

FRAMING AFGHAN PEACE PROCESS IN ELITE PRESS OF PAKISTAN

*Rana Babar Sohail, **Dr. Arshad Ali

ABSTRACT

This study examines the media coverage of Afghan peace process in elite print media of Pakistan. For this purpose, two widely circulated and influential Pakistani newspapers of English language (i.e. Dawn, the News) have been selected and their reportage for five continuous years (2015-2020) has been examined. This examination is conducted within the theoretical approach of peace journalism (Galtung, 1985; 2003) and framing (Goffman, 1974). Findings indicated that media remained inclined towards war-oriented journalism and war-frames dominated the coverage as compared to peace-frames. In comparison between both newspapers, the contents of The News were carrying more war-frames as compared to English media. The study concludes that increased war-oriented coverage might be attributed to the historical background and state policy towards Afghan peace process, which seem difficult to be disregarded in reporting. Furthermore, since the “objectivity” or “detachment” is considered to be foremost prerequisite of good journalism.

Key words: framing, afghan peace process, elite media, war oriented, peace oriented.

Introduction

As mass media have a global perspective, citizens are becoming more informed and looking at discords from different perspectives. According to war and peace journalism literature, the portrayal of discords during the conflict by mass media is one of the biggest interests among combatants, the community, and media professionals. Journalism plays a critical role in shaping war and peace. Both sides accuse each other of bias in conflict reporting (Lynch, 2005). Conflict-related news can be particularly challenging for the media (Zaheer, 2016). It is largely believed that mass media are capable of influencing community opinion (Shukla, 2013) and shaping reality (Hallgren, 2012). Accordingly, the media has a significant obligation to inform the community about various issues to increase their awareness and responsiveness. When dealing with conflict situations, the media's responsibility becomes much greater. This also means that the community must sometimes rely on the media when it comes to understanding what is going on in a distant land. Thus, media play an important role in shaping community perceptions of conflict. In the twentieth century, media dominated the world and this dominance has greatly increased with the advent of new media (Gadda, 2014).

The emergence of Taliban came in power in 1994 after Afghan war against Soviet Union. US claimed that Osama bin Laden, leader, Al-Qaeda, is main culprit of 9/11 incident. Due to support of Taliban to Bin Laden USA imposed sanctuary on Afghanistan. US demanded from Taliban to handover bin Laden. The Taliban rejected it. Due to enough evidence of his involvement in 9/11 attacks. On October 7, 2001 US with its NATO allies invaded on Afghanistan. US claims about al-Qaeda is now considered to be "eliminated", but the war with the Taliban is going on. The US president Donald Trump has said that US suffered from this war heavily and it should to come on end. The American strategy to close down war that resembles with the method to finish the Vietnam War - longest war of US. Before 2010 – after this Paris Peace Accords in 1973 was signed. The Afghan social process refers to both the approach and dialogue during a bid to finish the continued battle in Afghanistan. Even though infrequent attempts have happened since the beginning of war in 2001. Mostly meetings for settlements held in Doha, the capital of Qatar. The expectation of mutual agreement between the Taliban and US would be the outcome of Doha meeting. In this negotiation the neighboring countries Pakistan, China and Russia played a major role to settle down issues. In 2017 contacts and exploratory efforts for the establishment of negotiations were identified with major players like Pakistan, the USA and Afghanistan, who worked to bring peace within the region (Aspa, García, Arestizábal, Ariño, & Ariño, 2018). Peace talks with the Afghan Taliban started in November 2010, another attempt in 2015.

*PhD Scholar, Mass Communication, Center for Media and Communication Studies, University of Gujrat.

**Assistant Professor, Center for Media and Communication Studies, University of Gujrat.

Then in 2018, US and Afghan officialdom held several rounds of talks with Taliban (Bonesh, 2020). Idrees, Rehman and Nazeer (2020) also stated that Pakistan being a crucial neighboring country of Afghanistan can play an important role in bringing amity and stability through facilitating social process. Both the US administration and Afghan government demand Pakistan to influence and convey the Taliban to the table talks. In this context, we argue that Afghanistan, US and Pakistan are the key stakeholders for peace in Afghanistan. Therefore, present study seeks to explore the framing of Afghan social process within the elite press of those three countries. Scholars of political communication have long tradition of peace and conflict studies. However, in Pakistan a little work is found related to conflict studies. Moreover, Afghan Peace Process is being considered very important for the geostrategic and political development of the region.

Therefore, it will be interesting to find out, explore and compare the framing of Afghan Peace Process in elite influential Print media of Pakistan during 2017-2020. Because media framing is considered an important factor to influence the global perception of conflicts. Therefore, these factors encourage the researcher to study Afghan Peace Process regarding the cross-national framing of in elite press of US Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Literature Review

Afghanistan war and social process has become the key focus of international media scholars to review the role of media in peace and conflicts. Jawad (2013) studied the coverage of Afghanistan in American newspapers; USA Today, Washington Post and New York Times. He also studied the coverage given by Afghanistan Outlook to Afghanistan crisis. He concluded that peace talks, negotiation process, conflict, violence and military action, economic development and politics are the highly covered topics. Moreover, Shabir, Ali, and Iqbal (2011) also investigated the representation and portrayal of Afghanistan in the news coverage of leading American newspapers. They collected data from US magazines; News week and Time. They also found that the American magazines discuss the Afghanistan with the lens of politics and policy. They also highlight the issue in the context of Afghan war and conflict. The American newspapers are interested to cover the Afghan peace process, with specifically reference to Afghan-US ties and in terms of economic consequences of Afghanistan war on US and Afghanistan. Moreover, the newspapers mostly portray Afghanistan negatively (57%) as compared to the positive coverage (7%). In this way, these theoretical studies provide enormous reason to study the coverage of Afghan Peace Process in the recent context of global economies. Therefore, aim to study the coverage of Afghan Peace Process in American, Afghan and Pakistani newspapers. Likewise, Carolyn Stephenson recognizes three "waves" of peace studies. The main started in the 1930s, with quantitative investigations of modern clash and war, and was to a great extent scholastically determined. The second happened in the 1960s. It widened the field to incorporate the investigation of the effect of types of savagery and shamefulness. As of now, peace research moved without doubt into classrooms in specific parts of the world.

The third wave rose in the 1980s and was affected more by developments and associations than by the educated community and teachers'. The field has its wealthiest history in Scandinavia, where colleges have had peace concentrates on since the nineteenth century (Stephenson, 1989). As Galtung brought an argument that media as proven by research is overwhelmingly war oriented. He further said, it is possible that media persons may not aware of it so maybe they are not intentionally scoping the war. By focusing on contents, news items are aiding the impression of contentions that news is essentially war filling. As the alternate option for war reporting, he structured a new dimension of reporting which he call peace journalism. However peace and war news dimensions are both different field; Galtung assert that: "Both are based on reporting facts, and are based on underlying cognitive and emotional assumptions rather than one being idealistic and normative and the other realistic and descriptive" (Galtung, 2006). Keeble, Tulloch, and Zollman (2010) argue that war reporting about what those who in power say they do but peace journalism is as reporting about what those who in power in reality do. They maintain that it is not important as much as to report violent situation of conflict, media should also provide information about those steps which leads to peaceful resolution of fight. Peace journalism is alternative way for media to step away from elite orientation of people, nation and negativism, it should focus on people, processes and looking for way forward. Keeping this viewpoint, media can give balance reporting of conflict by reporting from both sides not just elite views, more different sources, then a broader canvas emerge which create a depth for understanding the what actually going on and this lead to resolution. By joining the other forms of journalism such citizenship journalism, civic journalism and development journalism, peace journalism becomes another line of

journalism by holding a strong role in as pillar of state in democracy. In this conflict-afflicted area, as many scholars who advocates the peace journalism; an obligation should be retained by media to report in a balance way to promote peace building process and conflict resolution (Bratic, 2008; Galtung, Jacobson, Brand-Jacobson, & Jeong, 2003; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005). The academic dialogue over Peace Journalism by the advocates of PJ, containing professional enhancement, boosting the journalistic ethics, endowment of better public service and expanding scholarly debates and professional field of views (Shinar, 2007). This sort of journalism likewise takes a gander at proposed government undertakings to enhance conditions in the nation, and dissects regardless of whether they will be powerful. Ogan (1980) explained that Peace journalism and Development Journalism offer comparable characteristics—one spares society from pulverizations, alternate spares it from torments of neediness. Development journalism coverage urges Journalists to go to remote territories, connect with the general population, and report back. Ultimately, the journalist may come up with proposed solutions and activities in the piece, recommending courses in which they may be implemented. Frequently, this type of development journalism supports an agreeable exertion between natives of the country and the outside world (Smith, 2007). Is likewise utilized as a part of a way like that of investigative reporting. Seen in this way, the part of a development journalist is to analyze basically the current advancement projects and tasks of government, contrast the arranged venture and its genuine execution, and report any observed deficiencies. Reporting on conflict-ridden area is very tough job and Johan Galtung theory of War and Peace Journalism based on two competing frames is productive increment in the field of Journalism. Ottosen (2010) scrutinized in his article “The war in Afghanistan and peace journalism in practice” that war frames were dominant during the first week of Afghan war 2001 in two mainstream,

Norwegian newspapers “Aftenposten” and “Verdens Gang” (VG). Total number of articles from Aftenposten were 104 and from Verden Gang 100. Aftenposten articles were favorable to US action but VG not. The editorials of VG was much clear that Norway could be the potential next target of terrorist that’s why Norway should support US war in Afghanistan. Overall war journalism frames got much space than peace journalism frames. The researcher argues that the journalists who follow the model of Galtung should mention the civilian casualties. The war and peace journalism model is major theoretical contribution which defines agenda and encourage academia and working journalists for new ways for their work. For scientific work it is fruitful supplement. However, Citizens are well aware and enough informed that they can view the conflict from different angles as mass media gain global character. Fighting forces, audience and media practitioners all have apprehended on portrayal of conflict as past literature war journalism and peace journalism recommends. Conflict participants frequently asserted that reporting is bias toward them (Galtung & Vincent, 2004; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005; Wolfsfeld, 2004). Media attentively emphasis on conflict when violence involve in conflict and casualties led conflict more worsen. so to rule out this criticism, Galtung (1969) who coined the term “peace journalism” then worked on to develop to 2 rival reports styles of wars, named as “Peace/conflict Journalism” and “War or Violence Journalism S. A. Siraj (2008) cited Hanitzsch (2004).

Research Questions

RQ1: To what extent Elite print media Pakistan give coverage to Afghan Conflict and Peace Process?

RQ2: Which frames are being used to cover Afghan Conflict and Peace Process by the elite Pakistani Press?

RQ3: Is there any difference in Peace/War framing of Afghan Conflict and Peace Process in Pakistani elite (Dawn and The News) Press?

Theoretical Framework

Coverage of conflict has always been taken as a very sensitive phenomenon among the communication researchers (Aslam, 2014). As the coverage matters more than the actual happenings. Therefore, this study focuses on the frames under which the Afghan Peace Process was discussed in the Pakistani media. As Entman described precisely the media framing, frames means, to pick some aspects of observed reality and develop them in a way that becomes more salient in communication text in such a way to support a specific problem (Chong & Druckman, 2007b; Entman, 1993, 2004). So framing theory is supportive to War and Peace Journalism model of Johan Galtung and communication researcher used these both for research especially to investigate the conflict-afflicted areas (M. T. N. Gavilán, 2012; N. Gavilán & Teresa, 2011).

Framing theory concentrates on the courses through which news organization depiction the truth. Media content limits general assessments, for example, by grabbing a few parts of war truths—like military advancement—and disregarding other substances of realities. During the coverage of international conflict, this may turn out to be

more noteworthy when national media may spread not at all like perspectives for national fellows. This created fluctuating beliefs and attitude in a state toward happening contrasted and assessment of other country which has diverse media exposure. It is conceivable that group of audience which has not seen enough of reporting about fierce conflict, challenges and war sufferers may have sense to support war endeavors. Those who comprehend war as a military success may become more supportive of it in the end (Dimitrova&Strömbäck, 2005). In mass media research framing is not new conceived, there are various definitions of framing theory in circle of the academic community. For the most part news framing is intangible nature; different viewpoints that frames the piece of media coverage as well as a feature of crowd scholarly mappings (Castells, 2007; Entman, 2004).

Galtung (1998) has addressed the power journalists hold, and coined the term “peace journalism” to describe reporters’ responsibility to include new perspectives which diverge from the more typical conflict coverage which he calls “war journalism”. Journalists can either take the “low road” (war journalism) or the “high road” (peace journalism) when writing about conflicts. The “high road” offers a more nuanced portrayal of conflicts, focusing on a peace rather than violence-orientation, truth on all sides instead of one-sided propaganda, voices of common people instead of elites, and a solution rather than victory-orientation (Galtung, 2006).

Peace journalism empowers readers by providing impartial news and challenging conventional wisdom about how conflicts are presented (Peleg, 2007).

This study designed to get benefit from framing theory; peace journalism frame and war journalism frame. The straightforward reason is to study the War and Peace Journalism model’s implications in Pakistani Elite Newspapers about Afghan Peace Process.

Methodology

In the present study, we examine how elite print media in Pakistan and aim to analyze the Afghan peace negotiations. The quantitative content analysis of news reports examined the frequency, slant, and peace and war indicators of media coverage. The period for this study is consisted on five years (2015-2019), through this research find out the peace process on afghan conflict. This period has been chosen because peace process speed up in these years as USA wanted to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan. So that afghan peace is as important for Pakistan as well for Afghanistan.

Sample

The sample of stories was drawn based on the basis on war and peace categories. All those stories from both the papers were kept in one category which had reported similar events/themes. 2279 news stories from both newspapers were selected which included in their titles/sub-titles the terms “war” or “peace 1048 were selected from The News, whereas 1233 were collected from the Dawn. Similarly, collected news stories also analyze according to language used to describe the peace process.

Results

War and Peace coverage in selected Newspapers

Finding of this study revealed that elite press (*The News and Dawn*) of Pakistan do more coverage on “war” or “conflict” and table 1 reported that 89% (n= 2028) of news stories were related to war categories while only a small percentage 6.7% (n=147) were covered peace related news, which shows clearly coverage pattern of elite press collectively (See table 2).

Similarly, in newspaper-wise coverage, it was noticed that both selected newspapers published more number of news reports tilted towards war frames compared to peace frames. It is relevant to mention that, amongst all newspapers, *The News* produced highest number of news reports on Afghan peace process and published 1233 (54.1%) reports compared to 1046 (45.9%) published by *Dawn* newspapers (See Table 1). Furthermore, *The News* remained obviously tilted towards war journalism frames and 1142 (92.6%) news items carried war frames. In order to examine the information statistically, Chi-square test was applied to data, which showed significant difference (chi-square= 36.294^a, df= 2, p= .000) between the newspapers in terms of framing of news items (see Table 3).

Table 1

	Frequency	Percent
Dawn	1046	45.9
The News	1233	54.1
Total	2279	100.0

Table 2

	Frequency	Percent
War	2028	89.0
Peace	147	6.5
Neutral	104	4.6
Total	2279	100.0

Table 3

Newspaper		Frequency	Percent
Dawn	War	886	84.7
	Peace	95	9.1
	Neutral	65	6.2
	Total	1046	100.0
The News	War	1142	92.6
	Peace	52	4.2
	Neutral	39	3.2
	Total	1233	100.0

(chi-square= 36.294^a, df= 2, p= .000)

Comparison of both newspapers regarding language slant

Results showed that the overall coverage is negative, a large number of news stories 1233 (54.1%) were published in negative tone, while comparatively a good amount of news stories 781 (34.3%) were published in neutral tone and only 11.6% stories are published in positive tone (See table 4).

In comparison between elite English newspaper Dawn and The News coverage, it was found that Dawn newspaper used more negative tone to Afghan peace process and published 670 (64.1%) news reports as compared to The News, which published only 563 (45.7%) news reports in five years time-period. In order to examine the difference of coverage statistically, Chi-square test was applied to data. Results of the test revealed statistical difference (Chi square value = 110.879^a, df= 2, p= .000) between Elite print media coverage, which means that the coverage patterns of both newspapers were different (See Table 5).

Table 4

Slant	Frequency	Percent
Positive	265	11.6
Negative	1233	54.1
Neutral	781	34.3
Total	2279	100.0

Table 5

Newspaper		Frequency	Percent
Dawn	Positive	136	13.0
	Negative	670	64.1
	Neutral	240	22.9
	Total	1046	100.0
The News	Positive	129	10.5
	Negative	563	45.7
	Neutral	541	43.9
	Total	1233	100.0

(Chi square value = 110.879^a, df= 2, p= .000)

War and Peace indicators wise coverage

Newspaper		Frequency	Percent
Dawn	no conflict no peace	67	6.4
	zero-sum orientation	249	23.8
	Closed space, closed time	32	3.1
	Making wars opaque/secret	51	4.9
	“Us-them” journalism	68	6.5
	See “them” as the problem	57	5.4
	Dehumanization of “them	21	2.0
	Reactive	44	4.2
	visible effect of violence	95	9.1
	Expose “their” untruths	80	7.6
	Help “our” cover-ups/lies	45	4.3
	“our” suffering;	45	4.3
	Focus on elite peacemakers	49	4.7
	victory oriented	38	3.6
	“win-win” orientation	23	2.2
	Truth oriented	47	4.5
	People oriented	19	1.8
	Solution oriented	16	1.5
	Total	1046	100.0
	no conflict no peace	42	3.4
	zero-sum orientation	281	22.8
	Closed space, closed time	34	2.8
	Making wars opaque/secret	92	7.5
	“Us-them” journalism	99	8.0
	See “them” as the problem	80	6.5

The News	Dehumanization of “them	28	2.3
	Reactive	70	5.7
	visible effect of violence	135	10.9
	Expose “their” untruths	125	10.1
	Help “our” cover-ups/lies	53	4.3
	“our” suffering;	52	4.2
	Focus on elite peacemakers	60	4.9
	victory oriented	38	3.1

“win-win” orientation	11	.9
Truth oriented	18	1.5
People oriented	7	.6
Solution oriented	8	.6
Total	1233	100.0

Table 6 reported that both newspaper published news regarding zero-sum orientation, The News published 22% news while Dawn published 24% of news regarding zero-sum orientation. “Us- them journalism” “see them as a problem” and our suffering give more coverage on these aspects respectively. However “people oriented”, “win-win orientation” and “solution oriented” categories of peace journalism get less coverage.

Conclusion

Employed by Galtung’s (1986,1998) classifications of peace and war journalism, the purpose of this study was to assess differences in the use of war and peace journalism frames among different news outlets on the conflict of Afghan war. This study employed a comparative analysis on media coverage of an ongoing conflict of Afghanistan war and Pakistan-America involvement in peace process. Explicitly, this study examined war and peace journalism frames from stories published in elite English newspapers (The News and Dawn) from Pakistan. Forthwith, this discussion section will proceed by discussing important findings in detail. Firstly, dominant journalism framing in the coverage of Afghan war conflict is discussed. Secondly, most prominent war frame and factors influencing its salience in the coverage are explored and thirdly, dominance of peace frames in the media is interpreted. War and Peace Journalism Framing Across Countries and Newspapers Results showed that there was no statistically significant difference between war versus peace journalism framing among all three countries. In other words, print media from each country produced more war journalism stories than peace journalism stories. Though not statistically significant, it is worth noting that a majority, or roughly 60 percent, of stories published in the U.S. were classified as war journalism Based War Journalism Frames Thus far, analysis of the results indicates that examined media of Pakistan, Afghanistan and the U.S. covered the conflict from different perspectives by using distinctive news sources and dichotomized framework, while war journalism dominated the overall coverage. A definition of framing theory helps explain this pattern. According to de Vreese, news framing is the process of media selecting and promoting certain elements of a topic to make it more salient than others, providing a way to better understand an event or issue. To do so, journalists employ certain news frames in constructing and defining issues of the conflict.

Moreover, the individual media outlet has its own narrative and uses certain language to describe the conflict. The way stories were framed and depicted were, to a certain extent, different from one newspaper to another. In terms of language-based war journalism frames, results revealed that the prevalence of victimizing and demonizing language varied notably by news outlet. Both newspaper equally uses these reference of the frame.

All selected newspaper also use negative slant or tone to represent the afghan conflict While the foregoing discussion focuses on several aspects of war journalism frames, it does not detract from the prevalence and importance of peace journalism frames found in the coverage analyzed. Among the twelve indicators of peace journalism frames, the four most dominant salient indicators of peace journalism were: (1) multiparty orientation; (2) proactive reporting; (3) solution orientation; and (4) avoidance of demonizing language. Multiparty orientation and avoidance of demonizing language were among the most salient indicators, concurrent with findings from previous research (Fahmy & Eakin, 2013; Lee, 2010; Lee & Maslog, 2005). In the first empirical study to operationalize Johan Galtung’s classification of war and peace journalism, Lee and Maslog (2005) explain that some peace indicators are not the strongest indicators for peace journalism framing even though they are important for the overall classification scheme. They conclude that these frames are “mere extensions of the objectivity credo: reporting the facts as they are,” (p. 324). Because these indicators are less interventionist by nature, their prevalence does not truly reflect the role of journalists actively seeking and employing constructive news frames for peacemaking and conflict resolution.

Other peace journalism studies report similar findings suggesting a structural limitation inherent in the

peace journalism framework (Fahmy & Eakin, 2013; Lee, 2010). Consequently, previous research highlights a need to redefine the criteria of peace journalism because, “the pattern of salient indicators supporting the peace journalism frame falls short of Galtung’s conceptualization of peace journalism as an advocacy and interpretative approach oriented in peace-conflict, people, truth and solution” (Lee, 2010, p. 379). In this study, analysis of peacejournalism indicators yielded findings similar to previous studies. The multiparty orientation and the avoidance of demonizing language among the most salient peace journalism indicators found in this study do not necessarily represent peace journalism but objective and factual reporting.

REFERENCES

- Aspa, J. M. R., García, J. U., Arestizábal, P. U., Ariño, A. V., & Ariño, M. V. (2018). *Peace Talks in Focus 2018: Report on Trends and Scenarios*. Barcelona: Icaria.
- Bonesh, F. R. (2020). *Pakistan’s approach to Afghan peace process*. Retrieved on August 25, 2020 from <https://asiatimes.com/2020/05/pakistans-approach-to-afghan-peace-process/>
- Jamal, U. (2019, June 18). US Exit Looms Over Afghanistan Peace Process. Retrieved June 24, 2019, from <https://thediplomat.com/2019/06/us-exit-looms-over-Afghanistan-peace-process/>
- Jawad, A. Q. (2013). *Media Focus in Afghanistan News Coverage*. (Masters Unpublished Dissertation), University of Arkansas.
- Khan, B., & Shakeel, F. (2019). Which way the Afghan peace process is headed. Retrieved June 24, 2019, from <https://herald.dawn.com/news/1398847>
- Ottosen, R. (2005). The Norwegian Media Image of the War in Afghanistan. *Nordicom Review*, 26(1), 95-109.
- Shabir, G., Ali, S., & Iqbal, Z. (2011). US mass media and image of Afghanistan: Portrayal of Afghanistan by Newsweek and Time. *South Asian Studies*, 26(1), 83.
- Aalberg, T., Papathanassopoulos, S., Soroka, S., Curran, J., Hayashi, K., Iyengar, S., Rowe, D. (2013). International TV news, foreign affairs interest and public knowledge: A comparative study of foreign news coverage and public opinion in 11 countries. *Journalism Studies*, 14(3), 387-406. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1461670X.2013.765636>
- Chyi, H. I., & McCombs, Max. 2004. “Media salience and the process of framing: Coverage of the Columbine school shootings.” In *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(1), pp. 22-35.
- Dominick, J. (2002). *The Dynamics of Mass Communication*. Boston McGraw Hill Companies.
- Donsbach, W., & Donsbach, W. (2008). The international encyclopedia of communication. Retrieved from https://books.google.com.pk/books/about/The_International_Encyclopedia_of_Communication.html?id=5AgjAQAIAAJ&redir_esc=y
- Raza, M. R., Jan, M., Sultan, K., & Aziz, S. F. (2012). PORTRAYAL OF WAR ON TERRORISM IN PAKISTAN IN PRINT MEDIA EXPLORING PEACE FRAMING IN DAILY NATION AND BUSINESS RECORDER. *Asian journal of social sciences & humanities*, 1(4), 97-108. Retrieved from [http://www.ajssh.leenaluna.co.jp/AJSSHPDFs/Vol.../AJSSH2012\(1.4-13\).pdf](http://www.ajssh.leenaluna.co.jp/AJSSHPDFs/Vol.../AJSSH2012(1.4-13).pdf)
- Fairhurst, Gail T. and Saar, Robert A. 1996. *The Art of Framing: Managing the language of leadership* (1st ed). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. New York, NY et al.: Harper & Row.
- Gamson, William A. and Modigliani, Andre. (1989). “Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach.” In *American Journal of Sociology*, 95 (1), pp. 1-37.
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace, and peace research. *Journal of peace research*, 6(3), 167-191. Retrieved from http://www2.kobe-u.ac.jp/~alexroni/IPD%202015%20readings/IPD%202015_2/Galtung_Violence.%20Peace.%20and%20Peace%20Research.pdf
- Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. H. (1965a). Patterns of Diplomacy A Study of Recruitment and Career Patterns in Norwegian Diplomacy. *Journal of peace research*, 2(2), 101-135. doi: 10.1177/002234336500200201
- Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. H. (1965b). The structure of foreign news the presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of peace research*, 2(1), 64-90. Retrieved from <http://www.zurnalistikos-laboratorija.lt/wpcontent/uploads/2014/03/Galtung-Ruge-Structure-of-Foreign-News-1965.pdf>
- Galtung, J. (1986). On the role of the media in worldwide security and peace. *Peace and communication*, 249-266. Retrieved from <https://www.transcend.org/galtung/papers/On%20the%20Role%20of%20the%20Media%20for%20Worldwide%20Security%20and%20Peace.pdf>
- Galtung, J. (2006). Peace journalism as an ethical challenge. *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition*, 1(2), 1-5.
- Lynch, J. (2008). Debates in peace journalism. Retrieved from https://books.google.com.pk/books/about/Debates_in_Peace_Journalism.html?id=n62YuU3sFxcC&redir_esc=y
- Lynch, J., & McGoldrick, A. (2005). Peace journalism. 95-97. Retrieved from <http://cmpimedia.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/WHAT-IS-PEACE-JOURNALISM.pdf>
- Lee, S. T., & Maslog, C. C. (2005). War or peace journalism? Asian newspaper coverage of conflicts. *Journal of Communication*, 55(2), 311-329. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2005.tb02674.x
- McCombs, M.E., & Donald, L.S. (1977). *The Emergence of American Political Issues*. NY: West Publishing Co.

- McQuail, D., & Windahl, S. (1993). *Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communications* (2nd ed). London: Longman
- Ottosen, R. (2010). The war in Afghanistan and peace journalism in practice. *Media, War & Conflict*, 3(3), 261-278. doi: 10.1177/1750635210378944 Retrieved from <https://oda.hio.no/jspui/bitstream/10642/565/2/513220post.pdf> <http://www.voanews.com/content/pakistan-weights-joining-saudi-coalition-in-yemen/2708122.html>
- Hällgren, L. (2012). *Peace- and War Journalism*. Umeå University. Retrieved from <http://oatd.org/oatd/record?record=oai:DiVA.org:umu-57130&q=peace%20journalism>
- Hanitzsch, T. (2004). Journalists as peacekeeping force? Peace journalism and mass communication theory. *Journalism Studies*, 5(4), 483-495.
- Howard, R. (2010). Conflict sensitive journalism in practice. *University of Wisconsin-Madison*. Hussain, S., & Rehman, H. (2015). Balochistan: Reaping the benefits of peace journalism. *Conflict & Communication*, 14(2). Retrieved from http://www.cco.regeneronline.de/2015_2/pdf/hussain-rehman2015.pdf
- Hyde-Clarke, N. (2011). Political posturing and the need for peace journalism in South Africa: The case of Julius Malema. *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*, 37(1), 41-55. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02500167.2011.558018>
- Keeble, R., Tulloch, J., & Zollman, F. (2010). Peace journalism, war and conflict resolution. Retrieved from http://www.peterlang.cn/download/datasheet/54112/datasheet_310726.pdf
- Khalid, H. (2014). Role of Peace Journalism in Indo-Pak Relations: A Case Study of "Aman Ki Asha". *NDU Journal*, 28, 1-22. Retrieved from http://www.ndu.edu.pk/issra/issra_pub/2014/NDU-Journal-2014.pdf
- Lee, S. T. (2010). Peace journalism: Principles and structural limitations in the news coverage of three conflicts. *Mass Communication and Society*, 13(4), 361-384. doi: 10.1080/15205430903348829
- Lee, S. T., & Maslog, C. C. (2005). War or peace journalism? Asian newspaper coverage of conflicts. *Journal of Communication*, 55(2), 311-329. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2005.tb02674.x
- Lynch, J. (2008). Debates in peace journalism. Retrieved from https://books.google.com.pk/books/about/Debates_in_Peace_Journalism.html?id=n62YuU3sFxcC&redir_esc=y
- Lynch, J., & McGoldrick, A. (2005). Peace journalism. 95-97. Retrieved from <http://cmpimedia.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/WHAT-IS-PEACE-JOURNALISM.pdf>
- McGoldrick, A., & Lynch, J. (2006). Peace Journalism. Retrieved from <http://cmpimedia.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/WHAT-IS-PEACE-JOURNALISM.pdf>
- McMahon, R., & Chow-White, P. A. (2011). News media encoding of racial reconciliation: Developing a peace journalism model for the analysis of 'cold' conflict. *Media, Culture & Society*, 33(7), 989-1007. doi: 10.1177/0163443711415742 Retrieved from <http://www.arifyildirim.com/ilt508/rob.mcmahon.pdf>
- Miller, C. A., & King, M. E. (2005). *A glossary of terms and concepts in peace and conflict studies*: University for Peace San Jose, Costa Rica.
- Napoli, P. M. (2008). Revisiting "mass communication" and the "work" of the audience in the new media environment. *McGannon Center Working Paper Series*, 24. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Philip_Napoli/publication/273590252_Revisiting_'mass_communication'_and_the_'work'_of_the_audience_in_the_new_media_environment/links/54d0e6740cf298d656694737.pdf
- Neumann, R., & Fahmy, S. (2012). Analyzing the spell of war: A war/peace framing analysis of the 2009 visual coverage of the Sri Lankan civil war in Western newswires. *Mass Communication and Society*, 15(2), 169-200. doi: 10.1080/15205436.2011.583192
- Ogan, C. L. (1980). Development Journalism/Communication: The Status of the Concept. Retrieved from <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED194898.pdf>
- Ottosen, R. (2010). The war in Afghanistan and peace journalism in practice. *Media, War & Conflict*, 3(3), 261-278. doi: 10.1177/1750635210378944 Retrieved from <https://oda.hio.no/jspui/bitstream/10642/565/2/513220post.pdf>
- Prakash, A. (2013). Peace or War Journalism: Case study of the Balochistan conflict in Pakistan. *Strategic Analysis*, 37(5), 621-636. doi: 10.1080/09700161.2013.821284
- Ratnam, C. (2014a). *A TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF NEWS FRAMING IN THE SRI LANKAN CONFLICT*. (MASTER OF ARTS), UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS. Retrieved from http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc700020/m2/1/high_res_d/thesis.pdf
- <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/yemenis-in-anti-president-protest-1.870787>
- Roberts, N. L. (1991). American peace writers, editors, and periodicals: A dictionary. Retrieved from

- https://books.google.com.pk/books/about/American_peace_writers_editors_and_perio.html?id=AAucAAAAMAAJ&redir_esc=y
Rodny-Gumede, Y. (2015). Coverage of Marikana: war and conflict and the case for Peace
Journalism. *Social Dynamics*, 41(2), 359-374. doi: 10.1080/02533952.2015.1060681 Retrieved from
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02533952.2015.1060681><http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02533952.2015.1060681>
- Roy, S., & Ross, S. D. (2011). The gaze of US and Indian media on terror in Mumbai: a comparative analysis.
Expanding Peace Journalism: Comparative and Critical Approaches, 198-200. Retrieved from
http://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/2123/12630/1/ExpandingPeace_Chapter_7.pdfhttp://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/2123/12630/1/ExpandingPeace_Chapter_7.pdf
- Sabiiti, S. (2001). What Role Should the Media Play in Conflict Transformation and Peace Building. *A Public Lecture, Department of Mass Communication, Makerere University*, 5.
- Sayre, B., Bode, L., Shah, D., Wilcox, D., & Shah, C. (2010). Agenda setting in a digital age: Tracking attention to California Proposition 8 in social media, online news and Conventional news. *Policy & Internet*, 2(2), 7-32. doi: 10.2202/1944-2866.1040 Retrieved from
https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/559283/Bode_Leticia_Agenda_Setting.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103-122. doi: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02784.x
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 9-20. doi: 10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00326.x
- Shaw, I. S. (2011). Debates in Peace Journalism. *Journal of Peace Education*, 8(3), 363-365.
- Shinar, D. (2007). Epilogue: Peace Journalism—The State of the Art 1. Retrieved from http://cco.regener-online.de/2007_1/pdf/shinar_2007.pdfhttp://cco.regener-online.de/2007_1/pdf/shinar_2007.pdf
- Siraj, A., Syed. (2006). Image of Pakistan in the US media: Exploring news framing. Retrieved from
http://eprints.hec.gov.pk/3773/1/Final_Report.pdfhttp://eprints.hec.gov.pk/3773/1/Final_Report.pdf
- Siraj, S. A. (2008). War or peace journalism in elite us newspapers: exploring news framing in Pakistan-India conflict. *Annual meeting of the International Communication Association, Montreal, Quebec*. Retrieved from
http://www.issi.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/1303370133_44311323.pdfhttp://www.issi.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/1303370133_44311323.pdf
- Siraj, S. A., & Hussain, S. (2012). War media galore in Pakistan: A perspective on Taliban conflict. *Global Media Journal: Pakistan Edition*, 5(1). Retrieved from <http://www.aiou.edu.pk/gmj/War%20Media%20Galore%20in%20Pakistan.....final.doc><http://www.aiou.edu.pk/gmj/War%20Media%20Galore%20in%20Pakistan.....final.doc>
- Smith, S., E. (2007). What is Development Journalism? Retrieved from www.wisegeek.com/what-is-development-journalism.htm.
- Stephenson, C. (1989). The evolution of peace studies. *Peace and world order studies: A curriculum guide*, 5, 9- 19.
- Strömbäck, J., & Dimitrova, D. (2005). Framing of the Iraq War in the Elite Newspapers in Sweden and the United States. doi: 10.1177/0016549205056050
- Tapsell, R. (2014). Journalism and Conflict in Indonesia: From Reporting Violence to Promoting Peace. *Asian Studies Review*, 38(1), 146-147. doi: 10.1080/10357823.2014.870955
- Van Dijk, T. A., Kintsch, W., & Van Dijk, T. A. (1983). Strategies of discourse comprehension. Retrieved from
<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.473.5491&rep=rep1&type=pdf><http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.473.5491&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Webel, C., & Galtung, J. (2007). Handbook of peace and conflict studies.
- Wilson, C., & Devere, H. (2013). Peace and war journalism in the New Zealand media? Reporting on the 'arc of instability' in the Pacific. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 19(1), 132. Retrieved from
<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=336868043391874;res=IELNZC><http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=336868043391874;res=IELNZC><http://www.rogerwimmer.com/mr9e/mmr9eresearchinadvertising.htm>
- Wolfsfeld, G. (2004). Media and the Path to Peace.