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# Media an agent of Peace or war? A study of *The Economist*, *The Herald* and *Time* during American Armed Operations in Pakistan

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## Abstract

This study, through content analysis investigates how three leading international news magazines *The Economist*, *The Herald* and *Time* covered the American armed operations in Pakistan. The researcher applies (Johan Galtung's 1998) frames and main indicators of war/peace journalism to examine whether there was any divergence in the coverage of three leading newsmagazines. The findings show that *The Economist* (Britain newsmagazine) and *Time* (American newsmagazine) adopted mostly war reporting than peace reporting. Apart from them *The Herald* (Pakistani newsmagazine) was more inclined to peace reporting than war reporting. *The Economist* and *Time* highlighted dichotomy and insisted on American armed operations in Pakistan as the most appropriate solutions for punishing Osama Bin Laden, the Taliban, to demolish Al-Qaeda network roots as well as continuously blaming the Pakistan army to have a dual face. On the other hand, *The Herald* critically highlighted anti-war protests, pro-U.S. policies of Pakistani administration and the casualties of the innocent civilians in Pakistan.

## Introduction

Media has a wide opportunity to disseminate information and it has a tremendous power to impinge on public perception about any local, national and international event both in peace and war. Mostly the powerful media mistreated and misrepresented the world generally in everyday life and particularly during fight, clash and war. The global media coverage of high profile subjects and distant state states has deeper impact of what the people perceive about the distant nations, and to a level of how legislators draw their policies with other countries (Besova, 2006).

Several studies have empirically established that the USA and other European countries did not distribute a good depiction of third world nations; it has its extensive influence on the status of the said nations and also has its impact on the growth of the nations (Wilfred, 1993; Said, 1981; Shaheen, 1988; Franks 2003; Hess & Kalb, 2003; Rahman, 2007; Siraj, 2012; Nohrsted, 2009; Kamran, 2012; Dimitrova & Connolly, 2007; Luther and Miller ,2005).

Though, Pakistan facilitated America in Afghanistan war as declared evident line state. Pakistan also provided logistics, intelligence and armed sustenance against the Taliban regime and Al-Qaeda network but NATO and allied forces continuously demanded more support and labeled Pakistan as a safe haven for Al-Qaeda network and the Taliban. USA started operations against Pakistan (e.g. drones, attack at Pakistan military troops, Osama assassination etc.) since 2004 till date. This study aims to reveal how the contents of widely read newsmagazines framed American armed operations in Pakistan from June 2004 to December 2011.

## Research Questions

- 1 What is the leading frame applied in *The Economist*, *The Herald* and *Time* about the coverage of American armed operations in Pakistan in relation to Galtung's war/ Peace Journalism theory?
- 2 Which are the prominent indicators of War Journalism about the treatment for American armed operations in Pakistan in above mentioned news magazines?
- 3 Which are the prominent indicators of Peace Journalism about the treatment for American armed operations in Pakistan in the above mentioned news magazines?

## Literature Review

Media participates in a society not only as an active pillar to disseminate information about universal issues, but it is also shaping up public opinion. Media usually become more alert during conflict, clash and military operations. Noshina and Mian research revealed that if the state directly faced the aggression and armed operations, then its media firmly carped the armed operations. Their research resolved that media edging is not continuously taking notation from administration in the framework of the overseas strategy linked matters. The inferences of the study of Dawn and *The News* editorials emphasized that the topmost Pakistani English print media were grave in their writings whereas conversing American drone spells in Pakistan. This research also declared that about overseas strategy matters media

framing was not inevitably inclined by country's professed overseas strategy purposes (2014).

Relative treatment of Britain and Pakistani media about the treatment of "war on terror" Schwalbe (2013) detected the rare variances among Britain and Pakistan based media as well as the single mutual component reflected in these nations media. The public demonstrations against the war was the vital frame in both states press. However, during the treatment of war on terror, Pakistani press tinted penalties of confrontation, severely disapproved the American strategies, and discussed the common public fatalities as well as imperceptible effects of battle. Pakistani press highlighted, the American strategies against Muslims and gave opinions about anti-war protests. On the other hand, Britain press in the initial stage of 9/11 reinforced American armed operation. But after monitoring the human rights violations during American armed operations, it also disparaged American war policies for its ambiguity, prejudiced arrogance towards Muslims and emphasized the coverage of public casualties.

Similarly, the study of the media of diverse states verified that how the "tale of war" was treated with diverse slants by the different international media conglomerates. Antiwar protests, annihilations, depressions of sufferers and civilian fatalities were more projecting on Arab online media clusters. On the other hand, European and American media emphasized elite-orientation, technological supremacy; supersonic missiles, latest weaponry, drones, etc. and generally overlook human miseries and anti-war protests. American media firmly supported the stance of its government (Dimitrova and Connolly, 2007).

In the review of numerous research works following themes became obvious. Proportional study of different media, illuminated that intruder country extremely reinforced the war and legitimized it by leading citing, in divergence the target country severely grave about the armed operations or conflict in their motherland and gave voice to victims. Some States, which were neither intruder straight nor the target deliver the alternate point of interpretations. U.K media emphasized the origins and penalties of the American war in Iraq, Sweden press also accentuated the civilian casualties, collateral loses and desolations of the sufferers of armed operations. In a relative study of the Greek and American press, the researchers discovered that human miseries, longitudinal influence of war and civilian casualties were the key slants of Greek press while, these angles were relegated in American mainstream media.

Likewise, the analysis of Khan (2008) regarding the coverage of Pakistan in the American press for pre-as well as post 9/11 era exposed that American press was framing Pakistan destructively during pre-9/11 phase. The research proclaimed that U.S press treated Pakistan unsympathetically even after Pakistan was a professed supporter of U.S in the "war on terror". Pakistan gave armed and tactical sustenance

as well as snatched required Taliban and Al-Qaeda associates, but their depiction remained adverse in the media.

This is the intention of the current analysis to discover in how the Britain, Pakistani and American magazines “*The Economist*, *The Herald* and *Time*” selected the War/Peace Journalism frames. The researcher also aims to reveal their striking indicators about “American armed operations in Pakistan” from June 2004 to December 2011.

## Theoretical Frame Work

The researcher used Gitlin (1980) “Framing Theory” besides Galtung’s “War/Peace Journalism Theory” to reveal in what way prominent global news magazines treat American armed operations in Pakistan. The supremacy of these concepts is that to prop up the crucial points and will attempt to help to comprehend the research questions. Numerous scholars later joint Galtung’s “War/Peace Journalism Theory” and “Framing Theory” in their studies. It is very significant to study how the mass media deliver eminence to particular matters frequently and marginalized others consciously.

“Framing refers to the placement of language and culture within the framework of power, of systems, politics and economics. This method presents individuals as simultaneous makers and consumers of culture, participating in that culture, according to their place in economic and political structures” (cited in Rahman, 2007, p. 52).

Nelson and Boynton (1997) mentioned that frames, manipulate public opinion by permitting particular stance and data moreover disregarding the other slants of evidence. In the event of American armed actions in Pakistan, numerous studies exposed in what way America and most European media sustenance these armed operations and while the media of Muslims states high point protests, anti-war complaints, collateral impairment and overall American prejudiced attitude against Islam and Muslims.

Johan Galtung described counterparts and divergences between peace journalism and war journalism. The current research follows the context assumed by Galtung who observed Peace/ War Journalism as two contrasting edges in the coverage of a fight, crash armed operations and war. He categorized the peace journalism in four extensive genera that are: “Peace/conflict, truth, people, and solutions-oriented”. Galtung categorized war journalism, as the one that is, “war/violence, propaganda, elites, and victory oriented”. He ensures that reports, journalists and media analysts should originally inspect the clatter’s historical and

societal abstraction and afterward gave non-biased treatment to all revelries of the clatter (Galtung, 2005).

In a summary, this work chiefly attempt to toe the Galtung war/peace journalism theory and framing theory to reconnoiter either American, U.K and Pakistan based newsmagazines highpoint the ferocity, publicity, leaders, and win-win oriented frames when framing the wars and crash or give prominence to the different slants like unseen effects of conflict, causes and outcomes, multi-party orientation, truth, public orientation and resolutions etc. to solve the American armed operations in Pakistan.

#### 4. Methodology

This study, through quantitative and qualitative analysis examines how these three newsmagazines framed American armed operations in Pakistan in their news items. The researchers apply Galtung war/peace journalism frames and indicators. This study considers all the news items as a unit of coding and paragraphs as unit of analysis that published in The prominent international newsmagazines on American armed actions in Pakistan.

War/Peace Journalism Frame	Categories	Coding Categories
War Journalism	“Visible effects of war”	Frequently reported about the dead and wounded armed persons and demoted the common public injuries, depressions and shocks at American operations in tribal areas of Pakistan.
Peace Journalism	“Invisible effects of war”	covering deep impressions of armed operations (local harmony spoiled, comradeship and alliance among the countries being crash, psychological strain, emotional trauma, missing persons, impairment to civilization, mutilation to values, etc.
War Journalism	“Differences-Oriented”	Point out the discrepancies between American and Pakistan government regarding Taliban network as well as Al-Qaeda

		network.
Peace Journalism	“Solution-Oriented”	Explore the expected areas of mutual understanding for peace talks and dialogue to resolve the issue instead of just killing the people.
War Journalism	“Elite-Oriented”	Marginalized the presence of common unarmed civilian in the areas of armed operations and reports are particularly quote the USA and western leading politicians as well as the officers of the forces.
Peace Journalism	“People-Oriented”	Recovered evidence from residents and victims of American armed exercises in tribal areas of Pakistan. Engrossed the depressions of families, women, destitute and senior citizens in their writings.
War Journalism	“Here and now”	Writers neglected the background of these operations and covered the running situation.
Peace Journalism	“Causes and consequences”	Explore the background, unseen economic aids, regional control and upcoming significances of it. Focuses on the main actors responsible for the whole situation.
War Journalism	“Dichotomizes the good and bad guys”	Mark some persons as evil doers always and accountable for American attacks in Pakistan.
Peace Journalism	“Avoid labeling of good guys and bad guys”.	Discuss the situation without labelling anyone superior or inferior.
War Journalism	“Two-party	Discuss the whole situation in the

	Orientation”	context of two states USA justified for planning attacks and Pakistan as culprit providing shelter to Afghans in her tribal areas.
Peace Journalism	“Multi-party Orientation”	Explore the point of all the suffers of American operations in Pakistan. .
War Journalism	“Partisan”	Slanted the evidences and favored USA stance regarding the issue. Ignore the rest of other apprehensions and suggestions.
Peace Journalism	“Non-Partisan”	Composed coverage without slanting the evidences. .
War Journalism	“Zero-sum Orientation”	American armed attacks were the only suitable solution to whip the terrorists. .
Peace Journalism	“Win-win Orientation”	Abundant strategies would solve the dead lock and armed operations would not the most suitable resolutions.
War Journalism	“Uses of demonizing language”	Framed the enemy as animal, Snake, rat, cockroaches, beast, etc.
Peace Journalism	“Avoid demonizing language”	Framed the enemy as respectable human beings as other.
War Journalism	“Stop talking about Peace treaties”	Marginalized the coverage to peace dialogue and negotiation. Frequently reported that armed operations were the most suitable tactics.
Peace Journalism	“Report about the aftermaths of War”	Highlights the gloomier impacts of wars and gave maximum coverage to peace talks and protests against

		the wars.
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Table 1

*War/Peace Journalism Frame in newsmagazines about American armed Operations in Pakistan*

Newsmagazines	Count	War journalism frames in Pakistan	Peace journalism frames in Pakistan	Total
The Economist	Count	66	13	79
	%within newsmagazines	83.5%	16.5%	100%
	%Cross newsmagazines	51.6%	18.6%	39.9%
The Herald	Count	33	54	87
	%within newsmagazine	37.9%	62.1%	100%
	%Cross magazines	25.7%	77.1%	43.9%
Time	Count	29	3	32
	%within newsmagazine	90.6%	9.4%	100%
	%Cross magazines	22.6%	4.3%	16.2%
Total	Count	128	70	198
	%within newsmagazine	64.6%	35.4%	100%
	%Cross magazines	100%	100%	100%

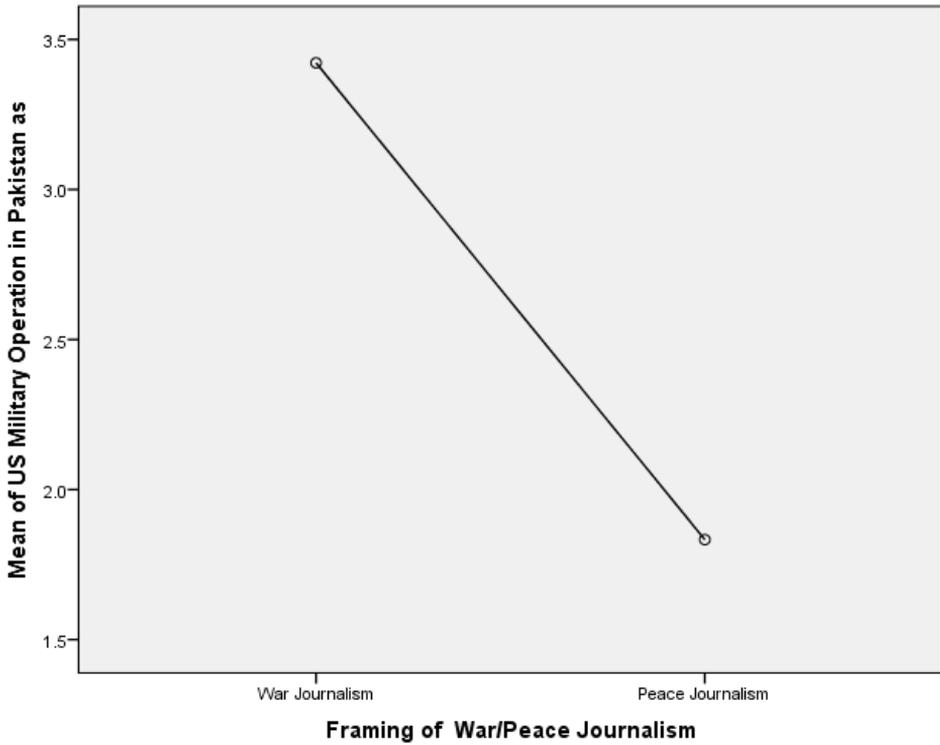


Figure 1. War/Peace Frame in the leading international newsmagazines on American armed Operations in Pakistan

Table 2

Indicators of War Journalism Frame in the leading international newsmagazines on American armed Operations in Pakistan

Newsmagazines	Visible Effect of war	Difference Oriented	Elite Oriented	Here and Now	Dichotomy	Two-party Orientation	Partisan	Win-Win Orientation	Uses demonizing Language	Avoid reporting about alternatives	Total
The Economist	13	06	22	08	08	00	08	00	00	01	66
% within newsmagazine	19.7%	9.09%	33.3%	12.21	12.56	00%	12.12	00%	00%	1.52	100
% cross newsmagazines	52%	75.00	78.00	14.71	57.14%	00%	38.01	00%	00%	33.3	51.
The Herald	09	00	03	11	03	00	06	00	00	01	33
	27.3%	00%	9.09%	33.3%	9.09%	00%	18.18	00%	00%	3.03	100

% within newsmagazine							%			%	%
% cross newsmagazines	36%	00%	10.00%	45.83%	21.43%	00%	28.87%	00%	00%	33.3%	25.7%
Time	03	02	03	05	03	00	07	01	04	01	29
% within newsmagazine	10.34%	6.89%	10.3%	17.24%	10.34%	00%	24.03%	3.45%	3.79%	3.45%	100%
% cross newsmagazines	12%	25.00%	10.70%	20.83%	21.43%	00%	33.3%	100%	100%	33.3%	22.67%
Total	25	08	28	24	14	00	21	01	04	03	128
% within newsmagazines	19.5%	5.25%	21.8%	18.78%	10.93%	00	16.40%	0.78%	3.13%	2.34%	100%
% cross newsmagazines	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	00%	100%	100%	100%	100	100%

Table 3

Indicators of Peace Journalism Frame in the leading international news magazines on American armed Operations in Pakistan

Newsmagazines	Invisible Effect of war	Solution Oriented	People Oriented	Causes and Consequences	Dichotomy	Multi-party Orientation	Non-Partisan	Zero-Sum Orientation	Avoid Uses Demonizing Language	Stay reporting about peace treaties	Total
The Economist	05	00	02	00	00	01	00	00	00	05	13
% within newsmagazine	38.4%	00%	15.38%	00%	00%	7.7%	00%	00%	00%	38.5%	100%
% cross newsmagazines	50%	00%	08.3%	00%	00%	100%	00%	00%	00%	62.5%	18.5%
The Herald	05	04	20	15	00	00	00	07	00	03	54
% within newsmagazine	9.26%	7.4%	37.03%	27.4%	00%	00%	00%	12.9%	00%	5.56%	100%

% cross newsmagazines	100%	100%	83.3%	100%	00%	00%	00%	100%	00%	42.8%	77.14%
Time	00	00	02	00	00	00	01	00	00	00	03
% within newsmagazine	00%	00%	66.6%	00%	00%	00%	33.3%	00%	00%	00%	100%
% cross newsmagazines	00%	00%	8.3%	00%	00%	00%	100%	00%	00%	00%	4.29%
Total	10	04	24	15	00	01	01	07	00	08	70
% within newsmagazines	14.29%	5.7%	34.28%	21.47%	00%	1.41%	1.43%	10%	00%	11.43%	100%
% cross newsmagazines	100%	00%	100%	100%	00%	100%	100%	00%	00%	100%	100%

## Findings and discussion

### Leading frame in the international newsmagazines concerning American armed Operations in Pakistan.

The American and Britain newsmagazines were frequently tending at war reporting in their articles linked to American armed actions in Pakistan. On the other hand, the majority of news items of The Herald explicated the fact that peace journalism frame was the prominently chosen frame as above cited matter. It observed that (n=79) articles, printed in *The Economist* about American armed operations in Pakistan, the results showed (66)83.5% were on War Journalism while thirteen 16.5% showed their inclination at Peace Journalism.

The Pakistani newsmagazine penned (n=87) articles on above stated area, (33) 37.9% newsmagazine writings chosen the war reporting and (54)62.1% leaning at peace reporting. While, in *Time* 32 news items were printed on that subject, majority of them (29) 91% highlighted the war reporting and only (03) 9.4% were focused their attention about peace reporting (see Table 01). The results indicate that the American as well as Britain newsmagazines often selected war journalism instead of it, the Pakistani magazine was tilting to the solution-oriented and peace reporting.

**Prominent indicators of war journalism in the leading international newsmagazines about American armed Operations in Pakistan.**

“*Elite Oriented*” 22 (33.33%) was the leading indicator in the Britain newsmagazine, apart from it, in Pakistani newsmagazine eleven (33.3%) “*here and now*” and nine (27.27%) “*visible effect of war*” were the leading gauges of War Journalism and “*Partisan*” ten (31.3%) was the leading indicator in *Time* about American armed operations in Pakistan (see Table 02).

**Prominent indicators of Peace Journalism in the leading international newsmagazines regarding American armed Operations in Pakistan.**

“*Stay on reporting about the aftermaths of war*” was the prominent indicator, five (38.46%) and two (75%) in American and Britain newsmagazine respectively. Whereas, in the Pakistani newsmagazine twenty (37.07%) and fifteen (27.7%) articles frequently used “*People Oriented*” and “*Causes and Consequences*” as the prominent pointers of peace journalism about American armed operations in Pakistan (see Table 03).

## Conclusion

The current research discussed leading frames through the prism of Galtung’s War/Peace Journalism Theory as well as studied the leading war/peace journalism indicators about American armed operations in Pakistan in *The Economist*, *The Herald* and *Time* from 2004 to December 2011.

*The Economist* frequently blamed that the Pakistan government and army were not sincere with U.S., many of its news items claimed that tribal areas of Pakistan were very dangerous and in fact the heaven for Taliban and Al-Qaeda members. “Obama not only targeted Al-Qaeda members hide out in Pakistan-Afghan border area, but also Pakistani Taliban in the region. Twelve people reportedly killed in a missile fired by U.S. forces in Pakistan at 1<sup>st</sup> April, 2009” (“More troops and”, 2009). The newsmagazine further argued that America must intensify armed operations inside Pakistan and annihilate the hideouts of Taliban (“The war on”, 2009).

Apart from *The Economist* and *Time*, *The Herald* gave alternative approach; solution –Oriented stance on one of its Editor’s notes: “A better idea would be to revisit the strategy and include good governess and the maintenance of law as its essential ingredients. No doubt the American presence in Afghanistan will continue to provoke the entire north-west Pakistan. But a start has to make somewhere and if it is made by putting public peace and security ahead of all other factors, we may soon reach a stage where the conflict no longer benefits the militants alone. Some

benefits of the state fight against militancy need to accrue to the citizens and the sooner the better". ("Benefiting from conflict", 2008, p.12).

*Time* partisan reflected in its writings: "it's time to focus more on Pakistan as Taliban came from their safe heavens, border villages of Pakistan and killed aid workers and coalition forces. Death toll on coalition forces was multiplied days by day". (Stewart, 2008).

*Time* was frequently condemning Pakistan at her biased writings. Newsmagazines penned that Pakistan was not trustworthy and truthful with America and coalition forces, American armed operations in Pakistan were preferential rendering to *Time*: "Though Pakistan is a front-line ally but her army and intelligence agencies are not serious to capture or kill Taliban. It's the basic reason that Taliban remains engaged in terrorist tricks". "Pakistani government is nostalgic to Taliban". "Pakistani president helped to capture Osama bin Laden, but he is not serious enough to root out Taliban and their friends Al-Qaeda members". (Gibbs, 2007).

*The Economist* depicted prejudiced arrogance to Pakistan armed forces and various articles convicted ISI, through alleging: "ISI provided 1,000 motorbikes to Haqqani network to remain busy in Kabul suicide attacks and killing U.S. forces in Kabul" ("Kayani's gambit", 2010, p.81). It likewise stated: "Pakistan can no longer afford to limit its fight against extremists to the north-west. They are embedded in Punjab and the links between them and government in the tribal areas are erasing the distinction between militants and government. The state is willing to tolerate and that which it is fighting" ("into the heartland", 2010, p.22).

*The Economist* convicted Pakistani forces for having a bond with the Afghan terrorist groups: "Mar. 5, 2011, The Pakistani army allowed the networks to flourish for a while, because they supported the Afghan Taliban, ISI allies. But in 2009, pressed by America, it pushed them out of their strongholds of Swat and South Waziristan". ("Things fall apart", 2011, p.44).

The Britain magazine echoed its suspicion to Pakistan in this section of its article:

"Pakistan may not have entirely given up on the Taliban. Foreign observers believe that some elements of Pakistan's leadership, especially in the military Inter-services Intelligence agency, are pressing for the sacrifice of Mullah Omer in order to save friendly "moderates" among his colleagues, pro-Taliban sentiment is likely to be reinforced by the rise of favoure of the Northern Alliance, which Pakistan regards as a tool of threatening foreign powers, especially Russia and Iran". (After the Taliban, 2001, p.17).

*The Herald* revealed that for efficacious peace in the region, all stakeholders, including America, Pakistani administration and Afghanistan government should strengthen each other to root out terrorism. (Siddiqa, 2008). Harmony is as obligatory as liveliness. A large number of people slaughtered in Afghanistan and Pakistan and elsewhere, political and community uncertainty have turned into

govern crosswise over expensive techniques of our much-trumpeted energy passage. Pakistani newsmagazine discouraged the armed operations and reinforced the significance of the peace process. "The existing discord and bloodshed should be discouraged. The first and foremost measure required is strengthening regional unity and discarding all differences for the prosperity of the region. It's the time to practice zero-sum orientation instead of win-win orientation". ("reversing a zero-sum game", 2011, p. 14).

*The Economist* partisan for Pakistan obviously reflected in these phrases: "Its (Pakistan) security forces cannot be trusted. Even so, America must hold its nose and engage with Pakistan and press it to act against the Taliban". ("Single or quits", 2011, p.15). The qualitative study reveals the realities regarding the dealing of the contents of the above mentioned leading international magazines through the lens of Galtung's peace journalism theory of American armed operations in Pakistan. The analysis of these magazines reflects the frame of war reporting endured leading in the articles of American and Britain magazines apart from this, the frame of peace journalism was leading in Pakistani magazine.

*The Economist* advocated American armed operations in Pakistan, by arguing it would be the vital achievement that America would sustain armed operations in Afghanistan as well as in Pakistan with full concentration. American remarkable representative to the Afghanistan-Pakistan area, Richard Holbrooke blamed "the real source of the problem lies in Pakistan". ("Further into", 2009).

The U.S. is assumed to entangle Pakistan in armed actions, that has triggered the flow in violence; or as numerous Pakistanis, with high-profile military persons, widely consider that armed operations are being supported out by the U.S. in order to subvert Pakistan, subsequently which it will seize its nuclear weapons. *The Economist* supported the American armed operations in Pakistan in these words: "That makes the drone the ideal weapon for tracking down and killing terrorists, particularly in places like the FATA where other options, such as sending in Special Forces, are not political feasible. The increasing accuracy of these attacks and the evidence that they have helped to weaken al-Qaeda encourages some to believe (not least in the White House) that counter-terrorist campaigns in the future can be waged without the sacrifice of blood and treasure". ("Drones and man", 2010, p.10).

*The Economist* was pursuing war journalism frame as it penned "U.S. should accelerate military operations in Pakistan and demolish the safe haven of terrorists". ("The war on", 2009).

The Pakistani magazine cherished its state's courageous response after America accused that Pakistani intelligence agencies have associated with terrorists' web after a blast at the American delegation in Kabul. The Pakistani newsmagazine toed peace journalism indicator of causes and consequences in these lines:

“U.S. military high profile officers blamed that Pakistan provided a safe haven to terrorist groups and that Pakistan was involved in proxy wars in Afghanistan against U.S. led coalition forces. But Pakistan swiftly denied the charges and countered the charges by saying that these groups were nourished by U.S. herself and were used in proxy war against USSR. Both military and political high profiles arranged meeting to consider their consequences of split between Pakistan and U.S”. (Abbas, Javaid and Khan, 2011, p.24).

*Time* wrote that Obama said: “Taliban and Al-Qaeda enjoyed the shelter in Pakistan. It’s time to strengthen local Pakistani tribes to fight with terrorists and convince them that it’s their war also’. He uttered that unilateral action against Pakistan has become mandatory and there will be nowhere they can run and hide” (McCain, 2008).

In a nutshell, the review called attention to that qualitative study also supported the suppositions that American and U.K. government arranged armed operations in tribal areas of Pakistan and their media reinforced them. In this way, their media also supported the armed operations and applied the frame of War Journalism apart from Peace Journalism. Apart from it, *The Herald* espoused the angel of Peace Journalism on the subject instead of War Journalism as American armed operations in Pakistan were firmly omitted by Pakistani media and in addition Pakistani public.

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