



War or Peace Journalism: Exploring News Framing of Kashmir Conflict in DAWN Newspaper

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Abstract— This paper employed the Johan Galtung's model of Peace Journalism [1][2] -as functionalized in Siraj [3]-to examine the coverage of Kashmir Conflict in DAWN newspaper, one of the leading English language dailies in Pakistan. The research was guided by three questions; to what extent the coverage of DAWN is dominated by peace or war journalism, what are the DAWN's preference of Kashmir conflict news and their Editorial choices, and lastly, what is the DAWN's strategic placement of Kashmir related stories. It was a quantitative content analysis supplement with qualitative commentary. Data source for the study was the two year coverage of DAWN, starting from 01 July, 2016 to 30 June, 2018. The study was theoretically informed by Galtung's Model of Peace Journalism. Nineteen frames; nine Peace Oriented, Nine war oriented and one Neutral, as has been explicated by Siraj[3], were selected according to which the data was scrutinized. The study selected the whole news story was taken as coding unit. SPSS was used to analyze the data whereas tables were constructed in MS Word. The study found that the DAWN newspaper coverage of Kashmir conflict was dominated by war frames, news stories (Hard News) were published more as compared to other types of news items, and finally, more stories were published on the National page. Media by default cover conflicts in war approaches, creating hype and focusing on the visible effects. Therefore, the potential of Galtung's PJ Model encourages and provides guideline to use peace oriented approaches in the coverage of conflicts.

Keywords— Galtung's Model of Peace Journalism, Kashmir conflict, Pakistan, DAWN.

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper critically investigates the coverage of Kashmir conflict in DAWN newspaper of Pakistan. The Galtung's Model of Peace Journalism (PJ) [1] [2] guides this analysis whereas the main goal of this paper is to find out the value-bias of DAWN towards conflict and violence. As case study, the research focuses on the coverage of Kashmir dispute between India-Pakistan in DAWN newspaper, starting from the death of Burhan Wani¹ (2016) till 30 June, 2018. The media massively covered Kashmir conflict in the aftermath of Burhan Wani's death- his death resulted into huge protests and several attacks in reaction to his death on Indian armed forces were reported.

¹ Burhan Wani was a separatist, who was killed by the Indian army in Indian Occupied Kashmir on 08 July, 2016.

In the mean time Kashmir conflict stayed the center of attention and dominated the public discourse in Pakistan. Research shows that media coverage significantly influences public policy and ultimately cultivates peoples' attitude, thus it becomes pertinent that the content published on media to be subjected to penetrating scholarly scrutiny. Pakistan has the most vibrant media- particularly print media. Print media has enormous circulation, and seize essential place in peoples' daily lives.

The issue of Kashmir began with the division of British rule India into Pakistan and India in 1947. The people of Kashmir were suppose to be given choice of whether to merge with either India-Pakistan or stay independent but they were subjugated by both, ever since the issue remain the source of perpetual strife among both. Since, both the countries want to bring more Kashmiri territory into their folds and none wants to withdraw from their official position on this long standing conflict, the issue remains the same.

The magnitude of Kashmir conflict is huge, so far it has triggered into three full scale wars (1948, 1965 & 1999) between both countries and till to this day both counties regularly engages in border skirmishes, the most recent dogfight between Indian and Pakistani aircrafts are well documented event occurred in 2019. Kashmir is view by many as a flashpoint between India-Pakistan which can anytime result into self destructive war- nuclear war.

Here are some statistics from the Indian administered region of Kashmir that show the intensity of the issue. According to Aljazeera, from 1989 up to 2017, the number of deaths in the conflict of Kashmir estimated 70,000 [4]. While according to Hindustan Times, in the past 27 years (from 1990 to March, 2017) 41,000 people have lost lives including 14,000 civilians, 5,000 security personals, and 22,000 militants or the armed people fighting against the Indian army in Indian administered Kashmir. The report also claimed that there is an average of 4 deaths per day and an average of 1519 casualties per year. Furthermore, the report also stated that in the same period of time, there have been 69,820 militancy related incidents, per year there are 2586 incidents related to militancy [5].

According to South Asia Terrorism Portal, from 1988 to this day, 45,028 people have lost their lives and 47,234 people have been injured in the Kashmir conflict [6]. Whereas, DAWN newspaper reported 68,000 people killed in the 70 years of Kashmir conflict [7]. Though, it should be noted that

the above numbers doesn't include the disappeared people, the statistic only showed the casualties within mentioned time.

Both the states continued to violate the cease-fire agreement on the line of control (LoC)². Indo-Pak conflict Monitor is an independent research project and monitor cease fire violations, between India and Pakistan. According to their recent report on the cease-fire violation 2018, India violated the cease-fire agreement 1432 times, and Pakistan violated this agreement 1400 times [8].

The role of media is to collect and disseminate information. Media role becomes crucial when it comes to covering conflict related news. If media portray news related to Kashmir conflict through the approaches of war journalism, then there is high possibility that the political and social debate will likely be affected and thus the situation will go from bad to worse. PJ pioneers have developed an effective theoretical approach for investigating the media content which helps in finding whether it escalate war or act as a bridge in peace building and conflict resolution. Earlier studies [18], [16], [14], [13], [3], [12] have shown that media is highly war/violence oriented and marginalize alternative voices calling for peaceful resolutions. Moreover, studies reveal that the actual party and victims (Kashmiris) within this conflict are mostly ignored by the media, they are given less space in the coverage, the physical aspects of the conflict are reported only, and importantly, violent means are esteemed at the cost of peaceful alternatives. This to change, the media have to adopt PJ strategies towards covering Kashmir issue, since the current strategy has failed to overcome the hostilities between the two countries. If the media change their strategies covering this issue, it is likely that the political and public debate will follow which can cultivate an atmosphere conducive for dialogue among the conflicting parties.

The following paragraphs present literature on peace journalism and conflict reporting- particularly Kashmir conflict- will be reviewed, and a research gap will be identified which this paper must fill.

The concept of PJ was proposed by Johan Galtung in 1970s, a Norwegian scholar. In his recent study 'Peace Journalism and Reporting on the United States' he mentions, "when we say something about peace journalism, something has to be said about peace, and to say something about peace, something has to be said about conflict and its resolution" [9].

Wilhelm Kempf in his article comes up with the concept of two discourses 'war and peace'. In war discourse, it is a matter of who is the guilty and how can they be stopped? Whereas peace discourse is concerned about what is the problem? And how can it be solved? [10].

Prominent theorists Herman and Chomsky in their study, discuss the factors which influence conflict reporting. They pointed that normally the government and military relation with the media usually influence journalistic practices [11].

² The Line of Control (LoC) refers the de facto border between the Indian and Pakistani controlled parts of the Jammu and Kashmir.

Wolfsfeld acknowledge in his article, that the nature of media by default is to cover disputes, conflicts, violence and tension [12]. Shinar in his comparative study came to the conclusion that media mostly prefer to use war frames even when there is a peace negotiations between the opposing groups [13].

Fawcett in his content analysis of Irish media found that the war frames are more attractive than the peace frames in the Irish media [14]. Moreover, Lee and Maslog in their study found that the coverage of the almost all Asian conflicts is dominated by war frames [15].

According to Lynch and McGoldrick, Peace Journalism provides a new approach to the journalists that cover conflicts. Peace Journalism provides conflict analysis and transformation to revise the balance, fairness and accuracy in covering conflicts. Peace journalism takes a positive way of non-violence and takes into consideration the professionalism in reporting conflicts [16].

Lynch further recognizes in his article that peace journalism emphasis the editors and journalists should make choices in their daily reporting from the conflict zones "to what and how to report it" that could bring value to non-violent responses and consider the suffering of war. Moreover, he states that the audience should be well informed about the causes and consequences of conflicts in the coverage, while the reports should give voice to all parties involved in the conflict [17].

An article "Peace Journalism and conflict reporting: case study of Pakistani Media" explores the role of Pakistani media in the coverage of conflicts in the perspective of peace journalism. The study argues that media has the power to alter public opinions and it can bring public attention towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict. This research study discusses the hopelessness of media and the situation that has turned away from productive discussion on the peace initiatives that could bring peace to the conflict. Furthermore, the study highlights the danger of media's distortion of the news contents has the potential to escalate conflict and conceal resolution of the dispute [18].

Lubna Zaheer in her paper examines the media coverage of Burhan Wani's killing. For her study, she selected four Pakistani newspapers; two of English and two Urdu language. She has employed Galtung's PJ Model and Entman's Framing Theory as her analytical tools. Her findings showed that Pakistani media was highly war oriented and war frames were dominant in the coverage compared to peace frames. Furthermore, Urdu language newspapers were using more war frames as compared to the English language dailies. Her study concludes, "The reason for more war slanted reporting could be credited to the historical background and state policy towards the Kashmir issue" and adds, "due to the human rights violations and the violence itself in Kashmir might also be the reasons which the Pakistani media couldn't avoid to report" [19].

The literature review on peace and conflict reporting in general and particular on Kashmir conflict found that there is research gap on the contemporary situation of conflict reporting. Also, the time span was short hence no study was

found examining the two years coverage of Kashmir conflict. This study however has selected two years time frame; starting from 01 July, 2016 to 30 June, 2018. The time period is critical because the uprising after the death of Burhan Wani led to series of crucial events and enduring effects on the relationship between both countries, also many innocent Kashmiris lost their lives and for data has selected the coverage of Kashmir conflict in DAWN newspaper which is elite Pakistani English language daily. Three research questions were formulated; to what extent the coverage of DAWN is dominated by peace or war journalism, what are the DAWN's preference of Kashmir conflict news and their Editorial choices, and lastly, what is the DAWN's strategic placement of Kashmir related stories.

The study selected quantitative content analysis backed by qualitative description method while research is guided by Galtung's Model of Peace Journalism and has used Galtung's classification of war and peace journalism frames, and followed the data analysis techniques of prominent scholars such as Galtung [1],[2], Siraj [3], Lynch & McGoldrick [16], Lee & Maslog [15], Hussain & Siraj [20].

II. STUDY ANALYSIS

A single story was the unit of analysis. The stories were grouped into 'Peace' and 'War' categories in accordance with Galtung's classification [1] [2] in which the content of the story is evaluated according to the 19 indicators he has formulated. A story which has more peace indicators is placed in peace indicators category. For instance, if a story has more peace indicators as compared to War indicators, is considered as Peace story and vice versa. The Table 1 of this study explains these 19 indicators, which is place as Appendix 'A'.

The here are the answers to the established research questions and presents analysis of the study.

RQ1. To what extent the coverage of DAWN newspaper is dominated by the approaches of peace or war journalism?

According to the data, the coverage of DAWN newspaper is mostly dominated by the war journalism approach. In total of 1022 news content, 654 contain war indicators, whereas 368 contain peace indicators. This shows that 63.9 percent of the total stories were war oriented reporting, as shown in Table 2 of this study.

The Table 2 of the study shows that there are a total of 1022 news items within which 654 are war oriented and 368 are peace oriented. The number of stories per indicator is given in descending order. In the category of war indicators, 'Visible effects of war' was found in 221 stories, 'Zero-sum orientation' was found in 87, 'Elite-oriented' was found in 75, 'Differences-oriented' was in 63, 'Here and Now' was in 50, 'Dichotomizes of good and bad' was also in 50, 'Two-party oriented' was in 40, 'Partisan-oriented' was in 38, and 'Uses of demonizing language' was in 30.

In contrast, in the category of peace indicators, the number of stories per indicator is given in descending order. 'Solution-

oriented' was found in 76 stories, 'People-oriented' was in 73. 'Win-win oriented' was in 53, 'In-visible effects of war' was in 49, 'Non-partisan' was in 38, 'Causes and consequences' was in 35, 'Multi-party oriented' was in 19, 'avoid demonizing language' was in 13, and 'Avoid labeling of good and bad' was found in 12 stories.

This Table shows that the DAWN newspaper's coverage of Kashmir conflict is more War oriented (63.9%) as compare to Peace oriented (36.1%). Further, if we look at the category of war oriented indicators, it shows that the two indicators, 'Visible effects of war' (21.6%) and 'Zero-sum orientation' (8.5%) are the most used frames. Whereas, in the peace oriented indicators, 'Solution oriented' (7.4%) and 'People oriented' (7.1%) are the top indicators or frames.

Table 2 of this study answers to the first research question.

War Journalism Indicators	N (%)	Peace Journalism Indicators	N (%)
Visible effects of war	221(21.6)	Invisible effects of war	49 (4.8)
Elite-oriented	75 (7.3)	People-oriented	73 (7.1)
Differences-oriented	63 (6.2)	Solution-oriented	76 (7.4)
Here and now	50 (4.9)	Causes and consequences	35 (3.4)
Dichotomizes of good and bad	50 (4.9)	Avoid labelling of good and bad	12 (1.2)
guys		guys	
Two-party oriented	40 (3.9)	Multi-party oriented	19 (1.9)
Partisan-oriented	38 (3.7)	Non-Partisan	38 (3.7)
Zero-sum orientation	87 (8.5)	Win-win orientation	53 (5.2)
Uses of demonizing language	30 (2.9)	Avoid demonizing language	13 (1.3)
Total	654(63.9)	368 (36.1) =	1022 (100)

RQ2. What is the DAWN's Preference of Kashmir conflict news and their Editorial choices?

To answer the research question 3, the data is provided in below Table 3. The Table consists of story type, year and total number. The data is placed according to the story type, year and total, as shown below.

Table 3 presents the findings of the second research question.

Type of Story	2016	2017	2018	Total
News Stories	261	199	43	503
Feature/In-depth	71	115	83	269

Editorial	43	40	15	98
Analysis/Columns	65	48	20	133
Investigative	1	2	-	3
Others	3	11	1	15
1022				

According to the data, Table 3 showed that Dawn newspaper focused more on news stories (hard news) with 503 in total of 1022, followed by 269 feature and in-depth stories, next 133 Analysis and Columns, 98 Editorials, 15 'Others' and finally, 3 investigative stories. According to the results, the news stories were 49.2 percent, with the highest percentage.

RQ3. What is the DAWN's strategic placement of Kashmir related stories?

To answer the final research question, the following 'Table 4' is presented which highlights the findings. The selected newspaper pages and yearly number of published stories are shown.

Table 4 presents the findings of research question three of the study.

Newspaper Page	2016	2017	2018	Total
Front	104	72	24	200
Back	99	85	36	220
National	119	154	59	332
International	14	17	11	42
OP-Editorial	107	88	32	228
1022				

The Table 4 found that the total number of stories published on each page is as follows; Front page 200, Back page 220, National page 332, International page 42, Op-Editorial page 228. To sum up, there are total of 1022 news items published in the selected duration of the study. Furthermore, in the total number stories, the highest (332) were placed on the National page of the newspaper, followed by Op-Editorial 228, next 220 on Back page, 200 on Front page, whereas, on the International page, only 42 stories were published.

From July until December, 2016, the maximum number of stories (119) was published on National page, followed by Op-Editorial with 107 stories, 104 stories on Front page, 99 stories on Back page, while on International page, only 14 stories were published. From January until December, 2017, the placement of stories were as; (154) on National page, followed by Op-Editorial with 88 stories, 85 stories on Back page, 72 on Front page, while on International page, only 17 stories were published. Lastly, from January until June 2018, the maximum number of stories (59) was published on National page, followed by 36 on Back page, 32 Op-Editorial page, 24 on Front page and on International page, only 11 stories were published.

DISCUSSION

The study found that the coverage of Kashmir conflict in DAWN newspaper was hugely war oriented, the dominant theme was found to be war with 63.9% of the total publication on Kashmir conflict as shown in Table 2.

The four most salient indicators in the category of war journalism frames, based on a total frequency count in descending order were 'Visible effects of war', 'Zero-sum orientation', 'Elite-oriented', and 'Difference oriented'. In the Visible effects of war indicator, more stories were related to the deaths and destructions in the Kashmir conflict. In the zero-sum orientation indicator, more stories consisted information that strictly restricted deals on the issue of Kashmir and presented aggressive stance to the Indian brutality on the citizens of Kashmir. In the Elite-oriented frame, more stories were focused on the leaders of both countries and their statements, leaders and officials were sources of information. Lastly, in the difference oriented frame, more stories were on the differences between the conflicting parties in the dispute, the India and Pakistan different interests and their differences regarding Kashmir, the Indian use of pellet guns on the protesters, the civilian killings by the Indian army, the cease-fire violation, discouragement of peace talks, and terrorist incidents were also included in the difference frame.

The four most salient indicators supporting peace journalism frame, were 'Solution oriented', 'People oriented', 'Win-win oriented', and 'Invisible effects of war'. In the solution oriented indicator, most of the stories were editorials of DAWN newspaper and were focused on the possible solution of the Kashmir conflict. In the people oriented frame, most of the stories were focused on the general public and the people were the sources of the news content. In the win-win orientation, the majority stories were related to the multi topics and goals but were centered on solution of the conflict. Lastly, in the invisible effects of war, most of the stories were related to the psychological effects of conflict on the civilian, as well as the security personals involved in the conflict.

As mentioned earlier that the symbolic violence i.e. linguistic demonization is the prior stage of active physical violence. In Galtung's peace model, the first thing is to purge the language of media coverage and other literary discourse from violence. Calling names and negotiation at the same time is not possible. Trust building requires that media treat all parties with dignity and avoid glorifying one and demonizing other. Demonization reduces the position of a party to that of an unimportant and non-serious entity which hinders the process of peace building. Instead, human sufferings of the people should be emphasized which will dilute the tense environment and the rigid positions of the involved actors.

The findings and analysis lead us to the discussion that the media adopts more nationalistic stance in the coverage of Kashmir conflict. The media in general rush into the conflict to gain high rating for which mostly, they sensationalize the content [21]. The conflict journalism scholars have argued that there are a number of factors which include state interest, professional dictates and economic motives of media industries

which drive them towards war journalism [18]. Wolsfeld in his study stated that the war stories are considered good news stories whereas, the peace stories are hardly qualified to be even considered as news stories for the contemporary commercial media [12].

It has been researched that war news have a certain 'shock value' which creates more impact and hence ratings. Sometimes reporters and editors, over a long time internalize the values of war reporting and become desensitized to the horrors of wars. Media today is primarily a commercial enterprise and thrives on advertisements which depend on the rating and circulation of the outlet. Since conflict news have more shock value, therefore, peace stories which may lack shock and 'thrill' are less appealing to reporters. Moreover, scholars have pointed out that real news is bad news. But Galtung has rebutted this concept and instead he argues that bad news is not naturally appealing. Because over a long time of journalist history, reporters have been primarily trained in war news and it will require conscious efforts to shift from this mentality towards peace journalism. Trainings of reporters and editors should be conducted and courses in academia must be taught which have been designed on the principles of Galtung and other scholars in peace journalism.

The coverage of Kashmir conflict contained more war hysteria and spitting of hate. The hateful speeches and words of the leaders of India and Pakistan were made headlines of the stories. Peaceful narratives were less prioritized and the voices for peace were suffocated or almost ignored. Analysis and opinion writers of DAWN newspaper were more concentrated on war rather than peace narration, as their commentary regarding Kashmir conflict contained more war orientation compare to peace. The actual issues of the Kashmiri's were ignored, there were less content published on what the people of Kashmir want while the deaths and destructions were more highlighted, the peaceful developments and the root causes and solutions were less prioritized. The content lacked to provide the origin of the dispute and the discussions on United Nations resolutions lacked details of the resolutions itself rather there were passing references to it, most of the readers are not aware of the United Nations resolutions and thus the newspaper only mentioned resolutions and ignored to go into details. Although, the editorials were mostly solution oriented but it does required to focus more on the main party in the conflict, which is the people of Kashmir.

The media should play the role of peace builder, which is the aim of peace journalism. In the case of the coverage of Kashmir conflict, DAWN which is one of the elite English language newspapers of Pakistan lacks to play a positive role in the conflict. The media influence the policy makers for peace and should bring hidden stories in front of the general public, to better aware them of the situation but the findings and analysis of DAWN found that peace orientation was not prioritized in the coverage of Kashmir conflict.

In the selected time duration of the study, DAWN newspaper has published more news stories (hard news), followed by Feature and In-depth stories, Analysis and Columns, Editorial 'Others', and lastly, Investigative stories in the coverage of Kashmir conflict.

The coverage of Kashmir conflict lacks investigative stories, there were only 3 stories recorded as investigative stories in the study of two years. Since investigative reporting requires sincere efforts, objective fact finding and non-partisan analysis, it naturally qualifies for peace oriented journalism. Also investigative stories reduce the dependence of media outlet on the statements of leaders and militant spokesmen which are usually superficial, politically and ideologically charged and raven with their personal interests. Therefore, investigative reporting has an inherent quality for being people oriented, fact based and there is also a possibility that locally ignored voices may get some space. Also such reports are considered credible and have more impact in terms of policy decisions. So it is emphasized that media must encourage investigative reporting as part of peace journalism.

In the Kashmir conflict, DAWN newspaper published more content on its National page perhaps the newspaper treats the conflict as a national issue, therefore most of the stories were placed on the National page. The rest, in descending order, were Op-Editorial page, Back page, Front page, and International page.

In the overall findings, DAWN newspaper has published 32.4% content regarding Kashmir conflict on National page. Thus, it showed that the Kashmir issue is considered as a domestic issue, and more concerning to the nation, therefore it is found that the newspaper utilized more national page when it comes to reporting Kashmir issue. It is also to be noted that national page contains feature, in-depth and news stories. There is interesting element to be pointed out from the results, which is the Op-Editorial page of the newspaper. The DAWN has published 228 (22.4%) content on the Op-Editorial page, which includes Editorials, Analysis and Columns. Editorials is said to be the brain of the newspaper which represents the opinions of the owner/editor along with the analysis and columns which is also of great importance since the authors put their subjective opinions here. Hence, it must be said that DAWN newspaper has also prioritized Op-Editorial page by providing much space (second in ranking after national page) to Kashmir conflict.

The DAWN has also published more content on the Back page 220 (21.6%), this page consists of feature, in-depth as well as news stories. The content published on Front page regarding Kashmir conflict was recorded 200 (19.4%), this page also contains the feature, in-depth and news stories. It should be pointed that Front page is important because it gives space to the most important news and headlines in the newspaper. Therefore, DAWN has also published much content regarding Kashmir conflict on Front page. The lowest content that has been published by DAWN was on the international page with only 42 (4.3%) of the total 1022 news materials. Thus, the issue of Kashmir is more portrayed and prioritized on National, Op-Editorial, Back page, and Front page of the newspaper but not on the International page.

To conclude, the DAWN newspaper coverage of Kashmir conflict was more dominated by war frames, news stories (hard news) were published more compared to other type of news materials, more stories were published on National page.

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War Indicators	Peace Indicators	Neutral Stories
Visible effects of War	Invisible effects of war	Editorials that contains none of the two approaches
Difference oriented	Solution oriented	
Elite-oriented	People Oriented	
Here and now	Causes and consequences	
Dichotomy: Good guys and bad guys	Avoid labeling of good and bad guys	
Two-Party orientation	Multi-party orientation	
Partisan	Non-partisan	
Zero-sum Orientation	Win-win orientation	
Uses of Demonizing Language	Avoid demonizing language	



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Appendix 'A'

The following is the Galtung's (1986, 1998) classification of war and peace journalism.

Galtung's Model Classification of War and Peace Indicators