

**Media, Mediation and Marketing of Conflicts in India: A Study
Based on Reconciliation of Peace and Profit in the Periphery of
Communal Discord**

Thesis

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By

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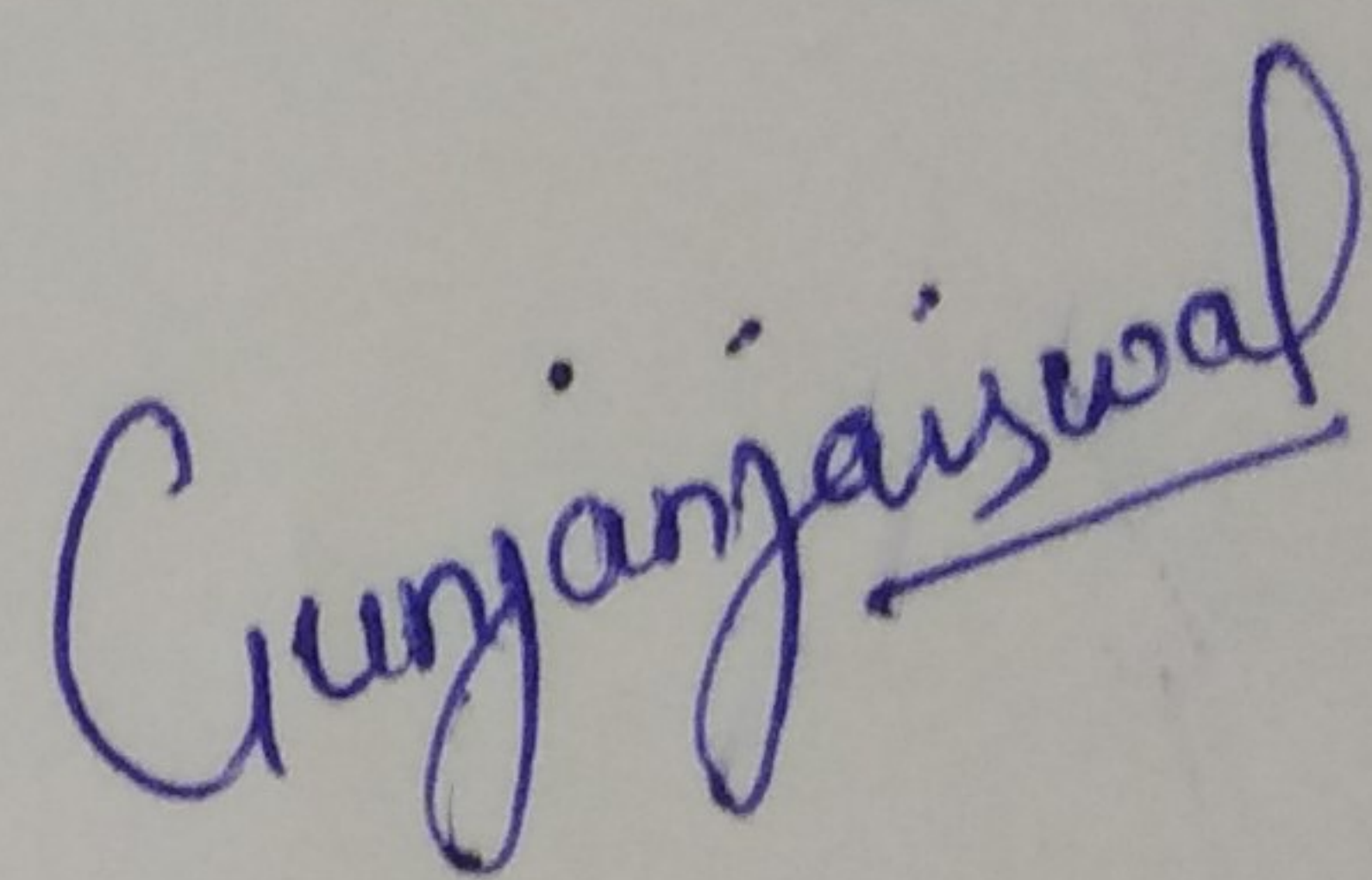
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I further declare that to the best of my knowledge, the thesis does not contain any part of work, which has been submitted for the award of any other degree either in this University /Deemed University without proper citation. I also undertake that the thesis is essentially free from all kind of Plagiarism.



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The thesis submitted to Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University Lucknow satisfies all the requirements as stipulated in the Doctor of Philosophy (PhD.) regulations – 1999 as amended in 2013 and it is fit for submission and evaluation for the awards of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University.

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In these academic years of my research, I drew on the goodwill of many, many people. This could run into pages if I attempted to name all of them, but there are some people without whom this thesis really would not have materialised.

First and foremost I would like to express my sincere gratitude towards my supervisor Dr. Mahendra Kumar Padhy for his support during my research study. I appreciate the years of guidance and kindness he gave to me and supervise me to excellence without letting me compromise my work when things got difficult.

I would like to thank to my teachers and DRC Committee member Prof. Govind Ji Pandey, Prof. Gopal Singh and Dr. Rachana Gangwar. Their continuous support and encouragement made me to cross every obstacle and achieve new milestone in the journey.

I am much in the debt of Dr. Sadhana Shrivastava who was instrumental in providing me unabated support in the development of this academic venture.

I thank to my fellow scholars and friends Atul Singh, Ruchika, Ravi Singh, Anurag Swaroop, Ankit Dixit, Rashmi. They did their best to keep me in high spirits.

I am thankful to Ms Deepika Raj, Ravi Mishra, Sandeep Verma, Shri Ram Gopal and other supporting staff who always helped me during my PhD. study.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank my family: my parents and to my elder brother and elder sister for supporting me spiritually throughout writing this thesis and my life in general.

Gunjanjaiswal

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PREFACE

The consonance of the two term ‘mediation’ and ‘media’, for the researcher, was in the bud and gradually the researcher enriched herself through the basic idea developed by Denis McQuail that explore mediation as a metaphor for the different roles of media ranging from neutrally informing, through negotiation, to attempts at manipulation and control. One of the assessments by McQuail for media refers to the relaying of second-hand (or third-party) versions of events and conditions which we cannot directly observe for ourselves. The further studies navigated the notion of the term ‘mediation’ from media’s version of reality towards media’s conciliatory approach in many international conflicts. The contemporary crisis events like Mumbai terror attack 2008, Communal Discordance, Kashmir unrest 2008, 2010 and 2016 occurring in India and cognizance of media’s insensible reporting cash in the thought of introspection of media’s potential to steer the conflict towards conciliation and its major economic needs to cater the media market. The two contrast habit of media, i.e. conciliation and media commodification, found to be in overlapping struggle and studies shown that many times economic needs of media through sensational reporting wins against sensible requirement of crisis reporting.

The media reporting of conflicts under the research study is investigated on two broad contexts. The very first context includes the perennial issue of communal discord in which mediation process of media is enlightened with the suitable research design. The second context includes contemporary issue of conflict which help researcher to evaluate the content of television reporting of conflict. The contemporary issue which researcher found suitable for television news content analysis is Kashmir problem 2016. The word ‘Communal Discord’ reflect communal

polarisation in various strata of life. The relevance of such discordance could also be contextualized in the political polarisation of the two different ideological party coalitions. First time, the unprecedented alliance of two polarised parties was formed in 2015 and the coalition government of PDP-BJP came to the power in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The research sphere constitute multi-disciplinary subject which include mass communication, peace and conflict, international studies. Therefore, the chapters in the research accommodated the relevant idea of the different subjects. The chapter one is bifurcated into introduction and methodological part. The introduction part provides the overview of various aspect of research study, for example conflict, peace, role of media in mediation, media commercialisation etc. The methodology part outlined the systematic approach for the study.

Chapters two constitute reviews of different literature based study which includes media discourse on conflicts, roles of media in conciliation and theoretical perspective of the research. Chapter three gives the background of research study whereas through fourth chapter an attempt is taken to develop the understanding of the relation between conflict and communication. Chapter five explores the mediation perspective of media and Indian media practices in conciliation of conflicts. Chapter six reflect the idea of commercialisation of news content and the salient features in marketing of conflicts. Chapter seven has given the detail of different data derived and their interpretation. Chapter eight focussed on the concluding ideas derived from analysis of data. The recommendation is also included in the same chapter.

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Introduction to the Research Study

1.1 Part A: Introduction

1.1.1 Connotation of Conflict: An Indian Perspective

Conflicts are concomitant of human existence. Prima facie, it is a state of opposition or incompatibility with respect to ideas, ideology, interests, feelings which is manifested in social, psychological, or behavioural phenomenon. In socio-political scenario, it is bound to have incompatible goals and ideas and which is recognised as the hallmark of collective advancement and development. Here, in the course of introducing the concept of conflict, efforts are taken to steer the discussion over research interest after providing very brief glimpse of conflicts in India. “Conflict” is a term derived from Latin word *Confligere*, means “to strike together”. Conflicts are vividly defined by many scholars and theorists. (Coser, 1956)¹ “It is a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals”.

The dynamic definition of conflict differs in respect of situations, place, time and people involved but the basic concept of incongruence remain same. In India, incongruences in ideology or interests have outgrown in numerous conflicts. Ethnic and communal conflict, demand for autonomy in Nagaland, demand for independence in Kashmir valley, struggle for a separate state or nation in many states based on ethnicity and language, communist ideology in the course of Maoist insurgency are few reflections of such incongruence. Religious ideology clashes occur with the interest to propagate one’s religion’s supremacy over other. However, such ideological struggle triggers communal violence and riots, for

¹ Coser, L. (1956). *The Functions of Social Conflict*. *The Free Press*, 7.

instances, Godhra riots in Gujarat and Muzaffarnagar riots. Godhra riots occurred in 2002 where members of one community faced the atrocities by the members of other community in the course of their stressed relations whereas in Muzzafarnagar riots, the members of two communities entered into violence and attacked on each other.

Conflict is also viewed as the guarding of what one already has or the attaining of what one does not have (Rai, 2000)². Territorial dispute of Ayodhya (Ramjanambhooni and Babri Mosque) where the two communities have a dispute over a plot of land in Ayodhya and each community claim the place belong to Lord Ram birth place (temple) and Babri Mosque respectively, inter-state water sharing dispute are the reflection of resource based struggles. Water dispute are escalating demands for water among the states sharing the common source of water and dependency on few rivers, for instances, Cauvery water dispute between Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Puduchery; Krishna water dispute between Maharashtra, Karnataka, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh.

Johann Galtung, one of the pioneers in peace and conflict studies, identifies three broad categories of origin of incompatibilities: Nature, Culture and Structure. *Nature is in us, and around us; Culture is in us as internalized values and norms; and Structure is around us as institutionalized, positive and negative, sanctions.* At times, conflicts are so interwoven that it becomes difficult to have down pat its beginning and its end. Theorists have elaborated the process of conflict through the framework of its constituent. Referring Conflict as empirical phenomenon, (Mack & Synder, 1957)³ characterized it by four proponents- the existence of two or more

² Rai, A. K. (2000). Conflict Situations and the Media: A Critical Look.

³ Mack, R., & Synder, R. (1957). The Analysis of Social Conflict: Toward an Overview and Synthesis. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1, 212-248.

parties, a situation of resource or position scarcity, the presence of behaviour that is designed to hurt or injure the other, and mutually opposed goals. It is the interwoven structure of these fine subjects which decides the nature and process of conflict. Identifying conflict based on its expression, some practitioners viewed it as psychological state of affairs where the conflict remains cognitive exercise and parties involved are conscious of incompatibilities among them but do not manifest it in their behaviour. In the physical aspect, coercive behaviour exhibit between the contenting parties. Here, contending parties change their position from static to dynamic conflict and upholds more tendencies for escalation.

A relevant aspect of conflict is reflected when it is categorised as Inter-state Armed Conflicts and Intra-State Armed conflicts. Inter-state armed conflicts are those conflicts in which two or more than two states are involved. Intra-state conflicts are those conflicts which involve state and non-state armed groups or conflicts occurred between non-state armed groups. Non-state armed groups are the non-governmental forces that pose an actual or potential threat to the stability of the state or region in which they operate (acd, 1997)⁴. In line with Department of Peace and Conflict Research, UPPSALA Universitet, “An Armed conflict is a contested incompatibility which concerns government and/or territory where at least one is the government of a state, results in atleast 25 battle- related deaths in one calendar year”.

⁴ *acd.* (1997). Retrieved November 2017, from Armed Conflict Database: Data and analysis on conflicts worldwide: <https://acd.iiss.org/en/about/definitions>

Jharkhand, Orrisa, Chhattisgarh, rich in mineral ores and notoriously famous for bloodshed under red terrorism. Third, the tribal belt of North-East region of India. Besides these incessant conflicts, India faced border issue with neighbouring countries, Pakistan and China specifically, and fought border wars against their territorial claim. The year 1948, 1965, 1971, 1999 unfold the victorious wars of India against Pakistan and the 1962 war in which China state claim on the adjacent territory of India named as “Aksai Chin”, waged war against India in which China registered victory.

1.1.2 On Reconciliatory Note

Academics on the case pave the way for the reconciliatory approach. The account of Peace diverges from the vantage point of different theorists. Peace is a contextual term; it differs from situation to situation. Discernment of Peace is at variance for individual entity and that of for national, or international or political subject. It is the general outlook that Peace is the absence of war or conflict. Circumscribing peace by such negative dimension is a way that misleads the society. For the theorists, Peace is a balance approach which is characterized by the even distribution of power, mutual encouragement and upholding, development, equality etc. It is also viewed as the state of tranquility or the absence of discordance.

The Founder of Peace Studies, Johan Galtung, has the more elaborative standpoint on peace process. He classified peace into “negative peace” and “positive peace”. Per his discourse, Negative Peace is the absence of direct or personal violence and Positive Peace is the absence of structural violence, such as slavery,

oppressive marriage. (Ahmar, 1996)¹¹ casted shadow on modus operandi of peace process and defines peace process as “a mechanism or a set of negotiations where the parties involved attempt to avoid or war-like situations and wish to settle conflicts peacefully by using techniques such as diplomacy, bargaining, secret negotiations, tradeoffs and mediation”.

In next leg of conflict mitigation, researchers evolved the terms such as conflict prevention, conflict management, conflict resolution, and conflict transformation. To get the foot in the door, Conflict prevention is being diversely defined by theorists but the basic viewpoint of all the definition is that it stops conflict from getting into more violent and destructive. It is the strategies used in pre-conflict stage to prevent the escalation of conflicts. Conflict Management has been defined (Tanner, 2000)¹² as “the limitation, mitigation and/or containment of a conflict without necessarily solving it.” It applies to escalation-violence phase. It eliminates the violent or violence-related means of pursuing the conflict. Miller (2003:8) views conflict resolution as “a variety of approaches aimed at terminating conflicts through the constructive solving of problems. It mitigates the causes of a conflict between parties and eliminating the sources of the incompatibility in their positions.

Conflict transformation can be viewed as positive alteration in the conflict environment, its issues and context, constructive development in attitude, behavior

¹¹ Ahmar, M. (1996). *The Road to Peace in South Asia: Lessons for India and Pakistan from the Arab-Israeli Peace Process*. (Urbana Champaign: University of Illinois, ACDIS Project, p. 3.

¹² Tanner, F. (2000, September). Conflict Prevention and Conflict Resolution: Limits of Multilateralism. *International Review of the Red Cross*.

and actions of disputing parties in order change the direction of conflict and bring it to termination. It replaces conflict with positive relationships such as cooperation, satisfaction, empathy and interdependence between parties.

United Nation Charter recognized Mediation as one of the three basic methods of peaceful management of International conflicts. Mediation is seen as the most common approach of third party intervention to manage the conflicts. When the disputing parties are unable to find a solution to their problem or manage the incongruity between them, they seek or suggested to seek the meddling of a neutral third party. This neutral third party can be any individual, group, institution, state, or any organization (such as media). Hereby, “Mediation is defined as process of conflict management... where those in conflict seek assistance of, or accept an offer of help from, an outsider to change their perception or behavior, and to do so without resorting to physical force or invoking the authority of law” (Bercovitch, 2009)¹³.

An effective mediation process may soften up the parties and let them bend for further talk or resolution; it may promote diplomacy, and led to be an instrumental in achieving a cessation of hostilities. Moreover, a successful mediation may attain a peace agreement or a full settlement of a conflict. The remarkable properties of mediation are that it is non-coercive, non-binding form of intervention. Mediation comprises of parties in conflict, a mediator, a process of mediation and the context of mediation.

1.1.3 Media in Mediation:

¹³ Bercovitch, J. (2009). *Mediation and Conflict Resolution*. In J. Bercovitch, V. Kremenyuk, & W. Zartman, *The Sage Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (pp. 340-355). London: Sage Publication Ltd.

News is a mediator of events, defining, shaping and representing the real by the use of linguistic and visual (Bignell, 2002)¹⁴. This perspective of Bignell is of utmost importance while emphasizing that how news media mediate during conflicts through its reporting and coverage. Before continuing with further exploration, here it is needed to mention that study has focus on two approaches of mediation. First, the conciliatory approach where news media as mediator conciliate or de-escalate the conflicts through the conflict news programs and the other approach is to assess the feasibility of functional framework of facilitative mediation in news media. To begin with first approach i.e. de-escalation of conflicts through reporting includes reporting skills and ethics. Based on rigorous review and to deal with the subject in a more systematic way, collective perspective for mediation approach can be detailed into following subheads:

1.1.3.1 Conflict Exploration:

Quoting Jake Lynch¹⁵ “To report violence without background or context is to misrepresent it, since any conflict is, at root, a relationship, of parties setting and pursuing incompatible goals. To omit any discussion of them is a distortion”. In a news program, a news anchor explores conflict to develop a better understanding for conflict to its viewers. Under this task, a news anchor put light on the background of conflict, give details of causes and actors involved, focus on different version and perspective of the story, discusses the present situation, its effects and outcome and introspect the conflict situation, exposing untruths lead it towards conciliation.

¹⁴ Bignell, J. (2002). *Media semiotics: An Introduction*. Manchester and New York : Manchester University Press

¹⁵ McGoldrick, A., & Lynch, J. (2000). *Peace Journalism: What is it? How to do it?* Transcend manual. Jake Lynch is Associate Professor and Director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney. He is a co-authored with Johan Galtung and Annabel McGoldrick ‘Reporting ConflictAn Introduction to Peace Journalism

1.1.3.2 Humanitarian response:

Another crucial issue in dealing with any crisis or conflict is the humanitarian perspective. Natural disaster or man-made have their adversarial impact on human property. The media support through information and communication are the effective response to the humanitarian crisis. Internews'¹⁶ definition of a humanitarian crisis for the purposes: A 'humanitarian crisis' is a situation with high levels of human suffering in which basic human welfare is in danger on a large scale'. Media has its role in humanitarian crisis through vital information dissemination, reporting human right violation, emotional outlet, giving voice to voiceless, giving psychological support, fulfills people's right to know. As per the Internews manual, Information circulation and management in humanitarian crisis response require answering the following 5 Ws and 1 H as:

- i. What do people need to ensure safety for themselves and their families?
- ii. Who is delivering that assistance (i.e., government/humanitarian agencies/others)?
- iii. Why is this assistance being delivered in a particular way? (For example, food may be distributed by vouchers, cash may be given for work, women may have separate health services; the reasons are important to understand.)
- iv. Where can people seek that assistance?
- v. When can they go and get it?
- vi. And how can they get it (e.g., do they need to register, and how do they do that)?

1.1.3.3 Focus on visible and invisible effects:

¹⁶ Internews is an international non-profit organization whose mission is to empower local media worldwide to give people the news and information they need, the ability to connect, and the means to make their voices heard.

Broadly, the effects of any conflicts or crisis are categorized into visible and invisible parts. Visible effects of any conflicts are manifested in economical, physical, geographical, political, social aspects. Invisible effects are psychological, traumatic or mental disorder. Post-traumatic stress disorder is an example when someone has seen or experienced scary things that they cannot stop thinking about. Sometimes they may have flashbacks, as if they were right back in that scary moment.

1.1.3.4 Reconciliation:

Through the conciliation approach, news media attempt to de-escalate the conflicts. They focus on people peace-maker, highlight peace initiatives, offer creative ideas for conflict resolution, development, peacemaking and peacekeeping, pays attention to peace stories and post-war developments. Media focus on government and authorities' action to resolve and settle the issue. The effort of conciliation should be focused and criticism to any non-conciliatory approach of any conflict body should be reported by media.

1.1.3.5 Sourcing and Language:

Sourcing and language are important element in reporting conflicts. It has become a challenge in conflict reporting in getting the every party's perspective and reach authentic and multiple sources. Mostly reporters get access to administrative sourced stories and therefore deliver one-sided coverage. A good reliable and credible source used to enrich the quality of coverage and source of information should not be one sided rather all parties' perspective needed to be explored. Similarly, use of sensible and appropriate language is also one of the most important

aspects. Use of demonizing labels and calling other side terrorists or executioner without any proven base is escalating tactics for conflicts.

1.1.3.6 Fairness and accuracy:

These are the jewels of news reporting which almost every theorists and practitioner acknowledge. Without fairness, media reporting tend to deviate from its path of true journalism and inclined towards biasness. Similarly, accuracy in news facts and details is like credibility of whole organization and whole production team. Any error can be apologized once or twice but skipping accuracy in the race of speedy news would be more deleterious than delayed news.

Mediation Framework: Occasionally, media switch its role from passive to active participant in conflict resolution; thereby go for the role as in “media diplomacy”. Media is used to advance negotiations, build confidence, and cultivate public support for negotiations and agreements. Media intervention as mediator is practiced in some of the recognized international conflicts. On November 14, 1977, CBS News anchor Walter Cronkite conducted separate, pointed interviews with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, which led directly to Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem. In 1985, Ted Koppel hosted the first formal conversation between representatives of the African National Congress and supporters of South Africa's apartheid system on a series of broadcastsof ABC's Nightline. In 1988, a Nightline series brought the government of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization onto the same stage for the first time.

The above examples follow the conventional mode of mediation, where journalist literally, performs as mediator. He calls upon the two or more conflict parties or sometime separately interviews them, transmits information and intention

of the parties to each other and facilitates further negotiation. Structurally, in mediation, mediators bring parties in conflict together; a mediator determine structural aspects of the meetings, control constituency influences, media publicity, the distribution of information and the situation powers of the parties' resources and communication processes.

In an established code of reporting and news programs on conflict issues, reporters, usually an independent neutral party, involved in transmitting the facts and reporting of crisis situation. News programs based on conflict issues called upon representatives from different parties of conflict, unravel the truths, information and facts surrounding the issues. Moreover, a better understanding of conflict is developed. Reporters involved themselves in letting people to disclose their aspiration, grievances, and motivation in a conflict. News media provide a platform for communication facilitation among the parties and give voices to the voiceless people. Somehow, the crisis narration and events exploration extend a persuasive mode for conciliatory and peaceful prospects. In turning up of all these events, proper media coverage helps in building confidence, mutual understanding and trust, and breaks the deadlock among the parties.

The structural framework of facilitative mediation and mediation through media may vary on the conceptual basis. But the functional framework found to be almost in parallel between the two. From the mediation strategies and approaches, it is derived that mediation is a non-coercive, non-violent and non-binding form of intervention. The most prominent feature is that mediation is a communication-facilitation exercise which channelizes information to the parties and facilitating mutual understanding. Media promote and facilitate interaction among conflict parties, improve communication and mutual understanding, information provider,

unfolded truths, and helps in confidence building measures. For media to function as mediator, the very first requirement that outline the facilitative mediation process is keeping itself 'an independent and neutral entity'. The study has focused on developing the functional framework of mediation through media and has explored its scope and challenges. The following are outlined as some parameters for functional framework of media as mediator.

- i. Independent and neutral: For independent and neutral frame implies that the news anchor is not taking side of any of the party, listening every party and member equally, giving equal opportunity to everyone to express themselves.
- ii. Facilitate communication: News anchor facilitate channelization of information among parties.
- iii. Mutual understanding: News anchor drive away mistrust and develop the mutual understanding among the parties. Clearing doubts, making parties to have insights of other version and let parties perspective to be revealed properly.
- iv. Information Provider: News anchor ask different question and do in-depth inquiry of the conflicts so that more and more information regarding parties grievances, cause of the conflict and further scope of resolution comes out. It unfolds the truth.
- v. Confidence building measure: News anchor build confidence among parties, generate hope that every party is working for resolution of conflict.
- vi. Break the deadlock: News anchor efforts to end the stalemate and bring some positive movement in the deadlock.
- vii. Settle on agreement: News anchor inquire the parties for the middle path to resolution and help parties to reach settlement.

- viii. Convince parties to settle conflict: Make parties to realise the consequences and suffering of peoples, property loss, psychological outcomes, humanitarian loss, and economy loss.
- ix. Talks about Peace Prospects: News anchor explore peace prospects and discusses with the parties.

1.1.4 News as Commodity:

What we mean by the term ‘marketing’? A reference to encyclopedia direct our understanding towards a process by which a product or service is promoted and is made worth selling to a prospective consumer. The concept ‘marketing of conflicts’ simply reflect the idea that how news media project the conflicts and attract more and more viewers through dynamic content and practice. Conflict is an important element of news worthiness as it is related to the individual and social security of the people. But media practices of making conflict more spicy and appealing to the viewers resulted into failure of conciliation process.

Data from a web article revealed that out of 400 news and current affairs channel, only meager 7% of viewership is achieved for news against the 30% of general entertainment, 17% for movie channel and 7.7% for cartoon/children category (Chougule, 2015)¹⁷. The little viewership, economic pressure and competing forces compel news production team to switch from serious format to tabloid version of news. In conflict reporting, viewers or readers are less engrossed in conflict news which is not violent, dramatic, impactful or pertains to them

¹⁷ Chougule, A. (2015, July 25). *The Free Press Journal*. Retrieved 2018, from www.freepressjournal.in.

politically or apolitically. In this context, news production has to rely on marketing strategies to make the conflict appealing and attract the large number of eyeballs to make their news program successful and profitable. They raise their voices highest on pitch; dramatize the events, uses sensational words and give visual effects to add flavor to the story. They brand the conflict as how bad the conflict is and the negative aspects are lionized.

1.2 Part B: Research Methodology

1.2.1 Research Problem:

Communication headway and economic pressure led real time reporting in almost every situation. In the heat of the moment, reporter evaded a thorough research and understanding of the background of the issue at hand. Specifically in conflicts, they faced paucity of diverse sources and other information feeding resources and couldn't avert tilting of stories. Production team faced the challenge to produce human interest slant in the stories led the stories bereft of its original structure.

Quoting Chindu Shreedharan (Sreedharan, 2009)¹⁸ from his research work, "When I report on a militant attack and the people killed in it, am I fuelling anti-Kashmiri feelings in the rest of India? When I report on the human rights excesses committed by security forces, am I exacerbating the anti-India and separatist feelings many Kashmiris harbour in their hearts?" There is also an aspect of parachute journalism where reporters from different parts landed to the conflict zone and without getting in the groove, they report with their narrow vision and perception.

¹⁸ Sreedharan, C. (2009). *REPORTING KASHMIR An analysis of the conflict coverage in Indian and Pakistani newspapers.*

On the other side, the commercial model of broadcasting opened the ground for the airwaves war. The bout of ethics and economy painted the news journalism with distorted ideals. Resultant, reporting on sensitive issues gets compromised over obsession of sensational news. Conflict is the subject of interest for the viewers but its conciliation rarely gathers viewership. Consequently, production team bent towards adding spicy stories and raising TRP of their channels in a commercially driven media world. This is the tip of the iceberg and summing up these points, researcher found the two broad points as:

- i. The on-going media strategy is ineffective for conflict mediation and conciliation.
- ii. Commodification of Conflict through excessive branding.

1.2.2 Significance of the Study:

Media is such an influential democratic structure; the repercussion of its reporting is conspicuous politically and apolitically. Channelizing the media's functional power and evolutionary potential to resolve the societal crisis would be an appreciatory step. Thus keeping in media's role in conflict management, the study has following significance:

- i. The present research study is a part of peace and conflict management.
- ii. The study will focus upon functional framework of mediation process for media. This would give a rope to Indian media to develop into more responsible and sensitive organisation during conflicts.
- iii. The research also has the scope in recognising the marketing strategies of media to serve conflicts as a commodity.

- iv. Mediation process through media not only helps parties of the conflict to break the deadlock but also it helps the viewers to understand the conflict, its causes and it is become an example for viewers to avoid such situations. Even viewers can send their suggestion for the resolution of conflicts.
- v. Commercialisation and marketing of news is a challenge for any reconciliatory approach for conflicts. Therefore the study explores that how the two opposite approach clashes with each other.

1.2.3 Objectives of the Study:

- i. To evaluate the content of conflict based news programs in the perspectives of mediation.
- ii. To examine the content of conflict based news programs in the perspectives of marketing.
- iii. To do comparative analysis of the frames of mediation and marketing in the respective channel's scenario.
- iv. To develop the functional framework of facilitative mediation through media.
- v. To examine the contents of conflicts news branded as commodity.

1.2.4 Research Questions:

- i. What is the nature of news content in the perspective of mediation?
- ii. What is the nature of news content in the perspective of marketing?
- iii. What is the comparative status of mediation frame in the respective news channel?
- iv. What is the comparative status of marketing frame in the respective news channel?
- v. What is the scope and challenge of facilitative mediation in Indian News broadcast Media?

- vi. How news channels branded conflict as commodity?

1.2.5 Research Design:

News is a specific genre of TV discourse which is highly coded and is composed of language and visual images, organised by codes and conventions which the news viewers has to perceive and recognise to construct sense (Bignell, 2002)¹⁹. Therefore Bignell stressed that TV news is a mediator between the viewer and a reality constructed by signs. Underlining the mentioned objectives of the study, an exploring methodological diversity could trace the meaning in news text and become insightful that could mediate the production and representation of media messages. The broad approach of semiotic structural analysis, news frame analysis and an interview is employed to discern selection and representation in the news content. The interview method is used explore the scope and challenges of media's role in conflict reporting. Moreover, the study is based on quantitative and qualitative data collection approach.

Under quantitative data collection, quantitative news framing is chosen to evaluate the media text in quantify form. This approach helps in understanding the practice of mediation and marketing against the backdrop of numerical approach. This approach also helps the researcher to execute a comparative study of mediation and marketing approach under the respective channel scenario. Similarly, the quantitative study helps to elaborate the detail aspects of variables present in news in numeric terms. The qualitative data collection method includes semiotic analysis, qualitative news frame analysis and interview method. This approach helps in getting

¹⁹Bignell, J. (2002). *Media semiotics: An Introduction*. Manchester and New York : Manchester University Press .

insight of news text, their contextual meaning and possible aspects of news interpretations. The exercise helps in exploring news representation, its content branding, its approaches for peace and conciliation.

1.2.5.1 Semiotic Structural Analysis:

The structural analysis of any text involves identifying the constituent units in a semiotic system (such as a text or socio-cultural practice), the structural relationships between them (oppositions, correlations and logical relations) and the relation of the parts to the whole (Chandler, 2005)²⁰. The two structural axes of any text, in semiotics, are demarcated as syntagmatic or horizontal axes and paradigmatic or vertical axes.

Paradigmatic analysis involves comparing and contrasting each of the signifiers present in the text with absent signifiers which in similar circumstances might have been chosen, and considering the significance of the choices made. “The use of one signifier rather than another from the same paradigm is based on factors such as technical constraints, code (e.g. genre), convention, connotation, style, rhetorical purpose and the limitations of the individual's own repertoire” (Chandler, 2005)²¹. The analysis of paradigmatic relations helps to define the 'value' of specific items in a text. The approach appropriate from the point of objectives of the study is the ‘commutation test’.

Commutation Test: It is used to identify distinctive signifiers and to define their significance. The test determines whether a change on the level of the signifier leads to a change on the level of the signified. Under this test, text is divided into minimal

²⁰ Chandler, D. (2005). *Semiotics: The Basics*. London and Newyork: Routledge

²¹ Ibid¹

significant units. A particular signifier in a text is selected. Then alternatives to this signifier are considered. The effects of each substitution are evaluated in terms of how this might affect the sense made of the sign. The commutation test can identify the sets (paradigms) and codes to which the signifiers used belong.

The syntagmatic analysis of a text (whether it is verbal or non-verbal) involves studying its structure and the relationships between its parts. Further, a ‘narrative function’ of news developed by Hartley will be employed under sequential relation approach of syntagmatic analysis. The four narrative function of news are followed as:

Table 1.1: Hartley’s narrative function

Framing	How is the story introduced by the newsreader/reporter? What general category is ascribed to the story?
Focussing	How does the reporter draw attention to specific aspects of the story? What aspects of the story are made salient?
Realising	Who are the contributors who are invited to give their views on the story? Who are the 'accessed voices'? Do they confirm or disconfirm the frame?
Closing	The movement towards a 'preferred meaning'. Is there an absence of competing discursive positions?

1.2.5.2 Methodological approaches to framing:

The significance of framing methodology arises as “frames contribute to the interpretation and evaluative definition of the social world, the functionality of

frames is a point of particular interest (Gorp, 2007)²². Framing is viewed as placing information in a unique context so that certain elements of the issue get a greater allocation of an individual's cognitive resources. An important consequence of this is that the selected elements become important in influencing individuals' judgments or inference making. Research approaches that analyse message content in order to ascertain how the media represent a certain topic are regularly referred to as frame analyses (Gorp, 2007)²³.

The framing process continues when some aspects of the news event are selected and privileged over others, defining and assessing the problem, pointing out the causes and proposing solutions to the problem and, ultimately, building a frame (media frames), in an operation that has been called frame building due to its analogy with the better known process of agenda building.

1.2.5.3 News Media Content Analysis:

For Communication Scholars, there are broadly two frames: Media Frame and Individual Frame. Media frame refers to the words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that a speaker (e.g., a politician, a media outlet) uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience. The chosen frame reveals what the speaker sees as relevant to the topic at hand. Second, a frame in thought or an individual frame refers to an individual's cognitive understanding of a given situation (e.g., Goffman, 1974). Individual frame comes under the study of media effects.

²² Gorp, B. V. (2007). The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In. *Journal of Communication*, 60-78

²³ Ibid¹

Under the present study, analysis will be based on media frames to attain the objective of study. The methodological approaches to frame analysis can be broadly divided into two categories: Deductive and Inductive. Deductive approaches rely on predetermined framing categories that are brought in contact with news stories, Inductive approaches starts with loosely theoretically defined frame categories for the extraction of more specific frames, through a grounded analysis that aims to identify all the possible frames.

1.2.5.4 Frame Typology:

In the study, frame is derived deductively based on various literature study and roughly examination of the available content. For quantitative data collection in framing, the two frames will be evaluated in the study are Mediation frame and Marketing frame.

Mediation Frame	Marketing Frame
Exploring Conflict	Sensationalism
Humanitarian response	Moral Panic
Visible/ Invisible effects	Negative News
Reconciliation	Ethnocentrism
	Labelling

In qualitative news frame analysis, a study suggested the steps of identifying news frames after the ‘groundwork’ of frame analysis is laid (Linström & Marais, 2012)²⁴. The identification of news frames helps in understanding the researcher to

²⁴ Linström, M., & Marais, W. (2012). Qualitative News Frame Analysis: A Methodology. *Communitas* , pp. 21-37

know “how” to look for frames, as well as “what” to look for when identifying frames. The “how” of identifying news frames is based on Wimmer and Dominick’s (2006: 117-118)²⁵ constant comparative technique for qualitative research analysis, which consists of four steps:

- i. Comparative assignment of incidents to categories (or frames);
- ii. Elaboration and refinement of categories/frames;
- iii. Searching for relationships and themes among categories/frames; and
- iv. Simplifying and integrating data into a coherent theoretical structure.

The “what” of identifying frames implies that the researcher analyses the text for “symbolic devices” or “signature elements” that are located within news stories (Linström & Marais, 2012)²⁶. There are several devices used to frame a specific event/story. The framing devices will be divided into two categories: rhetorical devices and technical devices.

Rhetorical devices: Rhetorical devices include word choice, metaphors, and exemplars. Gamson and Lasch (1983: 407-408) offer comment on the above-mentioned:

Metaphors	They always has two parts – the principal subject that the metaphor is intended to illuminate and the associated subject that the metaphor invokes to enhance readers’ understanding
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²⁵ Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2006). *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*. Canada: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

²⁶ Linström, M., & Marais, W. (2012). Qualitative News Frame Analysis: A Methodology. *Communitas* , pp. 21-37

Exemplars	While metaphors rely on imagined events to frame the principal subject, real events of the past or present are frequently used for the same purpose
Catch-phrases	Commentators on events frequently try to capture them in a single theme statement, tag-line, title or slogan that is intended to suggest a frame. Catch-phrases are attempted summary statements about the principal subject
Depictions	News stories have certain principal subjects that they characterise in a particular fashion. They may do this through metaphors or exemplars or through a string of modifiers

Technical devices: Technical devices include various elements of news-writing, as well as technical elements such as layout and visuals. Tankard (in Reese et al. 2003: 101) suggests the following technical framing devices: headlines, subheadings, photo captions, leads, source selection, quote selection and concluding statements and paragraphs. But in concern of this study for audio-visual media content, the technical device includes verbal, visual and audio content.

1.2.5.5 Interview Method:

An interview approach is sought to discern the potential of media in the process of conciliation of conflicts. Under this method, unstructured interview is conducted to seek the scope and challenges of media's role as a mediator under the Indian Media scenario. "The unstructured interviews are characterised by a flexibility of approach to questioning. Unstructured interviews do not follow a system of pre-determined questions and standardised techniques of recording

information. In a non-structured interview, the interviewer is allowed much greater freedom to ask, in case of need, supplementary questions or at times he may omit certain questions if the situation so requires, thus enjoys relatively greater freedom while recording the responses to include some aspects and exclude others” (Kothari, 2004)²⁷.

In keeping concern of time and resource, telephonic interview is conducted i.e. information is collected by contacting respondents on telephone itself. Other than cheaper and faster method of data collection, replies can be recorded without causing embarrassment to respondents through the telephonic interviews (Kothari, 2004). The respondents chosen for purpose include to the Media personnel like members from television production team, television editorial board, academic professionals, researchers and other expertise from conflict studies.

The questions are open-ended and are directed on the feasibility of facilitative mediation through media in Indian media scenario for different conflicts. Moreover, the greater focus on the scope and the different challenges of Indian broadcast media while pursuing the job of neutral and unbiased mediator between conflict parties. This technique help in taking the in-depth study of the phenomenon in Indian scenario and therefore seeks to provide good number of recommendation in bringing the media effort advancing their role and transforming from a traditional framework of media jobs.

1.2.6 Media Index:

²⁷ Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research and Methodology: Methods & Techniques*. New Delhi: New Age International P Ltd

Researcher will prefer to work on television news channel in view of the following reasons

- i. Television has Audio-Video advantage where impact level of mediation and marketing are deeper.
- ii. The continuous broadcasting gives wheel to run the mediation and marketing phenomenon smoothly and effectively.

The selection of the news channel is based on its popularity and credibility. The popularity of news channel is checked against its TRP and viewership. From the data acquired from broadcast audience research council of India (BARC) during the period of conflict coverage (May- December 2016), it is obtained that the news channels which maintained its peak position is Aaj Tak News Channel.

The credibility is judged against the reliability, trust worthiness and social commitment. Based on the Trust Research Advisory's Brand Trust Report, NDTV news channel has been named India's Most Trusted Media Brand for the two consecutive years 2014 and 2015. The report measured and understood consumers' trust and brand insights were quantified by measuring variables that influence consumer behaviour.

1.2.7 Area of Study:

While narrowing down the subject of the study, researcher has taken two perspectives in support of the research study area. First is to undergo some of the communal discord in order to enlighten the phenomenon of mediation and its functional framework. Second, for the purpose of news content analysis, a case study of Kashmir situation 2016 is taken for research analysis.

1.2.8 Data Collection:

Data collection is categorised into two broadways on the basis of source of collection: Primary data collection and Secondary data collection. The primary data are those which are collected afresh and for the first time, and thus happen to be original in character. The secondary data, on the other hand, are those which have already been collected by someone else and which have already been passed through the statistical process. In primary data collection, data is obtained through content analysis and interview methods. The content analysis involves audio-visual content of broadcast news media. ‘The interview method of collecting data involves presentation of oral-verbal stimuli and reply in terms of oral-verbal responses’ (Kothari, 2004).

Sample: Shanto Iyengar, an American political scientist distinguishes two broad news frames as: Episodic and Thematic. According to him, Episodic frames focus on the immediate event or incident and give little or no context about underlying issues or context. Whereas Thematic frames focus on the big picture, for instance, by providing statistics, expert analysis or other information to help the public view the event in a broader context. He found that most news coverage of public issues is what he termed episodic. ‘Episodic news frames are those that apply a telephoto lens to the coverage of the issue – focusing on individual case studies and discrete events. In contrast, thematic news frames are those that apply a wide-angle lens to the coverage of the issue – focusing on trends over time, and highlighting contexts and environments. An episodic frame presents a portrait, while a thematic frame pulls the camera back to present a landscape’ (Benjamin, 2007).

Universe: The universe of the study is news stories on Kashmir situation 2016.

Unit of Study: Unit of study is individual news stories of Burhan Aftermaths.

Time frame: The time frame for news stories are from July 2016 to August 2017.

1.2.9 Delimitations of the Study:

1. Researcher delimited the research around Presence and absence of visual effects are measured but elaborative meaning conveyed through particular effects have not brought into research study in view of paucity of time and resource.
2. Similarly, meaning conveyed through the use of particular audio content .i.e. perceptions developed through sound effects and music are not evaluated in the research due to paucity of time and resource.

1.2.10 Limitations of the Study:

1. There is a good scope for learning the television news production of conflict news stories. Though attempts were made to explore the production process but reluctance of expertise to come in the open to divulge their practices of news processing and lack of time and resource made the attempt a futile one.
2. Had the news content of regional news media been evaluated and compared in the respect of mediation and marketing, a better understanding of news content would be developed. But the limitation of this study is that the language of the regional news media was Urdu and Kashmiri which could be categorised as language barrier for the researcher who belong to Hindi spoken region of India.
3. The frequency of usage of certain words, video footage and audio content whose recognition could provide more better understandings of news frames .i.e. whether the frame belongs to mediation or marketing. But the lack of

parameters that demarcate frequency level for mediation and marketing is the challenge to pursue this task.

Chapters Breakdown:

Research study is segmented into eight chapters which provide complete insights of the various aspects of the study. First chapter titled as “Introduction to the research study” gave a wide account of various aspects of the research study. The chapter is divided into two parts, first part is Introduction strive to develop familiarisation of research idea. The second part is the methodological part where all the tools and technical aspect of research is presented. As the subject of the study is multidisciplinary which is an amalgamation of three discipline i.e. communication, peace and conflict, international studies. Introductory part include the elaboration of concept of conflict, its dynamics, the different conflicts of India, peace and conciliation strategies, and media practices in mediation and marketing. Research methodology part presented a structure of whole research idea from the research preliminaries to the research design and its delimitations.

Second Chapter “Literature Review” is the part of reviewing literature. The chapter is broken down into three main sections. First section is Indian media discourse of conflicts where trends of reporting conflicts in Indian media is cited through the subsections of propaganda, ethnocentrism, compromised ethical values, selling conflicts. Second section includes the literature on media’s potential performance in conciliation and commoditising conflicts. Third section gives the theoretical framework of the study and highlighted framing conceptual theorisation of the research implications.

Third Chapter “Background of research study” is based on area of study. The chapter include introduction of the study with geographical, demographical and physical detailing of the Kashmir state. Further it proceeds with the insights of historical and political account of Kashmir state. Emergence of armed conflicts in the state and its various dynamics are elaborated. Birth of militancy, second phase of militancy, conflict in 2008, 2010, Burhan Aftermath 2016, Conflict actors are the subsections of the chapter.

Chapter four “Media Imagery on Conflicts: a global perspective” is unfolded with emergence of conflicts and communication relationships and past documentation reflect their dependence on each other world-wide. Role of media is spotlighted with its de-escalation and escalation performance in conflicts. Further, segments highlighted the reporting of conflicts in the light of reconciliation approach where convention reporting and advocacy journalism is described. Under advocacy journalism, the concept of peace journalism by J Galtung is explained.

Chapter Five “Conciliatory Paradigm of Media and Mediation” is focussed on mediation concept in media. Mediation is analysed in the light of general terms and under the specialised knowledge of media. A two tier conciliatory framework is developed where mediation in conventional journalism and in advocacy journalism is studied. The structural and functional framework of facilitative mediation and practices of media in conciliation of conflicts are elaborated.

Chapter six “Commercialization of news content: a study” strive to develop the understanding of economic pressures to serve news as commodity irrespective of professional norms and ethics. News contents are sold in the viewership market with

application of various strategies and tactics. The chapter highlighted these media tactics of marketing news and attempts to raise their TRP.

Chapter seven “Data analysis and interpretation” provides the quantitative and qualitative measurements of news contents. Frame analysis and semiotic analysis are deployed to evaluate the news contents. Interview technique is used to elicit responses on facilitative mediation and interview discussions and responses are structurally written under the various sub-heads. Findings are detailed in numerical and textual form.

Chapter Eight “Conclusion and recommendation” consists of two parts. First part is conclusion and second part is recommendation. Conclusion part derives conclusions based on various quantitative and qualitative findings. This part is segmented into various sub-section based on objectives and the research questions. Recommendation part focussed on suggestions.

Chapter Summary:

The chapter explored the different aspects of the study ranging from understanding of the term conflict and various conflicts of India, conciliatory slant of conflicts to the exploration of media in mediation and marketing model of news. Further, in the section of research methodology, the sections dealt with research preliminaries on the go with the research problem, significance of the study, objectives and the research designs. The methodological part developed the research frameworks for the context and time period of conflict, for the selection of suitable media to bring under investigation, assortment of news programs and its time phases and allocation of possible resource.

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Literature Review

2.1 Indian Media Discourse on Conflicts:

2.1.1 Mind over Media:

(Khalid 2016)²⁸ The bulk of reporting home in on the “human face” of army in Kashmir to prop up the appeared aim of Indian state to create “sympathetic space” within Kashmir for the Indian armed forces in 2014 Kashmir floods. The study led by Khalid on “Media Propaganda and the Kashmir Dispute: A case study of Kashmir floods, 2014” offered appropriate stimuli for our understanding that how information is managed during crisis to reach the desirable outcome and how crisis served as the opportunity to execute ‘lobbying’ for bravery effort of army by Indian state.

The legacy of Information manoeuvring for predetermined action is one of the observable facts of media’s potential abused by the authoritative party in conflict arena. (Bose, 2011)²⁹ Fanning nationalist fervour, image classifying as good or bad, manipulating world media, tear-jerking, saturation coverage were the information plotting and managing tool during Kargil conflict through which the Indian government unabashedly used the media for their predetermined motive.

(Tasneem, 2011)³⁰ “It (Media) took it to a different dimension and helped India gain international diplomatic advantage... Pakistan version of the events found little backing at the world stage, helping India to gain valuable diplomatic recognition for its counter-operations in the region. The first casualty is the media

²⁸ Khalid, W. (2016). Media Propaganda and the Kashmir Dispute: A case study of the Kashmir Floods. *Reuters Institute Fellowship Paper University of Oxford*.

²⁹ Bose, D. (2011). Journalism Caught in Narrow Nationalism: The India-Pakistan Media War . *Reuters Institute Fellowship Paper University of Oxford* .

³⁰ Tasneem. (2011, March 1). *Merinews*. Retrieved January 12, 2018, from www.merineews.com/article/how-mwdia-influenced-the-kargil-war/

persons' faculty to separate fact from propaganda. (Rehman, 2016)³¹ Whatever is churned out by the propaganda mills of insecurity-driven state authorities is accepted as the gospel truth and used as the foundation of arguments that push the contending parties further and further away from mutual understanding and reconciliation.

Media clampdown mirrored the glimpse of government's propagandist line of action. (Ahmed S. , 2010)³² During the operation Bluestar, on a day before the actual invasion by Indian Army occurred, government ordered "all press out of the state and restricted press coverage in Punjab" resulting in media blackout.

In Kashmir 2010 and 2016 conflict, restriction was imposed on local media to investigate or report the updates of the crisis to the masses. In 2016 Kashmir uprising, regime, in midnight, raided media houses, seized thousands of newspaper and banned them for publishing for three days. (Afsar, 2016)³³ "Government banned the local media and not the national media so that it can shape the coverage in their suited way". Accrediting local media's extensive reportage of indigenous crisis as bane, government imposed restriction on access places and persons whereas national media has easy access.

To the question "Why is the local media muzzled whenever Kashmir is on the boil?" An article by Hilal Mir³⁴ in Indian Express justified it as "The local media is the biggest check on the propagandist reportage of the majority of the Indian media outlets, especially television, which can't see such eruptions except through the prism of national interest".

³¹ Rehman, I. (2016, October). *Scroll.in*. Retrieved January 2018, from www.sroll.in:https://scroll.in/article/817964/how-the-media-has-taken-the-indo-pak-conflict-beyond-the-political-space-into-the-personal-one

³² Ahmed, S. (2010). The Role of the Media during Communal Riots in India: A Study of the 1984 Sikh Riots and the 2002 Gujarat Riots. *Media Asia*, 37(2)

³³ Afsar, M. (2016, August 15). *Mainstream Weekly*. Retrieved January 18, 2018, from [Mainstream Weekly.net](http://MainstreamWeekly.net)

³⁴ Hilal Mir is the editor of 'Kashmir Reader'

Additionally, Afsar has dug out the parallel perspective where “government wants the journalism to complement its actions rather than perform their job to investigate the facts and present the real picture of the events”. Though government crackdown on media is widely condemn as an attack on the freedom of press but it is also viewed as an attempt of introducing “stenographic journalism” whereby journalists are expected to file stories on government dictations.

2.1.2 Nationalistic approach and Ethnocentrism:

(Shinar, 2013)³⁵ The coverage of conflict, particularly when referring to their own countries, journalists are caught between nation and profession, and their belonging to the national community overpowers their membership in the professional one. Nationalism and patriotism narrowed down the objective and balance approach of reporting during conflicts. (Zia & Syedah, 2015)³⁶. There is a reflection of socio-political context in the news frames of Kashmir conflict by the print media from both (India and Pakistan) the nation. The reporting highlighted violence and militancy, nationalism and patriotism, biasness towards some parties.

Media drumming up the jingoistic emotions steered the discussion and dialogues on war, missile attacks, frontline strategy and surgical strike. (Bose, 2011)³⁷ “In both these countries (India and Pakistan), a vicious circle emerges: the media’s war talk agitates the masses and the agitated masses, in turn, pressure the media to continue with the aggressive tone.

³⁵ Shinar, D. (2013). Reflection on media war coverage: Dissonance, Dillema, and the need for Improvement. *Conflict and Communication*, 12(2), 1-13.

³⁶ Zia, A., & Syedah, H. (2015). Use of Print Media for Conflict Resolution and Peace Building: A Case Study of Kashmir Dispute. *NDU Journal*, pp. 160-180.

³⁷ Bose, D. (2011). Journalism Caught in Narrow Nationalism: The India-Pakistan Media War . *Reuters Institute Fellowship Paper University of Oxford* .

Kargil war, 1999, was the first “live” war in South Asia with such detailed media coverage. On one side, BBC followed the whole ordeal in a very factual and unbiased manner. (Tasneem, 2011)³⁸ The media of two of nation, on other side, led news propaganda war with the official press briefings of both nation producing claims and counter claims. Prominent Indian press “reviewed the whole issue in a pro-Indian manner, put Pakistan in complete bad light, India as the victim and highlighted India’s victory prominently”. “This is the new face of war in the 21st century. We saw the first signs of it on the Indian side 1999, during the Indo-Pak Kargil conflict, as private news channels had begun to mushroom there. There wasn’t much of a response on this side of the border because there were hardly any private news channels in Pakistan at time. In 2016, however, there are about 100 such channels in Pakistan, all of which think it their duty to serve this nationalistic agenda in the media war with India - as is the case across the border”. (Khalid H. , 2016)³⁹

There were accusation and counter accusation prominently through media of India and Pakistan during Mumbai terror attack, 2008. (Bose, 2011)⁴⁰ Indian mainstream media led with headlines “war against India”, “It’s war on Mumbai”, a fidayeen attack, “Mumbai attack was attack on the world”. On Pakistan’s news channel, a Pakistani security expert said that 26/11 was actually a plan hatched by “Hindu Zionists” and “Western Zionists”, including the Mossad. “Dramatising

³⁸ Tasneem. (2011, March 1). *Merinews*. Retrieved January 12, 2018, from www.merineews.com/article/how-mwdia-influenced-the-kargil-war/

³⁹ Khalid, H. (2016, june). *Huffington post*. Retrieved January 2018, from www.huffingtonpost.com/haroon-khalid/the-media-war-between-ind_b_12600914.html

⁴⁰ Bose, D. (2011). *Journalism Caught in Narrow Nationalism: The India-Pakistan Media War*. *Reuters Institute Fellowship Paper University of Oxford*.

events, introducing blame-game ticker tapes, spicing up commentaries with words like ‘war’, ‘nuclear’, ‘Hindu-Muslim’ and parroting the lines offered by the foreign office – that was journalism on both sides of the border during 26/11”.

There are the key factors which Bose has pinned down responsible for the toxification of journalism in the subcontinent mentioned as: Fixed mind-set/ myth, lack of access and pressure/fears are more convincing. There is a prevalent notion in citizen of both the countries that the other country is our enemy and appreciating or sympathising the other side is unpatriotic. Similarly, lack of access one national media to the actual incident site of other country led to “absolute ignorance and lack of knowledge about their neighbours”. Citing some of the substantial finding and data of Bose study on narrow nationalism that stand the above key factors are as:

Amidst the strong emotional vent up during Mumbai terror attack, “every media house in India, in varying degrees, ran reports that upheld public sentiments. None could afford taking the risk of saying anything ‘out-of-line’ -- even if it meant being rational and logical. It seemed that it was not producers, but news consumers who were running the show” (Bose, 2011)⁴¹

2.1.3 Discounted Code and Ethics:

The concession in standard journalistic codes has overshadowed the Indian journalism in the simmering situation. In Gujarat riots, 2002, as per the guidelines of press council of India, a quasi-judicial watchdog organisation, mentioning of victims or attackers as Hindus or Muslims was restricted. But news producers breached the guidelines and overtly identified the victims and attackers (Ahmed S. , 2010)⁴².

⁴¹ Ibid¹

⁴² Ahmed, S. (2010). The Role of the Media during Communal Riots in India: A Study of the 1984 Sikh Riots and the 2002 Gujarat Riots. *Media Asia*, 37(2).

In Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi conflict, (Engineer, 1999)⁴³ local Hindi media was reprimanded by National Press Commission for publishing exaggerated accounts of police brutalities, highly charged stories and presented fabricated figures (hundreds of people were shot dead).

Scholars and intellectuals acknowledged that in crisis ridden situation, many a times, Indian media failed the acid test. In Assam conflict (Chakraborty, Borah, & Hazarika, 2015)⁴⁴, print media do not flinch in publishing sensationalized words and melodramatic framing of events irrespective of their serious commitment towards society. Furthermore, in Godhra case, it was the national television media that was highly criticised for ‘inflamed communal passions’ by providing graphic television coverage of the dreadful events (Ahmed S. , 2010)⁴⁵.

Sandesh, a local daily of Gujarat, carried headlines as “70 Hindus burnt alive in Godhra”; heading without quoting the speaker as “Avenge blood with blood”; “Hindus beware: Haj pilgrims return with a deadly conspiracy”, when the fact remains that hundreds of Haj pilgrims were terrified by the happenings in the state and had return under police protection (Ahmed S. , 2010)⁴⁶.

One of the national conflicts for which national media was highly criticised is of the Mumbai terror attack of 2008, in which crowd of media ignored the sensitivity of the issue. The height of sensationalism was reached by audio-visual media, which manifested as “On May 29, 2011, Mumbai attack plotter David Headley told a Chicago court on May 25 that live TV broadcasts from India on 26/11 gave terrorist

⁴³ Engineer, A. A. (1999, July-August). Media and Minorities: Exclusions, Distortions and Stereotypes. *Economic and Political Weekly*, IIIIV(31), pp. 2132-2133.

⁴⁴ Chakraborty, J., Borah, A., & Hazarika, M. (2015, June-December). From Fractures to Frames: Conflict Reporting in Newspapers of Assam. *Global Media Journal*, VI, 1-2

⁴⁵ Ahmed, S. (2010). The Role of the Media during Communal Riots in India: A Study of the 1984 Sikh Riots and the 2002 Gujarat Riots. *Media Asia*, 37(2).

⁴⁶ Ibid¹

handlers in Pakistan all the visuals they needed to instruct their gunmen on how to battle advancing Indian commandos, recalibrate the attack on the ground and inflict maximum damage (firstpost.com).

“After the Mumbai blasts on July 13 which killed 18 people and injured 131, television voyeurs entered hospitals, stomped around emergency wards and obstructed the work of doctors. Headlines Today telecast scenes from the hospitals where people were being taken for treatment. No effort was made to mask the individual’s face or his naked body as doctors and nurses were shown treating the person” (The Hoot, 2012)⁴⁷.

“After the second Delhi High Court blasts in September Times Now showed the visuals of the injured which is against the broadcasting norms of television including those set by the News Broadcasters Association’s Self-Regulatory Authority. The channel beaming raw mobile footage on the Delhi High Court blast with a warning slug on top: "Viewer discretion advised". On show were dismembered limbs, burning bodies” (The Hoot, 2012)⁴⁸.

In research study on Kashmir conflict coverage in newspaper from India and Pakistan revealed the nature of coverage notably “anti-peace” and tend to exacerbate the conflicts (Sreedharan, 2009)⁴⁹. The research data corroborating one sided stories particularly from government sources dispossessed of counterinterviews and alternative perspective.

The crucial moment when objectivity and fair reporting is at the stake is shutting the other side opinion and views. National media crushes professionalism and objectivity in the line of patriotism and service for so called national interest

⁴⁷ *The Hoot*. (2012). Retrieved January 2018, from thehoot.org: <http://www.thehoot.org/media-watch/media-practice/media-ethics-in-2011-5727>

⁴⁸ Ibid¹

⁴⁹ Sreedharan, C. (2009). *REPORTING KASHMIR An analysis of the conflict coverage in Indian and Pakistani newspapers*

while reporting in Kashmir (Gadda, 2014)⁵⁰. The research asserted that the national media adopted “partial journalism” by towing the administrative line and downplayed the dissent voices and sentiments in the Kashmir valley. “*The fake encounters and human rights violations committed by the forces were ignored, but operations against militants were overplayed to justify the presence of military in Kashmir Valley*”. Gadda found in his study that the national press has downplayed the strikes in Kashmir valley either by not publishing the news stories about strikes; by portraying the strikes as sponsored” programmes of resistance leaders, “crippling” or “halting” the normal life; or by diluting the details about strikes.

The comparison of Indian and International media reports on Kashmir floods, 2014, reflected the contrast picture of the crisis. The national media was biased, subjective, and news coverage was focussed specifically on army’s relief efforts and government affirmative role with negligible attention to local grievances and their bravery effort whereas International news coverage was balanced and subjective, taking into account all actors involved in relief and rescue operations (Khalid W. , 2016)⁵¹.

One of the striking revelations pertaining to news frames in Indian and Pakistan dailies on Indo-Pak relations is that frame in Pakistan newspaper (The News) was more be peace slanted as compared to Indian newspaper (Times of India) (Hussain, 2016)⁵². Hussain⁵³ hypothesized that war frame would be used greater by the Times of India and the research data confirmed this prediction which asserted

⁵⁰ Gadda, D. N. (2014, Jan-June). ‘Partial Journalism’—A study of national media of India and Kashmir conflict. *Trends in Information Management (TRIM)*, 10(1), 13-23

⁵¹ Khalid, H. (2016, june). *Huffington post*. Retrieved January 2018, from [www.huffingtonpost.com: https://www.huffingtonpost.com/haroon-khalid/the-media-war-between-ind_b_12600914.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/haroon-khalid/the-media-war-between-ind_b_12600914.html)

⁵² Hussain. (2016). News Framing on Indo-Pak Conflicts in the News (Pakistan) and Times of India: War and Peace Journalism Perspective. *J Mass Communicat Journalism*, pp. 5-8

⁵³ Corresponding author: Hussain I, Department of Electronic Engineering, Mehran University Jamshoro, Pakistan.

that the level of war frame especially on the issue of Kashmir, Times of India utilized the hatred language and such words of war frame were measured in the Times of India coverage which clear cut depicted the picture of promotion of war between India and Pakistan

Another newspaper based analysis of Kashmir reporting put the journalism in both the countries (Indian and Pakistan) on a serious concern. (Zia & Syedah, 2015)⁵⁴ There is a reflection of socio-political context in the news frames of Kashmir conflict by the print media from both the nation. The study revealed domination of war journalism in the coverage of conflict and demonstrated that print media continues to adopt an imprudent, unreflective type of coverage of conflicts, with a minor consideration for long-term and peaceful solutions. (Zia & Syedah, 2015)⁵⁵.

2.1.4 Conflict, Sensation and a Good Business:

Conflicts allure people and so cultivate the good prospects to gain business for media organisation. The precious relation of media with conflicts is also relevant from the viewpoint of security implication of people (Rai A. K., 2000)⁵⁶. But media cognizance of conflict as “newsworthy” led them towards the ignorance of their competency to de-escalate the conflict. “Violent events dominate the coverage of conflict”, as in the case Maoist reporting in Chattisgarh with marginalisation of “peace protest and resource conflict” occurring in parallel in other district of the same state (Sharma, 2012)⁵⁷.

⁵⁴ Zia, A., & Syedah, H. (2015). Use of Print Media for Conflict Resolution and Peace Building: A Case Study of Kashmir Dispute. *NDU Journal*, pp. 160-180.

⁵⁵ Ibid¹

⁵⁶ Rai, A. K. (2000). Conflict Situations and the Media: A Critical Look.

⁵⁷ Sharma, S. (2012). Guns and Protests: Media coverage of the conflicts in the Indian state of Chhattisgarh. *Reuters Institute Fellowship Paper*.

This is how variables for conflict are aptly defined in the media sphere. In journalistic parlance, conflict occurs when the violence between parties breakout (Sharma, 2012)⁵⁸ or manifestation of violence grab the attention of media. For most commercial networks, the precondition for coverage is crisis.

Media grabbed the terror of Mumbai attack, 2008, as an opportunity to peak their business. Studies shown that most of the press stories were negative, sensational and which created fear among people and made them feel insecure (Neelamalar, Chitra , & Darwin , 2009)⁵⁹.

Just like the Roman circuses, “these (TV news) shows try to attract vast audiences, preferably of those who have black-and-white responses given shape by fear and bias” (Devdas, 2016)⁶⁰. Devdas put forth his views on Indian television reporting as “anti-national” and criticized their boil down to cash, larger audience and higher charge for each second of advertising. News team seems to run premeditated story based on some “hidden communal agenda”.

“More the Blood, bigger the headlines” (Rai A. K., 2000)⁶¹ , here the ideology sponsored the propaganda of militants backing terror through media. People are more responsive when militants speak with action rather than words and “media provides the oxygen of publicity” for terrorising society. The coverage of violence and strained situation offered Maoist public attention and a sense of being a

⁵⁸ Ibid¹

⁵⁹ Neelamalar, M., Chitra , P., & Darwin , A. (2009, December). The print media coverage of the 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks: A study on the coverage of leading Indian newspapers and its impact on people . *Journal Media and Communication Studies* , pp. 95-105.

⁶⁰ Devdas, D. (2016, July 16). *The First Post*. Retrieved from [www.firstpost.com](http://www.firstpost.com/author/david-devadas): <http://www.firstpost.com/author/david-devadas>

⁶¹ Rai, A. K. (2000). *Conflict Situations and the Media: A Critical Look*.

stronger force (Sharma, 2012)⁶². This is what Adam Robert⁶³ acquainted as ‘propaganda value’ through which Maoist try to prove their relevance and existence. He further elaborated through Muzaffarnagar violence which he emphasised as a political mileage.

Mumbai attack 2008 exemplified how media full coverage to the fear-provoking stories cash in publicity to terrorists. “The idea behind the terrorists attack in Mumbai was mainly to create fear in the minds of the people as well as topple the name of India in the foreign minds affecting the booming economy and tourism of the country. Media... freely advertised the needs of terrorists and sowed fear in the minds of people,... which will definitely encourage them to further take some terrorist activities” (Neelamalar, Chitra , & Darwin , 2009)⁶⁴

2.2 Media in Conciliation & Commodification:

2.2.1 How can media help in conciliation?

There are some mounting discourses of conflict reporting which champion the cause of ‘reliable, independent and diverse media’ (Howard, 2012)⁶⁵ for peace building and deployment of media for credible information, alerting society and decision makers about dangerous situations in the due course of conflict prevention (Aguirre, Ferraniz, & Pureza, 2003)⁶⁶. (Melone, Terzis, & Beleli , 2002)⁶⁷ stressed

⁶² Sharma, S. (2012). Guns and Protests: Media coverage of the conflicts in the Indian state of Chhattisgarh . *Reuters Institute Fellowship Paper*.

⁶³ Adam Robert, South Asian Correspondent, The Economist, presented his views in The Regional Conference of Senior Editors on Violence and Conflict Reporting: The Media debates its Role, 2013

⁶⁴ Neelamalar, M., Chitra , P., & Darwin , A. (2009, December). The print media coverage of the 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks: A study on the coverage of leading Indian newspapers and its impact on people . *Journal Media and Communication Studies* , pp. 95-105.

⁶⁵ Howard, R. (2012). *Conflict Sensitive Journalism*. IMPACS.

⁶⁶ Aguirre, M., Ferraniz, F., & Pureza, J. M. (2003). Introduction: Conflict Prevention and The Media. In *Before Emergency: Conflict Prevention and The Role of Media* (p. 14). Bilbao

that if there are fair and accurate journalism and developing media content that builds confidence and counteracts misperceptions to the public, they(the media and the journalists) have potential in conflict prevention and transformation. ‘The media can be an ‘instrument’ of conflict resolution when the information it presents is reliable, respects human rights, and represents diverse views. It’s the kind of media that upholds accountability and exposes malfeasance (Howard, 2002: 1)⁶⁸.

(Gilboa, 2007)⁶⁹ attempted to construct a framework for analysis and practice which is based on a unique multidisciplinary integration of normative and empirical theories and approaches from several fields: international relations, conflict studies, communication, and journalism. UN missions and Humanitarian institution projected their exertion towards democratising information environment & develop framework for communication for peace building, its trends and challenges (Hoffmann, 2013; Search for Ground; Monzani, 2009; Himelfarb & Chabalowski , 2008).

(Bratic & Schirch, 2007)⁷⁰ The diaspora of media role in conflict prevention and peacebulding is elucidated as: Information provider and interpreter, watchdog, gatekeeper, policymaker, diplomat, peace promotor, bridge builder. (Tahir, 2009)⁷¹ Media is acknowledged to perform the role of peace making and ameliorate conflict by exhibiting the following traits as bridging communication gap, educating the audience, confidence-building, correcting misperceptions, making them human,

⁶⁷ Melone, S. D., Terzis, G., & Beleli , O. (2002). Using the Media for Conflict Transformation: The Common Ground Experience . *Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation*

⁶⁸ Howard, R. (2002). An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding. *IMPACS – Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society, Vancouver, B.C.*, 3.

⁶⁹ Gilboa, E. (2007). Media and International Conflict: A Multidisciplinary Approach. *Journal of Dispute Resolution*, 1-11

⁷⁰ Bratic, V., & Schirch, L. (2007). *Why and When to use the Media for Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding*. 2007: Global Parrnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict.

⁷¹ Tahir, B. A. (2009). *Practical Guide: Tips for Conflict Repoting*. Islamabad: Intermedia.

identifying underlying interests, emotional outlet, framing the conflict, face-saving and consensus building, solution-building, encouraging a balance of power.

The very first and crucial role of media is accurate information dissemination. (Moges, 2016)⁷² Media can serve the public in informing and educating functions by securing a free flow of accurate and constructive information, counteracting misperceptions, identifying the interests underlying the issues and helping to build a consensus. (Aguirre, Ferraniz, & Pureza, 2003)⁷³ Media reporters can also provide information or the implementation of early warning policies, and can contribute knowledge and indications about situations, actors and their aims. (Moges, 2016)⁷⁴ The content the media are covering in general and the frame the stories are written in particular can have the possibilities to loosen the tension of the two sides.

Beyond reporting tactics of media, some strategic frameworks are developed 'to serve as a guide in planning and implementing peace-building media'. 'Maximum media impact on conflict prevention and peace-building will occur when all five of the following strategies are employed: Conflict-sensitive and peace journalism, Peace-promoting citizen media, Peace-promoting entertainment media, Advertising or social marketing for conflict prevention and peace-building, Media regulation to prevent incitement of violence (Himelfarb & Chabalowski , 2008)⁷⁵.

⁷² Moges, M. A. (2016). Exploring Media Interventions in Peace Building and their Challenges . *Journal of Art and Design* , 35-47.

⁷³ Aguirre, M., Ferraniz, F., & Pureza, J. M. (2003). Introduction: Conflict Prevention and The Media. *In Before Emergency: Conflict Prevention and The Role of Media* (p. 14). Bilbao.

⁷⁴ Moges, M. A. (2016). Exploring Media Interventions in Peace Building and their Challenges . *Journal of Art and Design* , 35-47.

⁷⁵ Himelfarb, S., & Chabalowski , M. (2008, October). Media, Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding: Mapping the Edges . *USIPeace Briefing* , pp. 1-5.

(Wolfsfeld, 2004)⁷⁶ described four impacts of the news media in peace process. First, they can play a major role in defining the political atmosphere in which the process takes place. Second, the media can have an important influence on the nature of debate about peace process. Third, they can have an impact on antagonist's strategy and behaviour. Fourth, they can raise and lower the public standing and legitimacy of antagonistic involved in the process and their positions

Reconnaissance on the community based media initiatives in building peaceful inter-communal relations in Kenya, "Media initiatives in the society cover political, economic and social issues" (Malakwen, 2014)⁷⁷, investigation into the contribution of community radio to peace building in the aftermath of the genocide in Rwanda (Mutasa, 2015)⁷⁸ are research exploring attempt across population of different geographical region. "Community media operates on a local level through traditional platforms such as television, radio and print. In general it serves as a conduit for community information. However, the specialists pointed to examples in Southeast Asia and Latin America where village radio stations have organized peaceful resistance against the surrounding violence" (Himelfarb & Chabalowski , 2008). Beyond community media, a need is developed to strengthen the local media along national and international media. Study suggested parameters to build up the local media structure. In strengthening local capacities' efforts, assistance can focus on three different aspects of local media structures: creating an open media culture that allows different voices to emerge and be heard, enhancing professional training

⁷⁶ Wolfsfeld, G. (2004). *Media and the path to peace*. Newyork: Cambridge University Press.

⁷⁷ Malakwen, B. K. (2014). Media Initiatives and the Promotion of Peaceful Coexistence among Communities in Kenya . *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* , 101-111.

⁷⁸ Mutasa, I. (2015, December 3). Community media and peace building in post-conflict Rwanda. *Communication for Development* , pp. 1-69.

and education for journalists, and supplying technical equipment to local media institutions (Melone, Terzis, & Beleli , 2002)⁷⁹.

The competency of media is visualised as conflict de-escalation actor by many theorists but still hurdles and challenges reside in the sphere of journalism that potentially escalate conflicts. These challenges are recognized in five hierarchical levels such as individual level, media routines level, organization level, extra media level, and ideological level (Shoemaker & Reese , 1996)⁸⁰.

(Moges, 2016)⁸¹ reduces number of challenges into internal and external to the journalists/ media. Per his views, all the challenges are in the journalism and within journalists who are working in the media and how far the media are independent from the government control and other exterior interference comes other external factors. Media are under the control of external body such as the governments, owners, political parties, advertisers and others. These groups are able to determine the media content, working situation and finance (Moges, 2016)⁸².

2.2.2 Advocacy Journalism:

The domain of journalism is highly meditated for its professional norms and political, economic and institutional structure. Definition from Wikipedia states that ‘Advocacy journalism’ is a genre of journalism that intentionally and transparently adopts a non-objective viewpoint, usually for some social or political purpose.

⁷⁹ Melone, S. D., Terzis, G., & Beleli , O. (2002). Using the Media for Conflict Transformation: The Common Ground Experience . *Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation* .

⁸⁰ Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese , S. (1996). *Mediating The Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* . USA: Longman Publishers .

⁸¹ Moges, M. A. (2016). Exploring Media Interventions in Peace Building and their Challenges . *Journal of Art and Design* , 35-47.

⁸² Ibid¹

Theorists' versions polarised on the much debated idea of sustaining peace promoting journalism against conventional journalism (Kempf, 2008; Loyn, 2007; Shinar, 2007; Howard, 2012). The professional norms of good journalism stressed on truthfulness, objectivity, neutrality and detachment (Kempf, 2008). International standard and code of ethics settle with impartiality, accuracy and fairness. Proponents of peace journalism bank on the concept for "a normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflict, that aims at contributing to peacemaking, peacekeeping, and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals, and audiences towards war and peace" (Shinar, Epilogue: Peace Journalism-The State of Art, 2007)⁸³.

According to Lynch & McGoldrick (2005), "Peace Journalism is when editors and reporters make choices-of what stories to report, and how to report them". Galtung (1986, 1998, and 2002) indicated that peace journalism focuses on stories that promote peace initiatives; tone down ethnic and religious differences; prevent further conflict; give attention to the structure of the society; and advocates conflict resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation. (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000)⁸⁴ conciliatory approach include exploration of conflict formation, giving voices to all parties, exposes lies, cover-up attempts and culprits on all sides, and reveals excesses committed by, and suffering inflicted on, peoples of all parties, humanization of all sides, focus on invisible effects of violence, expose untruths, focus on people peace-maker, highlight peace initiatives, offers creative ideas for conflict resolution, development, peacemaking and peacekeeping, pays attention to

⁸³ Shinar, D. (2007). Epilogue: Peace Journalism-The State of Art. *Conflict and Communication*, 1-9.

⁸⁴ MsGoldrick, A., & Lynch, J. (2000). *Peace Journalism what is it? How to do it?* Reporting the World Transcend.

peace stories and post-war developments. This definition of peace journalism tells us that reporting conflicts need special attention and curiosity in selecting, writing, and sourcing when journalists write the stories (Moges, 2016)⁸⁵. Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) well described PJ as a broader, fairer, and more accurate way of framing stories, drawing insights of conflict analysis and transformation

Beyond the values of basic journalism, teaching accurate, impartial and responsible reporting training which remains a core component of media development, reseacher backed conflcit-sensitive journalism. ‘Conflict-sensitive journalism goes beyond this by encouraging journalists to be aware of what effects their language and reporting can have on the conflict—as well as how they may become victims of the violence’ (Himelfarb & Chabalowski , 2008)⁸⁶.

Conflict Sensitive Journalism, one of the approaches of conflict conciliatory reporting, steered for strategic trade on job of journalism which are as: reporting conflict as multi-dimensional phenomenon, recognising divisive propaganda, cover both sides of conflict, subjective interpretations compromise objectivity, conflict vocabulary should not be used imprecisely, not to being judgemental, finding common grounds (Howard, 2004; Tahir, 2009).

“For Jean-Paul Marthoz, to develop the conflict prevention journalism, or early warning journalism, media needs to show a renewed flexibility to cope with shifting situations, developing new information-gathering and dissemination

⁸⁵ Moges, M. A. (2016). Exploring Media Interventions in Peace Building and their Challenges . *Journal of Art and Design* , 35-47.

⁸⁶ Himelfarb, S., & Chabalowski , M. (2008, October). Media, Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding: Mapping the Edges . *USIPeace Briefing* , pp. 1-5.

strategies that avoid the short circuits of conventional reporting” (Aguirre, Ferraniz, & Pureza, 2003)⁸⁷.

2.2.3 Mediation:

Eytan Gilboa, through his work on ‘Media and conflict resolution’ acknowledged media’s aptitude in remaining an independent actor, initiating and facilitating negotiations and conducting mediation. “Politician and policy makers use the media to advance negotiations, build confidence and cultivate public support for negotiations and agreements. He further elaborated the approaches of media viz signaling and communication, mediation, confidence building in negotiating and settling the conflict.

(Gilboa, 2005) proposed a conceptual model of media-broker diplomacy answers the following questions: why do journalists engage in international mediation? How do they pursue this role? How successful are they? How do policymakers and fellow journalists view their intervention in diplomacy? And what are the professional and ethical implications of what they do?

Gurevitch (1991) referred to journalist who directly intervene in diplomacy as “international political brokers” while Gilboa (2005) suggested that it is useful to view journalists acting independently as third parties, pursuing track-two diplomacy,

⁸⁷ Aguirre, M., Ferraniz, F., & Pureza, J. M. (2003). Introduction: Conflict Prevention and The Media. In *Before Emergency: Conflict Prevention and The Role of Media* (p. 14). Bilbao.

particularly in pre-negotiation stages, and used the term “media-broker-diplomacy” (Gilboa, 2009)⁸⁸.

William Thatcher Dowell, through his study, *Mediators and the Media*, emphasised that the true picture of the nature of conflict and understanding of its background is essential in mobilising the parties in conflict for mediation and conflict resolution. Per his views, “*by informing the public about what is at stake, the media can dramatically increase the pressure on both sides to reach a resolution quickly*”.

Larson (1988) observed: “television provides an interactive channel for diplomacy which is instantaneous or timely and in which journalists frequently assume an equal role with officials in the diplomatic dialogue” (Gilboa, 2009)⁸⁹. Researchers affirmed the effectiveness of the broadcast media for its broader perspective of airing the views and opinions from different parties. . “Electronic media fares a shade better when it comes to impartial and multiple opinions because... they bring in these discussions where rope in people from opposing viewpoints”⁹⁰. Researchers stressed on airing the voices of all the parties in conflict and broadcast media served it in finest way.

Withstanding the notion of people participation in news rather than being observer of events occurring around them, television provide an effective platform to debate and discuss their views. There are three alternatives which are co-axial and

⁸⁸ Gilboa, E. (2009). Media and Conflict Resolution. In J. Bercovitch, V. Kremenyuk, & I. W. Zartman, *The Sage Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (p. 455). London: Sage Publication.

⁸⁹ Ibid¹

⁹⁰ M. R. Narayan Swamy, Chief News Editor of IANS shed lights on the balancing act of media during conflict in The Regional Conference of Senior Editors on Violence and Conflict Reporting: The Media debates its Role, 2013

complementary to each other are considered as unfolding a beneficial role of television news in conflict resolution (Gutierrez, 1997)⁹¹. Through, Communicative Ethics, Civic Journalism and Complementary model by David Bloomfield, the format of news reporting in the sphere of morality, ground level participation and rationale communicative approach is redefined. The three alternatives mutually support the idea of public interpretation, evaluation and initiation for finding the constructive or compensatory way to resolve conflict. Based on principle of which, it contrasted between television news audiences as consumer and citizen and accordingly stressed on solution based reporting rather than entertainment.

“During active conflict, when opposing fronts have been established and violent rhetoric has become the norm, a neutral and objective media can act as a bridge between communities, provide information about essential services and events, and allow for international attention not to wane” (Monzani, 2009)⁹².

Marking some parameters for Media, where media function as mediator, studies suggested the ground on which the two, ‘Media’ and ‘Mediation’ shared common norms and practices. “The two have much in common. For example, a facilitative mediator brings parties together, communicates, translates, extracts information, and serves as an agent of reality and a watchdog over the integrity of the process” (Pauli, 2007)⁹³.

Beyond some similar practices of media as neutral third party, just as in mediation, bring the conflict parties on one common ground, make easy thread of

⁹¹ Gutierrez, L. M. (1997). The Role of Television News in Conflict Resolution.

⁹² Monzani, B. (2009, April). Media in Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding: An Opportunity for EU leadership. *European Union Institute for Security Studies*, pp. 1-4.

⁹³ Pauli, C. (2007). News Media as Mediators. *Texas A & W Law Scholarship*, pp. 8-11

communication, and break the stalemate, Carol Pauli also cited the stark contrast between the two. “The reporter who is free to engage a party is also free to abandon the party when the conflict becomes tiring. News coverage rarely offers parties the sustained engagement that can be essential to resolving conflicts” (Pauli, 2007)⁹⁴.

Further exploration of literature resulted in numerous instances where media played the role of mediator. A highly circulated newspaper in Southern Maharashtra, The Daily Pudhari’s editor Pratapsinh Jadhav invited both the representative from sugarcane farmers and chiefs of all sugar co-operatives in his office for discussion on the fair price demands of cane growers. “Instead of mere focusing on two opposing views, agitations and counter agitations, some via media is almost always needed for social peace and law and order.... So the matter was sorted out by an amicable settlement” (Kulkarni, 2004)⁹⁵.

2.2.4 Selling News:

(Khumalo, 2013)⁹⁶ explored that how news as commodity sustains over news as public goods and revealed different factors responsible for the scenario. The economic structure of media regulates the news content and production process. There is no escaping route from the complex relation of media, money and news matter. “The tension between maintaining professionalism and making profit

⁹⁴ Ibid¹

⁹⁵ Kulkarni, P. (2004, January 22). *The Hoot*. Retrieved february 28, 2018, from www.thehoot.org:
<http://www.thehoot.org/media-watch/regional-media/media-as-mediator-1405>

⁹⁶ Khumalo, S. L. (2013). *News as a Commodity vs. News as a Public Good: Adaptation Strategies of South African Newspapers in the Digital Era*. University of Pretoria.

remains difficult to resolve... profitability tends to impose constraints on production of news” (Khumalo, 2013)⁹⁷.

(Moges, 2016)⁹⁸ If the media institute is profit oriented, then, the journalists have to write stories that can be sold as a commodity and generate profit. In all due course what affected the most is the content of the news. The findings of Khumalo study revealed that “the need to make profits by newspapers may result in a focus on news that is attractive to the readers which in some cases may lack accuracy” (Khumalo, 2013)⁹⁹. It further stressed that “news may become more sensationalised and more emphasis may be placed on reporting on politics and personal lives of politicians or celebrities as this is seen as news that is attractive to readers and that may sell” (Khumalo, 2013)¹⁰⁰.

(Tumber, 2009) It is common that conflict stories can get better market and they have the value of their commodity. In addition to the media owners and the interest of the media, the external factors like advertisers’ interests are becoming contributing factor in the story selection and production. Due to that, the space and time that are allocated to cover conflict and peace are not equal. The dramatic issues like conflict are getting better coverage than peace (Moges, 2016)¹⁰¹. Peace process

⁹⁷ Ibid¹

⁹⁸ Moges, M. A. (2016). Exploring Media Interventions in Peace Building and their Challenges . *Journal of Art and Design* , 35-47.

⁹⁹ Khumalo, S. L. (2013). *News as a Commodity vs. News as a Public Good: Adaptation Strategies of South African Newspapers in the Digital Era*. University of Pretoria.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid¹

¹⁰¹ Moges, M. A. (2016). Exploring Media Interventions in Peace Building and their Challenges . *Journal of Art and Design* , 35-47.

and peace building are not as dramatic as conflict, (Wolfsfeld, 2004)¹⁰². Commercial media are profit oriented, and the peace process does not likely produce profit.

(Wolfsfeld, 2004)¹⁰³ In the scenario of media business, media professional hold the four values: immediacy, drama, simplicity and ethnocentrism. These values tend to favour violence rather than peace. The media use the four values to decide what to cover as news and what to cover for entertainment.

(Shinar, 2013)¹⁰⁴ brought the focus in the media attitude and behaviour in conflict and war coverage as the cause of its professional environment, political contexts and economic constraints. The study explained an important aspect of economic constraint as ‘the increasing economic facet of war coverage as entertainment’.

Pre-violence phase or post-violence phase is little striking in news and are paid least attention by news consumers and so the news makers. “Dramatic pictures of massive human suffering sell better than pictures of UN troops going quietly about their business day in and day out” (Jakobsen, 2000)¹⁰⁵. One of the reason behind the negligible impact of media coverage on conflict management, during the pre-violence phase, is that the “media usually fails to take an interest in conflicts before violence or mass starvation kills a large number of people” (Jakobsen,

¹⁰² Wolfsfeld, G. (2004). *Media and the path to peace*. Newyork: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁰³ Ibid¹

¹⁰⁴ Shinar, D. (2013). Reflection on media war coverage: Dissonance, Dillema, and the need for Improvement. *Conflict and Communication*, 12(2), 1-13.

¹⁰⁵ Jakobsen, P. V. (2000). Focus on the CNN Effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management is Invisible and Indirect. *Journal of Peace Research*, pp. 131-143.

2000)¹⁰⁶. The other reason was that governments tend to ignore calls for preventive action when media coverage does occur.

Some findings revealed that, to a large degree, news commercialization affects objectivity and balance in reporting. Unveiling the reasons behind news commercialization, the study reveals that poor remuneration, Corruption, personal greed, untrained journalists and laxity of journalism regulatory bodies to enforce rule and regulation are part of the reasons behind news commercialization (Oberiri, 2016)¹⁰⁷.

(Seimens, 2003)¹⁰⁸ suggested the following as the required explanation for the illusory statement that asserted that media is committed to the humanitarian efforts: First, they are led by economic indicators: they have to meet the desires and preferences of consumers to keep or raise their audience rates; —Second, the various media groups compete with each other for those audiences: the concerns of CEOs are not about substance but about sales and shares. —Third and most important, they have become, very visibly, politically biased. Sometimes, Humanitarian values and stories are compromised in selling news during conflicts. If the media report on humanitarian issues, it is just because there is a “market” demanding such type of information (Seimens, 2003)¹⁰⁹.

The media is often accused of overplaying coverage of violence and tragedy and of using its inherent emotional charge to boost audience figures and circulation.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid¹

¹⁰⁷ Oberiri, A. D. (2016). Journalists' Perception of News Commercialization and its implication on Media Credibility in Nigeria. *World Science News* , pp. 63-76.

¹⁰⁸ Seimens, M. A. (2003). The Role of Media in Conflict Situations: The Media as Multiational Corporations. In M. Aguirre, F. Ferrandizo, & J. M. Pureza, *Conflict Prevention and he Role of the Media* (pp. 51-54). Bilbao.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid¹

News on trauma has a high signal value: it is attractive because it tells us about threats that can affect ourselves or are communities, and it can galvanise active responses that may reaffirm our sense that life has value (Granatt, 2004). And equally, news of suffering can frighten and demoralise us, leaving us feeling overcome and helpless (Newman and Nelson, 2012).

(Shinar, 2013)¹¹⁰ on discussion professional dilemmas in media conflict coverage revealed “ Negative coverage such as personalizing, ‘negative othering’, demonising and dehumanizing, poses professional dilemma vis-à-vis the professional normative demand for impartiality. “Negative news content, in comparison with positive news content, tends to increase both arousal and attentiveness” (Soroka & Mcadams, 2015)¹¹¹. The study suggests a psychophysiological explanation for the focus on negative information in mass media. (Akpoghiran & Otite, 2013)¹¹² showed from their data that the news media especially the private ones are capable of provoking public minds in the manner they report conflict especially when offensive and provocative comments are used.

Evaluation of current conflict coverage criticize the media preference for violence, sensationalism, personalization, patriotism and exclusion-inclusion biases towards certain countries, groups and persons; for simple descriptions rather analyses of complex conflict origins, causes and contexts; for fighting parties rather than broader human and other conflict dimensions, for coverage of conflict only

¹¹⁰ Shinar, D. (2013). Reflection on media war coverage: Dissonance, Dillema, and the need for Improvement. *Conflict and Communication*, 12(2), 1-13.

¹¹¹ Soroka, S., & Mcadams, S. (2015). News, Politics, and Negativity. *Political Communication*, 1-22.

¹¹² Akpoghiran, I. P., & Otite, E. (2013, Febuary). Television news perspective of conflict reporting: The Nigerian Television Authority as a reference point. *Journal of Media and Communication Studies*, 5(2), 12-19.

when manifest violence occur or is about to occur (Shinar, Epilogue: Peace Journalism-The State of Art, 2007)¹¹³.

2.3 Theoretical Paradigm

2.3.1 Framing: Construction of Reality

Framing derives its position on social constructivism based on the fact that media have the power to dictate which news story to get how much space, time and prominence. Robert Entman in his research study (1993) stressed on framing definition by specifying that to frame a communicating text or message is to promote certain facets of a perceived reality and make them more salient in such a way that endorses a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or a treatment recommendation. Scheufele defines a frame as “an idea that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration (Scheufele D. A., 1999)¹¹⁴. Among the four stages defined by McQuail for the history of research on media effects (1994), the last fourth stage, started in 1980s till today, is characterized by social constructivism.

The theory of framing is the crucial part of agenda setting theory which emphasises media role of structuring particular perspective for media consumers in respect of agenda. Most of the researches reflect that framing is the advanced level of agenda setting theory. Agenda setting let the media to define for their viewers to what to think. In framing, media propagate the messages and information and define it for its viewers as ‘how to think’. Framing is relevant in the theoretical paradigm of

¹¹³ Shinar, D. (2007). Epilogue: Peace Journalism-The State of Art. *Conflict and Communication*, 1-9.

¹¹⁴ Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a Theory of Media Effects. *Journal of Communication*, 103-122.

study because frames are the part of mediating which reflect gatekeeping process of media to highlight particular frames. Media makers apply a range of persistent frames, and as such they possibly control the number of alternatives that are available to the receivers when they are constructing social reality. Because frames contribute to the interpretation and evaluative definition of the social world, therefore the functionality of frames is a point of particular interest.

2.3.2 Journalistic Cognitive Frames and Media Coverage

(Scheufele B. , 2004)¹¹⁵ Identified framing at three different levels (systems). At a horizontal level, there are three perspective of framing. The first one is journalist or media system, second is recipients or society and the third is political, economic, cultural, etc., actors, groups or organizations. Scheufele have mentioned that many authors set frames on a cognitive or a textual level and some have set frames as patterns of public discourse. So the vertical level of framing is develop in which a frame can be identified in three ways (1) as a cognitive complex of related schemata for references, such as events, causes, consequences (Scheufele, 2003: 65), (2) in public or inter-media discourse, and (3) as a textual structure of discourse products (e.g., press releases, newspaper articles).

Here, for the relevance of the study, researcher has focused on communicator approach i.e. media system. Under this approach, journalist cognition and media coverage defines the criteria of news production. This study examines how these cognitive frame influences news production and, subsequently, how they are presented as media frames in news reporting. In the world of journalism the theory

¹¹⁵ Scheufele, B. (2004). Framing-effects approach: A theoretical and methodological critique. *Communications*, 401-428.

of framing finds strong roots in the principles theory of mediation. This theory states that “media” have the role of a mediator between man and society, between the outside world and the audience. In this sense, it is important to clarify that the role of mediators between reality and individuals is not reduced to a simple transmission of messages, but it is important to consider that media messages are created when making news.

Chapter Summary:

The chapter includes reviews of various literature available pertaining to the research study. It begins with the Indian media discourse on various conflicts in India. Under this section, propaganda, breaches of code and ethics, nationalistic fervour in reporting and many issues were raised concerning to media reporting. In second section, media’s role in conflict conciliation and commodification was enlightened through the work of many social scientists. In the last leg of the chapter, theoretical perspective of the research study was explored.

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Background of the Research Study

3.1 Introduction:

In the pluralistic society of India, communal prejudices and conflicts are most common. The hard truth is that tales of communal violence is dominated in the line of Hindu- Muslim discordance. Hindu-Sikh and Muslim-Sikh struggles have also occurred but prominently Hindu-Muslim incompatibility is the longest running and most complicated. Such communal elements are not generated within few days or within few years. Number of core issues and situations accumulated since the time of Hindu and Muslims rulers. The communal prejudicial behaviour is enraged into violence under some political and social needs and desires. N. C. Saxena asserted that deprivation of one community from socio-political status is also one of the core issues in the communal conflict formation process. “Conflicts arise when two groups compete with each other for a better share in political power, government jobs on social status... or if two groups follow mutually contradictory goals in matters of political and cultural policies.” (Saxena, 1984)¹¹⁶. “The first communal riot occurred, in Ahmedabad in 1730, of which an authentic version is available, where a Hindu lit the Holi fire against the wishes of Muslim neighbour.” (Saxena, 1984)¹¹⁷. Gradually, electoral parties use communal discordance for vote bank and vote politics. Under this scenario, the trend of communal violence increased in the last many years. “According to an article by journalist Kuldeep Nayar, providing a rounded picture of the phenomena in the Indian Express, till November 1980, 5000 cases of communal

¹¹⁶ Saxena, N. C. (1984). The Nature and Origins of Communal Riots in India. In A. A. Engineer, *Communal Riots in Post-Independence India* (pp. 51-67). Hyderabad: Sangam Books Ltd

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*

disturbances have been recorded” (Desai, 1984)¹¹⁸. In the study, conflicts are evaluated from the two perspectives. In the first perspective, the framework of mediation is developed in the context of communal discord and in the second perspective, television reporting of Kashmir situation is evaluated to develop the insights of media reporting through news content analysis.

3.2 Communal Discordance:

Communal polarisation and discordance are reflected in different instance in various states. In Punjab, Ahemedabad, Uttarpradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, South Indian states etc. “Communal tension mostly occurred due to hate speech which is not defined in any Indian Law including IPC. Nobody has been prosecuted since independence for delivering hate speeches... this was part of my research on Free Speech vs. Hate Speech. Communal harmony is always disturbed by hate speech. During the time of election hate speeches increase. In the meeting called by law commission for inviting suggestions from the political parties on hate speech, not a single major party turned up. Because hate speech and communal discord suits to all political party. Media is also part of that political system” opined Prof. Tewari¹¹⁹ during the interview for this study. A very brief account of prominent communal tension in the last two decades is given in order to develop an insight of communal discord

Though the dispute of Ayodhya (Ram mandir and Babri masjid) appeared the land dispute, but the electoral need in India channelizes the issue for political gain.

¹¹⁸ Desai, A. R. (1984). Caste and Communal Violence in the Post Partition Indian Union. In A. A. Engineer, *Communal Riots in Post-Independence India* (pp. 10-32). Hyderabad: Sangam Pvt Ltd.

¹¹⁹ Prof. Santosh Kumar Tiwari, retired Professor, Centre for Mass Communication, Central University of Jharkhand

The disputed land has socio-religious and historical relevance in India. Ramjanambhoomi and Babri masjid case is a territorial dispute prominently nurtured with communal passion. According to Hindu mythology, Ayodhya is the birth place of Lord Ram and some Hindus believe that place where Mosque was built was originally belongs to Lord Ram. As per their claim, a temple, at a site considered by some Hindus to be Ram Janambhoomi, was demolished to build a Mosque by Muslim rulers. Babri Mosque was built by Mughal general, Mir Baqi in 1528. The movement for Ram mandir at the site gained was increased and the protest against the Babri mosque gained momentum in 1980s when the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) began a campaign for the construction of a Ram temple at the site. During the period, they gained political backup by Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). On 6 December 1992 the VHP and the BJP organised a rally at the site involving 150,000 volunteers, known as kar sevaks. The rally turned violent and Mosque was demolished by a large crowd of Kar sevaks. The demolition triggered large number of riots between Hindu and Muslim communities all over the country for several months.

In retaliatory violence against this incidence, outbreaks of communal violence occurred in Gujarat. On 27 February, 2002, a train boarded by Hindu pilgrims Karsevaks returning from Ayodhya was burnt. The incidence further aggravated the inter-communal violence with more brutalities all over the state. In the year 2013, the two communities- Hindu and Muslim- clashed in the Muzaffarnagar district of Uttarpradesh in the month of August and September. The original cause of the clash is still in debate but it is reported the clash was the worst violence in Uttar Pradesh in recent history.

3.3 Kashmir Situation: A study for television news content analysis

“Gar firdaus baroye Zameen ast, hami asto, hami asto, hamin ast”

Amir Khusro Dehlvi’s few renowned lines about Kashmir’s elegant beauty in very less words. It implies that *“If there be a Paradise on Earth, It is here, it is here, it is here”*. The place once renowned for its exquisiteness now turns out to be one of the longest conflict-ridden zones. Peeping into the etymology of the word “Kashmir” derived from Sanskrit “Ka” and “Shameera” means “dissected land”. Per Hindu mythology, the sage Kashyapa drained a lake to produce the land now known as Kashmir.

Geographical brief account states that Jammu and Kashmir is situated in the northern reaches of Indian subcontinent. Earlier to territorial dissection in 1947, the state was the largest of Indian provinces, with an area of 2, 22, 800 sq.km, dwelled with 39 towns and 8903 villages (Singh, 2012)¹²⁰. Post-independence version of the state Jammu and Kashmir spotlighted on snowbound Himalayan mountainous region viz, Karakoram, Great Himalayas and the Pir Panjal regions, which demarcate its physical features. The state is segmented into three distinct regions- Jammu and the outer hills in the south; the valley of Kashmir which is surrounded by mountains including Nanga Parbat (26,182 feet) to the northern side, Haramukh (16,903) to the east, further south lies Mahadeo overlooking Srinagar as well as Gwash Brari (17,800 feet) and Amarnath (17,321 feet) and on the south is the Pirpanjal range with peaks of 15,000 feet (Gupta, The state Jammu and Kashmir , 1968). The third

¹²⁰ Singh, R. (2012). Operations in Jammu and Kashmir 1947-48. *Scholar Warrior*, pp. 130-158.

frontier province is the high mountainous regions of the North, Ladakh. The elevation of this part varies from 8,000 to 15,000 feet above the sea. The mountains have varying heights from 17,000 to 25,000 feet. The Karakoram ranges forms the northern boundary of Ladakh (Gupta, *The state Jammu and Kashmir* , 1968)¹²¹.

Internationally, it is contiguous with China (Sinkiang) in the north and in face of north-east, it is delimited by Tibet. It is conjoint by the Soviet Republic of Turkestan and Afghanistan in the north-west. Pakistan has some demarcated boundary with Kashmir but confronted on some parts. Communal breakdown of population unravel cultural intercourse between people coming from different places and culture. Jammu had the core population of Hindu or non-Muslim majority, race belong to Dogra dynasty, an Indo-Aryan stock. The Dogra dynasty is sectioned into many castes: Brahmins, Dogra Rajputs, Khatris and Mahajans, and lastly, the Harijans or the lowest order. Ladakh possessed people who practised Buddhism of the Tibetan variety. Valley of Kashmir was inhabited by Muslim majority. Though, before their conversion to Islam in the 14th century they were, by and large, Hindu Brahmins including other sects as well - Nishads, Khashas, Darads, Bhauttas, Bhikhshas, Damaras, Tantrins etc. (Gupta, *The state Jammu and Kashmir* , 1968)¹²².

3.4 Recapitulation of Kashmir Heritage:

Chronicle of Kashmir is wheeled on two broad contexts, provincial and national frame of reference which previews its domestic commitments. The native account of princely state of Jammu and Kashmir has hooked up in the national

¹²¹ Gupta, J. B. (1968). *The state Jammu and Kashmir* . In J. B. Gupta, *Jammu and Kashmir* (pp. 12-28). USA: Martinus Nijhoff.

¹²² *Ibid*¹

political and secular sentiments. Taking note of the reminiscence events, the two treaties signed between East India Company and Jammu and Kashmir Sikh ruler Duleep Singh and Gulab Singh from Dogra dynasty respectively accommodated the fate of few northern reaches of Indian subcontinent included Kashmere. However, prior hitting the two contexts off, historical account of indigenous territory is needed to be illuminated. Thus, the further section subdivided the narrative into Hindu and Buddhism rule, Muslim rule, and Sikhs rule.

3.4.1 Hindu and Buddhism Rule:

The past heralded the sectorial regime course in the line of Brahmanism, Buddhism, Muslim, Moghuls, Afghans, Sikhism and Dogras. A 12th century poet, Kalhana, marked out the historical account of the Kashmir through his work "Rajatarangini". Earlier period of Gonanda, Pandava and other dynasties witnessed the era of Vedic Brahmanism. The rise of Ashoka, the Great, marked the surfacing of Buddhism in Kashmir and kick off the mutual reflection of Brahmanism and Buddhism. Kalhana's narration of Ashoka as a follower of Buddhism who founded the old city of Srinagar called now as " Pandrethan ", and also build Shiv temple, many vihars and temples and repaired the old shrine. Jaluka, son of Ashoka, superseded him and later on, was succeeded by his son Damodar II.

Kanishka dynasty (78-123AD) is of interest in the line of religious propagation. The third Buddhist council, credited to Kanishka, held at Kundalvan (Harwan, near Shalimar garden). Nearly 500 Buddhist and Hindu scholars attended this conference, and a learned Kashmir Brahmin Vasumitra presided over its session. Some of the great Buddhist scholars, who took active part in this council were Ashvagoshya, Nagarjuna, Vasubandu Sugamitra and Jinamitra. Revival of

Brahmanism was led by the appearance of Gonanda dynasty in 178 A.D. After Kanishka, one of the invader of Huns dynasty, Mihir Gul, ascended the throne notoriously famous for its cruelty and cold-blooded massacres.

Post period of Huns witnessed resurrection of Gonanda dynasty with two of the prominent leader, Meghvahan and Pravansein. Pravansein II founded the city Praverseinpura (modern city “Srinagar” and the summer capital of the state at present). This was followed by ascent of Karkota dynasty by its first king Durlabvardhan, the period significantly marked as the Chinese pilgrim, Hien-Tsang visited Kashmir. From the same dynasty, Lalitaditya Muktapid (724-761 A.D.) belongs, who invaded and conquered India, Central Asia, Tibet and defeated the Turks. Lalitaditya was followed by not so influential rulers and the dynasty came to its end around 855-56 A.D. Next to it, Utpal Dynasty arrived and one of the important rulers Maharaja Avanti-verman ascended the throne. He focussed on peace and prosperity and erected buildings and temples. He was succeeded by his son Shankarvarman but he could not make it to the level.

Soon disintegration of Utpal Dynasty opened door for the Lohara dynasty to set in, which ruled till the end of Hindu rule in Kashmir(1339). The last Hindu ruler of Kashmir was Udyan dev who followed famous rulers such as Harsha(1089-1101 A.D.), Jaisimha's (1128-55). Post Jaisimha reign (1155-1339), Hindu regime weakened due mutual plotting and corruptions. Nominally, Udyandev was the ruler but actual governance was carried out by his wife Kota Rani. She died in 1339 and gave rope to the ambitions of Shah Mir, a Muslim refuge from the Swat valley in Dardistan who has been living in Kashmir since 1319.

3.4.2 Muslim Rule

With the reign of Maharaja Shah Mir, the era of Muslim ruler set off. Shah Mir hold power under the name of Sultan-ud-din. Sultan Shahabud-din, one of the notable Sultan of the Shah Mir dynasty, assumed the power in 1354, was a great conqueror. He conquered Afghanistan, Sind, Peshawar and he also proved to be tolerant and generous ruler towards Hindu community. His time in power concluded in 1373.

Contrary to former religious tolerant rulers, one of the Sultan of this dynasty, Sikander, fell out with generosity towards Hindu. He led the demolition of Hindu temple including Avantipuram and Martand and forcibly led the conversion to Islam. His harsh and intolerant policies forced Hindus to live miserably or fled to India. He continued to rule till 1413. Zain-ul-Abidin ascended the throne in 1420, brought back the peaceful days, which people sought under the wrathful reign of Sikander. He had a liberal outlook and was the proponent of equity and justice. His reign lasted to 1470.

Later on, Mirza Haider attacked Kashmir in 1533 followed by emergence of Chak dynasty. The Chak reign began in 1561 and lasted till 1586. With 1586, dawn of Moghul emperor occurs whose policies were effective and catered to its people. Irrespective of early Moghul rulers, Aurangzeb carried on with its religious bigotry and triggered chaos and fear among the inhabitants. In order to seek relief from tyranny of the succeeding Moghul ruler, some concerned indigenous group invited Afghan rulers to win over Moghuls in Kashmir. Thus, the period of 1752 marked the termination of Moghul emperor in Kashmir following their defeat in Afghan invasion.

With the incursion of Ahmad Shah Abdali from Afghanistan, a spark of hope spread for a better governance but unfortunately, power tenure of Pathan is summoned up as the toughest time for Kashmiris as they suffered the utmost cruelty and terror during Afghan rule. The Pathans' reign remained for 67 years and around 28 Durrani Subedar governed the Kashmir (Dhar, 1984)¹²³. Afghan rule came to its end in 1819 with incursion of Sikhs.

3.4.3 Sikh Rule:

In 1819, Ranjit Singh with his army attacked Kashmir and defeated Pathans. Ranjit Singh belongs to the Sukerchakia confederacy. After the death of his father, he was crowned as "Maharaja" on 12th April 1801. Being triumphant of Punjab, his territorial expansion made him emerge as a potent ruler from Tibet to Sindh and Khyber pass to the Sutlej. Evading straight clash with the British, he confined his Empire to the west of Sutlej. In the line of this, he accentuated to the hills and recruiting and strengthening its military resource. Finding it an opportunistic stunt, descended of Dogra class, Gulab Singh found the employment in the exercise of territorial spreading out.

Contemporaneous to the political landscape of Sikh Emperor, Dogra dynasty was resurrecting its lineage identity. Dogras took their name from Dogirath, which, in Sanskrit means "two lakes". Tracing its roots back to 18th century, Gulab Singh's great grandfather's Surat Singh's brother Ranjit Dev, prominent among Dogras, ruled Jammu from 1750 to 1781. Kishor Singh, father of Gulab Singh, held the jagir of Andarwah in Jammu tehsil. Kishore Singh's father, Zorawar Singh, was a nephew

¹²³ Dhar, L. N. (1984, June). *Kashmir: The Crown Of India*. Retrieved March 2017, from <http://www.koausa.org/Crown/history.html>.

of Ranjit Deo. Dogra Rajputs established its regime in the wake of disintegration of Moghuls in the places in and around Jammu and availed the support of Durrani Empire of Afghan under the leadership of Ahmed Shah Abdali. Liquidation of Afghans in Punjab and the attacks from Sikh confederacy led to increase vulnerability of Ranjit Dev. Under his son Brij Dev(1782-7), the reign succumb to attacks and gave way to Sikh regime.

Gulab Singh and his two brothers Dhyan Singh and Suchet Singh received prestigious appointment at the court by exhibiting their valorous victory on the battlefield. Gulab Singh thrived in amassing territory and gaining good position in the hierarchy of the Sikh regime. Gulab Singh annexed Multan in 1818 and quelled the revolt outstretched in Jammu. In the 1820s, he was proved his mantle by exercising successful expedition to Rajauri, Bhimber, Basoli and Kishtwar. In return of this valour act, he was promoted and assigned as jagirdars with the land assigned to him. In 1822, he was crowned as raja of Jammu. In 1813, Gulab Singh's expedition to Afghan controlled Kashmir fell flat but then again in 1819, Sikh expedition to Kashmir led by Ranjit Singh along with Gulab Singh and one of his generals, Misr Diwan Chand proved effective. Jabbar Khan, the Afghan representative in Kashmir fled for life.

The ruler of Sikh kingdom, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, pooled mutual affairs with East India Company through a "perpetual friendship", based on laissez-faire signed on 25th April 1809. The treaty backed in maintaining territorial balance and non-intervention relationships. Through this treaty, they agreed on Sutlej River as the frontier separating Lahore's influence from the East India Company's dominions. But the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839 sets in administrative instability and factional infighting which turned to widespread disarray. Maharaja Ranjeet Singh was

succeeded by his son Kharak singh. The company estimated such contest for power and unsettled authorization as facilitating the north-west frontiers prone to infiltration and a threat of Russian advance. The threat of incursion by eastern situated China and north-western frontier facing Afghan in the line of territorial expansion led to the escalation of anxiety and alarming response of Britishers towards the delicate situation which occasioned to the first Anglo-Sikh war in 1845.

Post the period of Ranjit Singh witnessed a breach of the treaty of friendship, signed between British and Ranjit Singh in 1809, which British found as a provocation to war. The crushing defeat of the Sikhs in the hands of British in 1845-46 made British to demand the compensation of the war which was one and a half crore rupees from Sikhs. The failure to pay the amount by Duleep Singh, one of the son of the Ranjit Singh, brought about the treaty of Lahore signed between the British and the Sikhs on March 1846. Under the treaty, Duleep Singh ceded all its hill territories from Beas river to the Indus including Kashmir and Hajara to the British. Gulab Singh played a strategic role in the whole situation by allying with the British and rendering services to the company. Availing the opportunities, he remained neutral during Anglo-Sikh hostilities.

Treaty of Amritsar signed on 16 March 1846 with Gulab Singh, which transferred the possession of Sikhs to him in lieu of seventy-five lakhs of rupees. The two Anglo-Sikh war collapsed the Sikh sovereignty and opened the path for Dogras to set in new reign.

3.4.4 Dogra rule:

Sikh empire already declared Gulab Singh as Maharaja of Jammu and besides this, the treaty of Amritsar led him to reign over Kashmir and the region

surrounding it. Ladakh and Baltistan were conquered on behalf of Sikhs. The Treaty situated Gulab Singh, first Dogra ruler, as a successor to the Sikhs in most of the northern region. “Disparate territories ...were cobbled together to bring into being this state (Jammu & Kashmir)” (Rai, 2014)¹²⁴

Tapering the narration specifically over Kashmir reveals a tragic tale of the beautiful territory. Kashmir bears majorly Muslim subject, constitute 77% of the population, subsumed under the authority of Hindu Dogra dynasty. Historians viewed the Dogra’s administration discriminatory policies were incongruent with the interest of the popular community. Undue taxes, religious conversion, extreme poverty and denial of Muslims at good official position characterises oppression in the Dogra dynasty based on communal line. “Gulab Singh launch a drive to convert all Muslims into Hinduism... Unable to deface the identity of Kashmiri Muslims, he embarked on a career of ruthless persecution and victimisation of his own subjects” (Beg, 1969)¹²⁵. Muslims were denied the basic minimum education facilities. In 1941, Pandit Prem Nath Bazaz, Kashmiri political worker and writer describe the miserable Muslims “The poverty of Muslim masses was appalling. Dressed in rags which could hardly hide his body... barefooted, a Muslim peasant present the appearance rather of a starving beggar.... Muslims were looked down upon as belonging to an inferior class”. Gulab Singh, ruled for 11 years, was smoothly succeeded by son Ranbir Singh in the year 1857. Ranbir Singh, followed his father legacy, tended to aggrandize his territorial reaches and inflated his trading links with

¹²⁴ Rai, M. (2014). Territorializing Sovereignty: The Dilemmas of Control and Collabration. In M. Rai, *Hindu Rulers and Muslim Subjects* (pp. 18-79). New Delhi: Permanent Black.

¹²⁵ Beg, A. (1969). Dogra Despotism. In A. Beg, *Wailing Vale* (pp. 42-46). Lahore(Pakistan): Babur and Amer Publication.

eastern Turkestan. He died in 1885 and his elder son, Pratap Singh ascends to the throne. On the side-lines of discrimination against Muslims, Pratap Singh stressed on reforms by establishing educational institutions. He opened the channels of communication by setting up telegraph, telephone, and post offices in many places. He had abolished the marriage tax which was imposed on the Muslims only. The last ruler of the dynasty was nephew of Pratap Singh, Hari Singh who backed reformative policies.

To cater the call for scholastic possibilities of Muslims, a movement, led by Kashmiri Pandit community, backing reservation of jobs for the indigenous populace. Under the realm of such movement, few Muslims had migrated to the Punjab and deserted the oppression of the Sikhs. The era of 1930s vouched for a vigorous political upheaval and popular grouse got a fillip with the establishment of All India Kashmir Muslim Conference. The conference upheld the higher education of talented Muslims in universities through financial succour. This facilitated the Muslim youths to channelize their rebellion spirit who studied from different university of India especially from Aligarh Muslim university. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, one of the vibrant youth of the beneficiary Muslims, born in 1905 of a poor family engaged in the shawl trade, post-graduated from Aligarh Muslim University in 1930. Later, after his returning, he acquired the job a teacher in Government High School, Srinagar.

In July 1931, Abdullah with his other companions and Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas as one of the representative of Jammu Muslims approached the Maharaja Hari Singh to address their grievances but the situation somehow turned violent and riot broke out soon which took the lives of 21 people. Many historians view this episode of communal clash as the transition period in the political ambience of the Kashmir

and acknowledged 13 July 1931 as the birth anniversary of modern Kashmir's Freedom Movement. Later on, a commission headed by B. J. Glancy of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India was formed by the Government of India to inquire into the grumbles of different sect of people and to work on finding its solution. The report of the Grievances Enquiry Commission was published in April 1932 which put up many reforms and recommendation including employment, land tenure, education, minimum eligibility for government job, industrialization and many more.

The social and political movement was taken one step further by setting up J&K first political parties All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference in October 1932 led by Sheikh Abdullah from the valley and Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas from Jammu. With the march of time, the orientation discongruity of the two leaders bifurcated the movement and Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas with his upholder separated from Abdullah's renamed party All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference (trailing secular path of Indian National Congress) and revived its Muslim conference. This ideological ramification swelled the political volatility of the valley.

3.4.5 National Movements and Partition

As the time rolled by, the provincial account is coinciding with the national mainstream events and led to significant and operative changes. Under British imperialism, administration was found in two frames. In the first frame, some parts of India come directly under the British, known as British India, accounts around two-third of the subcontinent. The British administered provinces (under Governors or Chief Commissioners) include Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, United Provinces,

Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan, Central Provinces, Bombay and Madras.

In the second frame, one-third of the subcontinent were ruled by Princes which is popularly acknowledged as Princely states, around 565 in numbers. These include Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad, Kalat and others some of which were huge regime stretched to faraway places and some were very small. Princely states occupied distinct political affairs with the British through numerous treaties. Moreover, this hasn't created the impression of surrendering of sovereignty to the British rather it is solely the transfer of allegiance for some Princes. "By 1947 it was widely argued by constitutional lawyers that their relationship was not to the Government of India, presided over by the Governor-General, but to the British Monarch through his Crown Representative in India.... Rulers recognised... the authority of... Paramountcy of the British Crown" (Lamb, 1994) ¹²⁶

The country beheld realignment of all leaders and common people from different strata to support the struggle for independence from British yoke. Against the backdrop of pursuing organised and striking movement for liberation, the Indian National Congress, a political party founded in 1885. In the line of political evolution, Swaraj, civil disobedience, Quit India Movement, Swadeshi, and many small and big struggles set in motion to water down the British Empire. British hatch communal gulf and whip up religious sentiment to seek advantage of the opportunity. In 1905, they did trick and divide Bengal into Muslim and non-Muslim parts, which later on, resumed to status quo. The Muslim League, founded in 1906 to upheld Muslim prosperity, was the blow off of this communal detachment. Among

¹²⁶ Lamb, A. (1994). Paramountcy and Partition, March to August 1947 . In A. Lamb, *Birth of a Tragedy Kashmir 1947* (pp. 1-42). U.K.: Roxford Books, Hertingfordbury, Hertfordshire.

Constitutional reforms backed by British to soothe the wave of agitation was the Morley Minto reforms (1909) which introduced the communal representation or separate electorate for Muslims for the first time in India. This further aggrandized the communal fissure between religious entities. The seed of this proposal subsequently germinated the idea of autonomy of Muslim majority population as well as separate province for Muslim population. “Choudhri Rahmat Ali nurtured the proposal further in Cambridge in 1933 when he advocated a separate homeland for the Muslims of northwest India comprising the Punjab, the Frontier Province, Kashmir and Sind, and named it Pakistan, the land of the Pure (P-Punjab, A-Afghans, K-Kashmir, S-Sind and tan for Baluchistan)” (Gupta, Democratic Struggle, 1968)¹²⁷.

In March 1940, Muslim league adopted the demand for the separate province and passed the Resolution demanding sovereign and autonomous States for the Muslims in the northwest and eastern zones of India. Enumeration of Muslim pockets in British India revealed Muslims constituted some 24.28 percent of the total population. In British India, Muslim dominating terrains were Bengal in the northeast (33 million Muslims and 25 Hindus), in the northwest Punjab (16 million Muslims and a little less than 12 million non-Muslims including 3.7 million Silills), North-West Frontier Province (2.7 million Muslims and 249,000 non-Muslims), Sind (3 million Muslims and 1.2 million non-Muslims) and British Baluchistan, the figure in respect of which is not given here (Gupta, Democratic Struggle, 1968)¹²⁸.

¹²⁷ Gupta, J. B. (1968). Democratic Struggle. In J. B. Gupta, *Jammu & Kashmir* (pp. 34-72). The Hague: Martinus Nijhof.

¹²⁸ Ibid¹

The String of events and protest by freedom fighters led the British to bend on the demands of nationalist leaders and the transfer of power from British to Indian leaders was in the bag. In view to insulate the post British India from communal crisis, governing body resorts to political division of the subcontinent India. A Cabinet Mission headed by Lord Pethick-Lawrence along Sir Stafford Cripps and A.V. Alexander visited India and sketched the plan of creation of three groups of Provinces as A, B and C. Group A would possess what was called a General (that is to say Hindu plus anyone else who was not Muslim) majority; Groups B- Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Sind and C- Bengal and Assam (Group C). The proposal did not grasp much consent from other parties.

In the tragic succession of communal war developed in many parts of India tabbed the pressing need of the time to mull over the approaches of reconciliation. In the late 1946 and early 1947, communal tension stretched in Bengal as well as in Punjab and brought the worse outgrowth. Calcutta witnessed dark clouds of communal clash with a huge loss of human resources. On the other side, the situation in Punjab was also ruinous under the shadow of communality which later on extended to Lahore, Multan, Rawalpindi and elsewhere. The arrival of Lord Mountbatten, successor to Lord Wavell, as a new Viceroy of India on 22 March 1947 led a rigorous redaction of the recourse to communal settlement.

On 3rd June 1947, Mountbatten made public the final imprint of his plan, popularly known as 3rd June Plan, and declared partition of the country with the short deadline of 15 August 1947 within which it has to be executed. The idea he served through his plan was the division of the subcontinent into two Dominion based on Muslim and Non-Muslim majority of the population. The partition was to be executed on the political, geographical, demographical as well as economical

ground. Conforming to the Plan, The Punjab and Bengal were to be divided grounded on their communal cleavage. Though the boundary of which was yet to be decided, but in later period before independence, a commission headed by British lawyer, Sir Cyril Radcliffe was appointed for this job. The task to demarcate the two dominions in a legitimate approach was uphill job and that's why the Sir Redcliffe Award is debatable in some political scaffold but at the end it was agreeable by leaders of the both dominions due to their commitment to cater it. Further, in the line with Plan, in case of North-West Frontier Province and Sylhet region of Assam, referendum was to be organised to know the preference of the inhabitants for joining Pakistan or India.

Moreover, British India was destined to split up as pursuant to the Plan but the unsettled fate of the Princely state was in the doldrums as the Plan led the British Paramountcy of Princely states to be lapsed. This lapse of Paramountcy of Princely States give a rope to the interpretation that the State Rulers were entitled to carry out what they wish to do and they were not logically join either of the two dominion as performed with the British India. . In the given situation, they were provided with the three choices (though there was no possibility of other alternative) which stated that either they join India or Pakistan or they could remain independent state. As the time stepping towards the date of termination of British Empire, Princely States pace up their decision of accession to either dominion. The terms of accession which had been defined by the Government of India [V, MI, NO. 2], the States Rulers would enjoy all the power except the powers of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications which would be handed over to the appropriate Dominion (India or Pakistan).

By the time of Independence, the Princely States who had not acceded to either of the dominions were Hyderabad, Junagarh and Jammu and Kashmir. Hyderabad lies in the southern region of the subcontinent, and surrounded by Hindu majority population which already subsumed to Indian dominion. The subject of the Hyderabad was also Hindu but its Nizam, the Ruler was Muslim, and who was under the impression of staying sovereign or, as per logic of Ruler's wish, accede to Pakistan. Similarly, Junagarh, situated in the western side of subcontinent in Gujarat, also constitute Hindu majority population and the Ruler was Muslim. The matter of the State Jammu and Kashmir, was reverse of the two Princely State mentioned here, had a Hindu Ruler with a vast majority of Muslim population.

The rationale of the lapse of Paramountcy facilitated the Ruler to follow any of the three choices already given to them. Some political thinker opined for the will of its people who had the religious majority. As Hyderabad and Junagarh surrounded by states of Indian Dominion, so their Rulers' wish to join Pakistan would be, practically, dire strait. In concern of this, Indian Dominion travailed to incorporate the State of Hyderabad and Junagarh under their territory. The State of Jammu and Kashmir was convoluted for its border position between the two Dominion of India and Pakistan. Thus, this can of worms for Jammu and Kashmir laid the foundation of inglorious chapters in account of liberation of the two countries.

3.5 Post-Independence Events:

The event of Independence of two Dominions, India and Pakistan, from British imperialism, subsequently gave birth to Asia's longest running conflict i.e. Kashmir conflict. The State of Jammu and Kashmir possessed significant population of Muslims which is over 75% of a total 4,000,000 according to 1941 census figures.

This overwhelming majority of Muslims, more than 90% of them, was confined in the Vale of Kashmir. The neighbourhood of the State was with core Muslim population i.e. North-West Frontier Province and Punjab. Besides, Muslim majority, Hindu religion was dominated in Jammu and Buddhism in Ladakh. The territory of state was cobbled together through treaties and annexation by Dogra Rulers. At the time of Independence, the ruler of the state was Hindu, Hari Singh, descendant of Dogras, boned up for sovereignty of the state for certain period. But this account of religious demarcation is not the sole factor for bone of contention between the two opposed frontiers. The labyrinthine of interest of the two countries which shepherded their intervention in the territory reflected in many aspects.

One of the substantial elements of the grave issue was the strategic position of the Kashmir which is adjacent to India and Pakistan. In parallel, it provides opening point to the Central Asia which is tactically relevant for both the countries. Other than its scenic beauty which enthralled people and proved to be the chief source tourist visit, the large territory and series of great mountain chains has key potent in diplomatic immunity. On economical ground, huge resource of rivers and others could provide beneficial deal in the further future. There was an emotional attachment also persisted from both the sides for which their leaders were found to be deeply concerned.

On the surface of the issue, Maharaja Hari Singh had an unwavering position for Kashmir as Independent entity and not to join either of the Dominion. In-depth analysis unfolds many aspects and events occurred one after the other attempting to influence and assist in determination of the view of Maharaja. The visits paid by Lord Mountbatten followed by Gandhi Ji in Kashmir and their meeting with Maharaja were the prominent in establishing the account of restructuring the fate of

Kashmir. Pakistan, with the concern that Kashmir is a Muslim majority territory should be included with it, psyched up and manoeuvred for accession of the state to Pakistan. In view of the indecisive situation and in a short time availability, Maharaja called for a Standstill Agreement with the Governments of the two countries. Government of Pakistan instantly gave his consent with agreement through telegraphic communication on 15 August and Government of India was in the position of contemplation. The agreement, though provisional in nature, ensured uninterrupted inflow of existing traffic and goods pending final accession.

The news of infiltration from west region crossing over the Pakistan border coming through the report of British Chief of Staff of the Jammu and Kashmir State forces. These infiltrators were said to be regional tribesmen armed with small and medium sized weapons and carried a purpose of looting and attacking minority communities in the state. This is followed by rigorous exchange of telegrams between Kashmir Government and Government of Pakistan, putting allegation on each other. Pakistan led the war of counterclaim and indicted that harassment of Muslims in the hand of Maharaja as the triggering point for the raid in Kashmir. Some of the chroniclers accounted the logistical support bestowed by Pakistan to the tribesmen crossing the boundary. V.P. Menon stated “the raiders have free transit through Pakistan territory. They are operating against Kashmir from bases in Pakistan. Their modern military equipment could only have been obtained from Pakistani sources; mortars, artillery and mark V mine are not normally the kind of armament which tribesmen possess” (Schofield, *Accession*, 2003)¹²⁹.

¹²⁹ Schofield, V. (2003). *Accession*. In V. Schofield, *Kashmir In Conflict: India, Pakistan And Unending War* (pp. 50-53). London: I. B. Tauris.

Besides this, Kashmir Government keep on getting with his allegation of Pakistan's violation of standstill agreement which ensures the supply of petrol, oil, food, salt, sugar and cloth from west Punjab. The discontinuation in supply caused the routine life of the valley got affected. "The working of the postal system had been detrimental to the interests of Kashmir; Savings Bank accounts were being refused and Postal certificates not cashed. As the Lahore Currency office was not sending remittances, Imperial Bank branches in Kashmir were hard put to meet obligations. Motor Vehicles registered in the State had been held at Rawalpindi and Railway traffic from Sialkot to Jammu had been discontinued (Gupta, *The state Jammu and Kashmir* , 1968)¹³⁰.

The actual raid begun in Kashmir was on 21-22 October 1947 steered by an army of 2000 to 5000 tribesmen marching with modern long-range fire arms and a fleet of transport vehicles, around 300 Lorries in numbers. George Cunningham, the governor of the North-West Frontier stated in his diary on 20 October "Heard this morning that 900 Mahsuds had left Tank in lorries for Kashmir front...about 200 Mohmands are also reported to have gone". The strategic exploration of the territory gave the impression of the raid shepherded by leaders who were well acquainted with the place. They approached the terrain with motive to attack on non-Muslim community and led the atrocities, murders, looting, burning of houses, properties and Kidnapping of women. Their specific target to attack on particular section of the population faded up with their progression in the violence. They soon spread atrocities indiscriminately irrespective of their any religious priority. Initially, Maharaja attempted to deal with the intruders with his battalion of Dogra troops but

¹³⁰ Gupta, J. B. (1968). *The state Jammu and Kashmir* . In J. B. Gupta, *Jammu and Kashmir* (pp. 12-28). USA: Martinus Nijhoff.

could not succeed in delimiting them. In the span of two-three days, intruders captured Domel, Garhi and Chinari. Soon they marched along Jhelum River, the opening to the Srinagar, which could lead capitulation the fate of the state. Apprehending the worst possibility of such situation, Menon, on priority, took Maharaja and his family to Jammu. The crisis event made Maharaja to seek military assistance from Government of India.

At prima facie, Defence committee of India conceded to the request but Mountbatten waved a red flag in considering the demand. According to Mountbatten sending troops to a territory, which has undeclared status, would be breach of the sovereignty and which have the possibility that Pakistan to a send its troops on the territory and possibly the situation be grown into war-like. Considering the gravity of the issue, Maharaja decided to sign the instrument of accession and, in addition to it, he expressed his intention to set up an Interim Government and taking Sheikh Abdullah to carry the responsibilities in cooperation with the Prime Minister, Mr. Mahajan. In an affirmative retort to the Maharaja accession, Mountbatten ensured Maharaja of sending troops of the Indian Army to Kashmir in a quick action and protecting the lives and honour of Kashmiri people. Further he added “in the case of any State where the issue of accession had been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it was his Government's wish that no sooner had law and order been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader than the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people” (Gupta, The state Jammu and Kashmir , 1968)¹³¹ .

¹³¹ Ibid¹

Pakistan viewed this accession as fraud and retorted to the situation by backing Azad forces through auxiliary deployment of troops and other resources to fight against Indian forces in the state. Later on, to restore the situation in the state, both the countries agreed to take the matter in the United Nation Security Council platform under article 35 of UN charter. On 1 January 1949, ceasefire was imposed and Pakistan was to withdraw its troops from the state of Jammu and Kashmir and India was supposed to reduce the strength of forces at minimum and produce an environment conducive for holding the plebiscite on the matter whether inhabitants favour India or Pakistan. As the solution made by UN could be a sort of recommendation and is not bound to be followed, India and Pakistan carried on their individual perspective regarding the situation.

3.5.1 Birth of Militancy:

Sheikh Abdullah, popularly known as Lion of Kashmir, pursued his political course after Maharaja's regime, and carried on policies on land reforms and others. With massive popularity and active participation against Dogra rule, he enshrined his image as secular leader. In 1951 state election, Abdullah and his party National won 75 seats unopposed. An irregular attempt from New Delhi was taken to stabilise the valley politically and reconciliatory approaches was made at state, national and international level, but the rift between Indian Union and people of the valley persisted. Initially, Sheikh supported accession and shared good terms with government at centre but with the time, he was disillusioned with the centre's inefficiency to follow any development or welfare map. The indiscrimination against Muslims and unemployment rate remained the crucial issue. In his speech in Jammu 1952, his speeches reflected resentment "...educated unemployed Muslims look

towards Pakistan...” (Schofield, *Special Status*, 2003)¹³². Subsequently, Abdullah’s wavering confidence in Indian Union drove him in more trouble. He was imprisoned for a decade under the charges of conspiracy. He was politically remained dormant for twenty two years, until 1975. Bakshi, Abdullah’s close associate, replaced him as chief minister.

In September 1982, Sheikh Abdullah died and passed his legacy to his son Farooq Abdullah. One year later, during June 1983 state election, Abdullah’s refusal to the offer of alliance by Congress party at the centre to the National Conference led to the hostile relationship with the centre. In the election results, Abdullah won forty-six seats out of seventy-five, which Congress claimed to be rigged, but succumbed to the conspiracy against him that led him to lose the confidence of the majority of the members in the legislative assembly. Succession of Rajiv Gandhi as prime minister at the centre managed better association with Abdullah and subsequently facilitated an interim National Conference and Congress alliance coalition government in November 1986. The alliance steered political milieu of the valley towards resentment and feelings of mistrust. Supporter of Abdullah and people of Valley alienated themselves from Indian Union and the system of democracy. This broadens the rift between the people of valley and Indian administration and expedited the rise of militancy in the valley.

In view of state election, scheduled in 1987, different political parties pooled to form Muslim United Front, led by Maulvi Abbas Ansari, broadly named few as Jamaat-i-islami, Peaople’s Conference led by Abdul Gani, Awami National

¹³² Schofield, V. (2003). *Special Status*. In V. Schofield, *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and Unending War* (pp. 91-92). New York: I.B Tauris.

Conference led by G.M. Shah, Maulvi Farooq's Awami Action Committee. MUF underlined the concerned issues of people and laid emphasis on gaining political freedom through democratic means with negligible interference from the centre. The Congress-Conference alliance won the election which spread dissatisfaction and anger among the members of MUF. They charged the election results as being manipulated and felt dispirited from taking the democratic and peaceful methods for achieving their goals. Educated but unemployed... economically deprived because they were neither part of the bureaucracy nor the elite... alienated youth found a ready outlet for their frustration in one or other politico-religious organisation (Schofield, *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and unending war*, 2003)¹³³.

The year 1987 and 1988 marked the expansion of militancy in and around the valley. Anti-India protests and call for strikes were rigorously exercised. Four Kashmiris brought to Azad Kashmir, named as Ashfaq Majid Wani, Sheikh Abdul Hamid, Javed Ahmed Mir, Yasin Malik, who formed the group as "Hazi" (Schofield, *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and unending war*, 2003). Youths began to cross over to Pakistan, seeking arms and guerrilla training to fight Indian occupation. Protest, demonstration, attacks and sabotage were assuming the shape of daily routine. Attack on the motorcycle of Farooq Abdullah on the way to mosque, demonstration in Srinagar against the sudden rise in the cost of electricity, two bomb blast which missed the Central Telegraph Office and Television station, attack on director-general of police were some of the incidence which manifested anti-establishment sentiment of militant.

¹³³ Schofield, V. (2003). *Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and unending war*. In V. Schofield, *Diplomacy and War* (pp. 125-126). New York: I. B Tauris Co. Ltd.

3.5.2 Second Phase of Armed Conflict:

Troops of security forces were deployed to gain control over situation and maintain stability. Paradoxically, human rights violation, indiscriminate killings, torture, loss of innocent lives in the cross firing while handling situations by police and security forces added fuel to the fire in the valley. The year 1989 marked the peak of militancy with number of militant groups operating throughout valley. These groups, either pro-Pakistani or pro- Independence, geared up for only one goal i.e. freedom from India. Few groups who favoured unification with Pakistan were Hizbullah, Al-Umar Mujaheddin, Lakshar-i-Toiba, Ikhwan-ul-Mujaheddin, Hizb-ul Momineen, Tehrik-ul Mujaheddin and others. Hizb-ul Mujaheddin, armed wing of Jamaat-i-islami, favouring Pakistan, was not as popular in its early days as in the later period. Hizb-ul Mujaheddin was functional from Sopore. Majority of the Kashmiri youths, out of their grievances for economic and political development, joined one or other such groups. One of the prominent groups during the period, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, JKLF, led the liberation movement and combat for the independent Kashmir. JKLF kidnapped the daughter of India's first Muslim Home Minister, Mufti Muhammed Sayeed, Dr. Rubaiya Sayeed and demanded the release of five militants, including JKLF leader, Sheikh Hamid and the brother of Maqbool Butt in return for her freedom. Government and other bureaucrats, in grave concern, released the militants and freed Rubaiya from Kidnappers. The whole incident of failure negotiation with militants gave the impression of weaknesses of Indian administration and gave the ball in the hands of militants to bend laws. Violence and sabotage were taken as the way forward and thus these acts become more blatant. Young militants armed with guns carried on

demonstrations, bomb blast were rampant, strikes and attacks on government property were became normal routine of the day.

Farooq Abdullah's failure to control chaos and disorder in the valley resulted in the dismissal of his government and governor rule under governor Jagmohan became operational. To deal with the turmoil in the valley, Jagmohan opted for clampdown tactic by deploying paramilitary troops, Central Reserve Police Force and Border Security Force. In one of the incidence, people of the valley led the demonstration and protest against the house-to-house search a night before. When unarmed crowd reached the bridge, paramilitary forces fired from both sides of the river, which led to the loss of lives of over hundreds of people (Schofield, Kashmir in Conflict: India, Pakistan and unending war, 2003)¹³⁴. Prolonged curfew, cordon and search operations, arrests, torture, disappearance, custodial killings, and human rights violation were the derivatives of militarisation of the valley. Administration opted iron-fisted method and was strongly convinced that militarisation is all the key method to wipe out the militancy from the state. To facilitate the more power in the hands of security forces, Armed Forces Special Power Act was introduced in 1990 which provide them immunity from prosecution while performing their duty at the any level. They are empowered to search and arrest without a warrant and to shoot and kill on the basis of slightest doubt.

Successive governor Girish Saxena lifted restriction on press and media in the valley which his predecessor practised. Under Saxena, previously associated with India's intelligence agency, RAW, numbers of operations were carried out through which intelligence-gathering operation and counter-insurgency measures were

¹³⁴ Ibid¹

executed. Page-158. In the line to withstand the interest of Kashmir people, All Parties Hurriyat Conference was formed in 1993 with the amalgamation of over thirty parties. The late 90's witnessed resumption to regularisation of life in the valley with lesser intensity of militancy. Multi-dimensional factors occurred to influence the situation in the valley. International communities and Human Rights organisation allotted their time and effort to scrutinize the prevailing situation in the valley. In the end of the decade, Indian and Pakistan confronted each other in the war waged between them in Kargil area, located in Ladakh region of Jammu and Kashmir, in 1999. Though India successfully recaptured the territory but Pakistan irregularly backed incursion into Indian Territory across line of control.

The next decade observed violence and rampage in the Kashmir valley underwent structural and functional transformation. "Kashmiri underground organisations were being sidelined by guest' militants from Pakistan and elsewhere, who supplemented the guerrilla tactics employed till now with fidayeen[suicide] attacks" (Sreedharan, 2009)¹³⁵. The parallel series of peace attempts and proliferation of Pakistan sponsored terror strikes in all over the Indian Territory. The two countries deployed political and diplomatic strategies to bring peace and stability through meetings and agreements such as Agra Summit (May, 2001) and Samjhauta Express. In the very same year terrorist attacked on Kashmiri assembly in Srinagar (October 2001) and on Indian Parliament occurred (December 2001). With the upcoming governments in both the countries, political manoeuvring gained strengths up to some mile but terrorist attack followed brought every effort on the back foot. Kashmir normalcy was marked by the state election in 2002 in which voter turnout

¹³⁵ Sreedharan, C. (2009). *REPORTING KASHMIR An analysis of the conflict coverage in Indian and Pakistani newspapers.*

was better than before as well as claimed to be free and fair election. A coalition government headed by Mufti Mohammad Sayeed was formed which led functioning of the government at smoother level. In 2004, Indian PM Manmohan Singh met with Pakistan President Musharraf in New York during UN General Assembly and further peace talks resumed.

3.5.3 Conflict in 2008:

Few major events in latter half led a new drift in the milieu of the valley. In 2008, state government's decision to transfer nearly 100 acres of forest land in Kashmir to Shri Amarnath Shrine Board for the shelter of Hindu pilgrims led to one of biggest protest. Government collapsed and fresh election led to the formation of new coalition government formed by National Conference and Congress with Omar Abdullah as chief minister. Long curfews, clash between protestors and security forces reiterated the 90s era whereas stone pelting led a new rage. According to the data of *Indian today* magazine "the agitation had continued for 60 days and resulted in 38 deaths".

3.5.4 Conflict in 2010:

(Suri, 2012)¹³⁶ identify in particular two major trends in Kashmir conflict in 2010. First, there was an overall decline in the level of violence in J&K. Second, there was an upsurge in violent agitations, street protests and law and order problems in Kashmir which resulted in the shutdown of entire Kashmir for almost four months. The year 2010 witnessed another conflict in row i.e. Macchil fake encounter and the killing of teenager, Tufail Mattoo, in police action shoot off four months of shutdown, protests, curfew and further killings. Human rights violation and atrocities

¹³⁶ Suri, K. (2012). Jammu & Kashmir: Upsurge? In P. R. Chandran, *Armed Conflicts in South Asia 2011* (pp. 61-83).

led furious protestors to set a blaze to several government buildings, police station, police posts.

“The unrest cost nearly 100,000 jobs in the private sector and an estimated loss of Rs 300 billion to the business community of the state, including the government. The tourism sector was crippled as nearly 60,000 people lost their jobs due to the tension and unrest. Estimates suggested that the Valley lost about Rs 25 billion every week, primarily in exports, imports and the services industry. The most visible face of this suffering was the daily-wage earners. Srinagar alone has 88,000 workers who remained jobless for months” (Suri, 2012)¹³⁷.

3.5.5 Conflict in 2016:

On 8th July 2016, the commander of Hizbul Muzahideen, Burhan Wani, aged 22 years, was killed along with two other militants who was identified as Sartaj Ahmad Sheikh and Pervaiz Ahmad Lashkari in an encounter in Bumdoora village of Kokernag area after a joint team of the special operations group of the Jammu and Kashmir Police and 19 Rashtriya Rifles of police and Army launched a search operation on the basis of specific intelligence inputs about the presence of militants. The newsflash of Wani’s death sparked off protests across the Valley. Reports say that thousands of people assembled in Tral, Wani’s hometown to participate in his funeral prayers. Several others performed funeral in absentia in south, central and north Kashmir.

3.5.6 Burhan Aftermath:

The news of Burhan’s death set off wave of grief across major part of Kashmir. People in large number including teenaged boys and old men, offered

¹³⁷ Ibid¹

funereal prayers. “At least four major funeral prayers were offered at the vast ground near Wani’s home in Tral town in south Kashmir, while several other small funeral prayers were also offered as the steady stream of mourners kept arriving despite curfew imposed by the authorities” (Qadri & Shah, 2016)¹³⁸. Such gathering of mourners, it is believed, is unprecedented in last many years as none of militant attracted such large attendances in the past decade. People’s rage vented through slogans, demonstrations and through pelting stones. To avoid any further loss of life or damage to property, strength of security forces increased in vulnerable areas and elsewhere in the valley. Curfew was imposed in many parts of the Kashmir. Gradually, a violent protest by the youths engulfed the city. Security forces in response used pellet guns which they considered non-lethal tool to disperse mob.

Mobile Internet services, train services across the valley remained suspended. Public transport was completely off the roads. Only private cars and auto-rickshaws were seen plying at few places in the areas where there were no restriction. Educational institutions in the Valley were closed on account of the ongoing summer vacations, while Central University of Kashmir (CUK), Islamic University of Science and Technology (IUST) and Jammu and Kashmir Board of School Education (JKBOSE) have postponed the examinations due to the prevailing situation¹³⁹. Most of the separatist leaders, including Syed Ali Shah Geelani, Mirwaiz Umar Farooq and Mohammad Yasin Malik, are either in custody or house arrest. Normal life remained affected across the Valley due to the strike called by the separatists groups.

¹³⁸ Qadri, A., & Shah, S. (2016, July 10). *Tribune India*. Retrieved January 2018, from [www.tribuneindia.com: http://www.tribuneindia.com/news/jammu-kashmir/community/two-lakh-across-valley-attend-burhan-wani-s-funeral/263661.html](http://www.tribuneindia.com/news/jammu-kashmir/community/two-lakh-across-valley-attend-burhan-wani-s-funeral/263661.html)

¹³⁹ Source: Indian Express Web news

In just two weeks, security personnel faced more than 600 attacks in the Valley; attacks on police stations, police posts, camps and bunkers. Approximately 70 arms were looted from a police station (Katoch, 2016)¹⁴⁰. According Indian express reports protestors blocked many national highways including Srinagar-Jammu National with big stones, logs of wood, burnt old tyres and steel pipes, especially on the road from Uri to Qazigund. People are now traveling during nights to reach their destinations. Tourists and Amarnath yattris too prefer to travel during nights. The most affected sector of the curfew and protest was the economic sector of the valley, as shops were closed at most times, tourists visit declined and ultimately earning of residents got affected badly.

3.5.7 Stone Pelting and Use of Pellet Guns:

The major unrest, like in 2010 and in 2016, in Kashmir valley has witnessed the trend of stone pelting. Though the reference of its beginning take us to the pre-independence era when “in 1930s Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah led a popular resistance against the Dogra rulers of the state and stone pelting was part of those protests” (Suri, 2012)¹⁴¹. Stone pelting culture echoed in many protest like situation in the valley. But the frequency and intensity have increased during the summer unrest of 2010 and 2016. “In the initial years of violence, stone pelting had remained confined to the areas of downtown Srinagar’s Jamia Masjid and JKLF’s stronghold

¹⁴⁰ Katoch, P. (2016, August 12). *First Post*. Retrieved January 2018, from [www.firstpost.com: https://www.firstpost.com/india/kashmir-unrest-it-is-naive-to-think-that-cops-can-do-away-with-pellet-guns-in-the-valley-2914372.html](http://www.firstpost.com/india/kashmir-unrest-it-is-naive-to-think-that-cops-can-do-away-with-pellet-guns-in-the-valley-2914372.html).

¹⁴¹ Suri, K. (2012). Jammu & Kashmir: Upsurge? In P. R. Chandran, *Armed Conflicts in South Asia 2011* (pp. 61-83).

Maisuma where young boys would throw stones at policemen for a few hours after Friday prayers” (Suri, 2012)¹⁴².

In Burhan aftermath, stone pelting by the groups of Kashmiri locals and use of pellets guns by security forces as a non-lethal weapon was widely practiced. ‘One cartridge of pellet gun contains a few hundred pellets which resemble ball bearings. The moment it is fired, the cartridge bursts and immediately throws hundreds of pellet from a single point. Pellets penetrate the skin’s soft tissues, and eye being the delicate structure is the most vulnerable to damage. Once the pellet goes inside an eye it shatters tissues and causes multiple damages to all parts of the eye’ (Akhzer, 2016)¹⁴³. Human rights organisation Amnesty International India appealed Indian government to ban pellet guns as it causes serious physical and mental health issues, including symptoms of psychological trauma. According to the data from the published article of India Today, close to 7000 people were injured with 500 of them being treated for eye injuries, caused by the non-lethal pellets fired by security forces to disperse the stone-throwing mobs (Chengappa, 2016)¹⁴⁴.

3.5.8 Administrative Steps:

Issues of Kashmir crisis is raised in Rajya sabha and Hon’ble Union minister Rajnath Singh detailed the situation and the efforts taken by the government to control the situation. Union minister tour the Kashmir twice in the initial months to review the situation in the place. Hon’ble Chief minister Mehbooba Mufti meets

¹⁴² Ibid¹

¹⁴³ Akhzer, A. (2016, July 22). *Indian Express*. Retrieved June 2017, from [www.indianexpress.com: https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/kashmir-violence-what-are-pellet-guns-and-why-are-they-so-lethal-2913917/](http://www.indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/kashmir-violence-what-are-pellet-guns-and-why-are-they-so-lethal-2913917/)

¹⁴⁴ Chengappa, R. (2016, September 12). What went wrong in Kashmir and how to fix it. *India Today*, pp. 22-34.

Hon'ble Prime Minister Narendra Modi in New Delhi to discuss the crisis of the Kashmir. Approximately, within one month, all party meeting conducted in New Delhi to discuss the issue of crisis in Kashmir with members from other parties. Withdrawal of AFSPA from all civilian areas in the region, proposals of talks with all stakeholders, banning the use of pellet guns were discussed in the meeting. Thereafter, an all-party delegation led by Hon'ble Union minister Rajnath singh had two-days visit in Kashmir for talks with separatist leaders to bring peace and stability in Kashmir but separatist leader refused to talks and peace negotiation for peace.

3.6 Conflict Actors:

The principal actors of one of the longest running conflict, Kashmir conflict, constitute state and non-state actors. State actors include India central and state government and Pakistan government.

3.6.1 Indian State:

Since independence, Indian has high stake in the region of Kashmir not just for the political reason but for the economic, security and sentimental values. Politically, Indian administration strived to establish a democratic regime and got succeed eventually in the subsequent years. Central government enjoys the administrative powers in Defence, Foreign affairs and Communication. Indian state carried out political dialogue with the counterpart government in Pakistan as well as to all non-state actors of the conflict to resolve the issue. Political approach to manage conflicts included the formation of all-party delegation to dialogue with non-state actors and introspect the situation to reach the conciliatory solutions, appointment of Kashmir interlocutors, recommendation of resolving steps and implantation of few.

From security perspective, deployment of state and central forces which include military and para-military forces are carried out to restrict the violence outbreak in conflict-ridden zone. The counter-militancy operation were led by military and para-military forces with marginal support from J&K police (Suri, 2012)¹⁴⁵. Rashtriya Rifles, a military unit with Border Security Forces and Central Reserve Police Forces, both are para-military forces, carried out counter-militancy operation. Economically, Kashmir is one of the highest tourist visit destination in the country and sourced the good revenue to the Indian economy. Strategically, Kashmir is one of the crucial states of India as it connects India to western part of the continent and countries like Pakistan and China does not share very cordial relation with India.

3.6.2 Pakistan State:

Pakistan claim on Kashmir since day one of partition as Kashmir is a Muslim majority state. Pakistan waged number of wars with India (1947-48, 1965, 1971, 1999) for its incongruity with India. On a Kashmir issue, Pakistan used every weapon to acquire the disputed territory. It is reported that Pakistan recruits Kashmiri youths to militant group active on its territory, give armed training to militants, provoke them and provide the logistics and ammunition to fight against Indian administration. It sends infiltrators and number of times, carried out ceasefire violation at the borders. The fact that Indian government had failed on the political and administrative fronts in J&K caused immense disaffection and alienation among the Kashmiris against New Delhi, a fact that helped Pakistan to sustain its proxy war

¹⁴⁵ Suri, K. (2012). Jammu & Kashmir: Upsurge? In P. R. Chandran, *Armed Conflicts in South Asia 2011* (pp. 61-83).

(Suri, 2012)¹⁴⁶. Cross-border terrorism has now become the cornerstone of Pakistan's policy in Kashmir. Diplomatic routes were taken to execute dialogue process to resolve Kashmir dispute between the two states, but it failed. Pakistan also raised the issue at international forum and seeks external actors to intervene and resolve the issue.

3.6.3 Non-State Actors:

Non-State armed groups are individuals and groups which are wholly or partly independent of state governments and which threaten or use violence to achieve their goals¹. Non-State actors are varied based on their objectives, orientation, beliefs and support-both internal and external. According to Suri, these armed non-state actors could be, broadly, classified under two categories- Militants and Jihadis. Per her views, Hibul Mujahideen is the main militant organization while Lashkar-e-Taiba, the main jihadi group. Hizbul Mujahideen is formed in 1989. Earlier its objective was to achieve independence but gradually, the aim is changed and reshaped for Pro-Pakistan ideology. This Pakistan-based militant group was formed by Hafiz Mohammad Saeed in the early 1990s to put the Kashmir insurgency more firmly into the hands of the Pakistanis

Chapter Summary:

The chapter begins with the introduction of background of research study in which brief description of communal polarisation is given. In the next section, communal discord is discussed with suitable citation. Further sections are navigated to the exploration of Kashmir situation, its background with its political and historical relevance. Kashmir uprising of 2008, 2010 and 2016 were elaborated. In

¹⁴⁶ Ibid¹

the later part of the chapter, focus was shifted to the conflict actors and their role in the situation.

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Media Imagery on Conflicts: An International Perspective

4.1 Establishing Conflict-Communication Relation:

The crux of media coverage of conflicts, other than providing information to public, stems from the fact that warring parties' concern to gain public acceptance "public support their own side's action" (Nohrstedt, 2009)¹⁴⁷, to line their cause as "defensive, just and unavoidable" "an overdue rectification of past wrongs" "pre-emptive aversion of future assault by enemy" (Carruthers, 2000)¹⁴⁸. This emanated from our cultural inheritance of fighting for good against evil. When the conflict is mediated, the normative journalistic code comes under the purview of scrutiny because many ideological, social and national interest clashes. Prof Tewari¹⁴⁹ asserted "British Prime Minister Margret Thatcher used to say that media provide oxygen to terrorism. Terrorism thrives on publicity. Terror-news creates fear in people's mind, and that is what terrorists want. In Kashmir as well as elsewhere terrorism also has its business model which is mostly based creating fears in the minds of general public, kidnapping, ransom, murder. In the north-east (where I was for more than a year in the late 1980s), I found that there one page of newspaper reserved for press notes of terrorists and on one page other news were present. That is half newspaper for general news and half newspaper for terrorists press notes".

¹⁴⁷ Nohrstedt, S. A. (2009). New War Journalism Trends and Challenges. *Nordicom Review*, pp. 95-112.

¹⁴⁸ Carruthers, S. L. (2000). Mobilisation: The Media before War. In S. L. Carruthers, *Media at War*. Palgrave MacMillan

¹⁴⁹ Prof. Santosh Kumar Tiwari, retired Professor, Centre for Mass Communication, Central University of Jharkhand

In the documentation of conflict reporting, the news stories laid the foundation on which strategic role has been played by political elites and warring parties. “Whether pursued strategically by powerful corporate and government interests, or more tactically by diffuse cultural identities, the media have become a prized arena for the waging conflict” (Cottle, 2006)¹⁵⁰. The role of media is equated with the battleground, “the surface upon which war is imagined and executed” (Thussu & Freedman, 2000)¹⁵¹.

Though, arguments validated the eras of war propaganda, PR and lobbying when the conflicts’ state and non-state actors’ manoeuvring media for their premeditated action. Few eras back, Hitler resorted to propaganda after the experience of World War I, based on the assumption that superior propaganda of Allies played a significant role in German defeat (Seethaler, Karmasin, Melischek, & Wohlert, 2013)¹⁵². In the last few decades, studies have revealed that media has outperformed in propagandist line of action, shaping public opinion, setting agenda and manufacturing consent, especially in crisis time. Nevertheless, canvassing media a vulnerable entity would be a biggest mistake. The evolving relation of mass media and conflict also led the phase of monumental shift when 24X7 live cameras influence policy and strategic decisions (Gilboa, Media and Conflict Resolution,

¹⁵⁰ Cottle, S. (2006). *Mediatized Conflict: Developments in Media and Conflict Studies*. New York: Open University Press.

¹⁵¹ Thussu, D. K., & Freedman, D. (2000). *War and the Media: Reporting Conflict 24/7*. Sage Publication.

¹⁵² (2013). In J. Seethaler, M. Karmasin, G. Melischek, & R. Wohlert, *Selling War: The Role of the Mass Media in Hostile Conflicts from World War I to the War on "Terror"*. Chicago, USA: Intellect

2009)¹⁵³. That marked the emergence of CNN¹⁵⁴ effect, the term first coined in 1991 against the background of US intervention during the Kurdish crisis in Northern Iraq.

In view of past documentation of media engagements in inciting violence and escalating conflicts (e.g. Rwanda, Yugoslavia), the two tactics become more pronounced i.e. censorship of media or restructuring media contents for peace and reconciliation. UN missions and many NGOs projected their effort towards democratising information environment. The parallel views stressed on “reliable, diverse and independent” news media (Howard, *An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding*, 2002)¹⁵⁵ for the affirmative performance in the crisis time. Further exploration of the discussion on conflict and communication revealed rich account of media deployment for promotion of peace and serving of communication as a platform to escalate or de-escalate conflict. But in concern of the study, researcher’s huge focus will be conflict resolution through the manner of reporting and journalism. Therefore, under this chapter, issues and challenges of reporting will be discussed and an attempt to develop a new paradigm of reporting is carried out. From traditional media (radio, newspaper and television) and new media (internet), here the researcher pitches upon television news media (for its audio-visual effect) to precise the ideas in specialised format.

In exploring media’s competency in conflicts, Gilboa has illuminated the terms associated with practice of media in conflicts and which is interchangeably

¹⁵³ Gilboa, E., Jumbert, M. G., Miklian, J., & Robinson, P. (2017). Moving media and conflict studies beyond the CNN effect. *Review of International Studies*, pp. 1-19.

¹⁵⁴ “CNN effect” implies that television coverage forces policy makers to take actions they otherwise would not have taken

¹⁵⁵ Howard, R. (2002). *An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding. IMPACS – Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society, Vancouver, B.C.*, 3.

employed i.e. media roles, media intervention and media coverage. Referring media coverage as all the content, reports, opinions served on the media outlet including newspaper or broadcasts. “Coverage includes reports but also opinions on current events and processes. ‘Roles’ refer to various activities other than coverage, such as performing confidence-building measures or mediation, and to values and standards that should determine coverage” (Gilboa, *Media and Conflict Resolution*, 2009)¹⁵⁶. Intervention is viewed as third party involvement between warring parties. Gilboa referred intervention as liberating and reforming the local media and creating political, social, and economic conditions favourable for media-sponsored conflict resolution activities.

Before stepping into the of course of reconciliation through media, there is an urgent need to have a very brief review of the evolution of media and communication relationship. The advance episode in this chapter would make the wider preview of conflict communication and highlights Mediation approach.

4.1.1 Past Spotlights:

“The culture of war is indeed shaped by communication” (Seethaler, Karmasin, Melischek, & Wohlert, 2013)¹⁵⁷. The one-off connexion flanked by communication and conflict materialised from the line of reasoning that the more communication passes through technological development, the more the conflict is

¹⁵⁶ Gilboa, E. (2009). *Media and Conflict Resolution*. In J. Bercovitch, V. Kremenyuk, & I. W. Zartman, *The Sage Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (p. 455). London: Sage Publication.

¹⁵⁷ (2013). In J. Seethaler, M. Karmasin, G. Melischek, & R. Wohlert, *Selling War: The Role of the Mass Media in Hostile Conflicts from World War I to the War on "Terror"*. Chicago, USA: Intellect.

tactical. From the era of publishing conflict reports in newspaper, followed by radio broadcasting of conflict, subsequently invention of television added more twist and turns in the event with the camera capturing moving pictures 24x7 live coverage to the more evolved, instant and easy access through internet social platforms, Youtube with greater audio-video impact served the transmission of sensitive stories across the national boundaries without any barriers.

The historical account of television news coverage of last few decades unearthed instances of media influence in turning up of events in conflicts. Vietnam War¹⁵⁸, known as first televised war, is the case in point, where the TV journalism was in its infancy. This was the time when reporters enjoyed full freedom and easy access to the war arena. Americans watching in their homes TV sets showing their soldiers killing, being wounded, displaced civilians and wrecked Vietnam villages. One of the striking memories of reporting images was the picture of nine year old girl running naked after the attack of napalm in her village. The US journalists broadcasted bloody baths of war, imprudently reporting what comes before cameras, resulting “demoralisation of the home front” (Nixon, 1978)¹⁵⁹. This gave robust realization to the theorists and practitioner the powerful impact of media coverage, especially TV cameras, of conflicts. This incident triggered the brushing up the visual media restrains and censorship policy for the battleground. Thereafter, a mechanism of media restraint developed through trial and error method during 1980s resulting into a virtual black out with no journalist access to Grenada in 1983 during

¹⁵⁸ In 1961, the same citizen of U. S. denounced its participation after watching war reporting on TV who earlier supported its intervention.

¹⁵⁹ Nixon, R. (1978).

the US invasion of Grenada (Kumar, 2006)¹⁶⁰. Infuriated press and political pressure on military commanders to accommodate reporters outgrown into National Media Pool under which a small group of trusted reporters were taken to the war site at short notice. Pool of reporters had to rely on military for transportation to the battlefield, news feeds and other updates. Development of media control led to restrict access to the battlefield, minimize coverage of casualties, “press briefings with images of precision bombing and laser-guided missiles hitting their target” (Kumar, 2006)¹⁶¹.

The communication perspective of conflicts becomes indispensable in course of evolution of the media structure in the globalised era, military-media alliance’s needs and public sphere mobilisation. In the propaganda war, the call for mobilising public support and sentiments made media suitable tool and led many new developments in this direction. “Motivating, managing, massaging, and feeding media is a key strategic imperative to build and sustain a consensus behind any war policy” (Kamalipour & Snow, 2004)¹⁶². Many authors denoted the relationship between media and military as “media professionalization of the armed forces” (Seethaler, Karmasin, Melischek, & Wohlert, 2013)¹⁶³, “convergence of military and media network” (Thussu & Freedman, 2000)¹⁶⁴. Gradually, under the ambit of media corporatisation and conglomeration, insatiable economic and political needs justified media coalition with government and elite section of the society. This carried in what

¹⁶⁰ Kumar, D. (2006, March). Media, War, and Propaganda: Strategies of Information Management During the 2003 Iraq War. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, III(1), 48-69.

¹⁶¹ Ibid¹

¹⁶² Kamalipour, Y. R., & Snow, N. (2004). *War, Media, and Propaganda: A Global Perspective*. Rowman Littlefield.

¹⁶³ (2013). In J. Seethaler, M. Karmasin, G. Melischek, & R. Wohlert, *Selling War: The Role of the Mass Media in Hostile Conflicts from World War I to the War on "Terror"*. Chicago, USA: Intellect

¹⁶⁴ Thussu, D. K., & Freedman, D. (2000). *War and the Media: Reporting Conflict 24/7*. Sage Publication.

Rober M. Entman said “**war has to be sold to the public**... even at the cost of any kind of realism”. The pressure to increase profit... led to methods of operation that have compromised journalist ethics (Kumar, 2006)¹⁶⁵.

4.1.2 Communication Gigs:

Customarily, theorists have dichotomized the communication role as either escalate or de-escalate conflicts. Among several dimension of conflicts like resources, issues involved, conflict parties, strategies used or number of goals involved etc. when any of these dimensions increased or get complicated, conflicts escalates. This means the increase in number of participants/ parties or resources like time, energy, space, or more number of issues and complexities or use of more strategies and power or increase in extremities of goals can escalate the conflicts. De-escalation phase constitute many terminologies as: peace building, conflict prevention, conflict management, reconciliation, negotiation, mediation, peace-making, conflict transformation.

4.1.3 On Escalation mode:

Few academics scrutinized the chore of media as turning the conflicts into full scale war as in places like Rwanda, Yugoslavia (Bonde, 2015)¹⁶⁶. Theorists found media organisation “fan the flames of animosity” (Carruthers, 2000)¹⁶⁷ from many historical conflicts of the world. Rwanda¹⁶⁸ is an exemplary incident of media

¹⁶⁵ Kumar, D. (2006, March). Media, War, and Propaganda: Strategies of Information Management During the 2003 Iraq War. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, III(1), 48-69.

¹⁶⁶ Bonde, B. N. (2015). *Media and Communication in Conflict Prevention and Peace-Building Exploring strategies for International and UN-led Conflict Transformation* . Institute for Communication, Journalism and Computer Science, University of Roskilde .

¹⁶⁷ Carruthers, S. L. (2000). Mobilisation: The Media before War. In S. L. Carruthers, *Media at War*. Palgrave MacMillan

¹⁶⁸ The convicts, through power of mass media, incited Rwanda’s Hutu population against against Tutsi neighbours to commit genocide (Carruthers, 2000)

galvanizing conflicts, where directors of radio (RTL) ¹⁶⁹ and editor of newspaper Kanguru found guilty of “public incitement to commit genocide” (Thompson, 2009). “Strike them before they strike you” was RTL’s message to one community against other, “with rousing music to keep their spirit aloft” (Carruthers, 2000) ¹⁷⁰. In Serbia, television was manipulated to stimulate ethnic tensions prior to civil war. In the former Soviet republic of Georgia, territorial disputes were intensified by the propagation of nationalist mythology in the media” (Frohardt & Temin , 2003) ¹⁷¹.

In Vietnam War, brutal images of war affected the mind and heart of American citizen. Eventually, people denounced the war and withdrawal of troops occurred. Public opinion and attitude become indispensable in carrying out important national decision for most of the states. Marshall McLuhan in an interview commented:

“Television brought the brutality of war into the comfort of the living room. Vietnam was lost in the living rooms of America- not on the battlefields of Vietnam.”

Public perception is manipulated by tactical use of media. It is the same mass media which damage people’s perception of Islam religion after 9/11 attack and tarnished the image of the religion. Pew Forum survey study corroborated that “55% of the American have negative attitude towards Islam and American Muslims”. Here, what study revealed that mass media of USA is responsible for

¹⁶⁹ *Radio Television Libres des Milles Collines*

¹⁷⁰ Carruthers, S. L. (2000). Mobilisation: The Media before War. In S. L. Carruthers, *Media at War*. Palgrave MacMillan

¹⁷¹ Frohardt, M., & Temin , J. (2003). *Use and Abuse of Media in Vulnerable Societies*. United States: United States Institutes Of Peace.

promoting Islamophobia (Rahman & Marjan, 2013)¹⁷². These stances upholds that media was no longer merely a “medium but also a tool political actors employ in order to develop, refine, and promote their own agendas and strategies” (Gilboa, Jumbert, Miklian, & Robinson, 2017)¹⁷³.

“Sympathetic media coverage of the Gulf War” and “portrayal of Saddam Hussain as like Hitler” was U.S. successful media propaganda campaign to mobilise support in Gulf war (Rahman & Marjan, 2013)¹⁷⁴. Evolution of 24X7 news coverage marked the supremacy of media with the live coverage of the Gulf war. The media framed the war as an exciting narrative, providing a nightly miniseries with a dramatic conflict, action, and adventure, danger to allied troops and civilians, evil perpetuated by villainous Iraqis, and heroics performed by American military planners, technology, and troops (Hossain, 2011)¹⁷⁵. During the period, Television became more like “propaganda apparatus” which towed the line of U.S. political elites. US news media are sponsored, underwritten, and in some cases directly owned by major military contractors (Hossain, 2011)¹⁷⁶.

The rationale followed by U.S. political elites for Iraq war in 2003 was Iraq’s possession of Weapons of Mass Destructions, coalition of Iraq government and terrorist groups and high time to end repressive dictatorship. The US mainstream

¹⁷² Rahman, S., & Marjan, S. M. (2013). Role of Mass Media in Setting Agenda and Manufacturing Consent: A study on Wars to Rise of Radical Group (Hefajat-e-Islam) in Bangladesh. *Journal of Mass Communication and Journalism, IV*(1), pp. 1-8.

¹⁷³ Gilboa, E., Jumbert, M. G., Miklian, J., & Robinson, P. (2017). Moving media and conflict studies beyond the CNN effect. *Review of International Studies*, pp. 1-19.

¹⁷⁴ Rahman, S., & Marjan, S. M. (2013). Role of Mass Media in Setting Agenda and Manufacturing Consent: A study on Wars to Rise of Radical Group (Hefajat-e-Islam) in Bangladesh. *Journal of Mass Communication and Journalism, IV*(1), pp. 1-8.

¹⁷⁵ Hossain, M. M. (2011, July). US Media Coverage of Wars: A Critical Perspective . *Stamford Journal of Media, Communication and Culture*, pp. 199-134.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid¹

media failed to thoroughly investigate these claims contributed to public misconceptions about Iraq (McLeod, 2009)¹⁷⁷.

Fear mongering content produced by media to provoke people against the other group. These are so strategically created that people get flown into emotions and lose the grip on rationality. “Media were used to make people believe that we must strike first in order to save ourselves. By creating fear the foundation for taking violent action through “self-defense” is laid” (Frohardt & Temin , 2003)¹⁷⁸. The construction of fear and negative state of mind charged the environment of conflict to grow. Studies have shown that there are four strategies commonly used to create fear are: focus on past atrocities and a history of ethnic animosity; manipulation of myths, stereotypes, and identities to “dehumanize”; overemphasis on certain grievances or inequities; and a shift towards consistently negative reporting (Frohardt & Temin , 2003)¹⁷⁹.

The prevalent phenomenon of Hate Speech in media has far reaching deleterious effects. Hate Speech can be defined as the public discourse through which latent animosity between groups of people is intentionally aroused and the purpose or outcome of which is hierarchisation of such groups (Sponholz, 2015)¹⁸⁰. Ethnic, community or religion based hate speech is the trick played by actors in conflict using the support of the media. In India, many elections have witnessed hate speech by leaders of some party to arouse hatred and disharmony among many

¹⁷⁷ McLeod, D. M. (2009). Derelict of Duty: The American News Media, Terrorism, and the War in Iraq. *Marquette Law Review*, pp. 113-136.

¹⁷⁸ Frohardt, M., & Temin , J. (2003). *Use and Abuse of Media in Vulnerable Societies*. United States: United States Institutes Of Peace.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*¹

¹⁸⁰ Sponholz, L. (2015, July). Hate speech in the Mainstream Media: Transforming conflict dynamics through different narratives . *Narratives of Peace and Conflict* .

ethnic or religious groups. Ultimately, to reach the political gain, the tension erupts between communities into violence and conflict. “An inflammatory article by Subramaniam Swamy was published in DNA (the content has since been removed from the site), written the day after the July 13th Mumbai blasts. It incited Hindus to act against Islamic terrorists” (The Hoot, 2012)¹⁸¹. It is on media’s discretion to analyse and recognise the forms and formats of hate speech and avoid giving footage to it.

Other than a deliberate attempt of media to incite violence and Hate speech, it is also through an erroneous news coverage and imprudent working policy, destabilise peace. Mostly, on part of untrained and unprofessional journalists, where in an attempt to report events in quick and exciting way skipped checking of facts and accuracy of reports. Incorrect reporting, rumour chain existence, trusting on unauthentic source, rallying speculation as facts results in making the strained situation more complex. Many times, it is also the matter of media freedom and regulation that hinders the role of peace stabilisation. The situation where media don’t have freedom to freely express views and become puppet of government or powerful people led the underreporting of events or misreporting. Regulation and hold on media by corporate world upshots glamorization of stressful events and sensationalise the stories of conflicts.

Researchers have contrasted media’s role in the strategic perspective as well, based on which some of the terminologies are devised such as embedded journalism, propaganda war, PR war. Rallying the information and public opinion manoeuvred the convergence of military and media, where media has to depend on the official

¹⁸¹ *The Hoot*. (2012). Retrieved January 2018, from thehoot.org: <http://www.thehoot.org/media-watch/media-practice/media-ethics-in-2011-5727>

sources for newsfeed and thus structured the framework of embedded journalism. The role of media is equated with the battleground, “the surface upon which war is imagined and executed” (Thussu & Freedman, 2000)¹⁸². Thussu and Freedman identified media as exhibiting three key roles: as critical observer, as publicist, and as battleground, among which in third model, war is more “technologized, informatized and mediated”.

4.1.4 On De-escalation Mode:

Enumerating the practices of peace promotion in the sphere of media revealed a large contribution of researchers, international NGOs, UN agencies in unveiling the high rate of success stories. “Radio Okapi” run by joint effort of UN Mission to Congo (MONUC) and Hironnelle, a Swiss NGO since 2002, ‘enable the people of the Congo to communicate with their compatriots’. Radio Okapi pursues peace oriented broadcasts in the DRC through objective, credible and non-discriminatory programming and conveyed information about UN policy and mandate. The planning and execution of media deployment is much more than what it appears as to simply peace promotion.

A number of projects based on media-driven peace and reconciliation in conflict regions all over the world by many international organizations shown the media constructive role in conflict prevention, transformation and peace-building. Many have succeeded and many still have hoped to get succeed. To name a few organizations such as Search for Common Ground (1982), Internews (1982),

¹⁸² Thussu, D. K., & Freedman, D. (2000). War and the Media: Reporting Conflict 24/7. Sage Publication.

International Crisis Group (1995), Intermedia (1996), BBC World Service Trust (1999), and Equal Access (2000). These projects were executed by experienced practitioner using various media outlets like radio, television, community media outlets, newspaper or any medium like banners, posters etc. With their diverse range of components like entertainment, drama, music, news, participatory features, they encourage population in conflict-ridden place to step towards peace-making process.

Another successful attempt was carried through television broadcasting led by Search for Common Ground (SFCG) by producing “Nashe Maalo¹⁸³” (Our Neighborhood) between 1998 and 2003. The program was about the lives of eight children from Macedonian, Roma, Turkish, and Albanian ethnic groups, who lived together in the same neighborhood. The diverse culture of these neighbors promoted peaceful living and ‘intercultural understanding’. It taught various skills to children who imbibed and get motivated to resolve the crisis situation by influencing conflict dynamics through their knowledge, attitude and behavior. ‘Nashe Maalo proved wildly popular and succeeded in influencing an entire generation of children in the direction of mutual tolerance and respect’.

Researchers have their part in ascertaining the very potential of media to de-escalate the crisis through pursuing the media-driven peace operation. They all goaded to map out ethics on information scenario, drafted laws on media landscape, structured training on part of conflict coverage, devised peace journalism to culture an environment of strategic information intervention and provided technical assistance and resources. They have designed, established many media programs in conflict regions, wrote manuals for journalists both in the developed and the

¹⁸³ Source: Bernardo Monzani, Media in conflict prevention and peace building: An opportunity for EU leadership, 2009. Bernardo Monzani is Representative, European Office – Policy & Programmes of the NGO Search for Common Ground.

underdeveloped world, organised conferences and wrote books, reports and surveys (Gilboa, Media and Conflict Resolution, 2009)¹⁸⁴. But on practices, it is all about reporters and practitioners who tackle the situation and who have to exercise the reconciliatory approach at time of crisis. The attributes of objectivity, fair and balance reporting with negligible partisan are the foundation of establishing the hardcore traits of reporting. From here, we can advance towards “educating people, maintaining trust among conflicting parties, promoting international norms regarding human rights and conduct of war, initiating communication between the parties when there is no formal negotiation, suggesting solutions, engaging in confidence building measures, avoiding the inflammatory language and historical tensions, motivating local and international communities for peace building, condemning the false propaganda and stereotyping, criticizing any effort that tends to promote racism, social hatred and xenophobia, and signaling the importance of reconciliation and accords that resolves conflict” (Saleem & Hanan, 2014)¹⁸⁵.

4.1.5 CNN Effect:

The technological realizations led to setting up of 24/7 broadcast news program around the world in early 1980s named as ‘CNN’ by Ted Turner. The communication advancement led to the era of global communication where news of one place reach to other corner of the world in less time through the support of satellite and cable television outlets. CNN got its recognition during the coverage of Gulf War (1990-91). “This war established CNN as one of the ‘big three’ American

¹⁸⁴ Gilboa, E. (2009). Media and Conflict Resolution. In J. Bercovitch, V. Kremenyuk, & I. W. Zartman, *The Sage Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (p. 455). London: Sage Publication.

¹⁸⁵ Saleem, N., & Hanan, M. A. (2014). Media and Conflict Resolution: Toward building a Relationship Model. *Journal of Political Studies*, 179-198.

networks due to the impressive reporting the network offered, as it was the only news outlet broadcasting from inside Iraq during the American bombing campaign” (Palloshi, 2014)¹⁸⁶. CNN effect serves the world through the communication and technological power of media and influence the opinions, attitudes and practices of common and uncommon people around the world. (Gilboa, 2009) defined the term ‘CNN effect’ as the television coverage forces policy makers to take actions they otherwise would not have taken. “The idea behind the ‘CNN Effect’ is that real-time communications technologies are able to influence officials’ decision-making as well as the perspectives of the public regarding global events” (Palloshi, 2014)¹⁸⁷.

(Livingston, 1997)¹⁸⁸ has differentiated the CNN effect and developed three conceptually distinct and analytically useful understandings of media’s effect on the foreign policy process. 1) a policy agenda-setting agent, 2) an impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals, and 3) an accelerant to policy decision-making. In the first possible effect i.e. policy agenda setting, emotional coverage of conflicts and humanitarian crises can generate a public opinion, can affect foreign policy priorities and decisions. Second it can be understood as an impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals, when media affects the military and public opinion in a humanitarian intervention and can make them question the legitimacy of military operations. The third way in which he defined the CNN effect is as an

¹⁸⁶ Palloshi, S. (2014). *The Influence of the CNN effect and the Al Jazeera Effect on American Foreign Policy*. Skopje.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid¹

¹⁸⁸ Livingston, S. (1997, June). Clarifying The CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention. *The Joan Shorenstein Center: PUBLIC POLICY, Harvard University John F. Kennedy School of Government*, pp. 1-31.

accelerant to policy decision-making. One of the potential effects of global, real-time media is the shortening of response time for decision-making.

4.2 Reportage matters:

The above discussion of the relation between media and conflict revealed that media serve in de-escalation of conflicts through number of platforms and channels. The researcher, here, enlighten on two types of reporting: Conventional reporting and non-conventional journalism.

4.2.1 Conventional Reporting:

The academic and theoretical stance on reporting give grounding to the values in journalism and stress on ethical norms which are to be followed to maintain professionalism. The conventional formats centered on truthfulness, objectivity, accuracy, balance and fair reporting. The challenge which stands on practical ground is to remain objective while reporting conflicts. Many theorists and practitioners debated on this perspective and found it to be impossible to be insensitive and remain detached in the violent or crisis situation on humanitarian ground. There is a very fine line between discarding one's objectivity and viewing events with a certain attitude towards conciliation (Melone, Terzis, & Beleli , 2002)¹⁸⁹. Though the issue is still unresolved but the researchers are polarized on the issue.

Taking the truthfulness into account of reporting conflicts, it is seen that truth are not always desirable or sometimes not so much important to reveal in the

¹⁸⁹ Melone, S. D., Terzis, G., & Beleli , O. (2002). Using the Media for Conflict Transformation: The Common Ground Experience . *Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation*

situation which is already stressed and where truth is seen to exacerbate the tensed milieu. But many times veracity of the report possesses an utmost important place in dealing with every aspect of the situations. It can be said that the truthfulness in reporting depends on the discretion and objectivity depends on the feeling and emotions of the reporters. Other aspects as maintaining accuracy, balance and fair reporting are truly gems for any conflict reporting because inaccuracy and biasness can only be injustice for the information seekers.

Practicing conventional reporting require a vision and ability to distinguish between news and views. Theorist found the job of sifting news from views and opinions a herculean task which is impossible to bring normal day routine. “What can you ask from conventional journalists: report on all matters, don’t listen to the spin-doctors. To guarantee these freedoms journalists should be protected when they are threatened in executing their profession. On the other hand, you can’t ask conventional journalists to prevent or solve conflicts. This is something they can’t do” (Aguirre, Ferraniz, & Pureza, 2003)¹⁹⁰.

4.2.2 Non-Conventional journalism:

The question erupts here, when reporting of conflict events matters, so what is the good journalism? The professional norms of “Good Journalism” include, in particular, the following: truthfulness, objectivity, neutrality and detachment (Kempf, 2008)¹⁹¹. On the issue, academics and journalist exchanged diverse views

¹⁹⁰ Aguirre, M., Ferraniz, F., & Pureza, J. M. (2003). Introduction: Conflict Prevention and The Media. In *Before Emergency: Conflict Prevention and The Role of Media* (p. 14). Bilbao.

¹⁹¹ Kempf, W. (2008). Peace Journalism: Between advocacy journalism and constructive conflict coverage. *Conflict In Communication*, 17-28.

and evolved many discourse on media reporting. Former BBC correspondent Martin Bell (1997) advocated a journalism of attachment which subscribes to the idea that journalists have to take side in the battle between “good and evil”. He believes that journalism “is not a neutral and mechanical undertaking but in some sense a moral enterprise”. Peace Journalists regard conventional international news coverage -- its typical emphasis on violence, conflict as a two-sided win/lose struggle, government and military sources, and "our" suffering versus "their" villainy -- as comprising War Journalism (Hackett, 2006)¹⁹².

War correspondents like Annabel McGoldrick and Jake Lynch upheld Galtung’s concept of ‘peace journalism’. According to Lynch & McGoldrick (2005)¹⁹³, "Peace Journalism is when editors and reporters make choices-of what stories to report, and how to report them". (Tehrani, 2002)¹⁹⁴ describes peace journalism as: ‘A kind of journalism and media ethics that attempts... to transform conflicts from their violent channels into constructive forms by conceptualizing news, empowering the voiceless, and seeking common grounds that unify rather than divide human societies’. However, further many theorists classified the crisis reporting in their own way. Howard distinguished between “traditional journalism” and “conflict sensitive journalism” based on journalist’s ability to report the conflict influence by its academic learning and effective prejudices for situations.

¹⁹² Hackett, R. A. (2006). Is Peace Journalism Possible: Three Frameworks for Assessing Structure and Agency in News Media. *Conflict and Communication online*, V(2).

¹⁹³ McGoldrick, A., & Lynch, J. (2000). *Peace Journalism: What is it? How to do it?* TRANSCEND manual.

¹⁹⁴ Tehrani, M. (2002). Peace Journalism: Negotiating Global Media Ethics. *Press/Politics*, 7(2), pp. 58-83.

Deriving from these attempts of distracted course of journalism which do not standby the concept of objectivity and bear one or other motive to fulfil through their reporting is recognised as advocacy journalism. Advocacy journalism is a journalistic genre that, as the name suggests, is aimed at advocating on behalf of particular causes, organizations, and/or viewpoints (Haas, 2015)¹⁹⁵. Definition from Wikipedia states that ‘Advocacy journalism’ is a genre of journalism that intentionally and transparently adopts a non-objective viewpoint, usually for some social or political purpose. It is noted that this journalism backed up a particular viewpoint and opinion. It is a technique of journalism to promote a specific political or social cause.

‘As such, it does not adhere to the conventional journalistic distinction between news and views, arguing, instead, that it is neither possible nor desirable to maintain such a distinction. This distinction is not possible to maintain, scholars of advocacy journalism argue, because every time journalists choose to focus attention on certain topics, from certain perspectives, using certain sources of information, they are explicitly or implicitly favoring certain topics, perspectives, and sources of information over other potentially equally legitimate ones’ (Haas, 2015)¹⁹⁶. Advocacy journalism rather to influence audiences’ perceptions of them in particular ways and, ultimately, to change those perceptions in certain, desired directions (Haas, 2015)¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁵ Haas, T. (2015). *Open School of Journalism*. Retrieved May 2018, from www.openschoolofjournalism.com: https://www.openschoolofjournalism.com/documents/13647/106563/JG010_Advocacy-Journalism.pdf/44f3ab43-933d-491f-8f33-87049fedf2f4

¹⁹⁶ Ibid¹

¹⁹⁷ Ibid²

Theorists' versions polarised on the much debated idea of sustaining peace promoting journalism against conventional journalism (Kempf, 2008; Loyn, 2007; Shinar, 2007; Howard, 2012). The professional norms of good journalism stressed on truthfulness, objectivity, neutrality and detachment (Kempf, 2008)¹⁹⁸. the opponents of Peace Journalism (henceforth, PJ), raise a number of objections: PJ is an unwelcome departure from objectivity and towards a journalism of attachment; it mistakenly assumes powerful and linear media effects; it is a normative model, rooted in the discipline of peace research, that fails sufficiently to take into account the constraints imposed by the actual dynamics of news production (including professional values and organizational imperatives), and hence, may have little to offer journalists in practice (Hanitzsch 2004a; 2004b, Hackett, 2006). International standard and code of ethics settle with impartiality, accuracy and fairness. Proponents of peace journalism bank on the concept for “a normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflict, that aims at contributing to peacemaking, peacekeeping, and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals, and audiences towards war and peace” (Shinar, 2007)¹⁹⁹.

The fine discourses of media on peace, peace journalism, a concept coined in the 1970s by the Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung. Galtung developed peace journalism to counteract the domination of war journalism during conflict coverage. The four main attributes of war journalism: it is oriented to violence and war, is highly influenced by propaganda, it focuses on the opinion of the elites and it focuses on zero-sum game, that is, one part wins all and the other part loses all

¹⁹⁸Kempf, W. (2008). PeaceJournalism:Betweenadvocacyjournalism andconstructiveconflictcoverage. *Conflict In Communication*, 17-28.

¹⁹⁹ Shinar, D. (2007). Epilogue: Peace Journalism-The State of Art. *Conflict and Communication*, 1-9.

(Galtung 2002). On the contrast, peace journalism is featured as peace oriented, unhide truths, explore conflict dynamics, proactive, give voice to voiceless, people oriented. Such kind of peace journalism demands that the journalist take an interpretative approach, concentrated on the stories that highlight peace initiatives; it tones down ethnic and religious differences; anticipates later conflicts; focuses on the structure of societies in conflict; and promotes the solution of the conflict, reconstitution and reconciliation (Galtung 1997, 1998).

Table 4.1

PEACE/ CONFLICT JOURNALISM		WAR/VIOLENCE JOURNALISM	
I.	PEACE/CONFLICT-ORIENTATED	I.	WAR/VIOLENCE ORIENTED
• Explore conflict formation, x parties, y goals, z issues general “win, win” orientation		Focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation	
• Open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture		• Closed space, closed time; causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone	
• making conflicts transparent		• Making wars opaque/secret	
• Giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding see conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity		• “us-them” journalism, propaganda, voice, for “us”	
		• See “them” as the problem, focus on who prevails in war	
		• Dehumanisation of “them”; more so	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humanisation of all sides; more so the worse the weapons • Proactive: prevention before any violence/ war occurs • Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/ culture) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the worse the weapon • Reactive: waiting for violence before reporting • Focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)
<p>II. TRUTH-ORIENTATED</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expose untruths on all sides / uncover all cover-ups 	<p>III. PROPAGANDA-ORIENTATED</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expose “their” untruths / help “our” coverups/lies
<p>IV. PEOPLE-ORIENTATED</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on suffering all over; on women, aged children, giving voice to voiceless • Give name to all evil-doers Focus on people peace-makers 	<p>V. ELITE ORIENTATED</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on “our” suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece • Give name to their evil-doers focus on elite peace-makers
<p>VI. SOLUTION ORIENTATED</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peace = non-violence + creativity • Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war Focus on structure, 	<p>IV. VICTORY ORIENTATED</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peace = victory + ceasefire • Conceal peace-initiative, before victory is at hand Focus on treaty,

culture, the peaceful society Aftermath: institution, the controlled society resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation • Leaving for another war, return if the old flares up again

According to Galtung, peace journalism is “about non-violence and creativity when dealing with conflicts”. But the critics of peace journalism found it to be distorting the conventional values of journalism like objectivity, facts reporting. As David Loyn (2003), a BBC correspondent and prominent critic of Peace Journalism, has maintained: "Our task is always to seek to find out what is going on, not carrying any other baggage". He denounces it as “contempt of objectivity”. ‘Objectivity can amount to a proposition that the journalist is a neutral, uninvolved, unfeeling mirror in which reality is reflected, the way it is’ (McGoldrick & Lynch, *Peace Journalism: What is it? How to do it?*, 2000)²⁰⁰. Many media communities acknowledge objectivity as an elusive phenomenon. On the matter of objectivity, Annabel McGoldrick and Jake Lynch emphasizes that ‘Journalists, whether they acknowledge them or not, will always have feelings and opinions in response to the story they are covering. Trying to ignore or section off those feelings and opinions can lead them to distort, without fully acknowledging it even to themselves, decisions they make about what to cover and how to cover it’.

²⁰⁰ McGoldrick, A., & Lynch, J. (2000). *Peace Journalism: What is it? How to do it?* TRANSCEND manual.

Chapter Summary:

Through this chapter, an exercise is carried out to enhance the understanding of the competency of media in conflict reporting and conflict communication. In the beginning of the chapter, conflict and communication relation is elaborated in the light of various phenomenon associated. The two broad vision of media performance in conflict .i.e. escalation and de-escalation is elucidated with examples. In the chapter, conventional and non-conventional reporting of conflict is also discussed with the citation of various works of social scientists in the field.

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https://www.openschoolofjournalism.com/documents/13647/106563/JG010_Advocacy-Journalism.pdf/44f3ab43-933d-491f-8f33-87049fedf2f4
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Conciliatory Paradigm of Media and Mediation

5.1 Outlining Mediation Concept:

In the realm of media, mediation is professed as the version of reality. Denis McQuail, from his work on Mass Communication theory, enlightened the theoretical concept of 'Mediation' in the "sense of media intervening between ourselves and reality". Quoting his work from his book 'McQuail's Mass Communication Theory': "Mediation involves several different processes. It refers to the relaying of second-hand (or third-party) versions of events and conditions which we cannot directly observe for ourselves... It refers to the indirect way in which we form our perceptions of groups and cultures to which we do not belong. An essential element in mediation as defined here is the involvement of some technological device between our senses and things external to us" (McQuail, 2010)²⁰¹. Though, he emphasized mediation as a metaphor for its different roles ranging from neutrally informing, through negotiation, to attempts at manipulation and control.

When the medium (TV. Film, newspapers) carries a message it is mediating it. Media-generated information is recognised as mediated information. This 'version of reality' is itself a process of changing facts and information of real events into media text. The process involves selection, organisation and focussing. The step of 'selection' involves the selection of particular news from different available sources. The filtration and gatekeeping are the part of the process. Then news producer will organise the selection to represent a person/ group/ viewpoint according to what they

²⁰¹ McQuail, D. (2010). McQuail's Mass Communication Theory. In D. McQuail, *Theory of Media and Society* (pp. 75-95). London: Sage Publication Ltd.

want others to believe. They ensure that the key components of the text have been on focussed deliberately to ensure appropriate reading of the text.

Beyond the communication perspective, mediation has the significance in conflict management. Mediation is an approach which involves third party intervention between the conflict parties to bring conciliation or settle the issue. “Mediation is defined as process of conflict management... where those in conflict seek assistance of, or accept an offer of help from, an outsider to change their perception or behavior, and to do so without resorting to physical force or invoking the authority of law” (Bercovitch, 2009)²⁰². UN charter recognizes in essence the existence of three basic methods for the peaceful management of international conflicts (Bercovitch, 2009)²⁰³. These are as: Direct negotiation among the conflicting parties; various forms of mediation, good offices, and conciliation; binding methods of third-party intervention (e.g. arbitration and adjudication). Bercovitch elucidated the attributes of mediation as it is a non-coercive, non-violent and non-binding form of intervention. He further stressed that it is a voluntary form of conflict management which involves the intervention of an outsider- an individual, a group, or an organization, with values, resources and interest of their own and mediators enter a conflict, whether internal or international, in order to affect it, change it, resolve it, modify it, or influence it in some way.

The conventional definition of ‘mediation’ refers to a process of alternative dispute resolution in which a neutral third party helps to negotiate an agreement

²⁰² Bercovitch, J. (2009). Mediation and Conflict Resolution. In J. Bercovitch, V. Kremenyuk, & W. Zartman, *The Sage Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (pp. 340-355). London: Sage Publication Ltd.

²⁰³ Ibid1

between the two parties in dispute with one another. According to United Nation Guidance for Effective Mediation, Mediation is a process whereby a third party assists two or more parties, with their consent, to prevent, manage or resolve a conflict by helping them to develop mutually acceptable agreements'. The effort is made to end a disagreement between parties and find a solution on which parties agree on.

These thought provoking exercise of exploring the term mediation laid the foundation for the conciliatory approach of media for conflicts. News and views are two branch of same tree in media. Many time, it intermingled with each other. Moreover, while conflict reporting, practitioners get polarised on the opinion on the peace-building role of media. There occurs dissonance on the issue whether media should intact to its traditional reporting tactics or get one step ahead and advance the movement of reconciliation though media platform. In the light of this dilemma, the paradigm of two tier mediation is strived to develop, which involves ground level or customary reporting and advance level or conciliatory approach. The first aspect is to deliver the media text pertaining to conflict events in a way which tends to de-escalate or bring stability in the situation. The second aspect is to explore media's competency in an active engagements through facilitative mediation process during unstable and conflict situations. Thus, two broad approach of mediation is as follows: Component of Conflict Dynamics for Mediating (Mediation) and Facilitative Mediation.

The two broad vision of mediation in the context of conflict news are buildup into two tier conciliatory paradigm of media mediation. The first tier is component of conflict dynamics for Mediation is the fundamental stage of conflict news reporting where news is delivered with its fundamental components and which entertain the

news practitioner's choice to remain intact with reporting professionalism. The tier two broaden the vision of traditional reporting and advance through the peace making effort. This peace-making effort will be manifested in the process of facilitative mediation. This triggers the idea of facilitative mediation through media. On the next page, the researcher developed a diagrammatic representation of two tier of conciliatory paradigm of mediation through media. In the diagram, the lower circle represent tier I in which component of conflict dynamics reporting is broadly mentioned. The upper circle represents the advanced stage of conciliatory paradigm in which the idea of facilitative mediation is presented through mentioning of News Anchor and conflict parties. The double headed arrow represents discussions of news anchor or journalist to the conflict parties. The two reverse and parallel arrow between parties reflect communication facilitation between the parties. In between the two circles are shown first tier and second tier with arrows representing movement from first tier to second tier.

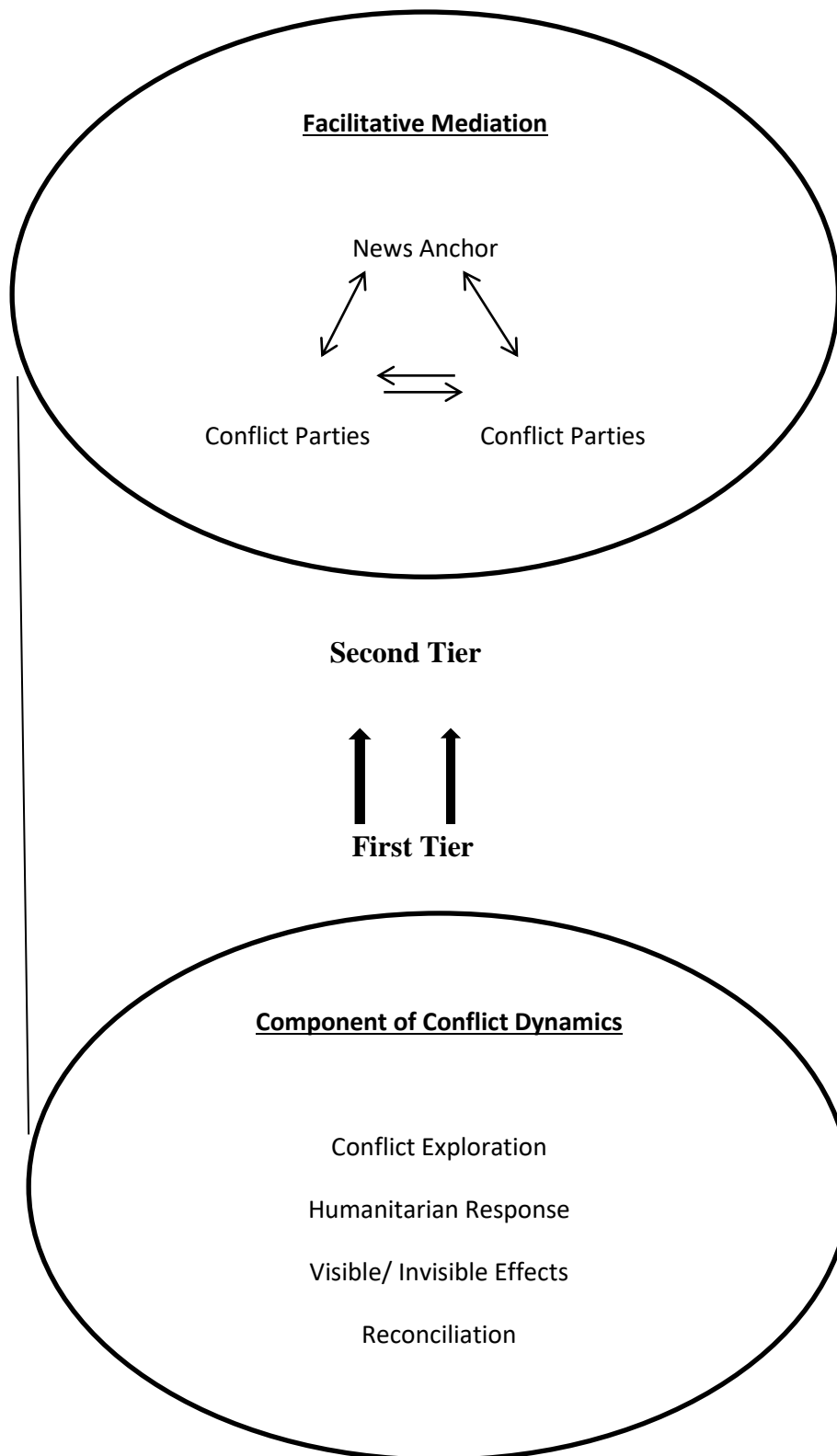


Fig.5.1 Two Tier of Conciliatory Paradigm of Mediation through Media

Case Study: In order to understand the concept of component of conflict dynamics for mediating (Mediation), a case study of Kashmir situation 2016 is taken up. This issue is taken as a case study for its time period which is in contemporary to the research duration which made it easier to focus on conflict dynamics and its reporting in Indian television media. As relevant to research study, situation of post-Burhan, 2016, popularly known as Burhan Aftermath is under discussion in this section. Giving the reference of chapter three where historical background of unrest in Kashmir is discussed, this section provides very brief account.

On 8th July 2016, the commander of Hizbul Muzahideen, Burhan Wani, aged 22 years, the architect of the social-media driven psychological warfare in Kashmir, was killed along with two other militants who was identified as Sartaj Ahmad Sheikh and Pervaiz Ahmad Lashkari in an encounter in Bumdoora village of Kokernag area after a joint team of the special operations group of the Jammu and Kashmir Police and 19 Rashtriya Rifles of police and Army launched a search operation on the basis of specific intelligence inputs about the presence of militants. The newsflash of Wani's death sparked off protests across the Valley. Reports say that thousands of people assembled in Tral, Wani's hometown to participate in his funeral prayers. Several others performed funeral in absentia in south, central and north Kashmir.

Curfew was imposed in many parts of the Kashmir. Gradually, a violent protest by the youths engulfed the city. Security forces in response used pellet guns which they considered non-lethal tool to disperse mob. Mobile Internet services,

train services across the valley remained suspended. Normal life remained affected across the Valley.

5.2 Components of Conflict Dynamics for Mediating News (Mediation)

The most channelizing component in conflict conciliation is ‘information’. In India, mushrooming of news channels led to information mismanagement. In the race to provide quick news updates, the steps of information cross-check, to get authentic news and properly researched information get skipped. This leads to the rumors and wrong information entrance into the stream of news feed. The principal tool for treating the conflict in conciliatory approach is the gathering of the correct information and its dissemination in appropriate way. The perception and understanding of a conflict develops from here.

Through diverse literature available on conflict reporting, the researcher has developed few parameters where media can mediate without advocating any perspective as well as which will not compromise the ethics of conventional reporting. The parameters suggest the basic dynamics of conflicts in an integrated way to be reported and reporting of which helps the viewers and parties to understand the situation more clearly. These are detailed below:

5.2.1 Conflict Exploration:

Whether it is an old journalistic practices or a new journalistic paradigm, the most relevant part of conflict reporting is to explore the conflict. ‘One important

issue to start with is to analyse and deconstruct the ways in which the media liberally assume ready-to-use plot to represent the different parties in conflict situations' (Aguirre, Ferraniz, & Pureza, 2003)²⁰⁴. A journalist can't narrow down his focus on the event of conflict as it is happening on the ground. A conflict is such a dynamic process that it involves number of actors, causes, situations, different settings, complex relations and a deepen history or background. Quoting Jake Lynch²⁰⁵ "To report violence without background or context is to misrepresent it, since any conflict is, at root, a relationship, of parties setting and pursuing incompatible goals. To omit any discussion of them is a distortion". For a news pertaining to conflict, a journalist explores conflict to develop a better understanding for its viewers. It includes background of conflict, causes and actors involved, focus on different version and perspective of the story, discussion of the present situation, its effects and outcome and introspection of the conflict situation, exposing untruths lead it towards conciliation. Thus, there are few variables which help in defining the component of conflict exploration are as follows:

²⁰⁴ Aguirre, M., Ferraniz, F., & Pureza, J. M. (2003). Introduction: Conflict Prevention and The Media. In *Before Emergency: Conflict Prevention and The Role of Media* (p. 14). Bilbao.

²⁰⁵ Jake Lynch is Associate Professor and Director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney. He is a co-authored with Johan Galtung and Annabel McGoldrick 'Reporting ConflictAn Introduction to Peace Journalism

5.2.1.1 Background: A conflict does not erupt suddenly. It has some stimulator which triggers the conflicts. This stimulator may or may not have historical links with conflicts. In Kashmir conflict, these stimulators have historical links. Dogra Dynasty, partition of India and Pakistan, birth of militancy and subsequent administrative and non-administrative activities. Whenever the issue of Kashmir conflicts erupts, exploration on background of Kashmir conflict needs to be explored in detail.

5.2.1.2 Causes: Causes of conflicts include all those factors without which a conflict could have been ignored. This is an important aspect to introspect for understanding conflicts. Sometimes, causes are immediate or sometime an accumulation of factors that explode suddenly into conflicts. In the context of Burhan Aftermath, these causes are both immediate and time accumulated causes. News investigative reports should elaborate these causes.

5.2.1.3 Social, Economic and Political Context: Kashmir conflict is complicated which involves multiple interests of number of stakeholders. Similarly, post-Burhan conflict have social,

economic and political context. Reporting on these contexts will be helpful in understanding the conflict.

5.2.1.4 Outcomes: Conflict is not null process. It will have results either constructive or destructive. The outcomes of conflicts may be gainful for few or may bring loss to others. An attempt should be made to explore the dual impact of conflict.

5.2.1.5 Present Situations: Regular updates of present situation and situation on the ground is necessary for developing the right vision for conflict. This helps to take necessary steps to resolve the conflicts.

5.2.1.6 Actors: There are state and non-state in Kashmir conflict. State actors are India and Pakistan. Non-state actors militants and Jihadis. Hibul Mujahideen is the main militant organization while Lashkar-e-Taiba, the main jihadi group. Conflict dynamics depends largely upon the attitude, aspiration, grievances, and motivation of conflict actors. “Hizbul Mujahideen is formed in 1989. Earlier its objective

was to achieve independence but gradually, the aim is changed and reshaped for Pro-Pakistan ideology” (Suri, 2012)²⁰⁶.

5.2.2 Humanitarian response:

Whenever situation in stressed zone of Kashmir turned violent, numbers of injuries and deaths of security personnel and locals occurs. Among human property, the most impacted are the weaker and fragile section of the society which includes children, women and old people. Does reporting on the part of humanitarian crisis can save their lives or undo their miseries? Media has its role in humanitarian crisis through vital information dissemination, reporting human right violation, emotional outlet, giving voice to voiceless, giving psychological support, fulfills people’s right to know.

5.2.2.1 Information Provider: Hospitals were packed with injured protestors and stone pelting injuries causes large number of eye surgeries. Hospital staffs and many medical resources were insufficient to accommodate injured. But media focuses swings between stone pelting and protests. In a conflict, people seek information regarding about danger zones, safe places, helping hands, availability of resources, availability of medical aid and other sorts of helpful information. The job of reporter is extended from reporting on violence and crisis towards the exploring such information and providing to the

²⁰⁶ Suri, K. (2012). Jammu & Kashmir: Upsurge? In P. R. Chandran, *Armed Conflicts in South Asia 2011* (pp. 61-83).

people. This helps people to avail such helps and overcome from the adverse effects of the stressed milieu.

5.2.2.2 Human Rights Violation: “Since the death of Hizbul Mujahideen commander Burhan Wani, the Kashmir Valley has witnessed deaths of scores of protesters, lives and visions of many, including teens below 15, destroyed by pellet wounds, deployment of more soldiers, a terror attack on an Army camp, a farcical bypoll, the Army’s use of a civilian as a human shield and the brutal lynching of a police officer by a mob” (Ashiq, 2017)²⁰⁷. Majorly, war and conflicts witnessed human rights violation from time to time. These violations attract condemnation from various section of people worldwide. Bringing issues of such violation into limelight helps humanitarian agencies and NGOs to extend their help and take action against the human rights violators.

5.2.2.3 Voice to Voiceless: It is a notified fact that every conflict contains weaker and underprivileged section of the society who, sometime are also part of the victimization of different dominant factors of conflict. Television camera and mike serve a healthy platform for them to raise their voices, unfold their grievances and demand their rights of healthy living.

²⁰⁷ Ashiq, P. (2017, July 8). *The Hindu*. Retrieved January 2018, from www.thehindu.com:www.thehindu.com/news/national/burhan-wani-death-and-a-year-of-living-dangerously-in-jammu-and-kashmir/article19240485.ece

5.2.2.4 Emotional Outlets: Anger, frustration, depression and irritation are those hidden facets of sufferers of conflicts which they do not able to express openly or sometime they do not get the opportunity, time or right platform to express. TV cameras provide them right platform to outburst their emotions and facilitate them to direct it to the concerned authority.

5.2.2.5 Psychological support: What get damages the most in any conflict is the psychological aspect of the society. They lose confidence and trust for organized and order way of executing things. They become believer of violence, destruction and protest. Their insecurity and dissatisfaction lead to them to become agitators. News media has the larger scope in resumption of trust. Reporting to bring atrocities and injustice into limelight is one of the ways of sharing their grievances. Pointing out causes, dark situations, and administrative flaws are ways to support them psychologically. Focusing on goodwill, peace efforts and administrative steps to resolve conflict are the confidence building measure in reporting. Rape victims are psychological suffer. Reporting to bring culprits into lime and give a call for judiciary to take strict action against accused is a big psychological support to rape victims.

5.2.2.6 Right to Know: This is a basic right of every individual irrespective of any legislative privilege. Though, it is the

matter of discretion that what is to reveal and what is to hide. But till the information is helpful, right to know should be entertained. Right to know include 5Ws and 1Hs for events occurring in conflicts. It helps them to be materially, psychologically and politically prepared for every situation coming ahead.

5.2.3 Effects:

Violence, killings, destruction, disorder etc. are effects of crisis and stressed milieu. These are unavoidable parts of any conflicts. Therefore, the categorization of effects of conflicts is done into two broad ways: Visible and Invisible effects. Visible effects are those visible damage which are manifested in materialistic form and can be seen through naked eyes. This includes damage in physical, economical, geographical, political and social domains. While invisible damage are those damage which are intangible and are related to emotional and psychological impact. These effects include traumatic, mental disorder, emotional imbalance.

5.2.3.1 Physical: Physical damage includes injuries, killings, or any damage in physical body of an individual. Post-Burhan situation in south Kashmir witnessed clashes of young Kashmiris with security forces, protests, stone pelting and pellet gun attack. In the physical trauma, data are recorded in the number of injuries and deaths.

5.2.3.2 Economic: Kashmir is a tourist place and most of the livelihood depends on the tourism sector. When the reports of turmoil in Kashmir go on frequently, tourist changed their

mind to visit the place. Business of Dal Lake shikara, hotels, gardens suffers economic loss occurs. Other tourism, imposing curfew led to closure of other institution like banks, investments, government business which attribute great economic loss to the state.

5.2.3.3 Social: Kashmiris are known for their non-violence tendency and loving nature. Situation prevailing in the region causes them to agitate, express their frustration through violent and non-violent protests, crime and attacks on security forces. Degradation of social values, increases of crimes, hatred orientation and growth of anti-social elements are all the effects at social level.

5.2.3.4 Political: Experts opine that Kashmir is a political problem. A new and unprecedented coalition of political parties of PDP and BJP form government in Kashmir. Conflict dynamics may affect the political establishment of the state. In very recent news, there is withdrawal of support of BJP government and coalition got collapsed under diverse ideologies of parties.

5.2.3.5 Geographical/ Demographical: Land and resources are the dominant factors of conflicts. Conflicts may affect the geographical boundaries or resources available in the affected places. Earlier conflicts in Kashmir witnessed migration of Hindu Pandits. There may or may not have effects demographically. News investigation should bring these domains in focus.

5.2.3.6 Psychological: Burhan was popular in the valley and news of his killing made people emotionally charged. These emotion along with other frustrate sentiments make them to protest against administration. Security forces dealing the situation with pellet guns, continuous curfew, continuity of security forces on roads and lack of government's facilitation for their grievances make the Kashmiris emotions to be negatively charged. They acquire frustration, hate, fear, feeling of disgust, psychological trauma. This is a grave impact which is hidden and damages an individual mental resource. Post-traumatic stress disorder is an example when someone has seen or experienced scary things that they cannot stop thinking about. Sometimes they may have flashbacks, as if they were right back in that scary moment

5.2.4 Reconciliation:

News of conciliation and conflict resolution lowers the stress and encourage potential actors to take steps for de-escalating the conflicts. Motivation of people gets boosted and they learn a number of possible ways to stabilize the distressed situation. Even, in society there are various people or conflict actors themselves involved in peace initiatives. A conciliatory step by one conflict parties make other parties also to bend for peace-making effort. Reporting such peace-propagating stories will stimulate people to contribute in the direction. A positive and happy milieu will be created. Stories of brotherhood, love, cooperation, aid, tolerance, dedication should be highlighted to glorify the social and moral values. Developing

hope for peace and happiness strengthen people's will power to overcome adverse situations.

5.2.4.1 Peace maker/stories/ Initiatives: There are many peace initiatives occur in the time of stressed milieu. So, reporters should make effort to find those people who propagate peace through their words, action or thoughts. Peace initiative attempts and stories based on reconciliation should be highlighted. This gives people scope of involving themselves in such direction. Sometime these stories open eyes of people and aware them for their role in society.

5.2.4.2 Offer creative ideas/Possible route: Journalists, who used to reports on conflict stories, are an outsider to the whole situation. Therefore, they get a different or mostly neutral perspective for the issue. They may come across creative ideas which sorted out the situation for every side. Moreover, journalists are well acquainted with the situation and can discuss it with expertise to find out the possible routes for resolution.

5.2.4.3 Government efforts for resolution: Public is always curious to know about intention and action of government. The vision and perspective of concerned authorities is always a matter of discussion and evaluation for public. This evaluation decides the scope of resolution for the concerned problem. Reporters giving detail account of government's policies, schemes, actions, and attitudes will help people to decide accountability

for their action. Even, critical reporting put pressure on concerned authorities to extend assistance in the required situation. In the context of Kashmir situation, state and central administration took many peace resolution steps to resolve the problem and control the situation. Their reporting and evaluation prove to be confidence building measure for people.

5.2.4.4 Condemn non-conciliatory approach: Through reporting, condemnation task can be carried out for non-conciliatory approach. Spread of hate speech, atrocities, crime, inflammatory words or works, provocative terms can be criticized on the media platform for people to realize that these elements are not good for society and should get influenced with such activities.

5.2.4.5 Convince Parties to resolve: Journalists reporting and discussions with concerned people are many times so logical and valid that it gives them a reason for conciliation. It becomes a tool to ask people for their unreasonable action and convince them to take initiative and find some possible routes to resolve the issue.

5.2.4.6 Mediate between Parties: Journalists interview conflict parties, sometime separately or sometime on one platform. They ask questions and come out with answers which remove misunderstanding between parties. Many time journalists

serve the channel between them to break the deadlock and facilitate communication between them.

5.3 Media for Facilitative Mediation:

5.3.1 Mediation in International Domain:

To acknowledge media's competency in facilitative mediation, there is need to review a random and frequent practices of media as third party intervener in international domain. In recognized international conflicts, media participated actively in mediation as well as in diplomatic process and advance itself beyond the boundaries of reporting. (Gilboa, 2005)²⁰⁸ asserted on the role of journalists as independent third party and pursuing track-two diplomacy, particularly in pre-negotiation stages. He defined this roles as media-broker diplomacy. For the conceptual understanding it is noted that 'track-one diplomacy' refers to government-to-government, formal and official interaction between representatives of sovereign states, where as 'track-two diplomacy' refers to unofficial negotiators or mediators and informal forms of negotiation.

(Gilboa, 2005)²⁰⁹ proposed a conceptual model of media-broker diplomacy which distinguishes between three variants: direct intervention, when journalists temporarily become mediators and specifically help parties to begin official negotiation; bridging, when journalists attempt to help parties realize the value of

²⁰⁸ Gilboa, E. (2005, June). Media-Broker Diplomacy: When Journalists Become Mediators. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 22(2), 99-120.

²⁰⁹ Ibid¹

negotiation to resolve their conflict; and secret mediation, when journalists secretly explore a possible solution.

In direct intervention variant, a journalist talks to the two sides, transmit relevant information, and suggest detailed procedures, proposals, and ideas that may advance official negotiations. The model has three pertinent parameters: Action, Initiation and Consequence. Action refers to the specific measure a reporter takes in order to promote a diplomatic move. Initiation refers to the party which initiates media-broker diplomacy-journalists themselves, policy makers, or other interested parties. Consequences are the results of their activities.

From the plethora of literature, it is reflected that whether it is crisis ridden zone like terrorism or cold war situation, media has its role of intervention between two sides. During the first phase of the 1979-1981 Iranian Hostage crisis, the United States communicated with the terrorists holding the hostages exclusively through the media (Gilboa, 2007)²¹⁰. During the 1991 Gulf War, George Bush and Saddam Hussein hurled messages back and forth via the global news networks, thus forming a ‘de-facto hotline’ between Washington and Baghdad.

During the 1990-1991 Gulf conflict, one Washington Post columnist used the term “teleplomacy” to describe the interviews that television news anchors conducted with Saddam Hussein; Tom Shales argued that journalists, by exploring with their interviewees potential avenues for resolving the crisis, conducted advocacy as if they were representing their own government and negotiators. In the model of facilitative mediation, journalist initiate mediation, talk to the parties in a

²¹⁰ Gilboa, E. (2007). Media and International Conflict: A Multidisciplinary Approach. *Journal of Dispute Resolution*, 1-11.

conflict, transmits information and intention of the parties to each other and facilitates further negotiation (Gilboa, 2005)²¹¹.

On November 14, 1977, CBS News anchor Walter Cronkite conducted separate, pointed interviews with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, which led directly to Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem. In 1985, Ted Koppel hosted the first formal conversation between representatives of the African National Congress and supporters of South Africa's apartheid system on a series of broadcasts of ABC's Nightline. In 1988, a Nightline series brought the government of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization onto the same stage for the first time.

(Gilboa, 2005)²¹² cited the attempt of British journalist Patrick Seale to mediate between Israel and Syria; Russian reporter Anna Politkovskaya mediated between the Russian government and Chechen terrorists; and Thomas Friedman of the New York Times and Michael Gonzalez of the Wall Street Journal engaged in what became known as “op-ed diplomacy.”

5.3.2 Facilitative Mediation:

There are different models of mediation such as transformative mediation, narrative mediation, facilitative mediation, evaluative mediation, mediation with arbitration. From all the theses variants, discussion is narrowed down on facilitative mediation. Facilitative mediation provides a channel or platform to conflict parties for communication. This means the component of mediation, here, stressed on the conversation between the warring parties. The job of mediator is to facilitate

²¹¹ Gilboa, E. (2005, June). Media-Broker Diplomacy: When Journalists Become Mediators. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 22(2), 99-120.

²¹² Ibid¹

communication, provides a structure and agenda for the discussion and helps in developing mutual understanding and breaking deadlocks.

(Zumeta, 2015)²¹³ In facilitative mediation, the mediator structures a process to assist the parties in reaching a mutually agreeable resolution. The mediator asks questions; validates and normalizes parties' points of view; searches for interests underneath the positions taken by parties; and assists the parties in finding and analyzing options for resolution. The format of this mediation is develop in such a way which attempt to bring parties on agreement based on information and understanding

It is mentioned that there are three types of mediation depending upon which qualities and strategies of intervener can be determined (Aguirre, Ferraniz, & Pureza, 2003)²¹⁴. These are as follows:

5.3.2.1 Passive technical host: The intervener provides a neutral setting and disengages himself from the proceedings.

5.3.2.2 Interested mediator: This is where the intervener is involved in the negotiations and is strategically interested in the negotiators' substantive positions. The intervener does not seek subjective leverage, meaning that it does not seek to alter the perceptions of the negotiators.

²¹³ Zumeta, Z. (2015). *Mediate: Everything Mediation*. Retrieved 2018, from [www.mediate.com: https://www.mediate.com/articles/zumeta.cfm](https://www.mediate.com/articles/zumeta.cfm)

²¹⁴ Aguirre, M., Ferraniz, F., & Pureza, J. M. (2003). Introduction: Conflict Prevention and The Media. In *Before Emergency: Conflict Prevention and The Role of Media* (p. 14). Bilbao.

5.3.2.3 Active mediator: The intervener provides a neutral setting but also ensures that parties develop personal and respectful relation with each other. The active mediator has to convince the parties that they are negotiating only for each party's interests.

In the model of facilitative mediation, journalist initiate mediation, talk to the parties in a conflict, transmits information and intention of the parties to each other and facilitates further negotiation. In an established code of reporting and news programs on conflict issues, reporters, usually an independent neutral party, involved in transmitting the facts and reporting of crisis situation. News programs based on conflict issues called upon representatives from different parties of conflict, unravel the truths, information and facts surrounding the issues. Moreover, a better understanding of conflict is developed. Reporters involved themselves in letting people to disclose their aspiration, grievances, and motivation in a conflict. News media provide communication facilitation to the parties and give voices to the voiceless people. Somehow, the crisis narration and events exploration extend a persuasive mode for conciliatory and peaceful prospects. In turning up of all these events, proper media coverage helps in building confidence, mutual understanding and trust, and breaks the deadlock among the parties. Thus, somehow it meets the functional parameters of the mediation like initiating the process, arranging a neutral setting, accumulating information, framing issues, generating movement.

Carol Pauli²¹⁵, through her research, has compared the normal practices of the journalist to those of the facilitative mediator. She brought the attention towards the comparison of the two professions with same goal under respective norms of their job. She has developed few parameters for comparing the approaches of two professions. These parameters are initiating the Process, Arranging a Neutral Setting, Accumulating Information, Framing Issues, Generating Movement, Using a Caucus, Resolving the Dispute.

For any mediation process, there is requirement of neutral settings, balanced and unbiased approach of a mediator. Now, the things develop here, whether journalist could build up the neutral settings and uphold unbiased and balanced approach. The news reporter – like the mediator – routinely listens to opposing sides in a dispute and does so with the intention of remaining neutral, thus meeting two initial requirements of mediation (Pauli, 2007)²¹⁶. Media platform provide settings conducive for participation and communication. Even when interviews are done separately, journalism has a unique ability to provide safe, equitable, virtual spaces for any number of parties by placing them in the airtime of a news broadcast. Television in particular allows people to talk to each other publicly even when physically distant or politically barred from contact (Pauli, 2007)²¹⁷. Such practices serve a channel for transmitting views and perspective of parties to each other and strive to build a understanding between parties.

²¹⁵ Carol Pauli is an assistant professor of journalism at Marist College and a former writer for CBS News and the Associated Press. Her work on the topic 'News Media as Mediator' enlighten the practical usage of the concept.

²¹⁶ Pauli, C. (2007). News Media as Mediators. *Texas A & W Law Scholarship*, pp. 8-11.

²¹⁷ *Ibid*¹

For normative mediation, mediator keeps track of every perspective, every party and every issue in concern. But for journalist who has the mainstream business of running a TV channel may inclined for better angle of the story or mediate the events in a consumers' liking format. "Since the reporter, looking for conflicts tends to seek extreme points of view, weaker parties sometimes use a strategy of espousing extreme views in order to be interviewed. The result can be a skewed dialogue" (Pauli, 2007)²¹⁸.

Information is the stimulator in the thought process and in the development of perspectives on different conflict issues. So facilitative mediation brings the platform where different questions are asked, information is collected and pool of different perspective is made. This is the basic trait of the job of a journalist where it questions the parties and brings something new in the light. 'News gathering, however, differs in some ways from mediation's information gathering. One difference is in the neutral's way of listening. Mediators make use of active listening, sometimes summarizing and reflecting back their understanding of a party's thoughts and asking for confirmation. In contrast, a reporter typically hears and notes a party's reply to a question and then simply asks another question' (Pauli, 2007)²¹⁹. Another important difference is the lack of privacy granted to a news interview. The mediator closes the doors and promises a confidential conversation, but the journalist inherently invites a large unseen public to listen in and to hold the speaker publicly responsible for what he or she says.

5.4 Mediation in Indian Media Scenario:

²¹⁸ Ibid²

²¹⁹ Ibid³.

5.4.1 Where does the reporting go wrong?

In Indian media, news reporting of conflicts gained more criticism than appreciation. It is not a superficial trend but a developed perspective through the media practices of news coverage. In Gujarat riots, 2002, both electronic and print media provided 24 hour live coverage to the mayhem and massacres. They reported with the tag of speedy and exclusive reporting. It was the first major Indian riot of 24-hour television age. What is the use of such pattern of coverage if it boils the blood and brings out anger and frustration of one community against the other. The pattern of reporting was on repetition with more technological improvements and terminological advances. Unfolding blood bath in Mumbai attack 2008 and live coverage of events helped out terrorist to know about hidden places of tourists and activities of Indian forces. This was the highly criticized reporting in Indian history, even after more than a decade of the technological setup of satellite channels. Communal conflicts, Muzaffarnagar riot 2013, terrorists attacks, naxalite attacks, localized violence, riots, border news, reservation issues, state boundaries, water conflicts, caste issues etc. are different types of conflicts and crisis situation in which people have suffered on part of media reporting.

5.4.2 Professional Norms of Reporting:

News Broadcasters Association (NBA), a self-regulatory body set for the broadcast industry to enforce a code of ethics and address public. Under its guidelines, it is mentioned as: "...channels exercise restraint to ensure that any report or visuals broadcast do not induce, glorify, incite, or positively depict violence and its perpetrators, regardless of ideology or context. Specific care must be taken not to

broadcast visuals that can be prejudicial or inflammatory. Equally, in the reporting of violence (whether collective or individual), the act of violence must not be glamorized, because it may have a misleading or desensitizing impact on viewers”. In 2010, when the Ayodhya title suit verdict date nears, the News Broadcasters Association has set guidelines for electronic media asking them not to speculate about the judgement and not to show the footage of 1992 Babri Masjid demolition.

5.4.3 Indian Media Setting Example of Conciliation:

There are numerous peace initiatives which were taken by media organization from time to time. ‘Aman Ki Asha’ a jointly led campaign by the two leading media houses, The Jan Group of Pakistan and The Times of India if India to develop peace and cordial relation between the two nation. The objective of the campaign is to create awareness for diplomatic and cultural bond and to eliminate negative perception for each other. This was an attempt of peace journalism which made effort in strengthening the cooperation between the two nation. Through this campaign, several seminars, cultural festivals, conferences were organised and encourage people from the two sides to mixup with each other and develop a good understanding for each other. This initiative provided a platform where citizens of one country get the opportunity to know and learn the cultural and traditional value of other nation. Through this print media showed peace-making effort, discussion over water disputes, misperception over humanitarian issues, fisherman issues and border violation issues were carried out and each party listen each other’s point of view in the issue of dispute.

In the zone of communal tension, some instances reflect the prominent role played by media in maintaining peace and harmony between the communities.

“When high court decision was to be announced in Babri masjid case, I was in Agra. There we conducted unity campaign. In that campaign Muslim Imams and Hindu Sant also took Part. After the decision was pronounced, nobody threw any stone on anyone, no riots took place. This all happened, because media observed restraints” Quoted Mr. Dinesh Mishra²²⁰ from the research project work of S. K. Tewari (Tewari, 2015)²²¹. Mishra further emphasized “In Ranchi, Durgapuja, Ramnavmi, Ramjan, Christmas, etc. are celebrated without any violence and we run stories and highlight activities on how people of different communities help each in organizing these celebrations”. Quoting interview of Ms. Nazis Hena Khan from the work of Prof. Tewari, she suggested on bringing communal harmony that “On television talk shows, knowledgeable people should be invited who can throw light on actual practices of various religions, so that negative misconceptions could be done away” (Tewari, 2015)²²². Citing one instance, Prof Tewari said “There are very small cases in which media played good role as well. In Ranchi, once tajiya procession and some other festival fell on the same day. Media suggested to celebrate the festival on any other day, and the suggestion was accepted”.

²²⁰ Dinesh Mishra has been Senior Resident Editor of Hindustan newspaper, Ranchi. Prior joining Hindustan, he worked in Dainik Bhaskar (2009-2014) and Dainik jagran (1996-2009). He was interviewed for the research project of Prof. Tewari on 23 November 2014.

²²¹ Tewari, S. K. (2015). Interview. In S. K. Tewari, *A Study of Free Speech Vs Hate Speech: With Special Emphasis on Prospects of Creating Communal Harmony in India by Media* (pp. 40-62). Rajasthan: A S Reasearch & Learning Solutions Pvt Ltd.

²²² *Ibid*¹

Chapter Summary:

This chapter has developed the mediation concept in the realm of social science and media. The mediation concept and different components is explored in the context of Kashmir issue. Based on various studies, the Researcher has developed the two-tier paradigm of mediation. The first tier constitutes conciliatory components of conflict reporting. The second tier includes facilitative mediation. Facilitative mediation is explored in the light of international conflicts and media practices in India. The feasibility of media's role as mediator is evaluated through comparing the different perspective of facilitative mediation with norms of media practices.

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Commercialisation of News Content: A Study

6.1 Commercialisation of News Media:

One of the major challenges for any news media is the economic sponsorship and revenue profits. However, ascendancy of financial corporation in production, distribution and funding to structure economically viable news media are paralleled especially in profit-making media organization. As in any other commercial entity, profits and cost containment are desirable in commercial news media and forces of demand and supply drive the process of news content production (Hamilton, 2004)²²³. “News commercialization could be a packaged, produced and disseminated information by a sponsor who pays a media organization. It could also be message/information/idea/thoughts payed for by an unidentified sponsor whose idea is trumpeted via a media organization to a large heterogeneous audience in order to influence or modify their thinking” (Oberiri, 2016)²²⁴. Commercialization of news media is resulted in homogenization of news, the cementing of a capitalist society, a reduction in the quality of news, sensationalizing or trivializing the news and depoliticizing the news. The financial dependency of news media has the consequences on media’s freedom and, in due course, it has some bearing on the structures and the functioning of the media system, more precisely, its cultural, economic and political environment.

However, in India, there was a concern growing for free and independent media. In contrast to the current economic model for media where news organization

²²³ Hamilton, J. T. (2004). Economic Theories of News. In *All the News That's Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information into News* (pp. 7-36). USA : Princeton University Press.

²²⁴ Oberiri, A. D. (2016). Journalists’ Perception of News Commercialization and its implication on Media Credibility in Nigeria. *World Science News* , pp. 63-76.

have to rely on advertising and other commercial-political entity for financial strength, the first prime minister Nehru had a vision for economically self-dependent media. “Pt. Nehru allotted plot in New Delhi to newspaper houses on throw away prices at Bahadur Shah Jafar Marg. Government provided help to newspaper in getting machinery and newsprint from abroad. Newspaper could use some part of that building for their press and offices, the rest they could rent out to make up their losses, so that advertisers could not build up pressure on them” (Mishra, 2015)²²⁵. But practically, newspapers all over the country are bound to depend on advertisements to sustain their economic burden because the production cost of a newspaper copy is more than its selling price. Eventually, the newspaper organization inclined for more advertisement and advertising agencies go for the newspaper organizations that have the large number of circulation. This unending pressure on newspaper organization tends them to produce and present the content which could attract larger readership and consequently more circulation.

Similarly in television broadcasting, advertising agencies target the programs and TV channels which have good TRP. Since its inception, television news programs covered a long journey of development. Earlier news segment was started on state-owned news channel i.e. Doordarshan under its integral policy of social welfare and awareness. The allotted slot to the news segment was of short time in comparison to other entertainment and awareness program. In the beginning, the state-owned channel Doordarshan kept distance from advertisement and found it against the social welfare commitment. But in 1976, Doordarshan was opened for commercial services.

²²⁵ Mishra, A. (2015). Interviews. In S. K. Tewari, A Study of Free Speech Vs Hate Speech: With Special Emphasis on Prospects of Creating Communal Harmony in India by Media (p. 40). Rajasthani: AS Research & Learning Solutions Pvt Ltd

Economic policies of the government, in 1991, entered into liberalization phase and reformation occurs from socialist to market-oriented policies. Therefore, expansion of private and foreign investment, liberalization of broadcasting industry and emergence of cable television occurred. In 1991, foreign channel CNN brought Gulf war for Indian urban to watch on television. This prompts them to bring dishes for their homes. Foreign channels like CNN, Star TV and domestic channels such as Zee TV and Sun TV started satellite broadcasts and engaged in limited operation in India. However, the growth of cable TV industry and advent of many foreign entities like Rupert Murdoch's Star TV Network, MTV, and others was the initial stage of the remarkable journey of television. However, Doordarshan advanced its marketing and programming policies. It sold its news slot to private company that used to bring sponsorship for the news segments. "Good morning India, The First Edition, Aaj Tak, News Tonight etc. were the news broadcasts sponsored news by private producers" (Kumar, 2015)²²⁶. Late nineties and the beginning of twentieth century witnessed eruption of many crucial news channels like NDTV, AajTak, CNN IBN etc. which had countered the monopoly of news production and presentation established by Doordarshan.

In contrast to the limited time slot given to the news segment in the initial phase, private news channel run 24X7 hours news and serving attractive news packages to keep their viewership intact. In the era of commercialization, news industry and news business is a heavy investment and much more complicated than ever before as owner has to please the viewers, advertising agency, distributors and simultaneously maintain cordial relation with government as well. In this scenario,

²²⁶ Kumar, M. (2015). Bharat me TV rating pranali ka intihās aur vikās. In M. Kumar, *TRP, TV News Aur Bazaar* (p. 47). New Delhi: Vaani Prakashan

news is the smallest but effective entity through which the task could become easier. Therefore they entered into the space of owning up news as commodity rather than public service. The concept of news sensationalizing, concept of live news and breaking news, exclusive news, infotainment start emerging in due course of attracting eyeballs and holding up of viewers. Eventually, the target was to achieve higher TRP and ultimately large advertisement revenue.

6.2 Merger and Conglomeration:

Commercialization of news media triggers new development in the ownership and operations of media industry. Media industry required large funding to cater their production, broadcasting and distribution of news content. The sole dependency on advertisement can't solve their miseries for running successful media business. Under the influence of market forces, media industry inclined for lucrative offers provided by big capitalist business players. Concentration of media ownership and domination of big corporation and business houses in media business to make profits are revolutionary trends of commercial media. There is a latest trend in the media industry which is acknowledged worldwide. (Croteau & Hoynes)²²⁷ have characterized these media trends into four broad developments as mentioned here: growth, integration, globalization and concentration of ownership.

In the concept of growth, media corporations undergo mergers and acquisitions to form bigger corporation. Sometimes the merger includes media organizations only but many times the merger or acquisition involves media and

²²⁷ Croteau, D., & Hoynes, W. (n.d.). *The New Media Giants: Changing Industry Structure. A Cultural Studies Approach*, p. 23.

non-media entity i.e. corporate houses. Media seeks capitals from such mergers and in return corporate houses avail the potential of media prowess. For instances, Viacom's Indian partner, Network18, was acquired by Reliance Industries for Rs 68 crore, “Aditya Birla group bought 27.5% stake in Living Media (India Today) Group, Oswal Green Tech bought 14.7% stake in NDTV” (Thakurta, 2012)²²⁸. Besides growth, there are two broad forms of integration practiced in media industry: Horizontal integration and vertical integration.

Horizontal Integration is occurred when a media corporation owns multiple media products such as film, radio, magazine etc. “Horizontal integration refers to attempts to take over other companies in order to broaden one’s portfolios across different media sectors” (Hodkinson, 2011)²²⁹. Living media (India Today Group) is the example of such horizontal media conglomeration in which it has its stakes in TV news channels, radio, magazine etc. Here the benefit of integration reflected in the form of synergy. Synergy refers to the dynamic where components of a company work together to produce benefits that would be impossible for a single, separately operated unit of the company (Croteau & Hoynes)²³⁰. For example, a music company launched a song which is promoted on Television, newspaper, radio etc. “The products all promote one another and the commercial potential of the brand that unites them is exploited to the maximum” (Hodkinson, 2011)²³¹. In vertical integration, media industry have possessions of vertical phases of developing a

²²⁸ Thakurta, P. G. (2012, June 30). *The Hoot*. Retrieved Feb 2018, from www.thehoot.org.

²²⁹ Hodkinson, P. (2011). Media Industry. In P. Hodkinson, *Media, Culture and Society* (pp. 40-59). London: Sage Publication.

²³⁰ Croteau, D., & Hoynes, W. (n.d.). *The New Media Giants: Changing Industry Structure. A Cultural Studies Approach*, p. 23.

²³¹ Hodkinson, P. (2011). Media Industry. In P. Hodkinson, *Media, Culture and Society* (pp. 40-59). London: Sage Publication.

single type of media product i.e. production, distribution, exhibition, and sale of a single type of media product.

The realization of media conglomeration pushes media business globally for the sale of their product in the international market. In the phase of concentration of ownership, major players acquire more media holdings. Ben Bagdikian (2004) in his book 'The New Media Monopoly', affirmed that ownership of media has become so concentrated that by the mid-2000s only five global firms dominate the mass media industry in the United States, operating like a cartel. The five companies are Time Warner, The Walt Disney Company, Viacom, News Corporation and Bertelsmann AG. The term used for such media trend is popularized as 'media conglomeration'. A media conglomerate, is a company that owns numerous companies involved in mass media enterprises, such as television, radio, publishing, motion pictures, theme parks, or the Internet. These five companies are multimedia entertainment conglomerates that produce and distribute newspapers, magazines, radio, television, books and movies.

In India, there are many media organizations in the country that are owned and controlled by a wide variety of entities including corporate bodies, societies and trusts, and individuals. (Thakurta, 2012)²³² in answering to the question 'who owns the mass media in India?' asserted that information of ownership and control on mass media is scattered and incomplete but a few salient aspects about media ownership stand out from the inadequate information that is available. It is given that 'the Indian media market differs from those of developed countries in several ways. For one, India is a developing country and all segments of the media industry

²³² Thakurta, P. G. (2012, June 30). *The Hoot*. Retrieved Feb 2018, from www.thehoot.org.

(including print and radio) are still growing unlike in developed countries. The media market in India remains highly fragmented, due to the large number of languages and the sheer size of the country' (Thakurta, 2012)²³³.

The mergers and acquisitions facilitates media business to expand its sales, production, popularity, polish their brand and build a suitable image in the market. Technological advancement, greater reach and strategic preparation to face the potential competitors are benefits offered in the market perspective of conglomeration. However, in social perspective, media consolidation monopolizes the diversity of news content and domination of few prominent ideas and culture. "Centralized corporate ownership of vast media holdings raises the possibility of stifling diverse expression and raises important questions about the powerful role of media in a democratic society" (Croteau & Hoynes)²³⁴.

As a result of media convergence, media industry has been restructured into the nature of oligopolies in which their markets are controlled by a small number of powerful companies. Such consolidation of powerful media corporation makes it difficult for small and medium-sized firm to survive and leave alone to prosper. "A firm either gets larger through mergers or acquisitions or it gets swallowed by a more aggressive competitor" (Hodkinson, 2011)²³⁵

²³³ Ibid¹

²³⁴ Croteau, D., & Hoynes, W. (n.d.). The New Media Giants: Changing Industry Structure. *A Cultural Studies Approach*, p. 23.

²³⁵ Hodkinson, P. (2011). Media Industry. In P. Hodkinson, *Media, Culture and Society* (pp. 40-59). London: Sage Publication.

6.3 News Economic Structure:

India has a mixed economy and it involves public and private entity to entertain the financial structure. After liberalization and entry of foreign investments in media industry, there is need to cater the consumers (for whom media goods and services, for instances, news, music, films are produce) and to the advertisers. For television news channels (like any other news entity), news is the smallest individual unit which is produced and presented to accommodate the demand and supply model of consumer market and advertising market. Definition of news ranges on the wider spectrum of time and relevancy. The basic understanding stems out from the relative course of journalism that voices the idea of newsworthiness and anything new is news. A popular phrase used to define its urgency is ‘News is a Perishable good’ which means news is remain worthy till it is fresh and new and its value dies with time. The other relative definition of news explored with conceptual advancement and diverse practices in the particular field of journalism.

When the word ‘commercialization’ attaches with news media, it is well understood that news is more like a commodity. News production is attending to the needs of corporation and business owner more than to public welfares. “There are largely five categories of contents in media -: business or financial, public relations, advertising, news content and literary and cultural contents, which are other than hard news. Of them news content constitute only 10 to 15 percent of all. That is why editor has no longer been the boss. Rest 85 percent providers are the real bosses”

(Mishra, 2015)²³⁶. Therefore, there is experimentation with contents and presentation of news to attract higher viewership and raises advertising sponsorship.

The economic structure of news revealed that news has a high fixed costs and low variable costs. Fixed costs are the constant cost which is used in technology, land, machine, network etc. Variable costs are varies with the level of output and it involves labor, material, software etc. The production and distribution of news is costly engagement. “The higher the ratio of fixed to variable costs, the more vulnerable a business is to a changing market environment, and traditional mass media typically have a high ratio, with heavy capital investments which have to be recouped later by sales and advertising revenue” (McQuail, *Media Economics and Governance*, 2010)²³⁷. A piece of news known to one individual will not lessen its potential for other people who received it thereafter. “One person’s consumption of a public good—for instance, an idea—does not diminish the ability of another to consume the good. A person can consume a public good without paying for it, since it may be difficult or impossible to exclude any person from consumption and one cannot consume without paying for it.” (Hamilton, 2004)²³⁸.

As per the economic model of news detailed by James T. Hamilton in his book “All the News That's Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information into News”, there is different set of five W’s to decide what information becomes news and those were asked in the market to direct the news content as: i. Who cares about

²³⁶ Mishra, A. (2015). Interviews. In S. K. Tewari, *A Study of Free Speech Vs Hate Speech: With Special Emphasis on Prospects of Creating Communal Harmony in India by Media* (p. 40). Rajasthan: AS Research & Learning Solutions Pvt Ltd

²³⁷ McQuail, D. (2010). *Media Economics and Governance*. In D. McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory* (pp. 188-208). London: Sage Publication Ltd.

²³⁸ Hodkinson, P. (2011). *Media Industry*. In P. Hodkinson, *Media, Culture and Society* (pp. 40-59). London: Sage Publication.

a particular piece of information? ii. What are they willing to pay to find it? or what are others willing to pay to reach them? iii. Where can media outlets or advertisers reach these people? iv. When is it profitable to provide the information? v. Why is this profitable?

Accordingly, economic model have their own essential building blocks: tastes, endowments, technologies and institutions. These five W's are also applicable for conflict news. For news media, when a conflict occur the primary concern is the level and potential of conflict. Whether a conflict could gather a large number of viewership, for example, a conflict on communal, Kashmir, inter-states, insurgency and many such are appealing to people whereas conflict at regional level doesn't attract attention till the period it involves large impact on social or political life or include more drama or till it reaches a harmful level. Communal discordances occurs in small towns every now and then but it comes to the news till the event reaches to any dramatic consequences. In case of Kashmir issue or naxalite, the conflicts involve political, social and economic consequences. So, here, the viewership parameter decides whether the conflict is worthy to air or not.

Prof Tewari²³⁹ opined "Newspapers are now competing not only with print media but with 24X7 news channels, as well as internet. The same advertisement revenue which the newspaper were getting is now getting diverted to Television and further diverted to internet. Whoever has high readership or viewership will earn more revenue. My personal experience is - if you produce a good newspaper without sensationalism, nobody reads it. People in general want (gadbad) sensational newspaper. Earlier Nav Bharat Times, before its closure in 1993, was a quality

²³⁹ Prof. Santosh Kumar Tiwari, retired Professor, Centre for Mass Communication, Central University of Jharkhand

newspaper but had a less circulation. Similarly, Jansatta newspaper is a good one, but circulation is less. You can't blame media only. Media is being criticised for publishing ladies pictures or nude pictures but it is readers who want to see that. People say futile debates and futile programmes are shown on television. If they are futile, so don't watch. You keep on watching the same every day and night and say it is futile”.

6.4 News Content and News Delivery:

In an interview with Prof. S. K Tewari²⁴⁰, he revealed “In 1975, when emergency was imposed, due to censorship every newspaper has almost same news on its front page. So circulations of newspapers were coming down, but he at the same time the circulation of Punjab Kesari newspaper published from Jalandhar was increasing. Lala Jagat Narain was its owner. He started printing the front page blue colour. In those days, coloured newspapers were not published. Punjab Kesari had the front page with news like love affairs of hero-heroines, ‘Bharat ki Veeranganaye’, about Rani Laxmi Bai or some other. Not news but entertainment. So its circulation was increasing. When emergency got over, he thought that he had to compete with those other newspapers so he packed up all those things and brought proper news on the front page. But he saw rapid decline in circulation. . He never carried out quantitative research, rather he talked to hawkers about the decline in circulation. He found that his reader became habituated that filmy gossip and entertainment and they were not tolerating actual news. So Lalaji started again giving the same material on the front page.

²⁴⁰ Professor Santosh Kumar Tewari has been co-ordinator to Media and Harmony Chair for the purpose of different research projects completed under the chair.

For television news, in the course of achieving greater TRP, news production team uses every strategy to make news content and its presentation attractive to viewers. The need to minimize costs, attracting and retaining sufficient numbers of consumers governs the ways in which commercial media companies operate and determine the types of content they distribute (Hodkinson, 2011)²⁴¹. (Kumar, 2015)²⁴² The production of news undergoes the following phases: news scripting, news substance, language of the news, format of the news, news editing. The phase of news editing include visual editing, sound editing, news preference series, presentation of news, changes in news language and part of the news in the bulletin.

During the selection of content of news, prime importance is given to the news pertaining violence, crime, drama, sex, nudity, celebrity, sting operation, film, fashion. Somehow, the news content is more diverted towards tabloidization rather than hard news. Television news has become softer and more personality-driven over time because of the proliferation of channels and the relatively high production cost of hard news (Hamilton, 2004)²⁴³. Commodification of news affected the news content and its delivery. Such practices in the sphere of news production have distorted the serious news format and disintegrate the noble cause of awareness and social welfare through news dissemination. Conflict news is the grave issue where media is expected to redefine its social responsibility role and pursue peace-making

²⁴¹ Hodkinson, P. (2011). Media Industry. In P. Hodkinson, *Media, Culture and Society* (pp. 40-59). London: Sage Publication.

²⁴² Kumar, M. (2015). Bharat me TV rating pranali ka intihās aur vikās. In M. Kumar, *TRP, TV News Aur Bazaar* (p. 47). New Delhi: Vaani Prakashan.

²⁴³ Hamilton, J. T. (2004). Economic Theories of News. In *All the News That's Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information into News* (pp. 7-36). USA : Princeton University Press.

contribution. But, the scenario of commercialization and marketing of news contents are destroying the potentiality of media in the periphery of stable role in society.

Beyond the content, it is graphic, visual and audio formats of news which corroborate in branding conflict news as commodity. News is presented in a sensational, appealing and stimulating way. Fast editing pace, pursuits of subjects through an eyewitness camera perspective, zoom-in camera-lens movements to generate visual intensification, re-enactment of news events, the use of music as continuity device, ambient sound, and the pace, tone and the flow of the reporter voice-over narration (Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001)²⁴⁴. To pursue the attractive news presentation, the audio-visual effects are used. News screen layout is designed to reflect an appearance of urgent and crucial news is telecasted. News ticker like breaking news, live news, exclusive news are used to stimulate customers interest in the news. News anchor used the obtrusive voice and news pertaining voice-over dramatize and sensationalize every big or trivial news so that they could maintain the curiosity of news for the customer till end. Background sound is used to add more flavors and embellish the emotive requirement. Graphics used to make news tempting. Repetitive format of news is highly practiced where engaging section of news footage is repeated or news anchor repeated the sensational news segment to put stress on some news that it appears the news is very crucial and unavoidable.

6.5 Marketing of Conflict News: A Case Study

TRP, television rating point, is the measurement of viewership index of television programs. Basically, it provides data about the popularity of TV programs

²⁴⁴ Ibid⁴

and TV channels periodically. Beyond providing information about the popularity of news program and channel, TV rating mechanism provide data about TV watching habits of viewers from different socio-economic background of the audience. Through TRP mechanism, it could be derive that which sort of news content are getting high popularity among viewers and helps in identifying viewers interest and inclination for particular news content. For example, popularity of entertainments, cricket, films, sensational programs, superstitious content, comedy, sex, forecast, news updates etc.

Though the structural and functional mechanism of TRP are much debated for the issue of reliability and credibility not only in India but also worldwide. Here, quoting the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) on "Guidelines for Television Rating Agencies" dated 11th September, 2013 -“The present system of TRPs is riddled with several maladies such as small sample size which is not representative, lack of transparency, lack of reliability and credibility of data etc”. Despite several shortcomings, television broadcasting is sternly practicing TRP mechanism attributed to the sole reason of media market and advertising revenue. TRP mechanism is the strong link between television program production and advertising agency hunt for large consumer market. This endorsement qualified the impact of TRP on news content production and presentation. Moreover, the editorial policies are nurtured and developed in the light of higher TRP and larger advertising revenue collection.

As per American Marketing Association approved definition- “Marketing is the activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for customers, clients, partners,

and society at large. Conflict is anyway an important element of news worthiness as it is related to the individual and social security of the people. However, for commercial news media, especially television because the scope for selling news is more, it is an opportunity to raise their business. They present different angles, emphasis to people how bad the conflict is, promote fear and insecurity among masses and the negative aspects is lionized. They use different strategies to sell the stories. They raise their voices highest on pitch; dramatize the events, uses sensational words and give visual effects to add flavor to the story. Therefore, the study, here, unravel all the strategies and tactics used by media producer to sell the conflicts to the consumers. A body of research on news reporting in India reveals certain aspects of selling news to the viewers which are categorized as follows:

6.5.1 Sensationalism:

“Media often adopt sensationalism caring little whit about disturbing communal harmony. They highlight stories about crime and sexual violence, because people in general have a taste for them and there is a competition for circulation” opined Prof. Tewari²⁴⁵ during the interview for this study. The foremost element of marketing of news is sensationalism. Dictionary definition and scholars’ classification of attributes revealed that sensationalism provoke the senses and emotions of viewers. ‘Sensationalism is characterized as content that amuses, titillates and entertains and ‘proper’ news is commended for its assumed ability to enhanced political and social knowledge of the audience by appealing to reason over emotions’ (Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001)²⁴⁶. A number of dichotomies have been

²⁴⁵ Prof. Santosh Kumar Tiwari, retired Professor, Centre for Mass Communication, Central University of Jharkhand

²⁴⁶ Grabe, M. E., Zhou, S., & Barnett, B. (2001). Explicating Sensationalism in Television News: Contents and the Bells and Whistles of forms. *Journal of Broadcasting and electronic media*, 635.

employed over the years to assist in drawing the line between sensational and ‘proper’ news topics. These include entertainment versus information, infotainment versus edutainment, human interest versus public affairs, situational versus timeless issues, soft versus hard news, opinion versus facts, unexpected events versus issue coverage (Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001)²⁴⁷. Media focus on extremist behaviors and outrageous acts.

Quoting some of the viewpoints from the article “TRP vs. Truth on Kashmir” published in web magazine *Kashmir Ink*, gave glimpse of national broadcasting media goes on the struggle of catching eyeballs irrespective of sentiments of Kashmiris and veracity of the conflict. “The spokesperson of opposition National Conference Junaid Mattu said that ‘the debates which are held on TV channels are nothing more than TV shows which are held to increase the TRPs of the channels’”. News anchor provide attractive headlines and news content which dramatizes the events. Emotional words, dramatic phrases along with audio-video effects are used to add to sensationalism and attract audiences.

6.5.2 Moral Panic:

Though ‘moral panic’ is a criminological concept but has become a tactical tool of public hysteria for news media. It has been defined as a situation in which public fears and state interventions greatly exceed the objective threat posed to society by a particular individual or group who is/are claimed to be responsible for creating the threat in the first place (Bonn, 2015)²⁴⁸. There are five sets of social

²⁴⁷ Ibid¹

²⁴⁸ Bonn, S. A. (2015, July 20). *Psychology Today*. Retrieved 2018, from www.psychologytoday.com.

actors involved in a moral panic and media is one among them. Media use fear-mongering, hate oriented and exaggerated content to victimize the devil folks, a protagonist in the scene, and gather large viewership. Media also present the group in a negative stereotypical fashion and exaggerate the scale of events by enhancing the empirical criteria such as the number of individual involved, the level and the extent of violence, and the amount of damage caused. The numbers of ways of moral panics are demonizing labeling, provocative terms, exaggeration, distortion, prediction, symbolization, fear-mongering content.

Media use fear-mongering, hate oriented and exaggerated content to victimize the devil folks, a protagonist in the scene, and gather large viewership. While addressing a gathering in South Kashmir, Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Mehbooba Mufti said as,

“National Electronic media is always looking for an excuse to humiliate Kashmiris and spread hatred against them in the country. When a few masked youth come on streets to pelt stones or carry flags, it is flashed on all national TV channels across the country for days together. But never ever do they highlight the positive things happening in Kashmir,”

6.5.3 Negative News:

A psychological study pointed to the existences of ‘negative bias’- a term refers to our collective desire to hear and remember negative information- simply one of the prominent cause of news media to focus more on negative aspect of news. This psychological habit of negative bias of viewers made news media to make the news worthy and attractive. News media tend to focus on negative part because news consumers are more attentive to negative information and study has revealed that

negative aspect of news is more arousing and attention grabbing. Therefore, miseries, deaths, disasters, crisis, distressed, violence, conflicts gain more space and time in news program.

(Malik, 2016)²⁴⁹ A professor of University of Kashmir says that national media blows out a small incident out of proportion and makes the entire world believe that situation in Kashmir is explosive. News channels run the stories with negative headlines and news ticker such as ‘Kashmir crises’ ‘*50 din me bandhak bane Kashmir ka dard*’. Negative perspective has the appealing power for viewers and news media played ignorant role while sensationalizing the issue over sensitive situation.

6.5.4 Unsymmetrical Facts/ Molded/ Fabricated Information:

Most of the time, to make the news lucrative and attention grabbing, facts are molded, unexplored, fabricated or sometime hidden. Though it is against the norms of journalistic practices but to provide a good entertainment value, production team do not flinch to compromise with journalistic codes and ethics.

6.5.5 Brackets of Nationalism/ Patriotism/ Ethnocentrism/ Biased Reporting:

Reviews of previous studies revealed that nationalism, patriotism and ideology of news organization overwhelm the conflict coverage which affects the pacification dealings. This also brand conflict in perspective of nationalistic fervor. When such an attempt is made, a democratic citizenry is prompted to sit before the TV screens and associate their patriotic ideology with the news content delivered on

²⁴⁹ Malik, J. (2016, June 26). *Kashmir Ink*. Retrieved November 9, 2016, from www.kashmirink.in.

screen. (Malik, 2016)²⁵⁰ The former national spokesperson of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) Dr Sumir Kaul says predominant section of the media follows the national narrative on Kashmir. He said ‘there are two narratives of truth. For Kashmiris truth is that they want their grievances to be addressed and Kashmir issue to be resolved according to their wishes and aspirations. For the national media truth is that Kashmir is a settled issue and there is no chance of holding any negotiation over this issue’.

Champion of the concept peace journalism like John Galtung and Gadi Wolfsfeld stressed on ‘Us-Them’ journalism by news reporter. According to them media focus ‘them’ as problem, expose “their” untruths / help “our” cover-ups/lies, focus on ‘our’ suffering, dehumanization of ‘them’ and bring into limelight ‘their’ brutality on us, ‘their’ atrocities. (Malik, 2016)²⁵¹ Some of the reviews corroborated this point among which by and large local Kashmiris opine that “national media resorts to biased reporting when it comes to Kashmir”. “The Kashmiri panellists, who participate in these debates, face the wrath of anchors for not toeing their line and sometimes they are caught in a very difficult situation”.

6.5.6 Labeling:

Labeling is a crucial concept in which something or someone is described in certain words or short phrases. In marketing, labeling is used to describe certain product, its usefulness or help in identifying the product for the prospective customer. In news media, labeling is practiced by symbolizing some situation or person with other. Name-calling, using provocative terms, demonizing something using certain words or phrases comes under labeling. (Sreedharan, Reporting Kashmir: An analysis of the conflict coverage in Indian and Pakistani newspapers,

²⁵⁰ *ibid*¹

²⁵¹ *ibid*²

2009)²⁵² study revealed the newspaper from India and Pakistan label the majority of violence in Kashmir as terrorism.

Chapter Summary:

This chapter includes the concepts of commercialization of media and its impact. The trend and habits of media develop under the ambit of corporatization led to the decoration of news content, its delivery and presentation. Among such practices, news reporting of crisis and struggles suffered a lot. An attempt is made to reflect how media has undermined the ethical norms and standard of conflict reporting in order to sell and market the news.

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²⁵² Sreedharan, C. (2009). *Reporting Kashmir: An analysis of the conflict coverage in Indian and Pakistani newspapers*.

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Data Analysis and Interpretation

7.1 Introduction:

Researcher chose to evaluate the television media reporting of the conflict. The verbal, visual and audio news content of two private news channel .i.e. NDTV India and Aaj Tak is assessed on the parameters of marketing and mediation news frames. The study is based on the descriptive investigation of news content for conflict reporting in which quantitative and qualitative methodological approaches are in consistent with the objectives of the study. The quantitative method involves news frame analysis in quantifying manner and qualitative method involves semiotics, news frame analysis and interview. For finding conciliatory approach, framework of facilitative mediation is to be assessed based on responses achieved from interview method.

7.1.1 Data Catalogue:

Based on specific parameters, the two Indian private news channel selected are 'NDTV India' and 'Aaj Tak' news channel for content analysis. Thematic and episodic themes of news are included. 'NDTV India' is one of the Hindi private news channels. It was owned by New Delhi Television Limited. The media company NDTV was launched in 1988 by Radhika Roy and her husband Prannoy. Aaj Tak, a Hindi news channel, was launched on 1st January 1999. The channel was owned by TV Today network which is part of living media group.

The selection of the news channel is based on its popularity and credibility. The popularity of news channel is checked against its TRP and viewership. From the data acquired from broadcast audience research council of India (BARC) during the period of conflict coverage (May- December 2016), it is obtained that the news channels which maintained its peak position is Aaj Tak News Channel.

The credibility is judged against the reliability, trust worthiness and social commitment. Based on the Trust Research Advisory's Brand Trust Report, NDTV news channel has been named India's Most Trusted Media Brand for the two consecutive years 2014 and 2015. The report measured and understood consumers' trust and brand insights were quantified by measuring variables that influence consumer behaviour.

7.1.2 News Sub-genres:

(Thornborrow & Haarman, 2017)²⁵³ notified that a genre of news is made up of subgenres such as news headlines, news reports, news interviews and so on. An approach is made to filter all the news programmes which are based on detailed accounts of stories. The table (7.1 and 7.2) listed some of the key shows of NDTV and Aaj Tak news channel.

The Key Shows are:

Table 7.1: NDTV Key shows

²⁵³ Thornborrow, J., & Haarman, L. (2017). Genre and Cultural Style of TV News Coverage of the European Election 2014. In M. Ekstrom, & J. Firmstone, *The Mediated Politics of Europe: A Comparative Study of Discourse* (pp. 91-122). Palgrave Macmillan.

S No.	Key Shows	Description
1.	Prime Time	A hard debate show with the top newsmakers of the day, hosted by Anchor Ravish Kumar
2.	Newspoint	A live debate where a live audience ask direct questions to politicians, newsmakers and experts, hosted by anchor Abhigyan Prakash
3.	Badi Khabar	The first take on the day's biggest story with the players themselves as the news develops. 6:00 PM weekdays hosted by Nidhi Kulpati
4.	Hum Log	A panel of eminent personalities from various walks of life are thrown in to face an audience with burning questions and a strong desire for straight answers on vital issues facing the country, hosted every Sunday by Ravish Kumar
5.	Mukabla	The week's big fight between the people who made the most important and controversial news in the week, hosted on Saturdays by Abhigyan Prakash.

(Source: https://www.ndtv.com/convergence/ndtv/corporatepage/ndtv_india.aspx)

Table 7.2: Key shows of Aaj Tak

S No.	Key Shows	Description
1.	Khabardar	Aaj Tak has kept the news show under the sub-genre of 'bulletin', the show timing of which is 9 pm to 10 pm. The duration is 50 minutes. It is hosted by Syed Ansari.

2.	Dustak	The news sub-genre under which it comes is ‘Headlines’, the show timing of which is 10 pm to 10:30 pm. The duration is 30 minutes. It is hosted by Prasoan Bajpayi
3.	Halla Bol	The news sub-genre is ‘Talk show’, the show timing of which is 6 pm to 7 pm. The duration is one hour. It is hosted by Anjana Om Kashyap.

(Source: <https://tvscheduleindia.com/channel/Aaj-Tak>)

7.1.3 Structural Units:

The content and structural formats of all the news programmes differ from each other. The news anchors’ presentation and delivery of content also vary with different news programmes. (Thornborrow & Haarman, 2017)²⁵⁴ identified a set of structural unit in different subgenres of TV news item from the news presenter’s introduction to their conclusion of the item which may include one or more news item. These are

Table 7.3: Structural units of TV news

S No.	Structural units of TV news	NDTV	Aaj Tak
1.	Presenter introduction	Y	Y
2.	Reporter to camera	Y	Y
3.	Reporter Voice-over	Y	Y
4.	Presenter handover to reporter	Y	Y

²⁵⁴ Ibid¹

5.	Presenter-Reporter live exchange (two-way)	Y	N
6.	Reporter on location interview segment with public figure/ expert (reporter not seen / heard)	Y	Y
7.	Soundbytes from public figures/ experts ('talking heads' inserted in pre-recorded report)	Y	Y
8.	Studio guest interview	Y	Y
9.	Studio debate	Y	Y
10.	Vox pop	N	Y
11.	Sign-off	Y	Y
12.	Journalist-to-journalist interview in studio	Y	N

(Source: Thornborrow & Haarman, 2017)

7.1.4 News Programme Content:

News Programme content are categorised into verbal, visual and audio data. Verbal content relates to words. Those content which are written or spoken during the programme. Spoken content include news content spoken by news reader, voice over or reporter. Written words include headline, news ticker and news content presented in the written form. For verbal content, two frame mediation and marketing are operationalized. Mediation frame is operationalised under sub-frames of conflict exploration, humanitarian response, effects and reconciliation. Marketing frame is operationalised under sub-frames of sensationalism, moral panic, negative news, labeling and ethnocentrism. Visual content include the photo/video footage to elaborate the story. Visuals include transitional and non-transitional decorative effects.

(Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001)²⁵⁵ demonstrated that audio manipulation are the attention-grabbing tactics of the post production team. Referring to their study, audio content include sound effects, music and voice tone of news reader or reporter. “Sound effects are defined as the addition of sound other than ambient sound, voice over and music. Examples include sound of a gavel, a ticking clock, police sirens etc. Unlike natural sounds, sound effects are created and controlled by producer during post-production editing” (Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001)²⁵⁶. Seidman (1981) demonstrated that music has an effect on emotional reaction to, and interpretation of, the visual and verbal material in entertainment and educational programs. An obtrusive tone of voice dramatizes news while an unobtrusive tone of voice presents information in a factual manner (Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001). Empirical findings on newscaster voice attributes show that a conversational style of presentation, characterised by low pitch, slow rate, low volume and little variation in inflection, was rated to be more credible than a ‘dynamic style’ , exemplified by high intensity, high pitch, fast rate, and great variation in voice tone (Burgoon, 1978). Programme signature tune and inbuilt vocal tune of reporter are avoided in evaluation

To justify with analysis and interpretation of stories quantitatively and qualitatively, numbers of news stories are chosen based on the focus scale of the topic and discussions. The ‘Facts’, ‘data’ and ‘news’ are kept apart from ‘views’, ‘description’ and ‘narrating’ part. The program which appears relatively diverted from core stories of Kashmir crisis are left out. For e.g. the news shows which give relatively more focus on issue of border infiltration, Pakistan’s foreign policy,

²⁵⁵ Grabe, M. E., Zhou, S., & Barnett, B. (2001). Explicating Sensationalism in Television News: Contents and the Bells and Whistles of forms. *Journal of Broadcasting and electronic media*, 635.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*¹

statements from Pakistan’s prime minister etc. are not taken for evaluation. All the videos of news programmes were downloaded from the youtube subscription channel of Aaj Tak and NDTV.

7.2 Analysis and Interpretation:

7.2.1 Quantitative Frame Data Analysis:

7.2.1.1 Scales and Measurement:

The two broad frames of mediation and marketing are being investigated within the verbal, visual and audio data of news content in the respective channels of NDTV and Aaj Tak. For verbal content, the mediation frame is operationalized in the following sub-frame as: conflict exploration, humanitarian response, effects and reconciliation. (Vreese, 2005) conducted a research study based on multiple-item scale for each of the two news frame. Referring to his study, four news items are developed for the frame ‘mediation’ and five news items are developed for the frame ‘marketing’. For mediation news frame, items are

Table 7.4: News item for mediation

S.no.	Item	Y	N
1.	Does the story explore and bring discussions on different dynamics of conflicts?		
2.	Has the news story bring Humanitarian aspect into the limelight?		
3.	Has the news story emphasized on different effects of conflicts?		
4.	Does the news story refer to reconciliation and peaceful approach?		

Similarly, marketing frame is operationalized with the following sub-frame as: sensationalism, moral panic, negative news, labelling and ethnocentrism. For marketing news frame, refer to table 7.5

Table 7.5: News item for marketing

S.no.	Item	Y	N
1.	Has the news story attempted to produce sensation?		
2.	Does the news story exhibit the attributes of moral panic?		
3	Has news story emphasize on negative aspect of conflict?		
4.	Does the story include labelling of people/ groups/ individual?		
5.	Does the news story reflect ethnocentrism?		

All the items are answered with ‘yes’ or ‘no’ for all the news stories of the two channels. ‘Yes’ is coded with ‘1’ and ‘No’ is coded with ‘0’. Scales were formed by adding the scores of the items and dividing this by the number of relevant items. The scales consequently ranged from 0 (frame not present) to 1(frame present).

Cronbach’s alpha reflect the internal consistency of a set of scale or test items or test the reliability, the value of which tells how well a test measure what it should be. In other words, the reliability of any given measurement refers to the extent to which it is a consistent measure of a concept. Kuder-Richardson 20 is same as crobanch alpha with only difference is that Kuder-Richardson method is used for dichotomous data. The formula for the calculation of alpha is $\alpha = \frac{k \times \bar{c}}{\bar{v} + (k-1)\bar{c}}$, where k refers to the number of scale items, c refers to the average of all covariance between items and v refers to the average variance of each item.

Cronbach’s alpha for the mediation frame (NDTV= .76, AajTak= .61) and marketing frame (NDTV= .57, Aaj Tak= .67).

Table 7.6 shows data of the two frames, mediation and marketing in the news channel, NDTV and Aaj Tak. M stands for mean value, SD stands for standard deviation and n stands for number of news stories. NDTV with M=.57 has more mediation frame in comparison to Aajtak news channel with value of M=.41. In marketing frame, NDTV (M= .57) is far less than Aajtak with mean value as .64.

Table 7.6: Data of two frames in the respective news channels

	Mediation	Marketing
NDTV News Channel (n= 26)	M= .57 SD=1.04 (n= 26)	M= .23 SD= 1.3 (n= 26)
Aaj Tak News Channel (n= 47)	M= .41 SD= 2.3 (n=47)	M= .64 SD= 1.9 (n= 47)

Table 7.7: Mediation sub-frames in the two news channels

	Conflict	Humanitarian	Effects	Reconciliation
	Exploration	Response		
NDTV (n= 26)	M= .51 SD= 2.1	M= .19 SD= 1.3	M= .11 SD= 1.7	M= .67 SD= 2.3

Aaj Tak (n= 47)	M= .27	M= .47	M= .56	M= .21
	SD= 2.8	SD=1.9	SD= 2.1	SD= 1.1

Table 7.8: Marketing sub-frames in the two news channels

	Sensationalism	Moral Panic	Negative	Labelling	Ethnocentrism
NDTV (n= 26)	M= .11 SD= 1.3	M= .8 SD= 2.1	M= .13 SD= 2.5	M= .7 SD= 2.2	M= .6 SD= 1.7
Aaj Tak (n= 47)	M= .73 SD= 1.4	M= .57 SD= 1.9	M= .59 SD= 2.3	M= .66 SD= 2.3	M= .48 SD= 2.5

Sound effects and music are coded on scale of 1 or 0 for the variables present or absent. Percentage of time frame is calculated from the total time of the news. Voice tone is measured on three-point scale as 1=unobtrusive, 2= obtrusive, 3=extreme obtrusive. Visual effects are also coded for its presence and absence with scale 0 or 1. To calculate the percentage of sound effects and music, the duration of sound effects and music are calculated against the total duration of news programme focused on sample stories.

Table 7.9: Measurement of Audio Content

	Sound effect	Music	Voice tone
AajTak	M=.74	M=.46	M=.52
	SD=.81	SD=1.7	SD=.66
Percentage of total duration	38%	8.8%	N A

Table 7.10: Measurements of Visual Content

	Transitional effect	Non-Transitional Effect
AajTak	M=.32	M=.59
	SD=.11	SD=2.3

7.2.2 Qualitative News Frame Analysis:

The verbal, visual and audio content are investigated under the qualitative analysis. News frames of mediation and marketing is to be analyzed. Mediation frame is operationalised under sub-frames of conflict exploration, humanitarian response, effects and reconciliation. Marketing frame is operationalised under sub-frames of sensationalism, moral panic, negative news, labeling and ethnocentrism. (Fields, 1988) highlighted the eight stages for the process of qualitative content analysis of television news broadcast as: Unitizing content, Transcription, Developing and using categories, verbal analysis, vocal and expressive analysis, scene composition, analysis, describing interplay of components, explanation. (Linström & Marais, 2012) suggested that after developing news frames and

operational definition for frames in qualitative news frame analysis, the important step of identifying frames is required to execute. Transcription of data is tabulated under the sub-heads of verbal content, visual content, news structure, background sound, interpretation and framing. The following table gives few example.

Table 7.11 Qualitative News Frame Analysis

News Structure	Verbal	Visual	Audio	Interpretation	Frames
Presenter Introduction	<i>Rajya sabha me Kashmir ke halaat per kaafi khulkr charcha hui. Sab kuch samvaad ke mahaul me hua. Sadan ne ek mat se prastav pas kiya ki Kashmir ke haalat pr sadan chintit hai. rashtriya suraksha ke sath koi samhuata nahi ho sakta or wahi dusri or dusri or shanti bahaal krne ke liye tatkal kadam</i>	Head Shot of Anchor	News programme signature tune	Detailing the discussion held in parliament about Kashmir.	Variable is Government's peace-making effort. Sub-frame is reconciliation

	<i>uthaye jayenge. Ye prastava pas hua hai. grah mantri ne doodh, chini, sabji, fal ka akrna pesh kar un najariye ka khub muqabla kiya jinpar abhi tak pellet guns se ghayal chehre hi haavi the.</i>				
Studio Guest Interview I-Anchor questioned to Defence specialist (Guest-I)	<i>Sadan me jo jitni bhi awaaz ayi (mudde or pehlu uthaye gaye), kya Kashmir ke log mehsus ker paye honge ki unke bare me baat ho rahi hai or jo wo mehsus karte h wahi ye log bol rahe hai?</i>	Split screen visuals of guest and anchor	Nil	Evaluative approach for issues raised in parliament and linking them with Kashmiris aspirations and grievances.	Frame is Mediation
Studio Guest Interview I-	<i>Sarvadaliya bathak ki team Kashmir</i>	Split screen	Nil	Evaluative approach for	Frame is Reconciliation

Anchor questioned to editor, Rising Kashmir (Guest-II)	<i>jayegi or logon se bat karegi but kya bat karegi ye nazariya jahir krna is samay kafi hai kya?</i>	visuals of guest and anchor		the possible aspects of the discussions during peace talks	
Studio Guest Interview I-Anchor questioned to editor, Rising Kashmir (Guest-II)	<i>Koi thos rajneetik bat or mudda jispe log bat karna chahenge, Kashmir ki awaam baat karna chahegi, sarkar bat karegi, to wo bat kya hai?</i>	Split screen visuals of guest and anchor	Nil	Evaluative approach for issue which could bring in the discussion of peace talks	Frame is Reconciliation

Table 7.12 Qualitative News Frame Analysis

News Structure	Verbal	Visual	Audio	Interpretaion	Frames
Presenter Introduction	<i>Aaj Rajya sabha me ghante dar ghante charcha hoti rahi, bade vistaar ke saath charcha hui lekin jo mudde us</i>	Mid shot of Anchor	News Programme Signature tune	Reporting on Issue discussed in Rajya sabha and giving context of	Variable of news is Government efforts for peace-making. Sub frame is

	<i>baat cheet se nikal kr aye un muddon ko humne nikal kar socha ki jara Kashmir ko parkha jaye. Bahut saare sach jo Kashmir ke hai use bhi tatola jaye.</i>			further evaluation in the news report.	Reconciliation
Reporter Voice Over	<i>To Kashmir me sankat rajneetic hai or rajneetic sankat kabhi rozgar, rahat package or vikas ki anoothi lakeer nahi khojta. Balki un har samvednao pr marham chahta hai jaha samvedna ho, jha ummeed ho. Jaha Kashmir ke saath Kashmiriyon ko bhi apnane ki chahat ho. To kaun banega delhi or</i>	Visuals of clash, protest, stone pelting, police firing and use of pellet guns, women crying, chaos, police men running with rifle	Different sound effects reflect tense, grievance and chaos. Sound effects of police firing bullets, police siren, ambulenc e siren.	Verbal content used metaphors and catchphrases. Dramatic phrases used. Negative and symbolising the situation. Use of intense visuals reflects negative and dramatic incidents.	Variable are negative, sensationalism, dramatic and symbolising. Sub-frame sensationalism, negative and labelling

	<p><i>ghati ke beech samvad ka pul. To kya waakai jin Kashmiriyon ko shak ki nigahon se dekha jata hai un Kashmiriyon pr bharosa ho sakta hai. Sena ke nisaane per rahe Kashmiriyon ki rai sena ko lekar kya hai, kya ispar wakai behes ho sakti hai?</i></p>	<p>in hand, injured people, curfew-hit places</p>		<p>Sound effects are given to create emotional arousal</p>	
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Table 7.13 Qualitative News Frame Analysis

News Structure	Verbal	Visual	Background and sound	Interpretation	Frames
Presenter Introduction	<i>Bahut jaroori hai ki jo appeal sari political party milkar kar rahi hai Kashmir par, uska asar ho, uska</i>	Head shot of Anchor	News programme	Stressing on implementation of peace	Sub-frame is Government efforts for

	<i>prabhav ho. Filhaal abhi tak hinsa ka rasta chodne ki appeal ki gayi hai, aamrai se prastaav banaya gaya hai, kendra ki sarkaar wo alag nazariye dekhne ki, or kuch masalo pr wo akraamak nazar arahi hai. jaroori ho gaya h ki jo appeal h wo ghaati me uska asar dikhayi pade</i>		signature tune	proposal in the valley	resolution. Frame is Reconciliatio n
Reporter Voice over	<i>Kashmir me kareeb teen ghante chali sarvadaliye baithak ke baad jaari prastav me bharat ki samprabhuta se koi samjhauta na kiye jaane ki baat hai. Kashmir ke sabhi paksho se bathcheet karne ka ahwahan hai aur loga se hinsa chodkr batcheet ki mej par aane ki appeal hai</i>	Visuals of all party delegation s meeting	Nil	Reporting of proposals of meetings. Thereby, giving bringing into focus on the peace making steps proposed by political and administrativ e body of the country	Variable of the sub-frame is Governmen t efforts for resolution. Sub-Frame is Reconciliatio n
Sound Byte from expert (Jitendra	<i>(Reading out of proposals meeting)</i>	Footage of the minister	Nil	Government representativ e displaying	Reconciliatio n Frame

Singh, State minister, PMO)		interaction with journalist		his social responsible role	
Reporter Voice over	<i>Lekin is shakahari prastave me un sawaalo ka jawaab nhi milta jo Kashmir ko lekr uth rahe hai, maslan Hurriyat batcheet ki mej pr aane ko taiyaar na ho to kya kiya jaye or algavvadiyo se aam kashmiriyo ko kaise alag kiya jaye. Aamraye bas isi baat pr rahi ki waha haalat jald se jald saamanya ho.</i>	Footage of curfew affected zones followed by some seperatist leader moving out of a room	Nil	Evaluating the other side of the coin i.e. possiblilty of rejection of proposal of dialogue process from seperatist leaders	Variable of the sub-frame is Governmen t efforts for resolution. Sub-Frame is Reconciliatio n
Sound Bytes from experts (Sitaram Yechchury, Chief secretary, CPM; Mallikaarjun Khadge,	Enumerating the proposals.	Footage of leaders addressing media			

leader, congress)					
Reporter to camera	<i>All party delegation ke sajh prastavon ke baad, Kashmiriyon ko beshak se rahat mil jaye, Lekin unki samasya ka sthayi hal nikal kr saamne nhi aaya hai.</i>	Footage of PTC	Nil	Bringing light on lack of any permanent solution during meeting	Reconciliatio n
Presenter- Reporter live exchange	<i>Abhi maine suna parties leaders ke suchavo ko. To inme se kargar sujhav kya hai?</i>	Footage of studio with news anchor	Nil	Foucs on practical routes of proposal	‘Possible routes’ variable

Table 7.14 Qualitative News Frame Analysis

News Structure	Verbal	Visual	Backgrou nd sound	Interpretaion	Frames
Presenter Introduction	<i>Ghaati me curfew ka kohra poori tarah chatan nahi hai, lekin Delhi me Kashmir samasya ke samadhan ke</i>	Mid shot of Anchor	Nil	Bringing the issue of peace appeal by every political parties into limelight and	Reconciliatio n Frame

	<p><i>liye sabhi dalon ne ek saath baithak ki. Batchet me sabhi dalon ne gambhir chinta jatayi aur samjhauta bana ki Kashmir ki samasya or desh ki samprabhta se koi samjhauta nhi hoga.</i></p>			<p>discussing the approach for its implementation</p>	
<p>Reporter Voice Over</p>	<p><i>Sulagte Kashmir ki samasya ka samadhan jab srinagar me nahi mila to ek koshish delhi me shuru hui. Sansad me sabhi dal fir se ekbar sath hue or jannat me zindagi ko patri pr lane pr baat hui.</i></p>	<p>Footage of meetings</p>	<p>Background music</p>		

7.2.3 Semiotic Analysis:

7.2.3.1 Syntagmatic Structural Analysis:

Syntagmatic analysis is based on Hartley’ four narrative functions of news stories: Framing, Focussing, Realising and Closing. Below are given some specimen of this analysis.

Table 7.15 Narrative Analyses

NDTV News	Corruption, Failure of administration leading to anger among Kashmiri youths
1.	Framing Lights were thrown on state and central governments’ visions, policies and schemes for the development and reconciliation approach for Kashmir crisis and emphasis were laid on the instance where they are failed to achieve the goal
2.	Focussing Data on literacy rate, unemployment and position of income per position in the Indian state index
3.	Realizing Attempts were made to understand the scenario of youth’s aspiration, political setting and military strategy through discussion with defence specialist, executive director of Kashmir times and secretary of JNU student union.
4.	Closing Concluding notes on prospects of development and stability in the valley.

Table 7.16 Narrative Analyses

NDTV News	What has led to massive unrest in Kashmir?
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1.	Framing	Establishing of socio-political context of Kashmir's stressed situation
2.	Focussing	In-depth analysis of emerging trend among Kashmiri youths orienting towards violence and non-violence path for achieving their demands
3.	Realising	The contributors were expertise from media who had covered the incident more closely and were well updated with the situation prevailing over there.
4.	Closing	Anchor concluded that efforts should be made to talk to section of Kashmiris who wants to talk to resolve the issue.

Table 7.17 Narrative Analyses

Aaj Tak News Ao zannat me Bachchon ka Nazaara dekhe		
1.	Framing	Raising concern over the suffering of childhood during crisis period
2.	Focussing	Details of closed educational institutions, visuals of students sitting ideally at home or studying at home
3.	Realising	The bytes of students and parents and vox pop concern for their study
4.	Closing	Possible and political solution for the present situation in the region

Table 7.18 Narrative Analyses

Aaj Tak News Kashmir... curfew ke 50 din	
1.	Framing Anchor introduced the subject of the news show which was Kashmir crisis over 50 days curfew
2.	Focussing Reports on ground situation of the valley, impacts on day to day life of people, curfew laden streets, people are bound to stay within the four walls of their home, the economic, physical, social and educational loss were telecasted
3.	Realizing Visuals and bytes were taken to put emphasis on crisis laden situation
4.	Closing Administrative effort is needed to improve the situation

Further, the syntagmatic structural narrative analysis of prime time shows reflect the theme such as evaluation of feasibility of dialogue process and the two faces of Kashmir youths were explored. The contributors in the realising section of ‘two faces of Kashmir’ were civil services aspirants from Kashmir, senior journalist belong to Kashmir and spokesperson from BJP party in the state.

Similarly the other news programmes of NDTV such as Muqabala, Hum Log, News Point were evaluated on the narration framework. The ‘News Point’ news stories were framed around the success and failures of coordination between centre and state government to deal with Kashmir situation, political approach to bring stability and resolve the issue, different possibilities to reach some resolution, analysis of all party delegation’s review and meetings, discussion on the feasibility of peace talks with stakeholders. The News show ‘Hum Log’ invited the contribution

from retired military officers, analysts and senior journalists to enhance the understanding of the relation between different stakeholders and diverse factors triggering stress situation in the region.

The narrative structure of Aaj Tak news programme Dastak-‘ Line of ‘no control’! had framed the concern for Kashmir grievances and pain. Further, the episodes of Dastak had thrown light on peace seeking steps of political players, with parliamentary discussion, high-level talks, and proposal for dialogue process. In the news programme ‘Dastak- Ye Kashmir hai...’, anchor started with the central idea of the show i.e. to demonstrate that how lifting up of curfew gives relief to the local residents and normal schedule of life start resuming. Visuals of vehicle movements and commuters on the street evidenced of resumption of normal schedule of life. Reporter gave the detail of ground report from the spot. Light instrumental background music reflected a relief and happy things around in the valley.

News Programme ‘Khabardar’- ‘Kashmir ke asli vilan algaavvadi hai!’ were opened with news anchor introductory part of the subject of the show i.e. analysis of separatist leaders and their role in Kashmir valley. It was followed by reports that show how separatist leaders decline all party delegation meeting invitation over Kashmir solution. Further, the data and facts about separatist leaders were telecasted which help in realising the theme of the show. The structural analysis of different episodes in ‘Halla Bol’ broadly put light on the funding of stone thrower from separatist groups, the economic support to the separatist group from the Indian administration and their indifferent attitude for resolution of Kashmir issues, political initiatives to conciliate the situation in the valley. The contributors were invited to discuss various aspects of the news stories were spokesperson from different political stakeholders, expertise from politics, intelligence and social activists. In the

episode of Halla bol- 'Pak ka paisa- Kashmir me Kohram', the separatist leader, Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, was also connected through phone line to execute investigative journalism for their economic funding to stone-pelters which was an intelligence sourced reports and the confession of a youth from valley on TV cameras.

7.2.3.2 Paradigmatic analysis:

In the paradigmatic analysis, news text is divided into minimal significant units. A particular signifier in a text is selected. Then alternatives to this signifier are considered. The effects of each substitution are evaluated in terms of how this might affect the sense made of the sign.

The commutation test can identify the sets (paradigms) and codes to which the signifiers used belong. This test has helped in separating a normative news presentation from the news which is manifested to attract large eyeballs. For example: the curfew imposed in Srinagar city and the milieu gives way to a situation where police and armed forces are only out there in the street. But situation is narrated in Aaj Tak news programme as '*Srinagar ki sadko pr sena ke jawaano ka kabja hai*'. The word 'Kabja' or 'occupancy' or 'lay hold of' is the signifier which was substituted with four words which explain the job of police during curfew on road as: '*pehra*', '*sanchalan*', '*niyantran*'. '*Pehra*', '*Sanchalan*' and '*Niyantran*' signifies that forces are on the streets for maintaining law and order situation in control. '*Kabja*' connote the negative approach towards the job of security forces which painted them as forceful entity that holds the territory for their own benefits. From the codes and set of paradigms chosen for the particular set of frames in this

study, the signifier used in the sentence attempted to demonise the armed forces and attempt was made to paint them in negative light and labelled them.

'Pachas dino me Kashmiriyon ne narak jaise halaat bhoge hai'. The word '*Narak*' is substituted with different words like '*bure*', '*kharab*', '*dukhhare*'. The substitution of these words doesn't reflect the intensification of the situation which the word '*narak*' signifies. This usage of word attempted to reflect the extreme miseries and crisis over the place and therefore it comes under the sub-frame of crisis manifested content.

At some instances, these sentences' signifiers also connote emotional appeal and exaggeration. Uses of metaphor, exemplars, simile, negative words, catchphrases, indirect sentences are evaluated. Some of the examples are given as follows: *'bachchon ke bheeter ka khauf unhe band kamre me kitabon se roshni dila paye shayad maujooda waqt me ye divaswapan ki tarah hai'*;

Mediation attempts were also made and news content reflects the conciliation and peace making initiatives of people. Sentence such as: *'itne bure halaat me kuch log aise bhi hai jo umeed ki kiran jagate hai'*; used for the two sisters giving tuition to the children in curfew times so that their studies don't get affected.

The approach of paradigmatic analysis in NDTV news text revealed a critical reporting against the domain of political process and movements. Though the language used in the news content were simple and direct but close scrutiny revealed that use of words were critical and argumentative.

1. *'pradarshno me maare gaye logo ke liye koi shabd nahi, kya unke bare me bhi sarkar ne koi raye bna li hai?'*;

2. *'hume Kashmir ka sundar pahaad dikhta hai wha begaari or garibi nhi dikhti';*
3. *halaat zimmeddar hai to waha ki rajya sarkare kya krti hai?'*

7.2.4 Functional Framework of Facilitative Mediation:

To study the functional framework, data is collected from unstructured interview with media practitioners, academicians, and social scientists. For the role of media as mediator between conflict parties, many aspects of opportunities and challenges is discussed. Citation of examples and experiences from practitioners and social scientists during interview enlightened the concept of mediation in the context of Indian media. Some of the excerpts of the interview are transcribed below.

Mr. Piyush, journalist and news production team member, ABP news said “Mediation is possible...but what we are expecting what is the job of media... earlier it was believed that media’s job was spreading information, awareness and reporting of events unbiased. Second, one section says media job is to opinion formation... make people intellectual... conflict management job... question is which sort of two sides” (transcribed).

He cited the examples of Ramjanambhoomi and said “efforts were taken in the case like Ramjanambhoomi... news channels invited the two sides from each community when supreme court said that this matter should be resolved outside legal sphere...news channel attempted to bring representative from the two communities but that was not very successful. Neither serious attempts from the news channel were made nor conflict parties made any serious efforts to resolve the issue. Earlier Zeenews’ chaupal was used to air. A case of justice for Gudia was raised. So such

small efforts are occasionally taken up by media to resolve but national issues like conflict are not taken...conflict parties sit to resolve issues is very rarely happened.. possibility of mediation depends on conflict issues, parties involved”.

Prof. Sanjeev Bhanawat, Professor, Central University of Rajasthan, opined “media can bring different views from different sides on one platform. Credibility is possible as creative people join, social awareness increases and democratic values increases. Media should be in in right hand with right people”. He further stressed on potential of media as a good communication channel. He said “Media is information channel... communication channel. Media can’t provide solution but provide a platform for debate and discussion. Policymaker has the job to provide solutions. Media only could raise issues at national level. Media has the role in opinion formation whether it’s the Kashmir issue or issue of national security”.

There are many issues which are raised by interviewer as challenges for mediation through media. About Mediation of conflicts carried out by TV media, Prof. Santosh Kumar Tiwari, retired Professor, Centre for Mass Communication, Central University of Jharkhand emphasised “mediation through broadcast media is not possible because anchor themselves are inclined for raising the TRP of the show. They can’t mediate. Media is profit seeking. It could not mediate due to the reasons such as sensationalism, political and economic profitability. In Kashmir media is under the threat of terrorists, whether it is TV or the press. If it is truth still media couldn’t publish because they could get shot dead for this. In Jammu media they have the same condition”.

Prof Sunil Behra, Prof of eminence, Department of Mass Communication and Journalism, Tezpur University, Assam, said that Indian television channels’

biasness and prejudices because of the affiliation to the various political and ideological parties gets reflected in their program. “Instead of conflict resolution, for e.g. Kashmir issue, or Ram Jananabhooni issue, these issues are not dealt with objectivity by Indian television channels”. He further explained how media ownership made media outlets to be used for economic and political gain of the media owner.

Amrit Pal Singh, Bureau Chief, Amar Ujala, Srinagar Edition has pointed out that for Indian media to act as a mediator, the first requirement is to listen patiently to all the stakeholders in a conflict and welcome the viewpoints from all perspectives irrespective of nationalism and ethnocentrism. They have to act neutral and unbiased.

Mr. Abhishek Agarwal, senior correspondent, J K news channel stressed as “majority of media channel are more driven commercially, they either institutes of some ex-ministers or their fund comes political party or some big corporate house run... some channels are in association with some big political leader. In broad term mediation appears difficult but some channels are conducted it one or other way and so development of such structure will take time”.

Mr. Piyush raised an interesting point on the performance of media. He said “India does not have only one entity of media... media is not only one entity... one single channel... we have ajtak zee tv.. there no. of news channel... so perspective and reporting differs...” He further stressed “*ek hi report ki do tarah se reporting ho rahi hoti hai... ek keh raha hai kashmiriyon ka haq maara ja raha hai or ek keh rha hai sena ke saath atyachar ho raha h, so... jis aag ko ap bhujhane ki koshish kr rahe hai ho sakta hai dusra channel use lagane ki koshish kr raha hai... to koi ek entity*

hoti to ye sambhav bhi h... ab isme se kaun sa channel madhyasthta karega, ye kaise tay hoga... man lijiye aajtak madhyasta krne jata hai to zee news usme adanga dalega.. ki ye kya hai... sab media milke isko karenge usme shaq hai kyunki sabke apne interest hai, sbke apne viewers hai jinki apni ek vichardhara bhi ab ho gyi hai”

[one report is reported in two ways... one (channel reporting) says that Kashmiri are losing their rights on the other hand the other (channel report) says armed forces are facing atrocities... so the fire which you are striving to extinguish is getting fuelled by another news channel... so if one entity would be there so it would be possible... how it would be decided that among so many channel who take the initiative to mediate... suppose aajtak take initiative to mediate then zee news create obstacles in this... It is doubted that every media collectively contribute in this because every media have their own interests, they have their viewers who have their own belief systems].

A well-recognised role of media is its ability to serve as a communication platform. Evergreen practices reflect that media platform is used by actors of conflict to air their views, their perspectives and to reflect their power. Harnessing this practice for facilitative communication by the stakeholders of conflict will be a fruitful step. For this, conflict actors could be interview jointly or separately. Issues are needed to be discussed and misunderstanding should be avoided. These steps help the parties of conflict to understand each other perspectives, know their viewpoint and remove misunderstanding for each other. Providing communication platform helps to break the deadlock among stakeholders and many time, communication among them make them to bend for the greater solutions. On the similar ground, when media provide platform for communication, it put its best effort to evaluate the problems, frame question to seek the answers where the things

go wrong and who wants what. This is an information exploring exercise which find out the information and interests regarding every perspective of conflict and convey it to the other parties and people to decide what is right or wrong.

Prof Tewari shared his experiences on the role of media ignorance for conciliation of conflicts. He said “In 2002 Gujarat riots, I was in Gujarat those days and was witness to how things deteriorated there. When Hindus were burned in S-6 compartment of a Sabarmati Express train in Godhara, sporadic incidences and reactions were obvious to happen. But the large violence that occurred there was because of media’s role in not observing restraint. There were two Gujarati newspapers Gujarat Samachar and Sandesh. There was a war between them in increasing their circulation. And in any war truth is the first casualty. Those days I was professor in Baroda University. My residence was near the Baroda railway station, which was the central point of the distribution of morning newspapers in the city. I witnessed the increase in their circulation. Editor’s Guild inquiry in Gujarat riots also came to somewhat similar conclusion”

On the matter of complexity of issues, the mediation process is as much complicated as the issues itself. As asserted by Mr. Piyush who further said “In Kashmir issues, there is not one party but no. of parties involved. It’s the government who can resolve the conflict not media. According to him Kashmir is such a complex issue that it is impossible to solve it through media. For the job of media in divulging views and version of different stakeholders like separatist leaders so media are already pursuing it. Even media talks to government stakeholders on these issues and ask for their stands on the Kashmir policies from time to time. Different ministers and stakeholders talk on the issues separately. He stressed that within the short time span of news program for e.g. two-four or eight hours show, issues can’t be resolved

but the deadlocks or stalemate can be broken between conflict stakeholders and government through media. In the case there are no talks between stakeholders then media can bring them on one platform and helps in bringing them on talking terms but in India there is no such situation in any of the conflicts. Prof Tewari said “During UPA II regime, the government formed a committee for tier-two diplomacy in Kashmir. The committee included a senior journalist of Delhi, a professor of JNU and some other person. Government spent crores of rupees on their TA, DA, etc. They failed to resolve the problem of terrorism”

News media depends on advertising sponsorship and viewership of their channel. From editorial board to production team strive to produce the content which have news value and gather attention of viewers. Now-a-days, news debates are prevalent where noisy talks and discussions get high footage so that they can made their viewers to stick to the channel. They highlighted conflict frames and sensationalise the issues irrespective of the gravity and sensitivity of the issue to achieve larger viewership. One section of discussion highlighted that today’s viewers are smart enough to distinguish between sensationalism and serious news and they avoid sensationalism nonsense. But still the whole picture of viewer’s choice is not defined whether they inclined towards sensible or sensationalism reporting. Other point included in commercial news media is that under corporatisation they have developed their news delivery structure such that it stands as hurdle for mediation for e.g. news anchor’s judgemental tone, highlighting conflict frames, giving priority to issues as per their viewership, visual and sound effects or glamorisation of talks and discussions. Though a hopeful idea emerges that conflict mediation is a creative idea and its functioning in media will be welcoming step which will attract large viewership.

Competition in news media could have bad impact on its positive role. Competition is categorised as destructive for others and self-destructive. Destructive for others are viewed as when one news channel attempt to malign the mediating effort of other news channel by running conflict or inflammatory story or running a counter claim or exploring any counter stories or to show exclusiveness and raise TRP. Self-destructive can occur by false practices of image building or attempting to excel itself against its competitors.

Conflict is not always about talks, discussion and communication. It is more about demands, claims, materialisation and self- satisfaction. Communication may have the role in some conflicts but not every conflict is about communication and facilitative mediation. Communication and facilitative mediation depends on conflict dynamics i.e. its actors, causes, social-political aspects etc.

Ideology of news channels viewed as obstruction against its objectivity and neutrality because in the complex scenario of running news channel, it is a normal practice to follow one or other ideology in the organisation. News production and editorial are influenced by those ideologies. This is came out from discussion from interview that when ideologies of organisation clashes with conflict actor's interest so it will be difficult to mediate the conflict.

In view of complexity and conflict dynamics, the communication and information exploration is not the ending of facilitative mediation. News media has to follow up and schedule channelization of communicative methodology again and again till some resolving or peace prospects emerges. It is sustainable process and leaving it in the mid or without attempting to give way for further resolution of issue will be prove more harmful and inflammatory in future.

News media is a public domain and this very fact makes the stakeholders of conflict to hesitate in revealing information and come to the communication platform. News media may edit crucial information and secrets which is requested to not put on-air during post-production process. But this is complex job to maintain secrecy because there are opinions which champion the thinking of transparent discussion and communication in facilitative communication.

Ethics and regulation are the fundamental requirement of any media to mediate conflicts and pursue conciliatory approach. Discussion on the improvements for media, Mr. Agarwal emphasised that post-liberalisation period witnessed floods of private channels in India and there is need to develop a proper regulatory body which bring strict regulation which is to be followed by every channel. Prof. Bhanawat said that for media's role in conciliation, it is utmost important that media should not be prejudice. According to him, intention of media is important so media should not work under pressure or influences He said "media should be genuinely into debates and discussions should not be lead to fulfil their self-interest. Moreover, they should be wary of propagandistic use of themselves".

Prof Tewari asserted "Ethics is only in talks. There is a war for TRP. When there is a war, truth is the first casualty. Mostly owners of media are the biggest enemies of media freedom, because their main interest is to make money and earn profits. In my view, unless and until news media get a news business model, which is free from advertisement revenue, the same situation will continue. Prof. Tewari further stressed on breach of regulatory guidelines "Press council of India guidelines and general guidelines say the identity of person should not be revealed in communal tensions. Generally, it was followed but sometimes it breached too".

Dr. Simran Sidhu, Head, Department of Mass Communication and Journalism, Doaba College, Jalandhar, Punjab said “during Sikh Riots 1984, we have only government media. Had it been national satellite channel, it would have been much more”. She believes that partially media can play the role of mediator in conflict situation. Mr. Pranjal Dixit, correspondent, Amar Ujala, Jammu and Kashmir, talked about media’s role in de-escalation of conflict by showing positive aspect like giving messages to the members of communities to not to get influenced or aggressive. He has further observed that it is lack of public awareness in Kashmir that native people of Kashmir have wrong impression of Indian government. So it is needed that they should be made aware of government policies and amenities provided to them. Thus, media could mediate by polishing image of government to the Kashmiri and rectify terror image of Kashmiri among other citizen of the country on the national media platform. Prof. Behra said that media or professional ethics and codes are all remain in the theoretical domain of media education.

Chapter Summary:

In the beginning of chapter, data catalogue signifies the broad parameters of data collected from two private news channels i.e. NDTV India and Aaj Tak. The section of data catalogue included sub section as: news sub-genres, structural units and news programme content. Data catalogue section is followed by analysis and interpretation section. This section consists of quantitative news frame analysis, qualitative news frame analysis, semiotics and functional framework of facilitative mediation

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Conclusion and Recommendations

8.1 Introduction

The developed concept of infotainment and edutainment in news reporting has already distorted the serious news format. The scope of retaining mature vision for news reporting in issues which require urgent attention and action is also seems diminishing in the light of commercial and corporate interest. It is not rule bound that only economic strain is the driving force behind the distortion. The factors responsible for the status quo vary in numbers as well as in impacts. The marketing forces rather serve entertainment ingredients and tend to attract more and more eyeballs. Here, the study has evaluated these entertainment ingredients in conflict news contents and compared with conciliation oriented content in order to know the extents of diversion of these practices. For such investigation, qualitative and quantitative measures both are deployed to understand the nature of the news content and news production practices while mediating conflict news.

8.2 Summary of the Research Study

Taking the gist of all the chapters, the study explored the possible perspective of media, mediation, marketing and conflict dynamics. **Chapter one** explored the different aspects of the study ranging from understanding of the term conflict and various conflicts of India, conciliatory slant of conflicts to the exploration of media in mediation and marketing model of news. Further, in the section of research methodology, the sections dealt with research preliminaries on the go with the research problem, significance of the study, objectives and the research designs. The

methodological part developed the research frameworks for the context and time period of conflict, for the selection of suitable media to bring under investigation, assortment of news programs and its time phases and allocation of possible resource.

Chapter two includes reviews of various literature available pertaining to the research study. It begins with the Indian media discourse on various conflicts in India. Under this section, propaganda, breaches of code and ethics, nationalistic fervour in reporting and many issues were raised concerning to media reporting. In second section, media's role in conflict conciliation and commodification was enlightened through the work of many social scientists. In the last leg of the chapter, theoretical perspective of the research study was explored.

Chapter three begins with the introduction of background of research study in which brief description of communal polarisation is given. In the next section, communal discord is discussed with suitable citation. Further sections are navigated to the exploration of Kashmir situation, its background with its political and historical relevance. Kashmir uprising of 2008, 2010 and 2016 were elaborated. In the later part of the chapter, focus was shifted to the conflict actors and their role in the situation.

Through **chapter four**, an exercise is carried out to enhance the understanding of the competency of media in conflict reporting and conflict communication. In the beginning of the chapter, conflict and communication relation is elaborated in the light of various phenomenon associated. The two broad vision of media performance in conflict .i.e. escalation and de-escalation is elucidated with examples. In the chapter, conventional and non-conventional reporting of conflict is also discussed with the citation of various works of social scientists in the field.

Chapter five has developed the mediation concept in the realm of social science and media. The mediation concept and different components is explored in the context of Kashmir issue. Based on various studies, the Researcher has developed the two-tier paradigm of mediation. The first tier constitutes conciliatory components of conflict reporting. The second tier includes facilitative mediation. Facilitative mediation is explored in the light of international conflicts and media practices in India. The feasibility of media's role as mediator is evaluated through comparing the different perspective of facilitative mediation with norms of media practices.

Chapter six includes the concepts of commercialization of media and its impact. The trend and habits of media develop under the ambit of corporatization led to the decoration of news content, its delivery and presentation. Among such practices, news reporting of crisis and struggles suffered a lot. An attempt is made to reflect how media has undermined the ethical norms and standard of conflict reporting in order to sell and market the news.

In the beginning of **chapter seven**, data catalogue signifies the broad parameters of data collected from two private news channels i.e. NDTV India and Aaj Tak. The section of data catalogue included sub section as: news sub-genres, structural units and news programme content. Data catalogue section is followed by analysis and interpretation section. This section consists of quantitative news frame analysis, qualitative news frame analysis, semiotics and functional framework of facilitative mediation. Through conclusion chapter, it is attempted to develop insights about usage of various variable of mediation news frames and marketing news frame and the extent of their presence in the conflict reports of respective news channels.

8.3 Conclusion

8.3.1 Mediation News Frame

Objective 1: To evaluate the content of conflict based news programs in the perspectives of mediation.

Research question 1: What is the nature of news content in the perspective of mediation?

Different parametric constituent of mediation are unravelled in the light of audio-visual news text, visual effects, background sound, news ticker and headlines. The program content of NDTV news channel was more mediation oriented. News programmes- 'Prime Time', 'Hum Log', 'Mukabala' and 'News Point' were in congruent vision of developing understanding for Kashmir situation for the viewers and attempted to explore various political and apolitical peace seeking efforts to resolve the issue. In the part of conflict exploration, news content is directed towards socio-political context and background of conflict settings. The in-depth evaluation of present scenario, techno and psychological factors were carried out by news anchors through their discussions with expertise panel.

The anchors corroborated the present situation and their causes with the data and facts. The anchors had presented many historical and political contexts to discuss upon Government's poor engagement with locals, ineffective implementation of programs and schemes to boost the development, ignorance of stakeholders in developments, unemployment and other socio-political points were discussed in the expert panel. For Kashmir conflict ridden zone, anchor evaluated and discussed the developing political-economic scenario which possibly triggered post-Burhan situation and the gathering of large number of people. A relevant aspect

of social media was discussed upon. Interestingly, in one of the program, anchor had also discussed the change of perspective of local media and the national media and the difference between the reporting trends between the two. For labelling issues, he reported how local media and national media used different labels for militant group.

In reconciliation variable, political scenario was discussed and evaluative effort was made to make people understand what steps state and central government were taking to resolve the crisis. All party delegation' recommendation were detailed and discussed with expert panel. Government's recommendation for the dialogue process was finely evaluated and anchors explored the possibility, success, failure, initiation, time, place and people to dialogue with. News anchor explored the possible routes for reconciliation and bringing the situation back to stability. Anchors raised the issue of interlocutors report, their recommendation and the lack of their effective implementation. News story also focussed on the government request to separatist leaders to bring stability and peace. Moreover, the program also brought the issue of governance compatibility in the coalition government of the state and evaluated their position on the concerned matter. On political ground, the cooperation of other parties and opposition to resolve the matter politically was also highlighted in the news program.

Other than conflict exploration and reconciliation, NDTV had given very little time and space to human rights reporting and visible/ invisible effects of conflicts. The story version from different stakeholders was telecasted. Even, a highly ignored section of the conflict i.e. helplessness of security forces was also talked about. News content included the armed forces version of the conflict that they are helpless and under such chaos they are left with no other option but to use pellet guns to disperse the attacking crowd. It is narrated that they used

communication strategies to convince people to not to take any wrong step otherwise they become helpless to take action. The situation of people suffering from pellet guns injuries, loss of eye sights was discussed. The economic and social impacts of curfew ridden places were focussed upon during the news program.

In visual footage evaluation, footage with political meetings and government bytes were given more time slot in comparison to footage with protestors with stones and curfew. Visuals of press conferences, meetings of chief ministers with prime minister and defence ministers, press conference, all party delegation meeting was shown. Few visuals of Burhan's funeral, large crowd gathering on funeral, curfew and stone pelting were used to corroborate the present situation narrating. The voice over section of the news program emphasised more on government stance on conflict, their political scenario, stance of every political party and their approach to resolve the crisis. The background audio were the signature tune of the specific news program and the visuals mainly cover the political meeting and political statements. The news-ticker like "*Kashmir haalat ke liye zimmedar kaun*" '*Kashmir neeti me humne kaha galtiyon ki hain*', *Kashmir ke haalat saamanyaa kaise honge*' '*Kashmir aawam ki shikayatein kitni waajib*', '*Kaise Kashmir me ayegi shanti*', '*Kashmir me charampanthiyon ki shikayate kya?*' The headlines of the shows were as: "*Shanti ki appeal*", "*Kab sudherenge halaat*".

In Aaj Tak news channel, audio-visual content of news based program such as 'Dastak', 'Halla Bol', and 'Khabardar' were evaluated. For mediation frame, It is obtained from data that audio-visual content mainly focussed on visible and invisible effects and humanitarian reporting. Though, the quantitative measurement reflects comparatively less frame for mediation in the news channel. To begin with visible and invisible effect, the news content elaborated the visible effects of curfew and

post-violence period in conflict ridden zone of the state. News anchors reported the loss occurred to the inhabitants of the curfew laden places. In visible effect, channel detailed how curfew ridden places had stopped the normal schedule of life for their inhabitants and institutions like educational, governments, and markets and transports were all closed. The reports given data of economic loss to the state because tourism sector got crippled and other business were closed. For reporting on invisible effects of the curfew, there was a special program telecasted in 'Dastak' which focussed on children's education which was affected during curfew and closure of educational institutions. The program stressed on psychological impact of the curfew and denial of education access on children and other local inhabitants.

In Humanitarian response, the news programs reported the crisis with data about the number of casualties and injuries. The programs encouraged people to speak their mind on TV camera. The news crew attempted to give psychological support to people through elaboration of their pain and sufferings. News focussed on eye injuries and other injuries locals got during clashes or use of pellet guns by security forces. On conciliation approach, the news reports also given the details how armed forces and other security forces were dealing with situation and large number of units in different parts of the conflict-ridden zones were deployed. On peace note, the news telecasted the happy and charged moment for people of curfew zones, when curfew was lifted after fifty days. The initiatives of two Kashmiri sisters to give tuitions at their home in the curfew-ridden places where closure of educational institutes' students would find hope for their studies. The news was highlighted by Aaj Tak in pursuance of peace-making effort. News based on exploring conflicts, their background, causes, are not much in detail but political context was stressed with complex narrative words. Analysis of news ticker revealed that they are less in

mediation frame. Some of them are: “*Kashmir ka Bhavishya Andhere mein*”, “*Kashmir ke Dard ki Goonj Sansad me*”, “*Band Gharon me Bachche*”, “*Curfew uth gaya, Andhera Kab Chatega*”, “*51 Dino ki Ashanti kab Khatm hogi*”, “*Curfew ke pchaasve din kis haal me hai Kashmir?*”

8.3.2 Marketing News Frame

Objective 2: To examine the content of conflict based news programs in the perspectives of marketing.

Research question 2: What is the nature of news content in the perspective of marketing?

The constituent elements of marketing frame are sensationalism, moral panic, negative news, labelling and ethnocentrism. The smallest units of parameters to evaluate the attributes and expressions are violence, emotional appeal, drama, fear mongering, hate content, exaggeration, prediction, miseries, deaths, crisis, demonising, name-calling, provocative terms, symbolising, nationalism etc. To recognise these frames and expressions, semiotic analysis proved to be a successful method. News texts are made into minimal significant units and then the exercise of apprehending signs, symbols and signifiers are carried out. Structural analysis made the job of frame analysis easy and thorough. While analysing frames in Aaj Tak news programmes, data revealed large presence of marketing frames. The usage of variables like emotional appealing, miseries, crisis, negative, dramatics and violent news under sensational and negative sub-frames are highly practiced.

The news programme ‘Dastak’ with headline- ‘Line of ‘no control!’ focused on Kashmir’s tensed situation with the usage of narration that appeared to

emphasised extreme crisis over the region. Visuals segments opened with curfew, smoke, stone pelters, mourning people, funeral and crying women. It was followed by bold diagonal line written as ‘Kashmir crisis’ on TV screen with background crisis pictures. Heavy drum beats and Police jeep siren in background sound pull the attention that the emergency situation occurred.

‘Kashmir ka bhavishya jin bachcho ko smabhalna hai unka bhavishya maujooda haal me kinke haath me hai’ are the emotional punch line used by anchor to bring focus on human appealing. Visuals of children inside their home studying; some were sitting outside with their friends and parents. Background music reflects a tensed milieu and the visuals revealed children in oblivion of the circumstances around them. News ticker like *‘Band gharon me bachche’*; *‘Kashmir ka Bhavishya andhere me’* are emphasising on negative and dramatic sub-frames. News focussed on emotional appealing with audio-visual effort to put a sympathising perspective for sufferings of children amid curfew and tensed atmosphere. News script reflects that children are the focus of emotional and dramatic sensation, for e.g.,

8.3.3 *‘bachchon ke bheeter ka khauf unhe band kamre me kitabon se roshni dila paye shayad maujooda waqt me ye divaswapan ki tarah hai’*;

8.3.4 *‘gharon me kaid bachcho ki zindagi kaise unke bheeter ke sapno ko khatm kar rahi hai or khauf bhar rahi hai’*;

8.3.5 *‘paanch baras ka bachcha ghar ke muhane par khade hokar taktaki lagaye sirf sadak ke sannate ko dekhta hai or sawaal puchne par khamosh ho jata hai’*

From the news program, ‘Ye Kashmir Hai’ narration of events attempted to symbolize the image- *‘51 din surkhiyon me ghaati ka naam jab-jab aaya, tab baat khubsurti ki nahi, hinsa ki hui, patherbaazi ki hui, curfew ki hui.’* The indirect

sentences and anchor's narration style questioning the present situation appeared to bring hate oriented content. For e.g. *'To wakai jin Kashmiriyon ko shak ke nigahon se dekha jata hai, un Kashmiriyon pr bharosa ho sakta hai?'*

Extreme negative words to emphasis on deep crisis situation such as *'log dard ke saaye me jee rahe hai'*; *aam kashmiriyon ki chinta karne wala koi nahi dikhta hai'*. *'Kashmiriyon ko bepanah dard mila hai'*, *'50 dino me Kashmir til-til kr mar rha hai, sulag raha hai, hinsa ki aag me jal raha hai'*, *'chehre pr darr or mayusi saaf dikhti hai'*, *'Kashmir khoon ke aansoo ro raha hai'*.

Dramatic sentences and emotional appeal are used, for e.g. *'paanch baras ka bachcha ghar ke muhane par khade hokar taktaki lagaye sirf sadak ke sannate ko dekhta hai or sawaal puchne par khamosh ho jata hai'* whose visual are not appeared to support the narration; *'log ghar se bahar nikalte hai sadko par khuli sans le sake par sadko par aate hi unki sanse ukhadne lagti'*

Fear-mongering and demonising attempt were made through news script that tend to present an extreme negative milieu of valley as: *'jin haathon ko apne mulk ki tarakki hona chahiye, unhi haathon se ghaati me aman ka gala ghota ja raha hai'*.

Analysis of news ticker is also a relevant part of the study as news ticker is correspond to headline which tend to attract eyeballs of viewers. Some news tickers which are potentially enough to fit in the marketing frames are as follows:

8.3.6 *'Kashmir ki Dhadkano par curfew'*

8.3.7 *'Kashmir ka 'shutter down' kab tak chalega?'*

8.3.8 *'50 din me bandhak bane Kashmir ka dard'*

- 8.3.9 *'Kashmir ghati ki ye veeraniyan'*
- 8.3.10 *'Aakhir Kashmir ka kya kasoor hai'*
- 8.3.11 *'Ghaati ke paththerbaazon, savdhaan ho jao'*
- 8.3.12 *'supermirchi bomb, paththerbaaz bedum'*
- 8.3.13 *'patherbaazo ko milega sabse bada jhakhm'*
- 8.3.14 *'Kashmir me shaanti doot vs hinsa ka saudagar'*
- 8.3.15 *'Mission Kashmir ke raste me bahut rode hai'*
- 8.3.16 *'Kashmir ke asli villain algaavvadi hai'*
- 8.3.17 *'Pak ke liye, Kashmir Bali ka Bakra'*
- 8.3.18 *'Curfew uth gaya, Andhera kab chaega'*

Sound effects are used frequently in the background of visuals of stress, protests, clashes and curfew. Use of police siren in some instances emphasised that the situation was very grave and urgent. Similarly, sound effects of bullets fired and police rifle firing produce the high stressed level and add to the sensation and negativity of the story. Background music vary according to situations and theme of the news story. A happy light music played when news reporter was describing that curfew was lifted up after 51 days and people are relieved and happy. Whereas mourning, sad music and gloomy sound are produced to show that people are suffering from heavy distressed. Visual analysis shows presence of many transitional and non-transitional effects while delivering the news pertaining to conflict site in order to add more stress loaded effects in the visuals. NDTV India had not used any of the sound effects, music or any visual effects. Paradigmatic analyses of NDTV news programme divulge that a very formal usage of sentence with little scope of sensationalism, negative connotation or any emotional appeal.

8.3.3 Comparative Study

Objective 3: To do comparative analysis of the frames of mediation and marketing in the respective channel's scenario.

Research question 3: What is the comparative status of mediation frame in the respective news channel?

Research question 4: What is the comparative status of marketing frame in the respective news channel?

A comparative analysis is discussed in this sub-section regarding mediation frames and its variables. NDTV India has mediation frame with the mean value as .57 with standard deviation of 1.04. While Aaj Tak news channel shown mediation frame with mean value as .41 and standard deviation of 2.3. This data shows that NDTV India news program were more de-escalation oriented and through the news content of the program, it has put effort to bring stability or peace in the crisis-ridden zone. While Aaj Tak was comparatively less effective in mediation approach and trailed in the effort of conciliation.

The in-depth evaluation of sub-frames in the news content reveals more aspects of the investigation. To begin with mediation frame in NDTV India, sub-frame of reconciliation is greater than any other frame with mean value of .67 (SD= 2.3). The greater part of this reconciliation sub-frame include the content of news anchor evaluating central and state governments' steps in resolving the crisis. NDTV India put a better effort in exploring conflict, discussing socio-political context of the Kashmir crisis. The mean value of the sub-frame conflict exploration is .51 with SD

2.1. For visible and invisible effects, the news reports are comparatively less with mean value of .19. Similarly, sub-frame of humanitarian response has the mean value of .11.

Investigation of mediation frame in Aaj Tak news channel bring out new revelations. Though, figures denoted in the analysis reveals that the news approach of Aaj Tak news channel focuses more on visible and invisible effects of crisis with the mean value of .56 with SD 2.1. Aaj Tak news channel put greater emphasis on visible and invisible losses occur in the city due to curfew and clashes. The variables include economic losses; institutional losses and psychological impact are the serving constituents of the theme in most of the news reports. On the other side, sub-frame of humanitarian response was also highlighted with some special news segment on impacts of crisis on children and their education, people suffering in stressed zones, giving platform to people to air their grievances. The mean value of sub-frame humanitarian response is .47 with SD 1.9. For reconciliation approach, news channel telecasted stories on people who had attempted to give a positive hope in stressed times. Government policies and actions were discussed under the sub-frame of reconciliation which has the mean value of .21 with SD 1.1. In exploring conflict (M=.27), Aaj Tak has mentioned a little account of background, social economic or political context.

Data gathered from measuring variables for marketing frame reflect that Aaj Tak news channel scored M=.64 (SD= 1.9) in marketing frame whereas NDTV was only at M= .23 (SD= 1.3) frame representation. The numerical figures of marketing frame stressed that news selling frames are more rigorously used in Aaj Tak news

channel in comparison to NDTV news channel. News variables such as sensationalism (M= .73; SD= 1.4), moral panic (M= .57; SD= 1.9), negative news (M= .59; SD= 2.3), labelling (M= .66; SD= 2.3) and ethnocentrism (.48; SD= 2.5) present in Aaj Tak news channel are attention grabbing content for conflict stories.. On the other hand, news variables such as sensationalism (M= .11; SD= 1.3), moral panic (M= .08; SD= 2.1), negative news (M= .13; SD= 2.5), labelling (M= .07; SD= 2.5) and ethnocentrism (.06; SD= 1.7), present in NDTV India are comparatively far less which unearths the fact that it was less directed towards marketing its news content and representation.

The analysis of mediation and marketing frame in audio and visual contents includes the post production effects used or voice tone of news anchors. Audio content include sound effects, music and obtrusive voice tone. Visual effects contain transitional and non-transitional effects. The presence and intensity of their presence reflect the measurement of marketing frame. The absence or less in numbers reflects lesser frame of marketing. Investigation of audio visual content gives an important finding that in NDTV India, there is no use of audio or visual effects. This clearly suggest that news content in NDTV India is far less oriented in grabbing attention and selling news content. While Aaj Tak news content investigation has given a wide account of the usage of such effects in grabbing the attention of viewers. Sound effect (M= .74; SD= .81), Music (M=.46; SD= 1.7), Voice tone (M=.52; SD= .66) represented in terms of their presence in number of shows. While the calculation of their presence in overall news stories for particular issue is analysed in percentage which suggest that sound effects are more dominated in news reporting with 38% and music is comparatively low with 8.8%.

8.3.4 Functional Framework of Facilitative Mediation

Objective 4: To develop the functional framework of facilitative mediation through media.

Research question 5: What is the scope and challenge of facilitative mediation in Indian News broadcast Media?

The strength of Indian media is diverse and unexplored. There is a need to channelize their competency to utilize them in nurturing the democratic value and national integration. The very truth of television broadcasting industry is that it is the compound and costly process to setup and run a news channel. On the first priority, sufficient funds, technical support and human resource are the tangible pre-requisite of executing the plan of establishing a news channel. Thereafter, intangible stuffs are needed such as creative ideas, dedication, good public relation, professionalism etc. These tangible and intangible supporting pillars of a news channel bless media competencies for a noble cause and public service.

In the structural setup of Indian broadcast media, private news channels are mushroomed over a period of time. Therefore, the chapters of accountability and credibility are lost under the complex relation of different stakeholders and clashes of diverse interest. Still an attempt was made by the researcher to find possibility of executing a facilitative mediation process for different conflicts in India through television platform. Therefore, an open-ended interview was conducted to extract the various possibilities of and feasibilities for facilitative mediation process in the Indian media scenario. In this direction, challenges of facilitative mediation process will also be studied.

After evaluating the discussions with interviewee, functional framework for mediation is derived. Under this framework, the scope and challenges of the facilitative mediation is evaluated. These scopes and challenges serve as the broad vision for reinforcement of the strengths of the process and explore the ways to overcome its weaknesses.

The scopes of facilitative mediation include the strength of media for which it is recognised and appreciated. These strengths which is explored and discussed during interview in respect of the facilitative mediation, it has come out that media is an objective and neutral entity which can avoid any attachment or inclination for any party or perspective.

On the very similar note, media gains its credibility for its role and performances. An active and honest media is all powerful structure of any democracy. When such institutions take part in mediation or act as mediator, stakeholders of conflicts and other people have the reason to find it a serious and hopeful attempt to resolve the issue.

It is believed that supreme ideology of media is its logical and reasoning power where it distinguishes between right and wrong and on its basis it make other to realise what is right or where they are going wrong? This way it becomes a strong convincing tool for people to avoid any unnecessary clashes and find out solutions for their problem.

The Challenges of facilitative mediation are recognised as those issue which act hurdles in executing the exercise of facilitative mediation or even could escalate the tension. These challenges come out of the fact that media is news providing entity and it is differently structured in comparison to convention mediation process.

Though it's some functional features relate to the facilitative mediation and the role of media in peace-making effort pushes the comparison of the two different processes. This is not astonishing that discussions came out from interviews raises the concern for media's economic need as a biggest hurdle for pursuing the job of facilitative mediation. The outline of interview discussion is prepared which is mentioned below:

8.3.4.1 Unbiased and Neutral media: For media to mediate a conflict, the prior requirement is to remain neutral and unbiased. But in the present time scenario, media is affiliated to many political and ideological parties. Media tends to be prejudicial for any issue or conflict. They attempt to develop the impression of nationalism and ethnocentrism. The issue of media biasness can be overcome through the media regulation and making media independence from political and ideological influences.

8.3.4.2 Ownership pattern and Media Commercialisation: It is a hard truth that ownership pattern and development of media as industry made it inescapable for media to serve certain personal agenda rather than public welfare. Domination of political and bureaucrats running media as a commercial business develop media's functional structure to be untouched with social responsible role. In such scenario, news media hardly take effort to de-escalate or mediate conflicts until and unless their personal benefits meets.

8.3.4.3 Content Exclusivity and Digital market: Mr. Agarwal brought up the issue digital market and content exclusivity. He enlightened these concept as in present time every individual has the access to the internet

and social networks such as youtube, facebook etc. People get variety of content on internet in no time. This erects a challenge for the television media for content exclusiveness. Their viewers are distributed to the internet as well. They have to bring some content exclusiveness on their news channels. Mediation through television media may serve their content exclusiveness and raises their TRP. This may prove a good experiment on TV commercial media.

On other hand, commercialisation goal of media may distort the very noble cause of mediation i.e. conciliation. It may happen that for the sake of TRP, TV media may provoke parties and bring such content which raises their TRP. Ultimately escalate conflict. Because news media is commercial content driven and they serve the mediation till their content exclusiveness meets.

8.3.4.4 Public Relation: There is a discussion on the poor government image in conflict zone like Kashmir. It is said that central government is providing many sorts of assistance and monetary help through their schemes and policies. At target level (where these govt. assistances have to reach) either these assistances are not reaching due to local administrative causes or people are not well aware of government efforts of providing them many amenities. In such scenario, media can play the role of public relation and aware the people about government policies and help. On the contrary, media also help to remove rumours about people of conflict zone among people of other states. For example, Kashmiri people or north-east people are misbehaved in other parts of India due to their

misbelief and prejudicial attitude. Media can play bigger role in integrating national feeling and develop the vision of brotherhood.

8.3.4.5 Sustainable process: Mediation process is not a one-time event. It becomes media's social responsibility thereafter to pursue every possible communication between the parties till some resolving efforts taken by administration or some compromising status from one or other side.

8.3.4.6 Lack of secrecy: Mostly a conventional mediator respects privacy and secrecy of the conflict actors and their information and carries out activities in closed doors. Few ideas came out which suggested that many information or issues are there which no body want to discuss in open or want them to come in the limelight. Conventional mediator keeps the information safe and proceeds for resolution. But in media, this is a challenge to respect secrecy and hide crucial information on public platform. This way sometime, parties themselves hesitate to come on the media platform or provide the whole information. But the oppositional views stressed that in today's informational age, there is least remain to be personal or secret and when conflicts are discussed there is no wrong giving information on public platform.

8.3.4.7 Media Literacy: An important point is discussed in the interview is promoting media literacy among people. Media literacy strengthens the process of mediation. It is the public understanding of news and sifting of conciliatory news from inflammable material of media. Their literacy on part of conflict plays a major role in de-escalating crisis situation.

8.3.4.8 Communication Platform: It can serve a communication platform for conflict actors to discuss their issue, reveal their grievance and put their

demand through media. Media can do it by individually interviewing conflict actors and bringing them on one platform.

8.3.4.9 Information gathering: It is the destiny of the conflict journalism that the real facts and truth rarely makes its way to the public because it dies under information mismanagement or half information gathering process. But media could ask questions about the issues and agendas from the stakeholders and gather information to convey to the public and other stakeholders involved. It helps in providing every perspective of the conflict.

8.3.4.10 Competition: In India, news channels have mushroomed over a time period. So it becomes challenging that every media will attempt to serve the platform for facilitative mediation due to which credibility and relevance of the idea will be lost. Competition led the media to hunt for information which are telecasted on media which is pursuing the job of mediator. Such competition may led to the unscrupulous activity to raise their reputation and TRP. For e.g. competitor media may telecast which inflame the issue under J-factor against other media who pursuing mediation. But the counterviews developed to support that a proper guidelines and structural framework will be developed to avoid such circumstances. Competition can lead to develop a better prospects for conciliation

8.3.4.11 Conflict dynamics: There are views which hold that every conflict cannot be resolved or discussed through the media. For e.g. Kashmir issue is such a complex one that media can't do anything in this.

Similarly naxalite issue is depended on the will power of administration to resolve so it is not media's hand bring out any hope. One issue was discussed i.e. Ram janam Bhoomi where media attempted to talk to the actors in the conflict but media failed to bring any fruitful result. This point suggests that facilitative mediation through media depend conflict dynamics.

8.3.4.12 Ethics and Regulation: Though media curriculum constitute code and ethics for reporting and journalism. The ground reality is that these code and ethics are not practically possible during actual reporting and so it is breached every now and then. Though regulatory bodies are there to watch on media but unfortunately it is failed to be effective in present scenario. Interviewees seek such a regulatory mechanism which put strict vigilant and regulation to stop media from running any inflammable news content. One of the points raised during interview was requirement of self-regulation and self-restrain among media community.

8.3.4.13 Multiple Media Entity: Post liberalisation period witnessed flooding of private news channel. It is not only the numbers of news channel increased but also their diversity in languages and their self-interest also increased. In this set up of news channel structure, the question erupts here that which news channel will conduct the facilitative mediation? All the news channel collectively serve the goal of mediation and contribute in conciliation of conflict is seems a herculean task because every news channel has their self-interest and ideologies. Therefore, the strength of

such plurality of Indian media should be channelise and pumping of motivation can boost their morale to work for the public welfare.

8.3.4.14 Retention of Viewership: Prof Tewari said “This is the retention of viewership or readership that News channel cannot change their news formats. If they lose audience, so it will be difficult to get new audience for the channel. This is helplessness of every channel”. News media has the biggest fear of experimenting with their news content and format. They usually copied or tried the successful content and format of news which is already tested on some platform. Every news channel has their particular pattern or set of viewership who share their ideological and belief system with particular news channel. The news formatting and content development has provided a particular set of viewership to the channel. In pursuance of mediation, any mismatch with the belief system or ideological set up may harm the viewership of the channel.

Table 8.1 Functional Framework of Facilitative Mediation

Strengths	Weaknesses	Challenges	Scope	Improvements
Communication Platform	Ownership Pattern	Neutrality and Credibility	Public Relation	Media Literacy
Information Provider	Economic model of Media	Retention of Viewership	Content Exclusiveness	Codes and Ethics
Competition	Competition/	Conflict	Multiple	Sustainable

	Multiple Media Entity	Dynamics	Media Entity	Process
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8.3.5 Branding of contents

Objective 5: To examine the contents of conflicts news branded as commodity.

Research question 6: How news channels branded conflict as commodity?

In reviewing the branding content for conflict news, Kashmir conflict is branded as extreme crisis ridden zone where people are facing extreme situation of pain and sufferings. The three broad attempt of news channel were recognised for branding conflicts.

1. Exclusiveness
2. Honest sympathisers for conflict crisis.
3. Rhyming and poetic slant of news

News channel stunted with exclusiveness and portray themselves an honest and true sympathiser of the conflict victims. Aaj tak news channel telecasted a special show of 'Khabardar' on which it regularly claimed to presenting a ground report from Kashmir and its analysis of the situation will help to reduce their sorrow and crisis. Few anchors line as follows:

'Aaj Tak ne curfew me bandhak ban kr reh gayi Kashmir aawam ka dukh baata hai'.

The news ticker as follows:

'curfew grasht Kashmir se aaj tak ki ground report'

'dharti ke swarg se narak jaise halaaton ki ground report'

'til-til jalte Kashmir ki sulagti reporting'

'rote Kashmir ka dard batne wala vishleshan'

'super mirchi bum ki factory me aaj tak'

Analysing the structural content also revealed that rhyming and poetic slant of news content is also a good effort to get hold on viewers. For e.g. use of rhyming in news ticker as: *'super mirchi bomb, paththerbaaz bedum'*;

Use of song in headline as

1. *'Koi pathther se na maaro mere Kashmir ko'* (original song- koi pathther se na maaro mere deewane ko')
2. *'Pakistan ka naam japna, Hindustan ka paisa apna'* (original song- aap ka to lagta hai bas yahi sapna, ram ram japna, praya maal apna)
3. *'Bade Kaante hai Kashmir ki rah me...'* (original song: Bade dhoke hai is rah me ... babuji dheere chalna..)

News anchor poetic slant for Kashmir issue- *'asal intezaar to usi din ka hai jab mahaul is kadar samaanya hoga, ki ye kashmir hai, gungunate hue desh ka har saksh ghaati jane ko bekrar hoga'*

8.4 Recommendations

With lots of technological and conceptual development, needs and aspirations of news production and reporting has changed, or say, upgraded. But under all these media revolution, there is no escapism from the media's role of social responsibility.

With the vision of serving society, news should always be structured to maintain congruity with peace, stability and development at the social, political and economic level. A thorough analysis of news contents and interview discussions propel the researcher to suggest the recommendations which are listed below:

- 8.4.1** The biggest challenge which is derived from the research study is the economic model of media in the present scenario. The dependency of media on advertisement made it vulnerable and ignorant to its social responsibility role. So that's why a good economic model is needed which tend to make media a self-dependent entity and made media more accountable and responsible for the reporting of conflicts.
- 8.4.2** The media ownership pattern made it serving to the political elites and business class. There is a need to develop an ownership framework for media to make it more robust and independent.
- 8.4.3** Conflict reporting is a crucial genre of news reporting. In India, professional norms and practices of conflict journalism is not as much developed as in western countries. The competency of Indian media reporting on conflicts can only be enhanced by regular training and structuring framework for reporting.
- 8.4.4** Media literacy is a prominent concept to recognise the credible news content and distinguish between mediation and marketing of contents. Therefore, promotion of media literacy is a crucial task.
- 8.4.5** Commercial needs of media organisation should be managed as such that it will not impact news production process and framing of conflict news. Regarding this, suitable guidelines and instruction should be designed.

- 8.4.6** A regulatory authority to supervise the presentation and delivery of conflict news so that veracity of news could be maintained and exaggeration and sensational elements could be ignored.
- 8.4.7** There should be development of curriculum regarding conflict reporting and conflict communication so that basic knowledge could be instil among journalism students and further scope of good research could be encouraged.
- 8.4.8** Facilitative mediation is one of the conciliation seeking approach in any conflict. According to research findings, there are many scopes and challenges. So, this is a recommendation to strengthen its scope and try to find out ways to overcome challenges.
- 8.4.9** Government should focus on imparting training and orientation facilities to the media professionals especially targeting the thrust areas such as ethical reporting, reporting free from yellow journalism and developmental reporting touch of with a compassion and delicacy
- 8.4.10** The media reporters and correspondents should be trained for the enhancement of traits like conflict mediation skills and conciliation strategies for addressing any conflict centric situations.
- 8.4.11** Media professionals should be trained and oriented in such a manner that they should abstain themselves from excessive branding of a conflict like situations.
- 8.4.12** Media professionals should be trained to become more sensitive, conciliatory and empathetic while handling a conflict situation.

8.5 Future Extensions of the Research

- 8.5.1** In the sphere of media platform, social media is a new of its kind, an emerging and a crucial aspect of research in which there is a scope to evaluate where social news website producing news content on conflicts and attract the readers through catchy headlines.
- 8.5.2** News production process where process of gate-filtering and news framing can be investigated.
- 8.5.3** A picture speaks thousand words. Research is crucial from the point of view of investigation in visualization of conflicts in print and electronic media.
- 8.5.4** Comparative analysis of local news broadcasting and public broadcasting reflect the scenario news selection and gatekeeping. The study would be more fruitful when above two broadcasting is compared with the national private channels news programs.

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ANNEXURE I

Code sheet for Mediation frame

S.no.	Item	Y	N
1.	Does the story explore and bring discussions on different dynamics of conflicts?		
2.	Has the news story bring Humanitarian aspect into the limelight?		
3.	Has the news story emphasized on different effects of conflicts?		
4.	Does the news story refer to reconciliation and peaceful approach?		

Code sheet for Marketing Frame

S.no.	Item	Y	N
1.	Has the news story attempted to produce sensation?		
2.	Does the news story exhibit the attributes of moral panic?		
3.	Has news story emphasize on negative aspect of conflict?		
4.	Does the story include labelling of people/ groups/ individual?		
5.	Does the news story reflect ethnocentrism?		

Code sheet for Conflict Exploration Sub-Frame

S.no.	Item		
1.	Does the story cover historical/ cultural/ social/ political/ economic background of the conflict?		
2.	Does the story explore the different/ immediate/ subsequent causes of the conflict?		
3.	Is there any social/ economic/ political contextual discussion of the conflict?		
4.	Is the outcome of conflict is explored in the news stories?		
5.	Does the anchor put light on different actors involved in the conflict?		
6.	Is there any discussion of aspiration, grievances, attitude, perspectives of the different actors involved?		
7.	Is the present situation of conflict discussed?		

Code sheet for Effect Sub-frame

S. no.	Item	Y	N
1.	Has the physical loss in the conflict been brought into the limelight?		
2.	Is the effect of conflict on economy being discussed in the conflict?		
3.	Is there any discussion on geographical/demographical loss?		
4.	Does the news story cover the effect of conflict in social perspective?		
5.	Does the news story cover the effect of conflict in political perspective?		
6.	Does the news story cover the effect of conflict in psychological perspective?		

Continue...

Code sheet for Humanitarian response sub-frame

S. no.	Item	Y	N
1.	Does the news provide relevant information which is helpful to people in conflict?		
2.	Has the news story brought human rights violation into the limelight?		
3.	Has the news reporting given voice to voiceless?		
4.	Has the news reporting provides the platform for emotional outburst?		
5.	Does the news programme provide psychological support to the sufferer?		
6.	Does the news programme empower the right to know of people through their stories?		

Code sheet for Reconciliation sub-frame

S no.	Item	Y	N
1.	Has the news brought focus on the stories of peace making/ peace initiatives?		
2.	Does the news anchor or reporter provide creative ideas for peace-building resolution?		
3.	Have the news anchor brought the discussion over possible routes for conciliation?		
4.	Do the news reporter/ anchor condemn the non-conciliatory approach/ act of people/ government/ conflict actors?		
5.	Does the news story contain convince factors for conflict parties to resolve the issue?		
6.	Does the news story discuss on government's effort to resolve the issue?		
7.	Has the news story provide insight of government's vision, stand and perspective for the conflict issue?		

Code Sheet for Sensationalism Sub-Frames

S no.	Item	Y	N
1.	Have the news content focussed on stories of violence or angle of violence?		
2.	Are the stories focussed on emotional elements or emotional appealing through news content?		
3.	Have the news focussed on human angle of the news stories?		
4.	Have the news stories presented the content with dramatic angle?		

Code Sheet for Moral Panic news Sub-Frames

S no.	Item	Y	N
1.	Have the news content contain fear mongering elements?		
2.	Are the stories promoting hates through verbal content?		
3.	Have the news exaggerating the news stories or any angle?		
4.	Is there any attempt taken to predict the things in the news story?		

Continue...

Code Sheet for Negative news Sub-Frames

S no.	Item	Y	N
1.	Is there any attempt to reflect extreme miseries through the use of verbal news content		
2.	Have the story focussed on crisis through the use of verbal content?		
3.	Have the news stories are negatively charged use of extreme negative words?		

Code sheet for Ethnocentrism Sub-frames

S no.	Item	Y	N
1.	Does verbal news content designed to show 'them' as problem?		
2.	Have the news story contain the elements which are biased?		
3.	Have the news contain the elements which dehumanize them?		
4.	Does the news stories presented content which reflect nationalism/patriotism?		

Code Sheet for Labelling Sub-Frames

S no.	Item	Y	N
1.	Have the news content contain the elements which tend to demonize one or another?		
2.	Does the news content used name calling through their stories?		
3.	Is there use of any provocative terms in the verbal news content?		
4.	Is there any attempt made to symbolize the things through verbal news content?		

ANNEXURE II

Unstructured Interview Schedule:

1. Do you think media is a comfortable platform to resolve any crisis pertaining to communal discord?
2. Do you have any such experiences where media successfully mediated in resolving conflict?
3. Can you please cite some authentic case studies pertaining to the case?
4. What are the strengths of media which make it suitable to provide facilitative mediation?
5. How can television broadcasting media assist in de-escalating conflict?
6. Can television media provide facilitative mediation for conflicts in India?
7. What is the possibility and scope in present broadcast media scenario for facilitative mediation in India?
8. What are the challenges and hurdles for television media to provide facilitative mediation?
9. What sort of improvements Indian television broadcast media is required to provide facilitative mediation?
10. How commercialised structure of television news media will be a hurdle for mediation?
11. Is the media gather larger viewership if the mediation process is pursued by it?
12. Is there any issue of credibility in Indian Television media scenario?
13. How can the issue of credibility be managed to gain trust of conflict parties?
14. What and how neutral settings can be provided by media for facilitative mediation?
15. What are future prospects for facilitative mediation in Indian television media?

ANNEXURE III

Telephonic Interview with Prominent Academicians and Media Professionals:

Academician:

1. Prof Sunil Behra, Prof of eminence, Department of Mass Communication, Tezpur University, Assam
2. Prof. Sanjeev Bhanawat, Head, Department of Mass Communication and Journalism, Central University of Rajasthan.
3. Prof. Kanchan Malik, Head, Sarojini Naidu School of Communication, Central University of Hyderabad
4. Dr. Bobby Vardhan, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Andhra University, Vishakhapatnam
5. Dr. Simran Sidhu, Head, Department of Mass Communication and Journalism, Doaba College, Jalandhar, Punjab

Media Professionals:

1. Piyush, journalist and news production team member, ABP news
2. Ashutosh Asthana, assistant editor, online magazine, Internet and mobile association India. He was former sub-editor in Aaj Tak news channel.
3. Amrit Pal Singh, Bureau Chief, Amar Ujala, Srinagar Edition.
4. Abhishek Agarwal, senior correspondent, J K news channel.
5. Pranjal Dixit, correspondent, Amar Ujala, Jammu and Kashmir.
6. Brijesh Singh, Bureau Chief, Amar Ujala, Jammu Kashmir Edition.

Continue...

Face to Face Interview:

1. Prof. Santosh Kumar Tiwari, retired Professor, Centre for Mass Communication, Central University of Jharkhand.

Note:

- Two interviews are taken from the social scientists who are from the conflict zones such as Kashmir. Names are kept secret on their request of not disclosing their identity.
- Some social scientist themselves conducting research on the conflict subject, to whom the researcher approached. But they had declined to give the interview on the ground that their identity revelation may create problem for them.

ANNEXURE: IV

Some of the links of News Program

NDTV

News Point

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FyKsM5LPDrE&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT&t=0s&index=2>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VPibZGP9CQc&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT&t=7s&index=3>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fzm7fk9rJG8&index=9&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V-mIMeSdzGo&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT&index=35>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HI1pK-6-YEY&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT&index=34>

Prime Time

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IXHILOVeWTE&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT&t=302s&index=5>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WF5JW4rcAQ4&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT&index=12>

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HSf_YwqnFA4&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT&index=10

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=made4v4HXQI&index=93&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vX37L6K6ozQ&index=66&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xPzAybENzZ4&t=40s&index=14&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

Muqabala

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4-39-YVcJNM&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT&index=36>

Hum Log

Continue...

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QeeHasXxKZY&index=92&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qpUMG3Gxrl0&t=27s&index=70&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

Aaj Tak

Khabardar

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=labu553BB6o&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT&index=14>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V-HAoCCALLA&t=27s&index=63&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pRiJ4OLTSYc&t=37s&index=61&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A2ibecIgwC0&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT&index=15>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HI1pK-6-YEY&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT&index=34>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=labu553BB6o&t=390s&index=15&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

Halla bol

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BvYnknR6v7w&index=59&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LtXFssBkE-E&index=58&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ISEq674j4K8&index=54&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BvYnknR6v7w&t=461s&index=60&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LtXFssBkE-E&t=0s&index=59&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ISEq674j4K8&t=32s&index=55&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

Continue...

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fwfclg_JcW0&t=1351s&index=22&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DCidVI-ni2s&t=487s&index=19&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

Dustak

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tTKQbidcHoM>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OhDjwQ4tiog&t=49s>

Other Programs

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yCnzPfKePYw&t=6s&index=64&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=46tw-XBU6fg&t=22s&index=62&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8FjFPop9Y5M&t=18s&index=54&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tMwimtvWXil&t=15s&index=24&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P-8YVmxG5Ro&t=0s&index=21&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A2ibeclgwc0&t=0s&index=16&list=PLf-tMfd2oYo6k20PsTLzml-UWs9GzYgfT>

ANNEXURE V

Snapshots of News footage of Aaj Tak News Channel on Kashmir Situation 2016









ANNEXURE VI

Snapshots of News footage of NDTV India News Channel on Kashmir Situation 2016







NEWS POINT @8

NDTV



अभिज्ञान प्रकाश



वरिष्ठ पत्रकार

NEWS POINT

सर्वदलीय प्रतिनिधिमंडल ने पास किया



NDTV

NEWS POINT

हुर्रियत ने बंद किए बातचीत के दरवाजे



NDTV



नीता शर्मा
संवाददाता

घाटी में
कर्फूस

हेलीकॉप्टर और ड्रोन से लोगों पर रखी
जाएगी नज़र

Annexure - VII

Sample copy for the Evaluation of Mediation Frame in NDTV India News Content

0	0	0	1	1		
0	0	0	1	1	0.5	0.25
0	0	0	1	1	0.5	0.25
1	0	0	1	1	0.5	0.25
0	0	0	1	2	1.5	2.25
0	0	0	0	0		0
0	0	0	0	0		0
0	0	0	1	1	0.5	0.25
0	0	0	0	0		0
0	0	0	0	0		0
1	0	1	1	3	2.5	6.25
1	0	1	1	3	2.5	6.25
1	1	0	1	3	2.5	6.25
0	0	0	1	1	0.5	0.25
1	1	1	1	4	3.5	12.25
0	1	1	0	2	1.5	2.25
1	1	0	1	3	2.5	6.25
1	1	1	1	4	3.5	12.25
1	1	1	1	4	3.5	12.25
1	1	1	1	4	3.5	12.25
1	1	1	1	4	3.5	12.25
0	1	0	1	2	1.5	2.25
1	1	1	1	4	3.5	12.25
1	1	0	1	3	2.5	6.25
1	1	0	1	3	2.5	6.25
1	0	1	1	3	2.5	6.25
0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0

52 42 113

104 104

Mean Value 0.5

SD= 1.097087
1.047419

Annexure - VIII

Anova: Two-Factor Without Replication

SUMMARY	Count	Sum	Average	Variance
Row 1	4	1	0.25	0.25
Row 2	4	1	0.25	0.25
Row 3	4	1	0.25	0.25
Row 4	4	2	0.5	0.333333
Row 5	4	0	0	0
Row 6	4	0	0	0
Row 7	4	1	0.25	0.25
Row 8	4	0	0	0
Row 9	4	0	0	0
Row 10	4	3	0.75	0.25
Row 11	4	3	0.75	0.25
Row 12	4	3	0.75	0.25
Row 13	4	1	0.25	0.25
Row 14	4	4	1	0
Row 15	4	2	0.5	0.333333
Row 16	4	3	0.75	0.25
Row 17	4	4	1	0
Row 18	4	4	1	0
Row 19	4	4	1	0
Row 20	4	2	0.5	0.333333
Row 21	4	4	1	0
Row 22	4	3	0.75	0.25
Row 23	4	3	0.75	0.25
Row 24	4	3	0.75	0.25
Row 25	4	0	0	0
Row 26	4	0	0	0
Column 1	26	13	0.5	0.26
Column 2	26	11	0.423077	0.253846
Column 3	26	9	0.346154	0.235385
Column 4	26	19	0.730769	0.204615

ANOVA

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	P-value	F crit
Rows	14	25	0.56	4.265625	5.68E-07	1.653206
Columns	2.153846	3	0.717949	5.46875	0.001874	2.726589
Error	9.846154	75	0.131282			
Total	26	103				

Alpha= 0.765568