Visual Coverage of War on Terror in Pakistani English Newspapers

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Abstract:

According to peace scholar Johan Gultung war journalism frame highlights the differences between the conflict parties and promotes violence as a tool to conflict resolution while in his views peace journalism frames highlight the peace as a first step in its coverage and bring down differences between the war parties to resolve the conflict. Therefore, on the classification of peace scholar of these two competing frames, this study tried to investigate the news photographs of the war quantitatively (2014-2015), of ongoing war on terror in Pakistan using war photographs. The current study examined that to which extent the news photographs of war are framed in war versus peace journalism in the two leading dailies of Pakistan Dawn (English) and Jung (Urdu). Findings of this study also indicated that both the newspapers provided war photographs in different assortments while covering the conflict in the country which proves that photograph selection in terms of war versus peace journalism had a very concrete touch on public opinion influencing the perception of news.

Keywords: War and Peace Journalism, Conflict, War on Terror, Media, News Photographs, Framing

INTRODUCTION

Since 9/11 and the US invasion of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan media coverage of this so-called war against terror has been remained subject to predispositions and focus, not only for those who are directly related with or affected by but for the global media organizations and media academics. As a frontline state in the great alliance against the war on terror, Pakistan played a significant role that cannot be disregarded and as a result, the country and the whole Pakistani nation faced the brunt of war signs of which were visible on the economy, stability, and peace of country for a very long time. The current study is about the framing of news photographs related to war on terror in Pakistan published in Prominent Newspapers Daily *Dawn* (English) and *Jung* (Urdu). The photographs of war are analyzed in the war versus peace journalism frames to know how these photographs are framed, either these photographs are igniting the war or de-escalating the conflicts.

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The visual studies are on a very less scale in Pakistan and this study explores the new dimensions of war studies in the country. The discussion of the study focuses on the portray of war photographs particularly how these photographs are framed and which view of the picture is made more salient to the audience, either it is shown in this way that these pictures escalate the spell of war or there are also some frames used for making peace.

BACKGROUND OF WAR ON TERROR IN PAKISTAN

Pakistan became part of an international alliance established after the attacks of 9/11 on America. America accused Al-Qaida (a militant organization) of these attacks. Al-Qaida was operating from Afghanistan and the rulers of Afghanistan were Taliban and there is no doubt that Pakistan was the only country that had strong diplomatic relations with the Taliban government.

Pakistan takes "U-Turn" on her policies towards the Taliban government due to international demands and pressure and was also threatened by the US that to be "A friend or Foe". Pakistan at that time was under military rule of General Pervez Musharraf who was the president. He quickly jumped into the international alliance to save his country from war and give full assistance to the US and her Allies to attack Afghanistan by providing them Ground, Sea, and Sky of his country. This Assistance became at a very high price for Pakistan, the local tribesmen, sympathizers of Taliban and Taliban forces escaped the bombardment of US and Allied forces and they trickled into Pakistan and started fighting against the Pakistan army in border areas with Afghanistan which resulted in the long term insurgency in the country. According to Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, as many as fifty thousand soldiers and innocent civilians have been killed and the economic loss reached more than one trillion-dollar mark (Hussein, 2014). This growing power of Taliban militants encouraged them to attack Pakistan with full capacity. Soldiers, civilians, politicians, schools, mosques, markets, hospitals, these all faced the lash of terrorism (Jamal & Ahsan 2015).

In response to this insurgency, Pakistan started military operations with US assistance. The outcome of these operations was the displacement of millions of peoples and human losses on both sides including local peoples. When the barrels failed to bring peace the fighting turned into negotiations and peace accords. The major peace accord was signed between the Pakistan army and Taliban commander Naik Muhammad who was latterly targeted by US drone predator and was killed. The peace accord ended and once again the conflict gained momentum and spread in the whole country. A military operation Zarb-e-Azb was started in June 2015 against the militants of North Waziristan in the aftermath of the barefaced attack on Karachi airport after the failure of negotiations between Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and the government (Dawn, June 15, 2016). However, the attack of Army Public School (APS) on 16 December 2016 in which 140 students and their teachers were killed changed this operation into a full-fledged war against the militants, and the militants were searched out in the whole country either they are in tribal areas or settled areas. The facilitator or sympathizers of these militants were also charged as militants. According to the South Asian terrorism Portal (SATP), in Pakistan, during 2013, terrorists carried out 43 attacks, however, during 2015, 2016 the number of suicide attacks plummeted in the country and the credit goes to the operation Zarb-e-Azb. (SATP, June 26, 2016, The Guardian). The facts released by the Inter-Services Public Relation(ISPR) on the two-year completion of the operation Zarb-e-azb are self-explanatory to manifest the success of the operation. Over 4,000 square kilometers of land in North Waziristan, including the most treacherous and rugged terrain of

Shawal, has been cleared of terrorists, which included 900 terrorists of proscribed militant organization Lashkar-e-Islam. The valiant Pakistan Army successfully carried out 19000 Intelligence-based operations (IBOs) on interrogation and lead generations. Pakistan Army also seized around 243 tons of explosives, enough to make IEDs (Improvised Explosive Devices) for 17 years, shut down 7,500 bomb factories, and a total of 3500 terrorists were killed, wiped out 992 safe havens and sanctuaries of terrorists. Pak army's 4900 soldiers including 17 officers embraced martyrdom, and over 2000 valiant Ghazis were wounded during the past two years (The Nation, 6 September 2016).

The specific objective of this study is to identify the primary frames of news photographs covering the war on terror in Pakistan and then the researcher analyzes each frame and relates it to the peace journalism perspective. It aims to analyze how the news photographs cover the War on Terror in Pakistan, and to know about the peace journalism perspective in the news photographs of Pakistani print media. The photographs are analyzed from a war and peace perspective to know the extent of peace in the photographs. It also aims to analyze how the photographs conforms to the perspective of peace journalism. These findings provide contextual background to visual studies and explore several scholarly glide paths to peace and conflict resolutions as very few studies are available on visuals communication especially on conflict communication in Pakistan.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Visuals had a great effect on the audience which has been proved through various studies done by scholars of communication in many countries. Visuals are an essential part of communication in political, business, and cultural issues, and in the modern age of technological communication, visuals became more useful to convey messages to the target audience. Visuals are also used for propagation in the modern era of communication to promote one's cause and mission, mostly in conflict regions (Seo, & Ebrahim 2016). The impact of visuals is much higher than the words or verbal communication. The picture may be less prominent but its effects are much higher because in visual the audience has direct eye contact with a picture and they can feel and judge the emotions of the people in the picture. Psychologically it has been proved that words go into short-term memory and visuals are saved in long-term memory (Brady, Konkle, Alvarez & olive, 2008). Pictures become icons and serve as an exemplar of a particular event or issue (Perlmutter, 1998). He suggested that the audience can recall the news through several key images and icons and humans are more responsive to visuals whether we accept it or not but the pictures can make us happy, excited, angry, disgusted,or   curious more than words. Photojournalism is commonly supposed to be factual, unbiased, storytelling, courageous, and attention-getting. Paintings get their meaning in the world of painters, collectors, critics, and curators so the photographs get their meaning from the way they are involved with them, understand them, use them, and thereby attribute meaning to them (Beckera 1995, 1982). Images of warlike photographic records of other dramatic crises and events are often treated as a spontaneous, powerful, and authentic depiction of real events and real human experience (Griffin,2010). Pictures can easily seduce us into thinking that we can experience human events vicariously, at home in our dens and living rooms if we only have the right cable and Satellite TV subscription or internet access and that we can know something of the tragedies and triumphs felt by those directly affected by the war simply by seeing the pictures of the war. Fahmy& Neumann in their study (2012) analyzed the photographs of three

newswires AP, AFP, and Reuter during the Srilankan civil war in 2009 and the results show that AP focused more on peace journalism than Reuter and AFP that means that newswires are serving different purposes of news market in visuals.

Viewers perceived graphic visuals to be important in communicating the ugliness of war helping those who are far removed from a conflict to understand the degree of brutality or the degree of force applied (Fahmy& Johnson). Patty (2010) analyzed the news photographs of two British Newspapers, The Time & The Guardian in which he concluded that both the newspapers followed the theme of the human cost in which The Guardian focuses on the loss of human lives while The Time framed the conflict photographs neutrally showing both parties of conflict during Lebanon and Israel war. The war photographs had inherent attraction as the attention paid to war pictures in news stories and videos of war, production of war movies, and popularity of iconic photographs of war, the high rating of television channels live from the war zones, military documentaries and popularity of war-themed video games affirm the people captivation to war visuals. Photojournalists are accordingly trained and encouraged to choose conflict zones and dangerous locales to seek out and produce high impact pictures, and conflict is considered to have maximum news values and, in fact explicitly recognized in journalism text books as a primary criterion for defining news (Griffin, 2010). Fahmy and Huang (2013) analyzed the photographs and text of the US and Chinese newspapers and found out that Chinese media covered the torch relay event as the event harmony promoting the event and the US media missed no chance to show the event as a protest, both countries media reflected the policies of the government in the news coverage. Griffin and Lee (1995) analyzed the pictures of the Gulf War printed in the three highly circulated US magazines Time, News Week, and US News & World Report. The Time printed 3 pictures of Iraqi soldiers while Newsweek published two photographs of Iraqi soldiers, US News and World Report published not a single picture of an Iraqi soldier. The focus of the news was on technological improvements not on human losses. Bruce (2014) analyzed the visuals of transnational Arab news channels during the Arab spring in 2010-2011. Five news channel visuals were analyzed from December 2010 to June 2011 and the findings revealed that these channels cover more human interest than the western news channels. Overall the current literature on visuals indicates that visuals had great effects on the audience and visuals can manipulate the opinion of the audience.

The study focused on these questions: To what extent the visuals coverage of the war on terror vary after the attack on Army Public School (APS)? Do the photographs in the newspapers emphasize the portrayal of physical and emotional suffering of people across different age? Is there a difference between the focus on war and peace journalism in the photos of chosen newspapers? Which areas got more attention in the visuals of selected newspapers?

RESEARCH METHODS

The content analysis developed as the full-fledged scientific method during the 2nd world war when the US organized a project to counter enemy propaganda. Bernard Berelson published the content analysis in communication research in 1952 which announced many realizations for techniques as important tools for media and social sciences researchers. Content analysis later got much attention from social science researchers and political and history scholars and was used as an important tool for communication research. Holsti defines content analysis as the method or technique for making interference by systematically and objectively identifying the characteristics

of the message. Content refers to what is contained, and content analysis is the analysis of what is contained in the message (Parsad). The analysis of news stories, radio, television, symbols, letters, books, text, documents, songs, and all the things which contain any type of message is the stuff for the content analysis.

The researcher collected the random sample consisted of news photographs of four months with a timeframe from November 2014 to February 2015. The photographs of the war on terror published in selected newspapers are collected from the Archives of the National Library of Pakistan. In 2014 after the attack on Army Public School, the war on terror gained momentum, and operations against the militants started in the name of Zarb-e-Azb in June 2014. One of the biggest terror attacks on Army Public School changed the conflicts to full-fledged war in 2014. Therefore, the researcher selected this period because the war against terror was at its peak boosted by the APS incident. This study emphasizes the visuals frames of war on terror in the war versus peace journalism frames. The data set consisted of 195 photographs of war on terror which were published in selected newspapers, in which Dawn (English) contributed 111 pictures and Jung (Urdu) contributed 84 pictures in the four months of timeframe. To get the representative sample all the photographs which depict the victims, belligerents, protestors, negotiators, destruction of war, injured and dead bodies of security forces and militants are selected for the analysis.

Selected model of coding was used by the past researcher in the visuals analysis of conflicts in war versus peace journalism (Lee &Maslog 2005; Maslog 2006; Fahmy & Neumann 2012).

Newspaper: This category identifies the newspapers in which the picture is published. For the study the selected newspapers are Dawn & Jung.

Period: This category describes the time period that when the picture is taken and the time period is further divided into two categories before and after the incident of Army Public School (APS). The exact date and time pictures are not included.

Region: This category is divided in to three main subs, Tribal Area, Settled Area and other. Tribal Areas category contains the picture which are taken in Tribal Areas also known as Federally Administrated Tribal Area (FATA). Settled Area category is coded for those pictures which are taken in the settled cities of Pakistan like Peshawar, Karachi, Lahore, and all the cities of the country. In others category, those pictures are coded the location of which is not identified or not captioned by Newspapers.

Age: This category is sub divided into two, Adults and children. The adults contain all the pictures of security forces, militants, and all the other adults protesting, mourning, or any type of victims of any incidents. Only those pictures are selected for the analysis in which human beings are showed while those pictures which depict any type of destroyed infrastructure are excluded from the data.

Physical Harm: In this category, the extent of physical harm to the persons is categorized which is further divided into three main subs, Not Severe, Severe, and Most Severe. Not Severe is coded to those picture in which no clear signs of physical harm is shown like protesting people against war, Severe are those pictures in which physical harm is clear as well as the pictures depict the mourning, crying children and tears of men and women. While the Most Severe are the pictures in

which dead bodies, coffins, human body parts, blood on the floors, hanging bodies of human are shown.

Role: This is very important to note that what the individual was doing when the picture is taken. This category is more segmented into four categories which are Victim, Security Forces, Militants, and Protestors. The victim is coded for those pictures which show all the victims including adults and children who suffered from conflicts or any incident. The security Forces category contains those pictures in which the security forces are shown in any situation either they are in a war, standing alert on duty, or the dead bodies of security forces. Militants category shows all those pictures in which militants are covered either they are in any type of action or dead bodies of the militants. Protestor's categories contain the pictures of all the protestors who protest against the militant's attacks, against terrorism, against the military operation or war.

Emotions: In this category, the emotions of the people in the picture are assessed which is shown in all the pictures especially in close shots the emotions of individuals are very clear. The focus was on the emotions of the people in the pictures which were emphasized by any angle. The researcher dichotomized the emotions in Negative and Positive. The Negative emotions are those which show anger, frustration, sadness, hate, mourning, and pain, while the Positive emotions are those which reveal hope, confidence, optimism, redemption, and happiness.

RESULTS

The results of the 1st question demonstrate that the war on terror varied after the incident of APS which shows that conflict coverage tilts towards war journalism.The data consisted of 195 pictures of which *Dawn* contributes with high number of 111 pictures than *Jung* with 84 pictures.The 1st table indicates that the coverage of war on terror was not so high and before the incident of APS the number of pictures were in such reduced numbers as compared to after APS attack.

Table-1

Newspaper	Before APS	After APS	Total	Chi Square	Asymp.sigma
Dawn	34	77	111	97.5	0.53
Jung	16	68	84		
Total	50	145	195		

Table 1 showing the visual coverage of war on terror before & after the Attack on Army Public School (APS).

The results of 2nd research question present the physical and emotional sufferings of different age in the visuals of selected newspapers. The age category is divided into two, children and adults. In the visuals of selected newspapers, the Dawn visuals depict 3 pictures out of its whole coverage of 111 pictures which is the 2.7percent, being most severe (showing dead bodies and coffins) while 18percent of its coverage depicts severe (with clear physical harm) and 78.3percent of pictures in Dawn werenot severe (No Clear Physical harm). Jung pictures also depict 61.9percent as not severe, 20.2percent severe and 17.8percent most severe which are higher than Dawn. In the physical harm category, 27.1 percent(n=53) in both newspapers portray the physical suffering of

children in which 69.8 percent(n=37) are Not Severe, 16.9 percent(n=9) are Severe while the Most Severe pictures of children are 13.2percent (n=7) in both newspapers. In the whole data Adult Depiction is 72.8percent (n=142) of the whole data set in which 71.8 percent(n=102) are Not Severe, 20.4percent (n=29) are severe while the Most Severe is 7.74percent(n=11) of the whole adult's pictures.

Table-2

Physical Harm	Children	Adult	Total	Chi Square	Asmyp.sigma
Not-Severe	37	102	139	97.5	0.53
Severe	9	29	38		
Most-Severe	7	11	18		
Total	53	142	195		

Table 2 shows the results of Physical Harm of pictures according to Age in both newspapers

Table 3 presents the results of Emotions. The 2nd part of the question in which most of the Pictures depict frustration, sadness, anger, and mourning. Dawn provides 19.8percent (n=22) with Positive Emotions which show optimism and hope, while 80.2percent (n=89) with negative Emotions out of its whole data. Jung provides more pictures with negative Emotions than Dawn which are 1.1percent (n=1) with positive Emotions and 98.8percent (n=83) with negative Emotions.

Table-3

Newspaper	Positive	Negative	Total	Chi square	Asmyp.sigma
Dawn	22	89	111	97.5	0.53
Jung	1	83	84		
Total	23	172	195		

The overall results of Table-3 indicate that pictures of both newspapers related to war on terror portrayed more negative emotions, total pictures with positive emotions are 11.8% (n=23) and negative emotions are 88.2% (n=172) out of the total data set provided by both newspapers.

The 3rd question is about the extent of engagement of both the dailies in war and peace journalism. The role category is further divided into four Militant, Security Forces, Protestors and Victims where the portrayal of Militants and security forces are considered as war journalism as well as the pictures of protestors are in war category because all the photographs of protestors published by the selected newspapers are protesting against one party, no protest against the war or for peacemaking is covered. Only victims are considered as peace journalism.

In the fourth table, the results indicated that *Dawn* in its total provided data depicts 45.9percent(n=51) war frames in pictures while 54.1percent (n=60) depicts peace frames in its visuals. Jung framed 61.9percent (n=52) in war journalism while 38.1 percent(n=32) in peace

frames out of its total provided data. Overall results proposed that total pictures in war frames provided by both newspapers which is 52.8percent (n=103) is higher than peace frames which is 47.2 percent(n=92).

Table-4

Newspaper	War Frames	Peace Frames	Total	Chi Square	Asmyp sigma
Dawn	51	60	111	97.5	0.53
Jung	52	32	84		
Total	103	92	195		

Table 4 shows the results of both newspaper's pictures in war and peace journalism perspectives.

The 4th and Last question of the research about the regional focus in the pictures that from which areas pictures of war are originated, shows that most of the pictures by both the newspapers are originated from settled areas (all the cities of Pakistan) which is 78.4percents(n=153) while picture taken in other are 16.9percent (n=33) and tribal areas depiction in all the pictures of both newspapers is 4.6percent (n=9). Dawn originated 2.70percent (n=3), pictures from Tribal area, 84.6 percent (n=94) from settled area and 12.6 percent (n=14) from other. Jung published 7.14 percent (n=6) pictures of tribal area,70.2 percent (n=59) of settled areas and 22.6 percent (n=19) of other.

Newspaper	Tribal Area	Settled Area	Other	Total
Dawn	3	94	14	111
Jung	6	59	19	84
Total	9	153	33	195

Table-5

Table 4 sho the results of newspapers pictures of war on terror in Regional Focus

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

The 1st question of the research is about the coverage of onward motion of war in the media and the results show that the coverage was minimal before the attack of APS while after the attack, coverage became high, thus this high representation of war visuals are ascertained as oxidizable, victory oriented and war journalism.

In the 2nd question findings, the results show the physical and emotional suffering of people. In the analyzed photographs the pictures of adults are more in number than the children. Coverage to the civilians is very important because according to a report issued by IPPNW Germany, Physician for Social Responsibility (PSR) and Physician for Global survival casualties of war in ten years are reported and the civilian death toll is on the top of the list. According to the report in Pakistan's war

on terror from 2004 to the end of 2013, 48,504 civilians are killed and 416 to 951 civilians are killed including children in drone strikes. Overall negative emotions dominated all the visuals published in the selected newspapers which is demoralization of war-affected people. Hope, optimism, confidence, and happiness is compulsory for the visuals which are missing from the newspaper's visuals.

Findings of the third question indicate that war frames are high in numbers than peace in the overall results of both newspapers. while Dawn contributed to overall data with more peace frames and gives coverage to the victims of war who are mostly civilians, displaced peoples from the conflicted zones, people affected by both parties of war, thus visual coverage of Dawn was people-oriented which is Peace journalism. Jung's coverage of visuals are dominated by war frames. Jung's visual focus was on conflict, showing belligerents, dead bodies, and rage of the people supporting one party which is igniting the war. In regional focus, both newspapers originated most of the pictures from the settled areas and the representation of tribal area was very less which results in asymmetry and unbalance. The tribal area is actually the conflict zone where the operations are going on against the militants and safe heavens of militants are in these areas from where these militant's groups are operating and fighting with security forces. Thus, it is very clear that in conflict zones where the journalists are not allowed and they face restrictions, journalism is embedded inthe war frames increased from peace frames.

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Date of Publication	June 10, 2021