term "Peace Journalism" and two different modes of reporting wars emerged i.e., "peace or conflict journalism" and "war or violence journalism." He provided an alternative version of peace journalism, which did not follow the conventional pattern of reporting in the war situation. Instead, it focused on conflict transformation. He evaluated the use of words and language within the over-all contents of media reporting and suggested that peace-oriented

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journalism explore and accept the conflict and then frame it according to the involved parties and their objectives. The present article aims to explore how the Indo-Pak relations have been framed by the elite print media of both the countries. It also analyses the language and contents of the columns and editorials in the broader perspective of Galtung's theoretical framework.<sup>1</sup> As the history of both countries is full of conflicts, right from partition of the subcontinent in 1947, the role of media is very important to bring both countries at the negotiating table to resolve their conflicts, which may lead to their destruction. Therefore, this study is based on journalism and peace studies in the emerging perspective of war and peace journalism, both inquiry and practice. The idea of revisiting conventional journalism norms was raised by the practitioners of peace journalism so that new frames of conflict reporting could be developed to report by keeping in view the common interest.<sup>2</sup>

Media, the major component of peace journalism, can play a constructive role in promoting peace between the two warring states. It is also essential for peace development to advocate human rights and establish social institutions for harmony.<sup>3</sup>

The geographical importance of South Asia is acknowledged worldwide, therefore, super powers of the world take a keen interest in this region. Despite the prevalent rivalries and conflicts among the states, South Asia attracts international investors. Since partition in 1947, Pakistan and India have been unable to develop a congenial foreign relationship and there is a sense of "mutual distrust."<sup>4</sup> The dream of making this region socially, economically and politically strong has yet not been fulfilled. The divisions on the basis of power, military resources and atomic autonomy further took both the countries far away from each other. The core conflict i.e., the dispute over the former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir is still

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<sup>1</sup> Johan Galtung, "Twenty-five Years of Peace Research: Ten Challenges and Some Responses," *Journal of Peace Research* 22, no. 2 (1985): 141-158.

<sup>2</sup> George William Lugalambi, "An Assessment of Democratic Deliberation in Uganda: A Case-study of the Framing of Key Political Issues in the Press," (PhD diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> Allan Thompson, ed., *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide* (Pluto Press, Fountain Publishers, IDRC, 2007).

<sup>4</sup> Eytan Gilboa, "Media and Conflict Resolution: A Framework for Analysis," *Marq. L. Rev.* 93 (2009): 87 and Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy, 1947-2005: A Concise History* (Oxford University Press, US, 2007).

unresolved despite international involvement and interest. Four wars have been fought since 1947, three of which are related to Kashmir, however, so far no solution has been found. More than 2,500 kilometres of border is shared by both the neighbouring countries, from the warm waters of the Indian Ocean to the frozen heights of the Himalayas, which even today still stand as a highly sensitive border. The evidence has shown that sometimes a trivial shelling resulted in major destruction. Loss of precious lives at the Siachin, a glacier located in the eastern Karakoram between Pakistan and India, is also one of such deplorable realities of the bilateral relations.<sup>5</sup>

Keeping in view the importance of Indo-Pak relations, the current study intends to explore how, in the absence of peaceful relations, media can play its part, when both the countries are attempting to achieve military dominance.<sup>6</sup> In the 1950s and 1960s, the tilt of Pakistan towards the US and India's towards the former Soviet Union also had an impact on their bilateral relationship. In 1998, India demonstrated its nuclear capability and Pakistan did the same in order to balance the power, although Pakistan faced sanctions for its actions but India did not.<sup>7</sup>

Dialogue and cordial foreign relations with effective communication can resolve all the disputes. Few examples can be traced from past, such as successful round of the dialogues to discuss the transfer of assets after independence in 1947,<sup>8</sup> the Indus Water Treaty, Tashkent and Shimla agreements were the results of successful dialogue between the two countries. These examples indicate that both the countries, periodically attempted to resolve the conflict through dialogues.

The current research aims to examine the coverage of elite press of the two countries that how the Indian and Pakistani press frame the Indo-Pak relations. During the time period of one-year i.e. January 2016 to December 2016, editorials and columns have been collected and analysed in the light of war and peace journalism perspective and media framing.

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<sup>5</sup> Mohammad Arif, "The Kashmir Dispute and Pakistan-India Relations: 1972-1992," *Pakistan Horizon* 47, no. 1 (1994): 35-45.

<sup>6</sup> Muhammad Afzal, et.al., "Relationship Among Education, Poverty and Economic Growth in Pakistan: An Econometric Analysis," *Journal of Elementary Education* 22, no. 1 (2012): 23-45.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967).

The Kashmir dispute, water disputes, cross border shelling and firing, terrorism and nuclear deterrence issues and their impacts on Indo-Pak relation have been analysed. However, the issues of trade, peace talks, sports, showbiz and visa policy and their impact on Pak-India relations have been analysed in the peace journalism perspective.

After evaluating the existing literature, relevant to the selected field of research, the following research question were formulated for the current study: How the Indo-Pak relations are framed by the elite press of Pakistan and India? What issues are framed predominantly in the war and peace framing categories, in the two countries' media?

Following hypotheses are drawn for this study:

- i. H1 — War frames are used by the Pakistani elite press in covering the Pak-India relations.
- ii. H1a — Peace frames are used by the Pakistani elite press in covering the Pak-India relations
- iii. H2 — War frames are used by the Indian elite press in covering the Pak-India relations.
- iv. H2a — Peace frames are used by the Indian elite press in covering the Pak-India relations.

In order to develop a peaceful culture, media researchers emphasised that the reporters should follow peace journalism than war journalism. In this regard, Galtung presented the idea of peace journalism, opposite to war journalism and defined frames how to cover war zones. Peace journalism emerged as an answer to the normative approaches of conventional war reporting, which initiates peace journalism.<sup>9</sup> This highlights the role of media as a tool, which can work in both ways: it can resolve conflict and enlarge as well. In 2001, a report published by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) stated the dual role of the media as an information carrier and as a tool of persuasion in conflict situations can be employed, particularly in a scenario, where public opinion

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<sup>9</sup> Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, "The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers," *Journal of Peace Research* 2, no. 1 (1965): 64-90.

is to be influenced.<sup>10</sup> As it reaches to the majority of people in the shortest possible time, it promotes a sense of ownership through projecting any relevant issue. To perform a persuasive role, it has to be objective, fair and unbiased so that both the sides get equal time and place. Similarly, in 2006, Annabel McGoldrick and Jake Lynch defined peace journalism on the basis of objective, fair and accurate reporting and unbiased analysis of conflict.<sup>11</sup> Media, as an information carrier can, also contribute to social development. However, it is also described as a tool of propaganda and prejudice. If appropriately used, media has the potential to resolve any conflict because it reaches people around the clock, across the world.<sup>12</sup>

Emphasis on impartiality is the core value while reporting war or conflict.<sup>13</sup> The issue of violence, due to media exposure, has been part of academic research on media studies.<sup>14</sup> The varying definition of conflict and peace make it a somewhat complex phenomenon. However, by differentiating peace as ‘positive’ and ‘negative’, the positive peace highlights synchronisation of wanted conditions of mind and social structure, such as equity, justice, harmony, etc.<sup>15</sup> ‘Negative’ peace has been historically linked with the ‘nonexistence of war’ and other types of large-scale conflicts. Peace journalism was described as a substitute of contemporary practice of journalism,<sup>16</sup> which goes deeper and reports to resolve conflict. In such situations, the parties to the conflict aim to keep

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<sup>10</sup> DAC – Development Assistance Committee, “Helping Prevent Violent Conflict: The DAC Guidelines,” (2001).

<sup>11</sup> McGoldrick, Annabel and Jake Lynch, “Peace Journalism,” Sri Lanka Muslim Media Forum, 2006.

<sup>12</sup> Ben Bagdikian, “Grand Theft: The Conglomeratisation of Media and the Degradation of Culture,” *Multinational Monitor* 26, no. 1-2 (2005): 35-37.

<sup>13</sup> Nam-Jin Lee, Douglas M. McLeod and Dhavan V. Shah, “Framing Policy Debates: Issue Dualism, Journalistic Frames and Opinions on Controversial Policy Issues,” *Communication Research* 35, no. 5 (2008): 695-718.

<sup>14</sup> Simon J. Bronner, “Framing Violence and Play in American Culture,” *Journal of Ritsumeikan Social Sciences and Humanities* 3, no. 2011 (2011): 145-60.

<sup>15</sup> Johan Galtung, Carl G. Jacobsen and Kai Frithjof. Brand-Jacobsen, “Searching for Peace: The Road to Transcend,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 25, no. 1 (2002): 57-65.

<sup>16</sup> Amalia Oganjanyan, *The August War in Georgia: Foreign Media Coverage* (Hamburg: Diplomica Verlag, 2012).

media focused on their concerned issue. Peace journalism intends to build peace and the journalists explore ways to build peace in their region.<sup>17</sup>

Since the beginning of peace and war journalism initiative in 1985, peace journalism is associated with truth, people, conflict and solutions. In this context, the reporters understand and accurately express the issues and related concerns. The media professionals consistently and actively explore the solutions to resolve conflict. The editorials and columns adopt an effective approach and create the need for reconciliation by focusing on the issue more objectively. The highlighted stories stress on the hidden factors of the violence, which destroy social structure.<sup>18</sup> A study, based on war and peace journalism perspectives, reported that the US media covered the Indo-Pak relations favouring India mainly. The results indicated that the war journalism frames were more inclined towards the militants' actions, violence and casualties in the Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK), and the terrorist attacks on the Indian Parliament.<sup>19</sup>

However, peace-centred frames were focused more on the solutions reduction tension in the bilateral talks and dialogues. A study examined the peace-keeping role of Pakistani media and evaluated the role of journalism as an instrument to resolve the bilateral conflict, as professional values and unbiased approach is demanded to persuade people to find a peaceful solution.<sup>20</sup> Media can have a catastrophic impact, when hate frames are used in war journalism, as a research examined framing of the Iraq-US war in comparison with four local conflicts from Asia: Pakistan and India's clash over Kashmir; the Tamil Tiger's movement in Sri Lanka; the separatist movement of Muslims in Philippine's Mindanao province and the civil wars of Aceh and Maluku in Indonesia. The findings reported more war frames in the Asian print media for the local issues while peace frame were used for Iraq war. In the opinion pages, news stories used more war frames and peace

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<sup>17</sup> Fackson Banda, "The Interpretation of Conflict: Can Journalists Go Further?: African Issues," *Rhodes Journalism Review* 2008, no. 28 (2008): 50-51.

<sup>18</sup> Lee Jones, "ASEAN's Unchanged Melody? The Theory and Practice of 'Non-interference' in Southeast Asia," *Pacific Review* 23, no. 4 (2010): 479-502.

<sup>19</sup> Syed Abdul Siraj, "War or Peace Journalism in Elite US Newspapers: Exploring News Framing in Pakistan-India conflict," in Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association, Montreal, Quebec, 2008.

<sup>20</sup> Rukhsana Aslam, "The Role of Media in Conflict: Integrating Peace Journalism in the Journalism Curriculum," (PhD diss., Auckland University of Technology, 2014).

frames. The elements of conventional journalism are further reinforced by peace journalism to emphasise more on reporter responsibility.<sup>21</sup>

## **Framing Theory**

As described by Galtung, the notion of peace journalism is that media can convey such messages, which have the power to secure people from violence, conflict, disputes and wars. Another aspect of this model is based on the opportunity to bring the rival parties to the negotiating table. In this regard, according to Galtung's argument, the media can cover conflict and war with transparency, while providing equal time and space to both the parties for their opinion, and can suggest a way of resolving the conflict.<sup>22</sup>

Philosophy of media framing theory is based on the belief that media puts more emphasis on a particular aspect and frames it in a way so that people can perceive it in a certain way. In the 1970s Erving Goffman described frames as "scheme of interpretation that allocate individuals to trace, identify, perceive and label" the topics, event and issues covered by media.<sup>23</sup> Almost 20 years later, Robert Entman elaborated it as "to frame a communicating text or message is to promote certain facts of a perceived reality."<sup>24</sup>

## **Selection of the Editorials and Columns**

The previous studies<sup>25</sup> described that biasedness could be avoided in reporting but editorial and columns are subjective in nature and intentionally a stance is taken over any issue.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, few internal and

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 119.

<sup>22</sup> Johan Galtung and Dietrich Fischer, "High Road, Low Road: Charting the Course for Peace Journalism," in *Johan Galtung*, (Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2013): 95-102.

<sup>23</sup> Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organisation of Experience* (Harvard University Press, 1974).

<sup>24</sup> Robert M. Entman, "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (1993): 51-58.

<sup>25</sup> Autumn Miller and Susan Dente Ross, "They are Not Us: Framing of American Indians by the Boston Globe," *Howard Journal of Communications* 15, no. 4 (2004): 245-259.

<sup>26</sup> Teun A. Van Dijk, "The Interdisciplinary Study of News as Discourse," *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research* (1991): 108-120.

external factors, such as organisational and professional pressure and their structures, contribute to developing media content.<sup>27</sup> The few practices and values are shared, which lead to common framing options throughout a nation's media.<sup>28</sup>

Editorials in newspapers tend to reflect the ideology of the organisations. It is a significant aspect of print media, which attempts to formulate public opinion regarding any issue. In 1985, Van Dijk termed editorial as a public discourse that replicate existing opinions, ideologies, values and power compositions.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, columns are written to make public understand and communicate the message effectively, where a subjective approach is adopted.

The editorial and column, commonly written in the Indian and Pakistani press, impact their societies in similar manners. As editorials are known to be powerful instruments to mould public opinion of high officials, policy makers and the general public,<sup>30</sup> however, independence of editorial broad gets compromised by the publisher, advertiser and owners. The effective communication is the key function of an editorial, which is divided into three schematic categories: i. description and review of the state affairs, ii. assessment of a situation, iii. presentation of practical conclusions.<sup>31</sup>

Elite press is defined in terms of vast circulation, established credibility and objectivity in reporting and assessing responsibility.<sup>32</sup> The press, which is read by the elite or prominent segment of a society, who controls the

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<sup>27</sup> Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, *Mediating the Message White Plains* (NY: Longman 1996).

<sup>28</sup> William A. Gamson, and David Stuart, "Media Discourse as a Symbolic Contest: The Bomb in Political Cartoons," in *Sociological Forum* 7, no. 1, (1992): 55-86..

<sup>29</sup> Teun A. Van Dijk, "Structures of News in the Press," in *Discourse and Communication: New Approaches to the Analysis of Mass Media Discourse and Communication* 10 (1985): 69.

<sup>30</sup> Sajjad Ahmed Paracha, Fatima Imran and Muhammad Ashraf Khan, "Framing of Drone Attacks in Pakistani Elite Press: A Comparative Study of Dawn and the Nation," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 3, no. 1 (2012): 471-480.

<sup>31</sup> Foad Izadi and Hakimeh Saghaye-Biria, "A Discourse Analysis of Elite American Newspaper Editorials: The Case of Iran's Nuclear Program," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 31, no. 2 (2007): 140-165.

<sup>32</sup> J. Herbert Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs* (Longman Publishing Group, 1984).



resources and enjoys power, is also defined as elite press.<sup>33</sup> Two widely-circulated English language newspapers of India and Pakistan have been selected for the current research. The reason of their selection is their huge readership in all the strata of the society.

## **Methodology**

The content analysis of the selected four newspapers was conducted from January to December 2016, to analyse nature of the relationship between the two countries and the response by media of both the states. A quantitative approach was used to measure the frequency of the published editorials and columns regarding selected frames:

- i. Kashmir issue.
- ii. Cross border firing/violations and territorial disputes.
- iii. Nuclear issue & weaponisation.
- iv. Terrorism.
- v. Water dispute.
- vi. Peace talks.
- vii. Trade.
- viii. Sports.
- ix. Showbiz, arts and culture.
- x. Visa policy.

A coding sheet was structured and each paragraph of the relevant editorial and column was analysed. Their selection of words and the use of language were also assessed as favourable, unfavourable or neutral.

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<sup>33</sup> John Calhoun Merrill and John C. Merrill, *The Elite Press: Great Newspapers of the World* (New York, Pitman Pub. Corp., 1968).

## Results and Findings

**Table No. 1.**  
**Number of Observations**

Pakistan				India			
299				112			
Dawn		Nation		Hindustan Times		The Hindu	
118		181		53		59	
War Journalism	Peace Journalism	War Journalism	Peace Journalism	War Journalism	Peace Journalism	War Journalism	Peace Journalism
56	62	128	53	32	21	35	24

**Table No. 2.**  
**Editorial and Columns with Slants**

Newspaper	Column			Editorial		
<b>Dawn</b>	87			31		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
	28	18	0	5	4	1
<b>Nation</b>	73			108		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
	37	7	4	60	17	3
<b>Hindustan Times</b>	42			11		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
	23	1	2	3	3	0
<b>The Hindu</b>	50			9		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
	21	7	3	2	1	1

**Table No. 3.**  
**War Journalism Frames**

Newspaper	Type of News	Kashmir	Border Firing	Nuclear and Weaponisation	Terrorism	Water Dispute
<b>The Hindu</b>	Columns	3	5	1	15	7
	Editorial	0	2	0	1	1
<b>Hindustan Times</b>	Columns	13	6	0	7	0
	Editorial	2	2	0	1	1
<b>Nation</b>	Columns	21	4	10	8	5
	Editorial	38	18	8	10	6
<b>Dawn</b>	Columns	20	5	6	13	2
	Editorial	3	5	1	1	0

Table no. 3 explains selected war journalism categories such as terrorism, Kashmir, border firing, water dispute and weaponisation. The findings show that the major concern of each newspaper, either in its column or editorials, was the Kashmir dispute. The dispute has been one of the major reasons of the conflict, which remains unresolved since independence and which has also led to the violations of the Line of control (LoC). Compared with *The Hindu*, *Hindustan Times* was found to be more interested in the Kashmir dispute. Both the Pakistani newspapers have written more about Kashmir in their columns and editorials. This indicates the significance of the conflict in Pakistan and an intention to resolve it.

**Table No. 4.**  
**Peace Journalism Frames**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Type of News</b>	<b>Peace Talks</b>	<b>Trade</b>	<b>Sports</b>	<b>Showbiz</b>	<b>Visa Policy</b>
<b>The Hindu</b>	Columns	9	4	1	4	1
	Editorial	4	1	0	0	0
<b>Hindustan Times</b>	Columns	11	3	0	2	0
	Editorial	2	1	1	1	1
<b>Nation</b>	Columns	11	9	1	4	0
	Editorial	19	6	1	1	1
<b>Dawn</b>	Columns	15	11	2	12	1
	Editorial	9	4	3	3	2

Table no. 4 presents peace journalism among the five categories such as trade, peace talks, visa policy, showbiz and sports in the selected four newspapers. According to findings, peace talks as peace journalism category remains a prominent category in each newspaper. After peace talks, the next category was trade, which was covered more in the Pakistani newspapers than in the Indian newspapers.

**Table No. 5.**  
**Comparison between War and Peace Journalism**

Newspaper		Combine War	Combine Peace
<b>The Hindu</b>	Mean	1.4571	1.2500
	N	35	24
	Std. Deviation	.70054	.60792
<b>Hindustan Times</b>	Mean	1.2500	1.2857
	N	32	21
	Std. Deviation	.56796	.64365
<b>Nation</b>	Mean	1.2969	1.4151
	N	128	53
	Std. Deviation	.56623	.53472
<b>Dawn</b>	Mean	1.4286	1.0968
	N	56	62
	Std. Deviation	.53452	.39296
<b>Total</b>	Mean	1.3426	1.2500
	N	251	160
	Std. Deviation	.58149	.52605

The above table presents the combined results and show the means and standard deviation of both war and peace journalism in the four selected newspapers. The table indicates that standard deviation values are between 0.70054 and 0.39296. These values are less than 1.50, which means it is inclined towards 1, that expresses positive response. It also shows that the selected newspapers, in the editorials and columns, give a positive portrayal of the war journalism and peace journalism, which reinforce that mostly newspaper covered these issues positively, reflecting a favourable attitude.

## Testing of Hypothesis

*Hypothesis 1: War frames are used by the Pakistani elite press in covering the Pak-India relations.*

The findings show that 42.2 per cent coverage was given by the elite Indian press to the Indo-Pak relation as peace issue framing (Chi Sq. =48.400; p=.000). On the other side, the Pakistani elite press frames 38.5 per cent (Chi Sq. =109.165; p=.000). The significant results have supported Hypothesis 1.

*Hypothesis 2: War frames are used by the Indian elite press in covering the Pak-India relations.*

Table no.1 presents the coverage of Pak-India relations by each newspaper frequently. The findings of the chi square test (Chi Sq. =17.200; p=.000) for war framing and (Chi Sq. =27.000; p=.000) for peace framing. Significant results are found and Hypothesis 2 is supported.

## Discussion and Analysis

The prominent and dominant issues, as categorised for the current study in war and peace journalism frameworks, show that the data answered the formulated research questions and indicated the dominance of war frames in the elite press of both countries. The Kashmir dispute featured mostly in all selected four newspapers. The frequency of this issue illustrates its importance. The results are consistent with previously conducted studies in the Asian context.<sup>34</sup>

During the time period of study, around 411 editorials and columns were analysed. It shows that maximum Pakistani newspaper covered the Pak-India relations and discussed issues, which were categorised for the current study. On the other hand, such noticeable coverage was not observed in India. Around 58.3 per cent war frames were found in the Indian elite press but 61.5 per cent war frames were in the Pakistani press. The combination of both frames was statistically tested (Chi Sq.

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 13.

=48.567; p=.000 and Chi Sq. =127.087; p=.000) and significant results were found in the elite press of India and Pakistan respectively. The results manifested positive direction in mean values in the observed categories. It determined that the elite press of both countries cover these matters as war provoking and conflict arising issues.

Here two aspects are confirmed, the formulated categories were trustworthy and valid and secondly elite press of both countries covered war frames more than peace frames. The findings of the current study are consistent with the previously conducted researches, which indicated that the media coverage was more inclined towards conflict issues, clashes and disputes.<sup>35</sup> It was inferred that war journalism framing is dominant in the Asian newspapers.<sup>36</sup> It covers the issue which contains the element of bias and favours violence. These inferences make war journalism more obscure and conflicting, particularly pointing inference of the political leaders in the region to avoid such aggressive acts.<sup>37</sup>

The scholars documented drastic impacts of media on different world conflicts and disputes such as Bosnia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone. These conflicts have been measured the frequency of war frames, covered in the media, which lead to massacre and genocide in the war zone. The scholars also repeatedly found the involvement of the state in local conflicts, which aggregate the ratio of war journalism.<sup>38</sup> It also concluded that the media was favourable towards the war journalism and obsessed with the sensationalisation and conflict frames. Bayuni termed this favourable attitude toward war journalism as mishandling of information by the media

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<sup>35</sup> Gadi Wolfsfeld, Paul Frosh and Maurice T. Awabdy, "Covering Death in Conflicts: Coverage of the Second Intifada on Israeli and Palestinian Television," *Journal of Peace Research* 45, no. 3 (2008): 401-417.

<sup>36</sup> Karin Dobernig and Katharina Lobinger, "Covering Conflict: Differences in Visual and Verbal News Coverage of the Gaza Crisis 2009 in Four Weekly News Media," *Journal of Visual Literacy* 29, no. 1 (2010): 88-105.

<sup>37</sup> Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick, "Peace Journalism: A Global Dialog for Democracy and Democratic Media," *Democratising Global Media: One World, Many Struggles* (2005): 269-88.

<sup>38</sup> Seow Ting Lee, Crispin C. Maslog and Hun Shik Kim, "Asian Conflicts and the Iraq War: A Comparative Framing Analysis," *International Communication Gazette* 68, no. 5-6 (2006): 499-518.

professionals and organisations.<sup>39</sup> Nigerian Delta crisis is another example where media presented a clash as war, which resulted in loss of people and material damage. Siraj and Hussain inferred after the analysis of editorials and opinion pages of the four leading Pakistani newspapers and concluded war framing as dominant in media.<sup>40</sup>

## Conclusion

The findings of the study support the stated hypothesis and previously conducted studies. Therefore, it is concluded that war frames are dominant in the elite press of Pakistan and India regarding the Indo-Pak relations. Another significant finding is that the Kashmir dispute is assessed as an important issue by the press of both countries. Since media is an important power medium in any society and can play an essential role in dissemination of information, therefore, the careful use of media, particularly regarding conflict issues, can solve all disputes and by providing balanced information, even a sensitive issue can be resolved. The information conveyed by the media exerts powerful influences on the perception of people, directly or indirectly, and their opinion can enlarge the dispute and conflict. In order to safeguard public and national interest, media should provide objective and unbiased information, which may lead into harmony among the parties. The role of media in peace building is integral, particularly in the context of Indo-Pak relations, sensible reporting from elite press of both country is suggested.

The South Asian region, specifically Pakistan and India, invest a huge amount of budget in the defence strategy, despite the fact that both countries are developing and this huge amount of the allocated budget can enhance the social, economic and education infrastructure of the countries.<sup>41</sup> The LoC that divides Pakistani-administered and Indian-administered Jammu and Kashmir has been noted as the most dangerous place.

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<sup>39</sup> Inez Mahony, "Diverging Frames: A Comparison of Indonesian and Australian Press Portrayals of Terrorism and Islamic Groups in Indonesia," *International Communication Gazette* 72, no. 8 (2010): 739-758.

<sup>40</sup> Shahid Hussain and Syed Abdul Siraj, "Exploring Frames and Slants in Coverage of IDPs From Swat in Leading Pakistani English Newspapers," *Journal of Gender and Social Issues* 15, no. 1 (2016): 1-1.

<sup>41</sup> Christer Ahlstrom, "18. The Proliferation Security Initiative: International Law Aspects of the Statement of Interdiction Principles," *SIPRI Yearbook 2005* (2005): 741.



The violations of the LoC create a war-like situation, therefore instead of war journalism, by adopting peace journalism, the media could intervene and suggest a political solution of the dispute, which could save lives of thousands of the people. On the basis of these findings, the study offers practical implications for both countries. Since the news media can play an influential role in forming public opinion, in the case of Indo-Pak relations, this means that people are distant from each other due to biased media coverage. The political and state machinery of both the rival countries influences the news media and propagates information as directed by government, therefore, the resolution of the dispute is still a dream. Media should follow peace journalism and place emphasis on dialogue rather than giving big headlines to the violations on the LoC.