

# **BRIDGING BARRIERS: MEDIA AND CITIZEN DIPLOMACY IN INDIA-PAKISTAN RELATIONS**

**NIDHI SHENDURNIKAR TERE**

## **Exploring citizen diplomacy**

As a practice of state-craft among the various actors in international politics, diplomacy is a widely acknowledged and integral part of the affairs of the international system. States as the major players in international politics need to talk to each other, negotiate and bargain power positions, get involved in exchange of ideas, products and services and locate themselves in the comity of nation-states that constitute the globe. They do this through various channels and modes of communication, diplomacy being one of those. The purpose of this section is not to elucidate upon the background and origin of diplomatic practices in the context of international politics, but to engage with a more micro and niche form of diplomacy, i.e *citizen diplomacy*. The vibrant and multi-layered nature of the diplomatic process lends a kind of flexibility to even the peculiar and more official nature of diplomacy. As understood simply, diplomacy is carried out by those in governmental power and position, far removed from the daily routines of a citizen's political and social life. An ordinary citizen is believed to be isolated from diplomatic formalities as the nature of the process demands highly skilled personnel usually found in the elite circles of political life. Apart from this, the fact that the conduct of foreign policy is a domain of the government also tends to exclude the man on the street from the conduct of international affairs. However, with the emergence of the concept of multi-track diplomacy the scope of diplomatic practices has widened to incorporate all those actors who were previously not a part of diplomatic processes. Different scholars have identified different tracks/levels of

---

Nidhi Shendurnikar Tere, is a Senior Research Fellow at the Department of Political Science, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara, Gujarat – India  
*Regional Studies, Vol. XXXII, No.2, Spring 2014, pp.109-133*

diplomacy. However, the most popular categorization is that provided by Dr. Louise Diamond and Ambassador John McDonald (1996) of nine different strata of diplomacy which include a range of activities by groups like non-governmental organizations, private citizens, businessmen, researchers, educators, activists, religious groups, and the media in addition to the primary actor — the government<sup>(1)</sup> A classification provided by T.V. Paul (2006) divides diplomacy into five tracks:

Track I – Official interaction between governments

Track II – Unofficial policy-oriented dialogue aimed at problem-solving between skilled, educated, experienced and professionally informed private citizens of both countries

Track III – Interaction and exchange between business professionals

Track IV – Citizen exchange, people-to-people contacts, cultural exchanges, contacts between the entertainment industries

Track V – Media-to-media based efforts whereby the media of both the countries attempt at educating and exposing the populations to culture, ideas, philosophy and aspirations of the ‘other.’

The rationale behind the concept of multi-track diplomacy was to widen the base of diplomatic efforts as well as find a solution to the persistent incompetence and failure of governments to engage in successful diplomatic exchanges. Contentious issues between rival states which cannot be resolved only with governments engaging in a dialogue and need a broad-based approach to conflict resolution and peace-building may do well to make diplomatic practices inclusive and multi-track. Among the different levels in diplomacy, this paper will explore the concept of *citizen diplomacy* which is referred to by some as ‘Track II’ and by others as ‘Track III’ diplomacy. To dispel this confusion of the varying terms used by different scholars in the field, this study uses the term *citizen diplomacy*. The intention is to not reduce this kind of diplomatic practice to a numerical or a level but to highlight the significance of citizen efforts in it.

As a practice in diplomatic relations, the emergence of citizen diplomacy is very recent. The concept cannot be understood in isolation. This paper examines the concept of *citizens as diplomats* in the context of four crucial developments which drastically changed the conduct of international politics in the post-Cold War era. These are: *globalization, developments in technology, mediatization and the rise of non-state actors such as the civil society, non-governmental organizations, pressure groups*, among others. The abovementioned developments played a significant role in transforming and widening the role of citizens in international affairs. The emergence of a unipolar world order after the dissolution of the Soviet Union witnessed the influence and hegemony of American culture over the globe. The concept of borders becoming redundant, physical distance between different peoples reducing as a result of technological innovations, rise of newer and alternative forms of media like the internet, social networking, blogs, community media and the civil society assuming an upfront role in international politics — all of these developments provided the push for a much larger and more constructive role

for citizens in the process of diplomacy. The concept first emerged in the United States which sought to exercise its 'soft power' in the form of projecting its culture, way of life and American perspectives on international issues to citizens across the world who held an extremely stereotypical and narrow views about Americans. In a world that was linked as never before, the power of citizens serving as diplomats and ambassadors of a national culture was recognized by initiating exchange programmes, one-to-one interactions, educational and cultural interactions and visits to foreign lands in a bid to establish bonds of friendship and cultivate a deeper understanding of American culture — something which was difficult to achieve through traditional diplomatic efforts.<sup>(2)</sup>

Joseph Montville (1981) defined citizen diplomacy\* as “*unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversary groups or nations which aim to develop strategies, influence public opinion and organize human and material resources in ways that might help to resolve their conflict.*” The paper identifies a few distinct features of citizen diplomacy to distinguish it from official diplomacy which usually involves people from the government, the armed forces and the foreign office.

- The power in citizen diplomacy lies with people who are in no way associated with the government or any power position. These are the people who are viewed as the least important stakeholders in bringing about a change in antagonistic relations.
- The capacity of citizen diplomacy lies in building trust and confidence among rival populations who have long been fed with hatred and distrust of the 'other'.
- A process of questioning stereotypes and enemy images can be initiated by citizen interactions between populations who have kept away from each other for reasons that are at best political.
- The possibility of direct contact, personal experience and humanizing the 'other' is offered only by citizen diplomacy whereas official diplomatic energies are aimed at asserting political and military superiority over the 'other'.
- As a practice, citizen diplomacy works mutually with official diplomacy and lends a kind of complementarity to ongoing governmental interaction. It can be easily incorporated into the framework of official diplomatic processes.
- It localizes grassroots experiences of citizens who engage with the 'other'.
- It does not require highly skilled knowledge and expertise that is essential to the conduct of foreign affairs as any citizen can serve as a diplomat of their country, with of course a minimum level of knowhow about the culture, tradition and history of their nation, eg travellers, teachers, and Journalists as Diplomats.

---

\* The term that Montville used was Track II Diplomacy clearly distinguishing it from the official Track I processes.

- Since it is unofficial in nature, citizen diplomacy is devoid of the pressure and expectations that surround an official diplomatic meeting.
- The informal nature of interactions involved in citizen diplomacy offers a wide range of perspective and ideas to be incorporated into discussions without the rigid and structured approach that characterizes official diplomacy.
- It is possible that sustained citizen diplomatic efforts result in popular demand and make governments realize the urgency of working on peace-based programmes and solutions.

The efforts at citizen diplomacy however cannot succeed in isolation since a conflict usually manifests itself at the macro levels of the government and then percolates down to the citizens who develop contempt or hostility towards the 'other'. Interactions between citizens of rival nations are regulated and managed by their respective governments and hence we need to acknowledge that citizen diplomacy is a process which can work in the larger diplomatic framework set up by rival states. Critics of citizen interaction and citizen efforts at peacebuilding allege that it does not result into concrete and workable solutions for long-term plans at conflict resolution. How can informal conversations, meetings and citizen summits pave the way for actual policy decisions when the ultimate power in international politics remains with the state? How can small/large group of people meeting and discussing with each other impact a macro-level foreign policy decision? These and other concerns limit the scope of citizen diplomatic efforts and the recognition that is due to citizens in foreign policy affairs continues to elude them.

With these arguments, the paper introduces the media into the landscape of citizen diplomacy. Apart from being an actor in this process, the author intends to explore how the media can become a platform for the conduct of citizen interaction, what are the advantages that the media offers to citizen diplomacy, how it facilitates various functions associated with the practice and how it can move beyond its predetermined role of information and communication when acting as a medium for citizen diplomacy. These and other questions guide the next section of the paper.

### **The media's role in citizen diplomacy**

The media is recognized as one of the many important actors in multi-track diplomacy, even though its potential as a platform for conducting diplomatic exercises is yet to be satisfactorily explored. Institutionalized media exchanges are a regular affair among rival nations wherein the effort is to educate media professionals about the culture, practices, and traditions of the 'other'. The main function of the mass media in unofficial diplomacy is 'information' and 'communication'. Media representatives in their capacity as citizens of their country as well as members of the civil society are expected to report accurately and truthfully on matters of inter-state concern, to not exaggerate the enmity among nations, make efforts to build a positive image of the 'enemy' and to report more on peace and reconciliation than on conflict and antagonism. Johan Galtung's model of Peace Journalism normatively prescribes

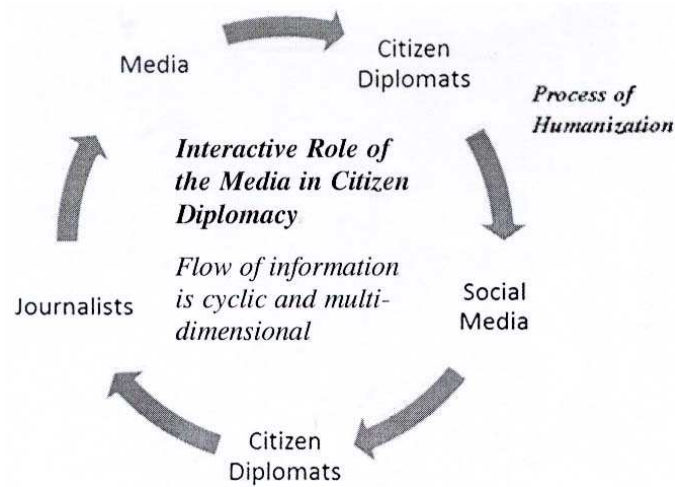
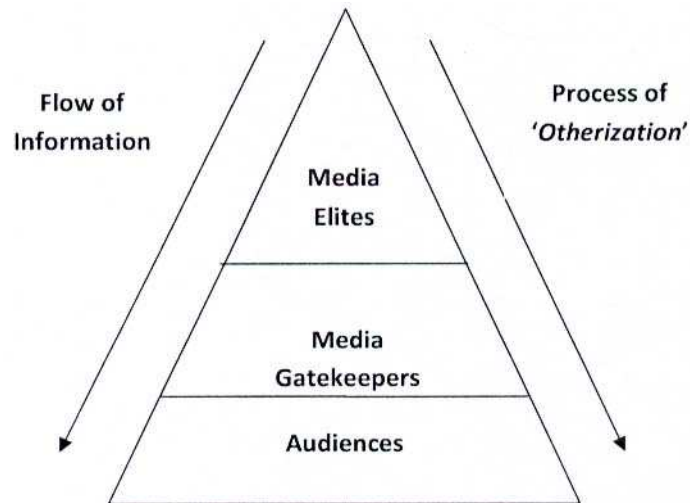
the media's role in conflict. Going by the nationalist and profit-oriented nature of the global media, structural, organizational and professional changes are required in the mainstream media for it to play a constructive role in unofficial diplomacy. With its arguments in this section, the paper intends to broaden the base of the media's role in citizen diplomacy by envisioning a diverse, multi-layered and independent media which acts as a venue/platform for citizen diplomacy to take place.

Venturing beyond the scheme of media exchange as a facilitator of citizen diplomacy is a must because the media (especially in South Asia, which is the focus of this paper) has remained obsessed with national security, patriotism and jingoistic nationalism. It has not wholeheartedly supported peace initiatives in the region. Besides this, South Asia is plagued by a serious information deficit whereby the exchange of media between antagonists\* is minimal, difficult and hindered by obstacles. In such a scenario, the role that media exchange among rival nations promotes is that of the media as primary sources of information whom the citizens trust when it comes to the 'other'. A whole chunk of information about the enemy is delivered through the media and it leaves no scope for questioning and doubting this information in the absence of any other credible source. This is a very limited role played by the media. What the paper envisions is a role where the media acts as a facilitator of citizen diplomacy by becoming the forum where citizen interaction takes place in its most primary form. It is a more cyclical kind of approach where there is continuous exchange of information between citizen diplomats and the media, leading to the establishment of both as highly reliable sources of information. This is depicted figuratively below:

---

\* Henceforth, the term 'antagonists' will signify parties/groups with conflicting interests or engaged in a conflict situation. The term is borrowed from Gadi Wolfsfeld's seminal work *Media and Political Conflict* (1997).

***Traditional Role of the Media  
In Citizen Diplomacy***  
*Flow of information is top-down*



**How the media works in citizen diplomacy**

Based on the second model suggested in the earlier section of the paper, a more interactive and informal role is proposed for the media in activities of

citizen diplomats. The routines of media and journalistic exchanges are surpassed to give way to a more comprehensive and broad-based role for the media in citizen diplomacy. There are many advantages of this kind of role. The following are ways suggested as some of the media can work as a platform for citizen diplomats and what benefits it imparts compared to the media's traditional roles:

- Whereas media exchanges have to be instituted and worked out within the frame-work of the official policy dialogue initiated by the government, there is no such constraint in the interactive model because it is here that the media works to fill a void that is created due to the lack of a free and vibrant platform of citizen diplomacy.
- As a part of the popular culture, an interactive media model is best suited to alter perceptions of rival populations when they have few chances of meeting and interacting with each other.
- An interactive media model can also surpass the official state-sponsored information channels and work for enhancing people-to-people contact. It can initiate independent conversations free from the prejudices of state dialogues and lead to some kind of direct contact between citizens. For example, Facebook has come up with a peace initiative that tracks the number of friend connections between people from different conflicting sides (<http://peace.facebook.com/>). The aim is to track each day the friend connections between people of different regions, religions, and political affiliations.<sup>(3)</sup>
- As a venue for citizen diplomacy, the media can be used as a forum to air alternative points of view which may not be possible in media exchanges conducted by regimes. The limitations and constraints of such interactions can be overcome through the interactive model. Citizen diplomats working through the media can also play the role of citizen journalists in their respective countries disseminating truthful and accurate information about the 'other' side.<sup>(4)</sup>
- For improved relations between rivals, it is essential that the engagement with the 'other' is not state-driven but 'people-driven'. This gives a better chance of improvement in relations as media's 'soft power'\* can be aptly utilized by citizen diplomats.

---

\* The concept of 'soft power' was developed by Joseph S Nye (1990) in his book *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. The concept was developed further in his book *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. Nye talks of soft power as the second face of power which serves as an indirect way to get what one wants. It rests on the ability to shape preferences of others. It is attractive power that can produce desired policy outcomes without coercion or force. Among the many resources of soft power apart from the values and culture of a country, the media and the images that it disseminates also constitute soft power. As a medium that transports cultural mores and images across the media is a resource for soft power as it can be used successfully to convey a positive image of one's own country and influence the 'other'. In this case, India's popular Hindi TV serials and Bollywood movies have worked as an effective 'soft power' tool for Pakistanis to gain an impressionistic understanding of Indian culture and ethos.

- There is a fear that citizen diplomacy like official (Track I) and Track II diplomacy may become elitist in nature; involving only a few who have the privilege. The entry of the media in citizen diplomacy will assure that the process remains inclusive and non-elitist so that those with media access can use it as a channel of communication with the 'other'. All sections of populations that were previously on the margins of diplomatic efforts (youth, women, marginalized segments of population, to name a few) can become a part of the process. The media may be able to create a more localized and grassroots-based experience for citizen diplomats. Through the media, citizen diplomacy can be made to reach even the most common of citizens who may otherwise have no stake in foreign affairs.
- The engagement of the young populations of embittered rivals with the 'new media' can be positively explored and experimented with. A generation which may not have witnessed the conflict but harbours ill-will towards the 'other' can be reached out to by the new media resulting into a toning down of rigid perceptions.
- As a medium characterized by virtual exchanges,<sup>(5)</sup> possibility of creation of a network of common interests, facilitation of dialogue, ease of media sharing and advocacy as well as virtual support for global causes, the new media can become an 'enabler' of citizen diplomacy. The flexibility in collaborations — creation, publication and sharing of content across borders — is a real-time experience through the new media. For instance, the comments section on Facebook or on a blog can serve as platforms for idea sharing.<sup>(6)</sup>
- Media platforms can offer novel ways of conducting citizen diplomacy, not adhering to formal contacts and exchanges. There lies a possibility to explore the many ways in which citizens from either side interact via the media following an unstructured and flexible approach. The nature of exchanges is more free, uninhibited and not bogged down by constraints as compared to the traditional model of interaction.
- Citizen diplomats working through the media are now recognized by the mainstream media as well as the mainstream diplomatic process. In a sense, the media works for the democratization of citizen diplomacy.
- The media can act as an initiator of the dialogue process which may then be taken further by various levels of official dialogue among the antagonists. It can serve as the first point of contact between citizens.
- The power of citizen engagement and that of the media can be harnessed together to root out the image of the 'alien other' from the minds of citizens.
- There is a possibility that the state may create barriers to traditional media exchanges by prohibiting contacts, visits and interaction by not granting visas for travel. This can be overcome when citizen diplomats continue to talk to the 'other' through the media.
- By becoming an active agent of citizen diplomacy, the media can translate peace into a marketable concept. Global media shows an



inclination towards profits and revenue, thereby citizen diplomacy could easily fit into the frame of media economy. This shall also broaden the peace media constituency which otherwise remains extremely limited to scholars, academicians, peace activists for whom talking about peace is 'fashionable'/'trendy'.

- The media's involvement in citizen diplomacy can enrich and widen the scope of the activity since the media in itself is a diverse and multi-layered entity. Also, the need of the hour being a multi-level dialogue, the media has to fit itself somewhere into the scheme of dialogue.

The media can work with manifold objectives as a platform for citizen diplomacy. Some of these could be: *to influence governments into taking action for peace, strengthen regional ties, increase people-to-people contact, alter stereotypes and popular perceptions, facilitate a meeting of people across rival regions, create an assertive and strong civil society fabric for conflict resolution and to work for policy change.*

However, interaction and dialogue through the media may not serve the purpose of peace-building in isolation. Physical contact and long lasting interactions must follow. The kind of engagement that is made possible through the media needs to be sustained and built upon by citizen diplomats. Such interactions must be translated into real-life, long-lasting and mutually beneficial relationships that work on the ground. Such everlasting bonds created by interactive exchange via the media go a long way in eradicating the clouds of suspicion and hatred. The following sections of the paper focus upon the nature of India-Pakistan rivalry — why and how the media-aided citizen diplomacy can work in their case.

## **India and Pakistan — understanding the discord**

### **The nature of India-Pakistan conflict**

The South Asian security and military complex is singularly defined by the India-Pakistan discord since 1947 — when the sub-continent witnessed a bloody and traumatic partition of British India into two independent nations: India and Pakistan. It is because of this 'persistent', 'enduring' and 'intractable' conflict that peace continues to elude the South Asian region. Among the many causes of the conflict are: *conflicting national identities, power asymmetry, dispute over territory, internal political dynamics, terrorism and stereotypes of the 'other'*. In this section, the paper seeks to focus more upon the stereotypes and perceptions that Indians and Pakistanis hold about each other. The attempt is driven by the belief that to understand the concept of citizen diplomacy and how it can work in the case of India and Pakistan, it is essential to uncover the way stereotypes, prejudices and perceptions of identity come to play in the conflict.

The India-Pakistan discord is mainly played out at the psychological level apart from the fact that it works on political, social, cultural, historical and religious planes. In spite of sharing a common cultural base, both nations remain rigidly firm about their conflicting and incompatible national identities. While Pakistan sees itself as a homeland for the sub-continent's Muslim population,

Indian polity is rooted in the ideas of secular nationalism. Thus, the conflict remains embedded in the peoples and civil society of both countries. Stereotypes and rigid perceptions guide how Indians think of Pakistanis and vice versa. Each has a self-created image of the 'other' based on hatred, fear of the unknown and suspicion. So while an average Indian thinks of the average Pakistani as a religious fundamentalist, the common Pakistani perception is that India is out to undo the existence of Pakistan as it never reconciled itself to its emergence in the first place. Each has been successful in creating an 'enemy' image of the other that is equally resented on both sides. This is reinforced through negative media coverage and through the tools of popular culture like movies, music and television. Added to this are the restrictions imposed on citizens travel to each other's country. People in both countries are alien to each other and their culture because they are not exposed to the 'other' side. Negative propaganda from all sides has resulted into the 'other' being perceived with hostility and contempt. Leaders in both countries have also tried to aggravate and play politics around bitter memories of the past, leading to further alienation.

Stephen Cohen terms the India-Pakistan conflict as a "paired minority conflict" which is rooted in perceptions held by important groups on both sides. Both parties in such a conflict adopt the position of the 'weaker' or 'threatened' party under attack from the 'other' side. There is an inexhaustible supply of distrust in such types of conflicts making it difficult to reach a compromise and offer concessions.<sup>(7)</sup> Both parties feel threatened by each other and regard themselves as more vulnerable than the other. Paired-minority conflicts over a period of time become integral to each side's identity. The legacy of the partition has a firm footing in the minds of Indians and Pakistanis, the political elites and the leaders on both sides. Adversarial images are vehemently promoted by the state apparatus and the media, leaving very little room for alternative views. Hostility of the 'other' has been a marked feature of the conflict. It is true that with all the misperceptions, distrust and miscommunication with the 'other', most Indians and Pakistanis when they meet each other recount very positive and friendly experiences of the warmth and hospitality accorded.<sup>(8)</sup> However, this stands true only when people get to visit each other and explore the traditions and way of life of the 'other'. Such instances have been very few as there are a lot of travel hurdles put in place by governments on both sides when it comes to issuing of travel visas. Hence, the average Indian and Pakistan remain in the 'no contact zone' wherein all information that they receive about the other side is dominantly state-oriented and mediated.

In this absence of direct contact between the citizens on both sides, stereotypes flourish, which is where the media-aided citizen diplomacy can play an important role. It is in this context of the India-Pakistan conflict that the paper examines the backdrop of citizen diplomacy, its development and its successes and failures. The study also uses the case of the India-Pakistan conflict to highlight how and why citizen diplomacy through the media can work for this kind of a conflict and accelerate efforts towards conflict resolution

and peace-building. This is done using case accounts of media platforms which are working for promoting citizen diplomacy between the two rivals.

### **Enemy images shattered — citizen diplomacy through the media**

It is quite clear that stereotypes and perceptions have guided the existence of the India-Pakistan conflict since its beginning in 1947. This is a very crucial aspect of the conflict since the nature of the conflict is determined by the very fact that citizens in both countries hold negative views about the 'other'. This remains the biggest hurdle for peace-building and conflict resolution because without changing the way people think about the 'other', there is little possibility of working for peace. It is in this context, that the paper presents its argument about citizen diplomacy conducted via the media working as a bridge to overcome the barriers and hostile attitudes that have dominated this conflict ever since its inception. Both India and Pakistan have explored official platforms to resolve contentious issues without much success. Hence, there is a need to bring in other actors in the diplomatic dialogue. The paper's focus here lies upon how and why the media can work as a tool for citizen diplomacy, engage citizens on both sides and come up with innovative solutions of longstanding disputes. The study builds on this argument by discussing case accounts of three prominent media initiatives in diverse mediums which are working to facilitate citizen diplomacy between India and Pakistan.

### **Citizen diplomacy through the media — How and why?**

*I wasn't informed of my mother's demise because all forms of communication between India and Pakistan had been cut, she said. It was the year 1971 and I was in Karachi. I received a telegram from a relative in London three days after she had passed away. There was nothing I could do.<sup>(9)</sup>*

These and other countless tales of the pain of separation in the aftermath of the 1947 partition emerge highlighting the artificial barriers that prohibited communication between the people across the border. Undertaken as a part of official policy measures, this was done to prohibit contact and dialogue among them in an attempt at mutual alienation so that state-held perceptions of the enemy could be reinforced. Naturally, if people do not get to know the 'other', they are bound to accept whatever the state tells them about the 'other'. The lack of knowledge about the 'other' is exploited by those in power to enhance the bitterness that already existed owing to a troubled history of the sub-continent. It is here that citizen diplomacy via the media can play a constructive and transformative role.

The India-Pakistan official dialogue is characterized by elitism in which issues of humane concern are totally ignored. What matters are the issues of macro level conflict and those which are important and common to the citizens of both countries — issues like poverty, education, terrorism, climate change — are not a part of the official discourse. By engaging in citizen diplomacy through the new media, such issues of common concern can be deliberated upon by people on both sides. The presence of a vibrant civil society

and social movements working at the grassroots level in both countries has turned citizens into active stakeholders in the dialogue process. For this reason, it is now that the media can take advantage of the active involvement of citizens in socio-political issues and become a venue for citizen diplomacy. The nature and orientation of the mainstream media in both countries is state-centric and guided by the principles of nationalism, jingoism and market economy. Therefore, there is a dire need to reorient the objectives of the mainstream media and make them work for citizen diplomacy. There are very few forums on which Indians and Pakistanis can engage in intellectual exchange of views. Most of the time, regimes become suspicious of the 'other' and hence prohibit any sort of contact. In such a scenario, the media can become the forum where exchanges in academics, research,<sup>(10)</sup> business, travel, culture, history among other things, can take place. The author's major contention for the belief in media's role in citizen diplomacy is the lack of travel infrastructure and the rigid visa regime that exists between India and Pakistan. Travel between the two countries is enormously difficult owing to the poor travel services as well as infrastructural issues.<sup>(11)</sup> These have a direct bearing on networking and communication and on people-to-people contact. Despite the recent facilitation of travel and issuing of visas, it is a Herculean task for Indians and Pakistanis to visit each other.<sup>(12)</sup> The fact that it is easier to travel to the distant UK and USA than to neighbouring India/Pakistan conveys it all. Both citizens and the media working together add a lot of value to diplomatic inter-state relations. The best example is cricket diplomacy between India and Pakistan (2004) which received overwhelming support from cricket enthusiasts both in India and Pakistan as well as the mainstream media in both countries.<sup>(13)</sup> The limitations that citizen diplomacy encounters in using the mainstream media as a platform can be overcome by the use of social media which provides a better and larger scope for alternative viewpoints. An example is a project by the name of *Ummeed-e-Milaap* undertaken by university students in Mumbai and Lahore who worked to maintain an online diary on different aspects of the peace process, student exchange and the role of the media. The project was launched in 2011 with the aim of forging India-Pakistan student friendships.<sup>(14)</sup> The other advantages that citizen diplomacy conducted through the media are: providing the necessary human touch in inter-state relations, a possibility of bridging the physical barriers between citizens, increase in the number of people having access to the media in both countries, free and uninhibited flow of information using new media technology, possibility of involving more youngsters in information exchange and interaction, countering restrictions on mainstream media distribution in both countries, helping official diplomacy to grow and expand its purview, spreading peace messages that go viral and using the potential of media forums to facilitate citizen exchanges in the future.

Among the many attempts at encouraging people-to-people contacts between Indians and Pakistanis, a few are worth noting:<sup>(15)</sup>

- WISCOMP (Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace) works to build trust between Indian and Pakistani peers by organizing conflict transformation workshops - [www.wiscomp.org/](http://www.wiscomp.org/)

- India – Future of Change (<http://www.indiafutureofchange.com/>)
- Sesame Workshop teaches the younger generation to respect differences among cultures (<http://www.sesameworkshopindia.org/>)
- India-Pakistan Friendship Society, 1987
- South Asian Dialogues in the early 1990s
- Pakistan-India People’s Forum for Peace and Democracy (1994) has been the largest and the most prominent citizen initiative to promote the values of peace and democracy ([www.pipfpd.org/](http://www.pipfpd.org/)).
- India-Pakistan Soldier’s Initiative for Peace, 2000
- Pakistan Peace Coalition, Karachi - <http://www.sacw.net/PPC/>
- Committee on Nuclear Disarmament and Peace, India.<sup>(16)</sup>

These dialogues and forums have played an important role in expanding the peace constituency in India and Pakistan, by giving an entry to common citizens in the dialogue. However, what is missing in these dialogues is the use of the media as a platform to engage citizens with each other. This is a big deficit that these dialogues face because they have not been able to venture beyond traditional journalistic exchanges. The study addresses this gap in the next section where it examines in detail three peace ventures undertaken by the media in India and Pakistan in the recent past to counter the negative, stereotypical and nationalistic kind of coverage that the mainstream media remains obsessed with. The theoretical framework used to analyze these initiatives is Johan Galtung’s model of *peace journalism*.

### Case accounts

Here are three case accounts of forums where the media is a venue for citizen diplomacy. These three ventures are interesting to examine primarily because they operate in three very different mediums and varying contexts. While *Aman Ki Asha* is a joint peace initiative of the two largest selling newspapers of India and Pakistan; *Romancing the Border* (RTB) is an online initiative on Facebook that attempts to establish connections among young Indians and Pakistanis. SAFMA (South Asian Free Media Association) is an institution that works for media exchange and interaction in South Asia. These case accounts re-emphasize the fact that the media can and must become an active forum for citizen diplomacy if the frequency of interaction and communication among Indians and Pakistanis is to be encouraged and sustained in an atmosphere of distrust and hostility. Media ventures like the ones mentioned above are based on the model of *peace journalism* propounded by Johan Galtung.<sup>(17)</sup> The concept of peace journalism works on the premise that the media should adopt the high road while reporting conflict and pay more attention to the causes of discord and violence rather than violent events. By reporting and highlighting ‘peace’ in news stories the media does a great service to conflict resolution and management. Peace journalism was developed in opposition to mainstream war journalism that views conflict as a sport in which one side has to necessarily win. Peace journalism promotes values of humanization of the enemy, explores the reasons behind violence and conflict,

focuses on the invisible effects of violence rather than the visible and direct effects, talks about the sufferings of ‘us’ *and* ‘them’ and not ‘us’ *vs* ‘them’ and aims for a win-win outcome for conflict transformation and mitigation. Galtung argues for some standards on the basis of which media reporting of conflict should be analyzed. Peace journalists make conscious efforts to report stories which encourage peace and reconciliation between/among mutually hostile groups, thereby giving media professionals the opportunity of playing a positive role in conflict.

With inspiration from Galtung’s model of peace journalism the paper analyzes three key media-peace ventures in India and Pakistan that serve as a model for citizen diplomacy via the media.

### **Aman ki Asha**

*Aman ki Asha* which means ‘Hope for Peace,’ is a collaborative peace effort by the *Times of India* Group (India) and the *Jang* Group of Newspapers (Pakistan) — the largest circulating dailies of their respective countries. While the word *Aman* is an Urdu word that stands for peace, ‘*Asha*’ is a Hindi term which means hope. The campaign was initiated by the two leading media houses in India and Pakistan with a view to countering mainstream media reporting that promotes a nationalistic sense of viewing Indo-Pakistan relations. The campaign was launched on January 1, 2010 and is still going strong after four years of success and achievements. The initiative is a first of its kind by the print media in the sub-continent. The prime purpose of the campaign is to encourage people-to-people contact by organizing seminars, conferences, literary meetings, cultural festivals and promote the cause of peace between India and Pakistan. It has committed itself to a positive and transformative use of the print media to give space to each other’s point of views on issues of dispute. The campaign believes in the power of the written word to trigger a change in the rigid and stereotypical mindsets of people on both sides. So far, under the banner of ‘*Aman Ki Asha*’ literary and music festivals, *mushairas* (poetry reciting symposium), editors conferences, trade conferences and strategic seminars have been organized to realize the shared vision for peace.

The concept of a peace journalism campaign led by newspapers is in itself a unique step undertaken by mainstream and popular media because of the reach and credibility that the two media groups enjoy among their readers. For mainstream newspapers to advocate peace is a bold step which defies the view that the media can work only as warmongers. The author carried out a qualitative content analysis study of the campaign using Galtung’s model of *peace journalism* to understand what role the campaign plays in promoting peaceful relations between India and Pakistan, what kind of events are organized under the umbrella of the campaign and what are the issues that campaign articles address and cover. The study period spanned from July 1, 2011 to

December 31, 2011.\* An attempt was made to critically evaluate the campaign and its contribution to people-to-people contact.

### **Aman ki Asha and citizen diplomacy<sup>+</sup>**

The content analysis study revealed the areas covered by campaign articles as well as the kind of events that were organized under the campaign banner. Among the several issues that the campaign addressed a few prominent ones were: health concerns that afflicted both countries, cooperation in business and economy, policy decisions on issues of discord, features on cultural commonalities and the adverse impact of war and hostility. Cooperation in soft areas like education, agriculture, tourism and information technology (IT) was also emphasized. Meetings of Indian and Pakistani doctors to exchange views on issues of concern (August 1, 2011), Pakistani children being treated by Indian doctors (November 20, 2011), Pakistan commerce minister's first visit to India in 35 years (September 30, 2011), Use of culture, and music and cinema as a binding force between people (December 17, 2011) are some examples of the way the campaign is oriented. Under the forum of Aman ki Asha, various exchanges among students, artists, businessmen, academicians and researchers have been carried out to facilitate a knowledge of the 'other'. Even seemingly serious issues of war and conflict are given a humane touch under the campaign. War is associated with the idea of grief, an event which can bring about only loss and not victory. People who spearhead this campaign also legitimize it in terms of the need for people-to-people engagement in crucial areas leading to normalization in relations. By facilitating a meeting ground for citizens of both countries, the campaign serves as a successful model to be emulated for citizen diplomacy via the media. An emphasis on sector-wise engagement is what Aman ki Asha endorses successfully. With help and support from the campaign, Indians and Pakistanis have been able to visit each other's land and see for themselves as to how different the 'other' actually is! Concerts, musical events, theatre plays, business meetings have been organized to introduce people to each other and facilitate conversations. Advocating and signing of petitions related to peace and visa restrictions, corporate campaigns, involving school children in sending peace messages across the border, poetry, strategic seminars, road shows have been a regular part of Aman ki Asha in a bid to make the enemy seem familiar!

### **Romancing the Border (RTB)**

Romancing the Border (RTB) is an India-Pakistan citizen psyop — an effort to convey a message of peace to influence emotions, opinions and behaviours of people across the border. The idea behind the initiative is to highlight similarities between Indians and Pakistanis because they hardly get to meet and know each other. Grudges built by the media and political propaganda

---

\* Only the articles published in *The Times of India* were analyzed as a part of the study. Stories from the *Jang* could not be incorporated due to lack of knowledge of Urdu.

<sup>+</sup> <<http://www.facebook.com/amankiasha.destinationpeace?fref=ts>>.

make Indians and Pakistanis apprehensive of each other. Hence, RTB provides the opportunity to people from both sides of the border to interact, get to know each other, befriend each other, discuss their apprehensions and eventually rid themselves of mutual hatred. Indian and Pakistani university students Shirin and Rehman came up with the idea of building a people-to-people movement on the social media in 2012 while engaged in a casual discussion on the campus of University of Hong Kong where both study. With only a logo (the image of two linked hearts) and a basic idea in their mind, RTB's first testimonial received an overwhelming response which reinforced their faith in investing time and energy in the cause of Indo-Pakistan peace. RTB is being carried out with the help of Stanford University's Peace Innovation lab.

RTB is unique in its attempts for peace in South Asia in many ways:

- RTB Fortnightly Testimonials are published in *The News* and *Daily Jang*.
- It receives support and recognition from Aman ki Asha.
- By initiating several innovative campaigns like video greetings, smile for peace, photo booth campaign, it innovates the concept of sharing peace and smiles across the border.

In the future, RTB intends to be more than just a peace junction. With the aim of making peace viral in South Asia, it wants to become a think tank and prove that peace is more profitable than war. The message of this peace forum is beautifully summed up in the following lines which strike a chord with anybody who desires peace.

We don't know if Romancing The Border's campaign for peace in South Asia will make a difference. We don't know if Indians and Pakistanis will learn to look through what their governments and media feed them. We don't know if youths from both sides will realize their obligation in the peace process. What we know for sure is that RTB has brought together Indians, Pakistanis and other foreign nationals. We cared ... We put time and effort ... We tried and will continue to do so. We all came together for a peaceful South Asia. And that, is the difference.\*

RTB is also novel in its efforts to harness the power of the social media to propagate the cause of peace. RTB's page on Facebook invites testimonials, peace messages and gives a unique opportunity to interact with young Pakistanis and Indians who may have shared like-minded views but not had the chance to communicate those to the 'other.' The forum of RTB is very colourful, vibrant and attractive to any social media user. It is the most appropriate use of the social media to build ties between the younger generations in India and Pakistan who may not have been a witness to the conflict but still harbour ill-feelings towards the 'other.' The author interacted with three Indians and four Pakistanis on what inspired them to be a part of RTB and how in their opinions could the

---

\* Reproduced with authority and permission from the RTB forum — <romancingtheborder@gmail.com>.



media work as a stage for citizen diplomacy. Some of the responses are quoted below:

Productive discussions, youth orientation and the use of motivational posters make RTB stand apart. The Media needs to work positively for highlighting the cause of peace between India and Pakistan — Ishwar Devgan, Operations Manager (India)

Platforms like RTB can bring about a great change in mass thinking. Forums like these bear the responsibility and also the credit for bringing about real-time change in the ways Indians and Pakistanis perceive each other — Muhammad Owais Iqbal Bhatti, Chemical Engineer (Pakistan).

RTB has a wonderful tone to begin with. More than preaching it has left open a platform that not only helps us to interact with the youths across the border but gives us insights on little-known facts or places that we might have never known or visited. The best part about RTB is that it is a platform where a common youth can express his/her opinion. And that's where change begins! — Paromita Bardoloi, Writer (India).

It's been over a year now that I have been associated with RTB. Having a very hostile stance before, association with RTB made me think that if not on the political front; there is certainly a scope for positive change on the social front if given a chance. — Rahema Hasan, Student (Pakistan).

The cost of setting up platforms and interactive spaces are virtually zero now, and that is why actually RTB was possible. Besides so many people end up chatting with or interacting with people from across the border and these interactions work wonders in dispelling hate, it fulfils the need for a purely youth based interactive platform with no association with bigger entities. — Rehman Ilyas, Co-founder of RTB with Shirin.

RTB is a great forum for people on both sides to raise their progressive voices. Not only does it post their messages but the pictures of the participants too which gives them a chance to be heard and seen at the same time.... in fact we romance the friendship between the two nations and we romance Indo-Pak peace. — Sehyr Mirza, Student (Pakistan).

RTB provides a forum for youth engagement and gives an opportunity of interacting directly with people across the border. Media forums like these are a great asset and can work to strengthen ties and reduce differences. — Umang Kochhar, Student (India).

The RTB experiment goes on to prove that the media, especially the online and interactive medium, is a potential forum to be explored by citizen diplomats. The cost of setting up such forums is minimal, with internet access being the only requirement. The advantage of forums such as these is that they

work on an informal level, without the constraints faced by mainstream media and can primarily engage the youth in the peace process. “RTB is different from other interactive forums in a way that it is solely based on input from the young activists who strive for change, who want a peaceful sub-continent, who stand against extremism and who want cordial bilateral relations to develop between the two countries. How the forum engages the youth in peace-making through personal messages on the social networking sites is a great and absolutely unique initiative,” says Sehyr Mirza who contributes on the forum through photographs, messages and comments on posts. Here romance is brewing on both sides!

### **South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA)**

In the year 2010, South Asian Free Media Association, a mainstream media body devoted to freedom of expression and access to information in South Asia, celebrated ten years of its existence. It was established with the two-fold objectives of:

- a. Media development, free flow of and access to information and a free, professionally competent, unbiased and independent media in the region.
- b. Promote a culture of dialogue and an environment for understanding, tolerance, peace, conflict resolution and cross-border cooperation leading towards a South Asian Union.

The association has eight national chapters in South Asia and has contributed to the cause of a free flow of information exchange in the region by organizing several workshops, conferences, media summits, parliamentary conferences and sub-regional exchanges. The activities of SAFMA find support from those occupying the highest political positions in India, Pakistan and other countries of the SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) region. SAFMA is an institutionalized mechanism for media exchanges between India and Pakistan. Journalistic exchanges have been a regular affair under its banner. Its larger aim is to build an atmosphere of peace and harmony between the two countries. For this purpose, several activities are undertaken: conferences which bring together people across national boundaries, SAFMA’s website is devoted to the coverage of news related to the South Asian region, development of a think tank on South Asian affairs and a struggle to improve media laws and press freedom in the region. As a highly credible organization in the region, SAFMA’s role in peace-building is that of a facilitator and catalyst.<sup>(118)</sup> In some cases, its efforts have also had a positive impact on easing tensions between India and Pakistan. Even though it is primarily a media body, it has worked on several pertinent issues in the region ranging from human rights, women’s rights, minority rights, people-to-people contact, nuclear disarmament to cultural cooperation in South Asia.

### **SAFMA and citizen diplomacy**

In its present form SAFMA’s objectives are limited to creating a conducive atmosphere for the media in South Asia to work in an environment

free from political and social barriers that are a part of the South Asian security complex. However, as an institutionalized forum for media exchange, the power of SAFMA has not been utilized in building people-to-people contacts. Media freedom, media networking, monitoring of violation of media rights, training of South Asian mediapersons, promoting media collaborations, lifting barriers that hinder the free flow of information, encouraging healthy practices in communications across the region and producing joint publications are some of the core objectives with which SAFMA has worked so far. Looking at the broad canvas on which the forum was formed, it must work to encourage citizen contacts especially between India and Pakistan since there is a complete lack of institutionalized mechanisms for the purpose. The credibility it has established in all the years of its operations in South Asia should not be let off without using it to create a forum for common people on both sides to visit and get to know the 'other'.

The efforts of SAFMA have been limited to carrying out exchanges among elite groups in the region — editors, journalists, parliamentarians, academicians. There is no doubt that with the kind of political atmosphere that prevails in South Asia, SAFMA has achieved much. However, the concept of free media should also be inclusive of information exchange between those who do not belong to the elite group in either country. So far its work in journalistic exchange is commendable even though it follows a top-down approach wherein it is the media which is the epicentre of information in the region. SAFMA seeks to bring about a change in the attitudes of populations by exposing them to media content that is factual, accurate and peace-oriented in nature. It is believed that the kind of information that the media passes on to its citizens goes a long way in shaping and reshaping their opinions about the 'other'. In a way, the media serves as an intermediary between citizens of both nations and it becomes its responsibility to ensure a rethinking of attitudes and opinions. Being a well-established institution, SAFMA's objectives could go well beyond media and journalistic exchange whereby it could serve as a forum for students, researchers, scholars, artists from the region to meet and interact with each other and use the media as a channel for the purpose of bridging barriers among populations. There is an urgent need that SAFMA shift its emphasis to include exchange and interaction through the media.

## **Conclusion**

Some criticism is levelled at the media's role in citizen diplomacy. There is no dearth of forums encouraging people-to-people contact between Indians and Pakistanis, even though such existing mechanisms have not been able to function effectively. The concern is the rationale behind introducing the media in this process when there is a lack of political will to make such forums work. Also, in an era where the media is excessively controlled by the state and corporate giants, how successfully can it play a role in citizen diplomacy? Those arguing from the standpoint of national security contend that people-to-people contact will not help in resolving problems which are essentially the domain of the government. During a security situation, will the media continue to be a

platform for citizen diplomacy or will it portray a state-centric view? For example, during the border skirmish between India and Pakistan in January 2013 where allegations of beheading of soldiers were levelled by both countries, Sunil Shanker, a Karachi-based theatre director was not allowed to stage his play *Mantorama* at the *Bharat Rang Mahotsav*, organized by the National School of Drama.<sup>(19)</sup> The concern is what consequences will citizen diplomacy via the media lead to in case of a conflict of national interests? Will the media continue to encourage and foster citizen diplomacy or will it become jingoistic and patriotic in its coverage? What about the stance of those media forums like the ones discussed in this paper? Will they continue to trumpet for peace journalism? A very glaring example is the coverage given to the border skirmish issue by a popular Indian news channel 'Times Now,' which is part of *The Times of India* Group that spearheads the *Aman ki Asha* campaign. It was surprising to note that while *Aman ki Asha* continued with its peace overtures, the tone of coverage by 'Times Now' was overtly nationalistic. What explains two different standpoints of media houses belonging to the same group? Citizen diplomacy efforts, even those that are facilitated by the media cannot bypass the information and communication channels of the state. What if the state decides to censor media content or interaction that is encouragingly positive of the 'other'? In most cases, citizen diplomacy remains a hostage to the will of the state. Journalists also question the media's role in citizen diplomacy on the basis of journalistic ethics and objectivity which are sacrosanct for the journalistic profession. Can the media promote peace and take sides when it is supposed to be functioning neutrally and objectively?

There is no doubt that people-to-people contacts will enhance regional cooperation in South Asia. With the media explosion in this region, it could be rewarding to utilize its potential for citizen diplomacy. However, the media's role has to go beyond virtual exchanges; to be harnessed to let people actually meet the 'other'. Media's role in citizen diplomacy may help to negate the adverse impact that official diplomacy has on relations of the two nations. Since, social media messages on Twitter and Facebook go viral, the mediums can create a network of professionals on both sides of the border. Citizen diplomacy via the media is thus an informal attempt at improving formal political and diplomatic relations. Of course, in the case of India and Pakistan, even the role of the media has been observed to remain hostage to inter-state relations. Citizen diplomacy via the media can work only when it resolves its tiff with those who support the national security paradigm in inter-state affairs.

However, with the three case accounts presented briefly in this paper it is evidently clear that the media can present a shared vision for peace in the subcontinent. The media's involvement in citizen diplomatic efforts is a very fresh and innovative concept since it strikes at the very root of the prevailing hatred and mistrust. However, there are many factors which will determine the success of media efforts at promoting citizen diplomacy in the subcontinent: support from government and bureaucracy, support from the mainstream media on both sides, how successfully is the media able to filter solutions provided by citizen diplomats to government-operated channels, financial and infrastructural

assistance, an incorporation of the human security issues apart from political and military discussions, improved media access in both India and Pakistan and a proper institutionalization of the channels through which the media can participate in citizen diplomacy.

The author is not of the view that media-aided citizen diplomacy can replace face-to-face, regular interaction and meetings between Indians and Pakistanis. Opinions cannot be changed only by the media; they need to be reinforced by arranging and facilitating more meetings between the two sides because the conflict is as much about the emotions of people as it is about territory, strategy and politics. As noted Bollywood lyricist Gulzar on his recent visit to his birthplace in Pakistan, Dina, near Rawalpindi said: *All I wanted was a moment of solitude so I could sit and weep. But I could not get that. I just touched the salt from their hands, that was enough. That salt from my own nation. In my poems I always say, India is my country but Pakistan is my nation because that is where I was born.*<sup>(20)</sup>

### Notes and References

1. Louise Diamond, and John W McDonald. *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*, (West Hatford: Kumarian Press, 1996).
2. *A Salute to Citizen Diplomacy*, (Washington DC: National Council for International Visitors, 2000).
3. Yelena Osipova, "New Media and Conflict Resolution: Cyber Utopia?" *Global Chaos*. 9 July 2010, <<http://lena-globalchaos.blogspot.in/2010/07/new-media-and-conflict-resolution-cyber.html>>, (accessed 17 January 2011).
4. "Social media termed citizens' diplomacy." *Dawn*, Karachi, 12 July 2012, <<http://dawn.com/2012/07/14/social-media-termed-citizens-diplomacy/>>, (accessed 29 October 2012).
5. Virtual exchanges facilitated by media technology can be used to promote cross cultural understanding, tolerance and promote a more humane view of the 'other'. When it is not possible to establish physical connect with the 'other' or transcend physical barriers of time, space and distance, virtual exchanges can help to know the 'other' in a better way. The presence of mediated technology is used to transcend geographical distances and converse with people who belong to a different culture. As a student of the Master's of Communication Studies (MCS) programme of the Faculty of Journalism and Communication, M.S. University, the author was a part of the '*Global Understanding through Virtual Classroom*' (GUVV) project (2006-08) in which students engaged in sustained and regular interaction with their counterparts in different countries through the use of video conferencing, chat technology and audio-visual aids. The aims were manifold — to enhance cultural knowledge, cultural sensitivity and an acceptance of the 'other' who may be different from you. It also provided an opportunity to students to engage in interaction with others

from different corners of the world and demonstrate knowledge and understanding of their own cultural ethos. For the time period of the project, students performed the role of citizen diplomats helping the 'other' to learn about the culture of their own country as well as getting to know the culture and practices of the 'other'. This is an example of how the media can serve as an agent of citizen diplomacy and help dispel myths that surround alien cultures and populations. The project proved to be a meaningful exercise in gaining an in-depth understanding of world cultures as well as in inculcating respect and tolerance for those who are different than you.

6. *The Role of New Media in Advancing Citizen Diplomacy*. (Washington DC: U.S. Center for Citizen Diplomacy, 2010).
7. "India and Pakistan," In *India: Emerging Power*, by Stephen Cohen, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 198-200.
8. Sumit Ganguly, "Wars without End: The Indo-Pakistani Conflict." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 541, 1995, 167-178.
9. Zuha Siddiqui, "The pain of partition," *Dawn*, 15 August 2012. <<http://dawn.com/2012/08/15/the-pain-of-partition/>>, (accessed 29 October 2012).
10. As a social science researcher, the author herself has felt the dire need to establish contacts and exchange information with Pakistanis because of working on "India-Pakistan Conflict Media and Media's Role" for her doctoral thesis. All the connections that she has established with people, scholars and researchers from the 'other' side have been through the mediums of email and Facebook, without which it would be difficult to get an idea about what they think about the media's role. Hence, the social media to a great extent can play a significant role in academic and research exchanges, to facilitate studying the 'other' side when physical meetings and interactions may be impossible to organize.
11. There are several political, administrative, legal and psychological barriers to civil society contact between Indian and Pakistani citizens. Apart from the mistrust, animosity and hostility perpetuated by historical grievances, there are also other hurdles in the way of people-to-people contact. Among these, the foremost is the suspicious attitudes of Indian and Pakistani officials in granting visas for travel. Even though bus and rail links have been established, they remain limited and poorly developed. The trouble for citizens does not end when they reach the 'other' country. They are required to report at local police stations on their arrival in a city, their travel movements are tracked by intelligence officials and there is a limitation on the number of places that they can visit.
12. Asma-ul-Husna Faiz, "Citizen Diplomacy and Civil Society Contacts." in *The India-Pakistan Reconciliation and Other Experiences in Post-*

- Conflict Management*, edited by Boquerat Gilles and Asbeck Richard, (Paris: Institut Francais des Relations Internationales, 2009) 30-46.
13. Saqib Riaz, Manisha Shelat, and Arbind Sinha, "Role of sports in international relations: A cross cultural study of reflections of sentiment through newspapers," *African Journal of International Affairs and Development* 11, no. 1 (2006): 97-127.
  14. "India, Pakistan students launch diary campaign." *The Hindu*. 1st September 2011. <<http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/india-pakistan-students-launch-diary-campaign/article2415773.ece>>, (accessed 10 April 2013).
  15. Asma-ul-Husna Faiz, "India-Pakistan Dialogue: Bringing the Society In." (Colombo: Regional Center for Strategic Studies, 2007).
  16. For more details on non-official dialogues between India and Pakistan see, N.C. Behera, P. M. Evans, & G. Rizvi, *Beyond Boundaries: A Report on the State of Non-Official Dialogues on Peace, Security and Cooperation in South Asia*. (Ontario, Canada: University of Toronto-York University, Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, 1997).
  17. For more on Galtung's ideas on Peace Journalism see J. Galtung, & J. Lynch, *Reporting Conflict: New Directions in Peace Journalism*. Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2010.
  18. Alf Skjeseth, Masood Hayat and Cyril Raphael, "Journalists as Power Brokers." 2006.
  19. Dipanita Nath, "Play Interrupted." *Indian Express*. 3-9 February 2013, <<http://www.indianexpress.com/election-news/play-interrupted/1067538>>, (accessed 21 February 2013).
  20. Sehyr Mirza, "All I wanted was a moment alone, to sit and weep," *The News International*, Karachi, 3 April 2013. <<http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-14-168950-All-I-wanted-was-a-moment-alone-to-sit-and-weep>>, (accessed 15 April 2013).