# Journal of Peace, Development and Communication

PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT

| Article: | **War and Peace Journalism: Coverage of Syrian Conflict in International Press** |
|---|---|
| **Author(s):** | Usama Iftikhar<br>Ph.D. Scholar in Department of Media Studies, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Pakistan |
| | Dr. Zubair Shafiq<br>Assistant Professor, Department of Media Studies, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Pakistan |
| **Published:** | 30th December 2020 |
| **Publisher Information:** | Journal of Peace, Development and Communication (JPDC) |
| **To Cite this Article:** | Iftikhar, Usama, & Zubair Shafiq. (2020). "War and Peace Journalism: Coverage of Syrian Conflict in International Press." *Journal of Peace, Development and Communication*, vol. Volume 4, no. Issue 3, 2020, pp. 133–155, https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V04-I03-08. |
| **Author(s) Note:** | Usama Iftikhar is a Ph.D. Scholar at Department of Media Studies, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Pakistan<br>Email: usamaiftikhar@gmail.com |
| | Dr. Zubair Shafiq is serving as Assistant Professor at Department of Media Studies, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Pakistan |

## Abstract

The Syrian conflict has been one of the main issues of the current decade and was widely covered by the international media. Our research aims to explore how the international press portrayed the Syrian conflict from the lens of 'peace' and 'war' journalism. Four newspapers of different countries which were directly involved in the issue were selected. Editorial pages of *The New York Times* of America, *The Moscow Times* of Russia, *Tehran Times* of Iran, and *Khaleej Times* of Arab States were chosen as a unit of analysis for the study. A sample of 918 stories was selected for examination. We used the content analysis methodology and selected the time period from March 15, 20ll to March 15, 2016. Our findings show that the Syrian issue is dominantly framed as war-oriented by the international media as compared to peace-journalism. Among war-indicators, a dichotomy is the most used approach, whereas in peace-indicators solution-oriented approach is the most repeated one.

**Keywords:**    Syrian conflict, peace and war Journalism, *New York Times*, *Khaleej Times*, *Tehran Times*, *Moscow Times*.

**Introduction**

The Uprising in Syria, which started in March 2011, is a part of a continuous revolutionary wave in the Middle East known as the Arab Spring. It got spur when a Tunisian unemployed young graduate Muhammad Bouazizi immolated himself on December 18, 2010 (Basselgia, 2012). Death of Bouzaizi accelerated the revolutionary movement in Tunisia, and later it expanded in the different Arab States before entering into Syria on January 26, 2011, where some modest anti-government protests appeared on the horizon (Imran, 2013). Peaceful processions against corruption and inflation, unemployment and press freedom, and dictatorship turned into violent riots, after the coercive reaction of security forces against the anti-Assad wall chalking slogans as the students involved were publically beaten (Bhardwaj 2012).

An intensified demand of resignation of Bashar al Assad from the general public was the outcome of brutal counteraction of ruling authoritative to suppress the revolutionaries. It acted as the fuel to boost the aggressiveness of protesters as well as their number throughout the whole country (BBC Report, 2015). Over time, external stakeholders like the USA, Russia, Saudi Arabia, China, Turkey, Iran, ISIS, and Hezbollah also got themselves involved in this conflict directly or indirectly (Berzins, 2013). Still, ongoing Syria unrest has resulted in hundreds of thousands of casualties, injuries, imprisoned, and refugees until now (Cozma & Kozman, 2016).

Technological modernism has eliminated the distances among the nations as well as interconnected the whole world (Friedman, 2005). Despite it, people have no direct access to current affairs of the world for which everyone has to rely on national or international media. Media always play a crucial role while presenting different dimensions of an occurring and having a significant effect on the audience (Mcquail, 1994). It explains an issue by analyzing its certain aspects and highlighting its scrutinized causes, illustrating responsible factors,

predicting possible results, and gives the best available corrective measures (Entman, 1993). By performing this, media plays a vital function in developing the public point of view about an issue (Reese, 2007). It provides direction to the people what to think about (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) and how to think about (Ray, 2004). Precisely, media not only put up the heated issues but also projects the public perceptions about them (Graber, 1987). It is advocated that conflict is the bread and butter for journalism because it sells in the market. People depend on the mass media about recent developments of the conflict, that is why media can design the minds of people in reporting it (Abid, 2017). The scholars who deal with the conflict resolution suggest that if a journalist fulfils the fundamental requirements of news values such as impartiality, independence, and accuracy, media has the power to play an essential and valuable part in conflict resolution (Howard, 2003).

In covering a geopolitical conflict media's role becomes more dominant and crucial as the public have no direct access to the issues and rely heavily on its coverage, so media has to cover different aspects of the scenario and identify all the prominent factors. It has to allocate more, less, or no responsibility to each of them. Thus it plays a significant impact in developing the general public's opinion about the subject or what Lippmann (1922) described as 'pictures in our heads' about the happening. According to Galtung (1998), conflict or war reporting is disclosed by two adverse frames, war and peace journalism. War journalism reactively describes a conflict in such a way that propagates violence, victory, and an elitist orientation. On the other hand, peace journalism proactively reports by giving the causes and solutions of the conflict and cover all the voices of affected parties in a truthful manner. This research concentrates on peace/war journalism by highlighting the role of media in Syrian conflict.

Researchers believe that a newspaper is one of the most antiquated sources to disperse any information regarding an international issue (Kartalic, Lacovic, and Tanackovic, 2014).

Every word printed in the newspaper lasts indispensable effects on the reader's mind (Maidel, 2010). The Editorial page is one of the significant and impactful portions of a newspaper (Elyazale, 2014). It includes the opinion text of the editorial board and writers whose purpose is to persuade the readers ((Richardson, 2007). The Syrian conflict is one of the most debated topics: in the recent decade in the world arena. The researchers want to explore how the international press portrayed the coverage of that issue in terms of 'peace' and 'war' journalism.   To check this coverage among international press: four newspapers of different stokehold countries involved in the conflict are selected. Editorial pages of *The New York Times* of America, *The Moscow Times* of Russia, *Tehran Times* of Iran, and *Khaleej Times* of Arab States are chosen as a unit of analysis for the study.  The Content analysis methodology is applied, and five years' time period is selected from March 15, 20ll to March 15, 2016.

**Objectives of the Study:**

This study aims to:

1) Examine the patterns of coverage of Syrian Issue in selected newspapers.

2) Investigate the dominant frames in the coverage from the perspectives of 'peace' or 'war' journalism.

3) To determine the salient indicators used in peace and war journalism frames.

**Literature Review**

Cozma and Kozman (2014) examined how US-elite newspapers framed International reaction on the use of chemical weapons in Syria. They selected one-month news stories of *The New York Times* and Washington Post from 21 August 2013 to 21 September 2013 for their study. Framing theory was preferred, and Galtung, peace/ war journalism, and episodic/ thematic frames were applied in research. Their findings showed that stories primarily focused on the diplomacy effort frame and did not pay attention to the ongoing civil war. However, the conflict frame was still dominantly used.

Greenwood and Jenkins (2013) examined the framing of Syrian Conflict pictures in News and Public Affairs magazines. They selected 193 photographs of 11 magazines from 5 March 2011 to 31 December 2012. Nine specialized publications and two traditional news magazines were studied. Researchers examined the findings in light of framing theory. Galtung peace and war frames are applied to investigate this study. Results showed that Public affair magazine visuals were different from others and promote peace frames in their depiction of photographs whereas, other magazines published conflict-oriented pictorial-frames. Khasib & Erosy (2016) examined the relationship of mainstream media with citizen journalism during the coverage of the Syrian conflict and also studied whether they used peace journalism in their reporting. His study revolves around five incidents, which were Baniyas and Bayda, Al Qusair and Khalidiya in Homs, the siege of Baba Amr, Yarmouk camp, and chemical on Al Gota. Findings showed that there was a strong relationship between mainstream media and citizen journalism in covering these incidents. He also found that Aljazeera has not applied peace journalism in its reporting while covering selected events.

Imran (2013) investigated the portrayal of Syrian unrest in the Arab and American press. He selected *The New York Times* and *Khaleej Times* for his study and studied one-year editorials and columns, from 15 March 2011 to 15 March 2012. He analyzed the difference in the coverage and treatment, given by selected newspapers to the Syrian-uprising. A sample of 197 stories was analyzed, among which 48 published in *The New York Times* and 149 in *Khaleej Times*. Findings showed that *Khaleej Times* gave more coverage in the number of stories, and *The New York Times* gave more coverage in terms of length and Space. Moreover, both newspapers followed their governmental policies on that issue. Rehman (2014) analysed the framing of the Syrian civil war in Saudi Arabia and Iran press. He chooses *Arab News* and *Tehran Times* for his research-work. Editorials of four years are

selected as a unit of study. He found the coverage and treatment given to Syrian civil war. *Arab News* published 191 editorials, whereas *Tehran Times* published 165 editorials. Findings show that *Arab News* framed the issue in the favour of opposition whereas *Tehran Times* framed the issue in the favour of Bashar-ul-Assad.

Crisp (2013) investigated the coverage and media framing on the chemical attacks in Syria. He selected two American newspapers: *USA* Today, and *The New York Times*. His research comprised the analysis of time before and after the chemical attack. Two weeks before and after the attack on August 21, 2013, are selected for analysis. There were 12 articles published in *The New York Times* and three in the *USA today* before the chemical attack, however after the attack, the *US today* published 31 articles and *The New York Times* printed 29 articles. His findings showed that before the chemical attack, both newspapers condemn the USA military intervention in the conflict, and after the attack, they supported military intervention.

The above studies have made significant contribution towards Syrian issue, however, what is missing in those studies is the role of major stakeholders in of the conflict, their countries and a vast comparison of the newspapers from the perspective of 'peace' and 'war journalism. Moreover, due to the less duration of the time period selected in the above mentioned studies, one cannot generalize the results. However, our current study covers a five-year time span in which the Syrian issue became of more significance throughout the world. Finally, our study involves a mixed-method approach by using both quantitative and qualitative analyses of editorial pages of the selected newspapers.

**Research Questions:**

1. What was the extent of coverage giving to the Syrian conflict by the editorial pages of selected newspapers?

2. Whether war journalism or peace journalism was the dominant frame in the coverage of Syrian uprising?

3. To what extent is the coverage dominated by the approaches of peace/war journalism?

**Theoretical Framework**

The studies of peace/war journalism are backed by framing theory. This study is focused on the role of media in conflict, so frames used by selected newspapers in their editorial pages are investigated. Framing theory and Galtung Peace and War Journalism model are applied to support this research.

**Framing:**

The most admitted and quoted definition of framing is suggested by Entman (1993) that defines framing as a process of "highlighting the specific features of perceived reality so that it becomes more significant in a communication text in such manner that emphasizes a particular issue definition, moral assessment, causal interpretation, and treatment referral for the product explained" (p.52). According to Cappella & Jamieson (1997), framing is described as a question of slant, selection, composition, description, and put emphasis on 'use of words, and context' (p.57). Alkinro (2016) defines framing as emphasizing and de-emphasizing certain aspects of information in order to promote an agenda. Yang (2009) stated that the framing process includes constructing the message, its presentation, and its interpretation. This process aimed to influence public cognitive and behavioural responses. Gitlin (1980) describes it as principles for choosing, composition, presentation, and emphasis on what happens, what issues, and what exists.

**Galtung's Peace and War Journalism Model:**

Galtung (1998) stated that news-factors: personalization, elite-orientation, and negativism construct a frame that created a separation of rich and poor by portraying the good and evil in the world. He further explained, under-developed countries only become crucial

for news if there is any destructive event or fact to report about them. Whereas, if elite-countries perform any productive thing, a stereotype image is created in media. According to him, everything which has a negative or damaging impact like dictatorships, war, or violence belongs to non-elite countries while anything which has a positive or fruitful impact belongs to developed countries. On the basis of his work, he purposed the theoretical framework of peace journalism and war journalism: as two opposing frames in the reportage or coverage of the conflict.

He suggested the following four categories and linguistic orientations which are in practice for war/violence and Peace/Conflict patterns of journalism:

| | War/Violence mode of Journalism | Peace/Conflict mode of Journalism |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | **War/Violence-Oriented:**<br><br>• It treated conflict as a zero-sum orientation between two actors/parties.<br><br>• Focused only on physical consequences due to violence: material destruction, dead bodies, and wounded.<br><br>• Journalists are reactive; they waited for violence before reporting.<br><br>• Deals with it as a problem, interested in who prevails in war.<br><br>• See the others as | **Peace/Conflict-Oriented:**<br><br>• Try to find-out conflict formations, and intend for general win-win orientation.<br><br>• Explore to make the conflict transparent: open-space, open-time, and consequences anywhere.<br><br>• Treats involved-actors equally, and cover their voices, deals with conflict or war as a problem, and also focus on conflict-creativity.<br><br>• By means of compassion and understanding, see the others as humanizes them.<br><br>• Reporters are proactive: put effort into the prevention of any violence before it |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | dehumanizing them. | • happening.<br><br>• Focuses on the immaterial outcome of violence: the destruction of structure/culture, Trauma, and fame. |
| 2 | **Propaganda-Oriented:**<br><br>• Expose selected untruths; portrayed one-sided view.<br><br>• Tried to hide or cover-up lies. | **Truth-Oriented:**<br><br>• Investigate all the cover-ups, and uncover all the untruths |
| 3 | **Elite-Oriented:**<br><br>• Consider elite as a more reliable source; reportage as mouth-piece of them.<br><br>• Calling-names to their maleficent or evil-doers.<br><br>• Suggested that the elite can only be a peace-initiator. | **People-Oriented:**<br><br>• Reportage that becomes a mouth-piece of voiceless, and provides them the opportunity to express their selves.<br><br>• Calling-names to all maleficent or evil-doers.<br><br>• Stresses peaceful-tendencies among the people and draw attention to peace-initiatives. |
| 4 | **Victory-Oriented:**<br><br>• Treated peace as victory + armistice.<br><br>• Believes to find-out the full picture and answers on battle-ground (who throw the first stone?) | **Solution-Oriented:**<br><br>• Understanding peace = Non-violence + Creativity<br><br>• Concentrates on peace-initiatives; try to stop the Continue-war.<br><br>• Have faith in harmony, peaceful-society, structure, and culture. |

| | |
|---|---|
| • Concentrates on who has achieve the "upper-hand" in war. <br><br> • Have faith in a controlled society, institutions, and agreements. <br><br> • Leave the conflict un-solved, which starts again, when the old flares up. | • Believe in reconstruction and reconciliation. |

**Methodology**

The present study follows the content analysis technique by using qualitative and quantitative methods. This research comprises of four newspapers: *The New York Times* of America, *The Moscow Times* of Russia, *Tehran Times* of Iran, and *Khaleej Times* of the Arab States. The reason behind the selection of these countries-newspapers is the involvement of them in the conflict. Newspapers are selected on the availability and as the most-circulated English newspapers in their countries. Editorial pages of these newspapers are nominated as the unit of analysis. Researchers believe that editorial is the loud-speaker of editorial-board or policy blueprints of a newspaper and column or opinion is the creation of the individual writing, provides a space of flexibility and diversification to the writers on his/her viewpoints. The combination of editorials and columns/opinions provides a fair chance to find how the Syrian-conflict is framed in the selected newspapers.

Five years' time period from March 15, 2011, to March 15, 2016, is chosen for this purpose. The reason for the selection of this period is the importance, and impact of the issue during

that time in the world. This time can highlight most of the hottest debates of the Syrian conflict and is considered the most crucial period of the uprising.

This study is completed in two phases: In the first phase, each story is checked whether it frames the issue in the light of peace-journalism, or war-journalism, or neutral. Galtung's classification of 19 indicators is followed to evaluate the story; nine for peace and nine for war. Siraj (2007); Siraj & Hussain (2011); Khan (2019) also followed this approach in their researches. Every paragraph of the story is taken as a recording unit and the whole story as a contextual unit. Coders read each paragraph carefully and decided which indicator is more prominent in it. After counting the total indicators portrayed in the story, it is finalized as peace or war or neutral. If the peace-indicators are more than war, the story is considered as peace in the same way, if the war-indicators are more than peace, the story is war. If the number of indicators are equal, or no selected indicators are anticipated, then the story is treated as neutral.

In the second phase, arranged stories are further categorized according to Galtung's-indicators to check the domination between indicators. The whole-story is treated as a single contextual unit and each paragraph as a recording unit. Coders read every-paragraph carefully and decided which indicator is pre-dominant in it. Presented-indicators in the whole-story are then counted: if the indicator is frequently depicted, the story falls in its category. But if there is a tie between portrayed-indicators, then categorization will be finalized after reading the headline. If the narration is still not clear, it is settled on the length of paragraphs by counting the words; whose paragraph length is more, the story will fall on that indicator.

## 4.10 Frames and Categories Explanation:

The Following frames and its categorizations are analysed in the present study:

## 4.10.1 Peace-Oriented:

The story is said to be peace-oriented frame if it follows Gultung's following categories:

**Invisible Effects of War:**

It deals with emotional trauma, society damage, property loss, and affected culture.

**Solution-Oriented:**

It provides solutions to the conflict or issue in its reports.

**People-Oriented:**

Reports focus on common-people or actors and use them as a source of information in the context.

**Causes and Consequences:**

Articles carry causes and future effects of the conflict.

**Avoid Labelling of Good and Bad Guys:**

Stories avoid labelling any party; good or bad: in its reporting.

**Multi-party Orientation:**

It provides equal opportunity and covers all the voices of the parties involved in the conflict.

**Non-Partisan:**

The Story is neutral, without taking the side of any actor of the conflict.

**Win-Win Orientation:**

It has many goals and tries to highlight a win-win situation for all participants.

**Avoid demonizing language:**

It uses more precise descriptions, titles or names, and avoid the use of demonizing language.

**4.10.2 War-Oriented:**

The story is said to be war-oriented frame, if it follows the following Gultung's classification:

**Visible Effects of War:**

It focuses on causalities, dead, wounded, and confinement

**Difference Oriented:**

Reports highlighted the difference and trigger-indicators for involve-parties that lead to the conflict.

**Elite-Oriented:**

Stories give more importance to leaders and elites and considered them as a source of information.

**Here and Now:**

Reports just focus on the war arena.

**Dichotomy:**

It describes the black and white pictures in the reporting: by highlighting; good-guys, bad-guys, victim, hero, and villain.

**Two-party Orientation:**

It focuses on a win and loss of the matters; one party wins, other losses.

**Partisan:**

The Story is tilted; favor on the one party of the conflict and neglected the other.

**Zero-sum Orientation:**

It has only one goal in reporting, who wins: rather than highlight other issues.

**Use of demonizing Language:**

It prefers to use demonizing language such as vicious, inhuman, extremist, savage, brutal, fanatic, barbaric, ruthless, tyrant and fundamentalist, etc.

**4.10.3 Neutral:**

The story is said to be neutral if it does not apply any of the above approaches of peace and war journalism, or if the number of indicators of peace-approaches and war-approaches is equal, or if the number of neutral-values is greater than peace and war categories.

**Findings**

**RQ1. What was the extent of coverage giving to the Syrian conflict by the editorial pages of selected newspapers?**

It is observed that huge space is given to the Syrian conflict in the editorial pages of selected newspapers; 918 articles are published. The most number of stories are published in *Khaleej Times* and then in *The New York Times*, *Tehran Times*, and *The Moscow Times* respectively; Among 918 editorial page-stories: 442 are reported in *Khaleej Times*, 207 in *The New York Times*, 193 in *Tehran Times*, and 76 in the Moscow-times, as highlighted in table 1.

**Table 1 of this research shows the amount of Coverage given by newspapers**

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | New York Times | 207 | 22.5 | 22.5 | 22.5 |
| | Moscow Times | 76 | 8.3 | 8.3 | 30.8 |
| | *Tehran Times* | 193 | 21.0 | 21.0 | 51.9 |
| | *Khaleej Times* | 442 | 48.1 | 48.1 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 918 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

**RQ2. Whether war journalism or peace journalism was the dominant frame in the coverage of Syrian uprising?**

Findings clearly showed that the war-journalism frame is the most dominantly used in the editorial page-stories, and peace-journalism frames are the least applied in it. The total number of war-dominant stories is 579, neutral-stories are 199, and peace-oriented are 140, as shown in below table 2 that responded to this research question.

**Table 2 of this study highlights the use of dominant frames by the newspapers**

|  |  | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | War | 579 | 63.1 | 63.1 | 63.1 |
|  | Neutral | 199 | 21.7 | 21.7 | 84.7 |
|  | Peace | 140 | 15.3 | 15.3 | 100.0 |
|  | Total | 918 | 100.0 | 100.0 |  |

## RQ3. To what extent is the coverage dominated by the approaches of peace or war journalism?

The above research question is responded to in table 3 and 4. It is found that war-journalism approaches are more often applied as compared to peace-journalism indicators. Table 3 explains that dichotomy is the most repeated approach used in war journalism with 25.9 %, and then difference-oriented with 18.8 %, here and now 12.4%, use of demonizing language 10.9%, partisan 9.8%, visible effects of war 9 % two-party orientation 5.7%, Elite oriented 4.5%, and zero-sum orientation 2.9 respectively.

**Table 3 points out the indicators employed in war-journalism**

| | | Frequency | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Visible effects of War | 52 | 9.0 | 9.0 |
| | Difference Oriented | 109 | 18.8 | 27.8 |
| | Elite Oriented | 26 | 4.5 | 32.3 |
| | Here and Now | 72 | 12.4 | 44.7 |
| | Dichotomy | 150 | 25.9 | 70.6 |
| | Two Party Orientation | 33 | 5.7 | 76.3 |
| | Partisan | 57 | 9.8 | 86.2 |
| | Zero Sum Oriented | 17 | 2.9 | 89.1 |
| | Use of demonizing Language | 63 | 10.9 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 579 | 100.0 | |

Table 4 showed that a solution-oriented indicator is the most operated approach in peace-journalism: with 24.3 %, as followed by invisible effects of war 20%, people-oriented 17.1 %, causes and consequences 9.3%, non-partisan is also 9.3 %, multi-party orientation 7.9 %, Avoid labeling of good and bad guys 5.7 %, win-win orientation 5 % and avoid demonizing language 1.4 % respectively.

**Table 4 briefs the approaches portray in peace-journalism**

|  |  | Frequency | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Valid | Invisible Effects of War | 28 | 20.0 | 20.0 |
|  | Solution Oriented | 34 | 24.3 | 44.3 |
|  | People Oriented | 24 | 17.1 | 61.4 |
|  | Causes and Consequences | 13 | 9.3 | 70.7 |
|  | Avoid Labeling of Good and Bad Guys | 8 | 5.7 | 76.4 |
|  | Multi Party Orientation | 11 | 7.9 | 84.3 |
|  | Non Partisan | 13 | 9.3 | 93.6 |
|  | Win-Win Orientation | 7 | 5.0 | 98.6 |
|  | Avoid Demonizing Language | 2 | 1.4 | 100.0 |
|  | Total | 140 | 100.0 |  |

**Discussion and Conclusion**

The Syrian conflict is considered as one of the major international issues of the current decade. The Researchers explored how the international press framed the coverage of that issue in terms of 'peace' and 'war' journalism. Researchers found that Syrian conflict got significant space in the editorial pages of the important stake-holder countries who are directly involved in it. The findings of Rehman (2014) and Imran (2013) also showed that significant-coverage is given to Syrian issue. Result also shows that *Khaleej Times* gave the topic most space as compared to other newspapers. New York times on second, *Tehran Times* on third and Moscow Times on fourth. It is observed that war-frame is dominantly applied, neutral on second and peace-frame is the least applied by international media in its coverage.

Greenwood and Jenkins (2013) and Cozma and Kozman (2014) also pointed out that war-journalism frame is the most frequently used frame while covering the Syrian uprising.

This research briefed that among war-journalism indicators: dichotomy is the most applied approach by the international media that means it portrays the involved-parties in good and bad guys or victim and villain, and then difference-oriented that highlights the reports lead to conflict, here and now that emphasizes on war arena, use of demonizing language that gives offensive names, partisan that base on a one-sided story, visible effects of war that stresses on causalities and wounded, the two-party orientation that point out winners and losers, Elite oriented that depends on leaders and elite, and zero-sum orientated that believes in win and loss of the parties.

Similarly, results also informed that the solution-oriented approach is the most repeated indicator of the peace-journalism that suggests the solution of the clash and more-over followed by invisible effects of war that deals with emotional trauma and damage to culture and society, people-oriented that depends on common-people as a source, causes and consequences that focuses on reasons and future outcome, non-partisan that believes in neutrality, the multi-party orientation that covers all voices, Avoid labelling of good and bad guys that do not accept the judgment-approach, a win-win orientation that relies on the gain-gain situation for involved actors and avoid demonizing language that does not give offensive names.

Overall researchers found that Syrian-conflict is framed as war-oriented in the international press. According to Gultung (1998), everything which has a negative or damaging impact like dictatorships, war, or violence belongs to non-elite countries, while anything which has a positive or fruitful impact belongs to developed countries. Syria is an under-developed country; its conflict is also portrayed by practicing the war-journalism.

**References**

Abid, M. (2017). *The role of media in conflict resolution: The case of Pakistan and India.* PHD

thesis, University of Punjab, Lahore.

Akinro, N. (2016). *Media and conflict management in Nigeria: Analysis of war and peace*

*frames in the Boko Haram crisis coverage.* PHD thesis, Southern Illinois University,

Carbondale

Basselgia, J. (2012). *A Forecast for the Middle East: The Reemergence of an Islamic*

*Caliphate*

*in the Midst of the Arab Spring.* (graduation in the Honors Program), Liberty University.

From http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/honors/299/

BBC Report. (2015). *Syria: The story of the conflict.* Retrieved from

http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-2611686

Berzins, J. (2013). Civil war in Syria: origins, dynamics, and possible solutions. *National*

*Defense Academy of Latvia center for security and strategic research.*

Bhardwaj, M. (2012). Development of Conflict in Arab Spring Libya and Syria: From

Revolution to Civil War. *Washington University International Review, 1*, 76-96. Retrieved

From http://pages.wustl.edu/files/pages/imce/migration/wuir_spring_2012. pdf#page=76

Cappella, J., & Jamieson, K. (1997). Spiral of Cynicism: The Press and the Public Good.

Oxford

University

Cozma, R., & Kozman, C. (2014). The Syrian Crisis in the News. *Journalism Practice,* 9(5),

pp-

669-686. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2014.982940 accessed on 6 May 2016.

Crisp, J.D. (2013). Media framing, proximity and spheres: the media account before and after

the

August 21, 2013. Master Thesis. *Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest LLC,* Gonzaga University,

America.

De Vreese, C.H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information design journal+*

*document design, 13*(1), 51-62.

Elyazale, N. (2014). Characteristics of Newspaper Editorials: 'Chouftchouf' in 'Almassae'

Moroccan Newspaper as a Case Study. *New Media and Mass Communication,* 32, 2224-

3275

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of*

*Communication, 43*(4), 51-58. doi: 10.1111/j.1460- 2466.1993.tb01304.x.

Friedman, T. L. (2005). It's a Flat World. New York Times Magazine, p-32. Retrieved from

https://www.uflib.ufl.edu/pers/Town_Meeting/documents/ProQuest_8180690011.pdf

Galtung, J. (1998). High Road, low road: Charting the course for peace journalism. *Track*

*Two,*

7(4). Center for Conflict Resolution, South Africa.

Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making & unmaking of the*

*new left*. Univ of California Press

Goffman, E. (1974). Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience. *New*

*York,*

*NY et al.: Harper & Row*, 21-23.

Graber, D. A. (1987). Framing Election News Broadcasts: News Context and its Impact on

the

1984 Presidential Election'. *Social Science Quarterly, 68*(3), 552-568.

Greenwood, K., & Jenkins, J. (2015). Visual framing of the Syrian Conflict in News and

Public

Affairs Magazines. *Journalism studies,* 16(2), 207-227.

Howard, R. (2003). The media's role in war and peace building. *Post conflict development:*

*Meeting new challenges*. Budapest: Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed

Forces.

Imran, S. (2013). Portrayl of Syrian uprising 2011-2012 in Arab and American Press: A

Comparative Study of Khallej Times and the *New York Times*. M. Phil Thesis. Allama

Iqbal

Open University, Islamabad.

Khan, A. (2019). War or Peace Journalism: Exploring news framing of Kashmir conflict in

Dawn newspaper. *International journal of media science works,* 6, 1-6.

Khasib, N., & Ersoy, M. (2016). Citizen, mainstream and peace journalism relationship in

covering Syria events: A content analysis of Aljazeera. *Springer Science +Business Media*

*Dordrecht, 51,* 2647-2664.

Lippmann, W. (1922). The world outside and the pictures in our heads. *Public opinion*, 1-22.

Maidel, V., Shoval, P., Bracha, S., & M. Taieb-Maimon. 2010. Ontological content-based

filtering for personalised newspapers: A method and its evaluation. *Online Information*

*Review 34,* 5: 729-756

McQuaiL, D. (1994). Mass communication and the public interest: Towards social theory for

media structure and performance. *Communication theory today*, 235-253.

Ray, D. (2004). *Frames in the U.S. print media coverage of the Kashmir conflict.* (Graduate

School Theses and Dissertations), University of South Florida. From

http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/1216.

Rehman, A. (2014).  Framing of Syrian civil war in Saudi and Iranian press. M. Phil thesis,

University of Gujrat, Gujrat

Reese, S. D. (2007). The framing project: A bridging model for media research revisited. *Journal*

of Communication, 57(1), 148-154. doi: 10.1111/j.1460- 2466.2006.00334.x.

Richardson, J. E. (2007). *Analysing newspapers: an approach from critical discourse*

*analysis.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Siraj, S. A., & Hussain, (2011). War media galore in Pakistan: A perspective on Taliban conflict.

*Global media,* 5, 1

Siraj, S. A. (2010). Framing war and peace journalism on the perspective of Talibanisation in

Pakistan. *Media Asia*, 37, 1.

Tannackovic, S. F., Kratlic, M., & Lacovic. D. (2014). Newspapers as a Research Source:

Information Needs and Information Seeking of Humanities Scholars. Available at

http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/ assessed on 5 march 2018.

Yang, G. (2009). *The power of the Internet in China: Citizen activism online*. New York.