

Pulwama Attack: Comparative Analysis of Pakistani and Indian Print Media

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ABSTRACT

Research assesses the issue of Pulwama attack the comparative analysis of Pakistani and Indian print media. Study was aimed to explore the nature of issue portrayed by the print media of both countries i.e., Pakistan and India. To conduct this research, researchers collected the data using content analysis technique and news stories of both newspapers i.e., “The Nation” from Pakistan and “The Hindu” from India selected for the period of three months from February 15, 2019 to May 15, 2019. The researchers designed coding sheet to categories the data. The researchers made three categories including Neutral, War and Peace frames. The results showed that Indian newspaper “The Hindu” focused more 57.7% on war frame for the same conflict between India and Pakistan. The content proved that Pakistan print media mostly focused on peace frame while Indian print media focus on war frame.

Keywords: Pulwama Attack, Print Media, India, Pakistan, Relationship.

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Introduction

Media and war have become inextricably linked in the modern era. These days, it is easy to understand how the media has a huge impact on war. Media can always start or end the war by its positive or negative reporting with the innovation of new technology. The situation has changed and war can be fought with different skills and tactics (Safdar *et al.*, 2017; Shabir *et al.*, 2015).

Media and conflicts are having deep relation with each other. “War” as Carl Von Clausewitz, a Russian military strategist in the 18th century, put it, “is nothing more than the continuation of politics by other means.” and it is clear that the wars 21st century are fought through the media because the advancement of media technology has changed the whole perspective of war (Warren Chin, 2019; Shabir *et al.*, 2014a; Khan *et al.*, 2017).

In today's world, the media hold a central position in the overall outcome of a conflict given its power to shape public opinion and steer policy support for humanitarian crises. When a conflict takes place media either take sides with conflicting parties and contribute to escalation or the media stay neutral and independent and contribute to a peaceful resolution of a conflict by not alleviating possible violence (Andrew Puddephatt, 2006; Shabir *et al.*, 2015; Shabir *et al.*, 2015a).

The other main reality regarding media role is that if the state is involved in the war, then the narrative of the media would be affected by the state or military or government policies (Safdar *et al.*, 2018; Shabir *et al.*, 2015a).

The relation of Pakistan and India are always having some ups and downs over the Kashmir dispute and the Pulwama attack is one of these reasons which took place on the 14th Feb 2019 and it was considered the deadliest attack since the insurgency began (Yusuf, 2019; Safdar et al., 2016).

Even before Pakistan, India won its independence from Britain in August 1947. Kashmir was hotly contested under the partition plan provided by the Indian independence act. Kashmir was free to accede to Pakistan and India. The Maharaja Hari Singh chose India and a two years' war erupted in 1947. A new war followed in 1965 while in 1999 India fought a brief but bitter conflict with Pakistani-backed force by that time Pakistan and India have both declared themselves to be nuclear powers (BBC, 2019; Shabir et al., 2014).

The bloody summer of street protest in Indian-administrated Kashmir in 2016 has already dimmed hope for lasting peace in the region than in June 2018, Mr. Modi Bharatiya Janata Party pulled out of a coalition government run by the peoples' democratic party. The state has since been under direct rules from Delhi which fueled further anger. The death of more than 40 Indian soldiers on the 14 Feb in a suicide attack has ended any hope of a thaw in the immediate future. India blamed Pakistan-based militant groups for the attack (DAWN, 2019).

Research Questions

1. How Pakistani and Indian print media report the Pulwama attacks and tensions after this attack from a war and peace journalism perspective?
2. Did the reporting of both the countries' print media was inclined towards war or peace?

Objectives of the Study

1. To critical evaluate the attitude of each country through the reporting in news papers
2. To find out the approach of journalists of newspapers concerned to Pulwama attack.
3. To analyze the political scenario of both countries reflected in newspapers.

Review of Literature

Noor (2019) opinion that, Pak-India relations are always having some ups and downs since 1947 apart from tensions both the countries have fought four war and the roles of media are very important because research and history have revealed that the war during the tensions or war had played a very significant role in all the above-mentioned wars.

Hassan (2017) previous literature on conflict coverage demonstrates that the media has a long-standing predilection for war, according to the author. For example, immediately before the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898. The New York Journal dispatched its ambassador, Frederic Remington, to Cuba with orders to stay until the conflict broke out. After a few days, there were no signs of Remington, who had been ordered to wait in Cuba until the war began. There were no signs of battle after a few days, so Remington wrote to his supervisor. "WAR Hearst," everything is good, and nothing bad has happened. There will be no conflict, and I want to return to the United States. Please stay put, Remington stated in his response. You provide the picture, and I will provide the conflict.

Leeke (2013) Four weeks later, an American battleship exploded and sank in Habana Harbor while the cause of his deadly incident was unknown and New York journal blamed the Spanish for this incident of the sinking of battleship and helped shape public opinion in the support of the war through an aggressive campaign.

McMahon (1994) This whole episode exposes the tilt of media towards the war many researchers on the media coverage of conflicts reflect similar trends including coverage of the conflict in the middle east. southeast Asia, Gulf, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan, Indian war, etc.

Arora (2019) According to Rhea Arora, a journalist in her article the Pulwama attack were not responsibility covered by the Indian media and there is a huge issue of sensationalism in the Indian media

and this is the reason that the reporting of them is not accurate and this yellow journalism has brought both the nuclear power on the brink of war which will destroy both the countries.

Shabir et al., (2019) A study based on content analysis of four Pakistani newspapers was conducted by the students of international Islamic university Islamabad under the title of "The narrative of Pakistani print media on the war on terror and Taliban conflict in Pakistan". The study took four dailies two from Urdu and two from English language and that study showed that the Pakistani print media was biased while covering the Taliban conflict and most of their coverage ratio was inclined towards war and less of their reporting was inclined towards peace or neutral.

Shafi, Mondal (2019) Al Jazeera report on the Pakistan, India tensions after Pulwama attacks. Al Jazeera interviewed Masood khan whose is the president of Azad Kashmir on the Pakistan India tensions. In his interview, he said that;

"India was playing with fire and they were brutalizing the people of Kashmir. According to him, this incident was used to demonize Kashmir and project them as violent extremists which they were not. They are trying to isolate Pakistan without any shred of evidence and we have said that if India is truthful we are ready for an international investigation." Shafi & Mondal (2019)

He went on to say that the scope of the investigation should include assassinations committed in the last 71 years in which there was excessive use of force and women were raped. He further said that the situation can further go very dangerous because the media is fueling the issue through false and biased reporting and both the states should think on the issue because war is not in favor of both these countries (Al-Jazeera, 2019).

Media and Conflicts

War can be defined as nothing more than the continuation of politics by other means and with the evolution and changes in politics and societies, the nature of war and conflict has been changed. In today's world, the media hold the overall position in the situation of war because it is the only source that lets the people know about what is going on and what is going to have happened in the future (Safdar *et al.*, 2019; Safdar *et al.*, 2018a).

The relation of media and conflict is very important and deep and we are having a very clear example of Iraq invasion in 2003 when it was attacked by NATO on the pretext of the presence of Weapons of Mass destruction and this false news and fake information was disseminated by the western media and later on, after many years the British Prime Minister Tony Blair apologized for the attack and rejected the presence of WMD in Iraq (Nohrstedt, 2014).

Another study of conflict and its relation with the media is the War on Terror operations in the tribal regions of Pakistan where the Pakistani troops launched the various operation in the different tribal regions and the Pakistani mainstream media covered it with its full swing and termed it as a positive step from the government of Pakistan so this reporting of war on terror created a perception in the mind of people as an operation in the good well of the tribal people but after years the BBC report blamed the military for its human rights violations on large bases in a military operation which was rejected by the military establishment of Pakistan.

Pakistani Newspaper: The Nation

The Nation is an English language daily newspaper based in Lahore, Pakistan since 1986. Its executive officers are chief editor Majid Nizami and Editor Rameeza Nizami. Its former editor Arif Nizami is now working as the chief editor of Pakistan today. The resident editor of The Nation is Salman Masood in the current age. Aside from being a journalist, Syed Adeeb is a well-known columnist, feature writer, and The Nation's U.S. correspondent. The Nawai Waqt Group, which was formed in 1940 by Hamid Nizami, publishes from many cities in Pakistan, including Lahore, Islamabad, Multan, and Karachi (Safdar *et al.*, 2019).

Indian Newspaper: The Hindu

The Hindu is an Indian English newspaper that began as a weekly in 1878 and became a daily in 1889. It is one of India's largest newspapers, with the second highest circulation after "The Times of India". The readership of The Hindu is 62, 26000 in 2019, and the number is expected to be increased by 4.27% in 2020. The newspaper is owned by the Kasturi and sons Ltd and according to its official statement over 1600 workers are employed in its turnover reached almost 200 million dollars. Besides working inside India the newspaper is also having 11 bureaus in foreign countries including Pakistan. The current editor of this left-wing newspaper is Suresh Nambath which took the office in the current year.

Theoretical Framework

Media Framing

The basic aspect of agenda-setting is the course of framing the stories. It is a method of assessing how the news media characterized public-interest topics. During the agenda-setting media have the think tanks which set the agenda of the media organization. They sometimes encourage the news while sometimes discourage the news. They also have a check on the policy and change it from time to time if needed.

Agenda Setting Theory

According to newspaper writer Walter Lippmann, the media has the authority to present pictures to the general public, and this concept explains the media's enormous influence and ability to tell us what topics are important and which are not. Besides this Macomb's and show investigated the presidential election in 1968 to 1972 and 1976 in which they concluded that mass media has a powerful impact and influence on the mindset of voters during elections.

Core Assumptions and Statements

Agenda setting theory is the creation of public awareness and concern of silent issues by the news media. Two basic assumptions underlie most research on agenda setting one is the press and media do not reflect a reality which means that they filter and shape it while the second is the media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues are more important than other issues. According to statesman Bernard Cohen, the press may not always succeed in telling people what to think, but it can tell them what to think about (Cohen, 2015).

Galtung Model

This paradigm was proposed for the first time by a Gatling-based Norwegian academic and founder of the discipline of peace studies and according to this model "the media generally follow what he termed the low roads" in covering conflicts and war situations roads that leads towards war journalism.

He suggested that rather than follow the low road media and journalists must follow the "high road" which leads towards peace and prosperity. War journalism, according to Gatling, is violence-oriented, propaganda-oriented, and victory-oriented. Gatling peace journalism, on the other hand, is peace-oriented, truth-oriented, people-oriented, and solution-oriented. But this model is greatly criticized by different scholars, for instance, He claims that governments are responsible for pursuing peace efforts, not journalists, and that journalists are not responsible for promoting peace. According to another academic, Fawcett, journalists are compelled to favour or oppose a specific party in a conflict by a variety of circumstances, including professional and organizational institutions.

Research Methodology

In this research, the content analysis research methodology adopted with quantitative and qualitative research paradigm. In quantitative part, researchers counted total number of news stories that were related the research subject in the selected time frame, while qualitatively, the researchers critically evaluate renounced newspapers of Pakistan and India on the basis of designed coding sheet. The data was

collected from online archive of three months i.e., February 15, 2019 to May 15, 2019 from both selected newspapers. For data collection, researchers designed a coding sheet with the slant of war, peace and neutral.

Operationalization of the Variables

War Frame: the news story that reflect the theme towards war.

Peace Frame: the news story that reflect the theme towards peace and better relations among both countries.

Neutral Frame: the news story that not reflects the theme of war nor peace among both countries considered as neutral.

Data Analysis

Table 1: *Specification of published news stories in News Papers*

News Paper	Stories	Percentage
The Nation	159	48.2
The Hindu	171	51.8
Total	330	100.0

Table 1 illustrates that from the total 300 (100%) stories, 52% of the stories were published by The Hindu while 48% of the stories were published by The Nation. In this way, quantitatively, The Hindu gave more coverage to this issue as compare to The Nation.

Table 2: *Story nature of the published news stories in The Nation*

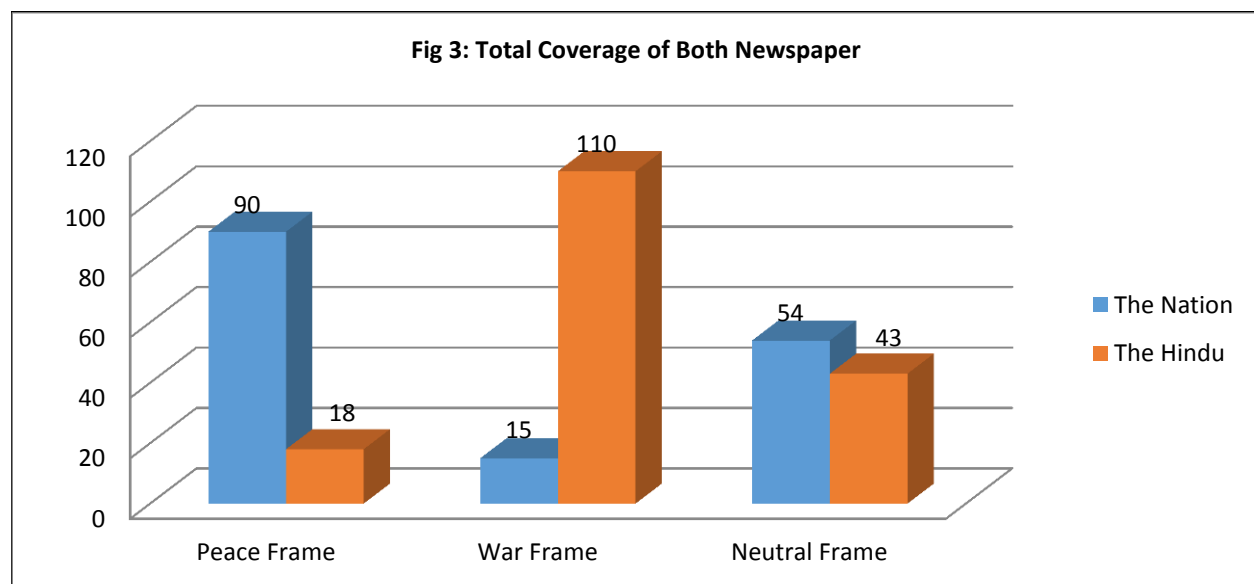
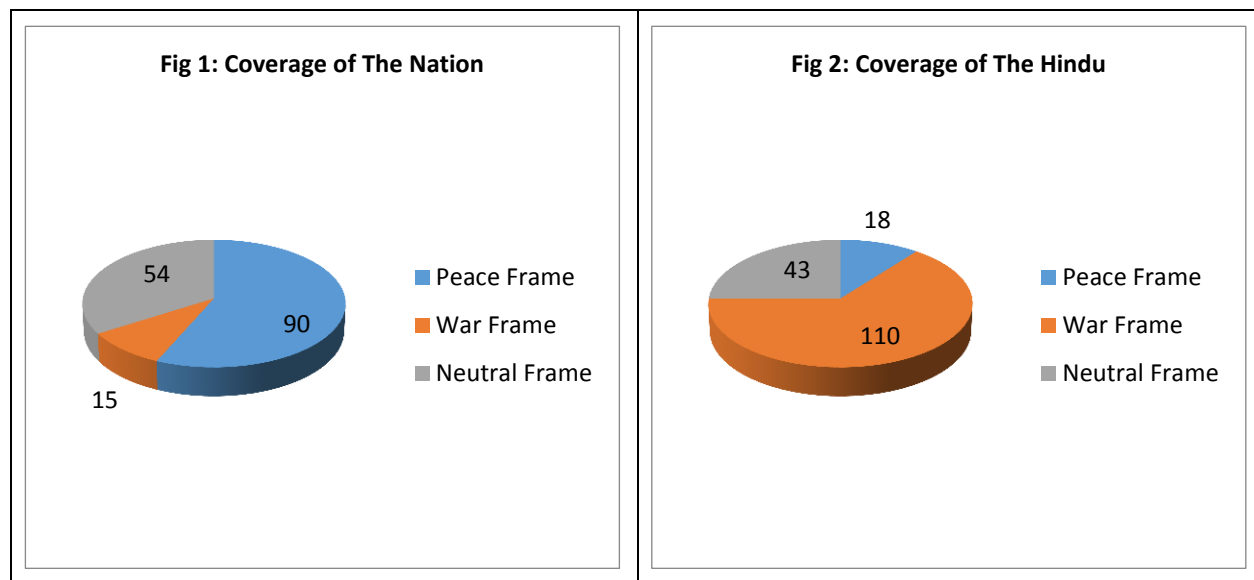
Frames	Stories	Percentage
Peace Frame	90	56.6
War Frame	15	9.4
Neutral Frame	54	33.9
Total	159	100.0

Table 2 exemplify that the Pakistani newspaper The Nation gave more coverage to peace as 57% of the published stories were peace frame while 34% of the stories were neutral frame and only 9% news stories of The Nation were war frame.

Table 3: *Story nature of the published news stories in The Hindu*

Frames	Stories	Percentage
Peace Frame	18	10.5
War Frame	110	64.3
Neutral Frame	43	25.1
Total	171	100.0

Table 3 exemplify that the Indian newspaper The Hindu gave more coverage as war frame as 64% of the published stories were war frame, while 25% of the stories were neutral and only 10% of its news stories represent peace frame.



Result & Discussion

The result founded that after Pulwama tacked the inclusion of Indian media was to wards war, the Indian newspaper the Hindu published 171 stories in total after Pulwama attack in three months in which 64.3% percent were framed in war. On the other hand, Pakistani newspaper publish most its stories on peace frame as results showed that 57% of the published stories were peace frame while 34% of the stories were neutral frame and only 9% news stories were reflecting war frame. While Indian newspaper published most of its stories on the stance of war frame as 64% of the published stories were war frame while 25% of the stories were neutral and only 10% of its stories reflected peace frame.

Noor (2019) opinion that, Pak-India relations are always having some ups and downs since 1947. Hassan (2017) media has a long-standing predilection for war. Leeke (2013) Media can shape public opinion in the support of the war through an aggressive campaign. McMahon (1994) media coverage of conflicts reflect similar trends including coverage of the conflict in the Middle East. Arora (2019) Paluwama attack were not responsibility covered by the Indian media and there is a huge issue of sensationalism in the

Indian media and this is the reason that the reporting of them is not accurate and this yellow journalism has brought both the nuclear power on the brink of war which will destroy both the countries. Shafi, Mondal (2019) Al Jazeera report on the Pakistan, India tensions after Pulwama attacks. The same results are found in the current research the media reflects the policy of their country. There is need to use media in a positive way for the betterment of the country and promote peace in the world.

Conclusion

Mass media is a global character, from the above study it is concluded that in conflict reporting aggravate with frequent and furious claims of bias from both Pakistan and India in media coverage. Global politics is a complex game, particularly when conflict dominates the relationship between countries. India and Pakistan have fought four wars since achieving independence from the British in 1947. Both countries have acquired nuclear capability but the tense nature of the bilateral relationship has given rise to fears of a potential nuclear war in the region. There were hopes of a thaw in relationship after the new governments assumed power following the general elections in Pakistan (2013) and in India (2014). As the data speaks that Pakistani media was focused on making the situation normal, the nation Pakistani English newspaper data showed that they publish 64.4 percent stories in these particular three months in peace frame. While the Indian media newspaper The Hindu focused 57.7 percent on war farm, for the same conflict between India in Pakistan. However, there was hope, Pakistani prime minister Imran Khan Address the Kashmir conflict issue several times in UN, on media in the course of his time. But this hope is dashed by Indians, every time Pakistan extend the hand of peace it is followed by an escalation in cross-border firing incidents along the line of control (LoC) in the Kashmir valley from Indian side.

Directions to Future Researches

Further Studies related To the news Coverage of the Pakistan and India relation can be conducted in multiples ways.

- The coverage pattern of the war or hostile relations between Pakistan and India can be investigated using electronic media.
- From the perspectives of peace and conflict journalism, a comparative analysis of electronic and print media can be done.
- An investigation of whether the Pakistani and Indian media follow their respective governments' policies on the conflict scenario between the two nations could be conducted.
- A qualitative study could be done to determine why both countries' news media ignore poverty and do not propose long-term solutions to the conflict.

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Conflict of Interest

Authors have no conflict of interest.

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