

## **PULWAMA ATTACK: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MEDIA FRAMING IN INDIAN AND PAKISTANI NEWSPAPERS' WEBSITES**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*The coverage of media about the attacks by the terrorists plays a vital role in shaping the masses' understanding of the issue. The Pulwama attack is one of its kind, which opens the door for researchers to study various aspects. The incident was carried out on February 14, 2019. This attack is known as a major and big horrific violent attack in the context of Indo-Pakistan relations that provoked a record-high amount of tension between the two countries. The tension between the two countries escalated right after the attack and it jeopardized the whole aspect of peace and prosperity between the two countries. The media of both countries played a great role in setting their own perspectives among the masses.*

*This study mainly focuses on analyzing the content about the attack, published in the print media. The study includes the analysis of framing the attack differently by both the countries' respective print media. In order to examine the coverage of the attack, the researcher selected one of the topmost newspapers of both states. Daily Dawn from Pakistan and Times of India from India. The researcher studied the content of the stories published from February 14, 2019, to March 31, 2019, and then analyzed them through a qualitative content analysis strategy. This study seeks to evaluate the attack in order to find the answers to the basic research objectives. The main objective of the study is to examine the coverage of the Pulwama attack in Dawn and Times of India and how they both differ in framing the attack respectively. Another objective of this research is to identify the sources and references used by both newspapers in reporting the Pulwama attack. The findings of the study show that the Indian print media covered and present the clashes of both neighboring countries in a negative and provoking manner whereas Pakistani media neutralize the incident and focused on facts only. The frames chosen by Indian media promote sensationalism in the audience.*

**Keywords:** Content Analysis, Framing, Newspapers, Pulwama Attack.

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background**

The relations between Pakistan and India have always been contentious since the British India division in 1947. The grounds for the immediate contention were the lives of the millions of Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs and the blood they shed for their homeland in moving across the new borders to inhabit in either India or Pakistan. The communal violence, at the time of independence, set up everlasting future tension between both countries (Malik, 2019). The areas of Northern India and Pakistan somehow overlap the demographic and communal Lingua Franco (Pattanaik, 2004). Whereas, the Kashmir conflict along with other armed stays from the start and even worsened over the past 70 years. According to Kalis & Dar (2013), Kashmir (meaning land of desiccated) is known as a long-lasting conflict issue between the two countries - India and Pakistan, both considering the land of 1.5 crore people as a part of their own. All in all, the media played a very important role in conducting rigorous academic analysis of all these events (Iqbal, 2018).

The relations between Indo-Pak continue to dominate each other, but the war is skeptical, accentuated by the patterns of atomic nuclear powers owned by both countries. Highlighting the point of the Indian initiatives, it has been seen in the summit of Lahore and Agra that establishment by Pakistan had responded with the ground of the Kargil War, which gives a lot of intensified substitute to the war of Jammu and Kashmir.

### **1.2 Pulwama Terror Attack**

The Indian-occupied Kashmir (IOK) is being controlled with the help of various weaponized forces. Movement of paramilitary forces is frequent throughout the valley. February 14, 2019, marked as one of the biggest terror attacks in, Pakistan, India, and Kashmir. A group of 2500 Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) was on the move towards Srinagar from Jammu along with 78 vehicles traveling on the National Highway. According to Dar (2019), the group reached the destination before sunset, and a bus that was carrying security personnel was suddenly struck by another vehicle (car) and hotheaded together in the area of Lethpora near Awantipora.

Furthermore, Dar et al., (2019) explained that since 1989, this was considered one of the major attacks on India's state security in Kashmir. The suggestions have been made on the grounds of the Pulwama Suicide that the efforts made by India to isolate Pakistan is the reaction towards Pakistan's policy regarding funding terrorism in India which hadn't given any benefits. It has been understood that once the Kashmir issue is resolved, both countries can enjoy long-lasting benefits. 40 soldiers sworn to protect their nation were

tragically cut short in a violent incident. The finger of blame pointed towards Jaish-e- Muhammad, a Pakistani militia group but its leader directly denied any involvement. The scene of the tragedy however laid out on Indian soil but within Pakistani borders. Indian fighter jets had dropped bombs just days earlier. This event, shrouded in accusations and denials, left a trail of grief and inflamed tensions between the two nations.

The fight takes place inside Pakistan where Indian fighters dropped the bomb on February 26, 2019. According to Grover & Arora (1998), it was for the first time after the war of 1971. In contrast, Pakistani jets had aerial combat with India and shot the Indian pilot down. The injured pilot was captured alive and Pakistan released him later on. On that following day, the tactful demarche was issued by Delhi to Pakistan names as an "act of aggression against India". Media of both countries defended their homeland in their new stories and presented a biased view of the incident. All the Indian broadcasters denied coming to Pakistan to air the matches of the Pakistan Super League (PSL). Furthermore, Indian media strictly announced to ban of all Pakistani actors, cricketers, or even artists to work in the industry. As a result, the four Indian prisoners under the Jaipur Central Jail killed the Pakistani prisoner named Shakarullah, and Indian media announced him being killed in the fight among the prisoners. Pakistani media further claimed that he was not killed during the fight but was intentionally murdered by India in reaction to the Pulwama incident.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

The aspect of Pulwama attack was carried out on 14 February 2019 and after the attack at the very earlier it was assumed that the attack was organized by a militant group in Pakistan and the Government also helped in carrying out the attack (Dar et al., 2019). However, the attack was originally carried out by the Indian-occupied Kashmiri residents on the back of various harms and problems faced by the people of Kashmir at the hands of Indian Kashmir police. Also, this attack was known as a major and big horrific violent attack in the context of Indo-Pakistan that provoked a record-high amount of tension between the two countries (Feyyaz, 2019). The tensions between the two countries escalated right after the attack and it jeopardized the whole aspect of peace and prosperity between the two countries (Siyech, 2019).

Furthermore, this scenario has not been studied highly and not enough perspective has been given to it in the context of Pakistan. There have been various studies and research papers conducted in the aspect of India (Mohan, 2019; Thakur & Malhotra, 2020). However, there has not been shed a significant amount of light on the Pulwama attack that could include the

aspects of both countries Pakistan and India, and the perspectives of their respective media as well. Hence, this study aimed to include the perspective of the mass media of both countries and examine the coverage of this attack.

#### **1.4 Research Objectives**

This study will focus on the following objectives:

- To observe the coverage of the Pulwama attack in Daily Dawn and Times of India
- To analyze the patterns of coverage in both newspapers' websites on the Pulwama attack
- To determine the role of both leading newspapers in peacebuilding efforts between two countries.

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

The following questions will be tackled in this study:

Q1. How did Daily Dawn frame the Pulwama attack?

Q2. How did the Times of India frame the Pulwama attack?

Q3. What are the similarities and differences in the framing of the Pulwama attack in both newspapers?

Q4. What are the dominant sources and references used by both newspapers in the coverage of the Pulwama attack?

#### **1.6 Significance of the Study**

According to the author (Ganguly, Smetana, Abdullah, & Karmazin, 2019), the attack in 2016 named as Uri attack, and the Pulwama attack happened in 2019 created a lot of mess up in Kashmir. The terrorist attack in Jammu and Kashmir created the center stage for Kashmir in which the South Asian corner of two neighbors was facing a lot of issues on the ground of Kashmir. The research has seen that the media was scarred by the terror of publishing the information regarding these two attacks in the newspapers or on television. In the political analysis, this issue has involved the frames, which must show through the performance where people can understand the emotions and sentiments as the practices of the culture and assembling its effective economy.

Furthermore, in 1999 negotiations were done between two parties named Taliban and New Delhi which working on the shadow over the country's Indian perception of the group. At that time, the activities joint which was based on a Pakistani outfit named Harakat-ul-Mujahideen actually hijacked the Indian commercial plane and forced it to land in the province of Kandahar which is located in Afghanistan. The government of the Taliban facilitates the

criminal exchange that gives way to the release of the extremist leader named Masood Azhar. After the release of the above-stated ground, the leader Azahr founded the JeM, which is also known as Jaish-e-Mohammad. That group attacked the parliament of India in December 2001.

Moreover, in 2016 the JeM group attacked the Indian airbase whereas in February 2019 it has been claimed that it was the worst terrorist act which has committed in the three decades by the Indian administration of Kashmir. Later on, the UN authorized the Azhar for the terrorist-supporting act, which has been; remain in a large proportion of Pakistan along with the agencies of security. In this, JeM was playing a minor role in the Taliban which was purely against Kabul and afterward the group broke and backed Pakistan in 2001 on the ground of the US offensive on Afghanistan.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

The explanation of this study is based on the ground that there are certain aspects of social and political reality shown by media. Political communication scholars argued that the elites of a nation believe that it is highly important to reflect only certain aspects of social and political truth, (Raina, 2011). Following the current trend of news gathering news organizations prefers to report the political agenda of elites even if they are not regulated by the state or are independent. News outlets are most likely to rely on the government for political updates.

This study tries to examine the print media coverage of the Pulwama attack in Pakistan and India. It is an attempt to find out the patterns of coverage in understudied newspapers on the Pulwama attack. The study also identifies the sources and references used by both newspapers' websites in reporting the Pulwama attack.

### **2.1 Media in Pakistan and India**

Pakistan and India, both nations have powerful mass media which is passionately engaged in the circulation of information from around the globe. Both nations have privately owned news outlets independent of being regulated by the state. Kux (2006) examines that the electronic and print media reflect the official perspectives in their coverage. Media is catered by a government spokesperson in both countries concerning two-sided negotiation. The situation of a free press in Pakistan has changed after the arrival of satellite television in the 1990s, now there are extended coverage and broadcast systems. The citizens of India and Pakistan have approached twenty-four-hour sources of information. Sonwalkar (2002) claims that India has

maintained a record of commitment to a free press and set the example of being democratic in the developing world.

In traditional Asian society, the Indian press is as free as any other press. It had accomplished bringing an innovative spark to the Indian press. The Indian press is free to a great extent, (Mitton, 2000). The frame and scope of the press in India indicate its major role in democracy and public life, although due to the high illiteracy rate, it is also an important means of communication. Only educated powers have command of written words for the majority it is out of reach (Sonwalkar 2002).

The press has always been significant among state elites, like bureaucrats. Industrialists, landowners, political intellectuals, and business executives highly influenced the middle class of India. The progression of Indian media took place in the 1990's it has evolved technologically, structurally, and professionally. Raina (2011), states that the growth in media has unfolded the perspective of journalism and brought changes in editorial practices. In India, the evolution of corporate culture has distanced the press from its social duty by giving priority to marketing factors. Now news has been seen as a product, not less than toothpaste or soap. This turn reflects a change in the economy of India.

According to Rao (2009), being a private and liberal economy, the Indian media embrace global news set up to make news more entertaining. The print industry in India is thriving so fast and giving tough competition to the newspaper industry. Publishers and media companies trying to market their newspapers in smaller and competing cities to enlarge their readership. The content of Indian media becoming more directed to the market, today Indian media is passing through an impressive change in terms of consumerism (Murthy et al, 2010).

Most Indians assumed that they have a free press than Pakistan, on the other side there's also no doubt that they have stronger democracy than Pakistan but when a Pakistani journalist, Cyril Almeida unfolded that when he wrote the story in which he mentioned embarrassed Pakistani force and got banned from traveling. Later, India's press boasts about it. In Pakistan, the press trembled in outrage. Journalists, newspapers, social media, and Almeida's colleagues raised their voices at his oppression. Eventually, the ban was removed, (The Economist, 2016). Cyril Almeida is a well-known journalist for reporting serious issues like the border crisis between India and Pakistan. On the other side of the border, India has never examined the government's actions critically, instead, they contend to initiate war desperately.

A reputable news channel NDTV, known for its soberness broadcasted an interview with their former finance minister, Mr. Chidambaram stating that

the last government had to get back to Pakistan but due to less attention than the current one, suddenly, somehow the channel had canceled the show. Later it was argued by an executive that it's not necessary to bring up every part of nonsense and to provide a stage for wrong allegations, (The Economist, 2016). Indian media, without any official statement by the Indian government, reports that approx. 300 terrorists were killed. Pakistan rejected later these claims defining the place as a deserted wooded area hence no damage on the ground (APP, 2019). The Post article said that this contrariety is just one example of misinformation disseminated to the audience through highly faulty media reports.

According to Bhatti (2009), freedom of expression or opinion is the utmost element of every democratic country. Democracy and media freedom are correlated, without a free press no democracy can grow well and no autocracy can strengthen its power and influence for long with a free press. Media is a tight lead that acts as a propaganda machine for the interest of authoritarian regimes. False and fake news is another tool of the anti-democratic forces to deal with original news.

Taking notes on freedom of opinion or press, Pakistan has a place. Pakistani media or journalists specifically have sacrificed or tried their best in pursuit of truth. Journalists have made day and night efforts to shape the future of journalism. They have been struggling long to secure their freedom from those trying to steal it.

The darkest era of journalism is Zia ul Haq's tenure. The author Ahfaz Ur Rahman documented in his book *Sab Se Bari Jang* (The Biggest War) about massive brutalities against journalists that happened in 1977-8. There was a time when the journalist was put under lock and scourged. There are three other books *The Press in China*, *The Web of Censorship*, and *The Press Under Siege* by Zamir Niazi tell the struggle and incidents of journalists. In the era of Gen Pervaiz Musharaf, real freedom was granted to the media which was unexpected. Through this, he justified his autocratic rule to pursue enlightened moderation. It was the media that eventually actually became Frankenstein's monster for him. On November 03, 2007, he imposed an emergency and all media channels were shut down, (Bhatti 2009).

Furthermore, he states that in India, Indira Gandhi imposed an emergency on June 26, 1975, through which Indian media faced the worst censorship and the freedom of the press was affected. It was India's darkest period for the country and particularly for their newspaper. The contributing editor of *The Indian Express* puts in her book that an emergency had been announced in the country, leaders had been arrested, and press censorship had also been imposed at that time I realized that we are part of a dictatorship.

The great Indian journalist late Kuldip Nayar wrote in his own autobiography that his weekly column in The Indian Express was held up by Indira and he was set back like other journalists.

The editor of The Indian Express Raj Kamal Jha spoke in front of Prime Minister Narendra Modi after winning the Excellence in journalism award on November 2, 2016. He said that there is no end to good journalism; it's getting better even, bad journalism is just too loud as it used to be five years ago and I think that is why remote control should get an award for excellence in journalism. These powerful words are worth remembering (Ethical Journalism Network, 2016).

## **2.2 Kashmir Issue and Pak-Indian Press**

This study was conducted by Fozia Perveen and Shahzad Ali in 2015 on the representation of the Kashmir issue in mainstream newspapers of India and Pakistan they conclude that both countries have set a positive agenda on the Kashmir issue in their print media. Newspapers of both countries highlighted the issue in light of their foreign policy. Similarly, the study also shows that newspapers of both countries have ignored the professional benchmark of journalism and taken the account of their national interest as a priority. The findings of the issue also reflect the factor of responsibility and projection of national propaganda instead of a critical attitude towards the government. As media is the open mic of government so the elites in the country make the most of the dominant factors. There are fewer chances of media biases on issues based on national agreements.

The research was conducted in (2004) on the framing of the Kashmir conflict in US print media coverage. The research was conducted by Ray Durga and was based on the dominant frames that present conflict in terms of war that can provoke nuclear wars. The study highlights the point that India, Pakistan, and Kashmir are distinguished by their religious identities, Pakistani and Kashmiris as Muslims and Indians as Hindus. According to this research, the Kashmir case has been covered inappropriately by Indian media to deformation of realities to secure their national interest.

In 2018 research was conducted by Saqib Riaz, Babar Husain Shah, and Shakil Ahmed on the Kashmir issue they found that for the last seven decades, Kashmir has been the major conflict between India and Pakistan. In both countries, the media covered these issues based on their defined framework and descriptions. In building a narrative and public perception media plays a major role, this study examined the coverage of print media in India and Pakistan regarding the Kashmir issue. The study explored the most influential frames for the conflict used by the leading press of both countries. The study



also revised the design of previous press groups that gave coverage to this issue. The study found that as compared to India, Pakistani media has given more coverage to the issue by using commending frames, whereas it was also seen that Indian print media presented unfavorable frames in their coverage. Pakistani media considered the reasons for the conflict and behavior of Kashmiri people towards this dispute by presenting a complex image of the issue. Media of Pakistan validated the freedom movement that was later framed as the Kashmiri Freedom Struggle, whereas, in Indian print media Kashmiri freedom was showcased as militant groups fighting for the disaffiliation of Kashmir.

Information warfare is everywhere, the issues attain attention through the propagation of narratives in the sense of present political diplomacy. To bring peace, it's a matter of a few hours to know how Pakistani and Indian media covered the issue with all its prominence.

Dr. Anjum Zia and Hajrah Syedah researched the use of print media in conflict resolution and peacebuilding in 2015, they concluded that Pakistan and India are two independent nations and Kashmir is the major conflict between them. There is a trend of communally biased media that creates hindrances in every move made for the resolution of the dispute. It had come to light that the respective governments of India and Pakistan use media in terms of official stances related to the Kashmir issue that shapes the minds of the public accordingly. The UN mediator McNaughton stated that if the Kashmir issue remains unresolved then it's a threat to peace in the region. He added it would be a void situation for the military and economy of the countries if the dispute of Kashmir was never resolved.

According to the International Crisis Group Report 2003, the government of Pakistan has controlled the media coverage of the Kashmir issue. Similarly, most Indian newspapers hold up on the viewpoint of the government of India. India's media never supports an independent approach they always propagate every issue in the stance of their own favor. Media is a collaborative tool in simplifying the framing of the Kashmir issue as terrorism. The Kashmir issue has been a focal point for several UN resolutions and internationally recognized since 1947, this issue has implications for global peace and security. It is found that every year there are several books are published about the dispute and every book has its own dimension about it which is later added to the Kashmir bibliography. Kashmir's Issue and its resolution have always been a part of the discussion but the media's role in its resolution has been ignored. At the time of no technological advancements media plays a role in resolving the issue. The modern press coverage of the Kashmir conflict seems to be inappropriate, there have been several dialogues

between Pakistan and India but it never reached to the accomplishment of the peace process and faced obstacles.

In 2010 a study by Lee discovered that there is a strong journalism war framing while reporting of Kashmir issue by Indian and Pakistani media. Moreover, it was mentioned that India and Pakistan always have the state of being actively hostile, fighting two wars over Kashmir that brought light to the peace process for a short time.

## **2.3 News Framing**

This study is based on the Framing Theory to study the news frames used by both newspapers' websites on the Pulwama attack. Other Media Theories can also be linked with this study, such as Gatekeeping Theory, Cultivation Theory, and Propaganda Theory. The researcher has a clear understanding of the above-mentioned media theories.

The news narrative is created through the process of framing, the information circulated among citizens through media always revolves around a particular narrative because of political, economic professional, or other reasons. News is manufactured and conveniently doesn't represent the whole truth. Framing is the art of bringing text and visuals together to reveal reality to readers or viewers. Frames provide models to individuals so that they can distinguish and describe events taking place in the world (Goffman, 1974). He also claims that frame is the process of understanding information that represents everyday occurrence, it is known that frames are not created but they are evolved based on knowledge and experiences within groups and communities. There are several processes of framing; framing occurs at four different levels, cultural level is considered the most important concept of theory commonly found in minds. Frames are also found in the forms of communication, communication that can vary from literature to entertainment. A way to describe the power of communication always derives from the concept of framing. The study of frames declares that human sensibility is influenced by the communication of information (Entman 1993). Over a defined period "the framing of a given issue can be aligned along a continuous sequence from dominance by one frame to complete deadlock between contend frames" (Entman 2004). It becomes difficult when particularly one potential frame dominates the media and the receiver of the frames finds it challenging to decode these frames. There's always one particular frame that is engraved in our memory as a remembrance of a particular incident.

Framing refers to the process in which people conceptualize the issue or make their opinion about an issue. The major assumption about framing is that any issue can be seen from various angles and can be shaped according

to consideration and multiple values. Through Framing the mass media presents information in a disturbing manner, this is the power of media that through framing they can organize ideologies easily (Gitlin 1980). The transformation of information into news stories is framing that is written for the audience. That made them appreciate events, culture, religion etc. (Goffman 1974). A frame is created when important elements become dominant which also affects journalists who report situations smartly, the story seems to be one-dimensional when it is dominant in that way (Entman 1989). As a result, a dominant ideology emerges as common sense (Gitlin 1980).

The foundation of the theory argues that media tells its audience what is important and how to think about incidents in the world (Brown, 2002). Framing is based on the acceptance of how the issue is present in a news story and how it is influenced and is perceived by the audience (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Framing is defined as the process of putting reality into the frame by media (Watson and Hill, 2000). According to communication scholars whatever is published in newspapers or magazines is usually considered out of frame as a narrative device is the reason behind framing. On the other hand, it is said that news frames make the audience grasp reality and select the correct stock of arguments (Gitlin 1980). Gitlin further explains that the framing device is the consistent pattern of awareness, presentation, exclusion, and interpretation (Gitlin 1980).

### **3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This chapter explains the method used by the researcher to carry out the study. In this study, the researcher used the quantitative content analysis method to examine the patterns of news coverage by Pakistani and Indian print media on the Pulwama attack.

Content analysis is a method that aims to produce a "Clear perception" it is well suited to deal with the large body of mass media. The purpose of choosing the content analysis method is to examine the salient and manifest features of a large number of texts, and the statistics are used to make broader inferences about a large number of texts (Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock 1999).

To use quantitative content analysis effectively, the researcher needs to be clear from the beginning about what it is that one is interested in investigating. Content analysis is an extremely directive method, it gives answers to the question one poses. It can only support, qualify or refute the researcher's questions.

### **3.1 Design of the Study**

To study the news narrative that prevailed after the Pulwama attack, the researcher studied the news coverage of the Pakistani English newspaper, *Daily Dawn*, and the Indian English newspaper, *Times of India* for the time frame February 14, 2019, to March 31, 2019. The researcher recovered relevant news stories from Daily DAWN and Times of India by using the search term, "*Pulwama Terror Attack*". For authenticity researcher used the websites of both newspapers for the collection of news stories.

### **3.2 Rationale of the Study**

These two newspapers were selected based on their nationwide readership, news content, and online access to their news archives. Both newspapers are part of the mainstream English press in each country. *Daily Dawn* is the symbol for identifying major issues related to society (Long, 2017). This is the reason that major research foundations in Pakistan have used the news forecasted by *Daily Dawn* to analyze social, political, and international issues (Gallup and Gillani Pakistan, 2018). *Times of India* is a leading Indian English-language newspaper, widely read throughout India.

### **3.3 Methodology Components**

The coding sheet is designed from the perspective of the last study which was on the "Mumbai Terror Attack", which was conducted in January 2011. The researcher used this coding sheet in his study, before using this sheet the researcher did a pilot test which was based on 10% of the news stories collected in both newspapers. Some changes in the coding sheet were made according to the perspective and scenario of this current study. To test the research questions, the researcher used a coding sheet that focused on the following variables:

1. News Frame
2. References
3. News Source

## **4. FINDINGS**

After data collection and organization, the researcher discovered different aspects highlighting the treatment of the issue by the selected newspapers. Following is a detailed account of these findings:

Figure 01: Dominant Frames in Dawn, 14 February to 31 March 2019, (N= 109)

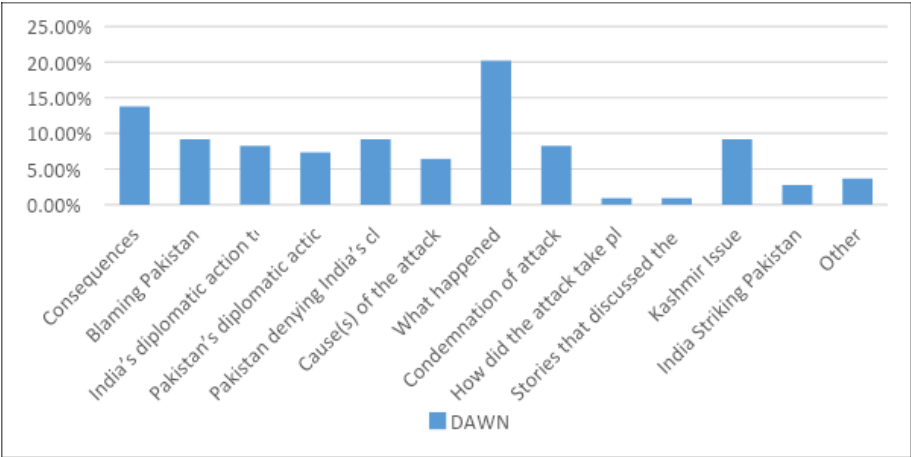


Figure 01 shows the dominant frames on the Pulwama attack have been analyzed in Dawn newspaper from 14 February 2019 to 31 March 2019. The Consequences frame published in Dawn newspaper is 13.76%. The framing of Blaming Pakistan is 9.17%, and the coverage of India's diplomatic action towards attack is 8.25%. Pakistan's diplomatic action is 7.33%, Pakistan's denying India's claim is 9.17%, and causes of attack are 6.42%. Whereas what happened in Pulwama is covered by Dawn newspaper to the extent of 20.18%, condemnation of the attack is 8.25%. How did the attack place has been framed only 0.91%. The stories that discussed attacks are also 0.91%. Kashmir issue was represented in Dawn by 9.17%, framing of Indian striking Pakistan is 2.75% and other frames are 3.66%, the other frames are described as which frames are not included in the chart.

Figure 02: Dominant Frames in Times of India, 14 February to 31 March 2019, (N = 301)

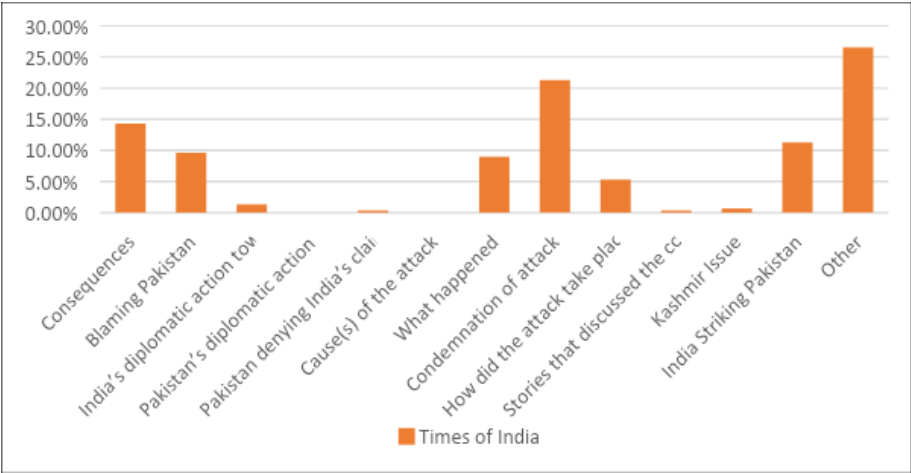


Figure 02 shows the highlighted frames in the coverage of Times of India on the Pulwama attack from 14 February 2019 to 31 March 2019. The frame Consequences published in the Times of India are 14%. Whereas the Indian newspaper, Times of India used the blaming Pakistan frame is 9.63%, the news coverage of India's diplomatic action towards attack is 1.32%. Pakistan's diplomatic action is 0%, Pakistan's denying India's claim is 0.33%, and causes of attack are 0%. Whereas what happened in Pulwama is covered by Times of India to the extent of 8.97%, condemnation of the attack is 21.26%. How the attack took place has been framed only 5.31%. The stories that discussed attacks are also 0.33%. Kashmir issue was represented in Indian newspaper is 0.66%, framing of Indian striking Pakistan is 11.29% and other frames are 26.57%, the other frames is described as those frames which are not included in designed coding sheet.

**Figure 03: References used in Dawn and Times of India, 14 February to 31 March 2019**

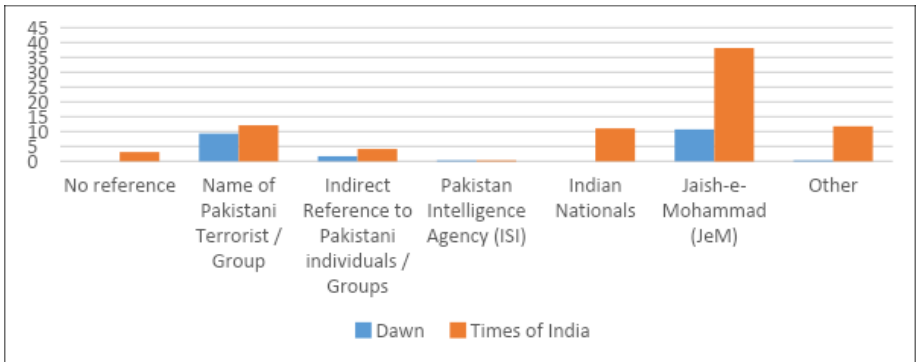


Figure 03 shows the frequency of references in daily Dawn and Times of India from 14 February 2019 to 31 March 2019 has been analyzed by forming variables which are as follows:

- No reference
- Name of Pakistani terrorist / Group
- Indirect Reference to Pakistani individuals / Groups
- Pakistan Intelligence Agency (ISI)
- Indian Nationals
- Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM)
- Other

By analyzing both Indian and Pakistani newspapers i.e. Daily Dawn from Pakistan and Times of India from India. The news stories published in both newspapers without mentioning any references are 0% in Dawn and in

Times of India is 3.12%. The reference to Pakistani terrorists or groups in Dawn newspaper is 9.37% whereas in Times of India it is 12.15, Indirect reference to Pakistani groups in Dawn newspaper is 1.73% whereas, in Times of India, it is 4.16%. The reference to the Pakistani intelligence agency (ISI) is 0.34% in Dawn and 0.34% in Times of India, the reference to Indian nationals is only covered by Times of India which is 14.34%. The most important variable, Jaish-e-Muhmmad (JeM) referred to by Dawn newspaper is 10.76% and it is 38.19% in the Times of India. Other references on the Pulwama attack in Dawn newspaper are 0.34% ,whereas in Times of India, it is 11.8%.

**Figure 04: News Sources in Dawn and Times of India, 14 February to 31 March 2019**

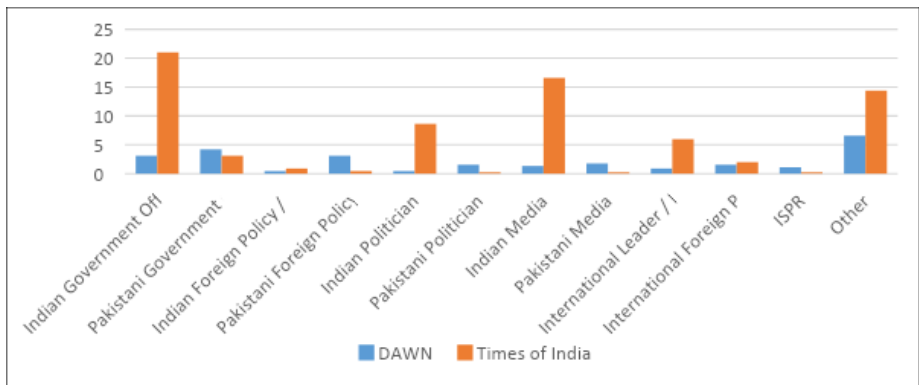


Figure 04 shows the frequency of News Sources on the Pulwama attack in Dawn and Times of India from 14 February 2019 to 31 March 2019 has been analyzed by forming different variables which are as follows:

- Indian Government Officials
- Pakistani Government Officials
- Indian Foreign Policy / Defense expert
- Pakistani Foreign Policy / Defense expert
- Indian Politician
- Pakistani Politician
- Indian Media
- Pakistani Media
- International Leader / International Government Official
- International Foreign Policy Expert / International Media Agency
- ISPR
- Other

The news sources regarding Indian government officials were 3.09% in Dawn and 21.01% in Times of India, whereas news sources of Pakistani government officials were 4.2% in Dawn and 3.09% in Times of India. The news sources of Indian foreign Policy and Defense in Dawn are 0.44% and it is 0.88% in Times of India. The Pakistan foreign Policy and Defense in Dawn are 3.09% and in Times of India that is 0.44%. Another important variable is Indian Politicians' news sources were 0.44% in Dawn and 8.62% in Times of India whereas Pakistani Politician's news sources were 1.54% in Dawn and 0.22% in Times of India. News sources of Indian media used by Dawn are 1.32% and 16.59% are used by Times of India, whereas Pakistani media was 1.76% in Dawn newspaper and only 0.22% in Times of India. News sources related to international leader covered by Dawn was 0.88% and 5.97% by Times of India. The international foreign policy experts category in Dawn was 1.54% and 1.99% in Times of India. The coverage of news sources from ISPR by Dawn newspaper was 1.1% and 0.22% by Times of India. Other news sources were 6.58% in Dawn and 14.38% in Times of India.

**Figure 05: Week-wise frequency of news stories published in Dawn and Times of India, 14 February to 31 March 2019**

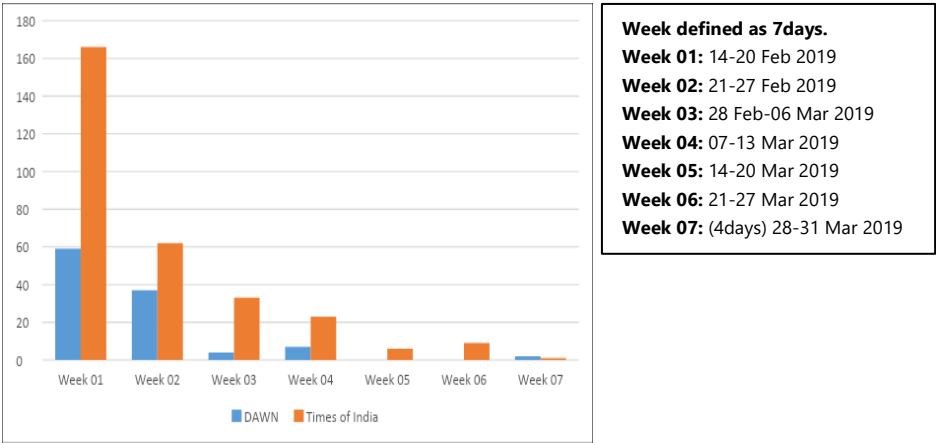


Figure 05 shows the frequencies of news stories on the Pulwama attack has been analyzed in both newspapers i.e. Dawn and Times of India week-wise. In the 1<sup>st</sup> week i.e. 14-20 February 2019 the news stories published on the Pulwama attack in Dawn newspaper were 59 and 168 in Times of India. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> week, i.e. 21-27 February 2019 the coverage of the Pulwama attack in Dawn was 38 news stories and 60 in Times of India. The 3<sup>rd</sup> week was from 28 February to 06 March 2019, the overall coverage by Dawn is 5% and 35% by



Times of India. In the 4<sup>th</sup> week i.e. 7-13 March 2019, Dawn newspaper published 8 news stories on the Pulwama attack whereas Times of India published 25 news stories. In the 5<sup>th</sup> week i.e. 14-20 March 2019, there was no news story on the Pulwama attack in Dawn newspaper but the Times of India covered 5 news stories and in the 6<sup>th</sup> week 10 news stories were published in the Times of India. The coverage on the 7<sup>th</sup> week including 4 days was 3% by Dawn and 1% by Times of India.

## 5. Discussion

The findings are procured by examining the content of news stories from the Pakistani newspaper, *Daily Dawn*, an Indian newspaper, and the *Times of India*. The researcher has yielded the outcomes from the newspaper and has arranged them based on news frames that command the coverage of each newspaper.

It can be determined that the initial research questions of the study were answered. The framing of the Pulwama attack by the *Daily Dawn* newspaper is neutral. It only represents the facts in a way that they only inform the audience about the incident without any negativity. *Daily Dawn* reported the consequences of the attack, blame, the diplomacy of both countries, denial, Causes, condemnation, and most of all the Kashmir issue quite moderately. Whereas, the Indian newspaper, *Times of India* chooses the frames that sensationalize the incident and promote the negative side of the news story among the audiences, *Times of India* reported the same consequences of the attack, blames, the diplomacy of both the countries, denial, Causes, condemnation and most of all the Kashmir issue in quite an opposite manner. The total blame and cause of the attack are directed toward Pakistan. They in their stories presented a one-sided claim that portrays the adverse effects of the incident.

The portrayal of the Pulwama attack by both newspapers was very different. *Time of India* gave very much hype to the issue negatively, blamed Pakistan's intelligence agency ISI, highlighted the Kashmir issue, and struck Pakistan harshly instead of covering the whole attack with the basic ethics of journalism.

*Times of India* took references to Pakistani terrorists or groups like Jaish-e-Muhammad without any proof and exaggerated the whole incident whereas *Daily Dawn* newspaper kept calm, the news stories of Dawn were based on facts and they used official statements and sensibly presented the story. The weekly analysis of the incident by both newspapers revealed that Indian media kept sensationalizing the incident whereas Pakistani media gave coverage of the incident for three weeks only.

## **6. CONCLUSION**

As Goffman (1974) witness frames are *cognitive structures* that direct the image of everyday actions. These frames do not grow in remoteness but are shaped based on themes and involvements that are measured as shared knowledge within a group or community. If the print media in each country must have tried to make known a new frame to narrate the story through the attacks, the readers seem to be less motivated to read such stories. This is because it would have taken them some time to distinguish the new frame and assume it as a different compliant frame of which they are now aware of. The study on political communication advocates that media can play a vital role in shaping public insights. Thus, if the media subsidize the rising tension by being disrupted and not objective, that can have an impact on the vision of exchanging the peace discussions and taking onward the peace process.

As Matheson (2005) advises there is no war without the dialog of war. Correspondingly, this could be argued that there will be no peace without peace talks. If the observation of the *other* becomes positive there is a probability of the public being more compliant with the peace and hard work that the two nations try to support consensual relations. Accordingly, media in the two countries have the supremacy to divide and fix, separate as well and manufacture individual personalities and observations.

The research concludes that the print media of India and Pakistan is dominated by enemy narrative, throughout the Pulwama attack and even after the attack. The findings of the study show that the Indian print media (Times of India) covered and presented the clashes of both neighboring countries in a negative and provoking manner whereas Pakistani media (Daily Dawn) neutralized the incident and focused on facts only. The frames chosen by Indian media promote sensationalism in the audience.

Media can play a prominent and pivotal role in stabilizing the situation and can portray the incident without any sensationalism to help create peace between the countries but the profiteering mindset of Indian media always finds ways to take various controversial incidents to its hype.

## **7. Recommendations**

There is a lack of study that pays attention to the part that media can play in encouraging peace in conflicted areas. There is barely any study that emphasizes the role that media in India and Pakistan can play in helping the peace process and firming bilateral bonds between the two countries. This thesis has conceivably rested an outline for such research in the upcoming era. Rao (2019) has explained that there is an increasing trend of manipulating, through words, and controlling the minds of the reader by circulating selected

information. In this way, an attempt is made to create an environment of bias amongst the masses. This approach of the newsgroups, especially in the electronic media, must be curtailed, due to the reason such a form of bias creates lots of misunderstandings on the part of the masses (Feyyaz, 2019), and also often results in the creation of a divide amongst the people of the country.

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