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## **Coverage of Pakistani tribal areas conflict: Prospects of peace journalism**

*Kurzfassung:* Die Berichterstattung zweier englischsprachiger, pakistanischer Tageszeitungen über den Konflikt in den pakistanischen Stammesgebieten lässt signifikante Variationen der Indikatoren für Kriegs- und Friedensjournalismus erkennen. Insgesamt fanden sich im Durchschnitt mehr kriegs- als friedensjournalistische Elemente. Trotz unterschiedlicher ideologischer Ausrichtung der beiden Zeitungen, waren die Berichterstattungsmuster in beiden Zeitungen dieselben. Innerhalb des Kriegsjournalismus zeigten sich signifikante Unterschiede zwischen den berichteten Ereignissen und zwischen den Textgenres. Im Lichte von Theorie und Kontext diskutiert, lassen sich aus den Ergebnissen Vorschläge für friedensjournalistische Interventionen ableiten. Die Dominanz des friedensjournalistischen Indikators „Ursachen und Folgen“ scheint Raum für die Analyse von Konflikt dynamiken zu versprechen.

*Abstract:* Conflict coverage of Pakistani tribal areas from two Pakistani English-language newspapers demonstrated significance of variations on indicators of war and peace journalism. Overall, the mean on war journalism was significantly higher than peace journalism. Despite dissimilar newspapers' ideologies, the reporting patterns were the same across newspapers. The mean differences within war journalism were significant across events and types of stories. The findings discussed in the light of theory and context suggested areas of interventions for peace journalism. The dominance of peace journalism indicator, "causes and consequences", is promising in a way to create a space for analysis of the conflict dynamics.

### **1. Introduction**

Substantial research debates suggest the importance of the role that the media, especially the news media, can play in peace processes. The way media highlight the resolution has significant effect on the way conflict can be dealt with (Becker, 2004). Political leaders use their understanding of the news for developing counterstrategies (Hackett, 2007). Taken from the perspective of basic cultural processes, connections between war and the media are deeply rooted (Hackett, 1991). During war, media act as a battlefield, a combatant, a target, a weapon and a source of intelligence (Hackett, 2007). According to Wolfsfeld (2004), the media can be central in promoting peace by stressing its benefits, by increasing the credibility of leaders and people endeavoring for peace and by altering the enemy image. In contrast to this, the actual patterns of media reporting are viewed as more on the destructive side. The focus of the media and peace research is to see how media can be used for conflict prevention and de-escalation (Luostarinen, 2002; McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000; Lynch, 2013). Considering the significant role of media reporting, which at times determines the nature, strength and direction of conflicts' impact at regional and global levels, the analysis of the media coverage can provide an insight into the way conflict is presented.

The objective of the present research was to evaluate the coverage of tribal areas conflicts on indicators of war and peace journalism by selecting coverage items from two leading English newspapers (Shah, 2010) of Pakistan: *Dawn* and *The News*. *Dawn* is considered a high quality and balanced newspaper and its op-eds and editorials are considered as authentic reference material (Ghuman, 2015). *The News* is a high circulation newspaper, which is known for its pro- and anti-government bias based on the publisher's political affiliation with the sitting government.

Four significant conflict events, from the years 2004 to 2008, reflecting the transitional nature of the conflict in the tribal areas were chosen for the analysis. These included Wana Operation, Waziri-Uzbek Fight, War in Waziristan and Loyalist fight. By evaluating the presentation of indicators of war and peace journalism across newspapers, story types, events and their linkages with contextual factors, this study aimed at broadening the perspective on practical implications of peace journalism. The analysis was further used to make appropriate recommendations for promotion of peace through journalism.

### **2. Covering conflict and war: The peace journalism perspective**

Peace journalism pioneer, Johan Galtung, denounced the mainstream journalism for its inclination towards war. His contention with the way news media portray war and conflict was based on several grounds: focus on violence and propaganda, highlighting the causes backed by the elite and establishment notions, and reducing the reality construction of the conflict in terms of its victory and defeat orientation (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Peace journalism evolved at conceptual and professional level in the past few decades and is now seen as a distinct approach by theorists and media professionals (Becker, 1982; Hackett & Gruneau, 2000; Galtung 2000; Höjjer, Nohrstedt, & Ottosen, 2002; Bläsi, 2004). It includes a solid framework to study complex and competing frames

to construct debate and set of strategies to improve media coverage (Kempf, 2003; Knightley, 2000; Lynch & Goldrick, 2005a). Many scholars came up to explain the term peace journalism, its prospects (Keeble, 2001; Gibbs & Warhover, 2002; Tehranian, 2002a; Tehranian, 2002b; Wolfsfeld, 2004; Lynch, 2013; Aslam, 2016) and provided the epistemological basis to the theory (Lee & Maslog, 2006; Fahmy & Eakin, 2014; Anderson, 2015; Tenenboim-Weinblatt, Hanitzsch, & Nagar, 2016). However, there is also a group of scholars who questioned its distinctiveness, expressed their concerns on the theoretical basis and practical aspects of peace journalism, and disapproved it as a mere reinvention of the wheel (Fawcett, 2002; Loyn, 2007a; Loyn, 2007b).

Countering this criticism, peace journalism advocates (Lynch, 2013) argued that the lens of peace journalism actually provides strong background and context of conflict formation rather than focusing on violence and propaganda. Consequently, it makes media sources, processes, and effects more pertinent. It offers the opportunity of looking at diverse views, and the coverage of the perspectives of all parties involved in the conflict. Its focus is to present the conflict as a problem to be solved (Peleg, 2007). The scholars believe that instead of focusing on zero-sum orientation it is required to have a sensitive and win-win approach. The focus should be on a need to consider the context; to identify the parties involved; to examine their stakes, to distinguish between stated and underlying demands, to identify voices which are working for non-violent solutions and creative approaches for transforming and transcending lines of the conflict (Shinar, 2009).

Erosy (2004) stressed that deliberate distortion in news reporting act as a trigger of violent conflict by aggravating the tension between oppositional groups. The bases for peace journalism are: a balanced approach, accommodating attitude for news selection and appropriate way of language use in reporting of conflict events (Ersoy, 2006b). It is a socially responsible journalism (Bandakov, 2006) which makes the problem transparent (Ersoy, 2006b) establishes empathy, prevents violence and creates awareness which contributes (Shinar, 2007a) to peace promotion and maintenance.

Hanitzsch (2004a; 2004b; 2007) and Loyn (2003; 2007a; 2007b) however, criticized peace journalism for its incompatibility with the journalistic norms. They believe that the focus of the media should be on presenting the observed reality without any alteration of content and its framing. On the other hand, the proponents of peace journalism emphasize that the media should not act as detached and unobtrusive observers but as participants in the conflict cycle. However, this participatory role has to be that of a mediator rather than furthering personal agendas through promotion and imposition of specific solutions by journalists (Kempf, 2016).

War journalism contributed significantly to negative globalized impact of conflicts, due to its focus on violence, elite orientation, propaganda and disharmony (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000; Lee & Maslog, 2005). Using Galtung's classification of peace journalism (1986; 1998), Lee and Maslog (2005) categorized the news coverage of conflicts as war vs peace journalism frame by employing quantitative methodology. By choosing coverage patterns of four conflict events in different Asian newspapers on indicators of war vs peace journalism, they buildt a case for promotion of peace journalism. They observed that, among the selected events, more indicators of war journalism were found in the coverage of Kashmir issue in Pakistani and Indian newspapers. They observed more space for peace journalism in the coverage of Mindanao conflict and the Tamil Tiger movement by the Philippine and Sri Lankan newspapers respectively. At the same time, the dominant indicators within peace journalism were less of interventionist nature and more of descriptive kind. This pattern raised questions about actual space for peace journalism in news coverage of conflicts and possible reasons for it. In this context, it is important to evaluate reporting patterns of different news agencies through the lens of war and peace journalism. This would not only advance understanding about theoretical underpinnings of peace journalism but would also provide prospects of peace journalism in regions which are suffering from the perpetual effects of such wars and conflicts.

Through selected events from the tribal areas conflict, the present study endeavors to answer the following research questions to further understanding of theory and practice of peace journalism and its role in promoting peace:

*RQ1: Does the pre-established indicators of war and peace journalism sufficiently tap the various aspects of war and peace journalism in case of tribal area conflicts news coverage?*

*RQ2: What are the dominant frames of journalism and patterns of presentation of the indicators of war and peace journalism in selected stories?*

*RQ3: Are there significant differences in frames of journalism across newspapers, events and types of stories?*

*RQ4: Is there an association between type and length of story with frames of journalism?*

The overarching goal is to see the prospects and role of peace journalism, and to identify points of intervention by discussing the findings in the light of peace journalism theory and contextual factors.

### 3. Method

The content analysis of 234 coverage items, from two prominent English-language newspapers of Pakistan i.e. *The News* and *Dawn*, was conducted to identify their war and peace journalism orientation. These coverage items were about four major events occurring between the years 2004 and 2008, namely: Wana Operation, Waziri-Uzbek Fight, War in Waziristan and Loyesam Fight.

#### 3.1 Background of the selected events.

Throughout history, the tribal areas held international value due to their geo-strategic importance (Ahmed, 1978). In the early 80s, with Pakistan-US alliance, these areas were considered to play a significant role in dismantling a former world power, the Soviet Union. However, the presence of American and allied forces in Afghanistan, in 2001, had its ripple effect in these areas. Starting with the deployment of Pakistan Army in 2003, the armed conflict between the Pakistan Army and the militant groups in the tribal areas had gone through different phases. Rapid shifts were observed in affiliations of local people and the Pakistan Army with militant groups involved in conflict. The ground situation kept on changing at a fast pace. Within four years, the conflict spread from Waziristan to Bajaur and had a strong impact on different cities across Pakistan.

The first-ever armed intervention by the Pakistan Army in the tribal areas was the Wana Operation (also called Battle of Wana), on 16<sup>th</sup> March, 2004 at AzamWarsak near Wana, a town in South Waziristan. The aim of the operation was to capture Al-Qaeda members escaping into the Pakistani tribal areas across the Pak-Afghan border. According to Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) (2004), 166 militants including 93 Pakistani tribesmen and 73 foreigners were captured. The reported casualties in the operation included: 63 militants, and 46 soldiers whereas 26 soldiers were reportedly wounded in the operation. The operation ended on 24<sup>th</sup> March, 2004. However, it started the armed conflict in the tribal areas.

The successive period of conflict saw escalated militancy in the tribal areas. In 2007, armed struggle gained a new dimension. The rift between the local tribesmen and foreign militants over killing of an Al-Qaeda linked Arab, Saiful Adil, led to the Waziri-Uzbek Fight on 18<sup>th</sup> March. The local militants and tribesmen demanded the Uzbeks either to leave, or to disarm. The number of killed and injured was not confirmed through independent sources, however, the casualties included children as well (BBC News, 2007). The ceasefire was announced on 13<sup>th</sup> April, 2007. The media coverage highlighted this fight to show the divide of local and foreign militants. However, this internal rift had not contributed much for building trust between local militants and the Pakistan Army.

On 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2007, Red Mosque (also known as *Lal Masjid*), came under siege in the capital city Islamabad. The pretext of the siege was the kidnapping of foreigners and the introduction of a parallel judicial system by the *Jamia Hafsa*, the madrassa, adjacent to the mosque (Dawn, 2007b; Raza, 2007). The exact number of casualties under the siege remained unconfirmed (Dawn, 2007c) which raised many speculations and concerns. This event was used as an excuse from the militants in the tribal areas to formally broke the truce which was already dysfunctional. Three consecutive suicide attacks after the siege led to the war in Waziristan on 24<sup>th</sup> July 2007. This war got massive coverage and lasted till 24<sup>th</sup> August 2007. This was an important event because after Red Mosque incident there were speculations even within the Pakistan Army over whether they are fighting with the militants or with their own fellow citizens (Rashid, 2007). The following periods contributed to a further escalation of the conflict.

By the year 2008, the armed conflict had spread throughout the tribal region, from Waziristan to Bajaur, across a more than 400 kilometers area. There was a fight at Loyesam between 6<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> August 2008. This was the starting part of the six-months long Bajaur Battle which ended on February 28<sup>th</sup>, 2009 resulting in the displacement of 300.000 people (Kalay, 2009). The fight started between Pakistan Army and militants in Loyesam, 12 kilometres from the Bajaur Agency headquarters, in a bid to reclaim important nearby Taliban strongholds. This event was not just a starting period of the Bajaur battle but also an important victory of the militants over the Pakistan Army. These four incidents are a key for recognizing the major transitions in the tribal areas conflict and the associated news coverage.

#### 3.2 Data coding and analysis process.

The content analysis of the text body of the selected items coded different sections of the coverage items with respect to indicators of war and peace journalism as proposed in the model by Lee and Maslog (2005). The model's indicators were comprised of two premises: approach and language. The approach-based criteria included: (1) reactive or proactive approach, (2) visible or invisible effects of war, (3) elite or people orientation, (4) differences or agreements, (5) focus on here and now or on causes and effects, (6) good vs. bad dichotomy or no labelling, (7) two or multiple party involvement, (8) partisanship or non-partisanship, (9) zero-sum or win-

win approach, and (10) the continuation of reports. The language-based criteria included: (1) demonizing, (2) victimizing, and (3) emotive words (Lee & Maslog, 2005).

An initial screening of the contents revealed that some sections of the the coverage items focused on the preparation of war or on the process of negotiation which cannot be coded appropriately in the pre-established coding categories. Since these are important constructs of peace journalism ideology, two indicators "war preparation" and "negotiation process" were added to the coding schedule. These indicators were also tested for their statistical significance in the model.

The selected events were peak points of the conflict. Therefore, indicators related to pre-and post-conflict scenario categories were not relevant here. The content items or type of stories included news, features, op-eds and editorials. The unit of analysis was a single content item and the presence of a particular indicator is counted as 1 each time it is revealed in the story (Lee & Maslog, 2005). The present study has selected only those coverage items that were directly addressing these four conflicts.

#### 4. Findings and discussion

A total of 234 coverage items or story types from the two main newspapers of Pakistan were selected as data for this research. The sub-categories of the story types in the selected events were news (N=180; 77%); op-eds (N=28; 12%); editorials (N=16; 7%) and features (N=10; 4%). Out of the four events, maximum coverage was given to the War in Waziristan (N=119; 51%) followed by the Wazir-Uzbek Fight (N=56; 24%). Wana Operation was the third important event (N=43; 18%) and the lowest coverage was observed for Loyesam Fight (N=16; 7%) due to its short time span. Table 1 shows proportions of types of stories across newspapers and events.

Variables	News	Op-eds	Editorials	Features
	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)	f(%)
Newspaper Type				
<i>The News (N = 118)</i>	91 (77.1)	16 (13.6)	8 (6.8)	3 (2.5)
<i>Dawn (N = 116)</i>	89 (76.7)	12 (10.3)	8 (6.9)	7 (6.0)
Event Type				
Wana Operation (N = 43)	32 (74.4)	2 (4.7)	4 (9.3)	5 (11.6)
Waziri-Uzbek Fight (N= 56)	42 (75.0)	7 (12.5)	6 (10.7)	1 (1.8)
War in Waziristan (N = 119)	93 (78.2)	17 (14.3)	5 (4.2)	4 (3.4)
Loyesam Fight (N = 16)	13 (81.3)	2 (12.5)	1 (6.3)	0 (0.0)

Table 1: Frequency distribution of story types across newspapers and events (N = 234)

*RQ1: Does the pre-established indicators of war and peace journalism sufficiently tap the various aspects of war and peace journalism in case of tribal area conflicts news coverage?*

*RQ2: What are the dominant frames of journalism and pattern of presentation of the indicators of war and peace journalism in selected stories?*

The content analysis revealed that there was adequate presentation of pre-established indicators of war and peace journalism in these stories. However, at the same time, some of the content related to "war preparation" and "negotiation process". Therefore, it was coded separately. The emergent categories were found to be significantly associated with other indicators of war journalism and peace journalism respectively at  $p < .001$ . Overall "war preparation" was significantly associated with war journalism at ( $r = .40$ ;  $p < .001$ ) and "negotiation process" was significantly associated with peace journalism ( $r = .388$ ;  $p < .001$ ). These findings suggest that the reporting of negotiation process among parties involved in the conflict could also be used as tool for peace journalism.

The descriptive statistics showed that overall the mean score on frequency of war journalism was higher ( $M = 13.29$ ;  $SD = 8.93$ ) than the mean score on frequency of peace journalism ( $M = 6.27$ ;  $SD = 5.46$ ). Paired sample t-test was conducted to assess the significance of mean differences which also supported that war journalism was significantly higher than peace journalism ( $t = 11.09$ ;  $df = 233$ ;  $p < .001$ ). These findings were not surprising keeping in view the socio-political situation of region, reporting hazards and nature of these tribal conflicts which also heated up the wave of terrorism across the country and region due to misperceptions, poor negotiation strategies and vested interests of parties involved in conflicts. These findings also align with the pattern reported by Lee and Maslog (2005), where the strongest war journalism framing was found in the Kashmir coverage by newspapers from India and Pakistan.

The comparison of means within indicators of war journalism showed that "elite oriented" frame was most dominant ( $M = 3.15$ ;  $SD = 3.03$ ) followed by "visible effects" ( $M = 3.06$ ;  $SD = 3.5$ ) and "here and now" ( $M = 2.63$ ;  $SD = 2.68$ ). Rest of the indicators had lower mean frequencies. The elite oriented information was mostly based on official and government sources. These findings conformed with previous studies (Sigal, 1973;

Tuchman, 1978; Paletz & Entman, 1981; McLeod & Hertog, 1998; Siraj, 2009) that showed the inclination of reporters towards official sources. However, it is important to highlight that the official sources referred to in the coverage are mainly from either the military and pro-military government officials or in some instances spokespersons of the militants groups. The newspapers mentioned that the access to information and verification from local sources was not possible due to disruption in telephone system and shift of the local journalists from the conflict areas towards settled districts. While covering the dangerous places of Waziristan such as Miranshah, Mir Ali and Wana, news reporters were facing pressure from all the conflict parties: militants, Pakistani intelligence agencies, tribal chiefs and criminal gangs (Yusufzai, 2007). Safety of journalist in the area was and is also major concern. The attacks on journalists and their families had forced journalist to move from the conflict areas. By the year 2015, a total of 26 journalists were killed and 20 were injured in tribal areas and the adjacent province, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Khyber Union of Journalists, 2016).

The other important aspect found in the coverage was the strong presence of "visible effects" and "here and now" indicators of war journalism. This reinforces the general perception that the default mode of the press is to cover violence, conflict and tensions (Wolfsfeld, 2004). It is a trend that peace proponents are long questioning (Kempf, 2003). In such type of journalism, number of casualties and injuries were more emphasized even when the number was based on speculations. It would be more appropriate to adopt a journalism approach, which focuses more on the context of conflict, less inflammatory, deflate stereotypes and prejudice to support negotiation process among parties involved in conflicts. The focus on invisible effects humanizes the conflict and leads to peaceful conflict resolution.

The comparison of mean frequencies within indicators of peace journalism showed that most dominant indicator was "causes and consequences" ( $M = 3.05$ ;  $SD = 4.62$ ) followed by areas of "agreement" ( $M = .89$ ;  $SD = 1.53$ ). This is the most encouraging finding, indicating some space for peace journalism in coverage of tribal area conflicts. By focusing on "causes and consequences", and "agreement" journalism takes its responsibility to contribute in peace processes. This at times facilitates a timely resolution of conflicts thus mitigating the negative impacts of conflicts at several levels. These peace journalism indicators were comparatively more in op-eds and features than in news items where official sources were given more space. The emergent category of "negotiation process" is an indicator of responsible journalism and it is presumed that it can play a significant role in conflict resolution. However, there is need to generate more conclusive empirical evidence. The op-eds' explicating the construction of the conflict parties and the importance of *Jirga*, council of elders, for conflict resolution and generating local support has added to the peace journalism orientation. The extremely low presentation of other indicators of peace journalism in news coverage of tribal area conflicts is alarming and strongly call for immediate action. This requires change in media policies, more awareness and training of media professionals as well as students in field of media studies to adapt and implement principles of peace journalism theory.

The correlation analysis showed that labeling was significantly associated with the cumulative frequency of war language indicators ( $r = .288$   $p < .01$ ) and partisanship was significantly associated with the cumulative frequency of peace language indicators at ( $r = .288$ ;  $p < .01$ ). The ground reality is that the partisanship of the newspapers was mostly towards the pro-military stance, mainly, because most of the elite sources used for information gathering were from the intelligence agencies, Pakistan army and the pro-army government officials. The content analysis showed that reporters did show some indices of partisanship towards the stance of local militants while explaining their commitment towards peace treaties and actions of the government that had negatively affected the peace process. The significant association of labeling with war journalism provides insight into the dilemma of the conflict parties. Pakistani newspapers portrayed militants sometimes as bad and sometimes as good people. Such labeling leads to perpetuation of media generated stereotypes and prejudices, which slow down the peace process and sometimes contribute to aggravation of conflict. However, it is important to note that the newspapers played their role in the identification of militants according to their origin, aims and objectives. Yusufzai, (2004) identified that Arabs who were directly related to real al-Qaeda were fighting with Pakistan Army, however, they were fewer in numbers than their Uzbek, Chechens and Pakistani allies. The identification of conflict parties, their rights, intentions and action has important role in understanding the conflict (Kempf, 2003).

*RQ3: Are there significant differences in frames of journalism across newspapers, events and types of stories?*

The frequency distribution pattern also showed that war journalism was higher than peace journalism (Figure 1). The patterns of reporting related to war journalism and peace journalism were similar across newspapers which is also supported by non-significant mean differences though independent t- test (Table 2).



Figure 1: Comparison of War and Peace Journalism across newspapers and events

Type of Newspaper	War Journalism (n= 118)		Peace Journalism (n=116)		t	df	p
	M	SD	M	SD			
The News	13.29	9.12	6.65	5.40	.324	232	.746
Dawn	13.10	8.76	5.89	5.51	1.07	232	.285

Table 2: Mean differences on war and peace journalism across newspapers (N = 234)

These findings support the notion that in general there is still less space for peace journalism in news reporting of conflicts in South-Asian and particularly tribal area conflicts. Keeping in view the multifold implications of these conflicts at regional and global level, there is a need to promote peace journalism in this region. Based on well-established evidence about effects of media (Bennet, 2003; Combs, 1993) it can be assumed that such superficial approach of media might have contributed to disharmony in society and mistrust among people of Pakistan.

A specific pattern across events in reporting of war and peace journalism was observed: A slow but declining trend of war journalism until War in Waziristan, after which war journalism rapidly increased during the coverage of Loyesam fight. Since they are competing frames, this also influenced peace journalism which was lowest in case of Loyesam fight.

Type of Event	War Journalism (n= 118)		Peace Journalism (n=116)	
	M	SD	M	SD
Wana Operation	14.00	10.51	4.91	3.91
Waziri-Uzbek Fight	15.07	9.68	7.09	5.86
War in Waziristan	11.50	7.24	6.63	5.73
Loyesam Fight	18.50	10.23	4.44	4.82

Table 3: Mean differences on war and peace journalism across events (N = 234)

This was also supported by comparison of mean differences on war and peace journalism across events through ANOVA. Results showed that in case of war journalism the mean scores for Loyesam Fight were highest (M = 18.5; SD = 10.23) followed by Waziri-Uzbek Fight (M = 15.07; SD = 9.68). The F statistic showed that mean differences were significant (F = 4.42; df = 3; p = .005). In case of peace journalism, the mean scores for Waziri-Uzbek Fight (M = 7.09; SD = 5.86) were highest followed by War in Waziristan (M = 6.63; SD = 5.73). There was less difference on mean frequencies of peace journalism between Wanna Operation and Loyesam Fight. Overall the F statistic showed that the mean differences across events for peace journalism were not significant (F = 2.11; df = 3; p = .09). (See Table 3)

The analysis of this reporting pattern in light of contextual factors reveals some linkages. During Waziri-Uzbek fight, the newspapers focused more on explaining the construction of the militant groups. As reported in *Dawrr's* (2007a) Editorial, "the first obvious task is to identify who are parties to the on-going violence in Fata. First, there are the Taliban, local and Afghan; then the foreign militants; their local supporters, often with flexible commitments, and then the vast majority of tribesmen who are neutral but who can react violently to any perceived challenge or hurt to their notions of tribal honour. Who picks up guns and on what pretext cannot be predicted. Even the mere presence of security forces can sometimes draw a violent reaction"

The local militants, during Waziri-Uzbek fight, were presented with good tone whereas the foreign militants were projected as bad guys. The newspapers mentioned Uzbeks mostly as foreign militants and not as Al-Qaeda operatives. They also made a distinction between local Taliban and foreign Taliban. Local Taliban were militants from local tribes who had favorable attitude towards Taliban in Afghanistan. The foreign Taliban were the ones who are operating inside Afghanistan. Local Taliban were further divided into two groups: Pro-Taliban and Pro-Pakistan Taliban; the first group is the group of local militants which was in the favor of Afghan Taliban group and wanted to fight along with foreign Taliban against NATO and other security forces within Afghanistan; Pro-Pakistan Taliban was a militant group which was against Pakistani government and forces. The second group, also known as Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), initially had the same aim as the first group, however, it was against the Pakistani government and local people for helping US and allied forces in Afghanistan. The prominent division of local Taliban was found in Pakistani newspapers during Waziri-Uzbek Fight and especially during War in Waziristan.

The trend during the course of events showed that although the war journalism had dominated the coverage, however, the frequency of war journalism from Wana Operation to War in Waziristan decreased. The War in Waziristan had more presentation of peace journalism indicators in the 4-years of the coverage. The reason might be that the social construction of the militant groups, aims and objectives of the government, military and the militant groups were clearer to the media persons as compared to the time when the conflict started in 2004. However, Loyesam Fight reporting pattern focused more on war journalism orientation as compared to other selected events. The reason could be that it was just the start of armed conflict in Bajaur and the coverage had just started to get momentum.

These findings again suggest here some areas of intervention to see the positive outcomes of peace journalism. Advocates of peace journalism (Youngblood, 2016; Lynch, 2013) stressed that journalists need to take proactive rather than reactive approach to see the positive impacts of peace journalism. The adoption of peace journalism at the beginning of the conflict can be more promising as it can offer early solutions to resolve conflicts by adopting a win-win approach.

*RQ4: Is there an association between type of story and length of story with frames of journalism?*

The lowest mean on peace journalism categories was observed in case of news stories ( $M = 4.46$ ;  $SD = 3.25$ ) followed by editorials ( $M = 7.25$ ;  $SD = 2.82$ ). The F-statistic showed significant mean difference across four content types at ( $F = 86.61$ ;  $df = 3$ ;  $p < .001$ ). The highest mean for war journalism was observed in case of op-eds ( $M = 16.43$ ;  $SD = 9.41$ ) followed by features ( $M = 13.90$ ;  $SD = 8.94$ ) and news ( $M = 13.33$ ;  $SD = 8.97$ ). The lowest war journalism was found in editorials ( $M = 7.06$ ;  $SD = 3.28$ ) and the difference was significant ( $F = 3.90$ ;  $df = 3$ ;  $p = .01$ ).

The Pearson correlation showed that length of story is significantly associated with frame of journalism. Longer stories are more likely to be associated with peace journalism ( $r = .753$ ;  $p < .001$ ) as compared to war journalism in which the coefficient value was slightly lower ( $r = .571$ ;  $p < .001$ ).

In line with the findings by Lee and Maslog (2005), the present study also observed that there is a stronger and significant relationship of peace journalism with length of story. However, war journalism was also moderately but significantly associated with length of the story. Op-eds have the highest war journalism orientation. As observed in another study (Sadiq & Qureshi, 2010) there was a tendency of Pakistani newspapers to use more judgements and inferences in op-eds and editorials as compared with factual information. In line with Erosy's (2006a) observation, in the tribal areas conflict only few journalists make a conscious effort for covering the conflict from the peace journalism approach. The others lean between both war and peace frames without realizing their inherent contradiction (Erosy, 2006a).

This study also had few limitations as it included only two Pakistani English newspapers. However, the selection of these two newspapers had relevance due to their national and international readership that included the audience which could play more effective role in policy making. The analysis was limited to coverage of four tribal conflicts within timeframe of four years. It provided a broader understanding of the tribal area conflict, however, it did not cater to micro transitional aspects of these conflicts due to absence of pre and post-conflict analysis.

## 5. Conclusion and suggestions for future research

This study extended understanding about certain aspects of war and peace journalism orientation by taking example of the news coverage of Pakistani tribal area conflicts. Keeping an eye on the repercussions of these tribal area conflict and inclination of all news agencies toward war journalism orientation across events and types of stories, a change in media policy and practices is strongly suggested.

There is need to investigate that other than reporting hazards what are some of the underlying reasons for low presentation of peace journalism indicators in news coverage of conflicts in this region. This study extended the debate on role and space of peace journalism in news media coverage and suggested that future researches specifically explore the linkage of framing with the conflict development and resolution in these regions as well its relationship with local and foreign policies of countries involved in conflicts. There is also a need to explore why op-eds written by some of the famous opinion leaders focus more on war journalism. The op-eds have direct and indirect influences on public opinion and policy making thus it is important to use it as intervention tool in peace development and conflict resolution. In order to get latent understanding, this study will be followed by another research that will qualitatively analyze the op-eds to probe further for their escalation and de-escalation aspects (Kempf, 2003) and overall direction.

Findings of this study acted as a guide for exploring few more relevant questions in context of peace promotion through journalism for instance testing the how the "negotiation process" an emergent indicator of peace journalism is a relevant indicator of peace journalism by looking its specific contribution in conflict resolution.

Learning from the case of tribal areas conflicts, media agencies should focus on adaptation of peace journalism theory and practices to intervene appropriately for other equally important issues in this region such as political unrest and terrorism.

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