

Portrayal of Peace in daily Jang and daily Times of India

(A Comparative Study Of Editorials)

Dr. Sajjad Ahmad Paracha & Afeefa Paracha

Abstract

This study is based on the work of Fred Dallmayr, 'Dialogue Among Civilizations; Some Exemplary Voices' which accomplishes two main things. Firstly, it tells the ways to approach and understand cultures or civilizations. Secondly, it presents practical case studies which show the possibilities and richness of dialogue with different cultures. This study investigates the portrayal of peace by daily 'Jang' and 'Times of India'. It is basically a comparative analysis of portrayal of peace by two Pakistani and Indian elite newspapers. It is a census study conducted by carrying out content analysis of 81 editorials of 'Jang' and 75 editorials of 'Times of India. The findings depict that 'Jang' is more positive in portrayal of peace than 'Times of India'.

Keywords: Portrayal of Peace, Culture, Civilizations, Dialogue.

Introduction

Media of a country is deeply attached with the external affairs and it favors the foreign policy of the country in which it operates during times of crisis and war. In addition to this, the researcher will study the Govt. policies of both countries by analyzing the statements of foreign offices of both countries. The researcher will then compare the interplay between the editorial and govt. policies. (Quail, 1987)

According to Mathes, the media enter the conflicts as a third party, where the other two parties are the parties among which conflict exists. If analytically seen, conflict comprises of two parties, one is media which reports on the conflict and the second is the public whom the mass media inform. Although, this change from a two-party group to a three-party group appears to be minor but it is of significant value regarding conflict communication. (Mathes, 1991)

Mathes further narrates the two significant functions of media in political conflicts. Firstly, media provides the platform to conflict parties so that they may publicly voice and take their different positions. Other groups and people who are just indirectly affected by the conflict, have the opportunity to make statements publicly according to the access they have to the media. Consequently, a public market of opinions regarding conflict is opened. Secondly, mass media act as active participants in conflict; it is because they have a central position in communication process. The media supports the conflict parties in presenting their arguments to the public. Media become active participant while having the intervention potential. (Mathes, 1991)

Since the press being an important institution of civil society plays an effective role in formation of a country's foreign policy (Cohen, 1963).

Peace can only be brought about if the cause of conflict is removed. In the content of Indo-Pakistan, the resolution of Kashmir dispute is compulsory. The dispute should be countered in such a way that the wishes of the Kashmiris should be taken into account without damaging the legitimate security interests of India and Pakistan. (Hoodboy, 1996)

India and Pakistan should establish regular contacts at the highest level in order to deal with nuclear issues, so that crisis may be prevented. An institutionalized exchange of information between the two countries is required, so that both countries can reassure each other that no military attack is going to occur, and the ongoing conflict will not be escalated to higher proportion. Such contacts are needed to occur constantly between these countries especially in the time of crisis. Although it is not must for India and Pakistan to be friends but bilateral talks are critically important for their mutual survival. (Hoodboy, 1996)

In our contemporary world, non-violence has become an important way to resolve problems. Many scholars have produced synonyms of term “non-violence” instead of defining it. The general meanings of “non-violence” may be presented in this definition, “it is a set of assumptions about morality, power and conflict that leads its proponents to reject the use of violence in efforts to attain social or political goals. Non-violence is usually associated with following widely known figures as a method of social struggle in last few centuries for instance, Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) of Russia, Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) of India, Albert Luthuli King JV (1928-1968) of the United States. Although, these Sufi masters and spiritual leaders were less famous, but they have been great examples of peace and nonviolence. They had been facing, great

pressure from ultra-secularists but their contribution has created a more peaceful and safer atmosphere in their home states. Their common idea depicts that resisting violence with violence creates a vicious circle and enhances the net level of violence. In a Turkish proverb, it is said that you cannot extinguish fire with gas. Tolstoy says “Violent actions against evil merely add more fuel to the flames”. Hence, as per these people, violence when resisted with violence, it means that we are adding fuel to the fire. (Saritoprak, 2005)

Aman-Ki-Aasha

“Aman-ki-Aasha” (Hope for peace) is a non-violence media campaign that was started jointly by the two leading media outlets, ‘Jang group’ in Pakistan and the ‘Times of India’ group in India. These campaign aims to establish mutual peace and promotion of diplomatic and cultural relationship between Pakistan and India that will ultimately strengthen peace in South Asia. It was started on January 1, 2010. It received warm response from both countries. (Janggroup.com, 2011)

“Aman-ki-Aasha” is an inspiration from an international NGO named “Friends without Borders”. This NGO had started people-to-people campaigns between the two states during 2005-2007. Later on, in August 2007, the times of India and the Jang group joined with Friends without Borders and started peace efforts which got the systematic form of Aman-ki-Aasha in 2010. (Janggroup.com, 2011)

Although, year 2010 had been a bumpy year for diplomacy between two countries with success, despite this, public perception of Indo-Pak relations at both government level and people level had enhanced in both countries due to Aman-ki-Aasha peace initiative. Where governments may have faltered, people of both

countries followed their hearts to forge ties which inspired the world. Pakistani cricketer Shoaib Malik, when got married to Indian tennis star Sania Mirza, the wedding had been a source of great interest in both countries. Meanwhile, the “Indo-Pak Express”, the double duo couple of Indian RohanBopanna and Pakistani Aisam-ul-Haq Qureshi won the respect of their sporting rivals and fans alike, reaching the finals of the US Open and making a moving appeal for peace. (Janggroup.com, 2011)

As the introduction depicts, this research work is a call to all of those who believe in building rather than destroying, who embrace diversity as means of progress rather than as a threat and who believe in the dignity of mankind across religion, ethnicity, race and culture.

Objectives of the study

1. To analyze the difference in approach of both countries’ media.
2. To find out the ways and means so as to minimize these differences for the sake of world peace.
3. To counter the internationally created image that India and Pakistan can never be friends.
4. To provide suggestions for improvement in press policies of both countries.
5. This research is intended to contribute to the ultimate goal of bringing peace, security and prosperity to two developing nations and to nearly a billion people, who are

blessed with an immense but largely unexplored potential for great achievement regionally and globally.

Methodology of the study

It is a census study of the editorials of daily 'Jang' and daily 'Times of India' from January 2009 to December 2010 which are to conduct this study, the researcher collected two years newspapers of daily Jang and Times of India i-e from January 2009 to December 2010. Almost 730 copies of each newspaper were published during the specified time period. Hence the researcher studied all the editorials of two years and separated all the editorials which were directly related to the topic. The researcher found 75 editorials in daily Times of India and 81 editorials in daily Jang which were related to the topic of research. A census study of these editorials was conducted to check the portrayal of peace.

Research Design

Content analysis technique is used to evaluate the content of editorials. The researcher carried out content analysis of 75 editorials of Times of India and 81 editorials of Jang.

Wimmer and Dominick (2010), while explaining the content analysis technique in their book, narrate that after the specification of research topic and research design a 'Universe' is devised.

Universe of the Study

Editorials are the opinion articles written by the newspaper editor and they reflect the newspaper policy, regarding the particular issue about which the Editorial is being written. The universe of this study includes all the editorials of daily 'Jang' and daily 'Times of India' that have been published from January 2009 to December 2010, that is almost 730 editorials of each newspaper.

Population of the Study

After devising universe of the study, the researcher formulates 'population of the study'. Wimmer and Dominick (2010) "It means all the material on which the researcher researches". All the editorials which discuss any of the conflict issues existing between India and Pakistan are included in the population of this study.

The total population of the study contains 75 editorials collected from the 'Times of India' and 81 editorials collected from the 'Jang'.

Sampling

At the next step, according to Wimmer and Dominick (2010) a 'sample' is devised which is as follows:

"A sample is a subset of population that is taken to be the representative of entire population".

As this research was a census study, hence, the researcher did not choose any sample out of the population and no sampling was done instead all the 75 editorials of Times of India and directly related to the topic of this study. 81 editorials of Jang were studied and analyzed. When the population size is not too big and can be easily studied sampling is not done. Such study is called census study.

Unit of Analysis

Next step is to specify a unit of analysis. Wimmer and Dominick, (2010) define unit of analysis in their book 'Mass Media Research' in the following words;

"The unit of analysis may be a single word or symbol, a theme, or an entire article or story".

Unit of analysis means the unit or thing which is to be measured during the research. All editorials that address Pak-India conflict issues coverage and all the editorials that support or refute peace process between Pakistan and India have been taken as the population. The unit of analysis was paragraph.

Operational Definition:

Operationalization means the process of making abstract ideas and things visible by defining them.

An operational definition assigns meaning to construct a variable by specifying activities or operation necessary to measure it.

In simple words Operationalization is the defining of a particular data or phenomenon. Hence, the researcher operationally defines ‘the portrayal of Peace’ so as to make it measurable and to check the hypothesis of research.

Operationalization of “Portrayal of Peace”

The term “portrayal of peace” was operationalized for checking out the hypotheses and answering research questions

Words, sentences and paragraphs related to:

1. Condemnation of Terrorism.
2. Condemnation of War between India and Pakistan.
3. Condemnation of Injustice.
4. Promotion of dialogue.
5. Promotion of trade, transportation and other joint ventures.
6. Promotion of bilateral relations.
7. Promotion of intellectual and cultural exchange.
8. Solution of Kashmir problem
9. Solution of Water issue
10. Respect for sovereignty and stability in the region.

The researcher checked out the portrayal of peace by measuring the above-mentioned factors while studying the editorials. For e.g. if in 81 editorials of Jang promotion of dialogue is found in 25 editorials and in 75 editorials of Times of India promotion of dialogue is found in 20 editorials, it means Jang was more positive in promotion of dialogue than Times of India.

Category Construction

At this step, the variables are categorized. The researcher devised three categories for studying and analyzing editorials at first step for checking the portrayal of peace by the two newspapers. These categories are as follows:

Positive

All the editorials that were in favor of all or any of the above-mentioned factors were coded as positive.

Negative

All the editorials that were against one or any of the above-mentioned factors were coded as negative. For instance, 'Times of India' in its editorial of November 19, 2009 says,

'According to Gillani, the Kashmir holds the key to durable peace in the region. That is seriously questionable proposition, and Islamabad cannot hope to use it as an alibi for failing to crack down on anti-India terror groups operating from Pakistani soil. The lack of satisfaction on 26/11 or of action on India-special terror groups will make it harder for New Delhi to go back to peace talks just yet'.

Neutral

All the editorials, other than the positive and negative category, were included in neutral category

Procedure

The researcher compared the editorial policies of Jang and Times of India by studying the editorials of these newspapers to compare the portrayal of peace by both newspapers. [Hy]

Data Presentation

The researcher found a total number of 81 (100%) editorials related to the topic, in the daily ‘Jang’ from January 2009 to December 2010. Similarly, in daily ‘Times of India’ the researcher found 75 (100%) editorials relevant to the topic. The researcher analyzed all of these editorials, conducting a census study and found that in daily ‘Jang’ out of 81(100%) editorials, 50(61.72%) were neutral, 29(35.80%) were positive and 2(2.46%) were negative.

Similarly, in daily ‘Times of India’, out of the 75(100%) editorials, 48(64%) were found to be neutral, 25(33.33%) were positive and 2(2.66%) were negative. (See Table: 1)

Table 1: Quality of Portrayal of peace by “Jang” and “Times of India”

Newspaper	Editorials	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Jang	81(100%)	29(35.80%)	2(2.46%)	50(61.72%)
Times of India	75(100%)	25(33.33%)	2(2.66%)	48(64%)

Figure: 3 Graphical presentation of portrayal of Peace by Jang and Times of India

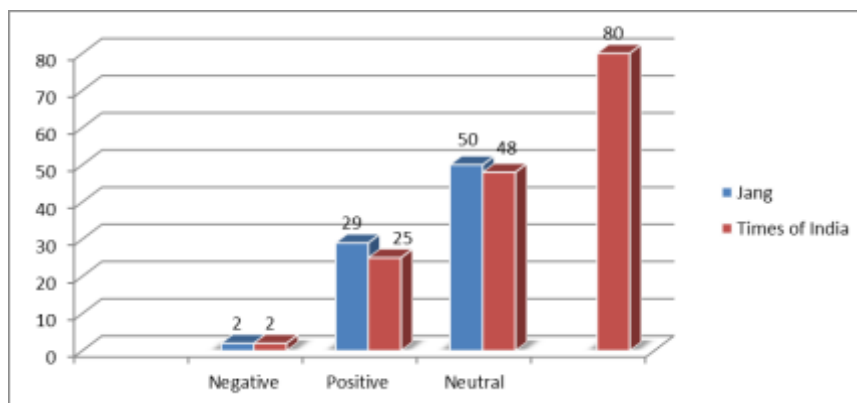


Table 1 and figure 3 show that both the newspaper i.e. daily ‘Jang’ and ‘Times of India’ were neutral in their peace portrayal. However, if the two newspapers were compared, Jang was found to be more positive 29(35.80%) of 81(100%) in portrayal of peace than ‘Times of India’ 25(33.33%) of 75(100%). Similarly, ‘Times of India’ appeared to be more neutral 48(64%) of 75(100%) than the ‘Jang’ 50(61.72%) of 81(100%).

Hence, collectively it can be denoted that ‘Jang’ was found to be more positive than ‘Times of India’ in its portrayal of peace whereas ‘Times of India’ was found to be more neutral than ‘Jang’ in its portrayal of peace.

The researcher sorted out the coverage of different conflicted issues between India and Pakistan to check out the coverage of conflicted matters, that how a particular newspaper has placed its

emphasis on different bilateral issues prevailing between the two countries.

Table 2: Most frequently covered conflict issues by ‘Jang’

Total	Kashmir Issue	Mumbai Attacks	Strategic Tactics to become more Influential	Water Issue
81	50	45	29	27

Table 2 explores the most frequently focused conflict issues by ‘Jang’. It is evident that ‘Jang’ mostly cited ‘Kashmir issue’ as an important one. Secondly, ‘Jang’ talked about ‘Mumbai attacks.’ Thirdly ‘Jang’ cited India’s strategic tactics to become more influential internationally.

Table 3: Most frequently discussed conflict issues by ‘Times of India’

Total	Mumbai Attacks	Religious Interest Groups	Kashmir Issue	ISI
75	39	39	14	12

It is evident from table 3 that in contrast to ‘Jang’, ‘Times of India’ most frequently discussed ‘Mumbai attacks’ and secondly it talked about the ‘involvement of religious interest group e.g. Al-qaida, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Taliban and Jaish-e-Muhammad in terrorism.

On the other hand, Kashmir was widely discussed by ‘Jang’ while ‘Times of India’ provided it with less coverage as compared to ‘Jang’. (See Figures: 4)

Figure 4: Graphical representation of comparative coverage of conflict issues.

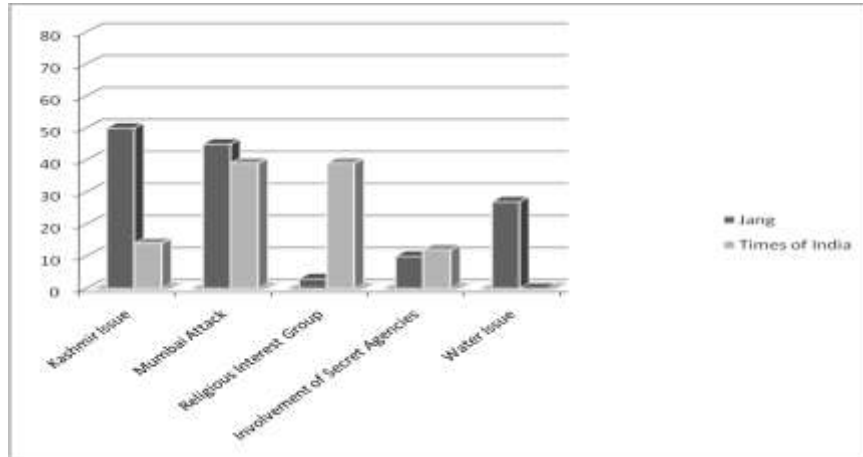


Figure 4 explains the difference in coverage of ‘Jang’ and ‘Times of India’ and makes it clear that how a particular newspaper placed emphasis on different bilateral problems existing between the two countries.

Table 4: Ratio of Portrayal of Peace by ‘Jang’ and ‘Times of india’

Newspaper & Editorials	Condemnation of			Promotion of				Solution of		Desire of Stability
	Terrorism	War	Injustice	Dialogue	Trade & Transport	Intellect & Culture	Bilateral Relations	Water Issue	Kashmir Issue	

Jang 81	18	10	18	25	5	2	22	23	23	3
Times of India 75	18	0	6	20	4	6	13	0	6	7

Figure 5: Graph presenting comparative analysis of portrayal of peace by ‘Jang’ and ‘Times of India’

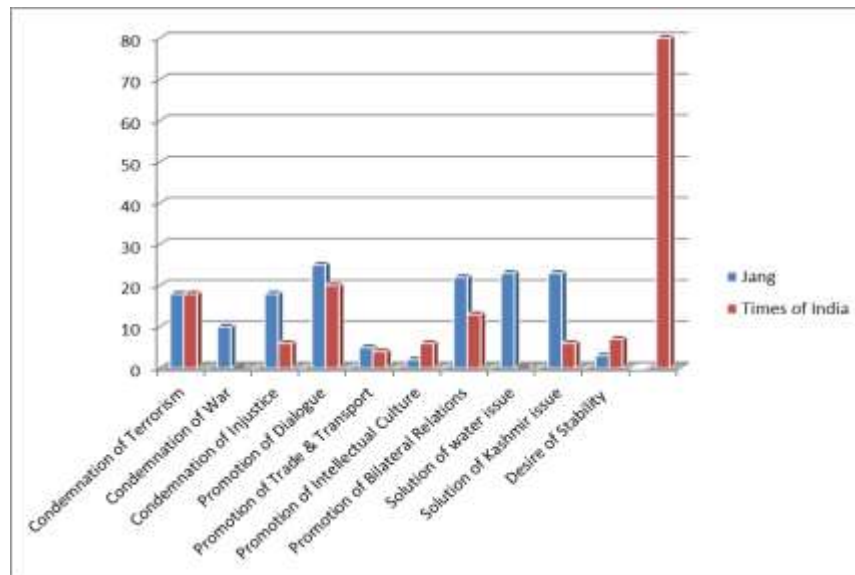


Table 4 and figure 5 collectively present the comparative analysis of portrayal of peace as expressed by ‘Jang’ and ‘Times of India’. It is evident from the above illustrations that ‘Jang’ was more positive in the portrayal of peace than the ‘Times of India’.

Findings

Research Question No. 1: What is the quality or type of peace portrayal in daily 'Jang' and 'Times of India'? Basically, both the newspapers were more neutral in their portrayal of peace. (See Table: 1 and Figure: 3)

Research Question No. 2: Which newspaper out of the two is more positive in portrayal of peace than the other one?

If compared, 'Jang' was found to be more positive in portrayal of peace than 'Times of India'. (See Table: 1 and Figure: 3&4)

Research Question No. 3: What are the issues which are commonly emphasized by 'Jang' and 'Times of India' regarding portrayal of peace?

Both newspapers condemned terrorism by the ratio of 20:20, promoted dialogue by the ratio of 20:25 and promoted trade and transportation by the ratio of 4:5 with 'Jang' designating higher portrayal of peace than 'Times of India'. (See Table: 4 and Figure: 4)

Research Question No. 4: What is the difference in approach of daily 'Jang' and 'Times of India' regarding portrayal of peace?

'Jang' placed more emphasis on some issues like 'solution of water issue' and 'Kashmir dispute', which were on the other hand less emphasized by 'Times of India'. Here 'water issue resolution' was emphasized by the ratio of (0, 23), 'Kashmir dispute resolution' was emphasized by the ratio of (6, 23) and 'condemnation of war' by the ratio of (0, 10) where the 'Times of India' was less positive in portrayal of peace. (See Table: 4 and Figure: 4)

The overall result is that hypothesis H was found to be true by the researcher.

Discussion

The researcher also found during the analysis that 'Jang' was slightly negative in its portrayal of peace and this negative portrayal was also less frequent in two years.

Moreover, the researcher observed that whenever, 'Jang' became negative to the portrayal of peace, or it was going to be negative, it suggested that Pakistan should build up international pressures on India

Similarly, 'Times of India' was also seen negative sometimes in portrayal of peace, although less frequently in two years. For instance, in editorial of November 19, 2009,

'The mention of India and Pakistan in the us-China joint statement issued during US president Barack Obama's trip to China has set alarm bells ringing in New Delhi. There are two aspects of declaration that have possibly raised red flags in India. One, the clubbing together of India and Pakistan raises the specter of re-hyphenation of the two countries in US foreign policy, something that was seen to have jettisoned by the George Bush government. Two, it hints at a role for china to broker good relations between New Delhi and Islamabad. This is unacceptable to India which sees relations with Pakistan as a bilateral issue'.

While studying the editorials of both newspapers the researcher observed that the ‘order of importance’ or ‘emphasis’ placed on different conflict issues between India and Pakistan was different by both newspapers.

It is because ‘Jang’ widely discussed Kashmir issue, ‘Mumbai attacks’ ‘India’s strategic tactics to become more influential’ and ‘water issue’ and provided little coverage to other conflict issues like ‘separatists groups help to both countries’, ‘Hindu Muslim conflicts’, ‘religious interest groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba’, ‘Indian permanent seat issue in security council’ and ‘insurgency of RAW in Pakistani internal matters and cross border terrorism’. On the contrast, Times of India seemed least concerned about ‘water issue’ and more concerned towards discussing matters like ‘separatist groups help to both countries’, ‘Intervention of religious interest groups like LeT, Al-qaida and Taliban’ in India, ‘insurgency of ISI’ in Indian terrorism etc. where as in terms of discussing matters like ‘Kashmir’ and ‘Mumbai attacks’, ‘Times of India’ was also obsessive.

Instead of widely discussing the conflicted issues, ‘Times of India’ seemed to be narrating and focusing more on the internal and external matters of Pakistan. For instance, discussion on Zardari government in Pakistan, liberation of Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, chief justice issue in Pakistan and other current affairs of Pakistan. In an editorial of March 17, 2009, ‘Times of India’ writes.

‘While their reinstatement together with the ending of the ban on sallies and release of arrested opposition activities will help restore a measure of stability in

Pakistan, they will leave President Zardari seriously weakened’.

Similarly, on April 9, 2009 ‘Times of India wrote,

‘Pakistan today faces not just a political, security and economic night mare but a social collapse as well.’

‘Jang’ and ‘Times of India’ provided 35.80% and 33.33% positive coverage to portrayal of peace respectively. The researcher would like to quote some positive sentences regarding portrayal of peace from both the newspapers.

‘Times of India’ on January 13, 2010 writes,

‘Better relations between India and Pakistan undoubtedly hold the key to transforming the South Asian region. Even as the governments of the two countries engage each other in fits and starts, people to people initiatives such as Aman Ki Asha, this newspapers project. -Continue to place their hope in the prospect of peace. Imperative as better India-Pak relations are, it is works in progresses’

Table 4 and Figure 3, collectively, present the ratio and proportion of peace portrayal by both newspapers. It is evident that both Jang and Times of India condemned terrorism with almost equal intensity and promoted the dialogue process between India and Pakistan but the researcher observed during the analysis that ‘Times of India’ highly played down the solution of water issue, as

it did not write a single editorial regarding this issue. Moreover, 'Times of India' also less frequently enforced the solution of Kashmir dispute. A significant change was observed in the policy of 'Times of India' after the start of Aman-Ki-Asha in 2010, when it talked for the first time on February 8, 2010 about the resolution of Kashmir dispute since January 1, 2009, i.e. almost after one year. It wrote,

'Talks could not only be alert business and cross border ties, on the necessity of curbing jihadi groups; they could lead on to Afghanistan and Kashmir. Agreement on Kashmir was well advanced when Musharraf was in power, but the process was interrupted by his downfall. That process could be taken forward again. A resolution of Kashmir, together with Pakistan coming to terms with its internal Jihadi demons, would reverse years of bitter hostility between the two nations, and initiate a new era for sub-continent's youth. It is with that hope that Aman Ki Asha initiative was launched by this newspaper together with the Jang group in Pakistan.'

One of the other things observed by the researcher during the analysis of Times of India was that in many editorials, it desired for stability in Pakistan. It provided suggestions for a stable Pakistan and made discussions on this issue.

Both 'Jang' and 'Times of India' decoded Sania-Shoaib marriage as a good sign for the establishment of good relations between India and Pakistan.

'Jang' also condemned the on-border firing by both countries, when someone mistakenly crossed the borders.

This study has explored that the portrayal of peace by both the newspapers was positive and 'Jang' was more positive in portrayal of peace than 'Times of India'.

Recommendations

1. Pakistan and India should adopt creative ways to overcome domestic political constraints and they must re-establish the channels of communication on security issues. The countries should reconsider their positions which serve short-term political purposes so as to ensure long term national security gains.
2. Remarkable progress in reducing conflicts is impossible, unless both Islamabad and New Delhi recheck their reactions to each other. They should reassess their firm resistance to regional tables and enhance bilateral negotiations. If the Pakistani government takes renewed interest in conflict avoidance measures, bilateral channels of communication can be reopened.
3. Bilateral and regional channels can surely be used to enhance conflict avoidance and confidence building measures. It would be a wise strategy for India and Pakistan, if they take these measures more seriously and should not consider it a favor to USA, Germany or Japan, but to themselves. The leadership of both countries should

take greater responsibility for existing measures and should ensure their proper implementation in spirit. Despite lingering grievances, the two countries should consider new measures to serve mutual national security interests.

4. Latest plans of liberalization and economic reforms in India and Pakistan has resulted in growth of young professionals, private entrepreneurs, business consultants and technical experts in both countries. India and Pakistan should recruit energetic and forward-looking business professionals into the confidence building process. The enormous potential of this constituency for influencing public opinion and political leaders, as well as for mobilizing business resources, still remains to be tapped.
5. It is quite better to institutionalize intelligence links between the two neighbors, in spite of activating them only in the time of crisis. This was the reason of their failure in 26/11 Mumbai attacks that intelligence links are not properly institutionalized. In due course of institutionalization of intelligence links, both countries would start to understand the need of open intelligence posts in diplomatic missions. Meanwhile, the harassment of each other's officers and staff would end. Intelligence links are successful where all other strategies fail.

References:

Cohen, S.P. (1978). Perception, Influence and weapons proliferation in South Asia. (Publication No. 1722-920184) Report for the US. Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

Hoodboy, P. (1996). Nuclear Issues: Myths and Realities. In *Crisis Prevention, Confidence Building and Reconciliation between India and Pakistan*. New Delhi: Vanguard Books.

Mathes, R. (1991). The Role and function of the Mass Media in Political Conflicts. In *KEIO Communication Review No. 13*. P 57.

Mc Quail, D. (1987). *Mass Communication theory*. London: Sage.

Saritoprak, Z. (2005). An Islamic Approach to peace and Nonviolence: A Turkish Experience 1. *The Muslim World*, 95(3), 413-427. Retrieved from <http://salsa.net/peace/conv/islamnv-1.html>.

Wimmer, R. & Dominick, J, R. (2010). *An Introduction to Mass Media research* (9th Edition). Retrieved from [www.rogerwimmer.com /wrmediaresearch.htm](http://www.rogerwimmer.com/wrmediaresearch.htm).