PORTRAYAL OF WAR ON TERRORISM IN PAKISTANI PRINT MEDIA EXPLORING PEACE FRAMING IN DAILY NATION AND BUSINESS RECORDER

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ABSTRACT

The model of Peace Journalism of Johan Gatlung was applied to explore the peace framing of news coverage in two Pakistani leading English newspapers, the Nation and the Business Recorder. The media as a main organ of a modern state plays significant role in conflict resolution through their news reporting. Through its framing they build and amend the opinion of the people. The media in this way is a powerful tool to formulate the nation's policy in the international communication. This study aims to find out the coverage pattern of "war on terror" by Pakistani print media in peace frame. The contents of 998 news stories from two leading Pakistani newspapers reveal that the news coverage of war on terror has dominated by peace journalism frame. Each story was coded for peace journalism as practiced and developed by Johan Gatlung. The three salient indicators of peace journalism observed are nonpartisan approach, a multiparty orientation and avoidance of demonizing language. Both the newspapers were remained objective and gave news in their full context. Most of the time their approach was conflict resolution instead conflict orientation. The period for the purpose of data collection is from March 2008 to March 2009, the peak time of covering the terrorists' activities by these newspapers.

Keywords: Peace Framing, English Newspapers, War on Terror, Pakistan

INTRODUCTION

Today's digitized media society has more positive indictors than negative. Reporters, writers, editors, photographers, broadcasters and producers are the main source of information and opinion building in this age of digitized media. Covering war or conflict has been a very interesting field for journalists. A number of examples news of conflict and peace journalism has been a history of media. Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine, Israel and most recent a gulf crises is a good example of reporting war and peace journalism by international media. Since there have been two major trends while reporting conflict or war 1) war journalism and 2) peace journalism. Sometimes, a reporter give salience to war or conflict oriented news more than the conflict resolution or peace journalism and sometimes he/she promote peace journalism. The agenda of the media outlet plays an important role in the coverage of such issues.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Pakistan has been a front line ally of US led forces against war on terror in Afghanistan since 9/11. In recent years Pakistan has launched war against these militants groups in the valley of Swat and South Waziristan. Since the declaration of war on terror thousands of Pakistani army officers and soldiers sacrificed their precious lives. Being multi-cultural and multi-ethnic group's society, the war on terror has failed to win blind support from the media. Even the international media including the Western media have not extended full support to the war. It would be rather right to say that media has been promoting peace. Although the media has been supported military actions in the region against the militants, however, it is yet to assess the coverage given to the issue. It is equally important to evaluate

the coverage pattern of these newspapers in the war on terror with special reference to peace journalism. The government of Pakistan more or less supported the position taken by the USA on the issue; however, some breakups have been noted during the decade of war. Due to which the policy line of media might be changed according to the foreign policy of the country concerned. The study is of great significance for policy makers and think tanks against war on terror. Since the media plays an important role in framing the issues by highlighting some and ignoring the other to build the public opinion because, it is equally important for public as how mainstream media frame war on terror. It is important to evaluate whether these newspapers have peace oriented or war oriented approach.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

This study aimed to explore framing of peace journalism with special reference to war on terror in the two mainstream Pakistani English language dailies: The Nation and The Business Recorder for the period from March 2008 to March 2009. The following questions were posed to explore the framing trends of these papers:-

1. Whether and to what extent the newspapers frame peace journalism?

2. Whether the peace journalism dominates the war journalism in these newspapers?

3. Whether these newspapers are pro-peace journalism or pro-war journalism?

Peace Journalism

Peace Journalism is defined "when editors and reporters make choices - of what to report, and how to report it - that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict"(Peace Journalisms). Peace journalism has coined by Johan Gatlung by shifting the focus from traditional war reporting or violence to empathy and non-violence. In his paper titled "The Structure of Foreign News", Gatlung criticized conflict focused reporting. In other words, the main focus of peace journalism is on conflict resolution instead conflict exposes. The term "peace journalism" was coined by Johan Galtung who criticized conflict-focused war reporting in his paper titled as "The Structure of Foreign News". His ideas created the framework for the movement of peace journalism.

Mia Verhoeff (2006) cited Lynch & McGoldrick (2005) that "Peace journalism is when editors and reporters make choices – of what stories to report and about how to report them – that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent response to conflict."

Principles of Peace Journalism

The concept of peace journalism may have emerged more than three decades ago, but it has not gained wide acceptance among journalists nor attracted adequate attention from researchers. There is little, if any, empirical research on peace journalism, which is all the more relevant today in a world racked by strife and conflict. Few, if any, past studies have operationalized peace journalism. Thus, peace journalism made a leap from theory to practice without the benefit of research. (Lee & Maslog, 2005) According to Lynch the first guiding principle of Peace journalism is that it recognizes the complicated web of conflicting parties and goals and covers all sides of a story. It reports news with a wider lens that is more inclusive and less ethnocentric. The second principle of peace journalism is to shed light that how violence affects the people in all areas of the conflict, regardless of borders. It gives weight and value to human sentiments. The third principle is to give a voice to all the parties involved in the conflict with meaningful input, creative ideas, and non-violent solution. It begins a new narrative to actively change the way people understand violence. Finally, it educates the public on the difference between stated positions and real goals. It is often seen that how Government official information

released for the public is incomplete and biased. The public needs better-balanced information in order to make informed decision and it is peace journalism that provides it. Peace journalism seeks all of these goals without distorting facts or only covering peaceful perspectives. It is believed that if peace journalism is fairly written and used correctly, it can prove to be a new way of handling conflict and in this way it will promote global dialogue, de-escalation, and avoidance of violence altogether.

Role of Pakistan Against War on Terror

Pervaiz Musharraf President of Pakistan in his address to united nation general assembly said, "The tragedy of 9/11 transformed security policies and changed geopolitical calculations. Pakistan took a strategic decision, based on the principles of humanity and our national interest, to support the war on terror."

Resultantly Pakistan received about $11 billion from the United States for the logistical support it provided for the counter-terrorism operations from 2001 to 2008, and for its own military operations mainly in Waziristan and other tribal areas along the Durand line (Afghan border). On the other hand as a reaction of Army operations in federally administered tribal areas (Agencies), the Taliban started a series of bomb blasts and suicide attacks on general public and government officials/installations across Pakistan. There were about 2273 terrorist attacks took place from 2002 onward in which huge casualties besides worsening economy of Pakistan. Institute for conflict management generated a table showing annual fatalities in terrorist violence in Pakistan totaling of 25,329 people including military personnel's and civilians until 2008. Even these blasts swept the most renowned political leader Benazir Bhutto in 2007. Due to all these set backs the determination of Pakistani people, Pakistan Army and government did not lose up against war on terror. In the economic side, Federal Bureau of Statistics the contribution of agriculture and industrial sector to GDP saw significant decline from 2004 to 2009. The State bank of Pakistan reported that the foreign direct investment fell from $1.116 billion to $463 billion due to war against terror. A significant decline of 58.5 percent is observed.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Nhung Bui (2012) cited Welch, (2005) that "After the 1991 Gulf War, there was a changing nature of international crises, from inter-state to intra-state, including a series of conflicts in Bosnia, Serbia, Rwanda, Kosovo and East Timor. All of these conflicts "saw 'Perception Management and Psychological Operations (PSYOPS)' deployed in support of military operations". He further cited Balnaves, Donald & Shoesmith, B., 2009 that "The terrorist attack on the twin towers in New York on September 11, 2001 further pushed national governments to escalate activities in the so-called PSYOPS, which gave rise to a modern term "information warfare" that "refers to propaganda and persuasion campaigns, including deception" by military forces and governments."

 Media researchers have since then been focusing more on governments' use of media, A number of media studies conducted to assess the media coverage patterns during and after conflict/war. Jacobsen (2000) of the view that, "media coverage is always biased with nationalistic and ideological tendencies. We can quote many examples of such conflicts on international level in the last 25 years like Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Sri Lanka, East Timor, Kashmir, Moldova, Liberia, Nagorno Karabakh, Sierra Leone, Tajikistan, Sudan, etc. It is a general perception in the international media that ABC, CBS,NBC, and CNN did not cover Gulf War neutrally. Carruthers (2000) explained that the mass media, due to state restrictions and military censorship, follows the state policy in reporting conflict. Hence as supportive state in its wartime propaganda has been significant. Wolfsfeld (2004) of the view that the "default mode of operation for the press is to cover tension, conflict, and violence"

Bui (2012) cited Kempf & Reimann (2002) that "Media in Western countries deployed "two-sided messages and double-bind communication" to create a deceptive appearance of their contribution to the de-escalation of the Gulf War. He further quoted Zelizer (2004) on the manipulation of "schematic" war images; and of Mral (2006) on the rhetoric's used by the US and its coalition to legalize their 2003 invasion of Iraq." Bui (2012) further quotes the views of Nye, 2008; Gilboa, 2000, 2002; Entman, 2008 that "Media studies on war reporting focus on a wide range of issues and take the political influence on media coverage from governments of war players as a core theory. As a new form of propaganda, public diplomacy has been increasingly used in media research on war reporting, thanks to its tie to national security and foreign policy."

Peace Theory

Taking clue from this Galtung coined the term peace journalism in 1970,s and developed two opposing modes of reporting wars, i.e.," peace or conflict journalism "and "war or violence journalism. Mcgoldrick, 2001; Patel, 2004 opined that, "Peace journalism brings before us all the black and white sides of the conflict. In this way it de-escalates the tension and minimizes the rift between opposed parties .It does not repeat those facts that demonize one side or the other and sets the ground for further conflict. Lynch & Galtung's (1986, 1998) classified war and peace journalism on the basis of four broad practice and linguistic orientations: peace/conflict, truth, people, and solutions whereas war journalism is oriented in war/violence, propaganda, elites, and victory. According to Galtung the objective of peace journalism is to "identify the conflict formation, the parties, their goals and the issues, and not fall into the trap of believing that the key actors are where the action (violence, war) is". In peace journalism peace-oriented journalists must first accept that a conflict exists, and explore conflict formations by identifying the parties, goals and issues. They understand the conflict's historical and cultural roots, and create empathy and understanding by giving voice to all parties (not only two opposing sides). By applying peace journalism practices in reports of the conflict, the peace journalist creates a setting in which the causes of and possible solutions to the conflict become transparent and obvious. Other peace journalism approaches prescribed by Galtung include writing editorials and columns to urge reconciliation and focusing on common ground rather than on vengeance, retaliation, and differences, and emphasizing the invisible effects of violence (e.g., emotional trauma, and damage to social structure and culture). In contrast, the traditional war journalism approach plays up with conflict. It places participants into two opposing sides in a zero sum game("them-vs.-us"), and its focus is on the visible effects of war such as casualties, injuries, and damage to property.

Expansion of Peace Theory

Galtung observed Transcend Peace University where two experienced lecturers namely Mcgoldrick and Lynch (2000) expanded on Galtung's (1986) classification of war journalism and peace journalism and further proposed seventeen peace journalism-based practices for news coverage of war. War reporting is often based on chaos and sensationalism. The main purpose is to increase circulations of the media outlets and to enhance readerships/viewership. Its primary focus is on action oriented and superficial events with short background of history and context. Peace journalism also focus on the causes of violence or war, and it does not follow simple narrative style. It explains the reasons and causes of the violence and looks on the frames of the conflict as how it is covered by the media. It suggests causes and options for every stakeholder. It gives equal coverage to the point of views of all rival groups to bring about the peaceful resolution of the conflict. Through its balance approach the peace journalism aims to promote friendly environment even it supplement by focusing on solutions rather than the Its   explicit aim of is to promote peace initiatives from whatever quarter, and to help its

readers to differentiate between stated positions and real goals of the parties involved in the conflict arena. It supplements the news conventions to give peace a more chance by focusing on solutions rather than conflict oriented activities.

Peace Journalism Model

The concept of Peace Journalism improved by Lynch and McGoldrik (2005) placed more emphasis on practical sense of media performance and came up with Peace Journalism model. Reporters and editors are the key players in this model. According to them "Peace Journalism is when editors and reporters make choices, about when to report and how to report it, which create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent, developmental responses to conflict."

Peace Journalism model

Peace/ Conflict Journalism	War/ Violence Journalism
I. Peace/Conflict-Orientated	*I. War/Violence-orientated*
Explore conflict formation, x parties, y goals, z issues, 'win-win' orientation	Focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war, zero-sum orientation
Open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture	Closed space, closed time; causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone
Making conflicts transparent	3. Making wars opaque/secret
Giving voice to all parties, empathy, understanding	4. 'us-them' journalism, propaganda, voice, for 'us'
See conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity	5. See 'them' as the problem, focus on who prevails in war
	6. Dehumanization of 'them'; more so the worse the weapon
Humanization of all sides; more so the worse the weapon	Reactive: waiting or violence before reporting
Proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurs	Focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)
Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma, damage to structure/culture)	
II. Truth-Orientated	*II. Propaganda-Orientated*
Expose untruth on all sides / uncover all cover-up	Expose 'their' untruths / help 'our' cover-ups/lies
III. People-Orientated	*III. Elite-Orientated*
Focus on suffering all over, on women, aged, children, giving voice to voiceless	Focus on 'our' suffering; on able bodied elite males, being their mouthpiece
Give name to all evil-doers	Give name of their evil-doers
Focus on people peace-makers	Focus on elite peace-makers
IV. Solution-Orientated	IV. Victory-Orientated
Peace = non-violence + creativity	Peace = victory + ceasefire
Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war	Conceal peace initiatives, before victory is at hand
Focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society	Focus on treaty, institution, the cont rolled society
Aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, Reconciliation	Leaving for another war, return if the old flares up again

The debate on peace journalism has been a hot topic in the recent years and it has remained under strong criticism. Since the incident of 9/11 the media have been taking a bulk of news relating to war on terrorism all over the world. Media cover the war on terror according to the vested interests of their

nations. However, the focus of the big powers is to eliminate terrorism, therefore, the peace theory is much active in these nations. The opponents of peace journalism theory raised many objections. Firstly, in their opinion, peace journalism is complete departure from objectivity. They further say that such coverage compromises the integrity of journalists. Peace journalism negates the traditional journalistic values of detachment, objectivity and neutrality. Secondly peace journalism gives much credence to direct and powerful effects of media. It ignores the fact that journalist could not stand outside the cultural influence of the society in which he lives and works. Thirdly peace journalism is a normative model that fails to take account of the constraints in news production due to organizational and institutional factors.

However, peace journalism is an evolving field in the post modern era and is now getting its place as an full fledge discipline in the developed nations and the time is not far when it will become an important discipline among developing nations. Lee and Maslog were among the first who operationalized peace journalism and test it empirically via quantitative content analysis. They examined newspapers from war and peace framing and analyzed the application of peace journalism theory. They based their operational definitions of war journalism and peace journalism frames according to the model of Johan Galtung, Lee and Maslog (2005) examined war/peace journalism frames and salient indicators in Asian newspapers' coverage of four Asian conflicts. They found that 56 percent of the stories had framed in war journalism. Using Galtung's model of war and peace journalism in a content analysis, they found that three most salient indicators of peace journalism were: avoiding demonizing language, taking a nonpartisan approach and maintaining a multiparty orientation whereas the salient indicators of peace journalism were: here and now, elite orientation, and dichotomy of good guys and bad guys.

Siraj (2007) explores framing of war and peace journalism in the Pakistan-India conflict over Kashmir in elite US newspapers. The study showed that the number of war journalism stories and frames were greater than the number of peace Journalism stories and frames. The contribution of US byline is more in peace journalism whereas the contribution of the Indian byline is more towards peace journalism. Siraj (2010) frames war and peace journalism on the perspective of Talibanization in Pakistan. He found that most of the stories are framed in war journalism rather than peace journalism. The mean story length of the overall coverage is also higher for war journalism. As compared to Urdu press, the English press was dominated by war orientated stories. Taliban received more unfavorable slant rather than unfavorable slant in the overall coverage.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research study designed to get benefit from framing theory; peace journalism frame and war journalism frame. Paul & Kuypers (2010) cited Gamson and Modigliani (1987) that "A central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (p. 143). Framing theory provided the solid background for research scholars and they used it as an important tool to explain both War and Peace news stories (Christensen, 2005; Yang, 2003; Scheufele, 1999). In the words of Tankard et al.(1991) "framing stems from a process of "selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration," (p.3). Entman (1993) standardized framing as, "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described," (p. 52).

The media framing facilitate to highlight certain aspects of a news item and ignore certain aspects of a news item according to the agenda set by the news outlet or news team. In this way the reaction of the

audiences might be different towards framed news than simple news. The media outlet has many ways to influence the audiences by using certain phrases, words and reinforcing other ideas by undermining other ideas. Theory of Framing is the theoretical framework of this study because war and peace journalism frames are used to assess news stories on " war on terror." Since the Pakistan has been a front line ally in the most controversial war on terror, the Pakistani media has divided on the issue of support to this war. Therefore, they cover the issue in peace as well as in war frame.

METHODOLOGY

Sampling

Two elite English language newspapers were selected on the basis of their reputation and circulation to measure the phenomenon of the framing war on terror. Universe of the study was all news stories on war on terror covered in both these newspapers during the studied period. A list of stories for content analysis is generated from Lexis- Nexis by entering the key word "War on Terror". Each story is coded for topics Bomb blast, Drone attack, Coalition (Pakistan policy, US policy), Economy, Society, Foreign aid, frames; War journalism / peace journalism (Taliban as a friend or foe)

1. Peace Journalism

Peace journalism means journalism that promotes peace initiatives. It undermines religious and ethnic differences and does not advocate for further conflict. Conflict resolution and reconciliation activities among these groups are promoted.

2. War Journalism

War journalism means journalism that covers only one side picture of the conflict and in which they used military offensive language. There is no historical background and the media outlet uses superficial narrative.

3. Framing

Framing defines as how a news event was covered and organized in the context of war. The present study applied three frames, "peace frame and war frame" by using nine indicators of war journalism and peace journalism designed by Johan Galtung. Third frame includes the news stories which do not fall within peace or war frame.

4. Friend

In includes the stories that depict Taliban as friend by their words or context.

5. Foe

In includes the stories that depict Taliban as foe of humanity by their words or context.

FINDINGS

Table 1. Coverage of News stories by Newspapers in war and peace journalism

Newspaper	War Frame	Peace Frame	Neutral	Total
Nation	118	419	19	556
	64.8%	53.7%	(52.8 %)	55.7%
Business Recorder	64	361	17	442
	35.2%	46.3%	(47.2 %)	44.3%
Total	182	780	36	998
	100.0%	100.0%	(100.0%)	(100.0%)

Table 1 showed the overall coverage of both the newspapers which promoted peace journalism in relation to the issue of war on terror. 998 news stories were published during the period in which Nation and Business took share of 55.7% and 44.3% respectively. Both the newspapers gave more coverage to peace stories, i.e, 780 (78.2%) while stories, i.e, 182(18.2%) remained in the war frame. The Chi square= 73.037; p=.000 test shows the difference

Table 2. Topics in the News coverage of War on Terror

Categories	Frequency	Valid Percent	Chi square
bomb blast	247	24.7	
drone attack	120	12.0	
Coalition	142	14.2	73.037;
Economy	112	11.2	
US policy	100	10.0	p=.000
Society	200	20.0	
International Aid	32	3.2	
Total	998	100.0	

Finding have been shown that both the newspapers covered the stories of bomb blast more intensively, i.e., 247(24.7%), followed by 120(12.0%) stories of Drone attacks coalition news (US and Pak), 142(14.2%), and Social news stories, i.e., 200 (20.0%) respectively. Much coverage has given to the issues relating to peace journalism and the difference is significant towards peace journalism (Chi square= 73.037; p=.000).

Table 3. Framing of Taliban as Foe or Friend

| Frame	Frequency	Valid Percent	Chi squire test
Taliban as friend	220	22.0	
Taliban as foe	654	65.5	479.431; p= .000
Neutral	124	12.4	
Total	998	100.0	

Result prescribed that both the newspapers framed Taliban more as foe 650 (65.5%) than as friend 220 (22.0%) and remained Neutral 124 (12.4%) and the difference is significant. (Chi square=479.431; p= .000).

**Table 4. Distribution of War and peace Frame in the News Stories**

Frame	Frequency	Percentage
Peace	780	78.2 %
War	182	18.2 %
Neutral	36	3.6 %

Table 4 depicted that frequency of peace stories was greater than the frequency of war stories i.e., 78.2% and 18.2% respectively. The peace frame was clearly dominated the war frame as indicated by significance level (chi square=934.325;p=0.000).

WAR AND PEACE FRAME
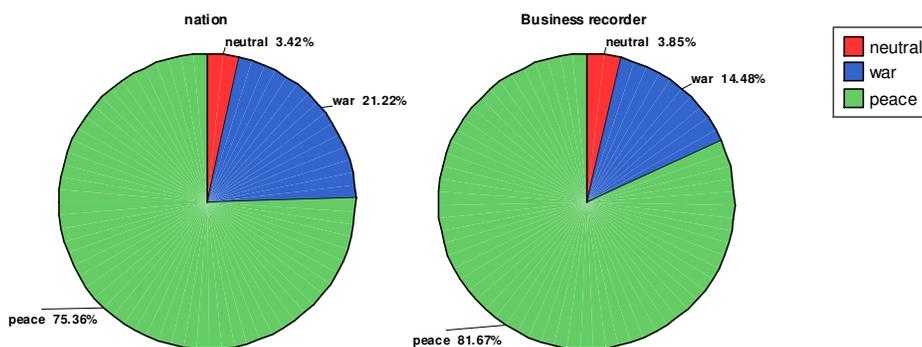
TALIBAN AS FRIEND OR FOE
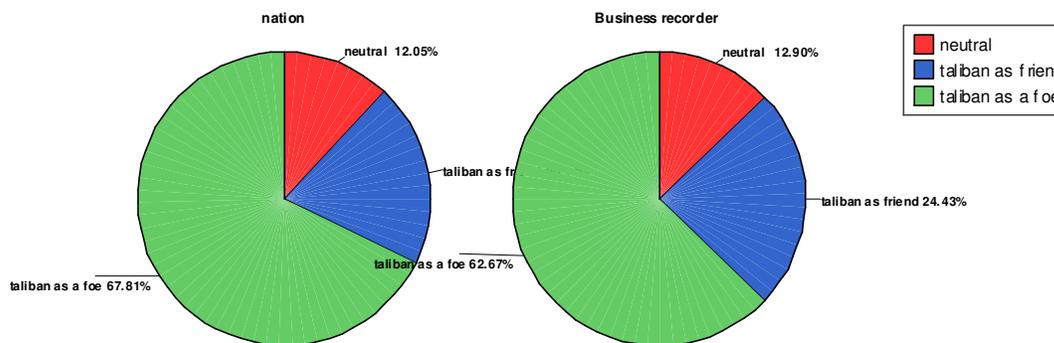
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Out of 998 news stories which published during the studied period 780 (78%) stories fall within peace frame while only 182 (18%) relates to war frame. The results show that the overall coverage was dominated by peace frame. However, the topic bomb blast which has covered 247 times is greater in number followed by the stories related to social news.

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Susan *et al.,* (2008) cited Annabring & Spohrs, (2004) that "Media scholars have found that the media present conflicts primarily as "a competitive win-lose process" in which an idealized, positive 'self' defeats demonized, negative 'others'." A study conducted by Lee *et al.,* (2006) regarding the coverage of war and peace frame. They were of the view that the peace journalism trend was found in the Muslim majority states on Iraq war. They also found that war journalism tendency was clearly dominated in the media of non-Muslim countries. They observed that religion was the important factor in shaping the news of the conflict.

In the present study the analysis of published stories on the issue of war on terror clearly indicates the peace frame in the two English dailies of Pakistan. War frame approach has avoided and peace frame approach has applied. Thus it supports our first hypothesis that the coverage framed more peace journalism rather than war journalism. There are two important factors behind this trend of peace journalism. Both these papers adopted a long term approach to fight against terrorism and encourage the dialogue process between the ethnic groups and coalition partners. It is also noted that these two newspapers support the policies of their country and process of dialogue to reach on peaceful agreement.

The more covered topics were bomb blasts, society, coalition and suicide attacks. The results show that the peace framing approach has been applied by giving a reasonable space to the issues and their resolutions regarding war on terror. These newspapers condemn and criticize the attacks and destruction activities of the Taliban in most of their news stories during the said period. Media paid more time, space and focus on the social and economic impact on people and society whenever the bomb blast or suicide attack occurred. The approach of the media in general was remained around peace framing. They framed war on terror mostly in peace journalism and supported to amicable solution of the problem. Their language and tone was peace rather than war oriented.

Another important issue to measure the frame was the coverage of Taliban as a friend or foe. Since the Talibans are party in the war on terror, the media was and is covering Taliban and their activities with keen and great interest. They are main stake holder in this war on terror. It is pertinent to depict the image of Talibans to know the mindset of the Pakistani media. The results indicate that both these newspapers portrayed them as foe (65%) than as friend (22%). It has been noted that the both these newspapers remained unfavorable to the Talibans. From the study we can say that the peace journalism frame is more significant than the war journalism. The Pakistani print media shows responsibility and self regulation by promoting peace journalism frame in their coverage. The print media avoided to highlight war stories in terms of their voice, tone or language. Further the study portrayed the image of Taliban in media as foe rather than friend.

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