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Comparison of Op-Ed Coverage of Kashmir Conflict by Elite Global Press: A War and Peace Journalism Perspective

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ARTICLE DETAILS	ABSTRACT
History: Accepted 16 August 2020 Available Online 30 Sep 2020	<i>The study is a content analysis of Kashmir issue coverage by Indian and Pakistani press. The analysis is based on war and peace journalism categories designed by John Galtung. The study is comparison of Op-Ed of elite Indian and Pakistani press. It is an investigation of use of war and peace frame while covering the grave issue of Kashmir. As India has occupied the large are of Kashmir and has fought three wars over this issue, so this issue is the prime threat to the peace and stability in the region. Study found that press of both sides are using war frame while reporting the issue, hence being part of the problem not the part of solution. It was also found that Indian press is using more war frame on Kashmir issue than Pakistani press.</i>
Keywords: Kashmir Issue, War And Peace Journalism, Indo-Pak Conflicts, Coverage of Kashmir, Comparison of Indian and Pakistani Press	
JEL Classification: N15, N10	

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1. Introduction

Irrespective of the fact, whether India accepts it or not, Kashmir is the bone of contention between both countries. It is confirmed by the reports of all back channels who are involved in resolving the issue, that, "Terrorism" is another greater issue between India and Pakistan. Zeb (2009) further commented that terrorist issue may halt dialogue process between these countries.

Zia & Syedah (2015) establish that the Kashmir conflict is not only a cause of misery and sorrow for the natives but also has been a reason of conflict between India and Pakistan for 6 decades.

International Crisis Group Report 2003 reported the Kashmir conflict as a major cause of conflict between both states. Kochler (2008) declared it as the most stubborn international issue for the last seventy years. This conflict has been a major problem of devastating relations between India and Pakistan.

Chandran (2009) found that International Crisis Group Report 2003 embellishes Pakistani government control the coverage media on Kashmir issue. Media in Pakistan is not supporting or trying to bring Pakistan and India closer. Raju (2009) found that similarly, most Indian newspapers are following the official lines and reinforcing the standpoint of Indian government. Nawaz (2006) found in the reports of “Reporters without Borders” that Indian media do not covers every political or social issue with detachment bit it covers in such a fashion that the coverage supports India’s official stance. Manchanda (2002) establish that one of the media reports explain that the media supports the state narrative. Indian media supports the concept of Kashmir conflict as an internal territorial dispute while Pakistan represents it as an issue of annexation and terrorism.

Ahmar (2004) established that a very long period of violence upon the Kashmiris by the Indian state has led to a strong insecurity in the Kashmiris for the Indian state. And it has produced the feelings of a ambiguous future as a second class citizen. This violence has been there in the valley since the occupation of Indian army.

2. Literature Review

While commenting on the Kashmir issue, Ahmar (2006) maintained that relations between India and Pakistan have worsened because of Kashmir dispute. On the other hand, direct participation of Kashmiris in their freedom struggle have also transformed India Pakistan relations.

Lee and Meslog (2005) found that the media of India and Pakistan have covered the Kashmir issue with national fervor and engaged both countries in War journalism with the depiction of government stance as correct. Hence, the media of both countries have blamed other country as responsible for imposing conflict. Likewise, Yousaf, Rahman & Yousaf (in press) found that press conforms to the government policies in case of Kashmir conflict. They elaborated that change in governments also has an effect on how the press changes its coverage on the conflict. It was found that press indexed ruling elite’s stance regarding Kashmir conflict.

Ahmar (2004) observed that a very long period of violence upon the Kashmiris by the Indian state has led to a strong insecurity in the Kashmiris for the Indian state. And it has produced the feelings of an ambiguous future as a second class citizen. This violence has been there in the valley since the occupation of Indian army and Indian press is not focusing on the condition of the civilians but it is following the agenda of their government.

Gehlot and Satsangi (2004) evaluated that Kashmir issue has become the root of all issues between India and Pakistan and has been the important factor in disturbing the relations between both countries. Till now India and Pakistan have fought two wars because of this issue and one of the reasons behind historic war of 1971 was also Kashmir dispute.

Bose (2003) established that as per the reports of Indian officials, from 1989 to 2002, forty thousand civilian, guerilla fighters and security forces from Indian side died in the valley of Kashmir. But the number is 80,000 according to Pakistani sources. While 55, 538 instances of violence were recorded in this time period by Indian authorities. Parvez Musharraf (2002) wrote that if India Pakistan

relations are to be normalized then arranging a dialogue and considering the will of the Kashmiri people is one of the best ways to resolve Kashmir dispute.

Muhammad (2014) establish that historically, Kashmir has been a victim of communally biased media since the partition of sub-continent and the region has been a source of contention since day one. This communally biased media later on in its "ultra-nationalist" avatar spoiled every move for the resolution of the dispute. The media of India and Pakistan has been used by the governments to project the official stance on Kashmir issue and in this way the governments build the opinion of public as they desire. The use of media to spread propaganda is causing hatred and distrust among the people of both countries. Ji, D., Hu, Z. & Yousaf, M. (2016) also found that Indian and Chinese press portray issues and efforts of each other as negative and destructive for the peace of region.

Howards (2009) investigates in his examination that sensitive reporting of conflicts – demonstrates a remaking of the first estimations of the news media. It is because of the conviction that the news media can be an amazing power to diminish the reasons for strife in numerous social orders and to help a contention focused on society in quest for compromise. Via preparing the journalists to all the more likely get strife and the media's job in it, they can strengthen their reporting to dodge generalizations and tight points of view on the procedure and cause of conflict. The media can bring the 'parts of the network in struggle' to discourse, through improved reporting. It can propose and give data for resolution about opportunities. And yet it is significant that media must save the gauges of accuracy, objectivity, balance and responsible conduct.

Galtung (2002) says that the vast majority of the peace journalism is to report clashes as occurring in open time, open space with outcomes and cause anyplace. It additionally investigates the culture and history identify with the conflicts and its answer. War Journalism is to report clashes as though they are confined to the present day and to the contention field where viciousness is occurring, or may conceivably happen. There are no worries about the arrangement or fix of the conflict. War Journalism depends on the standards as in Sports Journalism; there was an emphasis on 'winning as the main thing' in a zero sum game of two clashing sides. He recommended that Peace Journalism would be progressively similar to Health Journalism. A decent Health correspondent would clarify a patient's battle against disease. But the person would likewise enlighten us concerning the potential reasons for malignant growth – way of life, condition, hereditary make-up and so forth - just as the fix of malignant growth accessible or the aversion estimates one can take to keep away from the ailment.

Ross (2007) argues peace journalism's supporters and its critic should address the broader interpretation of its mission for better understanding. In depth-analysis demonstrate that peace journalism isn't only a question of improving the reporting of contention and in upgrading peace however these objectives is only a piece of peace journalism's more extensive target. As per writers, peace journalism is an activity to contribute the social practices of news coverage with a significant feeling of the influence applied by the press, the press, and the amplifier and with a rich comprehension of the obligation of the individuals who talk most intense. Peace journalism doesn't request that the correspondents burrow under each stone or to disregard voices of opposition and biasness. The supporters of peace journalism says that it is a continuous exertion to transcend the limits of ratified practice to open our public mediated talk to a progressively comprehensive scope of ideas, people and visions that incorporates space for voices of harmony

Lee and Maslog (2005) considered the degree to which for Asian territorial clashes are encircled, either peace journalism or war journalism dependent on John Galtung's classifications. A content

investigation of 1,338 stories from 10 standard papers proposes that war reporting frame commands the news coverage of these contentions. The Kashmir's coverage issue by Indian and Pakistani press demonstrates the most grounded war journalism frame. Papers of both the nations covered the issue in a forceful way and upheld the case of their administration and called the other party as, aggressor and invader. On the other hand the coverage of the Mindanao conflict and the Tamil Tiger movement by the Sri Lankan and the Philippine papers demonstrates peace journalism framing.

Lee and Maslog (2005) saw that on Kashmir issue, the war journalism was more grounded in both Pakistani and Indian papers. But, the frame of war journalism was extremely high in Pakistani papers. The Pakistani newspaper "Daily Dawn" comes at fourth position in five studied newspapers with (65.6%) of sample. The analysis also showed that Pakistani papers used the war journalism frames in their contents in greater number i.e. (74.2%) whereas the Indian papers used war journalism frame (63.7%).

H1: Pakistani press is likely to be practicing peace journalism in coverage of Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan.

H2: Indian press is likely to be doing war journalism in the coverage of Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan.

RQ1: What is the comparison of use of war frame in coverage on Kashmir issue, between Indian and Pakistani press.

RQ2: What is the comparison of use of peace frame in coverage on Kashmir issue, between Indian and Pakistani press.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 John Galtung Model of War and peace Journalism

Galtung (1986, 1998) established that war journalism and peace journalism are two different frames regarding the coverage of conflict. The phenomenon of war is classified into four different aspects that is, peace/conflict, people, truth and solutions. These classifications are based on linguistic orientation and practice. On the other hand, war/violence, elites, propaganda and victory constitute the phenomenon of war journalism. While practically, peace journalism considers the inevitability of conflict and seeks to explore its objectives, causes, issues and parties involved.

McGoldrick and Lynch (2000) found that the Galtung's 'War and Peace Journalism' model served as base of the study for investigating the framing of different conflicts. These frames could be "War Journalism and "Peace Journalism".

3.2 War Journalism

There are different features of war journalism as it is elite-oriented, violence-oriented, war-oriented and victory-oriented. But, this study focuses on violence and propaganda presented in stories. Different facts and stories about disputes are handled in a very casual way by the journalists. They usually present the negative side of the facts like reporting on number of people killed or injured and highlight the degree of material damage. They also present an account of winning or losing of a situation, often denigrate other party by involving in blame game and serve themselves as mouth-piece of the elite class.

3.3 Peace Journalism

Some of the main features of Peace Journalism are that it is people-oriented, truth-oriented, peace-oriented and solution-oriented. The peace journalism view conflict as problem. While reporting

such conflicts, certain solutions and measures like transformations and reconciliation should be considered and kept in mind. This type of journalism is based on humanitarian approach and considers hidden effects of violence like damage, trauma and plight of people. The main purpose of peace journalism is to prevent the eruption of war by reporting on peace initiatives taken by any of the party and highlight the real perpetrators of the conflict.

Peace/ Conflict Journalism	War/ Violence Journalism
<p>I. Peace/Conflict-Orientated Explore conflict formation, x parties, y goals, z issues, 'win-win' orientation Open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture Making conflicts transparent Giving voice to all parties, empathy, understanding See conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity Humanization of all sides; more so the worse the weapon Proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurs Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma, damage to structure/culture)</p> <p>II. Truth-Orientated Expose untruth of all conflicting parties / uncover all cover-up</p> <p>III. People-Orientated Concentrating on sufferings of children, aged , women and peace-makers. giving voice to voiceless</p> <p>IV. Solution-Orientated Peace = non-violence + creativity Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war</p>	<p>I. War/Violence-orientated Focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war, zero-sum Orientation Closed space, closed time; causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone 3. Making wars opaque/secret 4. 'us-them' journalism, propaganda, voice, for 'us' 5. See 'them' as the problem, focus on who prevails in war 6. Dehumanization of 'them'; more so the worse the weapon Reactive: waiting or violence before Reporting Focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)</p> <p>II. Propaganda-Orientated Expose 'their' untruths and lies Help in covering up 'our' lies</p> <p>III. Elite-Orientated Concentrating on sufferings of "our", able-bodied and elite males. Cover the efforts of elite peace-makers</p> <p>IV. Victory-Orientated Peace = victory + ceasefire Conceal peace initiatives, before victory is at hand</p>

4. Method

It is a census study, based on a content analysis of 262 stories overall from Indian and Pakistani press on conflicts between India and Pakistan. The study covered the period of Three years, from 1 January 2014 to 31 December 2016. The units of analysis were single paragraph of and Op-Ed writing. Content data were obtained from Lexis-Nexis database and the web archives of respective media outfits/ third party achieves. Basically, the study juxtaposed war and peace journalism based on Galtung's classification (see Kempf, 2003) to compare the framing in media coverage of the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan. Thus, two categories were followed as given by Galtung (1986, 1998) and the content not falling into these two categories were ceded as "Neutral". All Categories collectively were coded to answer Research questions and hypotheses. There were seven categories for war journalism and seven for peace journalism that were used for coding the frames. Computer-aided coding was done manually as the paragraphs were used as the unit of analysis.

There were different variables coded for the study but only those variables are utilized which are suitable for answering the questions. Data were analyzed with SPSS20.0. Four coders, two academician and two working journalists, were invited for the coding. There were given a briefing about the objective of the study and initial training was given them to enter the data in coding sheets. ReCal2 web-based instrument was used to test the inter-coder reliability. Results ranged between 81 and 90.1 per cent for agreement; .58 and .87 for Scott's pi; .59 and .85 for Cohen's kappa.

5. Results

Table 1: Cross tabulation between countries for Kashmir conflict in 2016

Crosstab				
Count				
		Country		Total
		Pakistani Press	Indian Press	
Kashmir	War	28	34	62
	Peace	24	5	29
Total		52	39	91

The coverage of "Kashmir " by Indo-Pak press in 2016 was bearing great significance as total 91 stories were printed, out which 62 (68.1%) were having War Journalism dominance, while 29 (31.8%) stories on Kashmir issues, were reported in peace journalism mode. Leaving no story on Kashmir that could be categorized as having neutral frames.

Table 2: Pearson Chi-Square test of Kashmir issue in 2016

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.336a	3	.002
Likelihood Ratio	20.963	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.983	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	91		
a. 1 cells (12.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.87.			

For the analysis, statistical test of Pearson's Chi-square was implemented on data by employing cross tabulation technique using SPSS . The results revealed that the difference of coverage on Kashmir issue by press of countries under study is statistically significant ($\chi^2=15.336$, $p=.002$).

In addition to this, frequency analysis discovered that numerically Pakistani press has given more stories 52(57.1%) on Kashmir issue than Indian press 39(42.8%). cross tabulation revealed that Indian press used war frame in 34 (87.1%) stories and peace journalism in 5 (12.8%) stories. Pakistani press used war journalism frame in 28(53.8%) stories and peace journalism frame in 24 (46.12%) stories. The numerical analysis also establishes that Kashmir was the second more important point of coverage for Indian and Pakistani press in 2016.

Table 3: Cross tabulation between countries for Kashmir conflict in 2015

Crosstab				
Count				
		Country		Total
		Pakistani Press	Indian Press	
Kashmir	War	9	37	46
	Peace	19	0	19
	Neutral	16	3	19
Total		44	40	84

Analyzing the coverage of Kashmir issues in 2015, from the total of 84 stories on the "Kashmir" issues, the 46 (54.7%) stories were categorized as War Journalism. whereas 19 (22.6%) stories on Kashmir issue were reported in peace journalism mode. While the sum of 19 (22.6%) stories on the issues of Kashmir were categorized as neutral frames which is significant ratio.

Table 4: Pearson Chi-Square test of Kashmir issue in 2015

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	44.849a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	54.207	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	31.441	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	84		
a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.05.			

SPSS software was used for Pearson's Chi-square statistical test by employing cross tabulation technique. The results unveiled that the difference of coverage on the issues of Kashmir by Indo-Pak press is statistically significant ($\chi^2=44.849$, $p=.000$).

Besides the statistical analysis, frequency analysis revealed that numerically Pakistani press has given more stories 44(52.4%) than Indian press 40(47.6%). The war frames of Indian press was 37 (92.5%) stories and stories of Pakistani press with war journalism frame were 9(20.4%). On the other hand stories by Indian press with peace journalism frame were 0(0%) and stories of Pakistani press with peace journalism frame were 19 (43.18%).

Table 3: Cross tabulation between countries for Kashmir conflict in 2014

Crosstab				
Count				
		Country Data 2014		Total
		Pakistani Press	Indian Press	
Kashmir	War	26	35	61
	Peace	12	4	16
	Neutral	2	8	10
Total		40	47	87

Analyzing the coverage of Kashmir issues In 2014, from the total of 87 stories on the "Kashmir" issues, the 61 (70.1%) stories were considered as War Journalism. whereas 16(18.3%) stories on Kashmir issue were reported in peace journalism manner. While the sum of 10 (11.4%) stories on the issues of Kashmir were categorized as neutral frames which is not a very significant ratio.

Table 4: Pearson Chi-Square test of Kashmir issue in 2014

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.419a	2	.015
Likelihood Ratio	8.810	2	.012
Linear-by-Linear Association	.029	1	.864
N of Valid Cases	87		
a. 1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.60.			

The results of Pearson's Chi-square statistical test unveiled that the difference of coverage on the issues of Kashmir by Indo-Pak press is statistically significant ($\chi^2=8.419$, $p=.015$).

Like the statistical analysis, frequency analysis revealed that numerically Pakistani press has given more stories 40(46%) than Indian press 47(54%) on the conflict of Kashmir. Pakistani press used war journalism frame in 26 (65%) stories and peace journalism frame in 12 (30%) stories. On the other hand Indian press gave 35 (74.4%) stories with war journalism frame and 4 (8.5%) stories with peace journalism frame.

6. Test of Research Questions and Hypothesis

H1: Pakistani press is likely to be practicing more peace journalism than war journalism, in coverage of Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan.

Pakistani press has given 136 total stories on the issue of Kashmir in the study period. Out of these stories 63 (46.3) stories were using war frame in the coverage. On the other hand 55 (40.4%) stories used peace frame. The measure of war frame is greater than the peace frame. This clearly shows that Pakistani press is not using more peace journalism than war journalism. Hence H1 is a null hypothesis as it is not proved from the results.

H2: Indian press is likely to be practicing more war journalism than peace journalism, in coverage of Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan.

Total stories covered by Indian press on the conflict of Kashmir were 126. Out of these total, 106 (84.12%) were using war frame and only 9 (7.1%) were using peace frame. The amount of war frame is enormously high than peace framed. Hence the H2 is proved.

RQ1: What is the comparison of use of war and peace frame in coverage of Kashmir issue, between Indian and Pakistani press.

The results established that Indian press doing more war journalism (84.12%) than the Pakistani press (46.3%). on the other hand, use of peace frame by Pakistani press (40.4%) is greater the peace frames used by Indian press (7.1%) in the coverage on Kashmir issue between Indian and Pakistan.

RQ2: What is the number of neutral frames used by Indian and Pakistani press in the converge

of Kashmir issue.

The amount of peace frames have some important results, as it is 18 (13.2%) by the Pakistani press. On the other hand Indian press used is 11 (8.7%) of the total coverage on the Kashmir issue.

7. Discussion

The use of war frames is clearly dominating the coverage of both Indian and Pakistani press. The same was found by Lee and Maslog (2005), that war journalism was more grounded in the coverage of Kashmir issue by Indian and Pakistani press (Zaheer , 2016). These findings also support another line of research. There is an extensive literature that posits that the media keeps national interest in mind when the issue under coverage is sensitive in nature (Ji, Hu, & Muhammad, 2016). The war frames are used by the press abundantly either covering either by giving more and more importance to the activities of elite class of discussing the material damage in the coverage (Yousaf & Rahman, 2014). The propaganda based statements of politicians of both sides are also on the top of op-ed writings during the study period.

It can be seen that majority of the coverage is following the agenda set by their national government and found by Muhammad (2014). The official statements issued by the foreign office or the government elites are taken as main peg to discuss in the op-ed. The coverage also have a blend of win-lose situation in many instances. The violent activities, arrests or curfew was praised in the coverage of Indian press. On the other hand armed or semi-armed clash between Kashmiri freedom fighters and occupied Indian forces is appreciated in the op-ed of Pakistani press.

Peace frame was not used by both Indian and Pakistani press in more measure as found by Lee & Meslog (2005) and Ahmar (2004). The press is not focusing on the human loss or miseries but is more concerned on the financial or material loss. Many of the times, press depicts the issue as a conflict of just a territory or resources, ignoring the people living the burning valley. The press is utterly incapable of suggesting any solution of trying to build peace in the valley. People oriented coverage could definitely bring the change in the valley but press simply ignored the suffering of women, children and ill people.

Though, neutral frame is not in a huge number but still it constitute a significant presence. There are few situations where the press reports the incidents or efforts of political elites to bring peace in the valley. There are such situations where the press takes neither the course of peace nor the policy of their government. In op-ed, some critics or some analysts takes a neutral route and try to consider the other side of the picture. They don't take the other side as right side, but they consider that too. Some incidents are dealt in such a manner that neither it falls in war journalism not peace journalism.

8. Limitation

The study was conducted with full strength and skills of the researcher. No stone was left untouched to complete the study; however it is not possible to develop a perfect document. Keeping this in mind following limitations was observed:

- Only the print media is not sufficient to investigate the overall frame of a countries press.
- Two newspapers are not sufficient to represent the whole of the print media of a country.
- A mix method approach could yield more significant results and could give in-depth analysis of the use of war or peace journalism.

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