

# War-Peace Journalism Across The Border: Framing Analysis Of Uri Attack Of 2016

ABEL K SHAJU

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## ABSTRACT

*This study will look at how the Indo-Pak relations are framed in e-newspapers like Times of India and The BBC using John Galtung's war and peace conceptual framework. The content analysis took place between September 16 and October 16, 2016. The items that appeared in the aforementioned e-newspapers during the time period under consideration were examined. Several statistical methods that are based on the Chi Square test were used to test the data acquired for this investigation. In comparison to the other two media, Indian media employed a lot more frames, according to the study's findings. There were no appreciable differences in the frames used by the three mediums.*

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Date of Submission: 22-10-2022

Date of Acceptance: 04-11-2022

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## I. INTRODUCTION

India and Pakistan are South Asia's two largest countries, and have been at odds since the day of partition. Unfortunately, these countries' histories are littered with wars, and they devote a sizable portion of their budget to defense (Bose, 2011). India and Pakistan are two countries that are directly tied and separated by a stressed amount of the world's two richest cultures and civilizations history (Badri-Maharaj, 2000). The bitterness between these countries is a tragedy. Both countries have suffered widespread losses in four major wars in which they have been enlisted life terms (Paul & Paul, 2005; Tavares, 2008).

Despite the fact that Pak-India has a number of disagreements, including the Kashmir conflict, terrorism, the water issue, and border hostility, the conflict between the two countries began on the first day of their separation (Lyon, 2008; ulHaq, 2003). Kashmir is a state in India. One of the major bones of contention flanking these countries is conflict. In order to crush Kashmir is a clear example of hostility between two nuclear-armed states, Pakistan and India "it is the world's most dangerous location " (Talbot, 2000). As a result, it must resolve this issue and restore peace. and the prosperity of Kashmir (Ganguly, Smetana, Abdullah, & Karmazin, 2019).

The 1960 Indus water contract between Pakistan and India resulted in extensive wars in 1965, 1971, and 1999, resulting in a great deal of unrest, confrontations, and border enmity (Alam, 2011; BadrulAlam, 2016). As a result, this situation gives the impression that the conflict will never be resolved (Miner, Patankar, Gamkhar, & Eaton, 2009). In addition, India blamed Pakistan for the terrorist attacks on the Indian Parliament in Mumbai in 2001. As a result, the Indian government stationed armed forces along the Pakistani border in retaliation for the Mumbai attacks. Pakistan, on the other hand, reacted to India's action by banding together in the same way that led to another conflict (Joshi, 2010; Mustafa, 2003).

## MEDIA

The media plays an important role in informing the public about any issue or conflict. In this way, the media, whether through news, current affairs programmes, or entertainment programmes, helps to shape people's perceptions. No one would ever know what is going on in the world if they did not have access to news and information about it. Similarly, we learn a lot about various disciplines such as politics, religion, sports and terrorism (Robinson, 2008). This is vibrant that news media is vastly influential in managing public opinion and validates people's assessments in some precise way so that people can start thinking as the media wants them to think, according to McCombs (2002).

In the case of India-Pakistan relations, the news media has always been a critical tool for accelerating or de-accelerating relations (Z. Ali & Ajaz, 2014). Scholars argue that both Pakistani and Indian media has played a positive as well as negative role in fostering mutual relations between India and Pakistan (Khan, Adnan, Tariq, & Jabeen, 2015).

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Indian Independence Act of 1947 established religious demographics as the basis for partitioning British India. On both sides of the border, there was a massive population exchange (14.5 million people crossed

the border), which was accompanied by massive violence and slaughter (Wolpert, 2010). Rival nationalism and statehood eventually erupted in bloodshed, and what had previously been suspicion about each other's motives became hatred (Wolpert, 2010).

Gandhi's "appeasement" policy toward Muslims, which allowed Pakistan to exist at the cost of so much "Hindu blood," was criticized by the Hindu Mahasabha, a hardline politico-religious body (Talbot, 2000). As a result, two countries that were split off from one, sharing a common history and a common people, were doomed to be enemies.

The Indian Independence Act allowed the 562 princely states that made up British India to choose between joining India or joining Pakistan. With a Hindu ruler (Maharaja Hari Singh) and a predominantly Muslim population, Jammu and Kashmir had a difficult time choosing between the two (Bose, 2010). In October 1947, the trigger was pulled when Muslim peasants in the border region of Poonch refused to pay their Hindu landlords' taxes (Wolpert, 2010). When the landlords retaliated with bullets, the peasants fled across the border to tribal Pathans for assistance. Hundreds of Pathans entered India with the intention of retaking Kashmir, aided by Pakistani army regulars. A nervous person Hari Singh sought assistance from the Indian government, which obliged him to sign the union with the republic of India (Tunzelmann, 2007)

The first Indo-Pak war ensued, which lasted till the end of 1948. On January 1, 1949, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru approached the United Nations, under whose auspices both sides agreed to a ceasefire. Pakistan was required to "secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purpose of fighting, and to prevent any intrusion into the State of such elements and any furnishing of material aid to those fighting in the State," according to the agreement ("Resolution 47" of the UN Security Council).

A ceasefire line was established by the Karachi Agreement, which was signed in July 1949, and was to be observed by a UN military observer group (United Nations, 1965). This line became known as the Line of Control over time, and both countries' forces have actively manned it. It has seen two major wars (1965 and 1971) and one minor war, Kargil (1999), and is considered "the most dangerous place in the world" by former US President Bill Clinton (Independent, 2000).

**First Kashmir War (1947):** The competition for control of Jammu and Kashmir led to India and Pakistan's first war in 1947. The two nations started an arms race as a result of the ongoing conflict and tension between them, which aided in the consolidation of their respective national security institutions' influence (Ganguly, 2002).

**Second Kashmir War (1965):** In 1964, after failing to persuade the UN Security Council to take new diplomatic initiatives to resolve the Kashmir dispute, Pakistan attempted to compel India to make concessions by inciting an uprising in Indian-controlled Kashmir (Haqqani, 2003). India responded by striking Kashmir and sending troops into the regions of Punjab and Sindh in Pakistan (Shah, 2010). The UN Security Council ordered a halt to hostilities because of concern over China interfering on Pakistan's side, and the conflict ended on September 22, 1965, after seventeen days of warfare. Pakistan's government, led by President Ayub Khan, accepted the Soviet Union's offer of mediation.

**Bangladesh Liberation War (1971):** The ensuing huge conflict among India and Pakistan was similarly the outcome of state drives (Inzham, 2010). In 1968, a mass improvement against President Ayub Khan's despot rule had provoked the re-weight of direct military rule in Pakistan, with the military promising to hold races for a social event to move toward another constitution, and then convert into a parliament to supervise the country (Ali, 2003). Later the dependable choices were held in 1970, and the Bengali-nationalist Awami League got an out and out bigger part in the social affair, the military changed its point of view (Khan, 2000). As opposed to providing over ability to the Awami League, the military began a serious military assault against it. India ensured that the presence of millions of Bengali evacuees on its space made it associated with the dispute (Iqbaal, 2003). India pursued East Pakistan in December 1971 and the dispute spread toward the Western lines as Pakistan shipped off confined air strikes and made a chose military push in Kashmir (Iqbaal). The contention completed on December 17, after the Pakistan outfitted force surrendered in East Pakistan. Bangladesh then, emerged as an independent state (Ali, 2003). The completion of this conflict was moreover followed by a reasonable energy for the new situation by the political likewise, military drive of Pakistan. Bhutto, Pakistan's new ordinary resident president, held dealings with India's Prime Serve Indira Gandhi (Ahammed, 2003). They shut the Simla Settlement on July 2, 1972 and agreed to decide their inquiries through particular discussions. (Ahammed, 2003)

**Kargil War (1999):** In 1999, Vajpayee and Pakistan's Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif articulated their assumption to discuss Kashmir (Riedel, 1999). This didn't stop the fighting in Kashmir. At some point from there on, it was tracked down that Pakistan's military had gotten key levels in Kashmir's Kargil region. India replied with gigantic ability to oust Pakistan troops, and Pakistan was bound in an intelligent way and agreed to leave Kargil (Ministry of External affairs, 1999). Contrasts rising up out of the treatment of this episode incited the loss of Sharif by Pakistan's military. General Pervez Musharraf transformed into the country's new ruler. In July 2001, Vajpayee invited Musharraf for talks in India. Their social occasions completed without an outcome, as

Vajpayee couldn't convince Home Minister L.K.Advani to embrace the Pakistani interest for visits on Kashmir (TNN 2001). During Musharraf's visit to India, he introduced a persuading guard for talks on Kashmir that was esteemed by various Indian evaluation makers (Iqbaal, 2003).

### **Cross Border Terrorism**

The term "cross-border" denotes a movement or activity that takes place across a border separating two nations. Cross-Border Terrorism is a type of terrorism where the territory of one country is used to sow terror in neighboring nations. It is an undeclared war known as a "grey zone conflict" and is thought to be the best way to bleed a country for a long time with little effort (Kohler, 2009).

Pakistan began interfering in J&K soon after independence when it dispatched armed raiders to forcibly seize the state (Chaudary, 2020). The raiders beyond the current Line of Control (LoC) were driven out by the Indian state's prompt use of the Army, but Pakistan has continued its efforts to annex the state through force. The second India-Pakistan War resulted from this (Bose, 2011). As a prelude to the Pakistan Army invading and forcibly annexing J&K, the infiltrators hoped to incite a local uprising against the Indian state. Additionally, India retaliated by escalating the conflict by launching offensive operations into the Pakistani provinces of Punjab and Sindh across the International Border (cfr, 2007). Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan's then-foreign minister, was alarmed by this development and gave a fiery speech at the UN Security Council condemning India for its aggression and pledging his country's intention to "fight for a thousand years"(Bhutto, 1965).

### **URI ATTACK:**

Around 5:30 a.m. on 18 September, 2016 four terrorists went after an Indian Army unit central command in Uri, close to the street of Control during a pre-sunrise snare. They were said to have hurled 17 projectiles quickly (TOI, 2016). As a back regulatory headquarters with tents burst into flames, 17-armed force staff were killed during the assault and further 19-30 officers were accounted for to have been harmed (The Hindu, 2016). A weapon fight followed enduring six hours, during which every one of the four assailants were killed. Brushing tasks kept on flushing out extra fear mongers remembered to be alive. The vast majority of the fighters killed were from the tenth force, Dogra Regiment (10 Dogra) and sixth unit, Bihar Regiment (6 Bihar). one among the harmed fighters surrendered to his wounds on 19 September at RR Hospital in New Delhi, trailed by one more warrior on 24 September, carrying the cost to 19 (TNN, 2016).

The majority of the casualties were thought to have been caused by transition tents that weren't fire-resistant. There had been a change in the troop composition, with the 6 Bihar replacing the 10 Dogra. Tents, which are often avoided in sensitive regions near the LoC like Uri, were used to accommodate the approaching troops. The assailants broke through tight security to enter the camp, and they seemed to know just where to start their attack. Seven of the victims were members of the support crew, including barbers and cooks (The Hindu, 2016).

## **II. LITERATURE REVIEW**

The importance of the media in influencing public perception and framing movements and issues has been underlined by many academics (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989); Gitlin, 1980; Gans, 1979). "The majority of them agreed that the media plays an important role in society. exhibited a pro-status quo bias and a tendency to marginalize and delegitimize social movements. andpolitical deviants" (Hall, 1982; Hall et al., 1981), which latter is believed to be primarily accountable. because of the hegemonic role of the media (Herman and Chomsky, 1988).

Indurthy (2003) inspect that news media is a focal support point which can assist with advancing the respective relations inside or with different nations. It fills in as a device of public strategy. As indicated by Semetko, Brzinski, Weaver, and Willnat (1992) TV is a higher priority than papers for affecting popular assessment on unfamiliar nations. Concerning inclusion on Pak-India issue in Pakistani press of both Urdu and English dailies, results show very more negative inclusion has been given on undeniably chosen issues i.e Kashmir Issue, Terrorism, Water emergencies, get line insurrection over Sports, Trade and Showbiz (Yousef, 2013).

Additionally, Qaiser, Madni, Hassan, and Amin (2014) sees that greater part of respondents regularly watch private news channels and greater part were happier with the job of media inclusion given to issues connected with Showbiz and Sport. Besova and Cooley (2009) expressed that antagonistic inclusion has a larger number of impacts than impartial and positive inclusion and certainly media openness and general assessment on unfamiliar issues absolutely associated.

Siraj (2008) found that news coverage of Pakistan-India relations was primarily concerned with peace after analysing the portrayal of Pakistan in US newspapers. It is impossible to ignore the role of the media in shaping how different societies, nations, and their citizens are perceived, and it is the news from other countries that shapes our perception of the world as a whole (Brennen & Duffy, 2003). McChesney (2002) criticised US

media for favouring government policies excessively. He claimed that the distorted reporting of events in other nations and around the world in US media is a direct result of the professionalism of the media and journalists, the ownership of media outlets by large, profit-driven corporations, and ownership regulations. He goes on to say that the US media serves the interests of the ruling class.

According to Sajjad et al. (2010), traditional peace-building efforts such as "cricket diplomacy" and Amnaki Asha are being projected into the news media and entertainment industries. As a result, it was concluded that the media should play an effective role in educating the public about conflict and its resolution by taking a multi-dimensional approach (Ronald, 2017).

The most common way of expounding and relegating qualities to gatherings characterized as the foe, and scattering a perspective on them, is basic in the inside preparation of assessment that is expected to move populaces towards battles with each other, as per Jean Seaton's paper *The New "Ethnic Wars"* and the *Media* (Bose, 2011). In order to incite feelings of homogeneity within groups and label the enemies as excluded, national and cultural identity rhetoric is revived and invented. The media's role in stirring up these emotions is an aspect of 20th-century warfare (Ali, 2003).

The method of framing analysis has been generally applied to the investigation of media inclusion of war and social fights. Media researchers' hypothetical builds (Entman, 1993; Gamson, 1989; Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974) are especially all around lined up with this exploration. This study utilized outlining examination to investigate the ideas of determination, accentuation, and striking nature as characterized by Entman (1993: 52): "To frame is to feature specific parts of an apparent reality in a conveying text to advance a particular issue definition, causal understanding, moral assessment, as well as treatment suggestion for the thing portrayed.

In their analysis of local press coverage of policy support and dissent, Reese and Buckaley (1995: 47) discovered that the media employed frames to "control opposition and produce a coherent body of content supportive of administration policy." They contended that the same event may be covered in many news frames. One way to portray a demonstration is as a conflict between demonstrators and the police or other parties. Similar to how a news report could portray the demonstration, there could be incidences of violence and vandalism.

A frame, in accordance with Bateson (1972), describes the connection between several connected elements in a text. Clarifying this connection can help readers understand the problem or subject the text is discussing. Therefore, every message has two components: the specific content and a frame that describes how the message should be understood as a whole. Such communication on communication "helps the receiver to structure and define reality," continue Watzlawick, Beavin, and Jackson (1967).

The researcher has identified a select group of framing that typically occurs in the news but not necessarily at the same time. The majority of analyses focus on whether the news has any framing and how that affects overall evaluation. For instance, the contention framework and the attribution of blame in the news have both generated a lot of discussion (Patterson, 1993; Cappella and Jamieson, 1997) (Iyengar, 1991). A recent study by Neuman, Just, and Crigler (1992) is notable in that these researchers identified a few distinctive strategies that were common in American news coverage of a variety of topics, including conflict, financial outcomes, human impact, and deep quality framings.

## **THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK**

The framing theory holds that how everything is delivered to an audience (also known as "the frame") affects the choices individuals make regarding how to digest that information (Melendez, 2002). Abstractions called frames are used to shape or organise a message's meaning. The press and media's framing of the data they present is where frames are most frequently used (Tankard, 1995). They could be viewed as a type of second-level agenda-setting because they not only inform the audience what to think about, but also how to think about it. They are believed to affect how the audience perceives the news (second level agenda setting, framing theory) (Van Gorp, 2007).

The idea for the theory, which he named Frame Analysis, was first put forth by Goffman. According to him, people have interpreted what is happening in their reality using their fundamental assumptions. Because the user relies on this framework, it is regarded as primary. It does not require the existence of additional frameworks in order to be useful as a framework.

**Concept Of Framing:** A frame is "a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and other techniques," according to a research group led by James W. Tankard in 1990 and explanation. 1991's Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, & Ghanem.

The physical definition of "frame" relates to a photograph or a building's structural framework (Tankard, 2001). sketched out the varied goals of frames. According to him, the picture frame symbolises the highlighting and

separation of a specific object. The shape and colour of the frame give a hint as to how to see the isolated material, and that could be an image, a portrait, or any other object. Whenever messages are framed, the same effect happens because frames suggest one particular way to perceive the message. A house's organizing and supporting framework is called the frame. Communication frames act as the central concept of a message.

Schemata, frame packages, framing devices, and reasoning tools are a few components that contribute to framing (Van Gorp, 2007). Since they are essential to understanding the results of a frame analysis, it is important to comprehend these concepts. Schemata are defined as collections of ideas that are mentally stored and direct how a person processes information. A frame package is a collection of logically arranged components that serves as the frame's identity kit. The framing and reasoning devices make up the frame package. The word choice, metaphors, exemplars, descriptions, arguments, and visual images are all examples of framing techniques. Statements that deal with justifications, causes, and consequences are considered reasoning devices. (Van Gorp, 2007)

Although there are frequently barely noticeable, frames are fundamental to every culture. "The process of social construction remains invisible," according to (Gamson, 1992). "Frames are principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world," according to Reese (2001). He and others believe that frames are essential to culture's ability to function. People respond differently to various frames depending on their cultural upbringing, claims Goffman (1981). Nevertheless, depending on the persistence of the frame, people can become sensitised to them. This phenomenon is referred to by Entman as "cultural stock of frames." (2009) Entman Journalists and others who use frames to convey a particular message need to keep this in mind. By the "presence or absence of specific keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments," according to Robert Entman (1993), frames can be identified.

Framing analysis, which typically is a quantitative technique, can be found somewhere between discourse analysis and content analysis in the study of mass communication. (2002) Neuendorf Reese (2007) asserts that framing analysis is culturally specific than content analysis. Framing analysis is a tool for determining how people interpret various messages. To "grasp the fears and pains of a class, a community, or a nation, and then to crystallize their understanding of a problem," the researcher says this is helpful. (Ryan, 1991)

The researcher would use the second, deductive approach to assess the prevalence of frames in the news by reviewing the American and European literature on the topic (Brants&Neijens, 1998; Brants, van Meurs, &Neijens, 1995; Diez-Nicolas &Semetko, 1995; van Dijk, 1988; van der Eijk& van Praag, 1987; Kleinnijenhuis, Oegema, & de Ri Four news frames that had been noted in earlier studies were examined by the researcher: Conflict context. Conflict between individuals and groups is highlighted in this frame.

**Conflict Frame:** As a way of capturing audience interest, this frame emphasises conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions. Neuman et al. (1992) discovered that the media use a few central frames to report on a variety of problems, with conflict being the most prominent of these frames. Other research has found that political elites' discussions in the news frequently reduce complex substantive political debate to overly simplistic conflict. The news about the presidential election campaign is largely framed in terms of conflict (Patterson, 1993). The news media has been accused of instilling public cynicism and mistrust of political leaders as a result of their emphasis on conflict (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997).

**Human interest Frame:** This frame gives the presentation of an event, issue, or problem a human face or an emotional angle. This was dubbed the "human impact" frame by Neuman et al. (1992), and it was found to be a main frame in the news. As the news market becomes more competitive around the world, journalists and editors are working hard to create a product that piques and maintains audience interest (Bennett, 1995). One way to do this is to frame news in terms of human interest. In order to capture and retain audience interest, this frame refers to an attempt to personalize, dramatize, or "emotionalize" the news.

**Morality Frames:** In this frame, the event, issue, or problem is set against the backdrop of moral guidelines or religious doctrine. Because journalists must adhere to the professional standard of neutrality, they usually refer to ethical frames indirectly, for as by quote or inference, by letting someone else bring up the subject (Neuman et al., 1992). For instance, a newspaper might use the opinions of an identity group to express concerns about STDs. Such a narrative might contain a moral lesson or particular social rules of behaviour. Neuman et al. (1992, p. 75) classified this frame as one of numerous utilised in reporting, despite the fact that they found it to be more prevalent in readers' thoughts than in news content.

**Responsibility Frame:** This frame portrays a problem or issue in such a way that it assigns blame for its cause or solution to the government, an individual, or a group. Despite the fact that the presence of a responsibility frame in the news has not been quantified. Iyengar (1991) suggested that by framing a question or concern in terms of an incident, example, or individual rather of the broader historical social context, news promotes people to provide individual-level answers for social problems (thematically).

### III. METHODOLOGY

The review of the literature is carried out with knowledge of the subject and is regarded as a secondary data source for the study. The researcher provided a list of many studies on the conflict between India and Pakistan as well as studies on framing analyses of various subjects. The researcher learned several things from the literature review that will be useful for the current investigation. Chapter 3 provides a thorough explanation of the research's methodology.

The method through which you plan to conduct your research is referred to as your research methodology. Your approach to items like data gathering techniques, statistical analysis, participant observations, and more will be outlined here (Gottschalk, 1995).

### IV. CONTENT ANALYSIS

The study of human interactions, including how people plan their days, what they know, and how they react to events, is known as content analysis (Bengtsson, 2016). Traditional media inquiries, which were once employed for public opinion research, have given way to content analysis. In order to comprehend what people intend, what they enable, and what the information they send to business or society at large, content analysts look at data, photos, printed text, audio, social media, articles, books, journals, and the web. (Holsti, 1969).

According to Berelson, content analysis may be used because it can reveal cultural differences in content communication, identify propaganda, reveal the intentions, priorities, or communication patterns of an individual, group, or institution, describe attitudinal and behavioural responses to communications, and assess the psychological or emotional state of individuals or groups.

**SAMPLINGS:** This study uses quantitative content analysis of the frames used in Times of India, The Dawn and BBC from 16<sup>th</sup> of September 2016 to 16<sup>th</sup> of October 2016, the period leading up to and including the Uri Attack in Kashmir valley

Any systematic procedure devised to look at the content of recorded information, (Walizer and Wienir, 1978). According to Kerlinger (2000), content analysis is "a systematic, objective, and quantitative method of studying and analyzing communication with the goal of measuring variables." This study used one Indian newspaper, Times of India, one Pakistani, The Dawn, and one International, BBC, as representation of newspaper in the two countries and worldwide.

These three publications were chosen because they are widely considered to be the most important national newspapers in their respective countries. In the case of Times of India, it is generally accepted that it not only sets the agenda for other Indian news media but also exerts strong impact on Indian leaders and Indian foreign policies. Times of India is the largest circulated newspaper in India. The Dawn was selected because of the availability online and The Dawn is considered as one among the most circulated newspaper in Pakistan. Similarly, The Dawn offers content in English. BBC was selected for the international presence in this issue and BBC being the oldest and available piece of news the researcher found it easier for the study. These three publications also share similarities in terms of their significance, influence, content, and, relatively, format.

The study is based on a content analysis of 182 stories from 3 language online news. India and Pakistan were selected because these countries have long standing conflicts-The Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan exist since the Independence of both the countries For the newspaper articles, the researcher used each website's archive collections and the advanced search methods to collect the articles. The under keywords were used in the Times of India case to limit the search results: "uri attack site:https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com". The same method was used to obtain the results of Dawn and BBC.

Van Gorp claims that method of framing study is typical. He emphasizes that adapting nimbly to potential changes that might take place throughout the study is a crucial component of conducting a framing analysis (Van Gorp, 2007). The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In (Baldwin Van Gorp, 2007) provided step-by-step instructions, which were as closely adhered to as possible.

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RQ1: To what extent does the framing of Uri attack of 2016 differ between Times of India, The Dawn and BBC?

RQ2: Is there a significant difference in attribution of responsibility frame portrayed in Times of India, Dawn and BBC

RQ3: Does media portrays Uri attack in Human Interest frame?

RQ3: Is there a significance in conflict between India and Pakistan portrayed in articles?

### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The previous Washington Post president and distributor, Philip Graham, when depicted reporting as 'the primary unfinished version of history'. Indian media houses, particularly those related with the vernacular media appear to be absolutely uninformed about this reality and that could be the justification for why they are taking care of individuals with twisted news and investigation and consequently decimating realities. Rather than revealing the occasions as happened they are adhering to a specific line took care of by the foundation and reverberation the maximalist Indian authority position and on occasion even go past that. This is valid on account of covering Pakistan where the objectivity turns into the primary setback. In the midst of this multitude of them likewise pass up on no chance to lecture different media houses about the morals and standards of reporting. Lecturing and adulteration remain forever inseparable. The same is applicable vice versa too. Pakistan media tries portraying India as a rival country and reports accordingly. The new generations are growing up hearing all these rival stories, stories of war and conflict between the two countries. Without a reason the people hate each other. Media do play a major role in shaping young minds and generations. This study aims to find out the way the news organizations of both the countries frames each other and to find out whether there is a significant difference in framing URI Attack of 2016. An international media is taken as a third media to see how the world frames the issues between the two nuclear countries; India and Pakistan.

### FRAMING MEASURES:

Researcher devised a set of 17 questions to which the coder had to respond yes (1) or no (0) to determine the frequency with which certain frames appear in stories about politics. Each question was designed to assess one of four different news frames: Human interest, conflict, morality, and Responsibility. Some questions were such as "Does the article reflect disagreement between parties/individuals/groups?" (conflict), "Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?" (Human interest), "Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/ problem?" (Responsibility) and "Does the story contain any moral message?" (morality).

Researcher wanted to see if these questions clustered in a way that revealed underlying dimensions. Researcher used a minimum of three questions to assess each frame. Because the way to measure the presence of frames was exploratory, the researcher added additional question items for some of the frames because there was a potential that some of the test questions might not cluster correctly.

### V. DATA ANALYSIS AND INTEPRETATION

The researcher gathered and examined 182 stories in total (128 for Times of India, 37 for The Dawn, and 17 for BBC). Similarly, Times of India has used for frames (Responsibility, Human Interest, Conflict and Morality) than Dawn and BBC. After running through Chi-square test the researcher has found some interesting findings.

The Researcher analyzed different frames and prepared a code book. Table 1 shows the code book used by the researcher.

Frames Analysed	Codes Used
Responsibility Frame	
Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?	1a
Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem	1b
Does the story suggest solution to the problem/issue	1c
Does the story suggest that an individual or a group is responsible for the problem	1d
Does the story suggest the problem required urgent action	1e
Human Interest Frame	
Does the story provide a human example or human face on the issue	2a
Does the story employs adjectives or personal vignettes feelings	2b
Does the story emphasize how individuals are affected by the problem	2c
Does the story go into the private life of people	2d
Does story contains visual information that might generate emotions	2e
Conflict Frame	
Does the story reflects disagreement between two parties	3a
Does one party reproach another	3b

Does the story refers to two sides of the story	3c
Does the story refers to winners or losers	3d
Morality frame	
Does the story contain any moral message	4a
Does the story make reference to morality, gods or religious tenets	4b
Does the story offer specific social prescription about how to behave	4c

Table 4.1.1

**TABLE 4.1.2**

Table 4.1.2 is the master table of the data analysis. The detailed individual analysis will be discussed later

Frame	TOI		Dawn		BBC		Chi- square
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
Attributes of responsibility	38%	223	44%	100	42%	56	27.636**
Human interest	26%	153	19%	44	22%	29	
Conflict	28%	163	35%	80	36%	47	
Morality	8%	47	2%	5	0	0	
Responsibility	TOI		Dawn		BBC		Chi- square
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
1a	16%	34	18%	18	7%	4	3.879
1b	26%	56	24%	24	27%	15	
1c	16%	35	16%	16	20%	11	
1d	24%	53	25%	25	25%	12	
1e	18%	39	17%	17	21%	12	
Human Interest	TOI		Dawn		BBC		Chi- square
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
2a	20%	31	23%	10	14%	4	3.102
2b	25%	38	27%	12	31%	9	
2c	24%	37	27%	12	28%	8	
2d	15%	22	14%	6	17%	5	
2e	16%	25	9%	4	10%	3	
Conflict	TOI		Dawn		BBC		Chi- square
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
3a	40%	66	39%	31	34%	16	7.181
3b	37%	60	38%	30	34%	16	
3c	15%	24	15%	13	30%	14	
3d	8%	13	8%	6	2%	1	

Table 4.1.2



**4.1.3 The extent to which framing of Uri attack of 2016 differ between Times of India, The Dawn and BBC.**

Frame	TOI		Dawn		BBC		Chi- square
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
Attributes of responsibility	38%	223	44%	100	42%	56	27.636**
Human interest	26%	153	19%	44	22%	29	
Conflict	28%	163	35%	80	36%	47	
Morality	8%	47	2%	5	0	0	

Table 4.1.3

\*Significant at 0.05

\*\*Significant at 0.01

Table 4.1.3 shows that there is a huge difference in the frames used by Times of India, Dawn and BBC (x2=0.000). Further analysis using adjusted residuals proved statistically significant at 0.000.

The adjusted residual value of attribution of responsibility frame is not significant( > +\_ 1.9) to be noted hence the Times of India, Dawn and BBC has used responsibility frame in a similar manner without much differences.

The Times of India's adjusted residual value in the Human-Interest frame is 2.1, Dawn's is -1.9, and BBC is not non-significant. This actually indicates that Times of India used a very high Human-Interest frame. Dawn, on the other hand, has paid very little attention to producing articles with a human-interest framework.

Times of India used significantly fewer conflict frames to describe the URI attack in 2016 (Times of India's adjusted residual value is -2.4), whereas Dawn and BBC's adjusted residual values were insignificant.

It's very intriguing how Times of India focused on morality frames when describing the 2016 URI attack. The Times of India's adjusted residual value for the morality frame is 4.4, which is extremely highly significant. Similar to this, Dawn only used a very small amount of the morality frame, resulting in a -2.5 for her adjusted residual value. With an adjusted residual value of -3.0, BBC has used the morality frame significantly less than the other two papers.

**4.1.4 The difference in Attribution of Responsibility frame portrayed in Times of India, Dawn and BBC**

Responsibility	TOI		Dawn		BBC		Chi-Square
	%	n	%	n	%	n	
1a	16%	34	18%	18	7%	4	0.868
1b	26%	56	24%	24	27%	15	
1c	16%	35	16%	16	20%	11	
1d	24%	53	25%	25	25%	14	
1e	18%	39	17%	17	21%	12	

Table 4.1.4

The table 4.1.4 shows that there is no significant difference in the way Responsibility frame was used in Times of India, Dawn and BBC in portraying the URI attack of 2016. Further analysis using the adjusted residuals prove statistically non-significant.

**4.1.5 Media portrayal of Uri attack of 2016 in Human Interest frame**

	TOI		Dawn		BBC		
Human Interest	%	n	%	n	%	n	Chi- square
2a	20%	31	23%	10	14%	4	3.102
2b	25%	38	27%	12	31%	9	
2c	24%	37	27%	12	28%	8	
2d	15%	22	14%	6	17%	5	
2e	16%	25	9%	4	10%	3	

Table 4.1.5

The table 1.4 shows that media portrayal of URI attack of 2016 has no significant difference with respect to Human Interest frame. Further analysis using the adjusted residual value prove statistically non-significant.

**4.1.6 Conflict between India and Pakistan portrayed in articles**

	TOI		Dawn		BBC		
Conflict	%	n	%	n	%	n	Chi- square
3a	40%	66	39%	31	34%	16	7.181
3b	37%	60	38%	30	34%	16	
3c	15%	24	15%	13	30%	14	
3d	8%	13	8%	6	2%	1	

Table 4.1.6

The table 4.1.6 shows that there is no significant difference in Times of India, Dawn and BBC in portraying URI attack of 2016 with regards to Conflict frame. Hence analysis using the adjusted residual value prove statistically non-significant.

**4.1.7 Difference in the use of morality frame by Times of India, Dawn and BBC in Portraying URI attack of 2016**

The morality frame has never once been used by BBC to describe the 2016 URI attack. For all three of the questions in the code book, the code sheet accordingly recorded zero. Dawn also employed a morality frame of less than five. When using the chi-square test to get a significant p value, only three variables can be less than five. Because BBC and Dawn lacked appropriate morality frames, the Chi Square test yielded a non-significant value. As a result, it is meaningless how differently Times of India, Dawn, and BBC use the morality frame. The adjusted residual value's further analysis demonstrates that it is statistically insignificant.

**VI. FINDINGS**

The study made an effort to examine how the 2016 Uri attack was presented in news articles. India and Pakistan's history of conflict dates back to the time of their independence and partition. Years have passed, but the competition between the two nations has grown progressively more intense. Since the media is the primary source of information, people rely on it. However, the credibility of the media is called into question if it is not impartial, free, and independent. Every media outlet always portrays their side of the conflict more favorably than that of the adversary while attributing flaws to the latter Because two nations make up the media's target

audience, it is important for the media to report events accurately while avoiding creating hype. With this in mind, the researcher began the study by making a code sheet and code book, then carefully examining each and every article from the Times of India, Dawn, and BBC. With the aid of earlier studies on the subject, the frames were established, and the code book was marked appropriately. The results of the Chi-Square test were observed and examined after the findings from the code sheet. After carefully examining the findings, the researcher discovered that Times of India used more frames than Dawn and BBC and that the Chi-Square value was highly significant. According to the adjusted residual value, Times of India used the conflict frame very infrequently while heavily emphasizing the human interest and morality frames. Contrarily, Dawn has demonstrated less interest in depicting the Uri attack with a Human interest and Morality frame, and Responsibility and conflict frame became insignificant. In all of the framing analysis, the BBC maintained a very low profile with non-significant adjusted residual values for all four frames.

To determine the differences in the significance of portraying various frames, the Chi-Square test was applied to all of the frames. The researcher discovered that all four frames—responsibility, human interest, conflict, and morality—were used similarly and without much significant variation by all three news outlets because the Chi-Square value of all four-frame analysis was not significant. According to their audience reach and country of origin, three news publications were chosen. But the study showed that all three newspapers (Times of India, Dawn, and BBC) accurately and impartially covered the 2016 Uri attack in a similar manner and with similar frames.

## VII. CONCLUSIONS

The researcher carefully examined the results and found that Times of India used more frames than Dawn and BBC and that the Chi-Square value was very significant. The conflict frame was used by Times of India very infrequently, while the human interest and morality frames were heavily emphasized, according to the adjusted residual value. On the other hand, Dawn has shown less interest in portraying the Uri attack with a Human interest and Morality frame, and Responsibility and conflict frame became unimportant. The BBC maintained a very low profile throughout the entire framing analysis, with non-significant adjusted residual values for all four frames.

The Chi-Square test was used to analyze all of the frames to see how the significance of each frame varied. Because the Chi-Square value of the all-four-frame analysis was not significant, the researcher found that all three news outlets used all four frames—responsibility, human interest, conflict, and morality—in largely similar ways and with little statistically significant variation. Three news outlets were chosen based on their readership and place of origin. The study, however, revealed that the 2016 Uri attack was fairly and objectively covered by all three newspapers (Times of India, Dawn, and BBC) in a consistent manner and using consistent frames.

This study found that, despite the fact that people who have been enemies for more than 60 years no longer need a continuation for their aggressive behavior, all three media outlets framed the 2016 Uri attack in a similar and significant way. On both sides, there is a growing awareness that journalism, when practiced responsibly and with both knowledge and compassion, can actually help to improve relations between India and Pakistan.

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**APPENDIX**

Framing Items

<u>Attribution of responsibility</u>		
Does the story suggest that some level of gov't has the ability to alleviate the problem?		
Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?		
Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?		
Does the story suggest that an ind. (or group of people in society) is resp. for the issue-problem?!		
Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?		
<u>Human interest frame</u>		
Does the story provide a human example or "human face" on the issue?		
Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?		
Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?		
Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?		
Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?		
<u>Conflict frame</u>		
Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?		
Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?		
Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?		
Does the story refer to winners and losers?		
<u>Morality frame</u>		
Does the story contain any moral message?		
Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?		
Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?		

ABEL K SHAJU. "War-Peace Journalism Across The Border: Framing Analysis Of Uri Attack Of 2016" *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention (IJHSSI)*, vol. 11(11), 2022, pp 01-12. Journal DOI- 10.35629/7722