



FRAMING ON SHUJAAT BUKHARI'S DEATH AND AFTERMATH OF DEVELOPMENT IN INDO-PAK PEACE PROCESS

Dr. Deepa Viswam¹ and D. Guna Graciyal²

¹Head of the Department, Department of Visual Communication,
Mother Teresa Womens' University, Chennai.

²Department of Visual Communication, Mother Teresa Womens' University, Chennai.

ABSTRACT

With the split in BJP-PDP combine and the political developments in Pakistan as determined by the opinion columns and news stories in the four major National Dailies: The times of India, New Indian Express, Deccan Chronicle and the Hindu. This paper determines how political actors and journalists have interpreted the peace process after the murder of Senior Journalist Shujaat Bukhari in Jammu and Kashmir. To conclude, Frames scintillated pessimistic note more than optimism in Indo-Pak peace process.

KEYWORDS: Frame analysis, Conflict Resolution, Peace Process.

INTRODUCTION

Media framing of Shujaat Bukhari death followed by split in coalition (BJP-PDP) and rise of Imran Khan determines the way in which the public and policy-makers understand Indo-Pak peace process.

Framing is manifested in among other things the amount of media coverage of BJP-PDP, rise of Imran Khan and the language used to describe the actors and events on conflict. The type of framing induces policy-makers, other stalwarts to redefine the strategies that can be evolved under the new dispensation. Frames employed will decipher how the public will empathize with one of the sides involved or feel detached from events taking place far from there. Framing is analyzed through the depth of coverage and the language used to portray the context of events, Shujaat Bukhari's death, the UN report on Human Right Violations, split in BJP-PDP, the rise of Imran Khan, his anti-India policies and also bonhomie's *vis-a-vis* with India.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Bloch Elkon (2007): Policy-makers are dependent on key media outlet for most of their information about worked events as well as for understanding public opinion on different issues.

Bloch Elkon (2007): A number of scholars have drawn attention to the impact of media framing on public policy.

Nelson (1997) frames serve as bridge between elite discourse about a problem or issue and popular comprehension of that issue.

Benford and Snow (2000) first communicators such as political actors or social movements strive for a strategic framing of their goals and issues.

Volkenberg Semetko and Devreese (1999) a second line of research journalistic framing is referred to as a particular way in which journalists compose a news story to optimize evidence accessibility.

According to Gamson and Modigliane (1987), a media frame



can be defined as a central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to unfolding strip of events.

Reese (2001) typically frames are described in depth and no quantification is provided, it is argued that quantitative methods cannot grasp the real meaning of frames as one must capture the meanings embedded in the internal relations within texts which collapsing into reductive measures would obscure.

Pan and Koscki (1993) approach to frame analysis can be considered a subclass of qualitative studies.

METHODOLOGY

As discussed above the newstories, features, opinion columns editorials through frames have their differences in Shujaat Bukhari's death followed by spilt in coalition partners (BJP–PDP) elections and Imran's sworn in as the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

This research comprises comparative analysis of the framing as reported in TOI, the New Indian express, Deccan Chronicle and The Hindu .These papers are widely read in South India and is one of the main sources of news for political elites. This work studies approximately—articles from Times of India, The New Indian Express, Deccan Chronicle, The Hindu

Framing is categorized into three categories

- Death of Shujaat Bukhari
- Split in coalition partners (BJP–PDP)
- Imran rise to power and Indo-Pak relations

Shujaat Bukhari's Death and Aftermath of Developments:

Frames in the new story “stop press? Not at rising Kashmir “It was around 7:25 p.m. just 15 minutes to iftar mistook the noise of the cracker to sighting of the crescent moon. Faisal Yaseen associate editor of rising Kashmir sensed trouble. He could see the window panes of his editor Shujaat Bukhari car were smashed on all four sides. In the opinion column of the New Indian Express “Another Chronicler silenced” by Satwana Bhattacharya frames pertaining to sharing of information among journos which is in vogue may not be possibility with the death of Shujaat Bukhari. Frames were indicative it is going to be a rare phenomenon.

“Most scribes would be rendered dysfunctional minus that mutually helpful network of sharing”

In the opinion column “UN report on Kashmir” Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights Jammu and Kashmir, Azad Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan, introduced a 49-page report to conduct a comprehensive independent international investigation into allegations of human rights violations in Kashmir .But on the same day there were no news stories or opinion column based on the UN report on Kashmir in other newspapers instead there were column on Shujaat Bukhari. Though it was thought provoking column there were two contradictory frames one suggesting the debunking—the other report on High Commissioners ire. The opinion column June 18, 2018 in the Hindu by Radha Kumar writer and political analyst through the frames indicated the need for political dialogue as sought by Shujaat Bukhari. There were a few queries posed by Shujaat Bukhari at the occasion of meeting Radha kumar the political analyst were indicated in the frame,

“We might help assuage rage at the death of 120 youth during the summer uprising of 2010 he added but what after that could we get the government to engage in a result oriented political dialogue with the Azadi groups and Pakistan. Was there any hope of resurrecting the peace process of 2004–07?”

Author of the best selling MAN Asian literary prize longlisted novel autobiography of a Mad Nation in his article in the Deccan chronicle June18 ,2018 “Swords hanging from the other end of your pen” frames discussed on how different journalist had to face much more challenges “Those who dismiss all threats to media as a narrative media is guilty of not taking threats beyond the circles of high influence and power, highlighting the issue only if journalists of national recognition and reach are involved. Frames revealed how journalists were being cornered by threats. “It does not come together to fight to protect itself” Media people themselves dismiss threats too colleagues as a fall out of their partisan politics”

The June 18 2018 New story in the front page “ceasefire and terror shoots itself in the foot in valley” begins with gunning down of senior journalist Shujaat Bukhari was the last straw.

The newsstory senior editor Shujaat Bukhari killed by gunmen in Srinagar by correspondent in the Hindu indicated that there were no leads in Bukhari’s killing.

The news story on the front page “Kashmiri journalist shot dead, army jawan abducted and killed” June 15 2018, the lead framed that dealing a severe blow to the suspension of security operations in the valley during the holy month of Ramzan. This gave terrorists leeway to shoot Shujaat Bukhari stressed Times of India but the Hindu reflected the more on the leads of the killers.

The editorial in the Deccan chronicle stressed for “*Political dialogue in J&K is a must*”. Frames accused the Modi government of dogged refusal to have political dialogue and pursue military means provides ceding ground to militants on the very same day of the release of the UN report by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the targeted assassination of Shujaat Bhukari as a remit for political demands.

The daily lives of the reporter and their harrowing experience are framed as “*daily lives are negotiated amid conflicting narratives ideologies and affinities.*”

The editorial in the New Indian express “*The difficulty of being human in Kashmir*” “framed that though Shujaat Bukhari is universally liked as well as respected as much for his “*transparent desire for peace as his dignified moderation—the feral dogs—chose this gentle soul for their nightly supper this time*”

The Split in the Coalition Partners (BJP–PDP)

In the fracture of alliance in Srinagar the lead was framed: “*it was an unnatural alliance between two parties with conflicting ideologies one soft separatist and other hard Hindutuva*”. The news story had other frames like during the PDP government safeguarding of Article 370 (35A), withdrawal of 11,000 FIRs against stone throwers.

Followed by the death of Shujaat Bhukari, BJP– PDP split the opinion column in the Deccan chronicle Parsa Venkateshwar Rao Jr. in “*BJP J&K exit an act of cowardice and cunning*” has framed on “*BJP’s calculation it would use the security forces to deal with the stone pelting adolescents as it would with the militants half of whom are home grown and other half are infiltrators reveals the desperation of the BJP to give itself and image makeover as a party of tough nationalism in 2019 elections.*” If BJP aspires to be national party then it should treat the whole state as integrated whole giving up its hindutuva way of thinking in dealing with Jammu and Kashmir.

Happymon Jacob has similar remarks it might not have grown in Kashmir from organizational point of view “*which it always knew it would not be able to, but it certainly kept its local unit in Jammu context. So far BJP would now be better off without a soft separatist PDP and by being the side that broke ties first it has gained the first-mover political mileage.*”

But on the same day the front page of the Hindu, the frames broadly supported Governor N. N. Vohra taking charges as PDP and BJP parted ways.

But on the same day the new story in the New Indian Express “*Abducted J&K constable’s bullet ridden body found*” by Fiaz Wani framed how 27-year-old policemen was kidnapped by militants near his village of South Kashmir.

The Times of India gave with an opinion column by well known political commentator Neerja Chowdhury “*The mufti miscalculation framed the split Mehbooba words that a muscular approach will not work in J&K show that this may have had an inkling BJP wants to adopt a more hardline, law and order security approach in J&K rather than as political one*”.

The frames also pointed that Kashmir cannot be let go Azadi as it may open a pandora’s box with possibility of linguistic and ethnic communities making similar demands, north east Tamil Nadu.

In the Hindu, the opinion column by Sandeep Bhardwaj from the centre of Policy Research chronicled on “*the old Kashmir Jammu dilemmas*” how the split among the parties was not new and it had its origin right from the period of 1952–53 where the Jammu agitators revolted against the Abdullah

government .The jammuites were not pleased with the Abdullah land reforms and soon took to agitators S.P. Mookerjee led the agitation but after his death Nehru had to give in and relationship with Nehru was frayed and led to his arrest later.

In the opinion column ideology UN & and our Kashmir policy, the frames emphasized for the trifurcation of Jammu and Kashmir and withdrawal of the complaint from United Nations. No other successionists issue has been taken to on the UN agenda be it Tibet, Balochistan, Mondoras island of Philippines, Northern Ireland or even our own Naga or Mizo problem. A peace process with Pakistan is emphasized only after Kashmir is delinked from the UN.

IMRAN KHAN ELECTION

Imran khan and the election scenario were framed differently by several newspapers Times of India, The Hindu, The New Indian Express and the Deccan Chronicle. In the opinion column of the Hindu by Akbar Zaidi, Imran khan election campaign resonated with anti-India policies and there was no mention of the reciprocity and the promise by Khan that Pakistan would take two steps if India takes one step .But on the same day 27 July 2018 op-ed page Deccan chronicle Imran *“Pak gale force tabdeeli for change”* by Neena Gopal focus has been given to reciprocity *“no objection to talk if India takes one step Pakistan would take two were mentioned.”* Frames from opinion column by Pakistani economist keeps us on the tenterhook of the developments in Indo-Pak peace process where else the Indian journalists are exultant at the utterance. There were frames in the editorial of the Hindu *“The Pakistan test”* on July 27, 2018 with scurrilous attack on Khan for his alleged condemnation of human right violation in Kashmir and unforgiving attitude of the Indian government. Many frames from his speech were reported verbatim in the news story *“In Kashmir Pak army’s will would prevail”*.

“I don’t mind telling them Pakistan that dialogue is linked to terrorism. That i won’t discuss Kashmir is as long as there is terrorism .But you can’t say the whole dialogue is linked to terror”.

From the frames that appeared in the New Indian express it is obvious that the entire process of dialogue is seen in a new perspective.

Another news story in Times of India mentions *“we want to improve our relations with India, if their leadership also wants it”*.

But title of the new Indian express read *“Imran plays his opening shot by reaching out to New Delhi”*.

In the front page of The New Indian Express the news story reported that *“he made no mention of India’s main concern terrorism.”* But on the same day *“World page”* of the New Indian Express there were verbatim reports of Khan and he had dovetailed talk and terror making it more ambivalent.

In the page 360-story behind the news story 31 July 2018 *“the speedster in the chair”* many frames expressed the pessimism of Imran Khan leadership in Pakistan and guarantees for thaw in relations as he stoutly didn’t speak on terror.

From conciliatory speech of Mr. Khan former Indian Ambassador Kanwal Sibal, strategic affairs expert Uday Bhaskar, former Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan TCA Raghvan expressed peace process would be cul-de-sac this tenure too.

In the next story the frame in *“Pak wants resumption of bilateral talks”* Pakistan was ready to host that SAARC summit of 2016 which was postponed after a major attack on Indian army camp in Uri. In the opinion column of Saeed Naqui of the Deccan chronicle *“Will Erdogans turkey be a model for Imran the frames emphasized how trained terrorists had to be provided new avenues.”*

“Trained terrorists can only have one use as assets against any Muslim society which the trainer wishes to destabilize”

Financing terrorists became the hallmark in many columns of all newspapers. Model of governance for Mr. Khan were evoked by columnists drawing analogies which would deem fit.

In the Deccan chronicle the op-ed column with title *“For Imran India might not be biggest problem”* was prognosis.

“Realistically it is only after June 2019 that there can be some forward movement till then Imran Khan needs to get his act together to prevent the possibility of Pakistan finally transiting the status of failing state to a failed state”

“India is far too involved in its own internal challenges to desire any turbulence at the borders or in Jammu and Kashmir”

Bailout package was another pie in the cake where the Chinese support is ruled out and Pakistan is highly critical of CPEC.

They are dependent on western machinations who feel the necessity to rule out extremists groups. The editorial in the Times of India *“Naya Pakistan”* frames expressed Recep Erdogons Turkey be the model for Imran Khan. From the opinion piece of the Deccan chronicle, where Nawqvi suggests Erdogan rose to popularity by blocking US troops march to Iraq and wherein Turkish Flotitlida was blocked by Israel. The transfer of ISIS into Afghanistan is only a proof of continued presence of US.

“Islamabad, Beijing, Moscow are all persuaded that Taliban will have to be part of the solution in Afghanistan.”

In the editorial of Times of India *“Naya Pakistan”* there were sarcastic comments on Imran Khan Stewardship *“given Rawalpindi GHQ is the real author of Pakistan India policy it will be interesting to see how Khan manages the guards”* there were several frames from the view expressed under the title *“Imran Khan win further set back Indo-Pak ties”*.

“One step from India two step from Pakistan that means the ball is in Pakistan court”.

There were views from Sudeendra Kulkarni advisor to former Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee that *“There should be national consensus in India on engaging the civil –military centers in Pakistan”*

Cross-border trade has received a new fillip wherein the Pallavi Ragavan promotes desirability of increased trade in Pakistan can finally liberal themselves from bad governance by ruling elite should not be overlooked.

From Imran Khan, Pak a few positive signals the editorial of the Deccan chronicle 22 August 2018 framed the hugging by former cricketer and now Punjab minister Navjot Singh Sidhu embracing Pakistan Chief Gen. Qamar Javed Bajwa since the Pakistan army is the real inspiration of terrorism against India is the generals hug of Mr. Sidhu a roundabout way of saying that Rawalpindi would heed India red lines. There can be a definitive answer to this stage and we have to wait to find out.

In the editorial of the Hindu on the same day the frames expressed in quotes *“peace and development”*, best way to *“uplift people in the subcontinent”* *“constructive engagement”*.

The steps to stop financing terrorists were expressed through frames like *“Mr.Khan could earn Pakistan an economic breather if he adheres to the international financial action task force to demands on ending terror financing”*.

CONCLUSION

Frames in the Hindu discussed in op-ed page wherein Foreign Secretary to the government was skeptical of developments in Indo-Pak ties. As Imran is backed by the army and the ISI eschewing terrorism before resumption of talks would be obsession for Pakistan. There were other frames which deviated to his charisma and settlement on sovereign equality”.

There were many frames in The New Indian express especially in the opinion column of G. Parthasarathy *“No need to rush into uncharted Pakistan waters”* how Nawaz Shariff was sacked and the ploys used against him.

Major frames in all newspapers highlighted through new stories, features and editorials the relationship between army, the newly emerged political establishment in Pakistan, anti India policy and several editorials posit with anguish and other frames were pessimistic.

How Pakistan army toppled Nawaz Shariff government, orchestrated the rising of Imran Khan gave signals of only lackadaisical improvement in ties. Hawks within the Indian establishment who were skeptical

of the moves of Pakisthani cricketer turned politician are some measures to reckon with. Regional stability formed the focus in majority of the frames.

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