

**Dr. Muhammad Osama Shafiq, Ms. Fatima Kiran**

**War and peace journalism a critical analysis  
of newspapers coverage on operation Rah-e-  
Haq III and Radul Fasad in Pakistan**

Dr. Muhammad Osama Shafiq, Ms. Fatima Kiran

**Abstract**

Pakistan has a pitted history of dealing with insurgencies and extremism. Since the catastrophe of 9/11 Pakistan has regained the status of frontline state and adopted both military and non-military based counter terrorism strategy. Thus, in the time of war and conflicts the news media are considered a significant force. Whether the impact of news coverage is constructive or destructive this can be determined by the nature of journalism presented to the warring sides. News content that focuses on violence is likely to worsen the situation, on the other hand sustained reportage on the possibilities and need for peace could contribute to a climate suited for peace negotiations. This article aims to examine the news coverage given by the newspapers namely Daily Ummat and Dawn of Pakistan to Operation Rah-e-Haq III and Operation Radul Fasad that were initiated by Pakistan Military agencies to counter terrorists in the territory. This study expands on the work in operationalizing Johan Galtung's classification of peace journalism and war journalism by describing and comparing the news coverage of 254 editions of Dawn and Daily Ummat. This article is based on two research techniques: Quantitative content analysis is to find out the dominant frames of newspaper while covering both the operations and Qualitative critical discourse analysis to further examine what messages newspapers intending to send to public and how these messages are crafted. All sampled news, editorials, features and cartoons to some extent have characteristics of both peace and war journalism. The Daily Dawn being from leftist ideology covered less and it supports military operation and portrayed militant as a threat to the peace of Pakistan. With contrast to it Daily Ummat give extensive coverage to both the military

operations with conflict formation and no coverage attempted to explore the issue from a grass root level.

**Keywords:** Peace and War journalism, news coverage, Operation Rah-e-Haq III, Operation Radul Fasad, Content analysis, Media Framing.

## **Introduction**

The main risks facing Pakistan's national security are terrorism and violent extremism. The relationship between terrorism and the media has been well studied, and it has always been one of the core problems solved by terrorism research. The impression of Talibanization not only links Pakistan and Afghanistan together in actual politics, but also helps us understand the political and social development of Pakistan's northwestern border in theoretical research. Due to the interconnected borders with Afghanistan, the tribal areas of Pakistan are home to the Taliban. The Taliban's mediation in Afghan politics is very powerful and has an impact on society. They have also received a lot of support from Pakistan's devout and radical religious students, and can be protected by tribal elders and mosques, while the U.S., Pakistani government and Afghanistan have nothing to do (Lian, 2010).

After the 9/11 incident, the northern part of Pakistan became a hotbed of various international organizations. Different terrorist organizations targeting sect division and violence. Pakistan is known as a democratic country, and the media now enjoy unprecedented freedom. Reporters still face challenges when reporting and not reporting from leaders and spokespersons of terrorist organizations. The central issue is the safety of journalists when reporting on war issues and the lack of training for journalists in war and peace journalism. TTP (Tharek-e-Taliban Pakistan) believes that the media is a safe and powerful source of interaction that can spread more terror in society without being discovered by the security forces. The role of the media in the war on terrorism has always been considered an important source for informing and persuading the public. However, receiving accurate information from the media can help reduce the risk of conflict.

It is generally believed that the relationship between terrorism and the media is almost interdependent. The media bear a major responsibility in reporting on terrorism. Ideally, the role of the media is to observe, investigate and subsequently report on their findings in the most objective way possible. With the ubiquity of the media, citizens around the world are becoming more aware of the situation and view conflicts from multiple angles.

In addition, it has been observed worldwide, especially during wartime, that modern mass media (such as television and new media) are under pressure to produce news at an ever-increasing rate. Therefore, due to the pressure of publishing news as soon as possible after the incident, reporters often find that they do not have time to analyze facts and verify information in depth. As a result, misinformation and over-simplified cycles lead to a very limited basis for a deeper understanding of key issues.

In addition, media information has considerable power because it can shape discussions and, to a certain extent, reality. According to Johan Galtung, today's media coverage of conflicts is mainly war-oriented, regardless of the country. He believes that regardless of whether the media producers know it or not, news reports often help cultivate people's perceptions of conflicts, and conflicts are essentially fueling wars. As an alternative to the type of reporting he called war news, Galton developed a framework for what he called peace news. Although war and peace news promote two distinct discourses, Galtung believes that:

"Both are based on reporting facts and underlying cognitive and emotional assumptions, rather than idealistic and normative. The other is realistic and Descriptive (Galtung, 2007)."

In 2010, Lee conducted a study on peace journalism: the structural principles and limitations of three types of conflict journalism. This research extends Johan Galtung's operations on the classification of peace news and war news to describe the comparison of the three news reports on Asian conflicts. The survey results show that peace news needs structural changes to adopt traditional and feasible methods to report wars and conflicts (Lee, 2010). Similarly, Siraj conducted a survey of war and peace news in elite American newspapers in 2008: exploring Pakistan and The news frame in the Indian conflict. The results of the study show that the widespread reports of Pakistan in conflicts are more described as enemies than friends; on the other hand, most stories regard India as a friend rather than an enemy (Siraj, 2008). Erosy investigated the peace news and news reports of the conflict in Cyprus. The results of the study show that the Turkish and Greek Cypriot newspapers operating in Cyprus have implemented traditional journalism and have not yet begun to

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implement responsible reporting or select relevant news values for peace journalism (Ersoy, 2010).

Dag conducted a study on peace news or war news in 2013: a comparative analysis of Israeli and Turkish newspaper reports during the Gaza Fleet crisis. Analysis shows that more than two-thirds of the articles can be classified as the main framework of war news, while only more than a quarter are peace news. Nygren, Glowacki, Hok, Kiria, Orlova, and Taradai studied news in the crossfire: media coverage of the Ukrainian war in 2014. The analysis of the results shows that the specific news culture, self-censorship, and activist attention of each country reporters also play an important role in reporting on wars (Nygren, Glowacki, Hok, Kiria, Orlova, and Taradai, 2018).

In 2007, Maslog, Lee, and Kim conducted a study on the analysis of the conflict framework: how newspapers in five Asian countries reported on the war in Iraq. The results of the study show that, compared with newspapers in Muslim countries that are more supportive of Iraqis, newspapers in non-Muslim countries other than the Philippines have a stronger war news framework and are more supportive of war and American/British (Maslog, Lee And Kim, 2006). Siraj conducted a research on war and peace in the media framework of Pakistan's Talibanization in 2010. Research and analysis show that the average story length of general reports of war news is also longer. Compared with Urdu-language media, British media is mainly war-oriented (Siraj, 2010).

Lynch acknowledged in his article that the point of Peace News is that editors and reporters must make decisions in daily reporting from conflict areas, "about what to report and how to report", which can increase the value of nonviolent responses and Consider people's pain. In the war. In addition, it pointed out that news reports must allow viewers to fully understand the causes and consequences of conflicts, and reports must speak out to all parties involved in the conflict without prejudice (Lynch, 2019).

In 2021 Róża Norström, and Mariusz Kolczyński worked on article titled, war and peace journalism in the coverage of the 2020 us presidential election. Their aim was to empirically test the usefulness of peace and war journalism model during the time of elections given by Johan Galtung. The result study has shown that Galtung's model is applicable to analyze elections coverage which means conflict

news reporting and election reporting has similarities(Norström & Kolczyński, 2021).

Annabel McGoldrick in 2008 worked on psychological effects of War Journalism and Peace Journalism. In this study the researcher investigated the psychological effects of exposure to news reports of conflict. The researcher opted the qualitative approach, in which interviews are conducted based on Grounded Theory method. The findings of the study concluded that war journalism triggered more than peace journalism and have serious negative psychological effects(McGoldrick, 2008).

A study, Peace or War Journalism: Coverage of Pakistani National Press on Balochistan issue during Musharraf Regime was conducted by Muhammad Tarique, and Lubna Shaheen in 2017. The researchers analyzed news content of two most popular newspapers The Dawn and Daily Jang from 1999 till 2008 based on Galtung peace and war journalism model to investigate how print media framed Balochistan issue. The finding of the study shows that mostly both the newspapers covered Balochistan issue from violence frame than peace frame (Tarique & Shaheen, 2017).

Shahira Fahmy, and Britain Eakin in 2014 conducted a study on High drama on the high seas: Peace versus war journalism framing of an Israeli/Palestinian-related incident. In this study researchers content analyzed three newspapers namely The New York Times, The Guardian and Haaretz to investigate how the Middle Eastern conflicts covered from the frames of peace and war journalism model given by Galtung. The study results show that overall, Haaretz used more peace journalism indicators while reporting the conflicts than The New York Times and The Guardian(Fahmy & Eakin, 2014).

Framing the Colombian Peace Process: Between Peace and War Journalism, a study conducted by Víctor García-Perdomo, Summer Harlow, and Danielle K. Brown in 2022. In this study researchers operationalized Galtung's indicators of peace journalism to analyze the Colombian peace process news reports. The researchers concluded that during the time of peace talk news media framed content as war narrative more often than peace frame( García-Perdomo, Harlow, & Brown, 2022).

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How Chinese Media Cover the Indo-Pak Antagonism over Kashmir Issue: Case Study of Peace and War Journalism Practice and Its Nexus with Foreign Policy, a study conducted by Muhammad Aftab Madni Memon, Shen Hui, and Salman Yousaf in 2020. Based on Galtung's peace and war indicators the researchers examined two newspapers Global Times and China Daily to investigate the China narrative over Kashmir issue. The researchers concluded that both the newspapers mostly covered issue with war journalism indicators than peace journalism. Furthermore, China press was in favor of Kashmir and against the Indian military (Memon, Hui, & Yousa, 2020).

In 2019 Ajmal Khan conducted a study on War or Peace Journalism: Exploring News Framing of Kashmir Conflict in DAWN Newspaper. This study was theoretically guided by Johan Galtung's model of peace and war journalism. The study found that Dawn report news on Kashmir issues was dominated by war journalism indicators (Khan, 2019).

In 2018 Owade J. Adongo, Ayodeji O. Awobamise, and Ogbonna Chidiebere conducted a study on title: A peace journalism approach to understanding the role of the media in the land disputes in Kenya. The findings of the study show that Kenya press focused more on war journalism frames than peace (Adongo, A Wobamise, and Chidiebere, 2018).

Media an agent of Peace or war? A study of The Economist, The Herald and Time during American Armed Operations in Pakistan, a study conducted by Nasim Ishaq, Noshina Saleem, and Hanan Ahmad Mian in 2018. In this study researchers content analyzed how three magazines covered the America's armed operations in Pakistan. The researchers applied Galtung's peace and war indicators. The findings of the research show that The Economist and Time one British and other American magazines focused mostly war journalism reporting, In contrast to it the herald was more inclined towards peace journalism indicators (Ishaq, Saleem, & Mian, 2018)

The purpose of this article is to analyze the reports of Operation Rah-e-Haq carried out by Pakistani security forces in KPK Swat in 2009 and Operation Rad ul Fasad which launched nationwide operations against terrorists and extremists in 2016. In relative terms, the newspapers reported very little about Pakistan's military actions against the militants. That is why it is important to conduct research from the perspective of the news about war and peace. This will

contribute to structural changes to develop peaceful journalistic methods of media organizations to report on wars and conflicts.

The present study aims to analyze the newspaper strategy in reporting the narrative of Taliban and security forces about operation Rah-e-Haq and operation Rad ul Fasad. In this study, the news frame refers to an interpretative structure that sets specific events within a comprehensive context. Based on this definition war journalism and peace journalism are two competing factors in the news coverage of operations initiated by military forces against militants

### **Theoretical perspective of the study**

This research is supported by framework theory, peace news framework, and war news framework. Galtung used the term Peace News from the 1970s. He developed two opposite modes of war reporting, "Peace or Conflict News" and "War or Violence News" (Galtung, 1998). Galtung's classification of war news and peace news is based on four broad language practices and directions: peace/conflict, truth/propaganda, people/elite, and solution/difference. The content of war news is oriented towards war/violence, while peace news attempts to condemn conflicts by showing the black and white of all parties (Lynch, 2005). The information model given by Galtung is a military command: whoever advances will surrender if fails to reach the goal; the loss is calculated by the number of deaths, injuries, and material damage. The zero-sum vision is based on sports reports, in which "victory is not everything, but the only thing" (Galtung & Fischer, Pioneer of Peace Research, 2013).

According to Galtung (2002), any journalist can dedicate himself to peace journalism, just as can dedicate himself to war journalism. One of the main obstacles to news about peace is the mindset of the editor and his traditional methods: this is how we work. Lynch and Galtung (2010) also explained that peace journalism can be basically the same way that journalists currently engage in journalism; journalists only need to take into account the technology of peace journalism.

Furthermore, while report on violence, peace journalists must pay attention to the victims and their suffering, and speak up for the



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underprivileged. Paying more attention to media coverage of terrorism and other issues can help Pakistan overcome extremist activities in the country. The use of peaceful news frames and neutral headlines in news production can also help reduce the way terrorist organizations use the 24/7 media cycle to spread fear, insecurity, and fundamentalism. Therefore, the researcher believes that this theory is applicable to this study because it will help discover how Pakistani newspapers consciously choose frames and words to report on topics related to terrorism and the actions taken by the military to combat terrorism.

### **Research Questions**

RQ1: To what extent Daily Ummat and Daily Dawn give coverage to Operation Rah-e-Haq III and Operation Radul-Fasad?

RQ2: What are the frames adopted by Daily Dawn and Daily Ummat for covering terrorist activity and military operations?

RQ3: What are the angles in terms of favourable, unfavourable or neutral in the coverage of operation Rah-e-Haq and operation Radul- Fasad by Daily Dawn and Daily Ummat?

RQ4: Is there any significant difference between English and Urdu language newspapers in peace/war journalism framing?

### **HYPOTHESIS**

H1: The overall coverage in both the newspapers regarding Taliban and extremism are on two extreme points with zero neutral coverage. Peace journalism frame is totally neglected in the coverage by both the newspapers.

H2: Coverage on military action against extremist or terrorist are based on ISPR press release only but relatively there was more space

for media coverage in Operation Rah-e-Haq III than operation Radul Fasad

### **Research Methodology**

This paper adopted both Qualitative and Quantitative approach of content analysis to investigate. Rhetorical content analysis helped to understand how operation Rah-e-Haq III and operation Radul Fasad has been covered and depicted in the selected newspapers.

In order to learn the news coverage about operation Rah-e Haq III and operation Radul Fasad that how Pakistani English and Urdu presses are covering the issues of conflicting situation, a content analysis method has been relied upon. The essential aim of this study is to explain the news coverage of the Pakistani newspapers that how each frames the operations within their coverage. This will help to evaluate the intensity of peace journalism approach in the journalists of Pakistan. This research also analyzed numbers of other factors like: the frequency of each story type, the source of the stories and the indicator of war and peace journalism. Galtung's (1998) peace/war journalism table will be used for textual analysis.

### **Results and discussions**

**Table1: Coverage given by newspapers to operation Rah-e-Haq iii**

NEWSPAPERS	NEWS		EDITORIALS		FEATURES	
	Frequency (f)	percentage %	frequency (f)	percentage %	frequency (f)	percentage %
DAILY DAWN	20	31.25 %	4	66.66 %	3	27.27%

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DAILY UMMAT	44	68.75 %	2	33.33 %	8	72.72
TOTAL	64	100%	6	100 %	11	100%

**Table 2: Coverage given by newspapers to operation Radul Fasad**

NEWS PAPER S	NEWS		EDITORIALS		FEATURES	
	Frequency (f)	Percentage %	Frequency (f)	percentage %	Frequency (f)	percentage %
DAWN	12	54.54 %	3	60%	2	66.66%
DAILY UMAT	10	45.45 %	2	40%	1	33.33%
TOTAL	22	100%	5	100%	3	100 %

Tables 1 and 2 show the total amount of content covered by Daily Dawn and Daily Ummat within 2 months of starting operations. Obviously, compared with the Radul Fasad operation, the Rah-e-haq III operation (also called The Swat operation) has a certain depth and severity. There are clear figures in the data that show that compared with the Radul Fasad operation, the 2009 operation has more flexibility and space in reporting conflict issues

**Table 3: Distribution of content by war and peace journalism indicators**

war journalism indicators	F	%	Peace journalism indicators	F	%
1- Differences oriented	16	14.41%	Solution oriented	15	13.51%
2- Visible effects	35	31.53%	Invisible effects	5	4.50%
3- Elite oriented	7	6.30%	People oriented	1	0.90%
4- Here and now	13	11.71%	Causes and consequences	0	0%
5- Dichotomies of	1	0.90%	Avoid of	0	0%

good/bad guy			good/bad guy		
6- Two party	1	0.90%	Multi party	1	0.90%
Ori entation			orientatio n		
7- Partisan oriented	0	0%	Non-partisan	3	2.70%
8- Zero sum-	5	4.50%	Win-win	3	2.70%
Ori entation			orientatio n		
9- Uses of	10	9.09%	Avoid	2	1.80%
De mo nizing			demonisin g		
Lan gua ge			language		
Total No. of War	88	79.27%	Total No. of	23	20.72%
Con tent			Peace		
			Content		

The coverage on both the operations is more war oriented than peace oriented as shown above in table 3. In the present study the visible effect frame more stories that were related to the casualties, deaths and wounds. Seemingly Fawcett found in his study that the Irish

media was keener on reporting conflict frames than the peacemaking frames (Fawcett, 2002). In the present study the stories of the war journalism are conflict itself where cruelty from extremist were reported, their challenges to the Government and military institutions were covered and their demand of Sharia law was discussed. On the other side peace oriented news covered negotiations and peace talk between military and extremist and shedding light on the issues from common people perspective and suggested ways and means for peaceful solution of the conflict.

**Table 4: Distribution of content in terms of favourable, unfavourable and neutral coverage of the military operations**

NEWSPAPERS	FAVOURABLE		UNFAVOURABLE		NEUTRAL	
	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Daily Dawn & Daily Umat	90	81.08%	12	10.81%	9	8.10%
Total no.of content	90+12+9=111		81.08% + 10.81% +8.10%=100%			

The above table shows that media reports on RaheHaq III and RadulFasad military operations support the operation because it is always difficult for journalists to report on the operation because it violates the national interest of the country. Dawn and Daily Ummat support these two operations. Similarly, Jack Lynch believes that media organizations have political and economic directions, limiting

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the responsibility of journalists to objectively report on all aspects of the story (Linch, 2005).

**Table 5: Sistribution of english and urdu language newspapers toanalyse peace/war journalism framing**

**Daily Dawn:**

NEWS PAPER	WAR ORIENTED (f)	PEACE ORIENTED (f)	NEUTRAL (f)
Dawn	28	1 2	4

**Table 6: distribution of english and urdu language newspapers to analyse peace/war journalism framing**

**Daily Ummat**

NEWSPAPER	WAR ORIENTED (f)	PEACE ORIENTED (f)	NEUTRAL (f)
Daily Ummat	5 1	1 1	5

Focus on what is happening from a battlefield, military collision and a very small background and a historical point of view, and reports based on the general convention used by the journalist. Both newspapers are covered by the point of view of the war to lead Rahehaq III and the thirds of Radul Fasad and the peace frames or neutral. Dawn are less than daily Umaat in general.

Lee needs the same change in the main media of Pakistan, as described in the need for structural changes in 2010 to evolve

peace news coverage. Lack of the news coverage structure for the 2010 conflict and war report (ERSOY, 2010) Erotica concluded that traditional journalism has not yet begun to practice responsible reports. The context of conflicts and psychological effects have been affected correctly and psychologically.

Nygren, etal. (Nygren, etal, 2018) reveal the basic role of each country's specific news culture, self-censorship, and journalists' activism The important role in the report is exactly the same, "Daily Dawn" on the left reports opposition to militants and blindly supports military operations. Similarly, the right-wing Daily Ummat practiced reporting on wars, but opposed military operations and neutral reporting. Self-censorship, military and religion are the real reasons for the opaque reporting of operations Rahe Haq III and Radul Fasad.

### **Conclusion**

This study of newspapers from Pakistan shows how media viewed and framed operation Rah- e-Haq III and Radul Fasad according to their own perspective.

All sampled news, editorials, features and cartoons to some extent have characteristics of both peace and war journalism. The Daily Dawn being from leftist ideology covered less and it supports military operation and portrayed militant as a threat to the peace of Pakistan. Therefore all categories of War journalism were to some extent evident in the sample of Daily Dawn. Similarly Daily Ummat from right wing covered more neutral and unfavorable reports on military action than Daily Dawn. Daily Ummat give extensive coverage to both the military operations with conflict formation and no coverage attempted to explore the issue from a grass root level.



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Overall more stories were framed as war oriented and the coverage trend was also different from Rah-e-Haq III to RadulFasad there were more open and courageous reporting and there was more room for discussions and freedom of speech in 2009 than 2017. The selected newspapers represent two extreme sides of Pakistan's print media frame of work and through investigation it is quite clear that reporting with context to promote peace was missing in both the newspapers and the main idea of peace journalism was also ignored while discussing the military operation and its cost and consequences.

The above findings are definitely not enough. These messages are important to understand since terrorism represents the battle of ideas and ideology not only the security and military challenges teaching peace is important to prevent violent extremist ideology in Pakistan.

No one's work is beyond limitations. This research design has some limitation which should be canvassed. Finally, this research was limited to the first two months of operation Rah-e- Haq III and operation RadulFasad and one English and one Urdu newspapers from Pakistan that is Daily Dawn and Daily Ummat. Therefore, further research is required to examine the domination of war and peace journalism frames in the media outlets in the long term.

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