

**EDITORIAL POSITION ON POST PULWAMA
INDO-PAK TENSION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS
BETWEEN PAKISTANI AND INDIAN NEWSPAPERS**

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the Editorial Position of Indo-Pak tension on Post Pulwama Incident. Indian paramilitary troops were killed in the Pulwama attack. There was an allegation from the Indian Government, as there have been in previous such strikes where India's security personnel in Indian Occupied Kashmir have been targeted. India Protests against what it sees as Pakistan's role in the attack and Pakistan negates India's unconfirmed allegations. This study aims to examine the editorial position of newspapers after the incidence of the "Pulwama Terror Attack" on 14th February 2019, in Indian Occupied Kashmir. This research is based on a comparative framing analysis of post media editorial position on the Pulwama Incident, as reported by prominent Pakistan and Indian newspapers. The type of the study is content analysis and census method applied to investigate the problem. The study focused on four leading English newspapers, two from Pakistan (The News and The Dawn) and two from India (The Hindu and The Hindustan Times), from 15th February to 31st March 2019. This study also explores different patterns of editorial framing of both countries newspapers on the Pulwama Incident.

KEYWORDS

Pulwama Incident, Indo-Pak, Kashmir, War and Peace Journalism, Framing, Content Analysis, Newspapers.

INTRODUCTION

Peace journalism has gained the attention of communication scholars who are concerned about its reliance on conflict as a source of news in recent years. A lot of the war stories that journalists cover with suffering from sensationalism, identification with only one side and a focus on material destruction and human loss. Accordingly, journalists who cover war and conflict are obliged to adhere to objectivity, a journalistic principle that has survived the test of time. In this way, peace journalism implies to report stories in such a way that because of focuses on peace, minimizes cultural differences and promotes conflict resolution. Reporters offering a superficial narrative without any historical context or background, according to Galtung (1998), should strive to take the path of peace and reconciliation in their reporting.

Johan Galtung's pioneering notion of peace journalism (see Galtung, 1986) has gotten a lot of attention throughout the years. Having formed as an alternative to typical war journalism, it has subsequently pushed journalists reporting conflict zones to concentrate on proactive range and peaceful tactics. Citizens are getting more aware and seeing a conflict from several perspectives as a result of the global nature of mainstream media. The path of events in war and peace is shaped by media reportage. Conflict reporting is exacerbated by frequent and vehement charges of bias from both sides (Galtung and Vincent, 1992; Wolfsfeld, 2008; Lynch, 2012). Policymakers, journalists and social scientists all agree that the press plays an important role in reporting crises in Iraq, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Israel-Palestine (Patel 2004). Aside from political, ideological and other considerations, war reportage is sometimes sensationalised in order to increase circulation and viewership (Allen and Seaton, 1999; Hachten, 1999; Toffler and Toffler, 1994). Rather than a simplistic dichotomy, peace journalism focuses on the structural and cultural origins of violence. It explains the violence, depicts the fight as involving multiple people and seeks a variety of objectives. One specific purpose of peace journalism is to support peace efforts from any source and to enable readers to discern between claimed viewpoints and true aims (Galtung and Vincent, 1992; Wolfsfeld, 2008; Lynch, 2005).

In the case of Pakistan and India, Kashmir is also critical. Under the Indian Independence Act, India claims Kashmir. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, was born in Kashmir to a Brahmin family. He was an ardent secularist who fiercely opposed the separation of the subcontinent along religious lines. His attachment to the location still pervades Indian sentiments about Kashmir today (Ganguly, 1999). Meanwhile, a separatist movement has formed inside Kashmir. Pakistan is accused by India of conducting a proxy war in Kashmir by equipping and training terrorists. Pakistan claims to be just providing moral and diplomatic assistance to the Kashmiri liberation fight (Harrimirza, 2007). India administers about 65 percent of Kashmir's land, while Pakistan administers the remaining 35 percent. India and Pakistan are the world's two most populous nations and with both possessing nuclear weapons, the Kashmir dispute has the terrifying possibility of growing into a nuclear war (Hussain, 2015). Human rights groups have repeatedly raised an outcry about disappearances and extrajudicial killings in the Indian held Kashmir (Human Rights Commission, 2001).

Theoretically, peace journalism is supported by framing theory and war and peace journalism. There is no one standard definition of framing (see Entman, 1993; McCombs, Lopez-Escobar and Llamas, 2000; Scheufele, 1999), but broadly, news framing refers to the process of organizing a news story, thematically, stylistically and factually, to convey a specific storyline. According to Entman (1993), 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 treatment recommendation for the item described. Tankard et al. (1991) described a media frame as the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration. Frames package key ideas, stock phrases and stereotypical images to support a particular interpretation. Through repetition, placement and reinforcement, the texts and photos provide a dominant interpretation more readily perceivable, acceptable and memorable than other interpretations (Entman, 1991). McCombs, Shaw and Weaver (1997) argued that the concepts of agenda-setting and framing represent a convergence in that framing is

an extension of agenda-setting. The idea of framing has been explicated as second-level agenda setting (Jasperson et al., 1998; McCombs, 1994; McCombs and Bell, 1996; McCombs and Evatt, 1995; McCombs, Shaw and Weaver, 1997). Object salience is transmitted in the first level of the agenda-setting process. In the second level, framing, or indicator salience, illustrates how the media tells us to think about something. The reprisal of Bernard Cohen's famous statement that the media tell us what to think about framing is found to activate specific thoughts and ideas for news audiences.

Kashmir is one of the world's longest-running conflicts. The conflict over Jammu and Kashmir started nearly immediately after India and Pakistan gained independence from British control in 1947. This topic has been studied and recognised from the viewpoint of India and Pakistan's struggle over the subject of Kashmir, particularly following the Pulwama event on February 14, 2019, in which India lost 44 troops as a result of a suicide bombing by a member of Jaishee-e Mohammed (JeM). Finding a solution to the Kashmir issue is one of the most uncertain challenges for any academic expert. However, the theoretical and conceptual component of the Kashmir dispute has claimed that there are certain co-relational grounds to connect the 'prolonged social conflict theory' and 'frustration-aggression theory' from the aspects of this conflict, causes and remedies (Islam, 2016). Furthermore, the background of the historical perception of this conflict is very important in framing the 'Pulwama issue' in Kashmir, where the factors and reasons of this conflict from historical background to current situations exemplified the leading causes of the Kashmir issue and the beyond facts of the crisis. Most crucially, the Kashmir problem should be defined and recognised from the perspectives of India, Pakistan and Kashmir on their ongoing deadly struggle in order to find a hopeful conclusion.

The Pulwama tragedy and its aftermath have highlighted the precarious nature of South Asian peace. It reminds us once again that peace in the area will remain elusive till the Kashmir problem is settled in accordance with the interests of the Kashmiri people. This tragedy also served as a harsh reminder to India that using force to destroy the will and will of the Kashmiri people is simply not an option. This is a political problem that requires a political solution. This episode has once again shown that conflict is not an option for two nuclear-armed nations and that diplomacy is the only way ahead. Any error may end in a disaster beyond comprehension, not just for South Asia but also for the rest of the globe. The events that occurred in the aftermath of the Pulwama attack demonstrated that Pakistan intends to follow a road of peace. The move by Pakistan's Prime Minister Imran Khan to release the Indian pilot was not only applauded in Pakistan, but across the globe. This gratitude was expressly stated in the Declaration of the 46th Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, which closed on March 2, 2019. Calls for the Pakistani prime minister to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize became a top trend on social media.

RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Kashmir Conflict and the Number of terrorist attacks in Indian Occupied Kashmir were happening as far from being exhausted as a research area specifically. Several previous studies studied various conflicts regarding war and peace journalism between Pakistan and India on the Kashmir dispute. This study was conducted in another conflict, Pulwama Incident in the Indian Occupied Kashmir. The study's rationale is to explore specific events

within a broad context, focusing on the actualization of war journalism and peace journalism in the editorial position on the Pulwama Incident.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

This particular study investigated Pulwama Incident in the Indian Occupied Kashmir. This study was based on the Pulwama attack and this attack was one of the deadliest terror attacks in Jammu and Kashmir, in which 40 Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel were martyred. According to India, this attack at Pulwama is not the brainchild of Masood Azhar, his nephew, or their type. The JeM only carried out this strike. Groups like the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and JeM have become the sword arm of the Pakistan Army. So India decides to go for aerial strikes; Pakistan's high-end military response would be tit-for-tat and may involve aerial strikes targeting Indian posts across the Line of Control followed by limited military infiltration. The purpose of the study is to examine the war and peace journalism between the Pakistan and Indian newspaper's editorial coverage after the Pulwama incident in the Indian Occupied Kashmir. The literature review establishes that both Pakistani and Indian newspapers generally supported war journalism and peace journalism.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To analyze the dominant frame of war/peace journalism in the editorial coverage of Pakistan and Indian newspapers on the Pulwama incident.
2. To find out the relationship between war and peace journalism framing and editorial position in terms of slant, favourable, unfavourable and neutral.
3. To examine the frame such as friend and foe in terms of war and peace journalism.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS OF THE STUDY

- What is the dominant frame of war or peace journalism in the editorial coverage of Pakistan and India on the Pulwama Attack?
- What is the relationship between war/peace journalism framing and Editorial position in terms of slant favourable, unfavourable and Neutral?
- What is the frame such as friend and foe in terms of war or peace journalism to specific Pakistan and India?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Galtung's peace journalism concept has received considerable attention over the past decades. Due to mass media, citizens are going to be more informed and viewing multiple perspectives. In both war and peace, the media play an influential role. Both sides are accused by bias. Journalists, policymakers and social scientists have all insisted the press is critically cover conflicts in Iraq, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Israel-Palestine (Patel 2004). In addition to politically and ideologically, war reporting is often sensationalized in order to increase circulations or ratings. Rather than describing violence as a dichotomy, peace journalism discusses its structural and cultural causes. In it, the violence is explained, conflict is framed as involving many parties and many goals are pursued. According to Galtung and Vincent, journalism about peace strives to promote peace initiatives from all sources and make it easy to separate the stated positions and real goals.

India and Pakistan have both relied heavily on Kashmir. Under the Indian Independence Act, Kashmir is considered Indian Territory. In a Kashmiri Brahmin family, Jawaharlal Nehru was an ardent secularist and opponent of the religious division of the subcontinent. However, in Kashmir, separatists have emerged from the state. India accuses Pakistan for everything happening in Kashmir by arming and training militants. There is no actual material support given by Pakistan to the Kashmir's freedom struggle (Harrimirza, 2007). In Kashmir, about 65 percent is under the administration of India and the rest by Pakistan. Since world's most popular nations are Pakistan and India and both possess nuclear technology, the Kashmir problem is threatening to escalate into a nuclear war (Hussain, 2015). People in India-held Kashmir have repeatedly raised the issue of disappearances and extrajudicial killings (Human Rights Commission, 2001).

Framing theory and war and peace journalism support peace journalism theoretically. The term framing has no one standard definition, but in general, it refers to thematically organizing news and stories, in a very specific and stylistic way. It means to make certain aspects of a perceived reality more salient in a communicating text. Tankard defined a media frame as "the way in which we select, emphasize, exclude and elaborate the main theme of news content". A frame is defined as multiple ideas and stereotypical images that frame an opinion as described by Jaspersen framing is a second-level agenda. First, the agenda-setting process transmits object salience. As shown in level two, framing of indicator, reveals the media's instructions for how to think.

Kashmir has been a source of dispute for decades. India and Pakistan got their freedom from British rule in 1947, which result the dispute over the state of Jammu and Kashmir. In this article, the author examines and dissects the perceptions of India and Pakistan with respect to the conflict in Kashmir, with the reference of Pulwama incident on February 14 2019, in which 44 Indian soldiers were killed when a suicide bomber detonated a device planted by the members of Jaishee-e-Mohammed. A scholar's task in identifying a resolution to the Kashmir conflict is unpredictable. A theoretical and conceptual argument on the Kashmir conflict has argued that there are certain co-relational reasons for linking 'protracted social conflict theory' and 'frustration-aggression theory' from the factors of this conflict, causes and resolutions. As a result, it can be explained that the historical background to this conflict is very essential. A positive resolution for the Kashmir issue must be identified from India, Pakistan and Kashmir's perspective on their ongoing bloodshed conflict.

As Galtung says, the media follow the "low road" when covering wars chasing conflict. A peace journalism "high road" which focuses on conflict transformation is advocated by Galtung. Peace journalism emphasizes on peace and conflict resolution, as well as black and white sides, to depolarize a conflict. Towards peace journalism, one avoids repeating facts about conflict. Journalists legitimize violence as well as being violent themselves, argues. Galtung and Vincent (1992) critique the criteria for selecting countries and elite people, including negativism, personalization and proximity.

A peace journalist's mission is to "define the conflict formation, the parties, their goals and their issues, without believing that the main strength is involved in violence or war. "No doctor would mistake a swollen ankle for a disease; for example, if you have a sharply curved bone, it would be called a bunion". A peace journalist should pay attention to the cardiovascular system, as well as the heart". From a normative standpoint, the journalist

should explore conflict formation as transparently gave voice to both parties and indicating goals for promoting a potential win-win solution/situation. Conversely, conventional warfare has become more complex. The coverage of wars tends to be reactive whereas peace journalist takes a proactive approach and covers both pre- and post-conflict events. War coverage often focuses on elites and their interests, peace journalists are more interested in people as sources of information. Peace journalism focuses on peace so that they were able prevent future wars and promote peace. War journalism places priority on news value logic, which results in reporting that is reduced once the conflict is over.

It is generally agreed that there are two factors that affect conflict reporting: the relationship of a media outlet with government and military authorities Second, the influence of newspaper routines and practices and third, the influence of academic writing. In times of crisis, media reports often promote a nationalistic and ideological viewpoint, which intensifies in times of crisis. In Greek-Turkish affairs, I don't want to criticize my government since my "objective" reporting could be misinterpreted by the other side, as quoted by Ozgunes and Terzis (1999) Believing that journalists should be objective in reporting conflict, Galtung (2000) says, "I would like to see journalists who will be willing to cover all sides of the conflict".

The Indo-Pak conflict would not be resolved without the Balkanization of both countries. In one of the states, as one nation with two states, it has disarmed itself from nuclear power and settled its disputes through negotiation. The conflict in Kashmir is multifaceted. In addition, there is a conflict between India and Pakistan, as well as between India and religious extremists fighting for a theocracy. A war in the region has a multidimensional impact, making it dangerous for peacekeeping efforts. According to Tavares (2009), "The roadmap for peace could consist of three successive steps: confidence-building measures, restoration of the original asymmetric status of Jammu and Kashmir and shared sovereignty in part or in whole between Pakistan and India". (Tavares). The only option for both countries is not war. There is no way that both countries could afford to sustain serious technological and economic damage following a war. Think about how both countries came to be at war. The region can only be characterized by aggression and superiority power (Sam, 2010).

A large number of articles framed Pakistan as a foe rather than a friend. The academic study operated on Galtung's conceptual framework of two opposing journalistic modes to analyze North Korea's nuclear test coverage of 2006 by Chung and colleagues. The investigation was conducted by five leading newspapers (China, Japan, Russia, South Korea and the USA). In the U.S., war journalism is characterized by a strong partisan commitment, a straightforward focus on the status quo and a deliberate elite focus.

The journalism frames emphasized cooperation and avoided emotions and demonizing terminology. Reports about the South Korean nuclear test were neutral. Lee and Maslog wrote about numerous Asian conflicts, such as the Iraq War or the Kashmir War, in similar fashion (2005). Lee, Maslog and Kim (2006) focused on the coverage of the conflict in their book. Studies found that Asian newspaper reporters had framed local conflict stories as war, but used peace journalism in describing the war in Iraq.

Professional journalists face many challenges when covering violence and war. The limitations of this structural problem must be taken into consideration in understanding the

peace journalism model. The authors of Moorecraft and Taylor (2008) noted that, unlike domestic reporting which can topple governments, war reporting can result in death. Additionally, foreign news organizations tended to present war frames, whereas local journalists used peace frames more frequently.

Additionally, Gasher (2004) notes that MacMillan (2003) argues that war reporting is among the most significant branches of journalism since the outcome of the war impacts country-states and individual lives. News media play a crucial role in informing citizens during conflict. Information failures contribute to violence by increasing fear, as Ross (2006) states. Providing accurate information to citizens may reduce the likelihood of conflict.

Even in peacetime, reporting practices emphasize two-sided conflict, as peace journalists argue. A pioneering work on foreign news by Galtung and Ruge (1965) led to peace journalism. Peace journalism uses several key principles to form its foundation, including the violence as a theme in international news reporting. Galtung presented the findings of his study in dozens of books and follow-up studies. "Since the mid-1990s, this model has emerged as a trans-disciplinary field of interest not only for journalists, but also for university researchers, civil society activists and others involved in the conflict-media nexus". The peace journalism model asserts that conflict correspondents are implicated and take sides in events they cover, based on the participant-observer principle of peace research. As soon as an observer begins to watch a situation, they become a participant in it, which inevitably impacts it. As an example, Galtung (2000) wished to see objective journalists cover all sides of the conflict. But that doesn't mean that journalists should report on all sides equally or with their own words or interpretations. It is the duty of peace journalists to represent vulnerable groups and advocate for non-violent conflict resolution. A different interpretation of objectivity can be seen in this perspective. A number of academics and professional journalists have contributed to the evolving peace journalism model to explore possibilities beyond war journalism, especially in the last decade.

HYPOTHESIS

1. It is more likely that the Editorial coverage on Pulwama incident is more given in Pakistani Newspapers than in the Indian Newspapers.
2. It is more likely that peace-journalism frames receive greater editorial coverage in Pakistani Newspapers than in the Indian Newspapers.
3. It is more likely that the Editorial coverage is more dominated by war-journalism frames than peace-journalism frames in both Pakistani and Indian newspapers
4. It is more likely salient indicators of war journalism is the greater than peace-journalism indicators.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As observed in the number studies, framing motivates particular opinions on part of news consumers (e.g. Iyengar, 1991; McLeod and Detenber, 1999; Miller Andsager and Reichert, 1998; Price, Tewksbury and Powers, 1997; Sotirovic, 2000). Entman (1993:52) proposed that framing refers to the selection of particular aspects of perceived reality while making them more significant in media content and done in such way that promotes certain issue, its interpretation, ethical evaluation and recommendation of the given situation.

Similarly Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss and Ghanem (1991: 3) also described media frame as the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests the issue through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration. Frames set crucial ideas, standard phrases and stereotypical representations in order to strengthen specific interpretations among the audiences. The texts and images that establish a frame deliver a dominant interpretation, by repeating and reinforcing the idea being communicated while increasing perceptibility and acceptability (Entman, 1991). Gamson (1992) devised four frames that were in the news framing of the Arab/Israeli conflict; strategic interests, feuding neighbours, Arab intransigence and Israeli expansionism. While recording the development of these four frames over nine periods, it was found that rowing neighbours was the most consistent frame.

METHODOLOGY

This study used quantitative methods of content analysis and this study examines all the types of stories in the editorial page in the four newspapers, two English newspapers from Pakistan (The News, The Dawn) and two English newspapers from India (The Hindu, Hindustan Times) from 15th February to 31st March 2019. The content analysis examines all the stories on the editorial page in the four newspapers, two English newspapers from Pakistan (The News, The Dawn) and two English newspapers from India (The Hindu, Hindustan Times). This period was chosen because the Pulwama incident happened on 14th February 2019 and after that situation of both countries escalated towards the war. Census sampling technique was used for sampling and the sample regarding Pulwama Issue in Kashmir and framed by Both Pakistani and Indian Newspaper as war and peace journalism perspective. Therefore, the total content sample size is 250.

ANALYSIS

Table 1
Comparison Frame on Pulwama Incident from the
daily The Dawn and The News

Newspaper	War	Peace	Neutral	Total
The Dawn	7	125	31	163
The News	9	111	28	148

Table 1 compares Pakistani newspapers' coverage of the Pulwama incident on the Op-Ed page. 125 articles out of 163 of *Dawn* used peace frames, 31 articles used neutral frames and 7 articles used war frames. 111 articles out of 148 of *The News* used peace frames, 28 articles used neutral frames and 9 articles used war frames.

Table 2
Comparison Frame on Pulwama Incident from the
daily The Hindu and Hindustan Times

Newspaper	War	Peace	Neutral	Total
The Hindu	88	14	12	114
Hindustan Times	97	12	9	118

Table 2 shows the comparison of Indian newspapers' coverage of the Pulwama incident on the Op-Ed page. 88 articles out of 114 of *The Hindu* used war frames, 12 used neutral frames and 14 used peace frames. 97 articles out of 118 of *Hindustan Times* used war frames, 9 articles used neutral frames and 12 articles used peace frames.

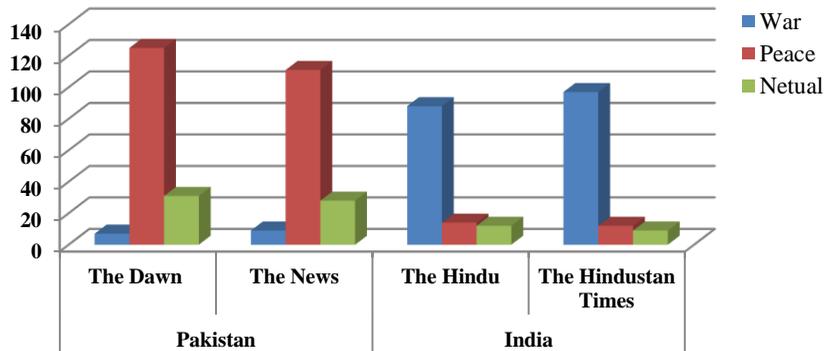


Figure 1: Comparison Frame on Pulwama Incident from Pakistani and Indian Newspapers

Figure 1 shows the comparison of Pakistani and Indian newspapers' frames of the Pulwama incident. Pakistani newspapers used more peace frames than war frames, while on the other hand, Indian newspapers used more war frames than peace frames.

Table 3 shows all the categories of peace frames and war frames with their frequency and percentage, indicating that Pakistani media acted more sensible and mature as they focused more on peace frames.

Table 3
Indicators of War and Peace Journalism in Coverage of Pulwama Incident

Pakistani Newspaper Frame		The Dawn and The News	
		Frequency	Percentage % (n = 252)
Peace Journalism	Invisible Effects of War	47	18.65
	Solution Oriented	77	30.56
	People-Oriented	49	19.44
	Causes and Consequences	34	13.49
	Multi-Party Orientation	27	10.71
	Non-Partisan	18	7.14
War Journalism	Visible Effects of War	2	12.50
	Differences Oriented	1	6.25
	Elite-Oriented	3	18.75
	Here and Now	1	6.25
	Two-Party Orientation	2	12.50
	Partisan	2	12.50
	Zero-sum Orientation	4	25.00
	Uses of Demonizing Languages	1	6.25

Table 4 shows all the categories of peace frames and war frames with their frequency and percentage, which surfaces that Indian media acted less sensible and immature as they focused more on war frames than peace frames.

Table 4
Indicators of War and Peace Journalism in Coverage of Pulwama Incident

Indian Newspaper Frame		The Hindu and Hindustan Times	
		Frequency	Percentage % (n = 252)
Peace Journalism	Invisible Effects of War	3	14.29
	Solution Oriented	0	0.00
	People-Oriented	4	19.05
	Causes and Consequences	5	23.81
	Multi-Party Orientation	9	42.86
	Non-Partisan	0	0.00
War Journalism	Visible Effects of War	26	12.32
	Differences Oriented	19	9.00
	Elite-Oriented	30	14.22
	Here and Now	32	15.17
	Two-Party Orientation	14	6.64
	Partisan	18	8.53
	Zero-sum Orientation	31	14.69
	Uses of Demonizing Languages	41	19.43

Table 5
Pakistani Newspapers

No of Stories		War Journalism		Peace Journalism		Neutral	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Newspapers	The Dawn	7	43.75	125	52.97	31	52.54
	The News	9	56.25	111	47.03	28	47.46
By Line	National	9	8.04	147	8.90	41	4.34
	International	7	6.25	89	5.39	18	1.91
Types of Story	Editorial	16	14.29	236	14.29	59	6.25
Pakistani Slant	Favorable	5	31.25	114	48.31	76	128.81
	Unfavorable	9	56.25	46	19.49	114	193.22
	Neutral	2	12.50	76	32.20	46	77.97
Pakistan Frame	Friend	11	68.75	167	70.76	187	316.95
	Foe	5	31.25	69	29.24	49	83.05
Mean Story Length	War	5	31.25	145	61.44	49	83.05
	Peace	8	50.00	78	33.05	145	245.76
	Neutral	3	18.75	13	5.51	42	71.19

Table 5 presents the frequencies and percentage of framing categories of Pakistani newspapers with By Line, types of story, the slant of the story as favourable, unfavourable and neutral, frames as friend and foe including peace, war and neutral frames. Detailed results of all these categories are presented in later tables and figures.

Table 6
Indian Newspapers

No of Stories		War Journalism		Peace Journalism		Neutral	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Newspapers	The Hindu	112	60.54	11	42.31	12	57.14
	Hindustan Times	143	77.30	15	57.69	9	42.86
By Line	National	128	69.19	18	69.23	13	61.90
	International	57	30.81	8	30.77	8	38.10
Types of Story	Editorial	185	100.00	26	100.00	21	100.00
Indian Slant	Favorable	95	51.35	17	65.38	9	42.86
	Unfavorable	47	25.41	8	30.77	4	19.05
	Neutral	43	23.24	5	19.23	8	38.10
Indian Frame	Friend	68	36.76	15	57.69	7	33.33
	Foe	117	63.24	11	42.31	14	66.67
Mean Story Length	War	96	51.89	17	65.38	11	52.38
	Peace	33	17.84	7	26.92	4	19.05
	Neutral	56	30.27	2	7.69	6	28.57

Table 6 presents the frequencies and percentage of framing categories of Pakistani newspapers with By Line, types of story, the slant of the story as favourable, unfavourable and neutral, frames as friend and foe including peace, war and neutral frames. Detailed results of all these categories are presented in later tables and figures.

Table 7
War & Peace Journalism Indicators used in the Coverage of the Pulwama Conflict in Pakistan and India Newspapers

Newspaper		War Indicators	Peace Indicators
Pakistan	Dawn	*2.335	0.477
	The News	4.222	0.052
India	The Hindu	0.038	6.474
	Hindustan Times	0.024	4.338

*Chi-square value

Table 8
Slant regarding to War/Peace Journalism

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
Pakistani Newspapers	5.14	75.88	18.97
Indian Newspapers	79.74	11.21	9.05

Table 8 shows the slant used by Pakistani and Indian newspapers regarding peace and war journalism. Pakistani newspapers used a more unfavourable slant (75.88) of war journalism than Indian newspapers (11.21), which means Indian newspapers used a more favourable slant (79.74) of war journalism than Pakistani newspapers (5.14).

Figure 2 shows the slant used by Pakistani and Indian newspapers regarding peace and war journalism. Indian newspapers used a more favourable slant (79.74) of war journalism than Pakistani newspapers (5.14). Pakistani newspapers used more unfavourable slant (75.88) war journalism than Indian newspapers (11.21).

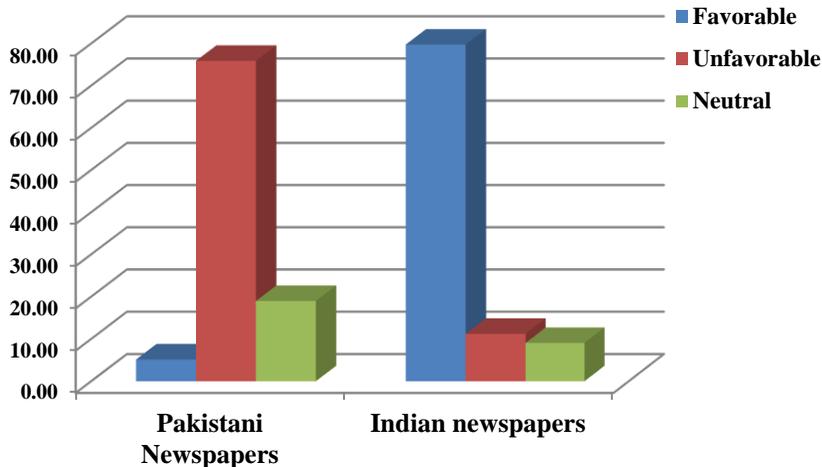


Figure 2: Slant used by Pakistani and Indian Newspapers regarding Peace and War Journalism

DISCUSSION

The Pulwama incident is considered essential for Indo-Pak relations and the security of this region. Both states possess nuclear weapons, Indo-Pak media have covered such significance. This study analyzed the Op-Ed pages of two newspapers from each country, Dawn and The News from Pakistan and The Hindu and Hindustan Times from India. Results show that Pakistani media acted more mature than Indian media. Pakistani media focused on peace journalism categories than war journalism; on the other hand, Indian media focused on war journalism than peace journalism. When it comes to the Pulwama incident, a Kashmiri smashed his hazardous loaded vehicle into two trucks of a CRPF guard on 14 February 2019. The shoot prompted the violent homicide of 44 Indian army men, a major national catastrophe, generally deplorable and condemnable.

The Pulwama assault is considerably more genuine than vehicle bombarding at the Jammu and Kashmir Administrative Gathering complex in Srinagar on 1 October 2001, which executed 38 individuals. Regarding scale and losses, it surpasses even the Uri assault of 18 September 2016, in which four intensely equipped psychological oppressors focused on a Military detachment base camp, executing 19 troopers. Both the Uri and Authoritative

Get together militant psychological assaults are said to have been done by the Pakistan-based fear outfit Jaish-e-Mohammed (J-e-M). A similar association has additionally assumed liability for the Pulwama assault now.

This study shows that Indian media used friend and foe frames while covering the Pulwama attack. In the outcome of the Uri assault, India embraced a careful strike in Pakistan, with the suspicion that it was the fitting reaction to Uri dread assault. Pakistan denied any such assault having occurred on its dirt. One review that in any event, when demonetization was attempted, the case was that it would reduce militancy in Kashmir as psychological militants can work with fake cash and demonetization will render this money futile. There is no ease up in psychological oppressor assaults in Kashmir.

Pakistani newspapers used more neutral frames when it came to the length of the article/story. While on the other hand, Indian media used war frames. Pakistani newspapers also focused on peace categories toward the Indian state. Following the assault, the Modi Government is attempting to utilize its muscles. Prime Minister Modi has pronounced that the military has been given a green sign to find a way to counter the circumstance. In the meantime, different advancements occurring on the nation's grounds are upsetting. There are reports that Kashmiri understudies have been compromised in other urban areas in a few states. Tathagat Roy, the Legislative head of Meghalaya, has given the call to block Kashmiris. A purposeful endeavour is being made by Hindutva bunches like Bajrang Dal, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bharatiya Janata Gathering supporters to prepare nationalistic interests with serenades of 'Bharat Mata Ki Jai', waving of the tricolour, giving trademarks against Pakistan and partner Pakistan with Muslims.

The talks of standard components energize the climate highly harmful and disruptive. Indian newspapers seem to be inclined toward war. Data show that Indian newspapers sensationalized the incident, some scholars say, due to ratings based on anti-Pakistan sentiment. It is another issue that numerous Muslim gatherings have gone ahead the avenues to criticize Pakistan and have emphatically denounced the fear of assault in better places. On the one hand, activists and groups needing harmony have been interested in shielding the focused-on Kashmiris. In contrast, numerous neighbourhood-level pioneers have undermined that those protecting Kashmiris will be assaulted.

How would we manage this circumstance and carry harmony to Kashmir? First, we need to recognize why the area is held in dread. There are different parts, which have stirred up. The militancy in Kashmir started in the 1960s and has accepted repulsive extents since the 1980s. The central issue was the inclination of estrangement in Kashmir. The tendency is that their self-sufficiency has been shortened over some undefined time frame. This independence was a piece of the bargain Kashmir acquiesced to India. According to article 370, Kashmir Get together has all forces, notwithstanding the regions of resistance, correspondences, cash and outside undertakings. The annulment of this condition has been a significant piece of the Hindutva plan of RSS-BJP.

Even in the best type of emergency, the executives can't offer a supportable arrangement. This can originate from endeavours at emergency anticipation. Hence, emergency executives should supplement with proactive drives attending to more profound reasons for emergencies, with the point of disposing of them.

The chief empowering elements of contention among India and Pakistan are psychological warfare and great reciprocal questions. An arrangement approach that joins the two offers the most apparent opportunity for progress. Pakistan must utilize all assets available to it to take out the capacity of any fear-based oppressors to work from its dirt. India and Pakistan ought to likewise earnestly seek after and quicken the finish of pending indictment against their residents known to be associated with fear-based oppression on the other's dirt before. In addition, the two sides should set up a discrete channel to share any insight that could demonstrate support in impeding psychological oppressor plots.

At the same time, a more critical consideration is expected to address the Kashmir issue that still supports a significant part of the inspiration for brutality in Indian Kashmir. India's blundering measures to suppress regularly developing contradiction among Kashmiri Muslims have caused great anger and disappointment among Kashmiri youth. The Pulwama aggressor was radicalized after being beaten by Indian security powers in 2016. On the off chance that business usually holds, progressively Kashmiri juveniles will pull into savagery and local and worldwide fear monger associations will look to abuse them. India must receive an increasingly conscious methodology in Kashmir to alleviate the circumstance.

A nearby assessment of the Pulwama assault uncovers that it unmistakably created a triple impact, incitement, estrangement and assembly. This is a tried and true strategy, ordinarily utilized by fear-based oppressor associations. The Indian government and segments of people, in general, were incited as seen in the eruption as crackdowns by the security powers in Kashmir, the across the board savagery and denunciation of Kashmiris in terrain India and the limitations forced on their development. The scope of subjective oppressions and exploitations further estranged Kashmiris, consequently saddling more sympathizers for the separatists or other conspiratorial groupings and bringing out assembly for additional acceleration or, if nothing else for supporting the present degree of militancy. Similarly, India's cross-fringe military hostility into Pakistan incited the political authority in Islamabad to react. At the same time, the Pakistani populace was assembled for showing greater solidarity with the Kashmiri opportunity battle. In this unique circumstance, it ought to be recalled that an Indo-Pakistan war was once brought about by Osama Receptacle Loaded as helpful to al-Qaeda's motivation since it would mean a debilitating of the ordinary capability of the two nations through familiar devastation. Overall, the coverage of Indian newspapers used war frames and on the other hand, Pakistani newspapers used peace frames while covering the Pulwama incident.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of Pakistani and Indian newspapers shows a significant difference in covering the Pulwama attacks. Indian newspapers seem to use war favourable frames and peace unfavourable frames. However, Pakistani newspapers seem to use peace advantageous frames and unfavourable war frames. In contrast, Indian newspapers acted immaturely and sensationalized the issue using anti-peace frames. Scholars argue that the Indian public has anti-Pakistan sentiments and Indian media framed every problem related to Pakistan by that sentiment. Pakistan has almost always been framed as a foe in Indian media. Indo-Pak relations have been very delicate for decades; both countries have nuclear weapons. A slight mistake can be devastating, so the press should act responsibly. It should

frame conflicts using peace frames rather than war frames. While covering the Pulwama attacks, Pakistani newspapers tried to reduce tensions between Pakistan and India by using peace frames regarding the conflicts. Pakistani newspapers seem more mature and sensible about Indo-Pak conflicts.

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