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Table of Contents

1. The Palestinian context of the emergence of the Movement of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement 1-15
2. The Testimony of Traumatic and Violent Conflict: Pukhtu Poetry in Swat in Retrospect 16-42
3. Children Empowerment Through Media Literacy: An empirical study of primary school going children media usage in Islamabad, Pakistan 43-63
4. Social Media and Youth's Political Activism: Emergence of a Networked Public Sphere in Pakistan 64-82
5. Causes Behind The Pulwama Attack: Political Implications to Asymmetry Agenda 83-104
6. Cultivation in the New Media Environment: Theoretical Implications for Future Studies in Pakistan 105-123
7. Analysis of Cognition Trends of Political Advertisement Through Mass Media 124-144
8. Pakistan's Nuclear Program: Transformation from Credible Minimum Deterrence to Full Spectrum Deterrence 145-164
9. Cultivating Fake Cultural Consciousness Among People of Pakistan A Myth or Reality 165-185
10. Poverty Alleviation & Human Development: Comparative Analysis of Facebook pages of top three political parties of Pakistan during 2018 Election Campaign 186-200
11. Television Dramas and National Integration in Pakistan: An Analysis of Public Perception 201-216
12. Amendments Required to Regulate Conduct of Advocates in Pakistan: A Proposal for Reforms 217-229

13. Electronic Media and Impact of Advancement in Information Technology 230-252
14. The Political Impact of Media Bias on Electoral Process 253-269
15. Gender Differences in Video Game Play: Practices of Teenaged Players from Pakistan 270-294
16. Kashmir conflict and Indian Press: A Literature Review 295-314
17. Mapping Credibility Scale of Sources of Political News Stories Through Perception Lenses of Pakistani Youth: Analysis of Governmental vs. Non-Governmental and Conflicting Political News Sources 315-334
18. Framing of Pak-Afghan Relations by Elite Pakistani and American Press during PMLN Government (2013-2018) 335-357
19. Impact of Multicultural Diversity on the Gender Stereotyping in Bapsi Sidhwa's *The Pakistani Bride* through the Deconstructive Perspective 358-375
20. Analysis of Perception of the listeners of BBC and VOA on the Pak-Afghan Border 376-395
21. Turkish Television Drama in Pakistan: Effects on University Students 396-417
22. Environmental Journalists Perspective on the Coverage of Environmental Issues in Media of Pakistan 418-432
23. Geopolitical Implications of the Indian Ocean and Maritime Security Challenges for Pakistan 433-453
24. Media and Foreign Policy on Pak-Afghan Relations (1997-2005): The Role of US and Pakistani Press 454-477
25. Analysing inter-media agenda setting influence between Social media and electronic media; a perspective from Pakistan 478-496

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Article:	The Palestinian context of the emergence of the Movement of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement
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Abstract

This study discusses the Palestinian context for the emergence of the *Movement of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions* (BDS), as there are assumptions that the movement is of European and American origin, which coincides with political and theoretical trends that give the northern countries a priority in bringing about change locally. The study argues that, even if the North has a role, the movement cannot be understood without focusing on its Palestinian origin, then it deals with the interactions of the second Palestinian Intifada in and outside Palestinian society, and its impact on the crystallization of the boycott movement, as well as discusses the nature of the Palestinian parties that pushed towards the formation of the movement: Who is it, and why were these parties the most impulsive of the boycott movement, and what effect does this have on the boycott? It ends with a question about the connection of the Palestinian context to the regional and global contexts of the movement.

Keywords: BDS, Boycott, Struggle, Israel, Palestine, sanctions.

1.0 Introduction

The BDS movement is a very important initiative, as it has so far been able to presence globally in several countries and on all continents, it brings together human and Palestinian values (Barghouti, 2010; Greendorfer, 2017). In addition, that it puts Israel on the defensive and threatens it with its moral and ethical weaknesses, as Nadim Rouhana points out, nevertheless, the values aspect is also related to policy questions, and to any alliances and paths, the movement takes (McMahon, 2014; Rouhana, 2016; Black, 2017).

The BDS movement issued its first declaration in the year 2005, which called on the citizens of the world to boycott Israel and put pressure on governments to impose sanctions on it until the Palestinian rights recognized, that identified by the end the Israeli occupation and achieve the right of return and equality are recognized (Bakan & Abu-Laban, 2009). Based on its simulation of the anti-apartheid model in South Africa in declaring many of its literatures, the movement seeks cross-border activity towards besieging Israel internationally, to adhere to Palestinian rights. The movement coincided with its emergence with and benefited from global movements that sought "alter-globalization or anti-war against Iraq at the beginning of the new millennium. The movement has a significant extension in Europe and the United States. Major solidarity with Palestinian rights, in London and Brussels, for example, indicate that they began boycotting before the BDS movement was wiped out (Abdellah, 2013; Okazawa-Rey, 2015). Many of them are surprised when they know that the boycott of Israeli goods and institutions was a widespread tool in the occupied Palestinian territories, especially at the beginning of the second intifada, and they involved historical waves of the boycott. Contrary to what basic literature on cross-border social movements suggests, to understand a movement, we must understand it in its national context as well as global contexts (Naples, 1999). This study focuses on understanding the emergence of the boycott movement in its Palestinian context without neglecting regional and global contexts.

Political and theoretical debate

There is a growing tendency for Palestinian and Arab parties, besides other parts of the world, to give priority to multi-faceted intervention by powerful states in the north, such as the United States, to bring about a fundamental change in a state in the south, such as removing a bloody dictatorial regime or occupation. The Oslo path is a prominent Palestinian example of this tendency among Palestinian elites who have found American mediation as the hope of pressuring the Israeli occupation. Along with the Oslo experience, other Arab experiences were bolstered by an impressive Arab country such as Saudi Arabia and Qatar, one of the most prominent Arab transformations in this context was the policy of the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, who was famous for his term that 99% of the cards are in the hands of the United States, this before heading to the conclusion of the Camp David treaty (Sadat, 1976; Quandt, 2010).

With the United States dominating the world in the 1990s, literature has emerged approaching this trend, related to cross-border social movements, and Activists without Borders book of Keck and Sikkink, are a prime example of this approach by proposing a boomerang model (Keck and Sikkink, 2014). This model suggests that unofficial parties such as civil organizations are unable to bring about a change in their countries related to human rights issues because of the intransigence of the national authority, so these local parties try to network with cross-border pressure networks in order for the pressure on the national state in the south to back up to comply with human rights requirements in the community.

So, does the BDS movement go beyond its Palestinian origin - or the Arab dimension - in its search for a global boycott of Israel, with its repercussions on its values? For example, at the beginning of the research, there were indications from Palestinian activists in the movement about following the movement to the boomerang model, in the direction of the northern countries that it is hoped to put pressure on Israel. The problem of the literature is

not that the parties in the south seek to link to the parties in the north, rather, this is considered a catalyst for change by evoking local pressures alongside regional and international. In one interconnected world, the main problem is that strong community centers prioritize change locally. The paradox that many of the opposite literature criticizing the stationed Europe or postcolonial, this consistent with this prevailing literature in the north, given that the factors in the northern countries are the basis, so it does not give heed to the various parties in the south, but rather focuses on structural factors in the strong global centers (Acharya, 2005; Zwingel, 2012).

Unfortunately, there is little research that discusses, from a critical point of view, "European concentration", and critical literature in this field appears very slowly (Challand, 2010; Dunford, 2017). Among the few critical literatures that have recently emerged, Acharya Amitav, which has attached importance to the role of local / national movements in the relationship with cross-border movements, compared to the prevailing literature, the cooperation of these movements with European organizations, for example, does not necessarily make them the mirror of these organizations. Acharya has suggested that local or national movements not only import global values that are appropriate to them but can also produce and publish their values of action. As for Sean Chabot, he focuses on the influence of the Gandhi values that have inspired it. Zwingen argues that "to suppose the flow of values from the global to the local world, which is implicit in the majority literature of the spread of globalization values, is simplistic." (Zwingel, 2012). It focuses on multiple ways of translating global values by local actors, through instances of women's rights movements. Robert Dunford is also looking at how to adopt the values of food sovereignty, which have been proposed by social movements that have multiple paths in the south, along with grassroots parties rooted in the north. The literature of both Acharya and Dunford does not only focus on translating universal values or making a shift in them, but also on producing

and disseminating values by actors from the south. And this literature is still very limited in this research field, and Acharya, for example, stresses the importance of carrying out studies in this field.

There is remarkable Arab and Iranian literature on social and political movements in the Arab region (Rabab al-Mahdi: Asef Bayat, Hanna Batatu, along with many others). For example, Rabab discussed previous Egyptian protest episodes, such as the Egyptian protests supporting Palestine during the second intifada, or protesting against the Iraq war, as well as the subsequent Egyptian protests (such as the establishment of Kefaya movement, for example), but her research focused on national movements that do not seek to cross borders (Clarke, 2011; Joya, 2012).

From Oslo to the second intifada: Challenging the of game's rules

The BDS boycott movement during its emergence (specifically from the second intifada until its first congress in 2007) did not follow the boomerang model in the direction of the northern countries, but rather wanted, especially the main parties to it, a direct path towards Europe and the United States to pressure Israel. However, this path would not have been possible without the Palestinian interactions and other paths including the Arab paths and paths in the south. This occurred either objectively out of the desire of the actors, or by a direct desire from actors in the movement, or who contributed to its formation directly or indirectly.

The belief in a peaceful settlement has fallen into the intifada among large segments of the Palestinians, and the beginnings of the Oslo era were full of either waiting for hope, or either hesitating to evaluate the settlement process, by accepting some of its axioms and rejecting others (Ahmed, Aman, & Saud, 2018). However, by accepting some of its postulates and rejecting others. The two-state solution has become more popular with Palestinian political elites in Israel, although objections to key aspects of the Oslo agreement

remain as strongly present as not to require stopping settlement activity. But some rejected the Oslo process, whether by Palestinian organizations, or writers, for example, from the beginning, Edward Said considered the Oslo agreement to no avail and a major concession, because the Israeli political spectrum, with his right and left, is not ready to relinquish the issues of settlement and Jerusalem. Important transformations took place during the Oslo era, which imposed the rules of the new game by viewing the United States as a primary mediator in the peace process, meaning that the boomerang game via the northern countries has become the dominant one. This rule, which the influential circles in the Palestinian Authority have attempted to justify, took place in parallel with the formal and informal level, with the transfer of funding to universities and many civic organizations, from Arab and other European sources, and mainly from the North (Aouragh, 2011). This was accompanied by the transformation of the work of many civic organizations to give importance to professionalism, development and state-building at the expense of resisting Israeli colonialism and regulating the methods of this resistance (Azzam, 2014). A fundamental shift occurred in the work of civil organizations, many of which arose within the resistance to the Israeli occupation in the 1980s, especially during the first intifada, as many of them undertook joint projects with the Israeli side, which amounted to about 500 one (Hidalgo, 2016). These organizations were often associated with Palestinian political organizations such as the Fatah movement, the Popular and Democratic Fronts, and the Palestinian Communist Party, for example, the agricultural and medical relief organizations were associated with the Palestinian Communist Party, and they were established in conditions of volunteerism and the struggle against the occupation (Brown, 2003).

The Oslo process pushed for more fragmentation in the Palestinian political field, and the decision-making process in the secret Oslo negotiations was unique to the Palestinian political decision at a defining moment. And the Oslo agreement did not meet with a

balanced Palestinian consensus, but rather reinforced the tension, along with the trying of the nascent Palestinian Authority, that fearing the lack of consensus on the Oslo process, to tighten its security authority and monopolize decisions at the expense of promoting the already weak participation. In addition to the fragmentation with which the Palestinians suffer from the diaspora, what was stipulated in the Oslo stages of separation between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and their division into administrative regions, each of which is subject to a different rule, creates a new political fragmentation. This fragmentation was exacerbated by global and regional polarizations of Palestinian currents, whereas the United States and the European Union (during the second intifada) criminalized dealing with Hamas, the regional polarizations were doing their part, the most prominent of which was to attract what was known as the axis of resistance and moderation. The international financing of civil organizations also contributed to the divergence between civil and political action. However, aspects of the game's rules were challenged, since the early beginnings of the Oslo agreement, the Palestinian public negotiating delegation opposed this agreement, except a few, such as Saeb Erekat, and basic aspects of the Palestinian Authority's performance were opposed by civil organizations such as those related to the suppression of freedoms or finance monopoly. In the last issue, a dispute took place for years to pass a law for civil organizations, a law whose formulation eventually approached from the viewpoint of these organizations (Hidalgo, 2016). This indicates its strength as a Palestinian side historically active in the absence of Palestinian political authority. However, new aspects have emerged, such as a shift in funding, giving the countries and societies of the North more importance, and adopting the principles of development and building the country under occupation.

The field and political developments after the establishment of the Palestinian Authority were pushing towards challenging the new game's rules, even by the leadership of the Palestinian Authority, as happened in the confrontations in the year 1996, then the

confrontations in the year 1998. In such an atmosphere, calls for the reactivation of the Palestinian boycott of Israeli goods began to appear. At the level of civil organizations, the Palestinian Observatory was formed, which called for a boycott of Israeli goods. It included civil organizations and a body in the Palestine Liberation Organization. With the failure of the Camp David negotiations in the year 2000, the second Palestinian Intifada, which marked the beginning of the declaration of the failure of the Oslo process, and the start of a more serious change in the game's rules. At the time, calls to boycott Israeli goods strongly emerged from the intifada's higher coordination body (which includes political forces), and from trade unions, labor, agricultural, and industrial unions, and from civil organizations, while commercial agents were held accountable for importing Israeli goods (Jawdeh, 2006).

Palestinian popular confrontation has been led by groups of Palestinian organizations that have taken root in the necessity of confrontation to obtain Palestinian rights. Marwan Al-Barghouthi, for example, was a supporter of the Oslo process, and built strong relations with Israeli parties in the early years of the Oslo process, but at the same time, he did not indulge in the Palestinian Authority, but remained at a distance from corruption and lack of democracy in it, and he wager on building Youth rules in his organization "Fatah" (Ajaj, 2010). Marwan was one of the active leaders in calling for a popular confrontation, including boycotting Israeli goods, along with other forms of confrontation in which the military one has become prevailed over time.

The creation of a Sarda barrier between Bir Zeit and Ramallah in the year 2001 was one of the prominent events that spurred marches in which thousands of students from Birzeit Universities and civil organizations participated, these marches were a stimulus in the direction of popular protest action on the part of the civil organizations, it break out of the frameworks of the regular civil work programs during the Oslo process (Hamami, 2005). It also considered that, students have great influence on rallies and political participation (Saud,

2020). With the beginning of the construction of the Israeli separation wall, protests began in Palestinian villages that witnessed an escalation of land confiscation and / or construction work of the wall, from that the campaign "Stop the Wall" was formed. However, this trend towards popular protest work was less momentum to the civil organizations compared to the confrontations of political parties, despite the weaknesses and divisions of the political parties.

Palestinian interaction with the world community of solidarity

The boycott prevailed among the various Palestinian groups during the second intifada, each Palestinian side was communicating with its closest to them from outside Palestine (Hamdi, 2018). For example, during the first period of that uprising, the uprising coordination committee went to Arab peoples - in parallel with the summits of Arab countries - to urge them to put pressure on their governments and boycott American and Israeli products (Ananth, 2013), There were large waves of the Arab boycott of these products, or of companies accused of supporting Israel (Jawdeh, 2006), There were also contacts with European parliamentary parties, for example, Marwan Barghouti had strong relations with European parliamentarians. There were large waves of the Arab boycott of these products, or of companies accused of supporting Israel. During the Israeli invasion of the Palestinian territories in April 2002, the European Union recommended boycotting the Israeli colonies' goods and imposing an arms embargo on Israel and the Palestinian Authority, which were not recommendations made by the European executive authorities, these recommendations have not been addressed by European executive bodies.

Likewise, there was communication between Palestinian organizations such as "BADIL" (Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee), and Belgian organizations, including a financier of BADIL at the time (Oxfam - Belgium). What is remarkable is that the funding party pushed the funded one to start a boycott campaign for the

goods of the Israeli colonies in Belgium in 2003, this matter is the opposite of what is common that the local parties are affiliated with international financiers. Despite this, the effect of funding on Palestinian parties cannot be overlooked, as the research shows, but not through conspiracy theory (dependency) that does not see the subjectivity of the different actors. Although the Zionist pressure managed to stop the campaign in Belgium (Dreesen, 2014), however, various boycott campaigns have been pursued later specifically since 2006, by Belgian parties less devoted to the social, political and financial hierarchy of a dedicated organization like Oxfam, or even by other Belgian organizations, this is another subject of research. For example, Intal launched a boycott campaign in 2008 against the Belgian Dexia Bank for its links to Israeli colonies. The Palestinian boycott began to interact with initiatives outside Palestine, and various Palestinian parties have benefited from the global protest community. The United Nations conference in Durban, South Africa, against racism, and the parallel conference for civic organizations, in August and September 2001, were important to forming the Boycott Israel movement BDS.

In the preparatory process for the Durban Conference, and global echo that reflected due to the differences in the issue of slavery and Palestine, various Palestinian parties were encouraged to metaphor the South African experience and apply it to Israeli colonialism, which considered an apartheid regime. For example, in May 2001, Mahmoud Darwish wrote an article on the anniversary of the Nakba in which he said: "The Intifada, yesterday, today and tomorrow, is the natural and legitimate expression of the resistance to slavery which represented by the occupation that characterized by the most heinous forms of racial discrimination (Sa'di, 2002). BADIL has published articles on its website since the beginning of 2001, in which it talks about the similarities between the South African experience and the Israeli apartheid regime, it republished Darwish's article. Ameer Makhoul, who was director of "Ittijah" (Coalition of Palestinian Associations in the Territories of 1948), was active in the

identification between the Zionist state and the apartheid regime, he was active in the preparatory process for the Durban Conference, and refused to cooperate with Israeli organizations, he worked, on the other hand, within the Arab umbrella led by the Palestinians in the occupied Palestinian land of 1948, which caused American funding agencies (such as Ford) to stop supporting an alliance Associations (Makhoul, 2010).

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Article:	The Testimony of Traumatic and Violent Conflict: Pukhtu Poetry in Swat in Retrospect
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ABSTRACT

The post 2001 conflict and violence in Swat, northern Pakistan, has devastated different arenas of the social fabric of the Pukhtuns living in the region. In this context, the impact of conflict and associated violence on Pukhtu poetry and poets of the region is highly significant. During the conflict, the 'space' for the literary people shrunk, which also played an important role in the transformation of local poetry and adopting new subjects with the prominence of themes like violent extremism and terror in the poetry. Moreover, this study uses trauma and testimony theories to identify and understand the traumatic events and the process of testimony in indigenous Pukhtu poetry. The arguments are based on 18 in-depth interviews with poets and intellectuals from Matta Tehsil (administrative unit) of Swat combined with ethnographic observation and published work of poets from the same administrative unit.

Keywords: Conflict, Violence, Testimony, Trauma Poetry, Swat, Pakistan.

INTRODUCTION

Swat (see figure 1 below) an ex-princely state of British India, is now the Pukhtun populated district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan and home to 2,309,570 people, among which 90% speak Pukhtu as their native language (Azim 2018b:33). This region has been significant for multiple reasons, both historically and in contemporary times. In this context Swat has been the focus of recent academic studies, media inquiries and reports of governmental and non-governmental organizations in the post 2001 era because of the violent conflict between militants and the Pakistani state military. Though violent conflict started in 2007 (Fleischner 2011:10), its roots can be traced back to the end of Cold War (Orakzai 2011:40), the *Mujahideen* movement and Taliban regime in Afghanistan and Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) of Maulana Sufi Muhammad¹ (Ali and Naveed 2010:100).

As a background, it is pertinent to note that in the post September 2001 era, when the United States (US) launched the so called ‘war on terror’ in Afghanistan and across, Pakistan saw the rise of Muslim militants and subsequent military action in regions bordering Afghanistan like the tribal districts² and Malakand division. This rise of militancy was in the form of Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) with a faction from Swat called the “Swati Taliban”. These militants challenged the government writ and spread violence in the region, particularly Swat (Rahi 2011:31–37). The government in a bid to control the situation, enacted a controversial peace deal with the militants and passed Nizam i Adal Regulations (Dawn 2008; Majeed 2016:78–92). However, the deal failed in its objectives and did not stop

¹ Movement for the restoration of Mohammadan Shariah was a movement of 1990’s started by Sufi Muhammad, of Dir (neighboring district of Swat) an ex-official of the Islamist political party Jammāt-i-Islami with an aim to enforce his version of Islamic Sharia in Malakand division (for details see Rome 2012:119–44)

² Tribal districts were known as FATA – Federally Administrated Tribal Areas – regulated under FCR – Frontier Crimes Regulations – which was a special set of laws from the British India and after independence in 1947 were regulated under the federal government of Pakistan. These tribal areas were merged to the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan after the 25th constitutional amendment passed by the parliament and then signed by the president of Pakistan on May 28, 2018 (for details see Wasim 2018).

the violence as it was broken by militants who expanded to Buner, a neighbouring district of Swat, and even expanded their activities to Rawalpindi a twin city with Islamabad (the country's capital) and assassinated the former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (Dawn 2007). As the state, government and the military was questioned (Schiffrin 2009), the military launched multiple military operations in Swat and Malakand division. The conflict between militant's and the military also resulted in two million internally displaced (IDPs) Swatis who had to move outside Swat. Some of them lived with relatives, some rented houses and the others lived in government established IDP camps (Azim, Jan, and Williams 2018:68–69).

This conflict has impacted the lives of the inhabitants of this region enormously. These impacts are multiple and can be identified in various aspects of the lives of Swatis ranging from socio-political (Azim 2018a:58–74, 2018b:253; Bangash 2012:66–79), to economic (Bhatti 2015:235; Khalid 2020:404–16), and even psychological (Khan et al. 2015). Along this backdrop, among other repercussions of the conflict, the indigenous Poetic art of Swat has been impacted. The significant impact that the conflict exerted upon poetic literature resulted in a reaction which constitutes a metaphoric and direct shift in language while reflecting upon and resulting in testimonies of the traumatic events. This shift and transformation in poetic language is the result of militancy and a harsh conflictive environment in this region amidst the violence. Themes like extremism, terror, and fear, linked with the trauma of the conflict and violence have found testimonies in the poetry produced in conflict and post conflict time periods in Swat. This can be situated against the earlier reflections of poetry mostly dominated with explorations of the natural beauty of Swat or the history of this region along with war and violence but in a different context. region. This present study engages in some of the themes, grounding them in empirical data collected in Swat from poets, intellectuals and their published poetries. Before the discussion of these themes, below is the discussion of collection of data and the theoretical premise of this study.

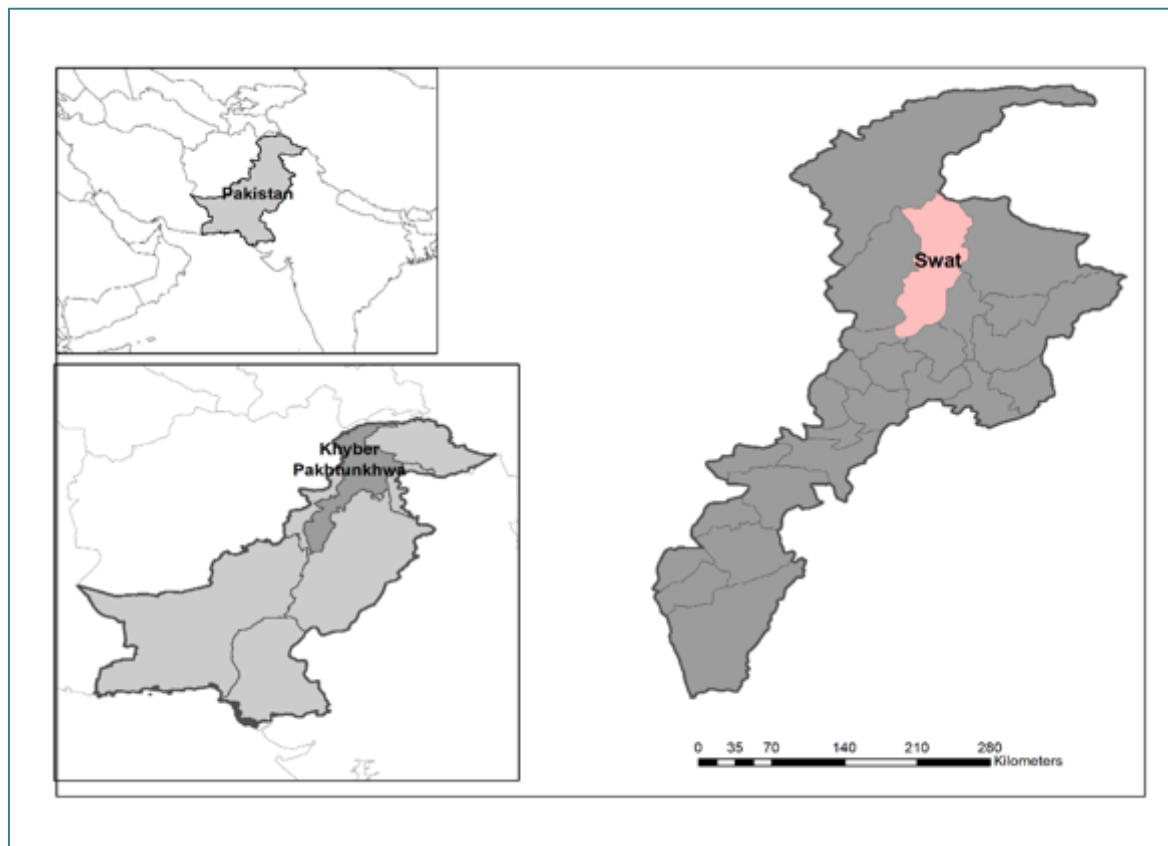
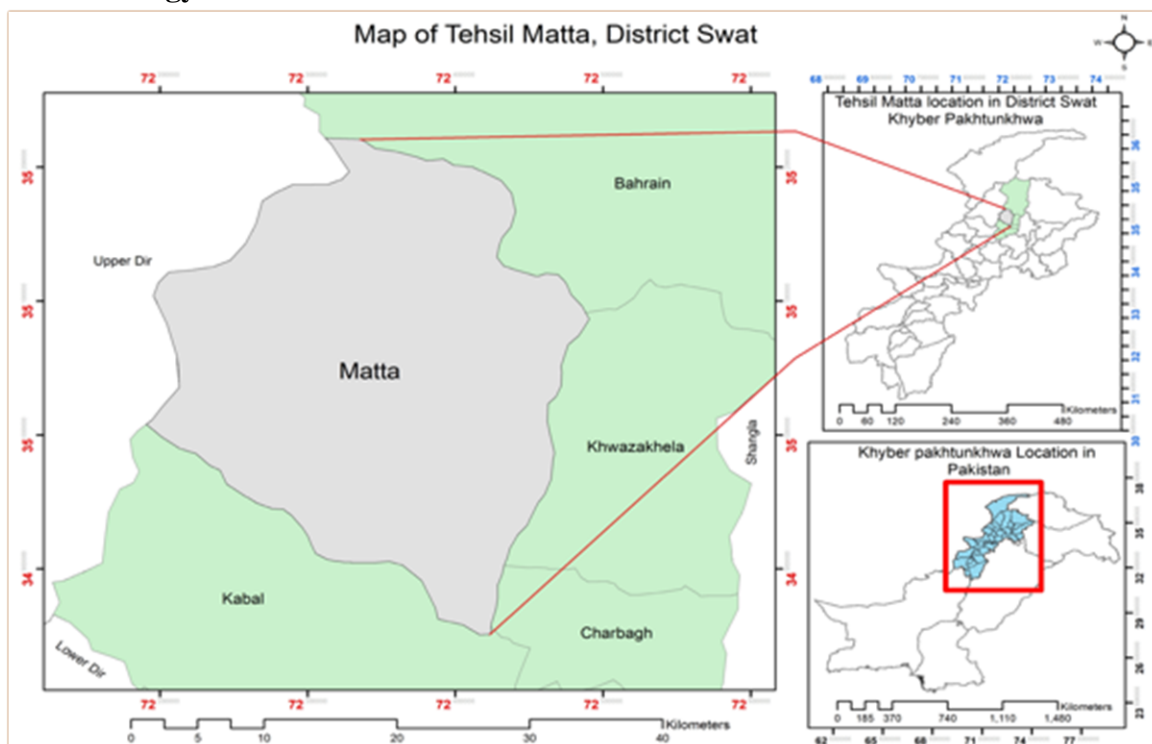


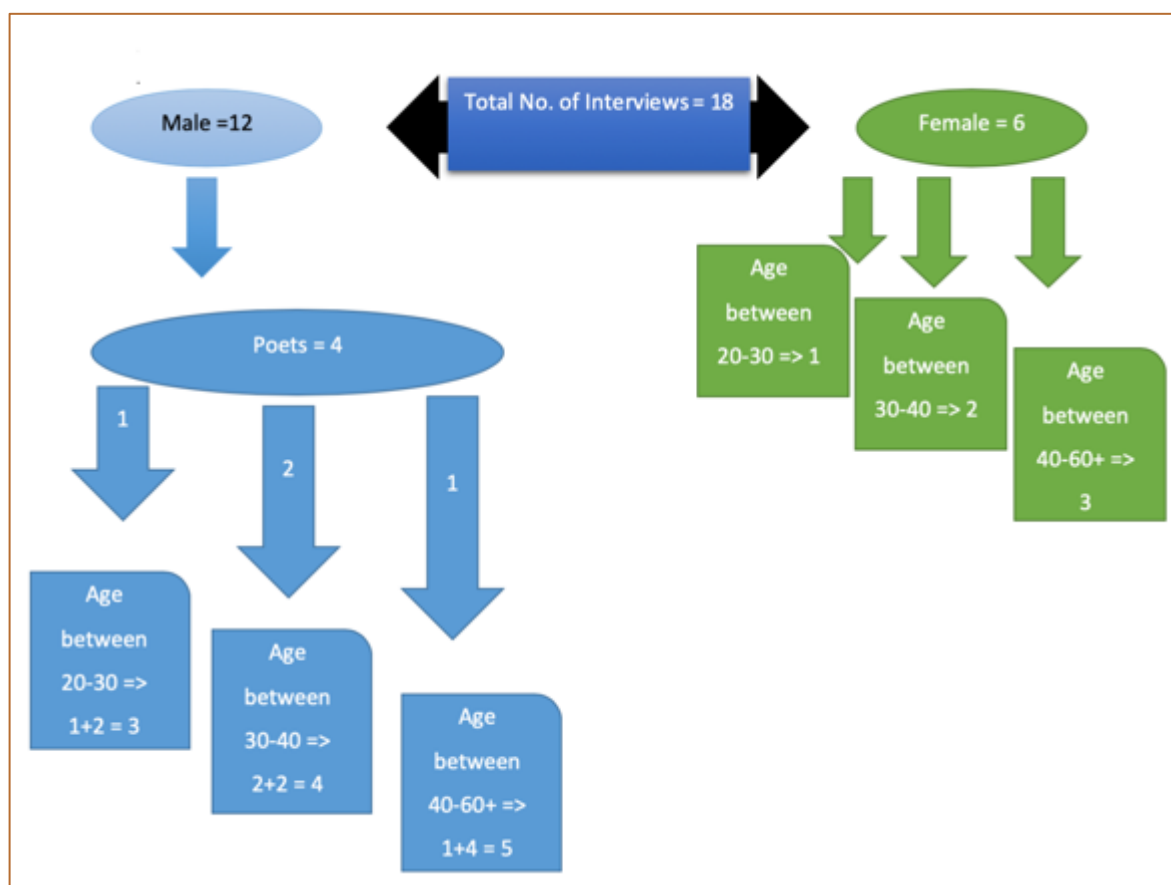
Figure 1, Source (Azim 2018b:32)

Figure 2

Methodology and data collection



The study is qualitative in nature utilizing the in-depth experiences of the participants. The data was collected between March and November 2017 through 18 ‘interviews termed discussions’ which is triangulated with personal observation (with one author being a resident of the region and another having a PHD through fieldwork in Swat) and texts of poetry from specific poets of the region. Data was collected in the Tehsil Matta (see figure 2 below) of Upper Swat. Tehsil Matta is significant because of its geographical location being situated in upper Swat and central to the extremist violence of Taliban and Military. The tehsil witnessed high level of violence and intense military operations and presence. Participants of the study



include the poets, whose books were used as secondary data, local elders, students, and people of various professions. The flow chart below shows the number of interviews and their demographic division.

The participants of the study were carefully selected and based on a certain criterion. Two points were considered in the selection process of poets as participants. First, the

selected poets lived in Swat for at least six months during the conflict in Swat. These criteria ensured the participation of poets who have experienced and witnessed the events of conflict in Swat and could have a self-reflection. Second, the selected poets have at least one published poetry book. This was done with an aim of ensuring secondary textual data to be considered in this study. As a result, this study did not include any female poets because no female poet was found to fulfil the second criteria of having at least one published book. Likewise, the participants are of different ages, some as young as 25 years and other as old as 60 years in order to ensure diversity in the generation and perspectives of the poets. Thus, purposive sampling was used in selection of the participants (Azim 2018b:36; Seidman 2006:51).

Furthermore, interviews are mostly semi-structured with discussions on conflict, violence, and militancy in Swat. Time for these discussions varied, with some lasting for half an hour while others for multiple hours. The interview schedules were designed in such a way to give space to the participants to share their experiences and stories, while aiming to collect data and events which reflect the conflict of Swat. The interactions were mostly in the guest rooms of participants homes and were informal, whereas part of Melmastya³ the researcher was greeted as a guest and served with tea, launch and sometimes dinner (researchers have been reporting this aspect, for example see Azim, Jan, et al. 2018:70). The language used was Pukhtu, the native language of people in the region. Moreover, all the interviews were conducted physically with the respondents, except one which was conducted virtually through Facebook video call. In every case, field notes were taken because audio or video recording were not suitable for many reasons, particularly the sensitivity of the topic. To reach out to the participants of the study researchers utilized personal, family, and friends'

³ Melmastya or hospitality is the element of Pukhtunwali. Pukhtun will offer hospitality to stranger, guest or even an enemy. (for details see Ali 2013)

connections which were useful in identifying potential participants (Azim 2018b:35; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007:46–49).

Moreover, pseudonyms are used throughout the study to ensure the confidentiality of the participants. The naming system is an extension of the one used by Azim (Azim 2018b:42). In this context, names ending with “Khan” and “Begam” are elders of age above 50 and are male and female participants respectively, while names ending with “Shah” and “BiBi” are young males and females respectively below the age of 40. However, the names of the poets are real as we considered their publish work (for additional details see Azim, Jan and Williams, 2018, p. 7).

Additionally, a note on translation is significant to the methodology. As the published work is in Pukhtu language, it is translated and explained in English by one of the researchers while maintaining the meaning of verses. The data collected is used to analyse and understand the impact of the conflict on Pukhtu Poetry within the theoretical frame of trauma and testimony theories.

Trauma and testimony

The definition of the concept of trauma is disputed in the academic community. Balaev has noted that trauma “might best be understood in terms of the changing psychological definitions of trauma as well as the semiotic, rhetorical, and social concerns that are part of the study of trauma in literature and society” (Balaev 2014:2). On the other hand Sigmund Freud has linked the term with the witness of the war and explained Trauma in his work, ‘Beyond the Pleasure Principle’, as the wound of the mind rather on the body (Viñuelas 2018:3). War disrupts every aspect of life and changes the basic assumption of life and its perspectives while the survivors then experience an unfamiliar and threatening world (Corcoran 1994:132), which shatters and threaten their life experiences (LaCapra 2004:117). Therefore, it is very challenging for the victim to express themselves; as a result, it leads to

the expression, sometimes in poetry, of the disturbed image in their mind reflecting traumatic events and helplessness which can only be understood in retrospect. While on other hand, some trauma critics identified victims' difficulties "to put their experiences into words"(Viñuelas 2018:4); however, we contented that poets have an enormous ability to put, almost, their experiences into words. It is also argued that the poets and other conflict victims might not be fully aware of their trauma but still want to share their stories (Viñuelas 2018:4). Likewise, the concept of testimony is helpful in recognising the conflict-ridden work of poets. Though it is very difficult for the victims of the trauma to express themselves, however, some scholars emphasise on the necessity of expression as some victims who remain silent becomes victims of their own distorted memory (Felman and Laub 1991:79). It has also been noted that the victim struggles in finding an appropriate language to express themselves or the horrified events. Nevertheless, the poets finds themselves in the position of having a relationship to the language and the traumatic events and offer testimony, which acts as therapy for the victims while literature become the witness of those events (Felman and Laub 1991:xviii; Viñuelas 2018:5). Thus, the present study utilizes trauma-testimony conceptualisation to understand indigenous poetry in Swat as expression and testimonios of the trauma they have witnessed and felt during the violent conflict of Swat. Moreover, this research contends that poets are in a more levered position to express and document the trauma they have witnessed and for this reason focuses indigenous Pukhtu poetry.

The impact of fear, violence and conflict on the people and indigenous Pukhtu poetry of Swat

Poetry is a language for expressing powerful messages, hidden semantic themes, complaints, aesthetic senses, and imaginations (Khalil 2014:126). Since the birth of civilisation, it has been used to present the inner tongue of heart. A poet is considered as the ده قام سترگي (eyes of the nation), as he/she can feel and see problems in his/her nation or

society. A poet is also considered as one of the most sensitive people in society and is said to even forecast events before they happen, presenting it in his/her poetic art which is handled with proficiency and care. Language and manner of poetry differ from that of conventional ordinary language. Its language has variant aspects which draw a border between common prose and poetry. The situation in the context of Swat Pukhtuns and poetry is no different. Dr Hakim Khan, a Pukhtu professor from Swat commented as:

“The environment affects the sub-unconscious of the people and as poets in general are more sensitive individuals they are affected the most in the society. As poets are one of the sensitive people, so they write what they feel and see in the form of poetry and creative work” (Hakim Khan 2017).

Furthermore, professor Hanif Khalil argued that young poets were more affected compared to others which can be seen in their poetry and reflects more painful crises of the region. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, most of the poets have explored the subject to its core not only in poems but also in their *Ghazals*⁴, with the same intensity of emotions and sentiments. This is the reason behind the fact that *Ghazals* genre, assumed as romantic traditionally, also has the depictions and portrayal of conflict and violence (Khalil 2014:126–27). A young poet, in his 20s, Gul Dawood Lalkowal expresses similar views on the subject and commented as:

“I was in Saudi Arabia and my whole family in Swat, including my little daughter, whom I love the most. They were faced with militancy and violence while I was unable to reach to them, to protect them, even, I was unable to talk to them. There was a time when I did not know that whether my family is alive or not, I could not talk for three months of curfew, in which all means of communications were

⁴ *Ghazal* is one of the famous genres of Pukhtu poetry. It is made of odd number of verses and contains of different thought or theme and mostly famous for romantic themes in Pukhtu poetry. However, it is also very common in Urdu, Punjabi, and other local languages. (for details see Gelder 2009:180–84).

blocked. I spent most of time seating in front of television to know the situation of Swat, which affected me, and I jotted down my feelings in my poetry” (Lalkowal 2017).

However, based on the field discussions, it is evident that the conflict has not only impacted young poets, it has ramifications for others as well. Abdur Rahim Roghani, in his 70s, commented as:

“The sensitive people express what they see and feel about it. My previous book “د رڼا څاڅکي” (Drops of light) published in 2014 mostly reflect the crisis and extreme conflict of Swat. Not only I but almost every poet wrote what they saw, hear and felt about it” (Roghani 2017).

The discourse of militants was mostly based on an extreme interpretation of Islam. Likewise, their actions were very violent. This has been reflected by poets in their work. Hakim Ullah Baryaly, a poet in his late 30s from Matta, indicated as:

“Being a part of the law enforcement agencies, I saw what others cannot. They [militants] slaughtered our fellow police officers and did what humans cannot even think of. It is very traumatic to recall those events but what I wrote in poetry mostly reflect them directly or indirectly” (Baryaly 2017a).

It is pertinent to note that killing was almost common for militants and for many in Swat, particularly the government servants and officials it was a matter of how to survive. One of the respondents Sajid Shah, a participant in his 30s, describes the traumatic time of conflict days as:

“Those were tough days. Every morning we used to pray that members of our family, neighbour, and village are safe from being killed. Every night was like a nightmare and I used to keep my family in the basement of our house to keep

them safe as we used to hear the sounds of bullets and fires of heavy artillery”
(Sajid Shah 2017).

The extreme situation in Swat further expanded to terror and fear in the people which is considered one of the main aims of the militants’ organisation. People were afraid of being killed, humiliated, and dishonoured and of losing their loved ones and properties. An elder Badshah Khan, commented on the probable loss of respect and honour as:

“I always solved the problems of others by Jirga⁵, but those years were ridiculous for us, and we were afraid for our respect and honour because they [Taliban] only understand the language of violence and gun. So, we remained silent in public and tried to protect our Purdah⁶, respect and honour, which we cherished for so many generations” (Badshah Khan 2017).

Lastly, in this context, it is argued that Indigenous Poets from Swat have explored the traumas of conflict and violence as testimonies in their poetry through various themes. Below is an analysis of these themes through the texts of published poetry and the data collected through interviews.

Themes in indigenous Pukhtu Poetry of Swat

Linking poetry and conflict, we argue that the following themes of violent extremism, terror, and fear, have emerged persuasively in the indigenous Pukhtu poetry of Swat. The conflict and violence have impacted poetry which serves as testimonies to the traumatic events of conflict in Swat. Below is the discussion of these themes following the sequence of most significant and most prevalent first.

⁵ Jarga is one of the elements of Pukhtunwali, which is the code of conduct of the Pukhtun tribe dating back centuries. it was also affected by the conflict of Swat (for details see Azim, Mehmood, and Hussain 2018:37–48).

⁶ Purdah is an important component of the Pukhtunwali [a Pukhtun code of conduct] (for details see Azim, Jan, and Williams 2018:64–85).

The concept of extremism has been debated in the literature and is subject to much controversy. Researchers, politicians and even extremist groups define it in different ways (Sotlar 2004:1). However, Botticher defined it in a very comprehensive way as:

“Extremism characterises an ideological position embraced by those anti-establishment movements, which understand politics as a struggle for supremacy rather than as peaceful competition between parties with different interests seeking popular support for advancing the common good...where extremists gain state power, they tend to destroy social diversity... and glorify violence as a conflict resolution mechanism and are opposed to the constitutional state, majority-based democracy, the rule of law and human rights for all” (Bötticher 2017:74).

The above definition and fieldwork clearly indicate that the aim of the militants of Swat was same as of the other extremist groups across the globe to gain power and expand it by terrifying common people. Violence has also been central to the extremist movement of the Taliban in Swat and counter-operation of the Pakistani state and the military. That is the reason indigenous literature (both prose and poetry) has expressions of violent extremism. A poet in his 40s from Matta Swat expresses in the following in his book:

سوات ته راشی اے دہ وینو حاجت مندو

زمور وینہ دلتہ ڊیره دہ ارزانہ (Baryaly 2017b:50)

Translation

O needful of blood! Visit Swat

Our blood here is very cheap

The impact on the poetry can be seen in the verse addressed to others stating that if they need blood, they should come to Swat as it is very cheap here. Moreover, this can also be seen in the context of us and them: the blood of Swatis is cheaper than the others. Similarly,

blood symbolizes the violent nature of Swat conflict. Additionally, it is pertinent to note that the symbols (blood in this verse) are powerful expressions of the real events and happenings. Death and destruction, as stated above was becoming a new normal for Swat and its people. Maria BiBi, a student from the University of Swat in her 20s, recalls an event when she wanted her father to take her for Eid shopping on the last day of Ramadan, the month before Muslim festival of Eid, as:

“When we travelled for approximately one kilometre, I saw three dead bodies on the right side of the road and a number of people were surrounding them. My father rushed the car fast so that I may not be able to see the dead bodies, however, I saw them. They were killed by the militants. This was my first time to see such a bloodshed in the streets of Swat” (Maria 2017).

Such events can be correlated with what Biryali’s statement above that the blood of Swatis is cheaper than others. Another famous poet Abdur Rahim Roghani captured a traumatic violent event, which was indeed the worst form of extremism through slaughtering a human being.

ته ڊپر سخت وي چي مات نه شوي، نه په زمکه راگذار شوي

انسانان چي د څاروو شان په چرو حالېدل

روغانيه! دا بي شرمه تماشه مي نه هېريري

چي ذابح او ذبيح دواړو به الله الله كول (Roghani 2014:392)

Translation

You [sky] were too hard to break or fall,

When humans were slaughtered like animals,

Roghani! I cannot forget that wild scene,

When slaughterer and victim both praised the God.

As the powerful actors, both the militants and the Pakistani state, were involved in violence, but the poet is symbolically addressing God. In fact, both the actors of the conflict based their violent actions in the discourse of religion, Quran, and Islam. Furthermore, Swatis who were killed are compared to the slaughtering of animals by poets which is a persuasive symbol. Again, to emphasize, the verse is testimony of a real event which has traumatized the poet, Roghani:

“A police officer from BamaKhela [a village near Matta city] was slaughtered by the militants. The officer was Muslim and was calling the name of God, while slaughtering him the militants were doing the same. When I heard about this event I could not sleep for days and nights, it was the worst ever brutal act I had ever heard of, but shame is that it happened in Swat, the people who were famous for peace, love and hospitality” (Roghani 2017).

The discourse in Swat in the context of conflict and violence has an element of nostalgia for Swat before the violence. Moreover, nostalgia has been central to poetries across the languages and cultures (Rozveh and Faramarzi 2017:531–38; for details see Turner 2008:182–206). This nostalgia can be for a real or imagined history or past state. In the context of Swat, nostalgia has been reported for a pre-conflict Swat particularly one which was ruled by the Wali of Swat (for details see Azim 2018b:46, 56, 72, 160, 215). Roghani as a poet remembers the pre-conflict Swat for peace, love, and hospitality. These three characters can be seen in the context of Swat. There is a perception in Swat that the region was peaceful under the rulership of Wali -i- Swat and even later. Though this might contrast with historical evidence, such as the violent movement of Syed Ahmad Barelvi in 1818 (Nasir 2017:354) and TNSM in 1990s (Ali and Naveed 2010:93). Likewise, love and hospitality is also nostalgic for Swatis because it was practised in the context of a constant

flow of outsiders, tourists⁷, and researchers to Swat and the welcoming nature of people of this region⁸ (Azim 2018b:109). Nostalgia of an imagined or real time of peace, love and tranquillity is contrasted with the traumatic times of violence and conflict in Swat through the poetic works by poets like Abdur Rahim Roghani.

Such themes are common in poetic expressions of Swat. Muhammad SherJan Senakhel in his book *د لاري نڅينې* [Street Signs] also highlights the same theme of extremism and nostalgia. In one of his poems under the title of *د سوات باره كي* [About Swat] the poet first reminds his readers the ‘glorious’ times of Swat and shows his love for the beautiful valley. He praises the beauty of Swat but in parallel, he also discusses the extreme violent environment in Swat in the times of conflict (Senakhel 2015:60)

ستا ساره ساره بادونه

ستا دا يخ يخ ايشارونه

د بارودو په لوگو کښي

زه دې گورمه لتوم دې

دا په څه زخمي زخمي شوي

(Senakhel 2015:60) په بارودو ټول ستي شوي

Translation

Your freezing wind and cold waterfalls

Are covered by smoke of explosive powder

I am looking for you, and searching you

What has hurt you so badly!

You are exhausted and burnt by explosive powder

⁷ In 2018, according to the provincial tourism department, one million people visited Swat including foreign visitors and this number is expected to raise in the upcoming years. For details see <https://nation.com.pk/05-May-2019/pakistan-s-swat-valley-from-terrorism-to-tourism>.

⁸ Based on the personal observations of authors one being a native researcher of Swat and one with a research based in Swat, it is argued that the people of Swat are mostly warm and welcoming to the guests and are termed as “*melama dost*”, guest friendly.

This poem describes the situation of the valley when mountains, covered with natural forests, were burned because of the gunpowder and heavy artillery. Swat is a lush green valley and that is famous among writers and poets. However, the violent situation has brought the previous situation of Swat into spotlight. The nostalgia is for a green and peaceful Swat and is contrasted to the traumatic times of conflict and violence. The situation was described by Maroan Begam:

“Swat was beautiful, before militancy we used to go to nearby fields for collecting some food. But during the conflict when we would wake at morning, we used to see smoke from the mountains and hills. All these [pointing finger to mountains] forests were burnt and there was a fear in everyone's subconscious either to be killed or their houses to be burnt as Taliban bombed the houses and armed forces later did the same with the houses of those who were either suspicious or involved with Taliban” (Maroan Begum 2017).

The argument that the conflict has brought the theme of violent extremism to poetry and that poetry has been expresses the trauma of the victims of Swat has been succinctly explored above. The views and events shared by the participants in the study justify the argument that conflict has entrenched this theme into poetry. Below is the contention that terror and fear among the people of Swat and poets of the region is another theme reflected in the indigenous poetry.

Poetic Expressions of Terror and fear

This section argues that terror and fear is another central theme which occupies a significant portion of the indigenous poetry in Swat. The poetic expressions serve as a testimony of the traumatic times of conflict and violence. The means behind violent extremism were terror and fear, which were spread among the local population in Swat. With terror and fear spread in the region people were forced to follow the orders of militants and

the military without resisting, no matter if the orders were violating their basic rights (Azim 2018b:104). Everyone was afraid for themselves and their beloved ones to be harmed, killed or being insult (Azim 2018b:115). The valley was in chaotic situation, with no order or system to help people those in need or to resist to the cruel rule of the militants. People were afraid and could not speak about the armed forces or the militants [Taliban] (Schiffrin 2009). Writers were afraid of the situation and they feared the brutal consequences for being outspoken in their work. This scenario of silence, fear for their beloved ones, and even fear of being going out of home has captured the imagination of the indigenous poets.

In the poetry of Abdur Rahim Roghani, certain elements can be highlighted which show the fear and terror during the crisis. In his book *سندريز احساس*, [Singing Like Feeling] he has described the terror and fear:

د پښتونخوا په اوربل اور بليري

د خپل د لاسه په خپل اور بليري

چاچي فرياد اوکړو نو پوهه دي شي

په کور د دوي به اول اور بليري (Roghani 2016:167)

Translation

Fire is burning on Pakhtunkhwa's axis

Friend (relative) is burning because of friend (relative)

And if someone complained about it

His home will burn first

The poet very sophisticatedly used fire and orbit as a metaphor for اور (Fire) and اوربل (Orbit) to describe the crises in the beautiful valley of Swat. He says that the orbit (اوربل) of the Pakhtunkhwa is burning and the fire is lit by its own people. He also says that it is very unfortunate that no one can resist this conflict and even speak against both violent forces and warns people about the habit of being outspoken in this conservative tensed environment.

Furthermore, if anyone goes against the norms and say what is true and right, it can result badly. He also describes the compulsion and prohibition of the freedom of speech. While talking about the freedom of speech Shafiq Shah, a student participant, commented in Pukhtu as “خپله خوله هم قلاده هم بلا” and elaborated as:

“My mother always used this common proverb in Pukhtu ‘خپله خوله هم قلاده هم بلا’ [your own words can be flowery or nasty for you] and emphasised on remaining silent while in the public and not to talk about this [conflict] issue. We do not know who is working for whom, they can harm us and even we cannot ask for justice from anyone” (Shafiq Shah 2017).

Likewise, Gul Dawood Lalkowal, also explored the same theme and was aware of the prohibition on freedom of speech amidst the traumatic terror and fear in Swat. His poetic expression is:

وس رانه ژبه غوڅوي زه غږ کولې نه شم
کولې نه شم حق وېنا چاپېره اور بليري (Lalkowal 2014:45)

Translation

I cannot say anything, they will cut my tongue

I cannot speak the truth as fire is already burning around,

People of the valley were so oppressed that they were unable to speak the truth and express their views amidst the fear that was prevalent in Swat. Those who tried to gather people or speak against both the parties were killed. Still poets symbolically expressed the pain and wrote the testimonies of the trauma in Swat through written word rather than speech.

Faisal Shah, a schoolteacher from Swat in his 30s, commented on this:

“Those who have some potential to rally people with them, were killed and then it was a common saying that (ده مېني سري پاتي نه شو) there is no one left who can lead.

People were afraid and those who were elected leaders in past election left the

valley except very few like Muhammad Afzal Khan Lala⁹ whose sons were killed but he resisted and did not spend even a day outside Swat. Apart from that everyone was hypocrite and double standard to survive” (Faisal Shah 2017).

The fear and terror that was spread in Swat by was so overwhelming that public figures, politicians, local elders and even journalists could not speak up or even stay in the valley. Furthermore, Muhammad Sherjan Senakhel, also described the same theme of fear and terror in his poetry:

پٽ مخونه ظالمان چي پڪڻي ڳرڻي

زه د ظلم د دي لري نه ږيريم (Senakhel 2015:255)

Translation

I fear the fogged way where face-covered cruel wonder,

The reference here is to the militants who have been using a specific type of costume in which they used to cover their faces to avoid any recognition. The poet is alluding to those costumes which served as a symbol of fear and terror for the people. The trauma of conflict and the fear spread in Swat was symbolized to which the poetry cited here is a testimony. Muhammad Sherjan Senakhel commented on this verse as:

“Taliban had been using those black and white stirpe scarfs for covering their faces, and it was hard to recognise them. They used to travel in groups with guns and rocket launchers which was literary a symbol of death. We [Swatis] have not seen such weapons and heavy guns before. The militants were brutal and would not think for a second even in killing someone. They were insane” (Senakhel 2017).

This fear prevailed everywhere both inside and outside the home. Those who were at home mostly worried about those who were outside the home. Mother’s love has no

⁹ A Pukhtun nationalist, and former provincial and federal minister, who is a controversial figure as some local people criticise him for being pro-military and Pakistani state establishment. For details see <https://www.dawn.com/news/1216963>.

alternative, Hakim Ullah Baryaly reflected the concern and fear of mothers in his book “جنگ

”[The War is Brought to the Watering-Place] as:

خدایہ زما بچے د سکول نہ سلامت راولہ

خدایہ سر تورہ راوتلی پسی ور تہ یمہ (Baryaly 2017b:19)

Translation

O, God! Let my children come home safe from school

God! I am at the door bareheaded

This verse draws sketches of the scenario in which a mother is worried about her son, as he has not arrived home yet from school. She prays to God to bring her child home safe. The Pukhtun women mostly remain in homes while cover head and face when out in public. The symbol of being bare head is thus persuasive and reflects the exigence of the situation. A university student Inamullah Shah shares his story when he was at school at that time and there was curfew just before the school closing time. He commented that:

“I was an eight-grade student at that time. Once the militants attacked a check point of the military, the military soon imposed a curfew while we were in the school. Our school administration kept us on the school premises while hearing the gunshots like an active war. My home is five kilometres away from that school and we were supposed to cross two check points on each side to reach school and come back home. Later our school administration talked to the army officers and we were allowed to leave, but without any vehicle. I reached home in the evening and remember that my father was desperately waiting for me. I also remember that when I entered home my mother was crying and ran towards me to hug me” (Inamullah Shah 2017).

Such poetic expressions are testimonies to the trauma created by conflict and violence in Swat.

Conclusion

The study illustrates that the conflict has impacted the lives of people of Swat, including poets and their poetry, which has been reflected in the indigenous Pukhtu poetry of Swat. The themes of violence and conflict have been the most prominent in the poetry of indigenous poets. Poets from Swat used many methods and poetic devices to convey the trauma of conflict and violence. The article asserted that poetry is a powerful tool of testimony to the trauma of this conflict and violence in Swat. Moreover, it also illustrates that poetry adopts the voice of common humanity and expresses it in the poems. The prominent expressions and themes in indigenous Pukhtu poetry of Swat in this context are violent extremism, fear, and terror. The poets use symbols and metaphors to represent numerous characters involved in militancy in one way or other.

In this context, the most debated and prominent theme is that of violent Extremism which was followed by the discussions of fear and terror. Poetry acted as a testimony and helped to document the trauma of the people of Swat.

Conclusively, the finding of this study, based on the textual analysis of the indigenous poetry and data collected through interviews and discussions in Swat situates poetry in the theoretical conceptualization of trauma and testimony, reflects that the conflict and violence in Swat has significantly impacted indigenous Pukhtu poetry.

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Abstract

The vast majority of children spend the significant amount of time using media devices in order to gratify their social needs and to gain information and entertainment, but its impact on young children is certainly undeniable. Keeping this perspective in mind, children are required to be attentive to use media wisely and appropriately and this can be possible by providing them proper teaching of media that is called “Media Literacy” which is unfortunately an “alien concept” in Pakistan. This study conducts survey with the primary school going children between the age group of 8-13 years. The findings suggested that children have an easy access to different media both at school and at home from very early age. The only way to empower children explore their media world positively is to impart the media literacy skills to them.

Keywords: *children; media literacy; empowerment; media usage; Pakistan*

Introduction

This study is primarily focused on primary-school going children who are not only use variety of media, in fact it has now become a regular component of their daily lives. Over the past few years, media existence in homes has been increased intensely. In this media-saturated world children are now widely use different media devices at home. Their leisure time is varied but children on average spend more time with different media than they frequently use in any other activity. Now children have various opportunities to access to a home computer, Internet, video games, game consoles, and smart phones. The vast majority of children spend the significant amount of time on media to gratify their social needs mainly information and entertainment, but the impact of media on young children is certainly undeniable. Children until reach adolescence are incapable to view mediated content in a critical light. They are considered more susceptible and helpless while being exposed to media. Likewise, the cognitive capabilities of the children are not sufficient enough to recognize the persuasive intention of advertising, marketing and media industries.

Today, technology has changed the world, hence, there is need to move forward in the age of technology. Also, schools are using these media technology as a teaching tool as well. Thus, it must be imperative to analyze and evaluate the media's influence that "shapes the perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes" of young generation. Under such circumstances, if children are not taught how to critically analyze, evaluate and interpret media, consequently, they will seriously lacking the skills needed to live in this media world. Hence, literacy through media has become an important factor in raising the level of understanding and knowledge among children of all ages. Pakistan is in the process of rapid progress towards media technology. This rapid expansion of technology grasped the attention of majority children which becomes helpful in the development

of their cognitive, social and learning skills. The constant exposure and engagement of children with media devices would not let them called media literate. The prolonged device use such as TV viewing, Internet, computer, smart phone and video games may have a great influence on children's personality. This impact can only be minimized by providing children the proper teaching regarding practical aspects of media technologies and develop their critical thinking skills. The early supporters of media literacy maintained that children grow up in this technology world should be well prepared to learn and grow intellectually. Media literate children would be better able to understand and evaluate various manipulative media messages.

Literature Review

To understand the impact of media on children's lives around the world in, there must be severe efforts to identify the influence of "diverse cultural norms" on the possible media effects and the difference between world regions with a highly developed media landscape and those with only a few basic media available (Groebel, 1998). Young children extreme exposure to violent programs would affect their cognitive development, language attainment and socialization. This long-time exposure would have long lasting and vivid effect on young children specially boys. He further revealed that violence-based programs for boys tend to invoke "aggressive behavior, antagonistic thoughts and feelings" among them which further caused the development of unsocial and unhelping nature towards others. Therefore, the effects of such violent programs could be reduced by decreasing the frequency of their exposure (Warburton, 2013). Children being the biggest factions of the community played a vigorous role in the development of society. Their continuous participation and engagement with these media technology served them as a "market segment for the business sector" (Daramola, 2015).

In this technology driven world the usage of technology has been increased among “digitally minded” children. They spent great deal of time with watching television and videos. Moreover, preschool children spent almost 3 hours a day in front of televisions, laptops, tablets, and smartphones (Genc, 2014). Blanchard and Moore (2010) found children today have been access to numerous opportunities to play, observe, explore and learn from digital media such as television, DVDs, MP3s, Touch/iPhones, computers, videogames, cell phones, smart toys (Linebarger & Piotrowski, 2009; Drotner, 2008). TV had been the most frequently used medium among children. Television had been playing an important role and provides entertainment to children. Children got more easily attracted towards smart phones and tablets (Lauricella, Wartella, & Rideout, 2015; Genc, 2014). Young children of 4-5 years were unable to discriminate between imaginary and realism. Therefore, majority got afraid from the “fake created characters” such as witches, monsters and dragons. Moreover, children exposure to violence led them towards aggression, desensitization, and arise fear among them (Wang, 2005). The study of Hassan and Daniyal (2013) found that children spent majority time in front of TV watching their favorite program cartoons which greatly affect their lifestyle, language, dressing and invoke aggressive and violent behavior among them. Another study by Khan and Manzoor (2013) found that young girls fulfilled their desire and needs by exposing to different television programs. The schoolgirls watched television in order to pass time and some were habitual viewers. Thus, television has been a part of almost every household which had positive as well as negative effects on young children.

Now a days these media devices have become more “popular gadgets” and an essential part of children’s life and this consumption had been increasing with the passage of time. It was also observed that many children had been replaced sports activities and physical exercise for

these media devices (Ruzic-Baf, Strnak, & Debeljuh, 2016). Arslan, Umair, and Zaman (2015) found that children of today's technology age have been referred as "digital natives" because their lives have been constantly surrounded by digital technologies from the time of birth. Children had been taking more interest in the "quick revolution" of technology (Qayyum, Mahmood, & Rasool, 2015). Children of 7-12 years old are considered important due to their increasingly usage of complex media landscape which became the challenging task for elders to interpret their usage styles. Therefore, due to their different using styles and choices in new media activities, four distinct user types were identified as "Low Users, Offline Gamers, Instrumental Users, and Advanced Users" (Endestad, Heim, Kaare, Torgersen, & Brandtzæg, 2011). With the rapid advancements in technology "media is one of the inventions which aims at capturing a countless group of viewers specially children and transmit information via various mediums" (Begum, Khowaja, & Ali, 2012, p.1338). A study conducted by Lee (2016) revealed the effective usage of IT tools such as computers, iPads, among primary-school going children which depicted great interest in "student-centered and inquiry-based learning mode".

Deal, Koulish, and Sears (2010) findings explore teachers' understandings and classroom applications of media literacy education after completing the required media literacy education course. The authors stated "Understanding of the subject matter is critical as it impacted not only how the participants interpreted media literacy and the value placed on it, but also, how it was implemented" (p. 129). Similarly, Rheingold (2009) urged the school curriculum needs to be revised with more concentration on exploration and discovery along with the incorporation of mass media in the educational settings. The implementation of other alternative sources and social networking sites would be the need of time in order to provide students with vast

understanding of different media technology functioning in today's information rich environment.

Buckingham (2005) mentioned that children have the ability to learn different media languages in a natural setting and environment due to the observations and exposure of their media saturated environment and their usage of different devices related to the same environment. Children start understanding the language of television from the early age of their life. By the age of four or five majority of the children developed better understanding and awareness of the basic vocabulary of “camera movements and positions, shot transitions and editing conventions”. He further highlighted the significance of media education in school curriculum that helps to promote, encourage and provide assistance in “self-directed learning” among children. Moreover, students related to media productions significantly develop “in-depth critical understanding of the media as well as an exploration of students’ emotional investment in the media”. Media literacy as a “legitimate subject” has become considerably important in the educational institutions for the “responsible citizenship”. In Turkey media education had been incorporated into educational curriculum at primary schools’ level to encourage and promote media literate society (Zettl, 1999).

Grace and Henward (2013) urged the implementation of media literacy in the primary educational curriculum. The curriculum must aim at the active participation of the students, by making the lessons “functional” and would provide students with the abilities to critically analyze interpret and evaluate the media messages. Moreover, they suggested a need for bringing critical media literacy into the early childhood classroom “as a means to question assumptions about gender and problematize the ways children use these understandings to define themselves and their place in the world. Young children can and do learn about the workings of the media

through their interactions with others in the home, school, and in their everyday social worlds” (p. 151). Kellner and Share (2007) recommended the incorporation of media education as a “regular practice” in K-12 classes. The standards set for media literacy programs must include “criticizing how media reproduce racism, sexism, homophobia, and other prejudices and encouraging students to find their own voices in criticizing media culture and producing alternative media” (p. 19). Similarly, Torres and Mercado (2006) recommended making media literacy as an important part of teacher educational curriculum. A study conducted by Sur, Ünal, and Şeri (2014) found the formal media education program more effective and significant for children. Students were encouraged to use newspaper and radio in their media literacy lessons. Different subject teachers in different schools provided Media literacy lessons. Considering students’ interests and attitude level and the activities that could attract their attention appropriately must develop Media literacy education program. Moreover, teachers were not well aware of the concept of media literacy education program and they delivered media literacy course through “rote learning” by using traditional method of discussion in the classroom. The teachers further revealed in interviews “media literacy lessons are adequate in terms of content, but the activities are inadequate”. Teachers were not provided any “in-service training” regarding proper implementation of media literacy classes and they were not aware of the “constructivist teaching method”. Bingimlas (2009) maintained that in Pakistan teachers and students used computers and internet in their personal lives but the implication of integrating ICT in schools in the classrooms for teaching and learning purposes was beyond satisfactory due to the hesitancy of teachers and other factors such as lack of hardware and software, lack of confidence, attitudes of teachers towards technology, lack of competence plays a very pivotal role to undermine the effective integration. Ahmed (n.d.) mentioned that in Pakistan education hasn’t got the best

reputation, especially when it comes to teaching practical skills in the fields of Science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, generally referred to as STEM. The methods of teaching haven't changed much despite the influx of modern technology. Even now, the instruction methods are mostly based on instilling information in the minds of children through repetitive learning rather than actually imparting any useful knowledge. Hardy (1998) highlighted the obstacles and problems such as funding, equipment, lack of time, and knowledge for the successful integration of technology in the schools (Lam, 2000; Simonsen & Dick, 1997).

Research Question

The present study is designed to find out the experiences of media usage of primary school going children in Islamabad, Pakistan and how to make them media literate in the existing mediated environment in Pakistan?

Research Method

A survey questionnaire was designed to examine the experience of children in terms of their media usage activities to perform the quantitative phase of the study. Three hundred and fifty-two primary school children of class three and class five were selected from three private and three public schools in Islamabad. Schools were randomly selected from one hundred and eighty-six public and two hundred and seventy-four private schools. The data of schools were collected from the federal directorate of education for public schools, whereas private schools' data were taken from Private Educational Institutions Regulatory Authority (PEIRA). Quantitative data was collected from the children through survey related to their media usage experiences at home and school. Before collecting the quantitative data, the researcher had acquired the verbal permissions of the Principals of each school. After the verbal permissions were received from the Principals for conducting the survey, parents' consent forms were

distributed to children to take permissions of parents since the children's ages were under eighteen. When the survey completed in one school, the researcher switched to other school. The average duration of the completion of the survey instrument was about thirty minutes, and the researcher spent almost more than an hour in each school for administering the survey.

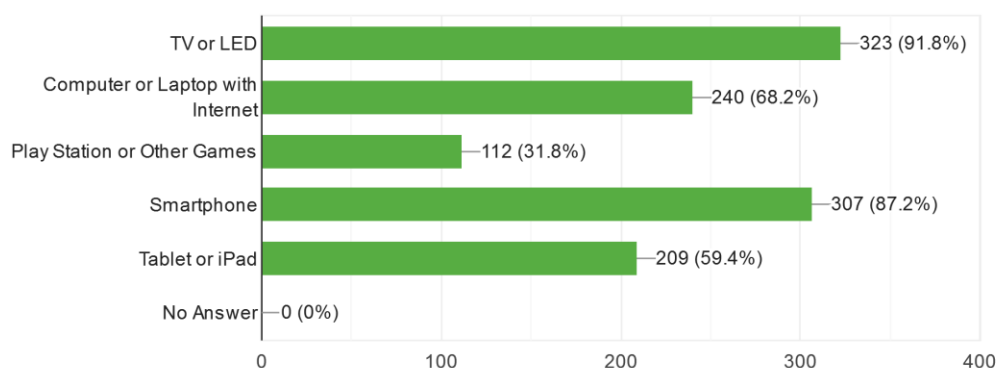
Findings and Discussion

The total number of children that completed the survey questionnaire was 352. The data was collected from boys and girls of each school between the age group of 8-13. There is fairly equal representation of genders in the total sample of children, 198 (56.3%) girls and 154 (43.8%) boys. The data represents 50.3% children are from grade 3 whereas, 49.7% are from grade 5. The demographic information of the children shows the balance strength of boys and girls from each school. Likewise, this information shows the balance strength of children from each grade.

To understand the media usage by children and their media usage experiences, children were asked variety of questions about their media environment both in schools and at homes.

Home Media Environment

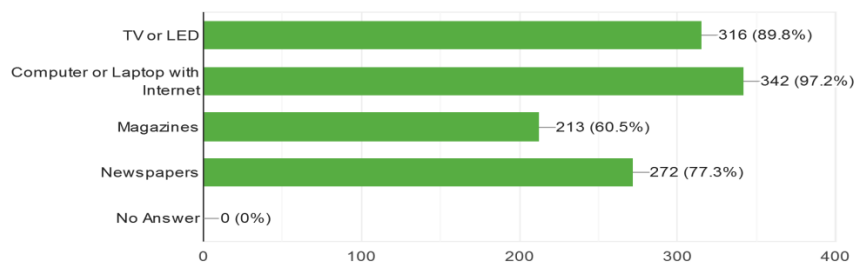
352 responses



This shows that all the children belong to households where media devices in any form are readily available. Some responded that they have access to LED, smart phone and computer whereas some said they have laptop, Internet, computer and TV in their homes. Some indicated the presence of tablets and computers whereas some mentioned iPad and play station. Moreover, children revealed the availability of game consoles such as play station or Xbox at home. Thus, this result shows that in each household more than one form of media devices are more readily available and accessible for the children.

School Media Environment

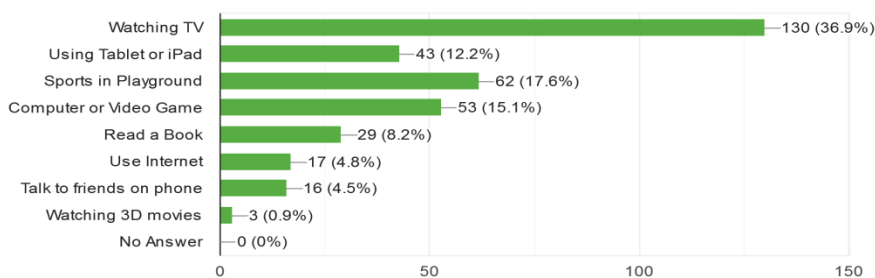
352 responses



The data shows that today each school is equipped with diverse forms of media devices for the children to use in the classroom. Children responded that TV/LED is mostly present in the classroom whereas, huge numbers of computers are present in the computer lab. Thus, the result reveals that all the children have access to media devices and use them for schoolwork.

Leisure activities at home

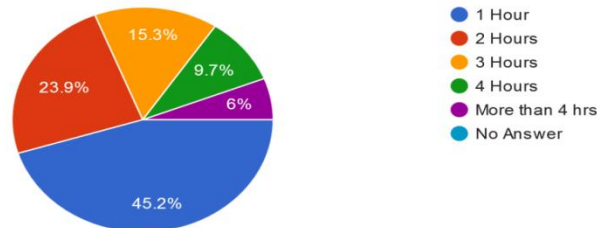
352 responses



The data shows that comedy and action movies are the most frequent watched movies at home by majority children.

Frequency of cartoons watching

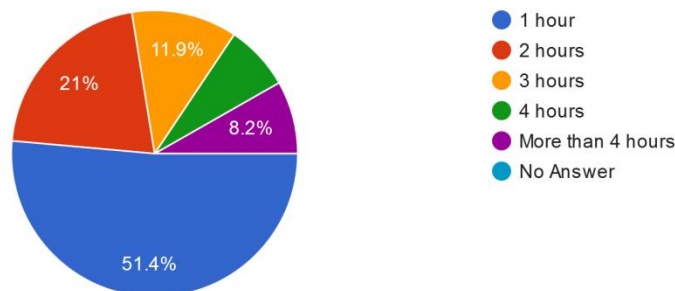
352 responses



The data shows the highest response rate of the children watching cartoons per day. The result indicates that the mostly children watch cartoons for 1 hour as compared to other age group.

Frequency of Internet usage

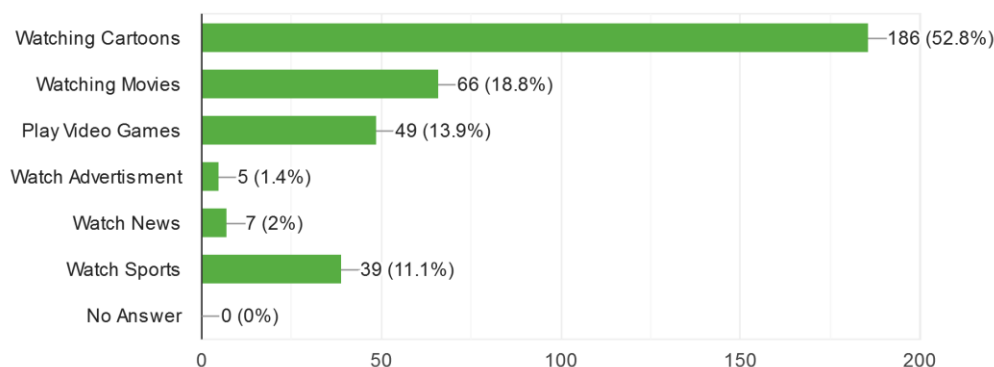
352 responses



This displays that majority of the respondents use Internet for one hour at home. Moreover, the result shows that the Internet usage for more than one hour at home is quite common among the children of 8 years, 10 years and 13 years.

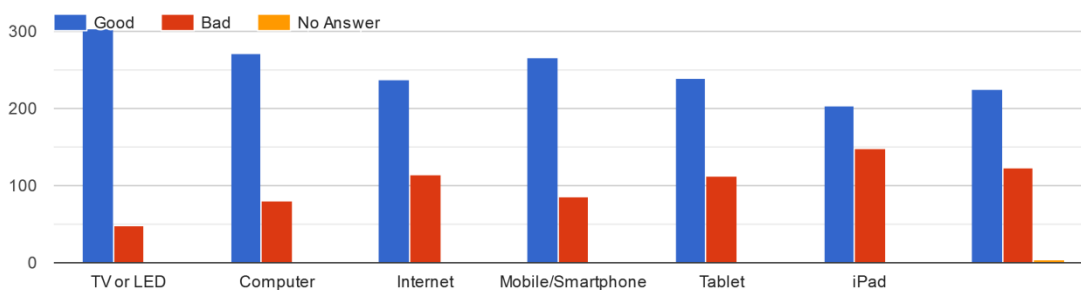
Purpose of TV watching

352 responses



Children watch TV for multiple purposes. The result shows that cartoons, movies and video games are the topmost three main purposes of TV watching among the children. On the other hand, the least purpose of watching TV among children is the news and advertisements. Regarding Internet, the data shows that children connect to the Internet for various purposes. This shows that majority children connect Internet for the chatting purpose. The other two most frequent purposes are the gaming and downloading games, movies and songs from the Internet.

Attitudes towards media devices



Children were asked about their attitude towards different media devices such as TV/LED, Internet, computer, smart phones, and tablet, iPad and game machines. Children were

asked to select one option from the given options of “good” or “bad”. Hence, this result indicates that majority children do not have their own smart phone and their parents may not permit them to keep the smart phone. This result suggests that in Pakistan the parents of such children may allow them to own the smart phone for their personal use although the response rate is less. Moreover, the small response rate of children indicates that they have their own set of smart phone for their personal use.

The survey findings demonstrate that majority children started using media from an early age. Children started watching television, cartoons, and playing video games on Internet and smart phone from the very young age. In this study mostly children started using Internet at the age of eight on average. It shows that media culture is a part of their daily lives from the very earliest age. Hence, it can be said that the media technology takes place in children’s early age. For that reason, the findings suggest that media has surrounded Pakistani children and it has become important part of their lives. Over the last few years there has been a substantial increase in media usage by children. Owing to this fact, all the children in the said study have been occupied by diverse media in their everyday lives. It reinforces the fact that with the growing advances in technology, the device usage among children has been increased with the rapid pace in Pakistan. Hence, this study advocates introducing media literacy in the educational curriculum. Due to constant engagement and involvement of children with theses media devices, the protection of children from the harmful effects of media is not sufficient. Therefore, more attention needs to be paid on empowering children in their daily media usage. Children need to critically evaluate, interpret and analyze the media content.

In recent years the usage of smart phone among children has also been increased extensively. The study findings revealed that the great number of children use their parents’

mobile phone, whereas, one fourth of children have their own set of mobile phone for individual use. Although the response rate of mobile phone possession among children is found low but still this small percentage cannot be ignored. It is predicted that the number of children using their own mobile phone is likely to be increased in the coming years. Besides, when children access the Internet through their personal device (mobile phone, tablet and iPad), parents may not monitor their children Internet related activities. Therefore, this study suggests that the children's ownership of such small devices may create difficulties for their parents in monitoring their media related activities. Consequently, parents are unaware of what activities their children are engaged in and which programs and games they are more exposed to. The individual usage of such devices may not be allowed among children, as they are not mature enough in this age group to fully understand the media content and its messages properly. Therefore, the study proposes that children should use such devices under the supervision of parents. Parental guidance and supervision are considered highly important for their children wellbeing.

The survey findings indicated that children use media devices for multiple functions. Majority of them watch TV mainly for entertainment such as watching cartoons, music, comedy shows, movies, sports and to play video games. For them it is as a leisure activity and a good way to relax. Watching cartoons is the common favorite hobby among children. It is regarded as a primary source of entertainment for them as well. Mostly children use their parents' smart phone for different purposes such as to make calls, to play games, chatting (talking with friends) and send text messages and using Internet. Furthermore, children use Internet for chatting, online gaming, downloading games, and movies, and for education purpose. Children spend lot of time playing games and download games from the Internet. The survey also shows that children use computer and Internet for the academic purpose as well. Children prepare assignments and

projects on computer and search information on Internet as well. Likewise, children feel that the computer connected to the Internet is not only good source of information but also as a good source of entertainment for them where they can download games, latest songs or movies and information. Thus, this study shows that children use television and Internet for entertainment and learning purposes. Additionally, the small devices including tablet, iPad and smartphone have quickly become an essential part for their daily lives. Children use these small devices to perform multiple tasks such as chatting with friends, surfing Internet and playing different sorts of games on smart phone and computer. Children need to know how media produces the messages, how the content is developed and what persuasive tactics are adopted by the advertisers to influence their buying habits. About advertising tactics among children requires media literacy education.

The present study shows that children's knowledge of the glamorous world of advertising is very limited. They only pay attention to the music, graphics, actors and products being advertised. They are unaware of the hidden purpose of creating messages in advertising. Therefore, the above findings suggest that if a child's critical thinking skill is enhanced, it will help in mitigating the effects of advertisements on them. Thus, in this consumer-driven age, it becomes necessary for the young children to be able to process advertising consciously and critically. Children through media literacy prepare in such a way so that they can easily understand the hidden persuasive influence behind the advertised products. They need to be taught to recognize and comprehend commercial messages. Children need to know how media produces the messages, how the content is developed and what persuasive tactics are adopted by the advertisers to influence their buying habits. About advertising tactics among children requires media literacy education.

Conclusion

This study found that children in Pakistan have exposed to all types of media. The findings suggest that children use different media regularly and consumption of media increases gradually. Children are using different media at one time. They mostly free time spend on electronic media; however, the usage hours may increase on weekends. Likewise, the findings confirmed that television is the medium of masses and continues to dominate children's media use. TV is the most common form of media found for children in this study. Over the years, the usage of media among children has been increased considerably. In addition, children spend a great deal of time watching cartoons and movies by using diverse media devices. Average screen time of children about three hours which includes all kind of media devices, but still it is quite high on daily basis. Children today access the Internet from computers, laptops, smart phones, and tablets. With the increased availability of media devices, children have fairly high level of exposure to the mass media and it can be assumed that this trend will continue to grow in the future. Thus, children require media literacy education to critically understand the media messages and make wise decisions regarding information available to them through media. Rules and regulations have been set for the children to follow. In the digital or online media, where rich information available for children, Children need media literacy education to protect themselves from this porous world and empower them to get advantages as well.

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Abstract

Social media has become a central component of modern society and politics around the world including Pakistan. The paper attempts to examine the influence of political activism among social media-savvy youth in highlighting the political issues of Pakistan. This paper examines how Pakistani youth's political activism via social media gives rise to an emergent-networked public sphere. A survey questionnaire was distributed to 403-university students aged 18-29 to examine their social media use and political engagement. Findings of the survey show that public discourse on social media, driven by Pakistan's networked youth, is a growing force that political players and pundits must reckon with. The paper concludes that politically active youth make use of social media to discuss political issues, highlight problems besetting the country, which generates a public discourse, put pressure on government and politicians to take action that ultimately bears influence upon politics and governance in Pakistan.

Keywords: Pakistan, Social Media, Youth Political Activism, Networked Public Sphere

1. Introduction

With the advent of information communication technologies, the social media in the last two decades has gained popularity in various parts of the world including Pakistan. The social media has been evolved as an alternative choice for masses to come to be vocal and disseminate information through new avenues of communication. The issues which were else impossible to be covered (e.g. Sialkot incident in 2010 and Sarfraz Shah's murder by Pakistan Rangers in 2011) became the part of the contents of the conventional mainstream media through new media applications. During the mass mobilization to organize offline protests, rallies, marches and sit-ins, due to the negligence of law enforcement agencies, certain other sparking events took place while handling the protesters and activists. There are occasions e.g. Judicial Movement 2007, Model Town Tragedy or Lahore Massacre 2014 and D. Chowk marathon sit-in 2014, Tehreek-e-Labaik's sit-in at Faizabad, 2017; where clashes between the police and the protesters erupted and dozens of protesters died and a number of activists and police officers injured (Pakistan Today, 2014). Such disorder converts the situation into a police state where inevitable violence further exacerbates the political situation of the country. Therefore, the protesters get further stimulated and demand justice from political and judicial authorities. At times they chant slogans in favour of the Pakistan Army and calling upon the military to take over parliament. Political analysts and experts in such situation do not rule out military intervention in a country that has already been ruled for more than three decades by the army in four military coups (Asia News, 2014). Both the mainstream media and social media highlight this entire situation through live footages, uploading pictures, and reporting ongoing developments over social media. The protesters in this way put pressure on elected political authorities to surrender their power to protesters, fulfil their demands or bring constitutional amendments and address their unattended and long-awaited political problems.

It seems, as the social media has become a new space of public discourse particularly among educated youth. Therefore, it is thought that they are playing a strong role in changing the political landscape of the country. By making use of the new media technologies the youth actively participate in different demonstrations, marches and protests on ground e.g. Long March 2007, Pakistan Awami Tehreek's (PAT) dharna 2013, 126-day dharna at D-Chowk (outside the parliament building) of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and a recent 2017 dharna of Tehreek-e-Labbaik (newly emerged political party) led by Moulana Khadim Rizvi in Faizabad. The young generation of the country shows involvement in the political process of the country through its online and offline presence. Keeping in view the growing usage of social media and the state of political activism in Pakistan, it seems that the social networking sites have created an online space for public discourse. The objectives of the current study are to explore the implications that social media brings upon grass roots political engagement and activism, particularly among civic-minded and politically aware educated youths, and how their participation is giving rise to a networked public sphere in Pakistan. In order to achieve these objectives; following research questions have been posed: 1) what is the frequency of politically related social media usage among Pakistani youth? 2) how does social media facilitate political activism among Pakistani youth? And 3) how does social media facilitate a networked public sphere among Pakistani youth?

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Youth's Social Media Use and Political Activism

The most important factor to understand the link between social media use and political engagement is to understand the emergence of diverse new forms of citizenship (Xenos et al., 2014). The contemporary youth has started to participate in politics and public life that is distinctly different from old dutiful norms of citizen participation that were dominant in previous generations (Bennet, 2012; Dalton, Sickle, & Weldon, 2009). It has

been identified that the youth has abandoned the traditional modes of political participation in favour of personalised politics of engagement by using social media (Bennet, Wells, & Freelon, 2011). Scholars have identified the potential of the Internet as an alternative public sphere that promotes political debates among youth and helps them to launch effective political campaigns.

A number of scholars viewed political activism as a behavioural practice that is meant to influence the decisions of the actors of political institutions (Skoric et al., 2016). Such practices include contributing money to the parties and political candidates, protest activities, campaigning, promoting candidates on Facebook and boycotting. (Gil de Zúñiga, Molynue, & Zheng, 2014). In the present digital world, social media outlets have offered new high-tech communication affordances that have allowed the users to seek and disseminate political information, discuss political issues, and participate in online political activities that supplement the traditional forms of political participation (Vitak et al., 2011). Scholars have investigated the relationship between social media use and political participation across the world, mainly from the United States' perspectives, concentrating on online and offline political movements.

Some of the studies such as those conducted by Bode (2012) and Vitak (2012) found that the general use of Facebook is predictive to proliferate online political activities. It has also been identified that the use of Twitter and blogs has optimistically increased the intensity of offline and online political engagement (Gil de Zuniga et al., 2013; Chan et al., 2012). Among such users, only expressive users of blog sites, like those who write blogs or comment on them, are expected to participate in online and offline political activities while consumptive users of blogs, like passive readers and commenters, are not predicted to partake in offline political activities, at least in the context of the United States (Gil de Zuniga et al., 2013). It is theorised that much of the current youth's political activism is facilitated, made

possible, and intensified by the availability of social media. Concurrently, the youth's political activism feeds into social media content. The existing literature endorses that the use of social media for political information exhibits a positive relationship among Facebook groups use (Conroy, Feezell, & Guerrero, 2012), social networking sites use for getting news (Gil de Zúñiga, Jung, & Valenzuela, 2012), and for political activities on Facebook (Vitak et al., 2011). Different online social networks increase the exposure of the users that may ultimately improve their rationality to synthesise the news' political events. On the other hand, mobilising information received through Facebook group pages combined with improved rationality (through increased exposure to the social networks) promotes participatory behaviour among the citizens (Valenzuela et al., 2009). Through this literature, the following hypothesis can be derived regarding social media use among Pakistani youth for political purpose:

Hypothesis (1): Frequency of social media use is positively associated with facilitating political activism among Pakistani youth.

2.3 Social Media Use, Networked Public Sphere, and Public Discourse

The critical pillar of the networked public sphere is generating a public discourse among social media users regarding public matters (Cogburn & Espinoza, 2011). The users, through this public sphere, after meeting, discussing, and debating on political issues, generate a public discourse that exerts its pressure upon political domains of the society (Yinjiao, Ping & Zhang, 2016). Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet (1944), established that people who are engaged in political discussion are more likely to engage in political actions. The discussion of political matters helps social media users not only to share the information but also to take in that information. According to Schmitt-Beck (2008), social media offers a free marketplace of ideas that infuses political activism among the users by offering the means to fight with ideas, comment on the news shared through mainstream media, and help

the users to exchange highly structured arguments and generate a public discourse. Therefore, political discussion over social media enriches the level of political learning and enables the individuals to take part in social and political causes more often (Valenzuela, 2012). The expression of opinion by using social media perhaps triggers online political talk, which is considered conducive by the new media scholars for interpersonal political engagement. The rapid transfer of information and the difficulty of censorship make social media a well-organized public sphere that generates a unique public discourse for social media users to voice their concerns against political issues (Yang, 2010). The technological advancement has established an undeniable potential of online and other social media that help in converting the public sphere into a networked public sphere (Beers, 2006). The architecture of the networked public sphere is very much driven by social media. Without it, the shape of the networked public sphere would not be as it currently is. The networked public sphere, in turn with the relationship of online political activism, creates a vibrant public discourse feeding into social media, mainstream media, and society that drive the agenda of the political domain. Based on the theorization of social media use, public discourse, and networked public sphere, it is claimed that individuals who use social media are more exposed to political information and discussion online, and therefore are more likely to engage in political discussion and public debates, hence generating a public discourse that ultimately influences political institutes. Based on the literature, the following hypothesis regarding social media use and networked public sphere in Pakistan can be made:

Hypothesis (2): Frequency of social media use is positively associated with facilitating a networked public sphere in Pakistan.

The political and democratic power of social media has been examined in the academic studies of various countries. However, apart from a small number of studies mostly examining social or technological aspect of new media (Ayesha & Ayesha, 2016); and social

media as an alternative communication and resistance channel during the political crisis in Pakistan (Arif, 2014). There is a dearth of research within the field of media and communication of Pakistan regarding the Internet and social media use and its relationship with political activism and networked public sphere in the country. By testing the above mentioned hypotheses, the study addresses this gap as an academic discourse on youth political activism via social media and its implications on the networked political sphere in Pakistan.

3. Methodology

A cross sectional survey research design has been adopted for the current study. The researchers have developed a survey questionnaire and conducted pilot study prior to collect the final data for the study. The researcher circulated the web-link of the survey questionnaire to the students of sampled departments of Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad (QUI), International Islamic University Islamabad (IIUI) and National University of Modern Languages Islamabad (NUML) through the class representatives (CRs) of the classes and sent the web-link of the survey questionnaire to 150 students and distributed the questionnaire to them. Due to the contingency question asking whether they use social media for political purpose or not, and lack of research culture to respond the online surveys in Pakistan, only 158 students were qualified to take part in the pilot study. The items regarding the frequency of the political usage of social media and networked public sphere were tested. The first threshold value of the scale (social media as facilitator of political activism) is .907 and the second threshold value of the scale (social media as facilitator of networked public sphere) is .920 respectively. However, the overall 0.95 threshold value is computed for the entire scale of the study. Later, Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) and Bartlett's test was performed upon the data that was collected during pilot study. The 0.961 ratio of KMO test and 0.000 significance level of Bartlett's test of Sphericity assured that the scale is valid to assess the

intended construct of the study. Due to the difficulties faced in online pilot testing of the instrument, the researcher has decided to adopt self-administered survey technique and conveniently distributed the questionnaire to the students by visiting class to class, by getting permission from the chairmen of the sampled departments from the three above-mentioned universities. Through this way, the researcher was able to distribute 450 copies of the questionnaire to the youth studying in the above-mentioned universities. Due to the one contingency question given above the instrument, only 420 students in total were qualified to respond back the questionnaire. Out of which the responses of only 403 respondents were made part of final analysis as rest of the responses were incomplete or they were exceeding the age bracket of Pakistani youth (18-29). The whole data was collected during the month of October 2019.

4. Results and Findings

The results include the frequency and mean ranks of the patterns of social media use for political purpose among the respondents of the study. The results also include the correlations of social media use with political activism and networked public sphere among the participants of the study.

	Mean Rank
Facebook	6.06
YouTube	4.53
Twitter	4.05
Google+	3.54
Daily motion	3.41
Blogs	3.35
Others	3.05

Test Statistics ^a	
N	403
Chi-Square	628.862
Df	6
Asymp. Sig	.000
a. Friedman Test	

Table 4.1: Mean Ranks of the Frequency of Social Media Usage for Political Purpose

Table 4.1 articulate that the mean rank of Facebook is 6.06, which is higher than mean ranks of other social media websites. Whereas; YouTube is the second top priority of social media users with the mean rank of 4.53 to highlight country's political issues. The mean rank of Twitter is 4.05 that suggest that Twitter is the third widely consumed website for the sampled population. Moreover, Friedman Test statistics makes it clear that the difference among the usage of all these websites by the respondents of the study is (.000) significant.

			Frequency of Social Media Use	Facilitating Political Activism
Spearman's rho	Frequency of Social Media Use	Correlation	1.000	.247**
		Coefficient		
		Sig. (2-tailed)		0.000
	Facilitating Political Activism	N	403	403
		Correlation	.247**	1.000
		Coefficient		
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	
		N	403	403

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 4.2: Correlation between Social Media Use and Political Activism

From the table given above, the Spearman's rho test was computed on a sample (N=403) to see the correlation between the frequency of social media use and political

activism among youth in Pakistan. The Spearman correlation of social media use and political activism is ($r_s=247^{**}$, $p=0.000$) which is considered as significant. The significance level reported above is $p < 0.01$ (2 tailed) provides the result that there is a strong association between the frequencies of social media use with political activism among youth in Pakistan.

		Frequency of Social Media Use	Facilitating Networked Public Sphere
Spearman's rho	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.161*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.001
	N	403	403
	Correlation Coefficient	.161*	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	
	N	403	403
	Correlation Coefficient		
	Sig. (2-tailed)		
	N		

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 4.3: Correlation between Social Media Use and Networked Public Sphere

From the table given above, the Spearman's rho test was computed on a sample ($N=403$) to see the correlation between the frequency of social media use and political activism among youth in Pakistan. The Spearman correlation of social media use and networked public sphere is ($r_s=161^*$, $p=0.001$) which is considered as significant. The significance level reported above is $p < 0.05$ (2 tailed) provides the result that there is a strong association between the frequency of social media use with facilitating networked public sphere among youth in Pakistan.

5. Discussion

So far the first research question, “what is the frequency of politically related social media usage among Pakistani youth” is concerned, Facebook appears to be a widely used networking site for political activism among youth in Pakistan, followed by YouTube, Twitter, blogs and other social networking sites and applications respectively. Researchers have found that youth, who actively seek and share political information on social media, tend to also participate in the political group's activities (Park et al., 2009). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the survey results indicate that Pakistani youth relied heavily on social media to highlight Pakistan's political issues and problems.

The users also upload and share news videos lifted from the mainstream news channels. There is thus an environment of inter-media agenda-setting and recreation of news between social media and mainstream media in Pakistan. To highlight the political issues of the country, social media user post and share user-generated content comprising of photos, images and texts. As Aday et al., (2013) pointed out, user-generated content is shared crosswise through new media technologies, disinter-mediating traditional media, and reduces media's traditional role as a fundamental intermediary between the masses and the state as seen occurring in Pakistan.

Regarding the second research question “how does social media facilitate political activism among Pakistani youth?” is concerned, the findings of this study find support in existing literature that have found that people who are politically-engaged on social media are also more politically active. This certainly appears to be the case among Pakistani youth surveyed in this study. Similar individual-level studies have found that the frequency of social media use has a positive relationship with political activism (Gil de Zuniga et al., 2012; Park et al., 2009; Rojas & Puig-i-Abril, 2009; Valenzuela et al., 2009; Zhang et al., 2010). Researchers propose a number of reasons for this positive relationship. Firstly, social media

makes it possible and easy for users to develop a large number of contacts with like-minded people; therefore, aiding social movements to reach critical mass (Kristen & Saxton, 2012). Secondly, social media networks function as information centres; thereby enable users to screen their personal contacts and remain updated about recent happenings around them through notifications and news feeds (Gil de Zuniga et al., 2012). Thirdly, the increased participation of social media users in online political activities develops trustworthy offline relationships with like-minded people, which promote offline protests and political behaviours among the youth in Pakistan. Fourthly, social media helps to construct and promote personal and group identity (a forerunner of political behaviour) that multiplies the force of peer pressure to accept group norms by providing continuous interpersonal feedback (Dalton et al., 2009; Papacharissi, 2010). All these reasons support the results, (as detailed in the Table 4.2), and approves the Hypothesis (1): “Frequency of social media use is positively associated with facilitating political activism among Pakistani youth”.

As for as the third research question is concerned “how does social media facilitate a networked public sphere among Pakistani youth?” is concerned, (as detailed in the Table 4.3), social media users surveyed in this study agree that social media facilitates a networked public sphere among Pakistani youth. Literature highlights that the social media substantially affects the dynamic between civic and public forces in the states (Nugroho & Syarief, 2012). Abida (2013) argued that social media in Pakistan is gaining wider acceptance particularly among the youth. . This current study’s findings support the notion that social media has accelerated civic political engagement with Pakistan. The shape of social media use in Pakistan is similar to the international world, where social media has been acknowledged as a networked public sphere generating debate on national and international political issues (Nida, 2013). Hence, the current study approves the Hypothesis (2): Frequency of social media use is positively associated with facilitating a networked public sphere in Pakistan.

Findings in this study differ from Kugelman's (2012) earlier findings that suggest that people of Pakistan use social media more for socialization purposes and less for getting news. On the contrary, this study's results support Abida's (2013) suggestion that social media in Pakistan is used extensively for consuming news and informational exchange. This has brought a shift in the Pakistani public sphere. As is the case in many countries, the public sphere in Pakistan was formerly centered around a selected number of commercially controlled media conglomerates. This one-way communication uni-directional public sphere is now transforming into an interactive grass-roots forum. The new user-generated networked public sphere is driven by individual public participation in creating and disseminating information across the world (Benkler, 2006).

6. Conclusion

The current study concluded that there is an emergence of the networked public sphere in Pakistan where social media has become a central component of modern society and politics. The current study has attached an instrumental value to social media and found a relationship between the use of these technologies for political activism and creating a networked public sphere among the youth in Pakistan. The study has found an increased interaction of the social media users under this networked public sphere, where individuals construct their own identity through Facebook and other social media platforms that provide them a genial atmosphere, to take collective political actions. Afterwards, the disintermediation of social media, pushing the legacy media to some extent, as the primary agenda setter of the society, challenging the established gatekeeping hierarchy of the conventional media adds more strength in the power of this networked public sphere. All these factors are instrumental for the users and play a crucial role in this networked public sphere to generate debate and to devise strategies. These could result in collective actions to influence the politicians to fulfil their demands and to solve their political problems.

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Abstract

This article focuses on the disputed relationship between two neighboring nuclear powers, Pakistan and India. The Kashmir dispute has been seen as a bone of content since 1947. Due to the Kashmir dispute, the relations among the South Asian countries are intense as well. After the industrialization and globalization, every country demanded peace, prosperity, sustainability and development in the region. Due to intense diplomatic relations between countries can ruin the development and the peace process. In South Asia, two atomic powers have failed to dissolve their Conflicts since independence and even though they are eager to sacrifice their own interest/benefit to harm each other. In many UN Peace missions, both countries have been delivering their best for the peace, harmony and prosperity in the world, but they are not ready to promote peace in their specific territory. This article is based on Pulwama incident that has opened new horizons for political, strategic and media wars. This article also explores the role of media to manipulate the facts and disperse asymmetric information for their personal or political interest without analyzing the consequences of asymmetry agenda. Besides, all clashes and wars some important questions have been raised in this article: Is Kashmir dispute open new contentions for the both countries? What were the consequences of pre and post Pulwama Attack? Can diplomatic relations and foreign policies of both countries ever be friendly? Can both countries secure their mutual interests? Could it be possible that decision makers work for the prosperity of their own people instead of blaming each other at the international forums? How long will both countries live with their conflicts without agreeing on any proper solution?

Key words: Pulwama Attack, Indian Security Forces (ISFs), Propaganda, Kashmir, Political and Strategic War

Introduction

Pulwama incident happened on 14 February 2019, which causes political and strategic war between India and Pakistan. A young Kashmiri boy drove explosive-filled car and collided into the convoy of Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF). In this convoy, 78 vehicles were carrying around 2,500 soldiers. Forty (40) Indian soldiers were killed and more than a dozen were injured due to this deadly attack (Abi-Habib, 2019). In the last 30 years, Pulwama attack was considered as one of the worst attacks in Indian Occupied Kashmir. Both countries were in a state of shock and it has also tremored the world. The Indian media were broadcasting news stories, in which they accused and blamed Pakistan for this terrorist attack. The responsibility of this attack was claimed by Jaish-e- Mohammad so the Indian media started broadcasting news stories, in which they accused Pakistan for supporting terrorist attacks by supporting organizations like Jaish e Mohammad.

Indian media threatened Pakistan without holding any investigation and evidence. The media of two nuclear-armed states was on fire after the deadliest attack. They were framing the incident, according to their own national interest and state's narrative. The tension was not limited to the media only, but also exceeded to borders (Line of Control). Indian media were trying to isolate Pakistan at international forums by manipulating facts regarding Pulwama attack. Indian Prime minister threatened Pakistan by attacking Pakistan administered Kashmir (Bukhari & Miglani, 2019).

Causes behind the Pulwama Attack

According to Prof. Uma Singh, mother of all conflicts between India and Pakistan is Kashmir. Both countries fought many wars to resolve Kashmir dispute (1947, 1965 and 1971), one limited war in Kargil (1999) and number of situational wars (1987 and 2002). Even United

Nation and bilateral dialogues failed to change the status of both countries. Both countries started many movements in a different era (1954, 1963, 1972 and 2007) and believed that these movements had capacity to resolve the conflict. One the other side, in the past, India and Pakistan have settled some matters through arbitration and mediation process such as Indus River System (1960) and demarcation of Rann of Kutch border in 1965 (Amit, 2011).

At the time of partition, Kashmir had an area of 222,236 km², demarcation of border divided the Kashmir into three territories. The total population of Kashmir, according to the census of 1941 was 4.02 million, the majority of the population were Muslims (77%) whereas, Hindus were only 20%. Today, the total area of Kashmir captured by India, is 45.62 %, 35.15% are under control of Pakistan and China holds 19.23% area of Kashmir (Karnad, 2004).

According to the 2011 census of India, the total population of Jammu and Kashmir is 12.5 million (Chandramouli, 2011). According to the statistics of Human Rights Violation stated that more than 94,000 Kashmiris has been martyred by the Indian Security Forces (ISFs) in Indian occupied Kashmir. Approximately more than 7,000 Kashmiris martyred in Indian detention centers. Millions of people wounded, 1 million structures have been destroyed, 22,000 women have been widowed, 105,000 lost their parents and more than 10,000 women have been raped by the Indian security forces and paramilitary troops in Indian occupied Kashmir since 1989. Moreover, 7000 Kashmiris fell victim to the pellet gun injuries, most of them lost their vision which includes children between the ages of 5 to 16 years (n.d), 2017. Above mentioned abuses committed by the Indian army in Indian Occupied Kashmir turn on the flame of freedom in every Kashmiri.

Burhan Wani, a young leader and a freedom fighter of Jammu Kashmir, became famous in youth through social media campaign that revolutionized the movement of freedom in

Kashmir. Burhan Wani got martyred on 8th July 2016, at the age of 22. His death gave a new spark to the freedom movement and protests started across Kashmir against the Indian government and Indian Army. The Indian government tried to stop these protests inhumanly. 96 Kashmiris were killed, 15,000 Kashmiri's were injured and roughly 4000 personnel of the Indian Army were injured (Douglas & Verma, 2016). Due to the huge number of casualties and injuries, curfew was imposed in Jammu Kashmir, which was lasted for 53 days. In the past, Indian occupied Kashmir also had experienced a similar kind of protests in 1980s, 1990s, 2008, 2010 and 2016 but 2016 protest made a history due to the participation of women in these protests.

News report, 2019, reveals that terrorism is always at the peak during election years, especially in India. Farooq Abdulla said that Modi is behind Pulwama attack as he wanted to win the elections (Sandhu, 2019). It also stated that India's ruling Bharatiya Janata Party has diminished the Kashmir and "created an enemy for the entire India" furthermore, it analyzed that this strategy may be good for the election but harmful to national security of India.

Post Pulwama Attack

After the Pulwama Attack, Foreign Office of India tries to mislead the international community without any solid evidence that became the cause of embarrassment in front of the international community as well as its own people. Pakistan's Foreign Office gave a clear statement in response to Indian allegations that "Pakistan categorically rejected false Indian allegation about the Pulwama attack and provided the facts that this attack has indigenous origin, the local explosives and vehicle is being used and the attack happened miles away from the Line of Control", (News report, 2019). Furthermore, Pakistan responded all the allegation with maturity, responsibility and resolve all domains, including: political, information and response to

an Indian act of military aggression. The Report added, Pakistan has been fighting against terrorism for last two decades, the world has admired the efforts of Pakistan's army and political leadership who were trying to root out extremism and terrorism under the agenda of the National Action plan.

Indian Air Force violated LOC and intruded Muzafarabad sector on 26 February 2019. Pakistan Air Force immediately scrambled Indian aircrafts. Indian pilots got panic and released payload when the Pakistan Air Force (PAF) responded timely at Balakot. A day after India again violated LOC, two Indian aircrafts shot down during the violation of LOC and one pilot- Abhinandan Varthaman- got arrested by the locals and handed over safely to armed force. On the same day Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan stated that "the sole purpose of this action was to demonstrate our right, will and capability for self-defense. We do not wish to escalate, but are fully prepared if forced into that paradigm". Director General of Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) also agreed with the statement of MOFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

Balakot air strike by IAF was an open violation of the UN charter and International Law. Prime Minister of Pakistan addressed on national television stated that both countries may develop the consensus in de-escalating the crisis for peace, prosperity and stability for the region. Pakistan released the Indian pilot as a good gesture of peace and goodwill. The Pakistan's peace gesture was highly praised by the international community and also general masses of both countries. Indian media violated all journalism codes and keep beating war drums. Both countries were adopted a nationalist approach, but Pakistani media were inclined towards peace and prosperity of the region than the Indian media.

Background of Indian Participation in OIC

17 Feb 2019, Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Muhammad bin Salman visited Pakistan and signed agreements of over 20 Billion dollar investment (Aljazeera News, 2019). Salman's visit was considered as the biggest state visit since President of China in 2015. China's President Xi Jinping announced plans to invest tens of billion dollars on infrastructure in Pakistan as part of China's One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative. During the signing ceremony, Prince Muhammad bin Salman said, "Consider me in Saudi Arabia as the ambassador of Pakistan". After a two-day visit, Salman went back to Saudi Arabia and then flew to India for two day state visit on 19 Feb 2019. MBS took the long route because New Delhi had reservations over Muhammad bin Salman to come to India from Pakistan. Salman signed investment agreements over 50 billion dollars (Times of India, 2019). Meanwhile, Indian Government convinced MBS to become a member of OIC because India Muslims are also seeking their representation in the OIC.

Indian Participation in OIC

First time in the history of OIC, Indian Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj addressed the meeting as a special guest. Foreign Minister of India stated that "India is a diverse society and home of over 185 million Muslims, which maintains linkages with Muslim world" (CFM, 2019). Furthermore, she emphasized that India wanted to pursue a strong relationship with the different regional organization of the world in the spirit of one world. On the other side, "the Islamic Republic of Pakistan requested to reflect in the report of the CFM that it boycotted the inaugural session to register its disapproval to the participation of the Indian Foreign Minister. Pakistan registered its reservation on the Abu Dhabi declaration and stressed the necessity for the OIC to

formulate rules for the issuance of CFM declarations in OIC meetings. Likewise, for inviting special guests of honor from a non-Member State”.

United Nation Resolutions and Foreign Policy of the United State toward India and Pakistan:

United Nations goals formed in 1948-49 to propose the settlement of Kashmir issue through a plebiscite. The goals set out certain standards and strategies which will be taken out for plebiscite. India and Pakistan marked and acknowledged these goals yet later, both these nations conflicted over the understanding of the provision. In 1950, Sir Owen Dixon was assigned as the United Nations mediator by the Security Council. He suggested that the neighborhood specialists, regulated by United Nations officials, of the entire contested district ought to be given the duty of managerial work (Ganguly et al., 2018).

It was dismissed by the legislative assembly of India. After India's dismissal of the principal proposition, Mr. Dixon requested an alliance government for the contested valley during the time of the plebiscite. The alliance government was proposed to be made of two antagonistic gatherings: a non-political impartial organization or an official of UN agents. This proposition was dismissed by both India and Pakistan. Since initial two propositions were dismissed by India and Pakistan, Sir Owen Dixon proposed to hold a local plebiscite in Kashmir valley, dispensing the regions in India or Pakistan, based on the aftereffects of the plebiscite. Pakistan dismissed the proposition, saying that India has just asked for a plebiscite halt in the state of Indian occupied Kashmir. At the point when all proposition of Sir Dixon was dismissed by both of the nations, finally he thought of another proposition which called for plebiscite for the valley, directed by officials of the United Nations. This requires complete disarmament of the region, Pakistan dismissed even this proposal (Naseer Ahmed Kalis., 2013).

While the war was going on between the two countries, India moved the resolution in UN on 1st January 1948 for up keeping of universal harmony. Pakistan reacted by saying that India is slaughtering Muslims in Kashmir and have gained power in Kashmir through force and violence (Sum, H. K., 2013).

The UN Security Council Resolution of April 21, 1948, one of the central UN goals on Kashmir, expressed that "India and Pakistan want that the subject of the promotion of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan ought to be chosen through the law-based strategy for a free and fair-minded plebiscite".

Trump and Modi's Meetings:

After the abrogation of article 370 and 35A in Kashmir by India, the resolution between India and Pakistan suffered the major set-back and the issue was taken to the international forum. A meeting was held between Modi and Donald Trump and the matter was discussed. Donald Trump offered to be a mediator in the Kashmir issue, but Modi turned down the request stating that it's a bilateral issue between India and Pakistan.

"We spoke last night about Kashmir, Prime Minister Modi really feels he has it under control. They speak with Pakistan and I'm sure that they will be able to do something that will be very good."

Modi denied any role of a third party mediator regarding this issue and said that he do not want to bother any country. Without directly referring to the Kashmir issue, PM Modi said, *"There are many issues with Pakistan are bilateral, we don't bother other countries about these issues. We can find solutions through discussions."*

TRUMP AND IMRAN KHAN'S MEETINGS:

A meeting was held between Imran Khan and Donald Trump on July 2018, where Trump once again offered to be a mediator in the Kashmir dispute.

“There is always a solution. I am a good mediator. I will mediate if there is assent from the other side. I have very good relationship with Modi and Khan. I can be a very good arbitrator. If I can help, I will certainly help”.

Trump said that Modi has requested him to be a source of the solution of this issue.

“If I can help, I would love to be a mediator. If I can do anything to help, let me know. I was with Prime Minister Modi two weeks ago and we talked about this subject (Kashmir). And he actually said, 'would you like to be a mediator or arbitrator?' I said, 'where?' (Modi said) 'Kashmir”.

Phases of Sub-Continent

History of Sub-Continent discovers four phases that belong to the independence of Pakistan. The first phase of Sub-continent belonged to Muslim period started from 712 to 1600 AD. The duration of that phase was called the Muslim period in the pages of history. Muslims ruled over Sub-continent up to nine hundred years started with the invasion of Muhammad bin Qasim. Second Phase of Sub-continent started from 1600 to 1857 that belonged to the British East India Company who ruled over 250 years. The East India Company came into Sub-continent to trade and started pillage game with the help of Hindu Mahrajas. The third phase was started from 1857 to 1947 and lot of incidents happened in that era, including Indian act 1935 and independent of two countries. In 1857 both Muslims and Hindus fought freedom war against the British Empire. Unfortunately, the people of Sub-continent not only lost their sovereignty, but also lost their dignity, honor and prestige. Both nations once again started their political and

legal struggle against the British Empire since the foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885. Meanwhile, Muslims of India realized that Indian National Congress were not for Muslims and they founded the Muslim League in 1906. After the long political struggle under the supervision of charismatic leader, Muslims of India got independence from the British Empire as well as Hindus in 14 August 1947. After departure of the British Empire, fourth phase has started since 1947 to till date that is an important part of this article.

Departure of British Empire left one biggest disputed area between two countries that is Kashmir. Both countries claimed that Kashmir is the integral part of their beloved land. The larger part of the Kashmir is the Southern part, which is administrated by India as a state. The line of control separates it from the Pakistani administrated territories of Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Kashmir in the West and North respectively. One part of the Kashmir is attached with China from the East. Both countries fought two wars on the territory of Kashmir that become cause for national pride of both counties. Last incident also held near Line of Control that creates a huge dilemma of Pulwama attack. Pulwama attack keep out of sight many hidden political agendas that disclose their brutal aims which was planned by Indian Politicians and intelligence agencies with the assistance of anti-Pakistan lobby. Pulwama incident was divided into different phases: Pre and Post Pulwama Attack. Media play a vital role in dispersing symmetry and asymmetry information regarding Pulwama scenario.

Important Factors

Political War: Political war is a term that means to use political power to gain advantage over the opponent by different tactics like political victimization, insurgency, propaganda and psychological activities. Indo-Pak relations have been overshadowed by political victimization and political insurgency in different geographical areas of both countries. Pakistan and India

share long and intricate history that have been in conflict over the disputed area of Kashmir. However, both states have made many efforts for dialogues so that they can move step towards peace, but most efforts have gone in vain.

Strategic War: People Republic of China has been constantly supporting to Pakistan in different issues, especially before the Pulwama incident, China continued support to Pakistan, including on the issue of listing of Maulana Masood Azhar as a terrorist through the UN Security Council. Geographical location of Pakistan is of great importance to China and CPEC projects that can lead China towards superpower. CPEC and Gawadar port has increased the strategic importance of Pakistan for the rest of the world. Development and peace projects would bring economic stability in the region and open new gates to the world in the shape of One Belt One Road (OBOR). These projects have gained more strength and cordial relations between Islamabad and Beijing. China and Pakistan have been extending their diplomatic support on each forum, especially Pakistan supported china to become a permanent member of UNO and China is extending its support to Pakistan morally, economically and militarily. Bilateral relations of both countries are strengthened after India and US signed a deal for civilian nuclear cooperation.

Media War: Media is one of the important sources of information and also plays a vital role as “strategic actor” for shaping and guiding the perception of the targeted audience. Media can play a function of peace journalism to create an environment of peace between two nuclear countries.

Media is a key element to inject poison in the mind of innocent people who wants to meet each other peacefully as well. Somehow, Pakistani media play a positive role to improve the relations of both countries. On the other hand, Indian media is famous for sensationalizing in

reporting and projecting the wrong impression of Pakistan at international forums to gain sympathy. (Haseeb Ur Rehman & Hussain. S., 2019).

Objectives

- To explore and examine different aspects of Pulwama attack that includes pre and post effects that leads toward political and strategically war between both countries.
- To investigate that to what extent Pulwama incident creates a tense situation between two nuclear-armed states
- To find out the reasons behind the Pulwama attack under the Modi regime/ near upcoming elections in India.
- To observe that Is Indian media drag their country in war side and Pakistani media drag out from war and try to maintain peace in South Asia region?
- To find out whether Indian media blames are based on evidence and the responsibility of media towards peace. Furthermore, this article helps decision-makers to predict consequences of Pulwama attack and what will be future of both countries regarding some other issues except Kashmir.

Methodology

Relations between India and Pakistan is main topic covered by international and local media of both countries. Both countries relation becomes headline for international newspapers when any incident happened in South Asian region. Any dispute regarding both countries directly reflects the international scenario and also has an impact on foreign policy of neighboring countries. The methodology of this article adopts a qualitative approach that includes Newspapers from India and Pakistan, journal articles, books, international reports,

conferences, political debates and editorial position of different newspapers across the border. This article also covers important factors (Militant wars, Political wars, Strategic wars and Media war) which help to understand the dilemma of both countries.

Discussion

Pakistan- India relations are crucial for the peace and stability in South Asia. For the betterment of their relations over political, historical and territorial conflicts, both countries have made efforts for dialogues. Peace negotiation was started in 2004 and stopped in 2008 after Mumbai attacks. The efforts for peace between both atomic powers were resumed again in 2011. Since 2014, when (BJP) under the leadership of Narendra Modi, came into power, relationships between both countries have been changed dramatically.

Existing Prime Minister of India who has been ruling over India since 2014. Modi is an extremist, anti-Islam minded leader who was involved in brutal religious violence of Gujarat that can never be seen in the history of independent India (Hafeez, M. 2015). As a Chief Minister of Gujarat in 2002, he was involved in murder of Muslims and raped hundreds of women. After the Gujarat violence, he stated blame to Pakistani secret agency even though he was closely associated with RSS, a military organization who supported Hindu ideology (Chakraborty, 2014). In 2004, dialogues were started for the prosperity of the region and promoting bilateral relations, but unfortunately Mumbai attacks planned by the militant group and blame put on Pakistan (Maria Saifuddin & Ahmed, 2016). In 2015, Pakistan gave a positive gesture and awarded Most Favorite Nation (MFN) status to India (Suneja, 2019).

Modi portrayed as “Sanyasi” because his attributes and characteristics based on Hindu extremism; article published in Dawn newspaper with the headline “Area of concerns”(Aijazuddin, 2014). Furthermore, in Modi’s regime violations of LoC reached at peak

just before the 2019 elections. BJP government always tried to isolate Pakistan at regional and global forums by using different propaganda techniques (Mehr, 2019).

The most recent incident of Pulwama attack created halted relations between Islamabad and Delhi. The attack resulted in the deaths of 40 personnel of the Indian army, the obligation of Pulwama assault was guaranteed by an activist group of Jaish-e-Mohammed but the Indian government put all responsibility on Pakistan. The Pakistani Government denied any association with Pulwama incident. After these circumstances a flood of virus war is begun between both nuclear powers at government level as well as through media (Abi-Habib, 2019).

Media plays a very important role in promoting peace among two warring countries. Media and politics are interrelated to each other to mold the perception of the general public and leaders. On the basis of these perceptions the decision makers, policymakers and actors formulate the policies according to crisis or political changes i.e. elections. In South Asia, politicians and financiers influence media groups and imposed pressure through government and moneymaking industry (Hussain, 2008). Indian media played a negative role in Pulwama attack that drag both countries near to war and developed win scenario for Modi government in the upcoming election. Mostly, Pakistani and Indian governments use their media as a propaganda tool and as a news-transmitting media. Both media's reporting was based on nationalism and patriotic lines. Pakistani media tried to create a good bilateral relation between Pakistan and India. On the other hand, Indian media is famous for sensationalizing the news or making claims that were not accurate. Indian media were also responsible for destroying Pakistan-India relation by doing false reporting and blaming Pakistan without any solid evidence. Aim of India was to achieve sympathy at international level and isolate Pakistan. Indian media follow the same pattern even after the Pulwama attack. When two countries are on direct war, then the peace

journalism will be invisible, but when there is some terrorist activity, then the peace journalism can have a high percentage in the accused country (Haseeb ur Rehman & Hussain. S., 2019).

After the attack, Indian media continuously beats the drum of war without considering the consequences, also blaming Pakistan for the attack without any solid evidence and manipulating the facts of the attack. The newsrooms of Indian channels changed into caricatures of military command centers; anchor persons were encouraging Indian Military to take action against Pakistan. One of the anchors of India “Gaurav Sawant” tweeted, India should “Strike again & again” that showed how much irresponsible Indian media was for maintaining peace in South Asian Region. Also, Home Minister Rajnath Singh blamed that Pakistan was the mastermind of Pulwama incident (Zaafir, 2019).

After the Indian airstrike on February 26, 2019, harsh words began to exchange between both countries not only on media but also at international forums. ISPR responded to India in an aggressive tone “We will pick the time, place to hit back”. The Indian Today published “India strikes Pakistan: Congratulate PM, Modi says Devendra Fadnavis” and “Surgical Strike 2 in Pakistan: Anupam Kher tells Rahul Gandhi to start saluting PM Narendra Modi”.

The poll was conducted across 29 states by Axis My India for India Today's Political Stock Exchange (PSE) in the wake of the deadly Pulwama attack, forty-nine percent picked Narendra Modi as their most preferred choice to lead India's fight against terrorism. Forty-seven percent found the Narendra Modi government's policy on Pakistan and Kashmir better than the UPA's. A higher number of respondent's regard war against Pakistan as the perfect solution to combating terrorism. Indians overwhelmingly trust that Prime Minister Narendra Modi was the most able pioneer to manage fear based oppression, an India Today-Axis My India survey proposes (Abi-Habib, 2019).

Conclusion

The relationship between India and Pakistan have been multifaceted due to many political and historical events. Arisen of any issue in their geographical areas, both governments interlink for political purposes rather than resolving issues through proper strategy. Both countries fought many wars and have been claimed their triumphs on different battlefields without realizing that any war or strike left nothing for the country except financial constraint, poverty, unemployment, casualties of their beloved ones, unsustainability and aid. After any war or any surgical strike neither India well off nor Pakistan better off, but countries trapped in different circumstances and that circumstances can be even more destructive than previous one. Both atomic states invest more budget on their defense, promote extremism, religious phobia, adherence and ideological war. Political leaders and decision makers should tackle this haltered wave instead of utilizing this wave for their political purpose. In this case, media can play a positive role that leads towards regional peace not like Pulwama incident. If political leaders lead their nations towards wrong direction just for vote banks then more incidents like Pulwama awaited in the near future especially in Sub-Continent region. Political victimization leads towards bad governance and bad governance is the mother root of every problem in the Sub-Continent.

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Abstract

George Gerbner's cultivation theory, originated in 1960s as part of cultural indicators project, has generated a plethora of literature about the effects of fictional entertainment programming on audience members' conceptions of social reality. While cultivation research framework continues to attract enthusiasm and draw interest from scholars about widespread cultural effects of exposure to mass-produced messages of entertainment media, a review of the existing literature on cultivation theory shows that the theory may be facing new challenges in the changing media environment. This paper explores the history of cultivation research, discusses its theoretical assumptions and implications, and identifies various opportunities for testing and replicating cultivation hypothesis in the country in the context of the ever-changing media environment.

Keywords: Cultivation theory, cultivation analysis, cultural indicators project, media effects, television effects, new media.

Introduction

The mass-produced stories that we consume as audiences have an impact on our perceptions, attitudes and behaviors toward different aspects of life and the larger social system in which we live our lives (Bryant & Oliver, 2009; Perse & Lambe, 2016). The study of mass media effects on culture and social reality perceptions of people has been the focus of cultivation researchers for several decades and there is still a craving zeal and curiosity among media scholars to investigate, understand and explain the effects of long-term exposure to commercial media-produced cultural messages (Morgan, Shanahan & Signorielli, 2015). Cultivation researchers departed from the early persuasion and propaganda research paradigm of analyzing media effects in terms of some short-term change in viewers' behaviors to long-lasting and ubiquitous effects of long-term exposure to the profit-driven symbolic cultural environment of fictional media on a societal level (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999).

The inescapable and ritualistic consumption of the commercially-driven stories not only shape our public opinion and social reality perceptions, but also subtly cultivate a worldview that reflects the most common, recurrent and pervasive patterns of the fictional world of dramatized entertainment (Gerbner & Gross, 1976). Over the years, many researchers have demonstrated the cultivation effect in a variety of areas, with the earliest studies exploring how exposure to television programs contributed to audience members' conceptions of violence and the recent studies expanding to investigate topics such as religious and political orientations, sex and gender roles, occupational and minority-role stereotypes, environmental attitudes, perceptions about science, the family, occupations, and numerous others, (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010).

While there is still a curiosity among researchers in understanding the widespread cultural effects of long-term exposure to mass media and there continues to be a considerable amount of new studies grounded in the assumptions of cultivation theory, the critical question

now is whether the traditional cultivation analysis paradigm still has relevancy in today's new media environment, which may be posing a challenge to cultivation's assumptions, premises and procedures. In particular, the current and future paradigmatic status of cultivation theory and its macro-level perspective may appear to be less relevant due to the rise of fragmented audiences (Webster & Ksiazek, 2012) and interpersonal communication in an era of convergence among different technologies and cultural forms (Morgan et al., 2015).

In the following pages, we will briefly discuss the cultural indicators (CI) project, outline its core theoretical assumptions, and point out research opportunities in cultivation tradition in context of the new media environment and Pakistani society.

Holistic Overview of Cultivation Effects Theory

Cultivation analysis is one component of the decades-long research program called "cultural indicators," or CI program, which was developed by George Gerbner and his colleagues in 1960s (Romer, Jamieson, Bleakley & Jamieson, 2014) as a complement to the more common idea of an economic or social indicator, a kind of barometer of important cultural issues (Gerbner, 1969, 1970). The CI program of research is based on a three-pronged research framework: (1) the institutional process analysis prong, which looks into organizational structures of media institutions, policy formation, decisions-making considerations and processes that produce cultural messages; (2) the message system analysis prong, which inquires into broad structures and consistent patterns in mass-produced messages in the aggregate, as opposed to in any particular program or genre; and (3) the cultivation analysis prong, which examines the cultural effects of fictional entertainment programming on viewers (Gerbner, 1970; Morgan, Shanahan & Signorielli, 2016; Shanahan & Morgan, 1999).

Cultivation assumes that television, as a medium, is different from other mass media given its penetration and reach in the society and its power to pervade the cultural

environment of the home and subtly shape how people conceive social reality over time (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980). This assumption stems from Gerbner and his colleagues' view that television has become the cultural arm of modern societies, which receive most of the stories most of the time from this new message delivery system, (Gerbner et al., 1980).

The synthetic environment so created by the fictional world of the dramatized entertainment on television, including plays, series, reality shows, game shows, movies, cartoons, comedies and commercials, constructs and cultivates social reality perceptions, values, beliefs and attitudes of audience members. As such, television functions as an agent of the established social order that constructs, maintains and propagates the dominant cultural ideology and values through its recurring and ritualized messages and symbols, (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Gerbner et al., 1977).

The main proposition of the theory states that the more time audience members spend living in the dramatic world of television, the more likely their social reality beliefs will be compatible with fictional realities of television. In other words, cultivation theory suggests that the time people spend in the fictional world of dramatized entertainment and the experiences they gain from mass-produced fictional stories would influence their real-life experiences and develop and maintain their social perceptions and beliefs (Shrum & Bischak, 2001).

Since its inception in the 1960s, cultivation theory produced a plethora of literature and earned a spot in one of three most-cited theories in the mass communication research from 1956 to 2000 (Bryant & Miron, 2004), which shows health, strength and applicability of cultivation analysis. Since 2000, over 125 studies relevant to cultivation have been published, which have added value to the existing body of mass media knowledge while indicating a promising future (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010).

Cultivation and New Media Environment

The emergence of new media technologies, the abundance of television channels and the apparent diversity of television programs has again revived the debate about the relevance of cultivation theory as a viable research approach to studying television and its impact on audience members' social reality perceptions, worldviews and beliefs. The theory has been criticized since 1980s when the emergence of cable channels and VCRs challenged the central position of television as the biggest storyteller in the society.

For example, Secunda (1990) saw the emergence and adoption of VCRs as a threat to the dominance of big networks in America and suggested that VCRs have ended the era of "watching TV by the clock," while some critics opined that cultivation research may no longer be applicable in its original theoretical assumptions, particularly the notion of ritualistic television viewing, as the spread of cable and VCRs was viewed as bringing more content producers and choices.

Gerbner's assumptions, however, remained valid as subsequent studies found more evidence for cultivation (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999). For instance, Morgan and Rothschild (1983) found even stronger relationships between amount of television exposure and sex-role stereotypes among those who had cable in their homes. Likewise, Morgan et al. (1990) found that VCRs actually amplified the cultivation effects by allowing heavy viewers to watch and consume "more of the same" content. Dobrow (1990) found that heavy television viewers used the VCR technology to extend their viewing habits, and lighter viewers, on the other hand, became even more selective their consumption of programming. Similarly, some scholars found a strong association between heavy viewers of videotaped movies and interpersonal mistrust as compared to those who watched less (Perse, Ferguson & McLeod, 1994).

In short, cable and the VCR technologies offered heavy viewers with higher doses of formulaic fictional entertainment programming, which actually intensified versions of traditional network fare. This led Gerbner and his associates to argue that new technologies should mainly be considered as new “delivery vehicles” for “more of the same” content, especially for heavy viewers (Morgan et al., 2015).

Having survived the challenges and threats posed by cable and VCR technologies, the theory now faces challenges from digital media technologies, which are not only challenging Gerbner and his colleagues’ assumptions of television, but also questioning the underpinnings, premises and procedures of the theory and its applicability in this ever-changing and ever-evolving media environment. The big question is whether the theory is still relevant in an era that brings more interactive and selective viewing devices and provides more channels and programming choices to more fragmented audiences (Napoli, 2010).

While new media platforms and the availability of more and more television channels appear to offer greater diversity in content and flexibility in consuming dramatized entertainment, the underlying themes, patterns, common messages and lessons have not changed and there is even more television than ever before and even more violence, occupational prevalence and distortion of social realities. Because cultivation is more concerned about aggregate messages, it may be even more critical to analyze the impact of such messages in a time of more fragmentation and less collective consciousness (Dilliplane, Goldman & Mutz, 2013; Morgan & Shanahan, 2010; Morgan, Shanahan & Signorielli, 2014; Morgan et al., 2015).

More Television than Ever Before

Although new media technologies and viewing platforms such as Netflix, YouTube, Hulu and TiVo etc. have changed the way mass-produced stories are received and consumed by audience members, Morgan et al. (2015, p. 18) argue that important aspects of fictional

entertainment programming remain largely unchanged and that there appears to be “more TV than ever before.” The mass media-produced stories continue to be formulaic, commercial and homogeneous in many aspects, regardless of the fact whether they are consumed in an interactive, selective, or virtual environment.

It is also important to note Gerbner’s original conception of television. Gerbner and his team viewed television as a system in which the overall themes, patterns and images were of more interest from the cultivation research tradition than individual programs and/or programming decisions by some big networks (Gerbner, 1998). Gerbner conceptualized television as the dominant cultural force that produces a limited range of stories for diverse audiences and that shapes their social reality perceptions and worldviews, as opposed to focusing on analyzing immediate effects of television exposure on audiences (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986). Putting this into context, television continues to hold its central position as the dominant storyteller in today’s societies and audience members continue to spend on average 7 to 10 hours a week watching television dramatic programming, in spite of all of the technological changes in the media environment.

However, the changing media landscape may be posing more challenges to theoretical assumptions of cultivation, especially the idea of mainstreaming, as new media platforms appear to be offering more diversity of channels and content, which may be giving rise to fragmentation of audiences. As such, cultivation scholars emphasized the need for revising existing theoretical models to “consider the ways in which our new social media environments (and the shifting communities they give rise to) may intersect with and either bolster or short-circuit the cultivation process,” (Morgan et al., 2015, p. 19).

Some 15 years ago, Shanahan and Morgan predicted that “New media . . . do present measurement challenges for cultivation research” (1999, p. 218). At present, there are multiple platforms and devices that allow viewers to watch television. Viewers can now

stream content on their Internet-connected Smart TV or on their television set through a streaming media device, view content with both live and time-shifted options such as DVRs, as well as access content on demand from cable, Telco, and other free streaming services such as YouTube and Hulu and subscription video on demand service such as Netflix and Hulu Plus, using their smartphones, televisions, and computers (Prince, 2018a).

This abundance of television viewing devices and platforms does not mean that the new technologies are replacing traditional television. Instead, these new ways of consuming television content are supplementing traditional television and offering more and more viewing options to consumers. Research shows that the traditional way of consuming television content is still the most popular form of viewing and that consumers still devote their most of their free time to watching entertainment programming. For example, an adult in the United States spends an average of nearly a week out of every month (more than 149 hours per month) watching traditional live television, and another 15 hours on average watching time-shifted content (Nielsen, 2016). The fact that viewing dramatized entertainment still consumes so much of our time underlines the significance of understanding the continuing cultural dominance of television (Prince, 2018a).

Cultivation Research in Pakistan

Mass media in Pakistan are often blamed for having an impact on Islamic values and norms due to their presumed incompatible and incongruent content (Khan, Siraj & Soomro, 1999). However, not too many media scholars have formally attempted to document the effects of mass-produced content of foreign and local entertainment channels on audience members' social reality perceptions, attitudes and beliefs under a social scientific paradigm, i.e., the cultivation research tradition. In the absence of scientifically-documented evidence, it is still not clear what type of cultural values and ideological identity entertainment media are cultivating in the Pakistani society and to what extent those mass media-produced cultural

and ideological values are congruent or incongruent with the objectives of Islamic ideology. Without theoretically-grounded knowledge, any effort to develop and prescribe a response strategy (Khan, Iqbal, Gazzaz & Ahrari, 2012) to immune and safeguard the indigenous culture against the hegemonic cultural messages of entertainment media would be a shot in the dark.

Elsewhere in the world, mass media scholars applied various research perspectives, including Cultural Indicators and cultivation effects theory, to examine the impact of fictional entertainment programming on cultural norms and values of the society (Morgan & Shanahan, 1997). Despite its ubiquity, robust generalization, theoretical and operational significance, and considerable volumes of findings, cultivation has not yet been fully applied and tested by media scholars in Pakistan – a predominantly Muslim country (Alavi, 1988), which came into existence on the basis of Islamic ideology and which draws its cultural references from the same ideology (Ahmed, 1989). A presumptive profile of domestic and foreign media entertainment programming shows that there is an apparent absence of references to the broad Islamic ideology and spiritual matters, which may be having wide-ranging implications on standard cultural practices, outlooks and values of the society, as well as on audience members' general assumptions about social reality and their specific values and beliefs and ideologies (Khan et al., 2012).

A review of most studies labeled as “cultivation” by Pakistani scholars indicates a poor grasp of theoretical assumptions and research procedures of cultivation analysis. As such, they fail to make any contribution to the body of knowledge on media effects and more precisely on cultivation effects (Khan, Zafar & Abbasi, 1998). It is important to note that Pakistan has seen a rapid growth of media channels and mass media institutions in the past two decades (Rasul & McDowell, 2012; Rasul & Proffitt, 2013). However, there has not been a single message systems analysis study that applied the cultivation research tradition to

document the aggregate patterns, themes and images of dramatic content produced by media channels. Also missing is scientific evidence for cultivation effects in the country, as most studies under the rubric of cultivation indicate misrepresentation and misunderstanding of cultivation analysis on part of the researchers on the following theoretical underpinnings:

- Contrary to what Pakistani scholars believe, cultivation is not about examining the effects of exposure to any specific genre and/or program type. Instead, cultivation is about examining the effects of overall message system on audience members' conceptions of social reality (Morgan et al., 2016).
- Cultivation is not about studying short-term and direct effects of mass-produced messages on small groups of audience members. Instead, cultivation investigates long-term effects of exposure to television messages on broad belief structures of large groups of viewers (Gerbner et al., 1986).
- Cultivation research does not focus on the effects of some political ad campaign or newscast on voters' perceptions and assumptions about a political figure. Nor does cultivation study the impact of commercials on consumers' buying behaviors.
- The theory is not about examining the relationship between children's exposure to violent programming and their aggressive behaviors. Nor does it study the relationships between exposure to foreign dramas and marriage ceremonies, food habits, language and dressing etc.
- Cultivation is not about asking audience members at the start of the questionnaire to indicate how many shows they watch regularly or what type of programs or channels they like to watch. Instead, Cultivation's research tradition has its own method of measuring exposure to dramatic content by asking audience members to indicate the average number of hours in a day they spend watching dramatic programming (Shanahan & Morgan, 1999).

The review also suggest weaknesses and shortcomings in terms of conceptual, operational, theoretical and methodological footings, as local mass media researchers do not pay much attention to applying standard research procedures and methods to formulate and identify broad research problems that have real social significance (Khan et al., 1998). As a result, those studies fall short of the established standard to make any independent contributions to the existing body of knowledge on media effects.

In sum, quantitative research inquiries labeled as cultivation in Pakistan suffer from numerous problems ranging from theoretical misunderstandings and misrepresentations to conceptual, operational, methodological and other technical issues. Barring a few exceptions, most media effects studies in Pakistan have not generated any scientific body of knowledge in the field.

Theoretical Implications for Future Studies

In context of the forgoing review and discussion, the cultivation research tradition offers countless opportunities on all three prongs of cultivation theory to mass communication researchers in Pakistan. Foremost, it is important to test and replicate cultivation theory's propositions in an absolutely different socio-cultural landscape and media setup like Pakistan. On the theoretical front, research opportunities exist for testing some of theoretical assumptions in the new media environment. In this regard, new independent variables may be introduced to measure television exposure in the changing media environment in which audience members spend time watching dramatic programming on different devices and platforms (Prince, 2018b), as opposed to traditional television sets; and as well as to measure social media exposure to incorporate moderating role of virtual interactions in cultivation analysis. There may also be a need to introduce new dependent variables to add new dimensions to cultivation analysis in context of apparent diversity in media content, as well as to find more evidence for second-order cultivation effects.

The major research areas of interest on the institutional analysis prong may be those investigating the commercial and institutional structure of the media industry in Pakistan and how their corporate objectives, commercial interests, institutional needs and market factors influence the production and distribution of content which, in turn, defines worldviews of audience members and shapes their cultural norms, values, beliefs and ideological identity. On a broad level, it is important to investigate ownership structure of different media organizations in the country, as well as to explore whether the multiplication of channels in the local media industry brings diversity of content for audience members. If not, what are the factors that result to the production of more of the same content, which may be polluting the indigenous cultural environment and ripping apart the ideological identity of audience members.

On the message system analysis prong, there is an urgent need to conduct studies that systematically analyze the content of the mass-produced stories to document the recurring and pervasive aggregate patterns of messages, topics, lessons, themes and images that populate the world of television (Gerbner, 1969, 1985); to find out the characters who dominate television screens; to investigate the representation or misrepresentation of ethnic, religious and minority groups or occupational roles (DeFleur, 1964; Mastro & Robinson, 2000; Matabane, 1988); and to investigate the portrayal of women and gender roles in dramatic programming (Gerding & Signorielli, 2014; Lauzen, Dozier & Horan, 2008; Sink & Mastro, 2017).

Finally, some of the broad research questions that may guide cultivation effects studies include what role do commercial media systems play in creating, promoting, mending and/or maintaining cultural identity of audience members in Pakistani society? What cultural and ideological values do mass media cultivate and to what extent are those cultural and ideological values congruent or incongruent to the underpinnings of the Islamic ideology? Do

local media systems and foreign media systems infuse different cultural identities in Pakistani society? And to what extent are mass media systems responsible for challenges faced by Pakistani society, including corruption, moral crisis/dilemmas, rising divorce rate, decline of social capital, relative deprivation, pursuit of materialistic possessions, ideological, religious, political and ethnic polarization, extremism, fragile democracy and a weak support for the political system, among many other topics (Khan et al., 1999; 1998).

Conclusion

The emergence of new media technologies and the proliferation of new media platforms may be altering traditional television viewing patterns and transforming the way audience members spend time in the fictional world of dramatized entertainment and consume cultural messages. At the same time, the market place of ideas and opinions created by social networking sites may be giving rise to further fragmentation of audiences which, in turn, may be eroding commonality of cultural outlook and challenging cultivation's idea of mainstreaming. As such, there is a need to test cultivation effects theory's applicability in this changing media environment, which may be having greater implications on the current and future paradigmatic status of cultivation and its macro-level conceptions (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010; Morgan et al., 2014, 2015).

While scholars can quibble about how to conceptualize television in a radically changed social and media structure, one thing is certain that Gerbner's basic principle of "new state religion" still holds, as people watch stories on screens even more now than they ever did, (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010; Morgan et al., 2015). As such, it is even more important and urgent to pay attention to the aggregate patterns of media messages and identify common themes, images and lessons, especially in Pakistan, in view of the presumed profile of dramatic entertainment programming and its potential impact on the cultural and ideological identity of audience members. While the new media environment may appear to be offering

audience a platform to become producer, distributor, and consumer of messages, Morgan and Shanahan believe that such a scenario seems “far-fetched,” and that “it’s safe to say that television will remain our primary cultural storyteller for some time to come” (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010).

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Article:	Analysis of Cognition Trends of Political Advertisement Through Mass Media
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Abstract:

Political campaigns are usually a combination of interpersonal and “Mass” communication with the expectation of positive outcomes by the political representatives. This study is an attempt to give an idea regarding respondent’s ability and trends of processing the political contents of Mass media. Elaboration Likelihood Model is taken as a framework for evaluating the content processing trends. A questionnaire comprising of two parts and consisting the cue list of central and peripheral notations commonly used by political representatives. A sample of 1032 young people was selected by using a combination of stratified and multistage cluster sampling techniques. Results of the study revealed that majority of the youth did not bother to process the political content by effortful cognition, rather they followed attractive slogans and political personalities. Moreover it was found that people used the same approach for decision making in favor of a political party as they use to hate the opponent parties.

Key Words: Political Content, Mass Media, Elaboration Likelihood Model

Introduction:

Persuasion is the time tested technique to motivate the people as per requirements of the communicator. This motivational technique is frequently used in Public relations, advertising, Teaching, and other interpersonal communication aspects. As far as political communication is concerned, Politicians exercise this method, especially during the election days.

There is a predominant feeling among politicians and political candidates that advertised political content would be effective in convincing voters for their better participation in the political process. Campaigns pay huge sums to raise and expose political ads to get voters to express their support for their contender (Faranz and Rid out, 2007).

There are many diverse ways that political contestants use to inspire voters. These methods comprise reinforcement, aggression advertising, confrontational stuff and blaming the rivals to have priming effect (Pfau and Burgoon, 1988). Almost all types of advertising use a different structure to convince voters: empowerment is considered a positive trait of the contestant, though other methods generally condemn the opponent's stance, especially the main representative.

The technical impact of said ads is likely to emphasis on the opinions and opinions of competitors and political parties involved in the campaign. Loyalty appears to be a solid and longstanding benchmark that is not simple to alter, and investigators have established that campaigns primarily strengthen prevailing party ties when it comes to election conditions (Dalton and Watanberg, 1993).

In this debate and strategic campaign setting, voters face the communication launched by opposing political candidates and candidates to assess their party-political value. Some of such messages may attempt to persuade supporters that their preferred party does not meet the satisfactory political desires. Messages, which attack party recognition, seem to create a rational difference between the denials allied with said situation and optimal party

credentials, leading to a cumbersome incitement that public wish to diminish (Friede and Arounson, 1995).

In fact much discussion prevailed, about the benefits of advertising to play its key role in encouraging voters. Some researchers point to an advertising model with a nominal effect (Finkel, 1993). Others have claimed that advertising is effective in winning over the common people (Iyengar and Simon, 2000; Velentino, Hutchings, & William, 2004).

Although who are no longer persuaded that advertisements are displayed to force voting in party policy have commented that political movements strengthen the public's fundamental radical ambitions (Lazarsfeld et al, 1948). Given the core objectives of the beliefs contained in political advertising, exposure to political advertising is expected to influence candidates' wishes.

Considering, how people respond to persuasive messages, its important enough that at least discussion atmosphere is created by these media messages. When we discuss the “political campaign”, political thinking and ideology are among the most vital aspects of voting choices. Therefore, such partisan tendencies are probable to play an important part in understanding the messages designed for better outcomes. (Luzia, 2016)

Investigative studies on the effects of publicity and supporters suggest that differentiation plays a crucial role in the efficiency of advertising: Numerous researches have shown that “Democrats” and “Republicans” often respond differently to advertising disclosure (Pafau, Holbrt, Szabo, & Kaminsk, 2002). It is clear that motivated identification plays an important role in the response to the campaign environment.

To reduce the thoughts of dissonance and discomfort that follow, individuals can adopt different methods. Perhaps most simply, people can try to counter-act these messages that create dissonance, which can prevent other ways to reduce dissonance. (Nevid, J. S, 2013)

In addition to rejecting inconsistent communication, people can change some of these inconsistent manners or behaviors to reduce difference of opinion. These gestures manifested themselves in a number of circumstances, such as safe sexual habits (Galston, W.A, 1991) and reprocessing deeds and attitudes (Fred and Aronsone, 1995).

Whenever we try to track the settings in a campaign, researches would not be complete without examining the impact of the contender's character and the party's publicity. Thus, parties and candidates seem to be convinced of the success of advertising through their awareness-raising activities. Researchers are not so sure of their effects. Some scientific studies of campaigns have questioned their ability to encourage individuals to change their desires (Finkel, 1993).

Being exposed to political candidacies by a particular candidate appears to increase the probability of voting for that challenger, as well as minimize the likelihood of choosing a competitor (Franz and Ridout, 2007). In addition, these effects are significant in reality and the honor of changing opinions that can easily change the outcome of elections. (Hubar and Arceneux, 2007).

Though, researchers have acknowledged the chances that advertising may not be as useful everywhere. This study shows that advertising is the most effective, in terms of knowledge and beliefs, among moderate or less conscious people (Valentino et al., 2004). In addition to the awareness that the campaign created, political organizations have also been the focus of much research. Based on party members born into political advertising campaigns, it makes sense for party members to react differently to non-party members. More about ad redundancy is based on agreement or disagreement on the viewer's circumstances. However, this view seems to underestimate the effects of advertising, which seems to be spreading and developing beliefs amongst individuals, resilient party members, and weak supporters (Faranz and Ridot, 2007).

The question is, by what means do you convince through political ads? New studies has begun to propose that emotive retorts play an important role in this process. The contender's wishes and voting intentions can be communicated, at least to some degree, through emotive responses to contenders and publicity (Chhang, 2001).

An additional technique in which advertising can be effectively encouraged is to increase the probability or affiliation of the contestant (Hubar and Arcenaux, 2007). Moreover, advertising can provoke uncommon emotional reactions that alter the reactions of the people. In one example, which indicates eagerness, the parties' existing assurances have been activated, while apprehension has tried to facilitate exchange (Bradard, 2005).

One of the major objectives of the political campaigns is also to encourage people to participate in political process. But In general, it is a problem for every society in the world that people do not give much wattage to the political process.

Political Dispiritedness:

Political steadiness has all the time been a problem in Pakistan. Because there is always a rift between the political parties and the Politicians always blame the military establishment to create hurdles in smooth operation of democratic government. On the other hand, military is of the opinion that the bad governance of the political parties always force them to intervene and safe guard the country

All the stakeholders agree upon this fact that young people of Pakistan should pay attention towards the political matters and play their role in national development. In addition, due to the high level of literacy and the availability of diversified communication platforms, young people are considered to be more and more socialized. Situation is similar in rest of the world as well. Almost every researcher of this field emphasis that political role of the youth is not up to the mark (Muslim. 2012).

A number of researchers in the field of political studies are of the view that political apathy is commonly a major problem even in the developed countries as well. Policy makers show a lot of concern regarding this ill attitude of young people towards political process (Gallstone, 2003).

During United States presidential election attitude of voters varied a lot as per their age groups. Participation in the political process had been declining regularly since 1970s. This lack of participation can be imagined by the fact that it dropped from 65 % to 50 % in the year 2000. It is important to mention that the age group of 18 to 26 proved to be the least active with a participation rate up to 35 % in 2004 (Levin & Lopez, 2002).

Carping & Kiltar (1996) and Gallston (2001) found the similar trends in terms of political awareness and participation of youth. Results of their study divert attention towards the validity and stability of the political happenings in educated societies. This phenomenon of dispiritedness of youth is not confined to developed countries only but almost every major country also suffers from this ill happening. Less developed countries especially belonging to South Asia and Africa, political participation is more terrible in its state. Firstly the interest of young people in politics is not up to the mark and secondly the attitude of youth is not positive towards gaining political knowledge regarding their society. In country like Pakistan literacy rate is on growth although but even then maturity level is not guaranteed. The relationship between level of education and political socialization is found to be on weaker side (Muslim, 2012).

There is common understanding among the researchers of this field that academic qualification is not enough for the people to be better socialized. There is strong need for the training of ethics, loyalty and responsiveness along with the formal education. It is a fact that students who are more active in social activities acquire better leadership qualities (Shush & Laverty, 1983).

Wilson (1996) added that students having background with the field of social sciences acquire an additional ability of participating in co-curricular activities and they lead the remaining discipline by 70 % in this regard. Contribution of social sciences discipline in the socialization of youth is on weaker side in less developed countries. Educational institutions focus more on the academic contents and ignore the practical aspects of political socialization.

Measuring Political Persuasion

During current era, accessibility to the innovation, especially the political content has become enormously increased. Due to easy access to mass media and online resources people can update themselves in a better way as compare to the previous generations. It is assumed that due to availability of chances of open discussion with the peer groups, teachers and parents, chances of better political analysis are enhanced. So, new generation is assumed to be more informed, active and logical, as for as processing of information is concerned. Despite all this it is common practice in developing societies that people use their right to vote, elect their representatives and within no time they start to be embarrassed of their own judgment. This is why, it is vital to evaluate the reasons inducing the thought process of voters while processing the political contents.

There are numerous methods to evaluate the process of persuasion. Usually researchers by using survey method calculate the voting trends in the election days and correlate them with the political advertisement. But Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) of persuasion suggests that persuasion should be evaluated through peripheral and central cues, which give a clear picture of thought process.

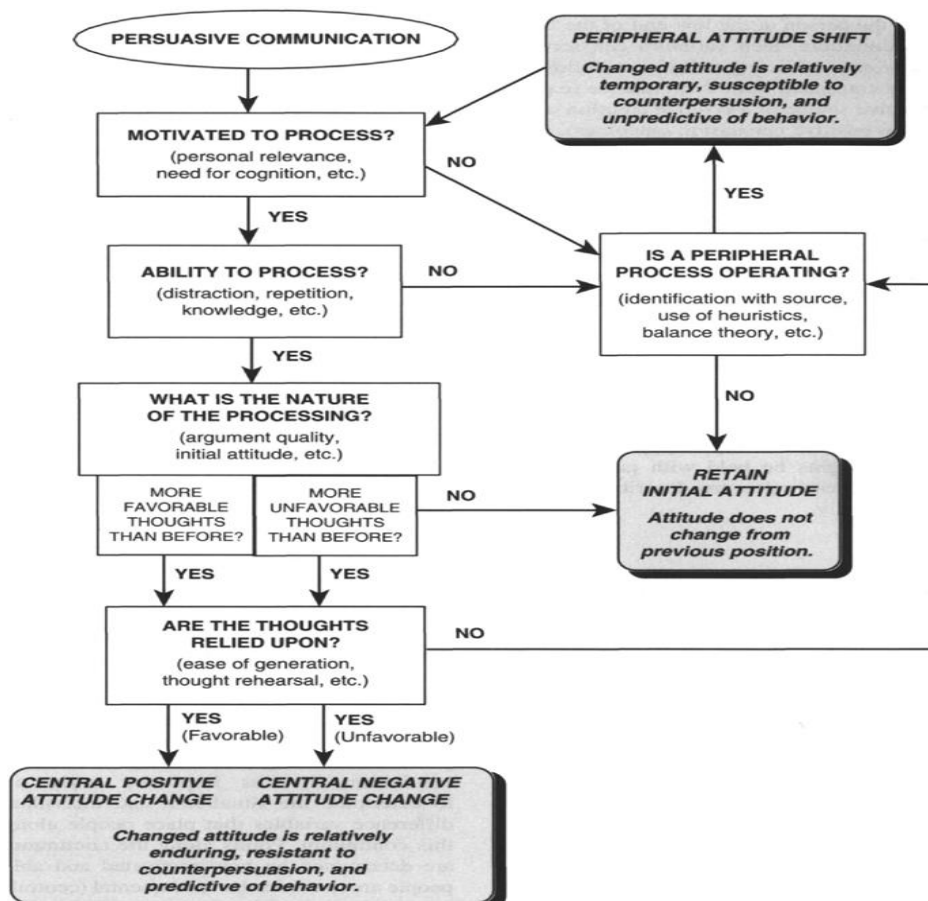
Elaboration likelihood model:

The “Elaboration likelihood model” (ELM) is a bi-dimensional process. This hypothetical model explains how attitudes change or shaped. This model was

presented by Richard E. Petty and John Caciopo in the late 1970s. This philosophical concept proposes an "elaboration range" that determines the extent to which opinions are elaborated and evaluated (Seiter, Robert H. Gass, 2010).

The proposed model suggests two dissimilar sort of processing modes. Route one is called the "central route" and the latter one is called the "peripheral route". The central path causes the receivers to use their own thought procedure, and therefore it is likely that there will be more time in processing situations. The basic procedure involves a robust assessment of persuasive messages (e.g. language or advertising, etc.) to determine the properties of the argument.

Fig 1.1 Elaboration Likelihood Model



(Petty & Cacioppo, 1979)

In such situations, the individual's response to the message determines the outcome of this compelling part of the communication. When a person uses a centralized method of processing information and finds it reliable, well-produced and inspiring, it is usually considered positive news, even if it contradicts the recipient's previous views on the matter. So if positive emotions are the result of processing, the message will be acknowledged, whereas in other case the information will more likely be rejected. (Petty and Cacioppo, 1979) If messages are intended for central processing, the target receivers should have the ability and drive to do so. If the recipient wants to understand the message by using central rout, this should be appropriate for him.

Whereas, peripheral set of thoughts do not involve the processing of information via extensive intellectual processing. And no attempt is made to test the virtues of real arguments.

These methods commonly emphasis on the environmental characteristics of the information, such as the trustworthiness of the source, the worth of the arguments, the appealing out look of the source, or the striking tagline of the information (Petty and Cacioppo, 1979).

Objectives of the study:

Phenomenon of persuasion is usually evaluated as a complete set of persuasive activities but “Elaboration likelihood model” gave an idea for assessment of thought process with micro approach. Keeping in view the nature of model applied, following are the key objectives of the study.

- To find out the choice of route selected by the respondents for the processing of political information

- To construct a linkage between selection of route and gender of the respondents

Research Questions:

1. What is the distribution pattern of central and peripheral cues, opted by young population, while handling political content of mass Media?
2. To what extent thoughtful cognition was exercised for the processing of political content of mass media?

Research Method:

This study required extensive feedback from researchers on their current political thinking, ways of obtaining political information and decisions on such issues, etc.

An integrated questionnaire was tailored as a tool for data collection. The questionnaire consists of two sets of inquiries. The first part inquired about the consumption of political contents of media, demographic information and the political involvement of young citizens. The second part comprised of list of clues that that helped the respondents to choose the reason, why he liked his favorite political party and dislike the other parties.

Sampling Technique:

Multi-stage cluster sampling is usually preferred for large populations. However, if the population varies in its properties, the researcher must think of reducing population diversity using various other methods. As suggested by “Marry John Smith” in his book “Research Methods”, a scientific investigator can improve the representation of a multi-level cluster sampling by using a stratified sampling method at every phase of the sampling. (Smith, 1995)

Sampling by creating strata, ensures that samples are taken from a homogeneous subset of the population. Because the population in the proposed study is large and covers

different types of research material, so a blend of multistage cluster and stratified sampling was used to minimize sampling errors.

The election results showed that the electoral development of voters in large cities differs from that in smaller urban areas and villages. In addition, differences in learning opportunities, policies, socialization and other facilities can cause decision-making to differ between urban and rural areas.

Taking into account the above aspects and studying the population in diverse areas, the investigators divided the residents Province of Punjab into four strata:

1. “Metropolitan” (urban areas) ----- Containing population > 10, 00,000)
2. “Major cities” ----- (Containing population between 2, 00,001 – 5, 00,000)
3. “Small cities”----- (Containing population between 1, 00,000 – 2, 00,000)
4. “Villages” ----- Group of at least 50 houses in a cluster

Population of target respondents was calculated (respondents aged 18 to 36) by having the percentage contribution of that age group to the total population of Punjab.

Table 1: Calculation of sampling for Strata

		Population	proportion of Youth (18y-30y)	Percentage proportion of young population	size of Sample
Punjab Province		73600010	14720010	20.00%	259
Rural Territories	Stratum 1	51700000	9823010	19.30%	257
Metropolitan Areas	Stratum 2	14100000	3102010	21.10%	259
Major Cities	Stratum 3	4400000	968010	22.00%	257
Smaller Cities / Towns	Stratum 4	3500000	770010	22.10%	259
Total sample for all the four strata =			257+259+257+259 =1032		

Operational Definitions of key concepts:

Following terms were used to clarify the route selection of the respondents for the political cognition so it is important to define them as per the understanding of researchers.

- Reciprocal arguments of To decide the favor or hatred with expectations of personal benefit or loss
- Expert Source To decide as per influence of opinion leader
- Social Pressure Pressure of society as a hindrance in fair decision
- Un Approved Assertion To follow the glittering words, used by politicians, without having their confirmation
- Prior Belief To grow up with the existing thoughts without reviewing those
- Personality following on To like or dislike the personality rather to focus his/her views
- Cultural / Religious Belief Giving maximum wattage to cultural or religious beliefs and showing reluctance in adopting the change

Results and Discussion:

Data was calculated through questionnaire, tailored for followers of three different political parties. It is Important to mention that in pilot study, people were asked about their favorite political parties. Choice of people was ranked in order and leading three parties were decided taken as target population for this research and the rest were ignored. After completion of survey, data was available as per party affiliation of the respondents but results, here, are presented on cumulative basis. However party affiliation is mentioned, where it was needed.

Table: 2 Main cause for liking the Favorite Party

Type of Cues	List of Cues	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cumulative Percentage
Peripheral Cues	Reciprocal arguments	141	13.7	13.7
	Expert Source	129	12.4	26.1
	Social Pressure	241	23.3	49.4
	Un Approved Assertion	152	14.8	64.2
Central Cues	Prior Belief	65	6.2	70.4
	Personality following	195	19.0	89.4
	Cultural / Religious Belief	46	4.5	93.9
No Selection	Cue No Further Proceedings for Cue Selection	61	6.1	100.0
Total		1032	100.0	

Table 2 clarifies the outline for significant question that was posed to judge the main reason for the feelings of admiring a specific political party. In the table First 4 Clues were taken as the “peripheral cues” and the other 3 were “central cues” because these implicate a thought process.

Above table divulges that more than 70% of the research subjects followed a political party due to some “peripheral cue”. If we analyze further, “social pressure” or social affiliation leads with 23.3% replies. 30% remaining cues selection mainly fall under the aspect of “Personality following”. Only 4.5% of the respondents admired their favorite political party on account of cultural or religious perceptions.

Table 3: Causes for Criticizing the Opponent political Party 1

Type of Cues	List of Cues	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cumulative Percentage (%)
Peripheral Cues	Reciprocal arguments	92	8.9	8.9
	Expert Source	130	12.7	21.6
	Social Pressure	239	23.1	44.7
	Un Approved Assertion	182	17.7	62.4
	Prior Belief	154	14.9	77.3
Central Cues	Personality following	123	11.9	89.2
	Cultural / Religious Belief	48	4.6	93.8
No Selection	Cue No Further Proceedings for Cue Selection	64	6.2	100.0
Total		1032	100.0	

To find out the unambiguous view of “disliking” cue selection, the different options of peripheral and central cues were exposed to the young population.

Table 3 explains that most decisive cues were “social pressure” and “Un approved assertion”. As per operational definition, both of these cues are peripheral in nature because these do not involve any thoughtful cognition. Rather, voters use these cues often without using their will. Moving further, it is noted that among central cues, “personality following” is the most repeatedly chosen option with value of 11.9%.

Over all almost 60% of the research subjects went for peripheral cues for abhorring their opponent political party.

Table 4: Major Reason to Dislike Opponent Party 2

Type of Cues	List of Cues	Frequency	Percentage (%)	Cumulative Percentage (%)
Peripheral Cues	Reciprocal arguments	130	12.6	12.6
	Expert Source	111	10.7	23.3
	Social Pressure	173	16.7	40.0
	Un Approved Assertion	261	25.3	65.4
	Prior Belief	99	9.6	75.0
Central Cues	Personality following	126	12.2	87.1
	Cultural / Religious Belief	69	6.7	93.8
No Selection	Cue No Further Proceedings for Cue Selection	63	6.2	100.0
Total		1032	100.0	

Table number 4 is pretty alike to the table number 3, yet it expands the scenario of abhorring cue selection for the rival political party on second priority.

“Unapproved assertion” and social pressure” are once again the most selected peripheral signals. It shows that individuals did not confirmed the evidence, blames or facts, which were posed contrary to the political party, they ostracized or they were not able to tolerate the family’s and peer group’s pressure and did not decide according to their spirit.

While talking about the central cues, “disliking a personality” was foremost cue having wattage of 12.2%. As a whole 65% of the research subjects picked the peripheral cue for hating showing the feelings of disgust.

Table 4 elucidated the scenario for a total of 1032 respondents irrespective of their association with political party and additional demographic properties. Obviously, almost

fourth proportion (23.2%) of the research subjects established that they decide their party choices and belief in accordance with social connections or “social pressure”.

In survey Questionnaire given to the respondents,, aspect of “social affiliation” was posed as *“All the friends and relatives are favoring a party then how I could behave differently”*.

While conducting the survey, investigators evaluated that even if somebody was having dissimilar line of beliefs, divergent to his/her family or friends, for ultimate decision he/she could not hold courage to decide consequently and followed the traditional way of decision.

“Reciprocation” and “unapproved assertions” were other to mostly chosen peripheral cues.

Factor of “reciprocation” was anticipated for lesser frequency due to increasing education rate. Likewise respondents were anticipated for not having trust on media information without confirmation but “unapproved assertion” 14.9% of the youth opted this cue.

In spite of that, for favorable emotions, “central cues” could sum up to 30% only.

For hatred feelings about rival political party(s), peripheral cues were took attention of more number of people.

“Social pressure” and “unapproved assertion” were more repeatedly mentioned, even greater than “prior belief” and “personality disliking”. Notably the latter two are central cues.

We may infer that by witnessing 14.9% “prior belief” people used to dislike any individual or political party by choosing the preceding views and do not bother to review.

Disliking, on account of “cultural and religious beliefs” was not given wattage by large number of respondents as just 4.6% of the total number showed their consent for this cue.

Table 5: Significance of difference among selection of cues for favoring and abhorring a political party

Test Statistics			
	Main cause To like Favorite Party	Main cause To Dislike Opponent Party 1	Main cause To Dislike Opponent Party 2
Chi-Square	255.408 ^a	215.362 ^a	221.923 ^a
Df	7	7	7
Asymp. Sig.	.00	.00	.00

Chi Square “goodness of fit” test was used for all the three sets of cues given to the research subjects so that significance of difference in cue selection might be gauged. Statistics of the test shows that variance in cue assortment to like or abhor a political party is not significant. So we may construe that in majority of the cases, youth admired or hated any aspects with the set of beliefs.

Conclusion:

This research work was an attempt to analyze the factors involved in thought process of the young members of society, in result of political contents, disseminated through mass media. Elaboration Likelihood Model by patty and Cacciopo was use as a framework. This model helps to understand the information processing with the help of central and peripheral indicators. Results of this study revealed that central cues proved to be difficult or unimportant for the youth, possibly because of their demand of thoughtful cognition. Indicators, which were attractive in nature or easy to follow, were used in greater number.

So the assumption of the earlier researchers regarding better processing of political content due to easy access to mass media proved to be wrong. We may infer from these results that more quantity of information resulted in lazy attitude of the young population.

Limitations of the Study:

The researchers had honest intentions to conduct this research work with full devotion and ability, but evidently it was difficult to develop a comprehensive document without shortcomings.

Underneath are some aspects which co be rectified or reformed.

- Area of the study is too vast that the study should be comprised of greater time frame and in the focus group. So that variations in the psychosomatic state of certain respondents could be analyzed.
- The study must not be limited to young people, but should have involved all the age clusters, present in the political procedure.

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Article:	Pakistan's Nuclear Program: Transformation from Credible Minimum Deterrence to Full Spectrum Deterrence
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Abstract

This research paper is based on the concepts related to Pakistan's nuclear program and nuclear posture adopted by it in the start. This starts from the concept of Credible Minimum Deterrence, which was adopted by Pakistan after becoming nuclear power. At that time Pakistan's economic condition and strategic interests only allowed Pakistan to go for war denying deterrence to balance the threat caused by India's conventional superiority over Pakistan. It required a minimum number of weapons to deter. Later on with the technological developments in Indian nuclear program, changes on regional level, Indian civil military deals with USA and introduction of Cold Start Doctrine compelled Pakistan to go for technological improvements in its nuclear missile program and change in its nuclear posture. Furthermore, it is explained in the paper that Pakistan has now decided to go for Full Spectrum Deterrence (FSD) to respond Indian Cold Start Doctrine. Full Spectrum Deterrence is to make sure that there are no gaps left in Pakistan's deterrence capability. The objective of this paper is to understand the concepts related to Pakistan's evolving nuclear posture and the challenges faced by FSD in present.

Keywords: Cold Start Doctrine, Credible Minimum Deterrence, Full Spectrum Deterrence, Tactical Nuclear Weapons, National Command Authority.

1. Introduction:

Security is the foremost aspect necessary for the survival of any state, especially if there is rivalry among the states. South Asian region holds the same dynamics where India and Pakistan have their rivalry since their independence in 1947. Both the states have continued to strengthen themselves in terms of security. India and Pakistan became nuclear powers in 1974 and 1998 respectively. Pakistan's earlier nuclear posture was based on Credible Minimum Deterrence (Ahmed, Hashmi & Kausar, 2019). The country had two specific choices about its nuclear deterrence;

- a) The way to deny deterrence.
- b) The nuclear war to fight deterrence.

The first option required a minimum number of weapons to deter India in the region due to the trust deficit (Salik, 2009), whereas for the second option, Pakistan had to maintain a large nuclear arsenal, preserve multilateral variety of delivery means and an updated missile defense program. At that time, Pakistan's economic condition and strategic interests only allowed Pakistan to go for war denying deterrence to balance the threat caused by India's conventional superiority over Pakistan. Later on with the technological developments in Indian nuclear program and changes in the strategic environment, Indian civil military deal with USA and introduction of Cold Start Doctrine compelled Pakistan to go for technological improvements in its nuclear missile program and modify its nuclear posture. Pakistan has now decided to go for Full Spectrum Deterrence while responding to India's new strategy known as Cold Start Doctrine and Pro Active Operations (PAO) in order to open diverse range of options for its decision makers. Full Spectrum Deterrence is to ensure the fact that there are no gaps left in Pakistan's deterrence capability. This research paper will basically analyze the question related

to rationale behind FSD and the challenges faced by Pakistan in the terms of economic and technological capability for this transformation in nuclear posture.

2. Pakistan's Nuclear Program

Pakistan always needed to maintain its security and strategic stability in the region as well as to maintain the regional balance of power and therefore when India tested its nuclear weapons again in 1998, to ensure the survival and keep the security up to date, Pakistan also tested its nuclear weapons on May 28th, 1998 celebrated as Youm-e-Takbeer in Pakistan. After nuclearization, Pakistan decided to go for the "Strategic Restraint Regime" along with India (Khan, Khan, & Hyder, 2018). The proposed regime consisted of three basic points:

1. Balanced Conventional forces.
2. Nuclear restraint.
3. Resolution of disputes.

India had always opposed the regime while subsequently trying to suppress Pakistan. India also deployed its armored formations on the border adjacent to Pakistani territory in addition to its offensive doctrine named as Cold Start, which is also against Pakistan and poses threat South Asian region serious enough to concern international community for peace and stability of the region. In response to Indian maneuvers, Pakistan initiated to develop low-yield nuclear weapons (Akhtar, 2016).

3. Pakistan's Nuclear Posture:

Pakistan has not yet acknowledged its nuclear policy since its nuclearization, though it is assumed that Pakistan may exploit nuclear first use option so to deter both nuclear and non-nuclear attacks from its opponents. Pakistan's nuclear doctrine is to tackle the conventional asymmetry and threats from India to its national security as well as to maintain strategic stability

of South Asia. The major attributes of Pakistan's nuclear doctrine as generally discussed are as follows:

1. Credible Minimum Deterrence.
2. Nuclear First Use Posture.
3. Reliable Command, Control, Communication, Computerization and Intelligence Network.
4. Massive Retaliation.

Though it is a fact that Nuclear Weapons will be used as the last option, specifically when it will be a matter of Pakistan's survival and its territorial integrity Pakistan may opt for nuclear first use policy because of conventional dominance of India. Pakistan has set the limit of invoking a nuclear strike against India if India crosses four areas called as the red lines by Pakistan. These policies were announced by the former Director General SPD. Pakistan will use nuclear weapons in case of space threshold, military threshold, internal stability threshold and economic threshold.

5. Credible Minimum Deterrence:

Pakistan had various options for deterrence after becoming nuclear power state in 1998. In order to understand why Pakistan went for Credible Minimum Deterrence, we need to understand the options which were available at that time. The options were as follows;

1. Assured Destruction. This option was very costly and at that time Pakistan was economically weak state that is why Pakistan simply did not adopt this strategy.
2. Limited deterrence, again because of poor economic conditions and no advancement in technology.
3. Virtual Deterrence.
4. Opaque deterrence (Khan, 2016 & Abdullah 2018).

Pakistan opted for the policy of Credible Minimum Deterrence because at that time Pakistan's economic condition and strategic interests only allowed Pakistan to go for war denying deterrence to balance the threat caused by the India's conventional superiority over Pakistan (Ali, 2017). Before the introduction of Full Spectrum Deterrence (FSD), Pakistan's nuclear policy revolved around the concept of Credible Minimum Deterrence. The notion of "minimum" was implemented by Pakistan even before its nuclear tests in 1998. Pakistan's former Chief of Army Staff, General Aslam Beg, also said in an interview in September, 1992 that "In the case of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), it is not the number that matters, but the destruction that can be caused by even a few". The logic behind this concept was that if few could deter then why to go for more. Pakistan had decided to adopt a policy of Credible Minimum Deterrence for following reasons:

1. Pakistani defense establishment was of the view that minimum number of weapons may possibly be enough to deter India in the region.
 2. Pakistan had not joined NPT nor had it expressed its intentions to join it, hence the country was facing pressure from international community to have minimum number of weapons.
 3. The minimum number of weapons will be easy to handle with regard to command and control.
 4. Minimum was cost effective as greater number of weapons would require bigger budget and stronger industrial base, so minimum was affordable for a developing country like Pakistan.
- Pakistani leaders had also indicated that the policy of CMD is flexible and it may be altered according to the evolving strategic environment (Malik, 2019).

5. Pakistan's Evolving Nuclear Posture: Full Spectrum Deterrence:

Full Spectrum Deterrence initiated during the Cold War, between USA and Soviet Union (USSR). Both nations were enhancing their deterrence capabilities, which included full spectrum of targeting through a Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP). Pakistan's transformation in its nuclear posture from subsumes Credible Minimum Deterrence to Full Spectrum Deterrence occurred due to India being its neighbour as well as the ever changing strategic environment of South Asian region (Malik, 2019).

Nuclear posture of Full Spectrum Deterrence was approved by National Command Authority (NCA), on September 5, 2013. It was first mentioned by ISPR in a press release that "Pakistan would maintain a Full Spectrum Deterrence capability to deter all forms of aggression." General (R) Khalid Kidwai, who lead Pakistan's Strategic Plans Division (SPD is a Pakistan's agency responsible for protection of Pakistan's nuclear and strategic assets) for 15 years, also mentioned Full Spectrum Deterrence at International Nuclear Policy Conference held at Carnegie in 2015. Pakistan's approach as a nuclear state has experienced a substantial change. The policy of FSD will cover all the threats including, the threat of a conventional attack and threat of the first use of nuclear weapons. After Pakistan conducted its nuclear tests, the country had adopted the policy of Credible Minimum Deterrence. The primary focus of this policy was to keep the size of the nuclear arsenal small quantitatively. Pakistan's former scientists were of the view that 60–70 nuclear warheads would be enough for the country to counter India (Biswas, 2017). However, after the introduction of FSD, Pakistan has delivered a clear message to India that Pakistan will uphold the capability for a FSD at all costs in order to deter India. Pakistan became a nuclear state not by choice but because of the increasing conventional asymmetry with India. Pakistan had chosen to attain the policy of CMD. It meant that Pakistan will use its nuclear

capability only when the enemy goes beyond Pakistan Nuclear Threshold. Now because of Cold Start Doctrine (CSD) of India, Pakistan is shifting towards FSD. According to India, Pakistan would not use nuclear weapons against India's limited invasion, by starting a conventional conflict. Pakistani decision makers had arguments over the fact that Pakistan's current arsenals operates only at the strategic level. So there was a need to fill the gap at tactical level to encounter such threats without fear of nuclear escalation. Because of these reasons it was not possible for Pakistan to continue its nuclear posture of CMD. To encounter the CSD, Pakistan developed Tactical Nuclear Weapon (TNW) NASR, which is a low yield, short range nuclear weapon to be used in battlefield. It is a qualitative response to Cold Start and Pro Active Operations (PAO), introduced by India. FSD is a defensive response to India's offensive CSD. Full spectrum offers a range of options to the decision-makers by effectively changing Pakistan's Nuclear Policy in the form of employing nuclear deterrence against conventional attack (Lyon, 2013).

6. Rationale for Full Spectrum Deterrence:

As if to know that nuclear powers always try to maintain strategic stability against their adversary by keeping balance in their armaments and employment strategies (Colby, 2013). In case of India and Pakistan, India introduced Cold Start Doctrine and on the other hand Pakistan adopted the policy of Full Spectrum Deterrence. There are some reasons that Pakistan transformed its nuclear posture from "CSD" to "FSD", which is a response to India's complete spectrum of threat. Basically Pakistan needed "limited nuclear options to fill the gap between doing too much, like nuclear war, to doing too little like vulnerable to enemy's attack", they maintain. FSD, it is said that, fulfills this very purpose for Pakistan. FSD's aim is to fill the gap created by the conventional superiority of India in military terms (Waseem & Khan, 2015). India

has policy of No First Use but all the steps taken by India like CSD, Pro Active Strategy, Civil Nuclear military deals with USA, have otherwise effects on the strategic and security environment of the region as well as on Indian Ocean and therefore pointing towards India's offensive moves and strategies, which compelled Pakistan to finally transform its nuclear posture having maximum credibility.

Since long time, India was finding space for conventional war because of the absence of a complete spectrum of deterrence. That is why Pakistani nuclear establishment called for Full Spectrum Deterrence. For this purpose, Pakistan went for advancement in its nuclear program by introducing low yield, short range, battlefield Tactical Nuclear Weapon called as NASR, to be used at tactical level. Another reason due to which Pakistan has gone for FSD is the security and strategic balance of the region which is disturbed.

7. Cold Start Doctrine:

After the failure of Sunderji Doctrine, Cold Start Doctrine was given by India in April 2004, to fill the gaps in Sunderji Doctrine. The doctrine consists of a limited war approach that aims to invade Pakistani terrain expeditiously and with a short of risk or invoking any conflict between nuclear rivals. It is an attempt to cause maximum harm before the demand of ceasefire by international powers. It would also be designed to avoid giving Pakistan any justification for eliciting a response that requires involving nuclear ability. It is also known as the Pro Active Strategy. Despite having military inferiority, Pakistan has been accused of asymmetrical conflicts against India. Indian military forces remained frustrated and enraged during the crises and conflicts between the time periods of 2000-2008 they were not able or willing to invade Pakistani territory. To give a lesson to Pakistan, India has developed a military doctrine named as "Cold Start", which replaced outdated Sunderji Doctrine. Indian Doctrine of Cold Start which

lacks any backing from Indian leaders that may be called as non-combatant leaders, has chances to threaten strategic stability in South Asia. India is now more poised about winning the conflict against Pakistan. India is confident about the fact that by using CSD or Pro Active strategy, it would be a piece of cake for India to capture Pakistani territory to bring Pakistan's government on the negotiation table for bargaining. Thus in this way India aims to meet its military and political objectives to the extent to justify its stance against Pakistan. In response to it, the conventionally smaller Pakistan, which seems to be customarily contingent on its nuclear capability aimed at aggression, will think of utilizing the benefits of first strike (Khan, 2012).

The idea of Cold Start has been driven first during operation Parakaram, which was propelled as after the terrorist strikes on Indian Parliament in December 2001. The operations had uncovered some main flaws in the India's offensive strategy including weak mobilization of troops towards the border in case of emergency response. After the attack, Indian strike corps took almost a month to reach the border. This flaw had given Pakistan advantage and enough time to take counter measures, and for USA to pressurize Indian military to back off. Now CSD is a step by India to correct those flaws. According to CSD India will keep following a strategy to hold corps on call to be alert to plan attack in response and in a position to reach the main perimeter area. The doctrine contemplates moving up to eight independent battle groups with their own armored and mechanized brigades near the forward positions instead of depending on strike corps that are based deep in heart of the nation. India has an advantage that Pakistan has deficiencies of geographical depth and that has put Pakistan to a vulnerable position to be attacked from conventionally superior India. The arms race and introduction of such doctrines will destabilize the strategic environment of South Asia and will take the states more towards nuclear confrontation.

8. Steps Taken for Full Spectrum Deterrence:

To fulfill the requirements to cover the full spectrum Pakistan is working continuously to increase the number of nuclear weapons and warheads. It also has made technological improvement in its nuclear technology as estimated and predicted by United States Defense Intelligence Agency in 1999 (Kristensen & Norris, 2016).

9. Tactical Nuclear Weapons: Nuclear-Capable, Short-Range Missile Systems:

To counter the stability-instability paradox in South Asia, emergence of the Indian CSD, the strategy of PAO, and the chances of Two Front War, Pakistan transformed its nuclear posture from CSD to FSD (Abbasi, 2015). Pakistan is taking steps to counter all the threats posed by the adversary, which is India. In this regard the development of TNWs is the first step towards attainment of FSD. Basically a TNW is a non-strategic weapon which is generally smaller in size and explosive power (Kristensen & Korda, 2019). According to some Pakistani strategists, the development of TNWs has worked in creating a strategic balance as it communicates the threat of usage of “less in destruction” nuclear weapons on Indian forces invading Pakistan. It will also work effectively to deter India to move on further towards full scale war. As of its practicality it is worth to be noted that these weapons are really going to serve Pakistan's main interests in terms of their efficacy (Barry, 2018). It is known that Pakistan has never announced its nuclear doctrine, whatever is known comes from the press releases by ISPR, which is a media wing of Pakistan military, National Command Authority and the Strategic Plan Division. Pakistan did the successful testing of its tactical nukes in 2011, which was nuclear capable ballistic missile NASR with a range of 60km and later on RAAD, which has a range of 350 km. Later on, with the approval of FSD posture, Pakistan called NASR as the TNW and inducted it to fill the category of tactical weapons out of all three categories of full spectrum of nuclear weapons (Biswas,

2017). This short range nuclear weapon has the capability to counter the threats below the strategic level in case Indian conventional forces invade into Pakistani territory. This development by Pakistan has put many states in a deep concern in general and United States of America in particular (Kristensen & Norris, 2016).

According to ISPR press release, Pakistan developed TNWs because of following reasons;

1. Introducing the Nasr was a direct response to India's CSD, which seeks to take advantage of gaps in Pakistan's former nuclear posture.
2. Usage of TNWs would have strategic impacts.
3. Pakistan's FSD is a strategy to deter limited conventional war below Pakistan's existing thresholds for nuclear use.
4. Pakistan will control TNWs just like other strategic nuclear forces, maintaining centralized command and control at all times under the NCA.
5. Pakistan's NASR missiles "will not be deployed to forward positions, nor will use be delegated to field commanders" (Ahmed, 2016).

Though short range missiles are developed to encounter CSD by India, it is said that the development of NASR and RAAD has replaced the older missiles with latest technology having modern delivery systems. Both of these missiles are significant in terms of carrying nuclear weapons, ideal to counter Indian Cold Start forces and to deter and keep the Cold Start "cold." These short range weapons could be deployed as a first use option in battlefield against the conventional forces of India used in the PAO by deterring the emerging threat. It means that Pakistan now is capable to encounter conventional attack by using both its strategic and tactical nuclear weapons. These tactical weapons would be used to deter those battle groups which have their own armored and mechanized brigades contemplated in India's CSD (Khan, 2012).

The onset of TNWs has invoked the action reaction process practiced in this region. As both states will react quickly and will begin arms race in conventional as well as nuclear weapons. On one hand Indian security architects have warned Pakistan for a possible use of TNWs and its impacts on South Asian region. Pakistani security engineers as on the contrary, have justified the development of TNWs against India's war fighting posture which is CSD and PAO to balance out strategic environ of South Asia. However, some states concerned with CSD and TNWs are also accusing India and Pakistan for developing aggressive and war fighting designs of strategies which may escalate the conflicts and can create deterrence instability. The deployment of TNWs at a shared border can escalate the conflict and the weaker states could lose control of nuclear escalation (Khan, 2012).

10. Challenges to Full Spectrum Deterrence:

As Pakistan has adopted the policy of FSD, it will also have to face some challenges in present and in near future.

A) Economic Capability of Pakistan:

It is believed that a large budget is required to meet the expenses for the advancements in nuclear technology. Pakistan is a developing country facing some major economic problems but the dedication to attain huge amount of FSD has raised some serious question. Khalid Kidwai gave a satisfactory answer about this question in a conversation with a former high ranking U.S. security official and scholar Peter Lavoy narrating the validity, misconception and calculations related to the issue based on the irresponsible reporting as well (Lavoy, 2015). It is also important to note that Pakistan's nuclear program is the extension or a part of the overall defense posture and therefore probably 3 or 3.5% of the GDP overall is dedicated to it. He reemphasized

the importance of maintaining the strategic balance with a nuclear opponent at its eastern neighbor.

B) Technological Advancements for Full Spectrum Deterrence:

Pakistan has a plan to go further in the development of FSD posture but it is not very clear that to what extent Pakistan will achieve technological advancement in this respect. There comes a question that Is Pakistan technologically advances enough to peruse posture of FSD? Hans M. Kristensen & Robert S. Norris wrote in a report *Pakistani nuclear forces, 2016* that in terms of fissile material, Pakistan's fissile material production setup in Kahuta and Gadwal is reputable and it will expand more. Pakistan has also constructed four production reactors at Khushab, having a capacity to produce 25 to 50 kg of plutonium per year, which is four times India's plutonium production rate. The National Defense Complex is responsible for the expansion and construction of nuclear capable missiles. Pakistan Ordinance Factories (POF) in Wah serves the role for production of warheads. After the 2013 test, it was stated by ISPR that Abdali "carries nuclear as well as conventional warheads" and "provides an operational level capability to Pakistan's Strategic Forces."

Pakistan has also developed RAAD that have "stealth capabilities" and "pinpoint accuracy," and is described as "a low altitude, terrain hugging missile with high maneuverability". Same is the case with Babur (Kristensen & Norris, 2016). Authorities in Islamabad are of the view that RAAD can deliver nuclear and conventional warheads convincingly up to 350 km with accuracy, and "complementing Pakistan's deterrence capability" attaining "strategic standoff capability on land and at sea" (Jaspal, 2018)..

Regarding fissile material for nuclear devices it can be said that in comparison to India, Pakistan is in about one to four ratio (Biswas, 2017).

C) Tactical Nuclear Weapons:

While talking about the two South Asian adversaries, the value and usage of TNWs often comes into question. If to talk about Pakistani territories, the city of Lahore, Bahawalpur, Garh, Kasur, Sialkot, and Shakar are within 25km. It is said that the presence of nuclear weapons in these short distance areas would be dangerous for India and Pakistan. According to a research in 1971, it was concluded that “Once the nuclear thresholds were crossed, both sides would be under pressure to use their nuclear weapons quickly before they were destroyed.” The deployment of TNWs is also an issue regarding communication, command, and control. The deployment of nuclear weapons in South Asia invokes the risk of conflict escalation between India and Pakistan and it does not assure the deterrence stability (Khan, 2012). India is also taking the development of NASR as a challenge to take arms control initiative through bilateral agreement with Pakistan or unilaterally, by banning short range nuclear missile development, hence to weaken Pakistan’s posture of FSD (O’Donnell, 2017).

In order to tackle with Pakistan’s TNWs, India would take high measures of its intelligence, reconnaissance along with inspection and exploration to find NASR missiles, nuclear warheads and also command and control systems. If found, India would apply airpower, ballistic missiles, long range artillery, attack helicopters, air assault forces and Special Forces in full power for incursion (Jaspal, 2018). India can also readjust its military maneuvers and plans so as to hostage Pakistan’s short range, low yield NASR.

11. Indian Shift in Nuclear Technology Developments: Threats to Pakistan:

India has also taken some moves in response to Pakistan’s evolving posture of Full Spectrum Deterrence as it has decided to revise the nuclear force posture of most powerful state of the region (Narang, 2018). India signed several civil nuclear military deals with USA and received

NSG special waiver in reference to nuclear assistance creating strategic implications for the region. As a result of all these circumstances, Pakistan has also demanded an equal footing to maintain the strategic balance in South Asia (Khan, 2012).

12. Justification of FSD before International Community

In last 10 years, USA has shown concerns over the security measures taken for nuclear weapons particulate for TNWs in Pakistan. In 2007 USA was quite confident about the safeguards for the nuclear weapons. But later on in 2016's assessment, USA became worried and indicated its reservations about the disposition of TNW or non-strategic nuclear weapons from Pakistan. According to USA, TNWs are more vulnerable to the exposure as they are being taken to the battlefield to the field where they cannot be made as secure. To tackle this situation, National Command Authority in Islamabad had a thorough examination of the "security and safety mechanism" in order to ensure there are no red flags. The nuclear arsenals of Pakistan are in safe hands and their security status is exhibiting "deep satisfaction" under the prevailing safety measures of installations relevant to weaponries in Pakistan. Additionally, it is also being assured with "full confidence" that the expertise and the regulatory mechanism in charge of the nuclear weapon system maintained high levels of procedures throughout the whole process. Satellite images also show that to handle the security threats from terrorists, security measures have also been improved and maintained to avoid any risks. This basic principle of fool proof security has been applied to nuclear and military facilities alike during the last decade. Samar Mubarak Mund representing the National Defense Complex as the Director explained has been of the view that "a Pakistani nuclear warhead is assembled only at the eleventh hour if it needs to be launched. It is stored in three to four different parts at three to four different locations. If a nuclear weapon

doesn't need to be launched, then it is never available in assembled form" (Kristensen & Norris, 2016).

13. Conclusion

It can be concluded that, Pakistan will continue to make appropriate choices with reference to its nuclear program that will safeguard its self-interest. Pakistan has evolved its nuclear posture and has attained the policy of Full Spectrum Deterrence to encounter all forms of threats from India at all levels including strategic, operational and tactical. It has reduced its dependence on super powers and has developed its own tactical nuclear weapons. India introduced Pro Active Strategy in the form of Cold Start Doctrine and in response to this doctrine; Pakistan transformed its nuclear posture from Credible Minimum Deterrence to Full Spectrum Deterrence. Pakistan also developed Tactical Nuclear Weapons to tackle India's superiority. To cover all the aspects of Full Spectrum Deterrence, Pakistan is improving its nuclear technology. Pakistan is also making sure the practicality of Second Strike Capability by introducing sub marine launched nuclear cruise missile Babur III. Pakistan has shown full confidence in command & control and security measures taken for the security of its strategic assets and materials. In response to FSD, India is also thinking to revise its nuclear posture in order to encounter the threats posed by FSD. Though Pakistan is a developing state but for the security planners, its survival is more important.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to find out the impact of Pakistani TV drama content on living style, social values, and conversion of local culture into global culture. The study “Cultivating Fake Cultural Consciousness among People of Pakistan: A Myth or Reality” investigated that whether there is a significant difference among different age groups in terms of their views about cultural consciousness: whether there is a significant variation among respondents of different education levels in terms of their views about cultural consciousness: whether there is significant difference among respondents perception in terms of their views about cultural consciousness: and whether Pakistani TV dramas are cultivating fake cultural consciousness. Under the rubric of cultivation theory, the researchers used survey method for measuring attitudes of people regarding Cultivating fake cultural consciousness among people of Pakistan and collected data from 600 males and females of Lahore, Gujrat and Islamabad. The researchers used purposive sampling technique and to fill questionnaire from those who watch Pakistani TV dramas on daily basis. Findings of the study reveal that Pakistani dramas are a source of converting local culture into global culture. Presentation of foreign cultural values in Pakistani TV dramas has a strong impact on eastern cultural values. Furthermore, the results reveal that local social values are being transformed and people are intending to adopt luxurious lifestyle in their daily life, a symbol of foreign culture and values.

Keywords: TV Channels, Cultural consciousness, Drama, Pakistan, Society

INTRODUCTION

Drama has a descriptive nature which help viewer's to understand the intercontinental figurative values, cultural transformation, strong images of culture and racism (Bainbridge, 2020). Popularity of Television increased due to globalization, which is dangerous for the identity of national and local cultures (Barker, 1999). Television replaces radio & print media which is more powerful to cultivate the minds of people. Newly, adopted culture has changed the local culture (Selznick, 2008), it also has effects on cultural values (Zahid, 2007). In this contemporary world, media is the important part of a society, which introduces media-culture linkage. Mass media is playing an important role in cultivating physical and psychological behaviours of people (Burton, 2002). Media has a power to conceive, create and propagate cultural ideologies among societies which generate desires and beliefs to change local values (Suzuki, 2020), it has deep effects on the physical and psychological behaviours (Getzkow & Shapiro, 2004; Olken, 2006).

Globalization creates wisdom in people about the relationship of economy and culture (Roberston, 1992). It provides platform to the people for communication and transfer culture in a society or at personal level (Held & McGrew, 2002), globalization has a power to change the minds of viewers (Krugman & Verables, 1995). Advancement in the field of technology, television fades the local culture values, norms and local languages of a society and impose english language on others (Ito, 2020). Media owners create their own monopoly and broadcast content through TV channels to alter the current situation (Kellner, 1990), they produce & distribute their own culture to cultivate the behaviour and values of a society (McChesney & Nichols, 2002). Developed countries use mass media to increase their businesses and transform their own culture (Shugnessy & Stadler, 2002). Television gain popularity due to shining celebrities, fascinating music, strong story, beautiful locations, prosperous & glamorous life, romantic scenes and familiarity with foreign culture (Lee,

2017), familiarity of foreign culture depends upon two reasons, relevancy with culture and linguistic chronological cohesion (Pastina & Straubhaar, 2005). Drama also affects the minds of viewer;s due to beautiful localities and strong story (Malik et al., 2019).

Pakistan private TV channels are broadcasting news, political talk shows, drama and morning shows for the enjoyment of viewers. This study aims to investigate that Pakistani dramas are cultivating the minds and injecting foreign culture in a society. Hum TV, Geo Entertainment and ARY digital are selected for the study. These channels are broadcasting drama, which has foreign content and cultivating the minds of people. The researchers use “Cultivation theory” and survey method has adopted to get response of viewers. Pakistani dramas have deep affects on the behaviour and attitude of people; they try to wear jeans, eat fast food, visit hotels & bars, use luxury homes for living and use expensive cars as shown in Pakistani TV dramas. Many researchers do research on the effects of TV on the dressing style, language and fashion trebds. In this study, researchers tried to digout, how pakistani dramas are changing the cultural values and living style of Pakistani people, this research will be different from the previous studies as it covers all aspects of cultural norms.

Objectives:

1. Whether there is sense of cultural consciousness among the viewers of Pakistani TV dramas.
2. Whether TV dramas are transforming local culture into global culture.
3. Whether TV dramas are fading eastern cultural values.
4. Whether TV dramas are affecting lifestyle of Pakistani people.

Hypothesis:

H1: There is a significant difference among different age groups in terms of their views about cultural consciousness.

H2: There is a significant variation among respondents of different education levels in terms of their views about cultural consciousness.

H3: There is a significant difference among respondents perception in terms of their views about cultural consciousness.

H4: Whether Pakistani TV dramas are cultivating fake cultural consciousness.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Television content has deep and everlasting effects on the minds of people. Drama content has changed the social and cultural behaviour of Iranian women (Zadeh & Muzafferi, 2014), it has also wide effects on the culture of people (Kellner, 1995; Jenkins, 1992; Lewis, 1989), where Brainbridge (2020) Carried out a research to understand the symbolic and controversial functions of celebrity scandal mediation, which analyzes psychological, and emotional experiences. Findings show that over the course of emotional and formal level of time, popular media unknowingly provides channel to effect unconscious skills and resists the strong description that celebrities are invulnerable. Objectification of celebrities, affect the minds and behavior of viewer's and they try to follow them in their daily life. This particular style of affection, facilitate to idealize and defaming behaviours of viewer's about celebrity which cause conscious and unconscious aspects to cultivate behaviors (Marshall, 2014).

TV drama is cultivating the minds of people and transferring foreign culture. Korean TV drama on Netflix not only entertaining the people by portraying the romantic scenes but also involve them emotionally. In addition, the emotional story of Korean drama, allows Netflix American viewers to explore different cultures through pursuit, group, and gender dogmas to construct class difference and deliberate chain of command (Ju, 2019). Malaysian people adopted western dresses and cultural norms due to globalization, which is affecting the pure culture of Malaysia (Mustaffa et al. 2014), and portrayal of alcohol consumption in

British TV drama have negative affect on the minds of viewers (Mayrhofer & Matthes, 2018), used at religious and social gatherings of British people and it is a symbol of high class (Furnham et al, 1997). Many researchers found that presentation of alcohol in TV dramas have negative effects on viewers (McFarlin & Fals-Stewart, 2002; Coyne & Ahmed, 2009).

Foreign media is promoting their culture through drama and entertaining programs all over the world. Ukka (2019) carried out a research to find out the impact of Korean TV drama on the behavior of Indonesian youth. The findings show that male youth follow fashion trends shown in Korean TV drama whereas females use Korean cosmetics in their daily life. Drama content cultivates the minds of Malaysian people (Arriffin et al., 2018; sign & Kaur, 2017), and foreign media is reshaping the minds of people (Tanvir, et al., 2014). Furthermore, drama is a major part of entertainment industry and Pakistani young generation is inspired from star plus drama due to dressing pattern and festives (Majeed, 2005) which is the integral part of a society (Alalawi et. al. 2016) and has deep affects on society (zahid, 2007).

Media in the age of technology have deep and everlasting effects on the minds of viewers. Drama is not only the way of entertainment for people but also educate them about latest trends and fashion of other society. Dramas directly hit the cultural values and norms of a society (Shabir, et. al., 2013), and content of media change the culture of a society (Hepp, et. al., 2015). TV, magazines and social networks play a key role in transferring fashion trends among people (Martin, 1998), portrayal of female slim body fascinate others (Bessenoff, 2006), and media cultivate the behavior about products and dashing look (Chan, 2008; Sohn, 2009; Zhou et. al., 2008).

Pakistan is a developing country and culture of Pakistan is under threat whereas Indian and Turkish dramas injecting their cultures into it. Turkish dramas have been

modernized and broadcasting liberal content like hugging, kissing, dance and alcoholic presentation in their daily routine. Pakistani youth adopting these activities which are disturbing cultural norms of a society (Madni, et. Al., 2014) whereas romantic scenes in Pakistani drama affecting the intensions of youth, male as compared to females inspired from romantic scenes (Karim & Shehzad, 2016), glamorous and liberal presentation of Turkish dramas affects the minds of Pakistani educated females both culturally and religiously (Aslam, et. Al., 2015). Turkish dramas have negative effects on the culture of Pakistan (Iqbal, 2018), popular culture is dominating in media (Cetin, 2014). Youth of contemporary world are a soft target of business world (Su & Tong, 2017), they are interested in latest fashion trends (Nelson & McLeod, 2005), although fashion content of media directly hit the cognition of young people (Sun & Guo, 2013), and people who speaks English language, society call them “cool” (Ito, 2020).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The researchers tried to investigate, whether entertainment TV channels of Pakistan cultivating minds of people. People of Pakistan are watching native and western TV channels for the information and entertainment. World has become a global village and it cultivates cultural values, social norms and lifestyle of people. Every society has its own cultural norms & values and people of those societies practice their local culture in their daily life. The researchers has used “Cultivation Theory” to investigate the topic. Television has limited or unlimited affects on the physical and psychological behaviour of viewers. Affects of content vary from society to society or class to class and results of every study are different from each other due to societal differences (Baran, 2004).

Television is a medium, which injects verbal and nonverbal messages in the minds of viewers by repetition of programs. People watch programs and change their life style, they use them in their social life and cultivate their minds according to content of programs.

Human surveillance, action and moral values change with the change of minds (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli, 1980). Effects of Television are debatable and cultivation theory used in research procedure to study these effects on the minds of viewers where other variables stay stable (Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli; 1994). Many researchers conduct researches to realize, improve, evaluate, dismiss or protect the theoretical process of cultivation theory (Hawkins and Pingree, 1983; Potter, 1993; Signorielli and Morgan, 1990).

It can determine the effects of political talk shows on the voting behaviour and violence among kids, sex behaviour of youth, cultural changes due to content of programs (Shanahan and Jones, 1999) and cultivation theory speaks on effects (Mcquail & Windahl, 1993). Television is a powerful medium which provoke people to indulge in social activities and sensitize their thinking about society, communication and people (Morgan & Shanhan: 2010) So, cultivation theory points out that how Television is developing irrational atmosphere in people's mind and on-air content that cultivates the concept of viewers about societal norms (Zaharopoulos, 2001). Many researchers used it to evaluate viewer's perception about assets, separation, and working women (Potter, 1991); sexual label (Ward and Friedman, 2006); materialism (Reimer and Rosengren, 1990); values (Potter, 1990); psychological fitness (Diefenbach and West, 2007); feelings of hostility (Signorielli, 1990); ecological anxiety (Shanahan & Stenbjerre, 1997); occupation (Signorielli and Kahlenberg, 2001); awareness of wellbeing (Sotirovic, 2001); and matrimonial potential (Segrin and Nabi, 2002).

METHODOLOGY

This study uses survey method (Quantitative) as methodology, questionnaire as a tool for data collection and analyzed respondents response in SPSS and apply One Way ANOVA test. In current study researcher selects 600 respondents (300 males & 300 females) from three cities Lahore, Gujrat and Islamabad.

FINDINGS

Table 1.1: There is a significant difference among different age groups in terms of their views about cultural consciousness.

Sr. No.	Age	N	Mean	SD	F	Sign.
1	18-30	367	4.01	2.78	5.15	.006
2	31-45	153	4.12	2.34		
3	46-60	80	3.95	2.20		

Table 1.1 shows that there is a significant difference among respondents of different age groups. People with age of 18-30 have mean score 4.01, 31-45 of age have 4.12 mean score and 46-60 age have 3.95 mean score. Table shows that significant value 0.006 is less than $p < 0.05$ which shows that TV dramas are cultivating cultural consciousness among people of Pakistan and it also depicts that people with different age group are exposed from drama differently.

Table 1.2: Drama Variable Age Wise Post HOC

Sr No	Age	Mean Difference	Df	Sig.
1	18-30 & 31-45	-0.67	597	0.02
2	18-30 & 46-60	0.37		0.49
3	31-45 & 46-60	-1.03		0.01

Table 1.2 shows that dramas have different level of affects on the minds of different age groups. There is a significant difference among age groups 18-30 and 31-45 where mean score is 0.02 and significant difference between age 31-45 and 46-60 has mean score is 0.01. Results shows that there is insignificant difference between age 18-30 and 46-60 where mean

score is 0.49. findings show that drama has positive effects the consciousness of people have age 18-30 & 31-45 and 31-45 & 46-60 but have negative affects between the ages of 18-30 & 46-60.

Table 1.3: There is a significant variation among respondents of different education levels in terms of their views about cultural consciousness

Sr. No.	Education	N	Mean	SD	F	Sign.
1	Metric	65	3.8	2.82	9.53	.000
2	Intermediate	268	4.02	2.79		
3	BA/MA	226	4.09	2.29		
4	M.Phil & Above	41	4.16	1.94		

Table 1.3 Statistically proves that there is a significant variation among people have different education levels. Results show that dramas are cultivating cultural consciousness among people where significant value is .000, which is less than $P < 0.05$ and findings also show that dramas have a significant impact on the minds of educated people, which varies from person to person due to education levels. Findings show that statistically there is a significant difference exists ($F=9.53$), $p < .05$ among the respondents of different education levels. Respondents with metric education (mean score = 3.8, $SD= 2.82$), with intermediate education (mean score = 4.02, $SD= 2.79$), with BA/MA education (mean score = 4.09, $SD= 2.29$) and with M.Phil & above (mean score= 4.16, $SD= 1.94$) in terms of cultivating fake cultural consciousness by Pakistani TV dramas

Table 1.4: Drama Variable Education Wise Post HOC

Sr No	Education	Mean Difference	Df	Sig.
1	Metric-Intermediate	-1.36	596	.001
2	Metric-BA/MA	-1.80		.000
3	Metric-M.Phil & Above	-2.19		.000
4	Intermediate-BA/MA	-0.43		.240
5	Intermediate-M.Phil & Above	-0.82		.226
6	BA/MA-M.Phil & Above	-0.38		.812

Table 1.4 depicts the post HOC values which shows the difference between respondents due to different education. Findings shows that there is a similarity between Metric-Intermediate, Metric- BA/MA, Metric-M.Phil & Above and TV drama has positive impact on respondents whereas Intermediate-BA/MA, Intermediate-M.Phil & Above and BA/MA-M.Phil & Above shows insignificant relation among them.

Table 1.5: There is a significant difference among respondents perception in terms of their views about cultural consciousness

Sr No	Channels	Mean	SD	F	Sig.
1	GEO Entertainment	4.05	2.77	21.23	.000
2	HUM TV	3.96	2.46		
3	ARY Digital	4.09	2.63		
4	Any other	4.5	1.70		

Table 1.5 statistically proves that significant variation exists among Pakistani TV channels and cultural consciousness. Entertainment TV channels Geo, HUM, ARY and others have positive effects on the consciousness of viewers and people cultivate their minds.

Findings show that statistically there is a significant difference exists ($F=21.23$), $p<.05$ among the different TV channels. Geo entertainment has mean score = 4.05, $SD= 2.77$, whereas HUM TV has mean score = 3.96, $SD= 2.46$, ARY digital has mean score = 4.09, $SD= 2.63$) and any other TV channels has mean score= 4.5, $SD= 1.70$ in terms of cultivating fake cultural consciousness by Pakistani TV channels.

Table 1.6: TV Channels Post HOC

Sr No	Compared channels	Mean Difference	Df	Sig.
1	GEO-HUM TV	0.54		.157
2	GEO-ARY	-0.23		.848
3	GEO-Another	-2.64	596	.004
4	HUM TV-ARY	-0.78		.012
5	HUM TV-ANY OTHER	-3.19		.000
6	ARY-ANY OTHER	-2.40		.010

Table 1.6 shows that entertainment TV channels GEO-Anyother, HUM TV-ARY, HUM TV-Any other and ARY-Any other have significant differences and has positive influence on the cultural perception of viewers whereas GEO-HUM TV and GEO-ARY have insignificant difference among them.

Table 1.7: Whether Pakistani TV dramas are cultivating fake cultural consciousness

Sr No	Channels	Mean	SD	F	Sig.
1	GEO Entertainment	3.72	5.81	21.24	.000
2	HUM TV	3.67	7.38		
3	ARY Digital	3.84	7.45		
4	Any other	4.16	0.85		

Table 1.7 shows that Pakistani TV dramas have positive influence on the minds of people and cultivating cultural consciousness. Dramas of GEO entertainment has mean

difference 3.72, Hum TV has 3.67, ARY digital has 3.84 and other entertainment TV channels have 4.16 mean difference. The significant difference among different TV channels drama illustrates that Pakistani TV dramas are cultivating fake cultural consciousness. It is also understood that public evaluate and access the elite culture in a different way when they are exposed to Pakistani entertainment TV channels. It is inferred that with respect to people perception, there is different exposure of Pakistani entertainment TV channels.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Pakistan is a developing country where people spend their life according to their own cultural norms and traditions. Advancement in the field of technology and media, people are becoming aware about other cultures, traditions, norms and values. People of Pakistan were following their own cultural values and norms whereas owners of private TV news channels visualized the importance of cultural change and launched entertainment TV channels to cultivate the minds of people. They broadcast culture of foreign countries on the name of entertainment and cultivate innocent minds into glamorous minds.

Findings of the study show that TV drama has deep effects on the minds of viewers who's age inbetween 18-30, and have high school education and also cultivate the cultural values and behaviour whereas viewers with the above age and education has less affects. Every person has its own perception about culture, religion, relations and life. Some follow their own cultural values and develop a traditional entity whereas some understand the contemporary world and follow latest fashion, trends, cultural values and norms shows on TV drama. Findings of the study revealed that Pakistani entertainment TV channels like, GEO Entertainment, HUM TV, ARY Digital and others have deep impact and cultivate the fake cultural consciousness among people of Pakistan. Entertainment industry of Pakistan change the perception and converts local culture into global culture due to this people lose their own identity. Many researchers investigated the effects of Geo, HUM and ARY content on the

cultural consciousness and impact of global culture on local culture (Tanvie et al, 2014; Shah et al, 2016; shabir et al, 2013).

Pakistani society has its own strong cultural background which remain in the conscious of people but the foreign content shown in drama cultivates the local culture and inject fake culture in the conscious of Pakistani society. Drama of these channels has foreign content, which replaced the local culture into global culture, which proves the hypothesis.

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Article:	Poverty Alleviation & Human Development: Comparative Analysis of Facebook pages of top three political parties of Pakistan during 2018 Election Campaign.
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Abstract

Social scientists and experts have long recognized poverty as the biggest reason of crime or at least as a significant risk factor. Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius (121-180 A.D.) said, “Poverty is the mother of crime” (Newton, 2010, p. 7). Every fourth Pakistani lives below the poverty line and it has been one of the most pressing issues across the world, especially in a developing country like Pakistan. First democratically elected Prime Minister of Pakistan won elections on a popular slogan (Food, cloth and shelter). Social Media in general and Facebook in particular has become a powerful influencing agent in Pakistan. According to AlphaPro (2018), there are more than 3.5 million active Facebook users, and 92 percent of internet users in Pakistan use Facebook. Therefore, this research focuses on the coverage of poverty alleviation on Facebook pages of top three political parties of Pakistan i.e. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and Pakistan People’s Party. This research employs quantitative content analysis to determine the importance given to poverty alleviation and human development by Pakistani political parties on their Facebook pages. Results concluded that poverty alleviation or human development has not been the priority of top three political parties of Pakistan, but if we compare the selected three political parties, PTI took lead in discussing the poverty alleviation and human development on their official Facebook page during 2018 election campaign, whereas PMLN was neck to neck with PTI. On the contrary, PPP gave least priority to poverty alleviation or human development.

Key Words: Poverty Alleviation, Facebook, Elections 2018, Human Development, Media ecology

Introduction

Slogans of poverty alleviation have remained at the forefront of Pakistani politics. Being a third world country nothing can attract Pakistanis more than the economic prosperity. First general elections of Pakistan which took place during 1970 were marked by one of the most popular movements in the history of the country. Pakistan People's Party in the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto decimated the status quo politicians with his popular slogan of "Roti, Kapra & Makaan" (food, cloth and shelter). Since then, poverty alleviation has remained one of the most striking slogans in Pakistan.

Now in 2018 when Pakistan faced multi facet challenges including regional security issues like threats from India, terrorism, energy crises and financial meltdown. Still, poverty alleviation which may not be the permanent part of the newspapers headlines, in fact remains the core issue of Pakistanis. According to United Nations Development Programme (2019), Pakistan's Human Development Index ranking is 152, well behind Bangladesh and India who are at 135 and 129 respectively. As per Asian Development Bank 24.3 percent people of Pakistan were below the poverty line in 2015.

Above mentioned ranking by UNDP and ADB shows that Pakistani political parties failed to materialize their promises and Pakistani people were deceived by the empty slogans.

Considering the state of financial condition of Pakistanis, poverty alleviation should have been at the forefront of mainstream political parties'. This research effort looks into the Facebook pages of these parties during their 2018 election campaigning.

According to AlphaPro (2018), there are more than 3.5 million active Facebook users in Pakistan, and 92 percent of internet users in Pakistan use Facebook. Therefore, this research focuses on the coverage of poverty alleviation on Facebook pages of top three political parties of

Pakistan i.e. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) and Pakistan People's Party.

As the concept of poverty alleviation has become very broad, issues related to poverty alleviation during election campaigning were divided into two parts, one is direct measures to eradicate poverty and the second is indirect measure. As Azeem (2016), in his doctoral thesis holds that "vulnerability to monetary poverty cannot serve as a proxy for vulnerability to nutrition poverty, and vice versa. Households facing the risk of nutrition poverty will miss the benefits of anti-poverty policies based solely on the monetary measure of poverty". Today, human development index has become a benchmark to check the quality of living, in order to ensure transparency into the research, range of poverty improvement indicators (e.g. education, infrastructure development and health etc.) were added into indirect measures of gauging poverty alleviation programme of the three political parties.

Problem Statement

There is no or very little work done to explore the social media accounts of Pakistani Political Parties. This research exercise intends to understand that whether the mainstream political parties of Pakistan give proper attention to the poverty alleviation or not.

Research Questions

1. Is direct poverty alleviation or social protection schemes are the most discussed issue on the FB pages of mainstream Pakistani political parties during 2018 election campaign.
2. Did Pakistani political parties focus more on eradicating poverty through indirect measures during 2018 election campaign?
3. Which political party prioritized human development issues on its Facebook pages during 2018 election campaign?

Theoretical framework

Social Media in general and Facebook in particular has become a powerful influencing agent in Pakistan. As mentioned above, there are more than 3.5 million active Facebook users, and 92 percent of internet users in Pakistan use Facebook. In other words technology is shaping the opinions around the world, therefore expressions of social media have its worth, and rather it has been expanding with every passing day. (AlphaPro, 2018)

There has been range of studies done on media priming effects in politics for example, (Domke, 2001; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Krosnick & Brannon, 1993;)

This study takes priming into consideration to comprehend the relationships between social media platforms of Pakistani political parties and selection of certain issues for facebook feed. Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) argued that “The temporal sequence of agenda setting and priming assumes that media can make certain issues or aspects of issues more accessible (i.e., easily recalled) for people and thereby influence the standards they use when forming attitudes about candidates and political issues.”

This study has examined the priming by the political parties on Facebook, unlike the earlier studies, as most of the studies on priming are related to media. Social media merely provides platforms and the content selection is done by the administrators themselves. This study examines the particular content selection by the top three political parties of Pakistan during 2018 election campaign.

Today in 2020, the model of media is changing rapidly, assumptions of Marshal McLuhan in 1964 proving to be extremely relevant even today. McLuhan (1964) was of the opinion that our society, has been habituated to excruciating and isolating all things as a means of control, and at times, in operational and practical fact, the medium is the message.

Neil Postman was inspired by Marshal McLuhan and founded the program in media ecology at New York University in 1971. Neil Postman in 2000 delivered a Keynote address on humanism of media ecology. He argued that media ecology subsists to further our understandings into how we stand as human beings, and what is our moral standing. For him moral aspect of technological advancement is crucial for us, otherwise technological development may be ruining our prior media advancements too. Postman although inspired by McLuhan, disagrees with the later, by arguing that, there might be a significant merit in McLuhan's opinion about evading questions of good and bad regarding media roles, but Postman contends that there is no point in studying media unless one studies it with moral or ethical context. As this study primarily deals with the direct and indirect issues related to the poverty alleviation and its coverage on the modern medium i.e. Facebook, so this assumption of moral obligation of media is taken for theoretical underpinning of this study.

Theoretical references have been taken from two different theories. Assumptions from Media Ecology and priming theory were taken to understand media priming aspect under the light of humanist angle of media ecology. Media ecology mostly studies the technologies and medium being used to disseminate the message, whereas scholars while studying priming examine the agendas of media house. In this study, priming of political messages is observed which are spread by the political parties on Facebook.

Methodology

This research employed quantitative content analysis to determine the importance given to poverty alleviation and human development by Pakistani political parties on their official Facebook pages. Following of the three official Facebook pages of top three political parties of Pakistan were selected.

- Pakistan Muslim League N (2.9 million likes, as on 13th January, 2020)
- Pakistan People's Party (0.34 million likes, as on 13th January, 2020)
- Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (6.9 million likes, as on 13th January, 2020)

Samples of the above mentioned all three Facebook pages were taken from 26th May 2018 to 25th July 2020, as general elections were announced on 26^h May 2018 by the election commission of Pakistan.

Facebook posts were divided into following categories.

- Direct discussion about poverty alleviation
- Indirect discussion about poverty alleviation
- No discussion about poverty alleviation.

Operationalization of categories was done in such a way that the category “direct discussion about poverty alleviation” meant that the programs which unswervingly addressed poverty alleviation such as talking about the programmes which directly benefit the poor people like ‘Panagahs’, ‘Langar Khanas’, social protection schemes or Benazir Income Support Program, loans or if the words in the posts contained poor/ poverty alleviation or its synonyms. The category “indirect discussion about poverty alleviation” meant that the posts which indirectly talked about the poverty alleviation like steps to improve economy, health, education, clean water, rule of law, industry or agriculture. Although the issues picked for indirect discussion regarding poverty alleviation does not fall into the category of poverty alleviation but they do fall in the category of human development. According to United Nations Development Program:

The human development approach, developed by the economist Mahbub Ul Haq, is anchored in the Nobel laureate Amartya Sen's work on human capabilities,

often framed in terms of whether people are able to “be” and “do” desirable things in life. Examples include

Beings: well fed, sheltered, healthy

Doings: work, education, voting, participating in community life.

Freedom of choice is central to the approach: someone choosing to be hungry (during a religious fast say) is quite different to someone who is hungry because they cannot afford to buy food. Ideas on the links between economic growth and development during the second half of the 20th Century also had a formative influence. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and economic growth emerged as leading indicator of national progress in many countries, yet GDP was never intended to be used as a measure of wellbeing.. In the 1970s and 80s development debate considered using alternative focuses to go beyond GDP, including putting greater emphasis on employment, followed by redistribution with growth, and then whether people had their basic needs met. These ideas helped pave the way for the human development (both the approach and its measurement).

Considering the modern definition of human development, sum of the frequency of the two categories (direct and indirect poverty alleviation) is analyzed to comprehend the focus on the human development on part of the selected political parties on their official Facebook pages. This was done because sum of the frequency of the two categories (direct and indirect poverty alleviation) encompasses all the issues related to the modern definition of human development by UNDP.

Any other discussed issue will fall under the category of “No discussion about poverty alleviation”. During pilot study, it had been observed that many Facebook posts were about

political mudslinging on opponents, election preparation, self-projection and internal party matters. All these discussions were included in “No discussion about poverty alleviation”.

Only those Facebook posts were taken as unit of analysis, which were regarded as “top posts” by Facebook, which includes all sorts of content including videos, news article, text or image. Posts with most comments, expressions, views and engagement are the ones regarded as the “top posts” by Facebook. In order to ensure neutrality and objectivity top most posts were taken from Facebook search feature.

Two coders were employed to code the data. In order to ensure the reliability of coding, Holisti’s (1969) formula,” was used, which is “Agreement = $2N / N1 + N2$ “

Where N is the total number of coding decisions the two coders agreed upon, and N1 and N2 are the numbers of coding decisions by the 1st and the 2nd coder, respectively. When two coders are coding the same pieces of content, this formula remains the same as percent agreement.

Agreement = $2(261) / 283 + 283 = 92.22\%$, so after applying formula 92.22% reliability was achieve

Table 1

Percentage Wise Direct and Indirect Discussion about Poverty Alleviation on Official Facebook Pages Of Pakistani Political Parties

Parties	Direct discussion about Poverty alleviation	Indirect discussion about Poverty alleviation	No discussion about poverty alleviation.	Total
PML (N)	5 (5.74%)	32 (36.78%)	50 (57.4%)	87
PTI	8 (7.9%)	40 (39.6)	53 (52.48)	101
PPP	9 (9.47%)	14 (14.74%)	72 (75.79%)	95
Total	22 (7.77)	86 (30.39)	175 (61.83%)	283

Analysis

Research question 1: Is direct poverty alleviation or social protection schemes are the most discussed issue on the FB pages of mainstream Pakistani political parties during 2018 election campaign.

It is quite clear from table 1 that political parties on their Facebook pages never prioritized issues related to poverty alleviation. Interestingly, it is evident from table 1 that all selected political parties did not even touch 10 percent of their top posts for addressing poverty alleviation directly.

Research question 2: Did Pakistani political parties focused more on eradicating poverty through indirect measures during 2018 election campaign?

It is evident from table 1 that Pakistan Muslim League (N) and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf discussed poverty alleviation indirectly, as top posts from their Facebook pages posted 36.78 % and 39 % posts respectively. On the other Pakistan People's Party posted only 14.74 percent of its posts regarding indirect poverty alleviation issues on its Facebook pages.

The study shows that although parties did not discuss the poverty alleviation explicitly but substantial content was posted on development and rule of law. There are multiple takeaways from these results. First, is the top two political parties sense that the people of Facebook are literate enough to understand that these human developmental aspects will ultimately lift the poor people out of poverty. On the other hand, Pakistan People's Party mostly discussed the party activities, election preparations and unconstructive criticism on opponents. It is evident from the last two elections that PPP mostly wins in rural areas where internet access is not easily available. Secondly, PTI and PMLN have 6.9 million and 2.9 million likes on their Facebook pages, whereas PPP is far behind these parties and have just 0.34 million likes. It can be assumed that due to the said reason PTI and PMLN focus more on the content of their pages than the PPP. Even though PPP has always raised the slogan of "Roti, Kapra Aur Makan" (food, cloth & shelter), but still their Facebook pages failed to deliver a powerful message to its voters. Thirdly, table 1 also shows that there is a considerable balance in Facebook posts of PTI and PMLN, which may have reflected good election results for them during 2018 elections campaign.

As discussed in the theoretical framework, from table 1 it can be assumed that not only media, social media teams of top political parties of Pakistan can themselves build narratives and consequently build narratives according to the party demands. After the emergence of social media, narrative is not only built by the media but parties themselves play a crucial role in it through their social media. Table 1 also shows how media frames being used to ignore the significant issues of Pakistan.

Table 2

Percentage Wise Discussion about Poverty Alleviation on Official Facebook Pages Of Pakistani Political Parties

Parties	Human Development	No discussion about poverty alleviation	Total
PML (N)	37 (42.52)	50 (57.4%)	87
PTI	48 (47.52)	53 (52.48)	101
PPP	23 (24.21)	72 (75.79)	95
Total	108 (38.16)	175 (61.83)	283

Research Question 3

Which political party prioritized human development issues on its Facebook pages during 2018 election campaign?

To answer this research question, two categories direct and indirect discussion on poverty alleviation were combined and named as human development. PTI's official Facebook page lead in posting issues related to human development with 47.52% posts, PML (N) with 42.52 % stood second, whereas Pakistan People's Party was far behind in this race as their official page posted only 24.21 posts on their Facebook page.

Postman (2000) applied humanist angle into media ecology theory by advocating moral and ethical role of media, but in this study this moral angle is tested with the political parties. As far as humanist angle of media ecology is concerned, it is evident from table 1 that it was only PPP which evaded human development issues.

Conclusion

As discussed in the introduction of the study, human development is the core issue of Pakistan, and therefore it was need of the hour to examine the importance given to poverty

alleviation and human development by the top three political parties of Pakistan during 2018 elections. Although direct discussion about poverty alleviation was less than 10 percent by all the three parties, but when we combined direct and indirect poverty alleviation issues, this study revealed that PTI and PMLN discussed the human development almost in half of the posts. Contrariwise PPP was far behind in discussing the human development.

This study has examined the assumptions regarding priming and media ecology theory. The very angle of self-priming by all the selected parties was noticed in the study by highlighting and choosing specific issues. Most of the Facebook posts by political parties focused on non-developmental issues like mudslinging of opponents, party activities and election campaign organization. As the social media teams of the Facebook pages of political parties enjoy total control over the content posted by the officially designated teams, show that that these parties still prefer self-projection, especially PPP followed by PMLN and PTI as well. (See Table 1 and Table 2). In future, issue of self-priming by individuals or interest groups should be studied to minimize blaming mainstream media for every evil.

Whereas humanist angle of media ecology theory was also tested, which showed that PTI and PMLN discussed the issues related to poverty alleviation and human development much more than PPP. Today, Marshal McLuhan's words in 1964 "medium is the message" have proven to be more relevant, as this social media has shifted the whole information dissemination paradigm. The emergence of social media has given much power to individuals and interest groups and they are no more dependent on traditional media, and these groups are to be blamed for their media projection on social media, as they themselves choose what would be shared and discussed. So, the humanist angle of media ecology theory is compromised as far as the coverage of human development on facebook pages of top three political parties is concerned.

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Article:	Television Dramas and National Integration in Pakistan: An Analysis of Public Perception
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Abstract

The current study attempts to explore the relationship between public perceptions of National Integration in Pakistani Television Dramas by the viewers. The hypothesis that there is likely to be significant positive correlation between tendency to watch television and National Integration was approved as the value of correlation-Coefficient is significant $p < 0.005$. The hypothesis, there is likely to be a significant positive relationship between PTV dramas showing Cultural cultivation and National Integration was also approved as results showing positive significant relationship between variables. The hypothesis, compliance of code of ethics by PTV and other Private channels and National Integration was approved showed by Coefficient significant $p < 0.005$. Demographic characteristics of the participants as a predictor for National Integration showed predictable variance and was significant $F(25,375) = 2.56$, $P < 0.005$. Tendency of watching TV dramas, efforts by PTV dramas positively predict National Integration, variance of the prediction $F(34,366) = 3.4$.

Keywords: Television, Drama, National Integration, Pakistan, Public Perception, Correlation, Regression Analysis

Introduction

This millennium started with many diversified facets of media globally and Pakistan was not alien to the fast growing media revolution which have transformed the social fabric around the globe altogether by giving birth to a very vibrant civil society and well-informed public. During the first decade of this century there had been a mushroom growth of private Television networks in Pakistan specifically news channels in national and regional languages as well as couple of in international language also and some of the entertainment channels popped up to create a new audience and cater their needs which were perhaps not identified at the time of their inception.

Journalistic ethics and professional codes have succumbed to the injuries of the “rat race of rating” in electronic media like there is long existing “vicious circle of circulation” in print media to mar the missionary journalism. The individual journalists as well as the media organizations are ironing out to be more attractive rather than being core objective contributor in prevailing media industry which aims at commercial business rather than social service. The viewers are glued constantly to the screen of this “idiot-box” deeming it to be antidote for all the miseries of their lives and are having wishful thinking about electronic media especially to be their liberator in every woe and worry, be it psychological or physical issue, economic or financial constraint, industrial or political crisis and even for a religious or social debate. The prime purpose of this work is to analyze that to what extent PTV and private TV channels have been successful in inculcating national integrity and cultural identity in the audience and how effectively PTV has performed its role as well as to measure the impact of television drama of private sector in promoting an indigenous national culture.

Objectives

- To assess the role of television in the promotion of national integration in Pakistan through a comparative analysis of public perception about PTV and private TV channels.
- To assess the role of television in promotion of cultural traits in Pakistan through comparative analysis of public and private TV channels.
- To assess the role of Pakistan television in the promotion of national integration in Pakistan through a comparative analysis of PTV and private TV channels.
- To assess the role of television in the promotion regional cultures in Pakistan through a comparative analysis of public and private TV channels.

Literature Review

This portion of the paper presents the review of previous research studies regarding the variables of the study which include television drama, national integration and public perception. A study analyzed the highlights of the Serbian, Macedonian and Bulgarian drama in the last three decades of the twentieth century as self-representational illustrations of transitional national and heterogeneous Balkan identity. The drama of the late 1990s sharpened stigmatic self-presentations and continued to depict the region as the absolute European other. The themes of violence, lost origin, and hesitant collective and individual identity reassert the mythological image of the Balkans as a merciless battlefield of fractions and passions. The broad and previously unexplored comparisons of this study outline the common directions of Balkan post-communist drama.

Alternating between political oppression and liberation, or emerging from large political formations (empires, political blocks, etc.) subject to political particularization, “nation” appears to be one of the most lucid and fixed Balkan cultural identifiers. The descriptive authority of national identity in general is still valued, since it encompasses

qualities of universality and distinctiveness in one. After a broad review of national presentations, Anthony Smith (1991) concludes. The opinion of television held by any proponent of rooted, face-to-face, traditional and poetic culture is fairly predictable. Television in Wales has been, for the most part, beamed in from “outside” (outside the organic community if not outside Wales itself). The repeated image in Welsh writing on television is of a stranger in the living room, talking to you in its language not yours, representing some other culture, not yours.

Television, as part of what Raymond Williams has labeled mobile privatization, is a threat to the community rather than meeting at the workman’s club, the chapel, or even the pub, people stay home and watch (English-language) television. Thus this noisy “monoglot guest in the living room” not only brings in another culture, it is destroying or preventing the perpetuation of the social conditions of Welsh culture (Astroff, 1987).

Philipson (1989) examined that all of Hussein’s works are part of the national culture in Tanzania. It may be a national culture of the elite but in spite of Lenin’s implication that each class has its own version of a national culture; there are dialectical relationships between elite and popular cultures everywhere. “National culture” itself is no monolithic phenomenon: it has its class divisions, suppressed traditions, minority voices and residues from previous ideologies. Hussein’s oeuvre makes for an interesting case study at this particular time because some of his plays are very much in the mainstream of national culture as it is defined by the schools and some of them are “marginal.”

The cultural environment, like the material environment, can be gradually polluted. The whole [broadcasting] system is like a machine for imposing tastes on us rather than putting us in touch with each other. With the machine itself considered dangerous, a language of the extreme power of television develops. It is a machine for brainwashing that has replaced the family hearth, which can mesmerize you into conformity (Thomas, 1970).

Hypotheses

- I. There is likely to be significant positive correlation between tendencies to watch television and National Integration.
- II. There is likely to be a significant positive relationship between PTV dramas cultural cultivation and National Integration.
- III. Compliance of code of ethics by PTV and other private channels and National Integration.

Method

Procedure

The online survey was carried out through emails and on social media networking sites like Facebook and WhatsApp to gather maximum feedback. Sample consisted of TV drama viewers taken from all over Pakistan. As many as 222 viewers of ages ($M = 5.513$, $SD = 4.72$) were included as participants of the study. Out of 222 participants the proportion of male ($n = 89$) and female ($n = 133$), age range = 35-45) viewers.

Measurements

Participants demographic and responses for the questionnaire were collected using demographic sheet and 4 selected item to measure National Integration. These responses were recorded using 5 point Likert scale ranging (1: strongly agree-5: strongly disagree). Reliability of the scale was .79 which moderate to high reliability. The value of reliability for selected items to measure National Integration was moderate to high. Pearson Product Moment Analysis of correlation was carried out to discover the association between people's tendency to watch TV dramas, perception of TV dramas to increase national Integration and efforts by PTV and Private channels to increase National Integration. Correlation analysis was used to test Hypotheses. Hierarchal Regression Analysis was conducted to explain statistical significant amount of variance and to check the hypothesis of prediction level of

National Integration predicted by common perception of TV drama viewers in Pakistan that were assessed through Hierarchical Regression Analysis

Results

Reliability Analysis

Table below shows the value of reliability for selected items to measure National Integration

Table 1.

Psychometric Properties of Selected Items to measure National Integration in TV dramas Viewer (N=222)

Variables	<i>K</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α
National Integration	22	2.00	1.08	.779

Note. *k*= Number of items in Scale, *M*=Mean, *SD*= Standard Deviation, α = Reliability Co-efficient.

Descriptive Statistics showing Participants Demographics Characteristics

The descriptive of demographics characteristics of sample like age, gender, area of belonging, province, and education were calculated by using mean, standard deviation and frequencies.

Table shows the mean and standard Deviation of age of the participants, and frequencies.

Table2.

Descriptive Characteristics of Participant Demographic (N=222)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>f</i>
Participants Age	5.513	4.72	222(35-45)
Gender	1.59	.491	222(133male, 89 female)

Education	4.72	1.15	222
Province	2.11	1.62	222
Belonging Area	1.22	.415	222

Note. *M*=Mean, *SD*= Standard Deviation, *f*, Frequency of participants

Pearson Product Moment Correlation Analysis

Pearson Product Moment correlation Analysis of correlation was done to evaluate relationship among people's tendency to watch TV dramas, perception of TV dramas to increase national Integration and efforts by PTV and Private channels to increase National Integration. Correlation analysis was done to analyze three hypotheses. **I** there is likely to be significant positive correlation between tendency to watch television and National Integration. **II** There is chances to have significant positive relationship between PTV dramas cultural cultivation and National Integration. **III** Compliance of code of ethics by PTV and other Private channels and National Integration.

Table 3.

Table Showing Correlation between people's perception of TV dramas and National Integration

Variables	2	3	4	5	6	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1.Tendency to Like other Cultures	1.00**	.585**	1.33*	.74**	.909**	2.00	1.08
2.Perception of PTV Dramas to cultivate NI	-	1.00**	.59**	1.3**	.745**	2.06	1.145
3.Perception of Private Channels to cultivate NI	-	-	.75**	.19**	.537**	2.09	1.08

4. Perception of private channels following code of ethics	-	-	-	.27**	.909**	2.00	1.149
5. Perception of PTV dramas promoting NI	-	-	-	-	.909**	.35**	1.1086
6. NI						8.16	3.447

Note: NI= National Integration, N= 222

Table shows correlation between independent variable, common perception of TV dramas and National Integration. The hypothesis, there is likely to be significant positive correlation among tendency to watch television and National Integration was approved as the value of correlation-Coefficient is significant $p < 0.005$. The hypothesis, there is likely to be a significant positive relationship between PTV dramas cultural cultivation and National Integration was also approved as results showing positive relationship between these variables. Hypothesis, stated compliance of code of ethics by PTV and other Private channels and National Integration was approved showed by Coefficient significant $p < 0.005$.

Regression Analysis by Hierarchal Method

Prediction of significant happening of National Integration to explain by using Regression Analysis using Hierarchal method to find statistical significant amount of variance and to check the hypothesis of prediction level of National Integration predicted by common perception of TV drama viewers in Pakistan that were assessed through Hierarchal Regression Analysis

Table 4.

Hierarchical Regression Analysis of People's Perception of TV dramas and National Integration (N=222)

National Integration		
<i>Predictor</i>	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	1.00	
Control Variables		.00**
Step 2	1.01	
Tendency to watch TV dramas		.332***
PTV dramas and cultural promotion		.334**
Private channel Dramas and NI		
PTV dramas and NI		
Total R^2	1.00	
N	222	

Note. ΔR^2 = Significant Change, β = Standardize Coefficient, N= number of Participants (male=1, female=2), Control Variables= Age, Gender, Area, Education

Table above, showing the results of Hierarchical Regression Analysis between common perception, behavior of watching TV dramas and National Integration in Pakistan. In Step I with characteristics personal information mentioned as control variable, as a predictor for National Integration showed predictable variance and was significant $F(25,375) = 2.56$, $p < 0.005$. In step II tendency of watching TV dramas, efforts by PTV dramas positively predict National Integration, variance of the prediction $F(34,366) = 3.4$.

Discussion

Television Dramas and National Integration in Pakistan: An analysis of public perception. Present study hypothesized significant positive relationship between PTV dramas cultural cultivation and National Integration was verified as the results showed positive relationship between the variables. The hypothesis, compliance of code of ethics by PTV and other Private channels and National Integration was approved showed by Coefficient significant $p < 0.005$. Total 222 avid viewers of TV dramas responded the questionnaire out of which 600 were mostly aged between 35 to 45 years with 30.53%.

Females among both genders out of 222 were in minority (133male, 89 female) as they watch television dramas being household mostly. As far as the regional representation of provinces and federal areas is concerned Punjab was leading with more than 54.26% followed by Islamabad 25.78%. The area wise percentage of viewers living in city/urban was 81.70% and village/rural with 12.50% respectively. In educational qualifications the majority was well educated with graduate 24.00% and Masters 46.67%. Punjabi language was dominating in mother languages with 35.11% followed by Urdu 27.11%. The ratio of watching.

Television remained 98.67% in this study. Cable TV with 65.78% had been found as widely used tool to watch Television followed by Internet 19.56%. The 56.19% of respondents watch television every day where as 29.65% a few times a week. The 45.62% of respondents watch television for one hour where as 27.19% did for 2 hour daily. The 37.44% of the viewers preferred Hum TV Drama channel while 29.22% liked PTV-Home. The study found that 36.73% of the viewers liked dramas made on patriotism quite often and 32.74% often. PTV-Home was leading drama channel with 77.06% to broadcast patriotic content mostly. The 30.94% viewers consider dramas promote Pakistani culture hardly while 21.08% thought those often do this. The liking for other regional cultures shown in TV dramas

remained 40.63%.The liking for elements in other cultures after watching TV dramas was 46.43% for customs and traditions whereas 14.73% for language and dialect. The adoption for elements in other cultures after watching TV dramas was 26.27% for music and dance while 23.50% for customs and traditions.

The study found that 42.99% of the viewers agreed that PTV dramas have been successful to represent national integration in its viewers. The 36.45% agreed to this statement that PTV dramas have been successful to cultivate national integration in its viewers. The 31.16% of the respondents were of the view that private channels TV dramas are not cultivating national integration in them. The 37.21% of the respondents did not agree that private channels TV dramas compliance of code of ethics provided by Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority.

Conclusions

The hypothesis that there is likely to be significant positive correlation between tendency to watch television and National Integration was approved as the value of correlation-Coefficient is significant $p < 0.005$. The hypothesis, There is likely to be a significant positive relationship between PTV dramas cultural cultivation and National Integration was also approved as results showing positive relationship between these variables. The hypothesis, compliance of code of ethics by PTV and other Private channels and National Integration was approved showed by Coefficient significant $p < 0.005$. Demographic characteristics of the participants as a predictor for National Integration showed predictable variance and was significant $F(25,375) = 2.56$, $p < 0.005$. Tendency of watching TV dramas, efforts by PTV dramas positively predict National Integration, variance of the prediction $F(34,366) = 3.4$.

Recommendations

Keeping in view the significance of television as an indispensable and all times accessible tool of communication and cultivation with the efficacy of viewership in the leisure time of the people as now they have it handy in smartphones and it's not time barred, the study recommends that television dramas promote National Integration and cultivate cultural tolerance in the audience for other regional cultures so such dramas are necessary for national cohesion and understanding. The study further suggests that state broadcaster Pakistan Television (PTV) has the most relevant content related to National Integration whereas the private TV channels need to add more patriotic content in their dramas.

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Appendix

Structured questionnaire to measure public perception of National Integration through 5-point Likert Scale

1:Strongly Agree	2: Agree	3:Neither agree nor disagree	4: Disagree	5:Strongly disagree
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Have PTV Dramas been successful to cultivate national integration in its viewers? **1 2 3 4 5**

Whether PTV Dramas have promoted national integration in masses as it promised? **1 2 3 4 5**

Are private channels TV Dramas cultivating national integration in the viewers? **1 2 3 4 5**

Are private channels TV Dramas following code of ethics provided by PEMRA? **1 2 3 4 5**

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Abstract

The article in hand proposes reforms for regulating the lawyers' community in interest of people of Pakistan, fundamental rights and justice. The methodology adopted is critical analysis of the provisions of law and conduct of advocates. The findings mandate reforms in relevant laws to regulate the conduct of advocates. The limitations of the study are of obtaining statistical data and comparison with the outer world due to restricted scale of the research. The topic has huge ramification for the justice sector in Pakistan in delivering fundamental rights to people. Such a research to authors' knowledge has not been undertaken before.

Key Words

Advocates, Reforms, Legal Practitioners Act, Bar, Judiciary

Introduction

Amendments to regulate conduct of advocates is the need of the hour as people in Pakistan have seen extreme lows in the profession of advocacy and even an attack on a hospital by lawyers community which was never heard of even in times of war. Lawyers' vandalism reached to a point after this incident which was too unbearable for people at large. All this mandates for reforms to regulate conduct of advocate so that they cannot interfere with legal rights of masses and remain within the ambit of law. The article in hand proposes such reforms to regulate the lawyers' community. The new research will benefit people in enforcing of their due rights and will be a step forward for facilitating the enshrined fundamental right of due process of law as people rights will be safeguarded if the proposed amendments are considered for legislation by the appropriate legislatures.

Analysis

Lawyers in Pakistan are known to take undue advantage of their influence within the courts and elsewhere outside. Numerous video clips have surfaced up where advocates are seen in Pakistan of creating hooliganism in courts etc. The latest PIC incident in Lahore shocked the conscience of people at large in Pakistan and around the world where doctors and patients were attacked in hospital compound by large throngs of advocates on being mocked by a serving doctor at PIC (Zaman, 2019). This incident of lawyers' hooliganism prompted the legislature in Pakistan to move for amendments to regulate the conduct of the advocates. The amendments were brought about in the premiere law that governs the advocates i.e. The Legal Practitioners and Bar Councils Act, 1973. The requisite amendment provides for cancellation of license of advocates for life, indulging in physical violence and fraud, forgery etc (Legal Practitioners and Bar Council Act, 2019). This amendment though promulgated in good faith however, will not

serve the purpose as the acts sought to be restrained were already prohibited by the Legal Practitioners and Bar Council Act, 1973 through provisions of misconduct of advocates (Practitioners and Bar Council Act, 2019). The relevant section 41 of the said act made professional or other misconduct subject to punishments ranging from suspension to fine etc. It is averred that the new amendments to Bar Councils Act, 1973 will not be a deterrent for advocates like old provisions unless the tribunal set up for trying such offences is revised in its composition which consists of brethren colleagues of the advocates (Legal Practitioners and Bar Council (Amendment) Act, 2019). Islamic Republic of Pakistan has seen a gradual erosion in its institutions due to people with negative mind set ruling the roost. There is no dearth of cases in every institution where individuals have been victimized by the ruling authority for personal reasons. All this has to do with lack of independent tribunals to decide such matters of personal confrontation with subordinates and increasing discretionary powers with the head of institutions of hiring and firing. But the primary reason remains to be independent tribunals and the reason cited is independence of institutions. By citing reason of independence of institutions the principles of checks and balances is completely forgotten. We have the example of judiciary where judges are accountable to brother judges only and this has resulted in extremely few cases of conviction of judges and that too on flimsy grounds cited by the dictators (Usman Quddus, *Judicial Immunity or Judicial Impunity: Judicial Immunity of Superior Courts Judges in Pakistan with Special Reference to Islamic Law* 2018). The dictates of section 42 of the Bar Council Act, 1973 provide for two members advocates of relevant provincial bar council with one judge of respective high court in case of provincial tribunal to try advocates and the appellate tribunal thereto shall consist of two member advocates of Pakistan Bar Council with one judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan (Legal Practitioners and Bar Council (Amendment) Act, 2019).

Islamic Republic of Pakistan is not known for people with integrity at the helm most of the times and carry their prejudices which reflect in their decisions. The members of bar councils are elected by advocates in Pakistan and have affiliations with the advocates groups which elect them. Accountability by peers of profession is against the principle of checks and balances. In USA where institutions claim to be fairly independent, all the three branches of government exercise a counter check on one another. Legislative branch sometimes appoints judges and may impeach them (Nyazee, *The Constitution of the United States of America* 2017). Judicial branch determines whether a law is constitutional (Nyazee, *The Constitution of the United States of America* 2017). Legislative branch can override executive veto and may impeach the president while executive branch may veto laws passed by legislature (Nyazee, *The Constitution of the United States of America* 2017). Similarly judicial branch may declare presidential acts unconstitutional while the President has the power to nominate judges (Nyazee, *The Constitution of the United States of America* 2017). Thus institutional independence in no way implies in the US evasion of accountability by an independent tribunal on pretext of institutional independence. However, in the context of Pakistan institutional independence has been understood to mean complete independence from everything at the cost of accountability which is an incorrect assumption. It is averred that no new amendment for advocates will have an impact unless its jurisdiction is granted to an independent tribunals which consists of members other than from the profession of advocacy and judicial branch. This will make the lawyers wary and they will fear the clutches of law otherwise lawyers misconduct and then going away with it will remain a routine affair. Junior advocates are favorites of contending members being their voters and senior lawyers are nearly in all cases friends of courts. So there misdemeanors are mostly ignored. In this regard, it is therefore proposed that appropriate amendments may be carried out in the Legal

Practitioners and Bar Councils Act, 1973 for nomination of judges to disciplinary tribunals with unimpeachable integrity from other walks of life that are well conversant with the law e.g. law professors and bureaucrats etc. This will be a welcoming step as most of the seats in special tribunals have been reserved by judges for themselves and senior advocates.

It is also no hidden secret that the courts in Pakistan are confronted with the menace of tout advocates in courts with judicature granting reliefs even where the case is not made out to their favorite blue eyed advocates. All this said, there are also advocates that utilize their position political or otherwise to coerce courts. In this regard, the relevant rule of the Pakistan Legal Practitioners and Bar Council Rules, 1976 prescribes that advocates shall maintain a respectful attitude towards courts and pursue their remedy legally (Pakistan Legal Practitioners and Bar Council Rules, 1976). It is averred that the words ‘respectful attitude toward courts’ be suitably amended with ‘upright attitude’ towards the bench. This will discourage touts advocate and remove the impression of courts being colonial masters. It is also proposed that use of epithets like ‘my lord’ and ‘lordships’ by advocates which is very common today in courts and bowing before the court by the advocates another colonial relic be altogether done away with by carrying out amendments in the Legal Practitioners and Bar Councils Act, 1973. This would be a single step in removing the impression of courts being the continuation of rule of the colonial masters with their draconian laws as pointed out by Saadat Hassan Manto the famous story teller in his famous fiction story ‘ Naya Qanoon or the New Constitution’. The courts in Pakistan are also faced with the menace of lawyers taking undue advantage of their position e.g. of seniority and political influence etc. and dictating to courts. This practice of dictating to courts may be included in the definition of misconduct by amendment in relevant rules and punishment of

temporary suspension of license associated with it and in case of deliberate continuation with the practice of dictation to courts life ban may be imposed.

Legal reforms is a comprehensive subject and this article pertains to reforms in lawyers fraternity however, it is correspondingly proposed that appropriate reforms be brought in judicial structure to hold accountable those judges which are intellectually and morally corrupt and are responsible for various vices within advocates e.g. the judges are responsible for perpetrating the submissive behavior in lawyers by accommodating them in reliefs. The practice of unnecessary submissiveness and flattery to get relief is in profusion in Pakistan and judges don't discourage it which should have been the case in interest of legal fraternity. It is inter-alia proposed that judges should be directed by High courts by promulgation of necessary rules in this regard to discourage such practice in its rule making jurisdiction under Article 202 of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan (**Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan**). It is also averred that High Courts which are not active in Pakistan in relation to their rule making powers should make necessary amendments in order 7 rule 11 of the code of civil procedure, 1908. The said order prescribes for rejection of suit on the basis of plaint submitted by the plaintiff that is on the behest of initiating party at the first instance if no case is made out (Code of Civil Procedure 1908) The relevant amendment in the said order to include written statement for consideration of rejection of suits will have a more beneficial effect as complete picture would come before court after hearing both the advocates from each side. It is also solicited that amendment to the effect in the said order be made of summary judgment if the court comes to the conclusion that there is sufficient material available for decision of suit. This will save a lot of time of parties and agony of undergoing many years in litigation. The Peshawar High Court along-with Lahore High Court have provided for summary judgments by way of amendment in order XV to civil procedure

code of 1908 and if the same put into regular effect will benefit the right holders greatly in quest for justice (Peshawar High Court). The other high courts should also follow suit the example of Peshawar and Lahore High Courts by providing for summary judgment in their laws to curtail litigation and benefit the legitimate right holders.

Most of the brilliant young lawyers run away from the profession and seek employment elsewhere due to diverse factors. Sometimes the senior members of bar discourage the young lawyers. It should be prescribed as a malpractice in code of conduct for advocates to discourage young minds through various means. At other times, young lawyers leave the profession due to monetary constraints. It is proposed that it be mandatorily provided in the relevant laws that each new registering company or NGO shall hire two young lawyers below the age of 35 years on their panel as advocates and pay them remuneration in regard to their work. This will encourage brilliant upright minds to the profession of Bar as advocates and the prevailing abundance of advocates that seem to know all the underhand techniques studying mostly from below par institutions, the majority of which have been banned by the Supreme Court of Pakistan will lessen, encouraging quality in the legal profession. It is also proposed that recognition of law universities, a function currently delegated to the advocates be taken from them and handed over to HEC or for that matter superior court judges so that those remain apprised of the standard of education being imparted and any favoritism in grant of recognition to universities is removed. Judges though like other sections of society are not above board but will be more sensitive in award of recognition as their reputation will be at stake being serving on a prestigious post which in no way can be equalized with bar council members which are mostly involved in taking undue advantage of their position by indulging in blackmailing and other tactics in derogation of fundamental rights of citizens. It has been seen in recent times that elected members of bar are

from outside legal fraternity being non practicing and even recommend High Court judges. They are elected by showering of money for election purposes. It is recommended that to discourage such practice, a minimum no of power of attorney for advocates in a single year are made mandatory to be filed with nomination of candidacy. This will discourage non practicing members from being elected. Nowadays, power of attorneys is a precondition for selection as district and session judges so in the same vein power of attorney can be made a precondition for election to coveted Bar Council positions.

A major cause of delayed justice in Pakistan is advocates. They remain absent from court when the case is called for hearing and cases linger on for years. The poor litigants are at the mercy of advocates with fundamental precious rights at stake. To remedy the problem it is proposed that requisite amendments should be brought in the legal practitioners act and adjournment should be given subject to mandatory nominal cost being paid by advocate which may gradually increase with time over subsequent adjournments. This will have a far reaching effect on the justice system and lingering on of cases for years will come to end instantly. People come from far flung areas to courts and bring their witnesses only to know that their cases have been adjourned on the request of advocate on one pretext or other. Imposing costs on advocates will end the plight of litigants who sometimes have to wait for years for litigation to come to an end even in the case of writs effecting fundamental rights which take two to three hearing to decide. Writs presently in high courts are pending for years without any outcome and cases are adjourned by the courts on request of advocates on one pretext or another.

Finally it is proposed that public prosecutors and government pleaders i.e. government counsels, may be brought under the ambit of legal practitioner and bar council legislations so that their misdemeanors do not go unhindered. Many cases in courts are frustrated and meet no result

due to negligent and lax attitude of the government counsels affecting precious rights of individuals. The same being taken to task under council act for any misconduct will make government counsels vigilant towards their duties and reduce the incidence of corruption and winning over in them. Similarly the practice of government councils and advocates meeting judges in chambers should be brought to a halt through a notification in this regard by High Courts as it impinges upon the fair administration of justice. The practice of visiting of advocates to revenue offices and police stations may also be included in deprecated conduct of advocates as most of these visits are for the purpose of influencing cases and soliciting clients.

The proposal for bringing reforms in the advocates' community maybe summarized as thus:

1. Setting up of independent tribunals consisting of members of unimpeachable integrity and conversant with basics of law from all walks of life other than legal fraternity for disciplinary proceedings against advocates.
2. The words 'respectful attitude toward courts' should be suitably amended with 'upright attitude' towards the bench in Pakistan Bar Council Rules of 1976 to discourage the practice of touts.
3. Use of epithets like 'my lord' and 'lordships' by advocates which is very common today in courts and bowing before the court by the advocates another colonial relic be altogether done away with by carrying out relevant amendments in the Legal Practitioners and Bar Councils Act, 1973.
4. The practice of dictating to courts may be included in the definition of misconduct by amendment in relevant rules and punishment of temporary suspension of license

- associated with it and in case of deliberate continuation with the practice of dictation to courts life ban may be imposed.
5. It is also inter-alia proposed that judges should be directed by High courts by promulgation of necessary rules in this regard to discourage practice of unnecessary flattery and submissiveness by advocates in its rule making jurisdiction under Article 202 of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
 6. It is proposed that it be mandatorily provided in the relevant laws that each new registering company or NGO shall hire two young lawyers below the age of 35 years on their panel as advocates and pay them remuneration in regard to their work.
 7. It is proposed that requisite amendments should be brought in the legal practitioners act and adjournment should be only given subject to mandatory nominal cost being paid by advocate which may gradually increase with time over subsequent adjournments.
 8. It is proposed that public prosecutors and government pleaders i.e. government counsels, may be brought under the ambit of legal practitioner and bar council legislations so that their misdemeanors do not go unhindered.

Conclusion

Legal fraternity or bar is an important ingredient in the dispensation of justice. So far reforms for the legal fraternity have not been forthcoming due to the emerging of lawyers as a powerful pressure group which comes to streets to thwart anything that tries to mess with it and resorts to strikes. However, the dream of enforcing of fundamental rights by the founding fathers will never see the light of the day unless the lawyers' community is properly regulated and reforms as stated in this regard brought into effect. The governing party in today's time has

come to power citing the pretext of enforcement of fundamental rights and rights to justice of people as its name suggest. It is therefore averred that appropriate amendments may be brought to regulate the Bar so that the desired goal of justice to people may be met. Such amendments may be carried into effect without being blackmailed from any quarter and government should not succumb to pressures as seen in the case of amendments brought for medical professionals. The government while carrying amendments should keep in mind only the interest of the people at large which are to date waiting for the cherished dream of fundamental rights being enforced in this land of the pure.

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Article:	Electronic Media and Impact of Advancement in Information Technology
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ABSTRACT

The present study shall discuss and explore the advancement of Information Technology and its usage in electronic media. It will also elaborate the technological advancement, and development has impacted media particularly electronic media including radio, newsreels, television, and film, etc. Information Technology has been influential due to its rapid advancement and progression. It has also reshaped the way information is disseminated on different forms of electronic media. To gauge the impact of advancement in Information Technology on electronic media, a survey method was used and interviews were conducted from IT professionals, journalists students, etc. All forms of information technology have virtually created an impact on society. However, the electronic media industry has taken some time to adopt technological advancements, changes, and development. The emergence of new ways, techniques resultantly increased the viewership, and resultantly transmission of electronic media has gone up dramatically.

Key Words: Electronic media, Information Technology, users, viewership, audience, impact

Introduction

This research paper is focused and aimed to explore the impact of usage of technological advancements on electronic media in the present age. Information technologies (ITs) such as computers, the internet, wireless mobile devices, etc. have significantly changed the means of communication in the present age. These technologies have also replaced conventional media e.g. film, satellite T.V, and telecommunications (Chaudhary, 2011). The rapid use of technological advancements in electronic media has made it a more effective tool particularly in terms of selection of cultural, social, economical, and political development and flow of information as compared to previously used technologies which took greater time and force to circulate specific information (Chaudhary, 2019).

Electronic communication media has enabled most new ideas, information, and thoughts, etc. to reach all corners of the universe. Globalization has made the expansion of technological advancements more valuable. This expansion has created new international markets for the adoption of technological advancements. Electronic media and information technology have created a grave impact on society culturally and socially. The consequences due to technological advancements will further enhance in years and decades to come. (Pavlik & McIntosh, 2011).

The technological revolution has created new terms i.e. "information communities" and "globalism". Globalism has provided more information about various issues such as religion, cultural, social issues, living style, health, education, etc. Since the increase in the number of internet users, it has widely become a valuable source of information, communication, entertainment, and transformation of ideas and technologies (Moats, 2017).

The IT revolution has also opened opportunities for the trade and commerce industry for

expansion. Individuals, groups, consumers, anyone around the world are now able to buy journals, books, magazines, home appliances, clothes, equipment, gadgets, etc. from different online websites e.g. Alibaba, Olx, Amazon Darz, University Press of Oxford, etc., and they're never going to have to step beyond their homes. They can now get their hands on information that was historically limited to the developing world. To pay a "virtual visit" to religious shrines, religious pilgrims may also use live video streams including the Wailing Wall, the Vatican City, etc. Computers and telecommunications networks often make universal advocacy with no precedent simpler. Information and data democratization has also increased the status of international peace and harmony (Chaudhary, 2011).

Information technology is helpful to empower backward, less-informed populations and communities, therefore certain tools, such as the universal information collaboration, keep involved in activities to make advancement in IT open to local and national economic growth development activities (Zaidi, 2011).

Revolution in information technology has enabled the mankind in development of various social networking sites which are helping in exchanging information beyond borders, joined different social communities at one page, expansion in trade, commerce, and other business sectors e.g. Twitter, LinkedIn, Facebook, Whatsapp, Smart Phones enabled individuals in general and electronic media, in particular, to disseminate information to the individuals and their audience as well (Ghani, 2018).

These technological advancements have undoubtedly fulfilled the electronic media industry's requirement of immediacy as all the social network sites continuously update the information with every passing moment. For example, if an incident occurs in one corner of the earth, simultaneously it is reported and broadcasted to other corners by the help and support of

these technological advancements. The real-time information, news coverage, delivery of a message is possible only due to the rapid advancements in information technology, and its usage in electronic media. This is a brief introduction to the changing trends of information technology which has not only impacted electronic media but also helps to highlight various significant issues.

Objectives

This research paper aims to elaborate on various means by which electronic media use information technology and to assess the effect of technological advances in enhancing viewership. This research will also examine the following main objectives:

1. To study and examine the use of information technology in electronic media
2. To study and assess progress in electronic media due to Information Technology
3. To examine and investigate the influence of Information Technology on improving viewership of electronic media

Research Questions

1. Whether the viewership of electronic media has increased after the advancement in information technology in Pakistan?
2. Whether the usage of Information Technology has made the dissemination of information through electronic media easier as compared with the past?
3. Whether Information Technology has made a positive impact on the electronic media industry?

Significance

The increasing trend of usage of information technology by electronic media either internet, TV, or radio has grabbed the attention of the researcher. The changing trends and

advancement in Information Technology will be examined as this dimension needs to be addressed.

Research Delimitations

According to available facilities, the present study is delimitized to know the impact of advancement in information technology on electronic media.

Statement of the problem

This research paper will investigate the advancement of information technology and its use by electronic media. Furthermore, it will also elaborate on how the viewership of electronic media has increased after the advancement of IT.

H-1

IT has resulted in more information being portrayed on the electronic media

The rationale for H-1

Technological advancements have entirely changed the ways information on electronic and social media is viewed, e.g. live news, coverage, interviews, talk shows, teleconferencing, video calls, video conferencing, etc. This all happened and possible because of the advancement and rapid development made in information technology.

H-2

Advancement in Information Technology and its use by electronic media would make the presentation of information more enticing to its viewers

The rationale for H-2

The overall way information is disseminated across different electronic media has changed with advancement and development in information technology day by day. As a result,

the advent of new techniques and approaches has increased viewership and electronic media consumers have risen significantly.

Literature Review

According to Giussani (1997), information technology such as the internet will not replace the media, but it will provide a new means of communication parallel to traditional media. Media reporters are required to be fully familiar with digital technology such as accessing, finding, retrieving the information as almost all the data and information throughout the globe are being stored electronically.

Vassos (1997) states that all forms of information technology have had an impact on every individual virtually. Information technology with dramatic change has debatably had the deepest impact on the users. Today we measure a year as an internet year or three months. This all is happened due to technological advancements.

Livingstone (2004) state that literacy and education, by expansion, can not be formed only as a function of the user, a co-production of the interactive interaction between the technology and the user can even be seen as medium-dependent. The researcher further states that, to claim that accomplishment is dynamic with the widespread adoption of ICTs, the study should show that accomplishment relates to the new media, internet in particular, considerably varies from audiovisual and print media.

Ludes (2008) argued that media has contributed a lot to the globalization of the world due to prompt development in Information communication technologies (ICTs). These Information communication technologies tend convergence and are being used around the globe. ICT devices have facilitated the media persons and the general public to access the information, entertainment at any time and everywhere as these ICTs are interconnected and support the transfer of all types

of information, communication. These ICTs have eased out the accessibility of information even in the communities of diverse cultures.

According to Koner and Goyal (2010), new communication mediums have been developed in the wake of the information technology revolution. Besides this, the former means have also enhanced their services with the adoption of information technology. Now the users have multiple choices, they can switch one medium to another to gratify their needs. Electronic media is available both in analog and digital form as it is the most vivid form among the digital media accessible in the modern age. It has reshaped the world, environment, social interaction as well as the way people live and relate to one another.

Chaudhary (2011) discussed the emergence of new technologies and their use in media. The researcher also states the impact on new media technologies on different societies throughout the globe. According to the researcher's, impact of new media, technologies are expanding day by day and these technologies are also influential upon social communication and playing a significant role in binding the social societies together. These technologies consist of a wide range including internet, cell phones, satellite, social connecting sites, and mobile applications, etc.

Workman (2014) illustrates that a large amount of information has been shared by internet users Internet. The information consists of news, entertainment, opinions, facts, figures, creative materials, and so many other useful things. Many forms of social media have emerged today and various means & networks are adopted through which users can generate and share information. The researcher further express that technology is also helpful in making commercial and non-commercial transactions to various groups, parties such as travel companies, hotels, banks, etc. when some individual intend to make a transaction, he makes it possible with the

help of technology, turned the concerned application open and take the action without any hindrance. Thus, the technology is useful in redemption and promotions both for services and products.

According to Safdar et al. (2016) since the adoption of technological development and advancement by the media particularly electronic media, the resources to collect news and information has not only changed but its presentation to the audience and viewers has also reshaped. Information Technology has had impacted a lot in electronic media. The rapid transformation in technology over time has changed the way news is presented on TV channels or radio stations. The appearance of new means, ways, and different techniques has also resulted in increases in the popularity and viewership of electronic media. However, the media industry is in developing process in Pakistan.

Karakaya & Glazier (2019) discuss the informative role of social media and other online outlets in an authoritarian society, arguing that the informative role of online news sources, along with social media, would be especially necessary and relevant in countries where governments have regulated and restricted the public press and censored the news. The researcher further argued that the expansion of broad access to social media and the internet permits the audience to get unexpurgated news more easily, thus making government authorities to control media narratives harder and difficult. All this being happened possibly due to technological advancements and changing trends in media.

Research Methodology

To measure the advancement in IT and its usage by electronic media, a precise result-oriented survey was performed by the researcher. For the present study, a questionnaire that consisted of close-ended questions was developed.

Survey Method

The researcher has chosen a survey method for the present study. The researcher distributed a questionnaire to the respondents who were selected from the population. The majority of respondents were professionals and most of them belong to the field of computer science, information technology, electronic media, and journalism.

Universe

The whole population, for this survey, is the universe.

Population

The population of this survey is made up of professionals, experts in information technology, and journalists particularly from electronic media with the age range from 20 to 50 years.

Sampling

The sample of this study consists of Two hundred (200) respondents.

Data Analysis & Interpretation

Demographical analysis of participants

The study's gender variables are demonstrated in Table 1. There were two hundred study participants out of which 140 were male, and 60 were female. The age range of participants is illustrated in Table 2. Concerning their age group, participants were divided into three groups. The first category consists of 73 participants aged 20-25 years, and the second category consists of 72 participants aged 26-30, the third category consists of 55 participants aged 31-50 years. Table 3 demonstrates the education level of the participants in the survey. According to qualification, 18 participants having intermediate qualifications, 48 respondents were graduate,

104 participants possess Masters/M. Phil qualification and 30 participants were Ph.D. degree holders.

Table 1: Gender

	Male	Female
Frequency	140	60
Percentage	70.0%	30.0%

Table 2: Age group.

	20-25	26-30	31-50
Frequency	73	72	55
Percentage	36.5%	36%	27.5%

Table 3: Education level

	Intermediate	Graduate	Masters/ M.Phil	PhD
Frequency	18	48	104	30
Percentage	9%	24%	52%	15%

Question No. 1: Do you use electronic media?

	Yes	No	Neutral
Frequency	200	0	0
Percentage	100%	0%	0%

According to the survey outcome, all the respondents use electronic media.

Question No. 2: What kind of transition has occurred as information technology progresses in electronic media?

	Qualitative	Quantitative	Don't know
Frequency	107	66	27
Percentage	53.5%	33%	13.5%

According to results, 53.5 % of participants preferred a qualitative change as a result of developments in information technology, while 33 % preferred quantitative change and 13.5 % did not share their views.

Question No. 3: Has the reputation and credibility of news increased or decreased owing to developments in information technology and its use of electronic media?

	Increased	Decreased	Don't know
Frequency	114	64	22
Percentage	57%	32%	11%

57 % of participants agreed that the credibility of news increased due to the advancement in information technology and its usage by various electronic mediums, however, 32% opined that the credibility has been decreased due to the use of Information Technology, and only 11% participants did not respond.

Question No. 4: Do you think that the interest of the general public in electronic media increased due to the use of advanced Information Technological tools and techniques?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Frequency	154	29	17
Percentage	77%	14.5%	8.5%

According to results, 77 % of respondents claimed that because of the rapid use of information technology tools and techniques, the interest of people has been significantly increased. 14.5 % of respondents disagreed with the declaration and 8.5 percent of respondents had neutral opinions.

Question No. 5: Will you plead and advocate that information technology's changing trends are beneficial to society

	Yes	No	Don't know
Frequency	156	23	21
Percentage	78%	11.5%	10.5%

Results depict that 78 % of respondents supported the argument that the rapid flow of knowledge & information due to IT is beneficial to society 11.5 % of respondents disagreed with the argument and 10.5 % of the rest of the participants did not respond.

Question No.6: Do you think that emergence of Information Technology and its rapid use in electronic media has to lead to information overdrive?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Frequency	152	32	16
Percentage	76%	16%	8%

76% of participants have the opinion that information technology has to lead to information overdrive whereas 16% of participants have disagreed with this statement and the rest of the participants have a neutral opinion.

Question No. 7: Do you think that the rapid use of Information Technology by electronic media has given rise to an invasion of privacy?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Frequency	156	26	18
Percentage	78%	13%	9%

According to the results of the study, 78 % of respondents claimed that a rise in information technology had contributed to an infringement of privacy, while 13 % disagreed with the assertion and 9 % of participants had a neutral opinion.

Question No. 8: Do you think the use of advanced information technology resources and techniques makes misinformation on electronic media even simpler and easier?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Frequency	125	27	48
Percentage	62.5%	13.5%	24%

According to survey results, 62.5 % of respondents claim that misinformation is far simpler due to information technology, while 13.5 % disagreed with the statement and 24 % percent of respondents have neutral opinions about the statement.

Question No. 9: Do you think Print media cannot compete with electronic media because of information technology?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Frequency	154	31	15
Percentage	77%	15.5%	7.5%

The results of the survey illustrate that 77 % of participants thought that print media could not compete with electronic media due to developments in information technology. 15.5 % of participants disagreed with the assertion, while 7.5 % held neutral views.

Question No. 10: Do you think the transfer of electronic media from analog to digital helps the quality and output of media content to be of higher quality?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Frequency	162	20	18
Percentage	81%	10%	9%

The survey results show that transforming electronic media from analog to digital format allows for a better standard of media content production. 81 % of respondents agreed with this assertion. The above assertion was disagreed by 10 % of respondents and only 9 % of participants had a neutral opinion.

Question No. 11: Do you think that it is much easier to disseminate information, news, entertainment, etc. and to produce electronic media programs than in the past due to the use of information technology?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Frequency	148	33	19
Percentage	74%	16.5%	9.5%

Results of the survey show that due to developments in information technology dissemination of information, news, and entertainment, etc. becomes much easier as compared with the past, 74 % of respondents favored the statement. 16.5 % of respondents replied negatively while only 9.5 % had a neutral opinion on the argument.

Question No. 12: What kind of change occurs due to advancement in information technology in the quality of the program production?

	Positive	Negative	Don't know
Frequency	153	32	15
Percentage	76.5%	16%	7.5%

Results show that 76.5 % of respondents thought that there was an improvement in the quality of program production and output due to progress in information technology, only 16 % disagreed with the above assertion and 7.5 % of respondents did not express their views.

Question No. 13: How do you rate the effect on electronic media of the rapid development of information technology?

	Positive	Negative	Don't know
Frequency	164	23	13
Percentage	82%	11.5%	6.5%

According to the survey results, 82 % of respondents thought that rapid change in information technology had a positive impact. 11.5 percent of respondents thought that there was a negative effect due to developments in IT and only 6.5 percent of respondents did not express their opinions and stayed silent.

Results

The results of the study depict that developments in information technology and its application in electronic media have positively impacted viewers. Information technology has made electronic media user-friendly. It has provided multiple choices and options to its viewers are. Now, users can turn to one medium to another at a time and without any effort. Productions, output, and program quality have been dramatically improved and enhanced which has made electronic media more appealing for the viewers. IT has made the circulation of information easier and spontaneous. Users can get information about anything, any time of other parts of the world while sitting at home. Usage of advanced IT techniques by the electronic media industry has made it easier for users to view programs of their own choice. There are, however, some drawbacks to the development of information technology as well, to maintain the privacy of classified information becomes a bit difficult whereas information technology has also made disinformation about anything much easier on electronic media. However, overall information technology has positively influenced the electronic media industry and it has contributed a big role in making electronic media more popular in this era and competitive environment.

Findings

The findings of the present study after the survey are appended below:

To access information, different communication media are used and primarily two media, i.e. print and electronic media, are widely used. Important changes in all communication channels over the years due to the target audience, program contents, etc., however, since the advent of information technology, there have been drastic changes in various types of electronic channels; A variety of new communication platforms have arisen, while old platforms have been enhanced in a better way to satisfy and please their users. Over the years people have moved

from one medium to another because of the evolution of many new mediums and changes in the old ones. There has been a major shift in the choice of the medium used earlier and the medium is now accessible for various purposes, such as entertainment, information, newsgathering, etc. The use of IT has made the reporting on electronic media much easier and it has also improved efficiency. Freelance reporters and journalists can easily send information such as reports, columns, etc. even sitting in their homes. Reporters can capture video clips of various events and send those clips to the newsroom easily by using smartphones, or E-mail, all this becomes possible due to the usage of Information Technology by electronic media. Viewers can get updated information, news due to the advancement in Information Technology by the electronic media. They can listen and view live coverage of an event, online bulletins, news updates, live transmission, etc. through the choice of their own, all this is possible due to the adoption of information technology by the electronic media. Media houses are attached to worldwide news agencies through the internet, thus information, round the globe is easily assessable all this happened and the outcome of the usage of information technology by the electronic media.

Recommendations

There must be some rules and regulations enforced on electronic media to maintain the credibility of information, news being disseminated on electronic media to avoid disinformation, false propaganda, rumors, etc. The authenticity of the information, news reports must be ensured before transmission. Electronic media regulatory authorities should enforce necessary legislation to curtail sensational reporting, particularly images of Bomb blasting, High jacking, etc. shown immediately after an incident by electronic media, it can assist terrorists, hijackers, and kidnappers during their terrorist operation. Instead of viewing harmful shows such as nudity, pornography, etc, and time-wasting, there is a desperate need to educate the masses to assess the

full value of information technology for beneficial purposes. Due to the freedom of information, cyber crimes are rising. the confidentiality of sensitive information has become a topic of concern to organizations. Hackers and unauthorized users can lap their hands on information classified as such. Thus the work of such institutes and organizations is severely threatened. It is recommended that media houses must use advanced information technology approaches to set up information technology sections to impart necessary information technology training.

Conclusion

Information technologies such as the internet, smartphones, etc. have affected the means of communication between a common man and it has also changed the ways by which people build new relations. Information technologies have formed online social network groups on twitter, WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, LinkedIn, etc. which help transmit information to one part of the world to other parts in real-time. With the appearance of information technology, people have been able to search for information and communicate among themselves. IT has made our social contact simpler in specific ways. These have offered users a lot of options. Users can also identify other individuals of similar interest to whom new ideas, subjects, may be presented, discussed, and shared. According to Marshal McLuhan, technology is changing everything. The belief that modern technology brings a new society in its wake is empirically proven. Information technology has certainly moved the media from modernism to postmodernism. In the communication process, both the senders and receivers of messages are equally involved. There is no monopoly concerned with that. Over the past decades, information technologies and their media impact have been topics of concern among researchers and academics. The functions of IT and the way it changes cultures, societies had motivated and encourage researchers to perform research studies. The influence of information technology is

growing with every passing day and it is also creating a profound impact. Information technologies have influenced social communication as well.

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Article:	The Political Impact of Media Bias on Electoral Process
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Abstract

In democratic society, political beliefs, attitudes, behaviors, and political choices of the electorates affect elections policy outcomes. Mass media play vital role in shaping opinions, manipulating political behaviors and influencing electoral process. The study maintains that electorates depend on the mass media for getting information about political parties and candidates during the election campaigns. The study investigates the political impact and influence of media bias over political opinions and electoral process through survey to determine the relationship between media bias and its influence on election outcomes and political decision-making. The researcher distributes questionnaire to 300 students enrolled in public sector universities to generalize the responses and gauge the political impact of media bias. The study provides evidence about bias in political contents of media and the extent to which the political content of media persuades and mobilizes voters. The study reveals that mass media bias influences political beliefs and opinions of the public through selective presentation of facts in subjective manner. The consequences help comprehend the special effects news media bias had on political behaviors and the election result. The study confirmed that media bias shape political opinions, persuade voters and exercise strong influence over the electoral process and election outcomes.

Key Words: Political Impact, Political Behaviors, Elections, Electoral Process, Mass Media, and Media Bias

Introduction

Independent media is essential part of democracy as without free press democratic process is almost impracticable. Free press is an important part of politics and media scholars, journalists, and politicians often discuss the crucial role of the media in manipulating election campaigns. Media scholars are of the opinion that mass media shape opinions of voters in democratic processes (Cavanaugh, 1995).

Closs and Nikoltchev (2004) noted that mass media have changed the nature of relationship between politicians and people and this relationship become clearer during election campaigns. They argue that mass media present the manifestos and policies of candidates and party-political and consequently distress electoral procedure. The powerful effects of media on polling practice can change the casual of any applicant and political party. Chandrappa (2014) argues that mass media guarantee free, fair and transparent elections as the press acts as a watchdog. Undoubtedly, elections in the absence of independent media and free press will never serve the cause of democratic elections.

Media need to maintain high standards of professionalism, unbiasedness, impartiality, accuracy, objectivity, and balance while covering political events in a democratic society. Fair coverage and equal admission to all candidates and political parties will ensure suitable media behavior during election campaigns and political events.

Political Impact of Media Bias

Media plays crucial role in informing the public and educating the public about social and political issues in the society. The press also plays significant role in forming political opinions and behaviors about political issues and events (Ali & Rahman, 2019). Political elections test objectivity, accuracy and impartiality of the mass media, as media role is central in elections.

Media is not supposed to support government or political parties rather to is to inform, educate, and aware the public. Media is supposed to offer an unbiased and objective platform for open debate (Alotaibi, 2013). Levitsky and Way (2012) maintained that the media as watchdog has a right to thoroughly examine the electoral process and ensure level playing field for all political parties (Levitsky & Way, 2012).

It is essential to discuss the political impact of mass media bias on elections and political decision-making in Pakistan. Therefore, studying the impact of the political contents of mass media on the voting behavior and electoral process is of great importance. The study documented the effects of media's political contents on the political opinions and voting behaviors. Political communication refers to the use of mass media to influence voting behaviors and how political decisions have made (Foster, 2010). Sentiments, arrogances, and even behavior are no lengthier whispered to be entirely invulnerable from media influences (Bascom, 2016). Readings on political communication mostly emphasis on the dependent variables like political opinions, political behaviors, voting choice, electoral process and the effects of mass media on society as a whole. Mathews and MacLeod (2010) assert that most political actions work at the societal level; however, theory and research focus mainly on the behaviors at individual levels.

Mass media is a vital module of politics and has denoted to the fourth pillar of the government as it assists as watchdog on government, its institutions and the society. Media collect, edit, and frame news information for the public to make political decisions and casting of vote in elections. Mass communication researchers often argue that media is manipulating political opinions and behaviors of its audience through framing, priming and subjective presentation of political information (DellaVigna & Kaplan, 2008). Several studies confirm that

mass media exercise strong influence over the political decision-making. Media is subjective and biased whenever it gives wrong information for political purposes (DellaVigna & Kaplan, 2008).

Media Bias in Election Campaigns

It is imperative to investigate into the media bias so people can develop an understanding of media effects and make decisions while taking media bias into consideration. It is necessary to examine media bias effects on elections, as media role is critical in electoral process. In *Press Bias and Politics*, Kuyper J. A. (2002) explored, "voices coming from the media groups itself discloses extraordinary honesty about readiness to involve in biased politics as reportorial rehearsal". Media has often alleged of bias in its coverage of political issues as mass media researchers, media professionals, and politicians always argue over existence of media bias.

The current study debated that the political impact of media bias on electoral process and election outcomes. The study examines how media bias contributes to the fragmentation of the audience and influence political and voting behaviors. The study has explored in detail the consequences of media fragmentation for political polarization among the mass public.

Problem Statement

Media bias influence opinions of voters through and framing and agenda setting that ultimately affect electoral process as well as election outcomes. The study investigates "the political impact of media bias on political and voting behaviors, electoral process and election outcome". Media bias refers to the selective presentation of information in subjective manner where journalists give advantage to one side of the political competition.

Objectives of the Study

This study explores the political impact of media bias on the electoral process in Pakistan. Key objectives of our study are:

1. To explore the impact of media bias on the political beliefs and actions of potential voters during election campaigns in Pakistan.
2. To examine the political impact of mass media bias on the outcomes of democratic elections and political decision-making.

Significance of the Study

The study will aware and educate audience how the political contents of mass media influence political behaviors, which will access them in making political decisions free of media bias. The study results have also suggestions for policy making to regulate mass media.

Review of the Relevant Literature

Numerous mass media scholars have studied and investigated the power effects of mass media messages on the political beliefs and behaviors. Fang and Knight (2011) investigated the connection between mass media bias and mass media influence on voting and claimed that media are most likely bias to support one candidate and voters take into account for the reliability of media endorsements. These researchers claimed that media endorsements are effective as the voters' support for a particular candidate increased after media endorsements.

Morris (2007) argues that media audiences have dissimilar approaches toward mass media and political issues. Examining the political influence of media bias, DellaVigna and Kaplan (2007) reveal that the *Fox News' introduction into the mass media landscape had limited but crucial impact on the political and voting behaviors*. They pointed out that their results have also suggestions for policymaking and regulations to regulate media.

While analysing the impact of media bias on electoral process and election outcomes, Bernhardt, Krasa, and Polborn (2008) assert that, the press offers a system to influence election results through political polarization. According to them, media outlets' income is dependent on

its readers, listeners and viewers as media organizations sell their readers, listeners and viewers to advertisers as a product. Media organizations are always in competition to increase profits and for this purpose; they frame news to increase audiences. Thus, media bias cause the loss of important facts and affect election results. Investigating the influence of newspapers on voting behaviors, Gerber, Karlan, and Bergan (2009) stressed that even limited exposure to news information from newspapers results in influencing voting choices election outcomes.

Media frame political issues and highlight certain issues differently, which in turn influence voters' political opinions about candidates and parties (Druckman & Parkin, 2005). While studying effects of framing and agenda setting, Dobrzynska, Blais, and Nadeau (2003) found support for the assumptions that supportive media coverage result in increase of voters' support for candidates and political parties during election campaigns.

To investigate slanting and framing in media, Druckman and Parkin (2005) demonstrate that editorial slanting and framing prejudiced voters by means of an Election Day exodus poll to collect their statistics. Abbe, Goodliffe, Herrnson, and Patterson (2003) argue that media influence political opinions, beliefs, actions, and election outcomes by setting agenda for both political candidates and voters. The researchers confirmed that media not only influence political opinions of potential voters but also set priorities for candidates. Speedy dissemination of information becomes possible after the innovation of digital and electronic technologies that uncovered different cultures.

Several mass media researchers have conducted studies into the political effects of media on political opinions and election outcomes. Majority of these studies confirm the role of mass media in influencing public's opinions and beliefs about political issues. Based on several studies and researches, it is obvious that media bias exist.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

Main part of the study comes under the effects tradition of media studies. The study deploys ‘agenda setting theory’ with the logic that mass media will not let you to independently think of issues which are important to you, but will struggle to convince you what to think of issues which the media have set as important for you and you should only think of these issues as important. The study also uses ‘cultivation theory’ in terms of long-term effects through exposure to media contents. Cultivation theory stresses that behaviors and attitudes of heavy viewers are cultivated mainly according to what they has presented on television.

Research Questions

The research questions of the article are as given below:

RQ₁: Is political contents coming from the biased media influence political behaviors?

RQ₂: Does the consumption of biased media influence elections and its results?

Methodology of the Study

Different methodologies has used in mass communication research. The quantitative technique of research has used to study the political impression of mass media bias on voting process. Field survey conducted to gather primary data directly from the large representative population. The population the study comprises of students enrolled in public sector universities of Islamabad. The study confined to three universities, i.e. National University of Modern Languages (NUML), International Islamic University Islamabad (IIUI), and Quaid-e-Azam University (QAU). Equal respondents from each university selected for the sample of 300 students by applying non-probability purposive sampling technique for the generalization of the study results to the entire population of the study. The required data gathered through distribution of questionnaire among 300 respondents. The respondents equally divided into 150

males and 150 females. The Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS) has used for the compilation and analysis of the collected data.

Study Variables

Political Impact

The mass media is a powerful custodian of political behaviors because media audiences tend to trust the media for information. Audiences consider media should inform and aware them about the wrongdoings of the government and offer suitable suggestions. Media is politically important due to its potential of disseminating messages to large number of audiences.

Mass Media

Mass media refers to the print and broadcast media in Pakistan that provides political news and inform public about the overall political situation.

Media Bias

Media bias is defined as media outlets' selective presentation of political facts in subjective way to manipulate political realities. Media bias in the study refers to the framing, labeling, slanting, spinning of information and agenda setting to support one candidate or political party against the other candidate or political party.

Political Behavior

Political behavior refers to the political opinions, ideology, beliefs and political participation of individuals.

Electoral Process

In this study, electoral process refers to the selection of representatives by Pakistani nationals through casting of votes as a democratic process.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

The study put forth two research questions to examine the political effects of media bias on the electoral process and election outcomes. The first research question explored the impact of political contents of biased media on political behavior of the masses. The second research question explored the influence of media bias on electoral process and election outcomes. Interviews has taken from equal number of female (150) and male (150) respondents from *IIUI*, *QAU* and *NUML* to examine the impact of media bias on political beliefs and behaviors and electoral process. Majority of the respondents were aged 25 or below 25 years.

The impact of media biased political contents on political behaviors

Table 1.

Mass media exercise strong influence over political behaviors of voters

	S. Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	S. Disagree	Total
Male	36	70	31	12	1	150
Female	40	69	29	8	4	150
Total	76	139	60	20	5	300

How much mass media affected your political opinions and behaviors.

	Great Deal	Limited	Don't Know	Not very much	No Effects	Total
Male	29	56	23	29	13	150
Female	20	56	27	38	9	150
Total	49	112	50	67	22	300

The table shows that that majority of the respondents consider mass media has strong impact on the political opinions and behaviors of voters in Pakistan. Likewise, the table indicates

that majority consider mass media as key factor in effecting their political opinions and behaviors.

Table 2.

How much mass media influences political behaviors during election campaigns?

	Great Deal	Limited	Don't Know	Not very much	No Effects	Total
Male	45	77	21	6	1	150
Female	61	58	19	8	4	150
Total	106	135	40	14	5	300

The table indicates that 80 percent of the respondents believe that mass media is the main factor in influencing political behaviors during election campaigns.

Table 3.

Do you depend on mass media to shape political opinion?

	Never	Seldom	Sometime	Often	Always	Total
Male	18	19	34	35	44	150
Female	19	15	38	36	42	150
Total	37	34	72	71	86	300

The table indicates that majority i.e. 73 percent of the respondents are dependent on mass media to shape their opinions about political issues.

Table 4.

Media organizations support candidates and political parties against others through favorable coverage.

	S. Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	S. Disagree	Total
Male	62	55	24	8	1	150
Female	59	61	20	10	0	150
Total	121	116	44	18	1	300

The table indicates that strong majority i.e. 79 percent of the respondents consider that mass media organizations support candidates or political parties against others through systematic favorable coverage of political issues.

Table 5.

Do you mass media is objective in its coverage of political issues?

	S. Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	S. Disagree	Total
Male	3	35	25	47	40	
Female	4	33	31	42	40	150
Total	7	68	56	89	80	300

Mass media slant and frame political information to manipulate political opinions

	S. Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	S. Disagree	Total
Male	58	50	28	11	3	150
Female	58	51	28	12	1	150
Total	116	101	56	23	4	300

The table indicates that majority of respondents consider mass media as biased while covering political issues. Similarly, the table indicates that 72 percent (strong majority) of the respondents believe that mass media frame and slant political information to manipulate political opinions.

Table 6.

Mass media are biased in its coverage of political issues

	S. Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	S. Disagree	Total
Male	64	51	18	13	4	150
Female	61	48	26	13	2	150
Total	125	99	44	26	6	300
To what extent the media are biased in its coverage of political issues						
	Great Deal	To Some Extent	Don't Know	Slightly Bias	No Bias	Total
Male	63	51	26	6	4	150
Female	58	62	19	10	1	150
Total	121	113	45	16	5	300

The table indicates that majority i.e. 75 percent of the respondents consider mass media is bias in its coverage of political events and issues. Furthermore, majority of the respondents were of the opinion that media is hugely or to some extent biased in its coverage of political issues

Media bias effects on electoral process and policymaking.**Table 7.**

Mass media bias effects voters' political opinions and behaviors

	S. Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	S. Disagree	Total
Male	51	65	21	11	2	150
Female	59	56	26	8	1	150
Total	110	121	47	19	3	300

The table indicates that majority i.e. 77 percent of the respondents opined that mass media bias influences political opinions, beliefs, and behaviors of qualified voters. These findings offer enough support to the hypothesis that media bias has powerful effects over the opinions and behaviors of voters during election campaigns and balloting.

Table 8.

Media bias has influential impact over electoral process and election results.

	S. Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	S. Disagree	Total
Male	52	74	16	7	1	150
Female	54	70	19	6	1	150
Total	106	144	35	13	2	300

The table indicates that strong majority i.e. 83 percent of the respondents opined that media bias has powerful effects over electoral process and results of the political elections. These findings offer great support to the argument that media bias has strong and lasting impact on the political decisions and electoral process as well as election outcomes. The study findings support

the argument that media play important role in shaping political opinions and influencing election results.

Discussions and Conclusion

The study investigated the effects of media bias on voter's political attitudes, behaviors and electoral process. Independent media plays crucial role in democratic societies and are considered as part of the political system and has referred to as fourth important organ of the state. The media is biased whenever it frames issues in a particular or provides out of context facts to support a certain viewpoint. Biased media affect people's understanding of political events and issues without presenting complete account of facts (Lawrence, 2016).

The study found that majority of the masses considers mass media influential in shaping political opinions and choice of political parties. The study confirms that the media exercise strong influence over political behaviors of the voters. These effects are stronger during elections campaigns in democratic states. The study also confirms that people do rely on media for opinion formation on political issues.

The study findings support the argument that media slant and frame news information to shape opinions on political issues. The study also confirms media organizations favor one political party over the others and provide favorable coverage to the political party of its line. Respondents maintain that media are biased and subjective in its coverage of political issues. Fang and Knight (2011) have claimed that mass media has biased in support of one candidate and voters thus consider media endorsements as more important. The study found strong support for the argument that media bias influences political opinions and behaviors that ultimately effect electoral process and election outcomes. Media stress on particular issues, frame political events in certain ways, and represent candidates in a particular ways that eventually affect voters'

political attitudes and behaviors. A strong majority of the study respondents were of the opinion that media play crucial role in influencing electoral process and has strong influence over electoral process.

Conclusion

The study investigated “The Political Impact of Media Bias on Electoral Process” as media play central role in electoral process and election campaigns. Politics and media are interdependent and this relationship becomes more apparent at the times of election campaigns. Mass media disseminate the manifestos and policies of candidates and political parties and hence affect elections. The study confirms that media exercise strong influence over voters’ political opinions, behaviors, and electoral process. The study found that exposure to media affects political beliefs and behaviors. The study specifies that political content of media be bias. The study found that media frame and slant information to shape public opinions. Media bias influences political beliefs and behaviors of voters in a democratic system of government. The study confirmed that media frame political events to support a particular point view to shape opinions of voters. Media framing and bias eventually affect election campaigns in a democratic society and influence election outcomes.

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Article:	Gender Differences in Video Game Play: Practices of Teenaged Players from Pakistan
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Abstract

The present research study aimed to examining gender differences in gaming patterns and preferences of teenage gamers in Pakistan. The gaming patterns involve frequency of game play and time spent on game play. The video game preferences were measured by exploring game genres and style(mode) in which game players mostly play. The study was quantitative and survey is conducted by using purposive research method as only game player were selected as sample from schools of Islamabad, Pakistan. The close ended questionnaire adapted from 'Media Self Report Questionnaire' used by Elliot (2006), Bajovic (2012) and Hodge (2019) was filled by 576 respondents. The study found that teenage girls and boys significantly differ in terms of frequency of game play and time spent on video gaming. It was found that boys mostly play in multiplayer mode and prefer to play action, role playing game and sports game genres. On the other hand girls' prefer single player mode and adventure, action and horror game genres. The present research can be used as baseline exploratory study for future studies in the domain of video gaming.

Key words: Gender Difference, Video games play, Teenager players

Introduction

Video gaming has become one of the most popular activities for children, teenagers and adults to entertain themselves. The video game and its related products as a business has become a major revenue generating industry. Though its consumers are increasing day by day but substantial gender differences are observed in usage pattern in video game play (Vorderer et al. 2006; Poole, 2000). Many studies suggested that females are less interested in video games, their knowledge on games is limited and their motivation to play video games differ from male gamers (Lucas & Sherry, 2004; Wright, et al., 2001; Brown et al. 1997; Cassell & Jenkins, 1998; Cassell, 2002). However Hartmann and Klimmt (2006) argued that new studies are suggesting that now more and more females are involving themselves in video game play with increased screen time.

According to current report on data of video game users in USA (ESA, 2019), 46% are female video game players and 54% are male gamers. The researches implied that though video gaming is traditionally considered as male dominated territory but due to the materialization of female subgroups adopting both male centric games and the new female centric games to involve female players, the gap in game play in male and female players has started to narrow, in USA as well as some other global markets (Bryce & Rutter, 2002; Cassell, 2002; Eklund, 2016; Veltri et al, 2014). Mostly studies are conducted with sample from western cultures and very limited data is available on playing practices of gamers in Pakistan.

There are some studies conducted which found that teenagers in Pakistan are as addicted to video gaming as in other parts of globe but these studies have not discussed gender comparison while measuring addiction of video games in adolescents in Pakistan. (Khan & Muqtadir, 2012; Zahra et al, 2019). Khan and Muqtadir (2012) discussed that majority of adolescents are involved in excessive video gaming and male are more inclined towards

problematic online gaming than females. Zahra et al.(2019) also found that majority of video gamers show symptoms of online gaming disorder due to excessive game play. Both of these studies have discussed video game play in context of adult gamers and present research has explored video game play patterns and gender differences in young teenage gamers to contribute new insight and data in limited research done in Pakistani context. Many researchers argue that teenagers are most vulnerable group which can be influenced by video games therefore more research is needed to study them. Moreover the present research will help to add new insight and data on gender differences in context of Pakistan as argued by research studies that gender is the main predictor in determining video game effects due to significant difference in play patterns. (Anderson & Bushman, 2001; Bajovic , 2013 ; Hodge , 2019 ; Gentile , 2011).

Objective of Research Study

The objective of this research paper is to explore gender differences among teenage girls and boys video gamers' in Pakistan regarding their playing practices and preferences so that new data regarding gender gap between video gaming can be explored with respect to Asian countries.

Literature Review

Many research studies (Bajovic, 2013; Copeland 2004; Scharrer, 2004; Anderson & Bushman, 2001; Anderson & Dill, 2000; Lucas & Sherry, 2004; Woodard & Gridina, 2000) were conducted to measure differences in playing patterns and motivations of game play across gender play and reported that females take less interest, have limited game related knowledge, play less frequently and spent less time on video game play as compared to males. Rideout et al(2010) that most popular activity among girls is to hang out with friends and only 6% girls reported playing video games but majority of boys prefer to play video games as compared to spending time with

friends. Taylor (2006) argued that partial reason for existence of differences in video game play patterns in both genders might be the access and game design. Researchers report that video games are designed according to interests of male audience and female characters are weak, passive and highly sexualized; therefore female audience turn away from serious gaming. (Smith et al., 2003; Haninger & Thompson, 2004). Researchers argue that in traditional sense video gaming is considered as male domain as substantial differences exist among gender in adoption, frequency, time spent, gaming style and preference of game content (Lucas & Sherry, 2004; Chou and Tsai, 2007; Chen 2010; Guadagno et al., 2011; Veltri et al., 2014). Hainey et al (2011) reported that men play more online and computer games and start taking interest in serious gaming early in their lives as compared to females who start playing games later in their life. In a research by Chou and Tsai (2007) the result indicated that males squander more time playing (284 min/week) as compared to females who spent less time (172 min /week). It was found that males play regularly for longer duration of time than female game players. The research study concluded that males spent more than 9 hours in week on game play and female gamers spent around 4.39 hours in a week. On the other hand Kuo et al (2012) conducted research on 3000 players from age 8 to 86 suggested that women are spending more time gaming. The results indicated that adult males spend less time playing games (173.96 min/day) as compared to adult female players (223.70 min/day). Williams et al. (2008) also found that males spend 25 hours in a week as compared to females who spend 29 hours in week. Gentile (2011) conducted research on pathological video game use among adolescents from age 8 to 18 years old and found that on average adolescents play video games three to four times in a week but this frequency is higher in males as compared to females. Female on average are playing once or twice in a week. The survey research further found that there is also a significant

difference in amount of time spent by male and female gamers on video gaming as boys are playing for almost 16 hours per week and girls were playing games for 9 hours on average in a week. Similar findings were found by Bajovic (2013) and Hodge (2019) that sizeable gender differences are present in terms of frequency, time and years of game play across gender. The research studies conducted in context of Pakistan to measure excessive problematic game play across youth also found that as compare to females males are more prone to problematic gaming and internet gaming disorder because they play frequently and for longer duration (Khan & Muqtadir, 2012 ; Zahra et al. , 2019). On the basis of findings in literature on video game usage patterns across gender the present research study suggested following hypothesis:

H1: Male teenage gamers play video games frequently as compared to female game players.

H2: Teenage male gamers spent more time on video game play than teenage female game players.

Further many studies found that gender differences not only exist in terms of playing patterns but male and female gamers differ in terms of their gaming styles and game genre preferences as well. Many research studies while discussing differences in preferences of genre found that major indicator is the style of game play i.e. mode which is used by game player. Wohn and Ratan(2020) discussed that due to rise of casual games industry statistics suggest that there is substantial increase in female gamers but in case of serious core games substantial differences exist in gaming styles. The researcher while conducting study on gender differences in multiplayer games found that male game players are more involved in massive multiplayer gaming than females and therefore prefer those genres which support multiplayer mode. The research study by Williams, Yee, and Caplan (2008) also found by examining online player data of 'Everquest' game that more than 80% online gamers who were playing the game in

multiplayer mode were males. Further many new research studies also supported these findings that females prefer single player mode more as compare to playing video games in multiplayer mode (Dorgan , 2018; Hainey, Connolly and Boyle, 2011; Bonnano & Kommers, 2005). Zahra et al. (2019) also found that multiplayer games are more played by males in Pakistan. On the basis of this the present research has constructed the following hypothesis:

H3: There is significant difference in preferred mode of game play across teenage male and female gamers.

Game players preferences in content (games & genres) was another dimension studied by researchers (Bajovic 2013; Dickey , 2006; Eklund, 2016; Hodge, 2019; Iqbal et al. , 2010; Lopez –Fernandz et al., 2019) and it was reported that male prefer core genres (like MMO games, first person shooter games , action games ,role-playing games, racing games etc.) as compared to females who prefer noncore genres(adventure , simulation, dance, rhythms and casual genres etc.).Quaiser-Pohl et al. (2005) found that ‘action’ and ‘simulation’ games were liked by males (81.7%) and logic and skill based games were liked by female game players. Bonanno and Kommers (2005) explored ‘Maltese’ population and found females preferred to play ‘puzzle, adventure, fighting and managerial’ game genres. On the hand males preferred ‘first-person shooter, role–playing, sports and strategy’ based games genres. It further argue that female prefer genres which do not take much time, dedication and focus. Olsen et al. (2008) explored video game preferences and found that boys prefer action and violent games because they use it as a mean to express their fantasy about power and seek improved skill in action which they think is exciting in real life as well. Their study also found that significant number of girls players also use action video games to vent out their anger and other emotional reactions. In another study by Royse et al. (2007) explored connection between video game play and skills in

technology use and found that females savvy in technology play variety of male dominated genres which allow them to challenge traditional gender norms.

Winn and Heeter (2009) in his study asked participants to design a game and result indicated females have designed gender neutral games with little or no violence but males preferred violent content in their design. Subrahmanyam et al. (2000) also argue that girls acknowledge that they don't prefer aggression in games and prefer teamwork rather than competition. Researchers argued that dominant male roles which are all muscular armed with weapons with aggressive stance and dominantly violent, militaristic action based on conquest in video games; dissuade female players from hard core gaming but they were main attraction for boys as they consider it as part of their normal adolescent development (Cohen, 2009; Jansz et al., 2010). But there are studies which discussed that many games like *Grand Theft Auto* , 'COD' -which are mature games due to its content full of blood, extreme violence, explicit language and sexual content was not only the most favorite game of boys but after Sims it is the second most popular game among girls as well (Olsen et al., 2007; Carr , 2005; Hodge , 2019) Moreover the research studies also found that females game players prefer to play variety of game genres and many hardcore female gamers also prefer to play action oriented genres like males to challenge societal norms(Bryce & Rutter , 2002; Hartmaan & Klimmt,2006). This contrasting results in research indicated that there exists a research gap as from last decade female gamers have increased and their gender preferences also changed so new studies are required to explore that preference of video game content by female gamers. Based on literature the research study has suggested following research question:

RQ1: Is there any difference in preference of game genres in male and female teenage game players?

Research Methodology

The quantitative Survey method is used and questionnaire is used as a tool to collect data from both male and female teenagers of age 13 to 18 in schools of Islamabad, Pakistan. The questionnaire is adapted from the 'Media Self Report Questionnaire' used by Elliot (2006) which was used by Bajovic (2013) and Hodge(2019) to study video game play of adolescents. The questionnaire includes gender, age and school of respondents. The age groups are categorized into early teenagers who are from 13 to 15 years old and late teenagers were from 16 to 18 year old. The questionnaire included close ended questions measuring frequency and time spent on video game play in a week. Then the frequency of playing mode (single and multi player) on three- point likert scale is also measured. As single player gamers play alone and in multiplayer mode you play with other gamers as a team or as an opponent. To measure game preferences a list of game genres from literature (Bajovic , 2013; Hodge (2019) was given and respondents have selected their preferred genres.

Islamabad is selected as it is capital of Pakistan and e people from all provinces of Pakistan are settled for job purposes. Prior to data collection pilot testing is conducted on 30 teenagers for determining the clarity of questionnaire. The reliability of tool as indicated by cronbach alpha is 0.642. For final data collection researcher has visited schools and get questionnaires filled in respective classes under the supervision of school administration. The purposive sampling method applied for respondents and only those respondents are selected who play video games on, I –Pad, PC or any console (Play station or Xbox). 800 questionnaires were distributed but only 576 respondents have filled and returned their questionnaire.

Findings & Analysis

There are 576 total respondents and 388 were males and 188 were females. Out of 576 respondents there were 314(55%) teenagers who belong from early teenage group (13-15) and 262 (45%) were from late teenage (16-18) group (see Table 1).

Table 1: Demographic Profile of Gamers

Demographic		
Profile	Frequency	Percentage %
Gender		
Boys	388	67
Girls	188	33
Age Groups		
Early teens	314	55
Late Teen	262	45
Total	576	100

Frequency of Game Play

H1: Male teenage gamers play video games frequently as compared to female game players.

To measure this hypothesis respondent were asked that how frequent they play video games and independent sample T test is conducted to measure differences across gender. Out of 209 once a day players ; 185/388 (48%) were boys and 24/188(13%) were girls. The respondents (272) who play 3 or 4 times/ week; 108/388(28%) were boys and 46/188(24%) were girls. Out of 144 respondents who play once or twice a week; 71/388(18%) were boys and 73/188(39%) were girls. Out of 52 respondents who play 3 or 4 times/ month; 19/388(5%) were boys and

33/188(18%) were girls. Out of 17 respondents who play once or twice a month; 5/388(1%) were boys and 12/188(6%) were girls. (See Table 2)

Table2: Frequency of Video Game Play across Gender

Frequency of Gender Of Gamers					Total
Game Play	Boys		Girls		
	n	%	n	%	
Once a day	185	48	24	13	209
3or 4 times /week	108	28	46	24	154
1 or 2 times /week	71	18	73	39	144
3 or 4 times / month	19	5	33	18	52
1 or 2 times /month	5	1	12	6	17
Total	388	100	188	100	576

An Independent sample T test has revealed significant difference in boys ($M=4.16$, $SD=0.974$) and girls ($M=3.2$, $SD=1.07$); $t(574)=10.72$ and $p=.000$. The result in Table 3 indicated that mean score of boys is higher than female gamers which prove the hypothesis that male teenage gamers play video games frequently than female teenage game players. The results revealed that majority of girls play once or twice/week and majority of boys play every day.

Table 3: Gaming Frequency across Gender (T-Test)

Gender	Frequency of Game Play (Min =1 & Max=5)			T-Test			
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M diff</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>P</i>
Boys	388	4.16	.974	0.96	10.72	574	.000
Girls	188	3.2	1.07				

Time Spent on Game Play

H2: Teenage male gamers spent more time on video game play than teenage female game players.

Respondents were asked that how much time they spent in hours on video game play in a week. Out of 141 respondents who play for more than 12 hours; 130/388 (33%) were boys and 11/188(6%) were females. The respondents(214) who play for 9-12 hours; 162/388(42%) were boys and 52/188(28%) were girls. Out of 169 respondents who play for 5-8 hours; 74/388(19%) were boys and 95/188(50%) were girls. Out of 90 respondents who play for 1-4 hours; 22/388(6%) were boys and 30/188(16%) were girls. (See Table 4).

Table 4: Time Spent on Video Games Play

Time Spent on Video Game Play	Gender Of Gamers				Total
	Boys		Girls		
	n	%	n	%	
1-4 hours	22	6	30	16	52
5-8 hours	74	19	95	50	169
9-12hours	162	42	52	28	214
More than 12 hrs	130	33	11	6	141
	388	100	188	100	576

An Independent sample T-test revealed that boys ($M=3.03$, $SD=.868$) have higher mean score than girls ($M=2.23$, $SD=0.718$) with values on T-test as $t(452.4)=2.360$ and $p=.019$. The t test indicated that boy teenage gamers significantly differ from girls in terms of their time spent on video game play (See Table 5). The results revealed that majority of girls spent 5-8hrs / week and majority of boys spent 9-12 /week.

Table 5: Time Spent across Gender (T-Test)

Gender	Time spent on Game Play (Min =1 & Max=4)			T-Test			
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M diff</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>P</i>
Boys	388	3.03	.868	0.8	10.64	574	.000
Girls	188	2.23	.718				

Gaming Style (Game Mode) of Teenagers

H3: There is significant difference in preferred mode of game play across teenage male and female gamers.

Out of 388 boys 47 have responded that they never play in single player mode, 220 have rarely used, 106 sometimes play and 15 reported to use single player mode regularly. In 188 group of girls , 18 girls had never used single player mode, 30 reported that they rarely use it, 96 reported that they sometimes use and 44 reported that they regularly play in single player mode. On the in multiplayer mode out of 388 boys, 193 reported regular use , 137 reported that they sometimes play, 45 rarely use and 13 boys reported that they never play in multiplayer mode. In sample of 188 girls, 21 reported regular use, 44 reported that they sometimes use , 43 reported that they rarely and 80 reported that they never use multiplayer mode.(See Table 6).

Table 6: Comparison of Game Play Mode and Gender

Game Play Mode	Frequency of using mode				Total
	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Regularly	
Single player Mode					
Male	47	220	106	15	388
Female	18	30	96	44	188
Multiplayer Mode					
Male	13	45	137	193	388
Female	80	43	44	21	188

An Independent sample T-test revealed that boys ($M=2.23$, $SD=.705$) have lower mean score than girls ($M=3.13$, $SD=0.658$) with values on T-test as $t(574)=14.6$ and $p=.000$ which indicates significant difference in usage of single player mode across gender. On other hand an independent sample T test [$t(574)=16.1$, $p=.000$] on multiplayer mode revealed significant difference across gender with mean score of boys($M=3.31$, $SD=.806$) higher than girls($M=2.03$, $SD=1.1$). The results indicated that multiplayer mode is more used by male players and single player mode is more used by female players. (See Table 7)

Table 7: An Independent Sample T-test of Game Modes across Gender

Game Play Modes	Male (n=388)		Female (n=188)		T-Test			
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M diff</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Single Player Mode	2.23	.705	3.13	.658	.898	14.6	574	.000
Multiplayer Mode	3.31	.806	2.03	1.1	1.28	16.1	574	.000

Video Game Genres

RQ1: Is there any difference in preference of game genres in male and female teenage game players?

A list of genre was given to respondents to explore their preferences and chi square test to compare difference in gender revealed mixed results. Action games were preferred by 221/388 boys and 56/188 girls. Role Playing games were preferred by 72 /388 boys and 106/188. Sports games were preferred by 181/388 boys and 25/188 girls. Adventure games were preferred by 132/388 boys and 71/188 girls. Strategy/Puzzle games were preferred by 94/388 boys and 83/188 girls. Horror games were preferred by 80/388 boys and 35/188 girls. Real Life Simulations were preferred by 77/388 boys and 39/188 girls. Dance/Rhythm were preferred by 17/388 boys and 14/188 girls.

There is significant association between action [χ^2 (1, N=576)=8.338 , p=.004], sports [χ^2 (1, N=576) =4.041, p=.04], adventure [χ^2 (1, N=576) =25.879, p=.000], horror [χ^2 (1, N=576) =5.902, p=.015] genres and gender as indicated by chi square test. There is no significant association between role playing [χ^2 (1, N=576)=2.501 , p=.114], strategy/puzzle [χ^2 (1, N=576) =2.293, p=.130], simulation [χ^2 (1, N=576) =.064, p=.801], rhythm [χ^2 (1, N=576) =.2337, p=.126] genres and gender. The result revealed that action, adventure, sports and strategy/puzzle games were more popular among boys. Among girls role playing, strategy/puzzle, adventure and action games were popular .Dance/Rhythm games were not much preferred by both groups.

Table 8: Gender and Preferred Game Genres

Video Game Genres	Boys (n=388)		Girls (n=188)		Chi square		
	Yes	No	Yes	No	χ^2	df	p value
Adventure	132	255	71	82	25.879	1	.000
Action	221	167	56	105	8.338	1	.004
Sports	181	207	25	117	4.061	1	.044
Horror	80	308	35	132	5.902	1	.015
Role –Playing Games	72	316	106	163	2.501	1	.114
Strategy/Puzzle games	94	294	83	153	2.293	1	.130
Real Life Simulations	77	311	39	149	.064	1	.801
Dance/Rhythm	17	371	14	174	2.337	1	.126

Discussion and Conclusion

The data in this research though limited to sample taken from federal capital of Pakistan but it suggests the trend that video gaming is becoming popular and there is an inclination of excessive gaming in both genders. Though gender differences exist in gaming patterns among teenage boys and girls but with technological and internet advancements it's not like that girls are not involved in video gaming as their major leisure activity. These trends in results were supported by research study conducted by Zahra et al.(2019) and Khan and Muqtadir (2012) that late teenagers and university students in Pakistan were excessive players and have tendency of developing gaming addiction.

The first hypothesis has measured that males are frequent players of video games than females. The independents sample T test revealed that boys are frequent players as compared to

teenage girls. The results revealed that majority of teenage boys play video games every day or 3 or 4 times in a week but majority of girls play once or twice a week. Previous studies also found that male gamers are frequent gamers as compared to female and start taking interest in video games early in their age. Hodge (2019) when studied game play of teenagers and university students found that in both groups gender is the main predictor in differences in video game play patterns and male gamers were frequently playing games as compared to female gamers. The same results were found by many past researchers that male gamers were frequent in their game play and hardcore serious gamers play almost daily than female players (Bajovic, 2013; Chen, 2010; Chou & Tsai, 2007; Gentile, 2011; Hainley et al, 2011, Lopez-Fernandez, 2019; Phan et al., 2012). Most of the researchers who have studied usage of video games across gender reported that with frequency of play there are significant differences in time spent by male and female gamers on video game play. Keeping in line of these findings the present research has hypothesized that male are spending more time on game play than females. The study found significant difference in teenage boys and girls time spent on video game play. The results indicated that males are spending more hours on video games in a week than female gamers. Though study found that more and more teenage girls are also spending more time (average 9-12 hours) on video game play but still significant differences exist as teenage boys spend nine to more than twelve hours in a week. The findings are in accordance as discussed by many researchers (Hodge, 2019; Bajovic, 2013; Gentile, 2011; Hainley et al, 2011, Khan & Muqtadir, 2012; Lopez-Fernandez, 2019; Phan et al., 2012; Zahra et al., 2019) that there exist gender differences among male and female gamers in traditional sense as teenage boys have significantly different playing patterns in terms of time and frequency than teenage girls.

The third hypothesis in line with literature on gaming styles suggested that there are significant differences in gender and preferred mode of game play. The results revealed significant differences in usage of single player and multiplayer across gender. The study revealed that usage of single player mode is high in girls and usage of multiplayer game is higher in boys. This was also found by many other researcher that gaming style(modes) differ across gender and multiplayer gaming arena is populated by male gamers(Bajovic , 2013; Hainey, Connolly and Boyle, 2010; Dorgan, 2018; Lopez-Fernandez , 2019; Wohn , Ratan & Cherchiglia, 2020 ; Zahra et al. 2019)

This present research study has also measured preference of genre across gender and found that there are significant differences across gender in certain genres like action, adventure, sports and horror games. But there were no significant differences in role playing , simulation , puzzle and dance/rhythm game genres. The results indicated that though less than males but females were playing adventure games also which was found by many studies that modern adventure games were as popular among boys as in girls.(Hodge , 2019; Bajovic , 2013; Phan et al., 2012; Quaiser-Pohl et al.2005; Iqbal et al. 2010; Hassouneh and Brengman,2013; Bonanno and Kommers,2005). The study found that the most popular game genre preferred by teenage boys is action, sports, adventure and strategy based games as discussed by (Fox and Tang 2014; Bajovic, 2013). On the other hand the most popular genres among teenage girls are adventure, role playing and strategy/puzzle genres.(Bajovic, 2013; Bonanno and Kommers, 2005; Hainley et al. 2011). But this study also found that it is not like that teenage girls in Pakistan are also playing action games which is similar to results of studies by Bajovic (2013) and Hodge (2019) who found that violent game like ‘GTA’ is equally famous among female gamers. The reason for that can be there is lot of emphasis on technical skills in Pakistan across girls and boys after the

advancement in internet technology after 2001; so as they are becoming technological savvy and spending more time on video gaming.

Overall it can be concluded that gender differences do exist in teenage girls and boys in Pakistan as across globe other studies suggest but with technological advancement this gender gap is limiting especially in younger population as suggested by some new researches. The study found that now young teenage girls also adopting video gaming, though they differ in frequency and time spent on video games but they are taking keen interest in those genres as well which were considered as dominate played by male gamers. But this area required further exploration as very limited data available with respect to gaming patterns in Pakistan. Moreover the present research study due to time and resources limitation has focused on sample only from Federal Capital of country(Islamabad) therefore results are difficult to generalize on Pakistan but the research has provided baseline and fulfilled research gap of limited data available on gaming in Pakistan. Future research studies can be conducted on sample from major urban cities of Pakistan and by studying socioeconomic factor as well for studying gaming patterns and preferences of teenager gamers in Pakistan.

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Abstract

A multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society of Indian state is ill informed about multifaceted reality of Kashmir conflict due to mediated and fabricated information conveyed through national media. Kashmiris perceive national media as biased and hiding public sentiments which further alienated Kashmiri public to the Indian state and nationalism. Little available literature on media portrayal of Kashmir only discussed Pak-India hostility, peace and war journalism or propaganda. This research is about the coverage of Kashmir conflict by Indian Press. Research proceeding reveals that there is little research studies directed toward this subject. This article review the published research work by academics and media professional collected through websites, research journal archives and catalogues. This research will guide researchers and media practitioners involved in the reportage of Kashmir conflict.

Keywords: Kashmir, Indian Press, Research, Conflict

Introduction

Violent partition of British India in 1947 led to a wide spread instability and confrontation in newly emerged states. Since the day first Kashmir has been a contested territory between Pakistan and India. Both countries had fought three major wars and a lot of low level clashes due to Kashmir conflict. United Nation (UN) approved that Kashmiri public should decide their fate through plebiscite but still they are deprived of their right of self-determination.

Despite decreasing circulation of print media throughout the world due to internet, online resources of information and emergence of social media, press in India is still thriving (Parekh, 1996) because of increasing number of educated middle class. Press has the responsibility of objective and unbiased reporting and it performs watchdog role for the sake of public wellbeing. In a conflict situation its importance becomes twofold because it has to play a special role of reporting and keeping check over excesses and human rights (HR) violations against civilians and demonstrating their opinions. Media landscape in Indian held Kashmir is dominated by English and Urdu language press, due to government legislations, restrictions and censorships on media and journalists (Gadda, 2014).

It is an admitted fact that Kashmir is a burning issue of past, today and future. Media should highlight this issue properly to resolve the dispute according to UN charter. No doubt Indian press working on Kashmir conflict but according to the opinion of researcher it did not focus according to its scope. Not only Indian press did not focus on Kashmir issue but also this issue could not attract the attention of the researchers therefore present study aims to investigate how many researchers studied different aspects of Indian press regarding coverage of Kashmir conflict. Research questions are comprised of:

1. How many researcher investigated coverage of Kashmir conflict by Indian press?
2. To what extent Indian press is objective/biased regarding Kashmir conflict?
3. What aspects of Kashmir conflict have been studied by the media researcher?

Kashmir is disputed between three regional nuclear powers, if not resolved peacefully may cause mass devastation or third world war. Indian occupied valley suffering a lot of security excesses, draconian laws, maltreatments, abolition of civil liberties, HR violations, murders, rapes and so on. Media have to play an important role to safeguard public interests to check on security excesses against civilian population. Indian press hesitate to cover HR violation and not cover Kashmir issue properly. Therefore it is important to know, what are the reasons behind this silence? What is foreign policy of India and its press regarding Kashmir conflict?

Significance of the study

Identifying various facets of Kashmir conflict and concerns of Indian press might serve the strategic and practical aspects of conflict reporting by strengthening existing knowledge and factual understanding of the conflict and its relationships with press. Review of existing literature about coverage of Kashmir conflict in Indian press will disclose the unsearched areas by highlighting research contributions in the matter and help to attract and guide researchers for better outcomes. It will contribute regarding success or failure of press in conflict management and reveal actual picture of reality before world, humanitarian organizations and unbiased media outlets by highlighting concerns of Indian press regarding Kashmir.

Methodology

Information collected through internet sources like Google, WorldCat, Academia.edu, LISTA, IEEE Xplore, Research Gate, five years archive of well-known media journals and library catalogues using keywords of Kashmir, conflict and Indian press. Results for keywords by Google Scholar, Research Gate and Academia.edu limited to 25 pages, with little relevance to the study. LISTA generated 34 results. IEEE Xplore generated 427 for key word Kashmir, within results search by keyword media generated 18. Five years archives of

well reputed journals and library catalogues were also searched for literature available regarding Kashmir conflict and Indian press. Research proceeding provided literature contained books, articles, websites, reports and personal analysis. But this research focused only on research articles published in research journals, directed toward Kashmir conflict covered by Indian press.

Literature Review

Mass media and politics especially democracy are interconnected, active participation in politics without media is impossible and democracy without free press is no democracy. English press considered as elite press since Indian independence as English is administrative language of bourgeois class of Indian society. In the years 2000 to 2002 some major events increased the significance of Kashmir issue. Therefore, Shams Imran, aimed to study editorial frames of Kashmir issue in the Indian press. He identified eight editorial frames prominent regarding Kashmir: history, legality, nation state, law and order, democracy, HR, international relations and conflict resolution frames. International relations and law and order frames dominated and discussed Indian relations with other countries especially with Pakistan and violence in Kashmir mostly with the intent to support official stance that Kashmir unrest is a result of Pakistan sponsored terrorism and propaganda. Conflict resolution and democracy followed by dominant frames and acknowledged Kashmir as disputed and needs for bilateral talks but resisted, as integral part and rejected the needs for plebiscite because Kashmiris participated in state election and conveyed the message to settle their grievances through democratic process. Legality frame remained limited to State Autonomy and Article 370, the only frame where press criticized government. HR and history frames are rare exceptions and dependent on official sources with conformist nature of mainstream press (Imran, 2013).

Media landscape in Kashmir is dominated by local and national press, which are reporting Kashmir with different perspectives. Local newspapers creating local perception about history of the valley, association with Pakistan, migration within and beyond the valley, encounters, combats, HR violations, strikes, protests and fatalities. National media, the only source of information for Indian society, portraying Kashmir with partial approach, reciting official policy and ignoring ground realities. National media expanded mental and ideological division between Kashmiris and national society. Subjective reporting created further mistrust and sense of alienation among Kashmiris. Danish Nabi Gadda studied the coverage of protests and strikes in Kashmir by national press. How it ignores dissent voices in support of official policies. He conducted content analysis of two leading Indian newspapers for the period of 1989 to 2010. Strikes and protests are most common way to show dissent in Kashmir. When Maqbool Bhat was hanged, national media celebrated it and the landing of national troops is an act of pride for national media but valley observed strikes on these days, which deserve impartial reportage to create awareness in Indian society about the dissent of Kashmiri public. National media downplayed these strikes by selection of frequency, placement, language and descriptions. There is widespread perception in Kashmir that national media is subjective and serve the national interest. It practices partial journalism when reporting Kashmir. It overlooked the local sentiments, HR violations and fake encounters, emphasized only development projects and operations against militant to justify presence of army (Gadda, 2014).

Indian held Kashmir is one of the most militarized zone on the earth. On September 7, 2014 due to heavy rain fall, Kashmir surged with a ferocious flood. Srinagar city was submerged under 18 feet water for more than three weeks. All the media houses, hospitals, government and business offices remained closed and victimized. New Delhi based news media organizations dropped their journalist into Kashmir. These journalists remained

attached to army and air force relief vehicles filming and documenting relief efforts. Wasim Khalid studied the coverage of rescue and relief efforts in 2014 flood by New Delhi based news media to learn the biasness in reporting and propaganda for the army, with difference between reporting of national and international media. He conducted content analysis of Times of India and NDTV and cross verified with international media presentations. Study reveals that New Delhi based media was biased and a public relation tool for army to create political space for Indian state. International media was far more objective, representing all stake holders in relief efforts including local volunteers with balanced political context of conflict. Times of India devoted 57% and NDTV 97% coverage to favor army and government and ignored the contributions made by the local volunteers. Words, images, headlines and language used were politically motivated and focused on army's human face. International media representation depicted a different picture, it included reports by stranded people of not rescuing by the army or civil administration, ignoring their appeals for rescue, prioritizing tourists and workers from other parts of India, insulting by firing expired food packets. It also reported local anger about national media and its biased coverage as PR lobby for army and government (Khalid, 2016).

Media played a vital role in support and assistance in Uttarakhand flood and Cyclone Phailin in Odisha to highlight gravity of disaster, human sufferings, criticized relief agencies, created awareness at national and international level and mobilized the audience. Sameer Yasir and Rajesh Venugopal studied 2014 flood in Kashmir to understand politics of natural disasters and social construction of disaster narrative in protracted conflict areas. Researchers conducted 50 in-depth interviews of flood victims returning from relief camps through snowball sampling and results were triangulated with a documentary review of the coverage of flood by local newspapers. Unlike Uttarakhand and Odisha, victims differentiated local and national media. Local journalists even victimized, helped the government and volunteers and

at times left their job for helping victims. National media though reported widely but their acts were objectionable and offensive. Without going through knee deep water to catch actual picture, they come to sites on army or air force vehicles and emphasized positive contribution of Indian army. They reported flood in reference to its political implications and contrasted separatist leaders in negativity. National media most criticized by victims after state administration because it manipulated and fabricated things to show positive role of army. National media totally ignored local volunteer in rescue, mostly pointed by survivors and respondents, only highlighted Indian army, rescuing desperate and ungrateful Kashmiris to promote positive image of army (Venugopal & Yasir, 2017).

Narrative of nationalism in the Indian discourse is contradictory. Nehru and Indian National Congress shaped a secular, developmental, liberal nationalist discourse in 20th century. But Congress was dominated and funded by upper caste Hindus. Gandhi's joining of Indian National Congress in 1920 rejected this narrative. Further Indian partition in 1947, when Pakistan became the home land for south Asian Muslims, so-called secular nationalism further unrelated. Contemporary discourse of majoritarian supremacist nationalism emerged since 1987-88 from a TV series of Hindu epic Ramayan which not only legitimize Babri Masjid issue but increased electoral chances of upper caste Hindus and resulted in Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) as a political wing of RashtRiya Sawayam Sang (RSS), a Hindu nationalist organization. Sirinivas Lankala studied coverage of Indian Parliament attack and Gujarat riots in the Indian press to learn the mediated discourse of nationalism in India. Indian parliament attack was directly compared with 9/11, contextualizing Islam with terrorism which legitimized American conundrum of Islamic terror and RSS rhetoric of Muslims as enemy. Unfortunately Kashmiri Muslims accused for the tragedy and provided justification for RSS campaign against Muslims in the rest of India. English press in India, during trail period of accused Kashmiris, clearly echoed Hindu nationalist narrative of

patriotism and religious hatred. Good Muslims and bad Muslims contrast of American narrative is also evident in the coverage of this event as our and their Muslims. In the second event 57 Muslims were burnt alive in a train by Hindu nationalists in Gujarat while government and ruler of Gujarat Narendra Modi (now Indian PM) gave impression in their explanations that Muslims burnt the train which mobilized further Hindu nationalist volunteers for revenge. English press in India criticized Hindu nationals and Gujarat government for systematic killing of Muslims. It included interviews from Muslim victims and refugees. Cultural talk of good Muslims (victims of Gujarat riots) and bad Muslims (Kashmiri separatists) is also evident in this coverage. Lankala concludes that Indian English press nebulous about national secularism and reproducing state propaganda. Gujarat riots and Muslim genocide perceived as hate campaign but the same became national security when meet to state prosecution of accused Kashmiris. Nationalism is also blurred to Indian English press. Hindu supremacist nationalism perform dual role, when Muslims are terrorists it becomes Indian nationalism, when Muslims are victims it becomes communalism (Lankala, 2006).

Pardeep Singh Bali (2015) attempted to explore portrayal of Indian army in Kashmiri newspapers and conducted content analysis with interviews and personal observation of language used, headlines, space, cartoons and pictures. He concluded that print media in Kashmir criticized the presence of Indian army with provocative language, army's credit referred to civil administration, blamed army for suspected crimes, underreported and disgraced through cartoons and pictures. He provided logic for HR violations and draconian laws as army is engaged against terrorist and dealing with public unrest in the shelter of AFSPA. Public crowded for funerals of militants and throw stones at soldiers but media reported only HR violations when army retaliate. Kashmiri press depicted Indian army as

despotic, tyrant and HR violators. He admitted that Kashmiri public like such reporting and hate Indian army due to HR violations and draconian laws (Bali, 2015).

Kashmir conflict in regional media exhibits two realities, one from Hindu dominated Jammu and the other from Muslim dominated Kashmir. Different narratives of both regions are influenced by the contrast ideology of their respective populace. Archana Kumari and Ashish Kohli compared the coverage of Burhan Wani's encounter through Jammu and Kashmir based prominent newspapers to learn the differences of narratives. They conducted narrative analysis by comparing front page news, placement, headlines, contents, colors and photographs. They concluded that clearly there are two opposite narratives as, Jammu based newspapers adopted state centric approach and Kashmir based newspapers are pro-separatist and anti-state, influenced by unfriendly countries of China and Pakistan (Kumari and Kohli, 2017).

Media play an important role in shaping perception of conflicts to increase or decrease tension. Local media can provide especially enhanced understanding of conflict but most of the time it is ignored. Kashmiri media dominated by English and Urdu language newspapers adopted a regional approach and a primary source of information for local public. Election campaign can institutionalize and highlight politics of conflict and internal political differences. Entry of BJP, contestation of Article 370 and communalization of Jammu and Kashmir signified the state assembly election of 2014. Arif Hussain Nadaf studied coverage of election campaign by Kashmir press to explore prominent political issues, their association to a specific political party and news frames regarding these issues. He conducted content analysis of newspapers during campaign period and measured generic frames in spite of issue specific frames. These generic frames are conflict, economic consequences, and attribution of responsibility, human interest and morality. For internal politics of Kashmir there are two narratives of press coverage: politics of governance and politics of conflict. Politics of

governance comprised of four issues, economy and infrastructure, flood, communalism and corruption and politics of conflict also comprised of four issues, Article 370, Kashmir issue, resolution and AFSPA. His analysis revealed that politics of governance is prominent narrative with the dominant issue of economy and infrastructure mostly associated with local parties. Frame of strategy is dominant followed by economic consequences. Moving beyond conventional approach of media conflict relationship of India-Pakistan rivalry. This study concluded that local press coverage of election campaign dominates the issues related to politics of governance and it provided less coverage to issues related to politics of conflict (Nadaf, 2018).

Indian dominant discourse and Public perception about HR situation in Kashmir described that Kashmir being a territorial dispute is a matter of national prestige. Indian government denied any HR violation or security excesses despite numerous accounts by national, international and media organizations. Teresa Joseph (2000) studied press coverage of HR situation in Kashmir and conducted content analysis of Indian newspapers and cross verified with other media presentations. She revealed that front page news about Kashmir contained only press releases and official speeches while analysis pieces, editorials and features are hard to come. Indian press misguides audiences by portraying official statements without quotations or making them headlines giving the impression of actual reality. She categorized newspaper contents covering Kashmir into following categories. **Deaths and encounters** refers to straight news with official sources depicting success or failure of security forces. HR are completely neglected as press reports (like: “militants among 7 killed or 6 Ultra among 9”) which implies that civilian deaths have no matter. Indian press resisted that **human rights violation and security excesses** are mere propaganda by militants and Pakistan, which adversely affect well-organized and responsible security personnel. Indian press ignored **strikes and curfews** even lasted for several days, observed for security

excesses. There is no report condemning security excesses and HR violations or demands for plebiscite by **international organization and countries** while slightest criticism about Pakistan gets prominent reportage. Joseph reached on the conclusion that general public in India is ill-informed about actual conditions in Kashmir valley due to mainstream media which even justified cases of security excesses. It is overly dependent on official data and misguided belief of patriotism become a self-censor policy. It collaborated with government and increased the sense of alienation among Kashmiri public (Joseph, 2000).

Syed Nazakat discussed security risk in the coverage of Kashmir conflict on the basis of so-called national interest and documented the biases of Indian media regarding Kashmir conflict, self-censorship, and avoidance to report HR violation by Indian forces and lack of professional objectivity. Indian media is selective to avoid sensitive stories and manufacture opinions. Media portrays normalcy, concentrated on hatred for Pakistan and reproducing governmental data. Indian media busy to subvert truth, creating perception that separatists and Pakistan inciting street protest, street protests are sponsored violence, hiding real story because they saw it as damaging and demoralizing for army to report a story of fake encounter. He discussed some event of HR abuses of Kashmiri people by Indian security forces, while media presented the impression that HR violations are rare exception or Pakistani propaganda therefore Indian public wonder why things turn violent in Kashmir. He referred to Rwandan genocide where media supported tragic human sufferings with inadequate and incomplete reporting, mislead international community and allowed the regime to carry out slaughter. Similar media errors are evident in Kashmir, while blood shed continues since 1989. On the bases of personal experiences Nazakat discussed that journalists are facing the issues of verification, attribution, and personal security. He suggested the journalists to pursue the story only if the news organization and editors support the journalist (Nazakat, 2012).

Lubna Reshi (2015) aims to learn how journalist fulfil their jobs and what problems they face in a conflict zone. She documented violence and murder faced by journalists in Kashmir valley during 2008 to 2011 through content analysis of newspapers. She measured perception of the journalists about freedom of expression and speech, with regulations and bans imposed to halt freedom of expression through survey questionnaire. Researcher concluded that laws of freedom of expression and speech in Kashmir are not same, as of in India. Majority of journalists are suppressed and not satisfied, performing their duties, during strikes and curfews. Maltreatment of journalists comprises of confining them to their houses and hotels, beating, verbal assault and harassment. They feel restrictions on journalists are unjustifiable and feel insecure because there is no law to stop assault, no law to protect journalist and no action has been taken against security personnel involved in killing and assault of journalists (Reshi, 2015).

Sahil Koul (2017) explored status of press freedom, problem faced by journalists, their awareness about media legislations and rights in Kashmir. He conducted survey through self-administered questionnaire verified by Reporters without Borders. Sample drawn from the online list of journalists available on the website of Department of Information and Public Relations, Jammu and Kashmir. One fourth of the population selected randomly. Conclusion briefed about Indian constitutions and HR regarding physical punishment and freedom of movement. Journalists feel insecure due to detention and maltreatment, sometimes use bodyguards and bullet proof vests for safety and protection. Editorial policy of local media are shaped if not controlled by the government because journalists are attacked, detained, seized their equipment or even killed in Kashmir. There are unjustifiable fines, summons and repeated legal actions to prevent journalists from their duties. State government uses advertisements as a tool to curtain unfavorable and anti-establishment news. Journalist are subject to surveillance by authorities who tape their phones. Some are restricted to cover,

while some areas are not allowed in curfews despite having curfew passes. Unfortunately press faced continued subjugation and suppression which curtailed free expression and civil liberties.

Findings of the study

Proceeding of the research reveals that little published researches are available regarding coverage of Kashmir conflict by Indian press. By browsing internet sources like Google, WorldCat, LISTA, IEEE Xplore, Academia.edu, Research Gate, Journal archives and library catalogues researcher found only 12 research articles relevant to the study. Most of the researcher conducted content analysis and remaining conducted survey through questionnaire and in-depth interview. Human rights are discussed by almost all the researchers while three studies discussed media legislations, press freedom and journalist's rights in the valley. Three researcher studied local and regional press while others discussed national press. Two articles disclosed politics of natural disaster and presentation of 2014 flood and one discussed politics of governance and politics of conflict in 2014 election, while ethnicity, communalism and nationalism also discussed in Indian perspective. Media legislations, press freedom and experiences of journalist are also studied. Conflict, politics, HR violations, natural disaster, international relations, nationalism, separatism, patriotism and press freedom remained dominant and attractive for media researchers. Further it reveals that:

Shams Imran, identified eight frames in Indian press for Kashmir conflict in which International relations and Law and order frames dominate reinforcing official policies. Resolution and democracy frames are moderately appeared acknowledging Kashmir as a disputed but integral part of India. HR and history frames are rare but blamed Pakistan for HR propaganda, a stand point of Indian government. Dr. Danish Nabi Gadda, studied the portrayal of protests and strikes from 1989 to 2010 and established that national press ignored the voices of dissent to support official narrative as strikes and protest are sponsored by

separatists and diluted details and objectives of demonstrations in partial journalistic approach. Wasim Khalid studied propaganda in the coverage of Kashmir flood by New Delhi based media (press and Television). National media remained attached with army's vehicles and propagated as PR lobby for the army and government. It ignored local volunteers and growing anger for prioritized rescue and relief efforts by the army. It increased the sense of alienation of Kashmiri public by showcasing the army as the only savior of the ungrateful Kashmiris. Yasir, and Venugopal, studied politics of natural disaster (flood) in Kashmir. Victims described anger against national media's coverage of the flood which manipulated and fabricated things to show positive role of Indian army and ignored contributions by local volunteers. Even it suggested the Kashmiri populace to become loyal Indians and obedient to army. Lankala, analyzed Indian Parliament attack and Gujarat riots covered by mainstream Indian press and identified two discourses of nationalism: Nehruvian postcolonial secular nationalism and Hindu majoritarian supremacist nationalism. Indian media ambiguous or use the farmer for dual purpose. When it deals with terrorism or Kashmiri accused, Hindu majoritarian supremacist discourse becomes nationalism and when it meet to Muslim victims this becomes communalism.

Bali (2015) studied the portrayal of Indian army in Kashmiri newspapers and reveals that Kashmiri papers criticized presence of Indian army with provocative language because Kashmiri public hate Indian army due to HR violations and draconian laws. Kumari and Kohli studied coverage of Wani,s encounter in Kashmir and Jammu based newspapers and reveals that coverage of press influenced by the regional ethnic ideology as Jammu based press presented state centric approach and Kashmir based press presented pro separatist and anti-state narrative. Nadaf studied press coverage of 2014 state assembly election campaign in J&K to learn frames of internal politics of conflict situation and concluded that narrative of politics of governance dominates with the issues of economy and infrastructure with the

frame of strategy and economic consequences. These frames and issues are more associated with local political parties while Kashmir press ignored politics of conflict.

Joseph (2000) studied Indian press coverage of HR crises in Kashmir and concluded that national press ignores HR violations or repeats official view that it is mere propaganda by Pakistan, even justified cases of HR violations and criticized reports of HR violations by national and international organizations. Resultantly collaborated with government, to keep general public ignorant and further alienated Kashmiri public. Syed Nazakat recorded his experiences that Journalist faced problems of verification, attributions and security while covering Kashmir. He concluded that one should pursue the story when editors and media organizations support the journalist. Reshi (2015) studied incidents of violence against journalists through content analysis of newspapers and measured perception of journalist through survey and found that journalists in Kashmir feel insecure because there is no law to stop assault on journalist, no law to protect journalist and no action has been taken against security personnel involved in killing and assault of journalists. Koul (2017) studied present status of press freedom in Kashmir through self-administered questionnaire. He concluded that Editorial policy of local media shaped if not controlled by the government because journalists are attacked, detained, seized their equipment or even killed in Kashmir. Unfortunately press faced continued subjugation and suppression which curtailed free expression and civil liberties.

Conclusion

Review of the literature shows that most of the researches conducted by journalists and academic researchers who belong to Kashmir or visited and worked there. Content analysis and survey methods implied in most of the studies. HR violations are almost constant either research studies discussed politics, natural disaster, journalism and media or conflict and militancy. Media land scape divided into national and local spheres. National

press supported government stance especially when it discussed issues, bearing on national security and ignored public sentiment. In response to this ignorance, Kashmir press emerged with a powerful counter narrative. Kashmiri media further divided into regions: Jammu based (Hindu dominated) and Kashmir based (Muslim dominated) press. Jammu based media adopted state centric approach and Kashmir based media is pro-separatist and anti-India. It is concluded from the study that journalists and media outlets are second choice and target of HR violations and armed forces after Kashmiri public. Editorial policy of the media shaped, if not directly controlled by government because undue fines, restrictions, ban of media houses, assault on journalist are common with other ways to halt the media, even torture and killing of journalists. HR violation in Kashmir is a topic intolerable for national press, despite it focused on blaming Pakistan. For national press, HR activists in the country are anti-nationals and international human rights organizations are influenced by intrinsic Pakistani propaganda. National media adopted a self-censor policy due to misguided belief of patriotism therefore hesitate to report a story of HR violations or fake encounters which may downgrade morale of army. There are couple of narratives for nationalism, 20th century's Nehruvian nationalism comprised of secular developmental liberalism and contemporary Hindu majoritarian supremacist nationalism. Later performs dual purposes, when national media deals with terrorist or Kashmiri separatists, Hindu nationalism become the national narrative and when it meets with victims of Gujarat riots it become communalism. No doubt media conflict relationships are marked by state centric approach but it is the basic objective of press to protect civil liberties and to check on excesses on civil rights, which Indian press failed to perform.

Recommendations

Kashmir: owing to hot issue at regional and international level, can transform into a great threat for South Asia or the whole world. There is dire need for more empirical research

to study press role in Kashmir conflict. Academics and media researchers should probe press coverage of Kashmiri society, culture, life in Kashmir, ethnicity, gender, governance and democracy. Unbiased media outlets should bother their responsibility and to break the silence long treated with Kashmiri public. Their dissent and grievances should reach general public in India and abroad. International media organizations can perform better in the presence of suppressions and draconian laws. International community should exert influence to keep Indian authorities, respect human rights, civil liberties and press freedom in Kashmir.

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Article:	Mapping Credibility Scale of Sources of Political News Stories Through Perception Lenses of Pakistani Youth: Analysis of Governmental vs. Non-Governmental and Conflicting Political News Sources
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Abstract

Research was designed to evaluate the credibility perception of youth regarding different mainstream and new media sources of political news. This study adopted questionnaire survey method as a research design of the study. The sample was drawn using probability proportional to size (PPS) and random sampling techniques. For the purpose of investigation, 375 respondents from Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan's approved universities/degree awarding institutions (DAIs) were selected for the purpose of data collection. The findings of the study revealed that in case the respondents are encountered with the conflicting version of political news stories, they considered traditional TV news channels and newspapers as first and second most credible political news sources respectively. Additionally, it was also found that the majority of the youth perceived live streaming of traditional TV news channels and news websites that are associated with the mainstream news sources (traditional TV news channels and newspapers) as first and second most credible online sources of political news respectively. Additionally, this research also found that the majority of the respondents considered non-governmental sources of political news as most credible. Overall, the study concluded that the respondents still perceived traditionally delivered political news as highly credible sources of political news.

Key Words: Media Credibility, Political News, Credibility Perception, Mainstream Media, New Media.

Introduction & Background:

Aristotle concept of ethos is dominating since the last 2,500 years which is considered as the Greek foundation of source credibility. Ethos is one of the three major ways by which the sender can persuade the audience members (Griffin, 2009). Credibility is a concept which has broader scope and multiple dimensions. Aristotle definition of credibility describes it as character, intelligence and goodwill. Whereas, according to the other researchers, credibility is a construct that consists of several variables and dimensions. For instance the research of (Haiman, 1949) regarding the effects of credibility on persuasion concluded that reputation and competence are significant variables in the construct of source credibility. Furthermore, researchers have provided different definitions explaining the concept of credibility with regard to the mass media. It can be defined as reliability, trustworthiness or perceived credibility and also it also consists of the combinations of other concepts (Self, 1996).

In order to understand the phenomena of credibility of media, researchers from the Yale University, Hovland and his associates Janis and Kelly (Hovland, 1953) studied communication of Second World War and revealed that expertise, trustworthiness and intentions as major credibility variables. Following the footprints of these communication researchers, many studies were conducted in the domain of public and group communication. In addition to it, Carl I. Hovland and other researchers defined the concept of credibility as the trust on media along with it's expertise. Furthermore, the researchers have concluded that the credibility of news is a construct which can be defined as acceptance of communicated message by the receivers (Metzger, 2007). From that point, many media scholars have measured the credibility perception of the source and the message. Since 1950s onward, the competitions between newspaper and television have pushed the scholars to focus on how the consumption of news by a specific medium or channel can affect the perceived credibility of the news (Abel, 1977).

The attention in the area of media credibility was increased in 1930s during the Second World War when the greater trustworthiness of the radio news gave the set back to the newspaper audience. This rapidly growing attention was increased further in 1950s when the newly invented medium of mass communication, television pushed the social scientists to investigate which medium of news is perceived highly reliable by the news audience. The researchers differentiated between the source and medium credibility. The findings of the research concluded that people differentiated between the credibility of medium and source (Kiouis, 2001). Besides, in the early years of research regarding source credibility, many studies have suggested that the sources having high level of credibility are more effective in changing attitude of the receiver than the sources of information having low source credibility (Hovland, 1953).

Furthermore, media credibility can also be defined as the trustworthiness of news medium or channel. It is different from the concept of source credibility, which only focuses on characteristics of the person or group communicating the message. Also, the focus of media credibility is not related to the characteristics of the individual communicator like expertise and trustworthiness (Bucy, 2003).

Media credibility is defined as the construct of the given concepts: honesty, believability, trustworthiness, fairness, unbiased, objectivity, verifiability, accuracy, being up-to-date, timeliness and reporting of the whole story. The focus of past media credibility research was traditional media and these researches have ignored the internet. However, the internet audience trusts the internet medium for seeking information. But still it has to be discovered whether the online medium is meeting the expectations of users or not. In spite of the fact that there are serious concerns regarding the dissemination of fabricated or misleading news and information on internet, the strength of the online news audience is rapidly growing (Hilligoss, 2008).

Statement of Problem:

Credibility has been remained a significant feature for all forms of old and new media news commodities. Certain questions are being raised by the media academicians regarding credibility of news and information disseminated by alternative media channels. Since, the last decade the research scholars from the multi-disciplines have undertaken research projects to explore credibility phenomena in context of mainstream and alternative media. In the result of proliferation of massive news and information from the multiple mainstream and alternative sources has given birth to the critical issue of credibility, believability and trustworthiness of news and information. Additionally, due the heavy dependence of the audience on new media sources of news and information, the danger of misinformation and rumors is also highly increased. It is also evident from the literature that the importance of mainstream news media channels specially television and newspaper is not faded. In addition, the internet and other new media channels of news and information dissemination e.g. Facebook, Whatsapp and Twitter are new to the users in the developing countries which are now heavily being utilized by young users.

In order to address this significant and rapidly emerging issue of the credibility of news sources, it is the need of the time to investigate the perception of youth and to discover which mass medium of national political news they consider as highly credible. The focus of this study is youths as they are the most frequent users of the Internet and social networking media in Pakistan. This research is important due to the fact that a few researches were conducted in Pakistan in the past to understand the credibility perception about the mainstream and alternative sources of political news. The study would address the important questions concerning the credibility of news sources in Pakistan as well it would also pave the way for the future researchers to investigate many other important dimensions of

credibility of mass media. This research is theoretically linked with the source credibility theory.

Literature Review:

The current study intends to investigate the credibility perception of the youth of Punjab-Pakistan regarding different mainstream and new media sources of political news. In this connection, the review of relevant literature would surely support in understanding and identifying important concepts and variables related to the phenomena of credibility. Although there have been many studies conducted by the researchers in order to measure and evaluate the credibility perception of mainstream and new media sources of news. The current literature would present the most significant and directly relevant researches that would spotlight on researches regarding the credibility of mainstream and new media sources of political news.

Shan (2013) concluded that that micro-blogs were regarded as most credible news sources by the Chinese students. (Elareshi, 2012) found that the news services provided by pan-Arab news channels were regarded more credible than Libyan local television news services. Similarly, a study conducted in Egypt during the pre-election stage to evaluate the credibility perception of the audience towards different media channels concluded that overall, television was perceived as highly trustworthy medium after newspaper and internet (Hamdy, 2013). In addition, regarding the credibility of public vs. private media, (Singh, 2009) concluded that on balance, public media is considered as highly trustworthy as private media. Moreover, those Individuals who were unsatisfied with the performance of the president or doubtful about honesty of the government officials, trust the private media channels. Likewise, a media credibility survey found that the young audience in Malaysia still considers mainstream news media as highly credible. Moreover, regarding the credibility of media type (Zhou, 2014) investigated the media type credibility of Chinese sources of

news. The findings indicated that the medium of television secured top position and is regarded as most trustworthy medium of news in China. Whereas, in terms of news medium credibility, the newspapers, websites and radio stood on second, third and fourth position respectively.

Research Questions:

This study has been designed to answer the following research questions:

1. Which political news sources are perceived by the respondents as credible when conflicting versions of same political news stories are disseminated by different type of media?
2. Between the governmental and non-governmental political news sources which sources are perceived by the youth as credible?

Methodology:

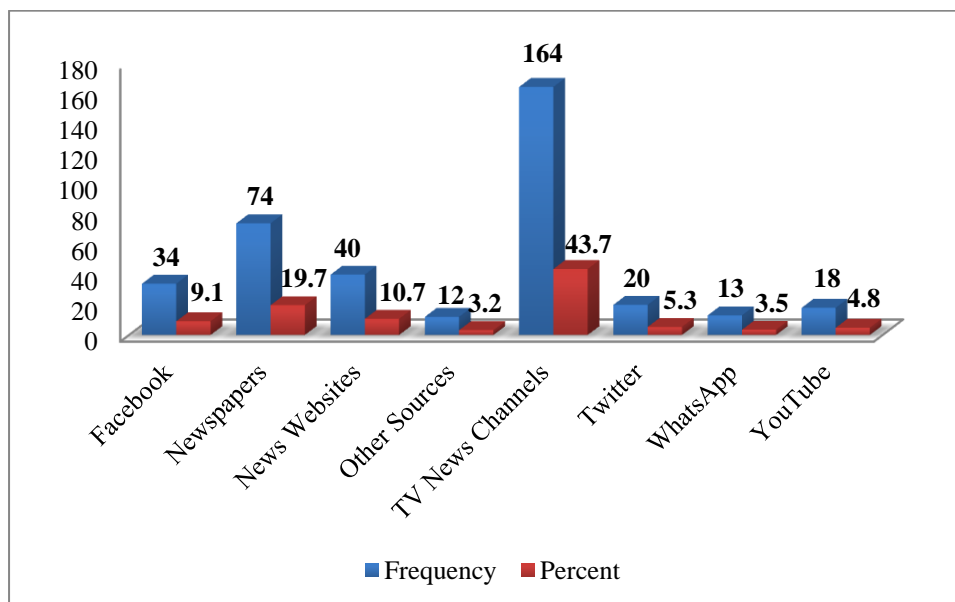
This study adopted questionnaire survey method as a research design of the study. The sample was drawn using probability proportional to size (PPS) and random sampling random sampling techniques. For the purpose of investigation, 375 respondents, (52.8%) males and (47.2%) females belonging to different higher educational institutions (HEIs) of province Punjab (Pakistan) were selected. The list of Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan's approved universities/degree awarding institutions (DAIs) was utilized for the purpose of data collection. The researcher has visited shortlisted universities in province Punjab (Pakistan) to get the questionnaire filled form the respondents. In order to evaluate the credibility perception of youth regarding sources of political news, source credibility measurement scale was utilized in the light of the previous researches e.g. (Johnson, 2004) & (McGrath, 1986). This study is theoretically linked with source credibility theory. In order to achieve the objectives of the research, pre-constructed questionnaire was prepared which comprised of 37 close ended questions of multiple choices to gauge the perception of youth

regarding news sources. The respondents indicated on a 5-point scale which includes the factors of believability, fairness, accuracy, and depth of each source. These four measures were then combined into a credibility index. The coded data was prepared and organized for the purpose of analysis using SPSS and different statistical procedures (e.g. chi-square and t-test) were performed to analyze the collected data.

Findings:

Figure: 1.1 Responses of Participants Regarding Conflicting Political News Stories & Medium Trust:

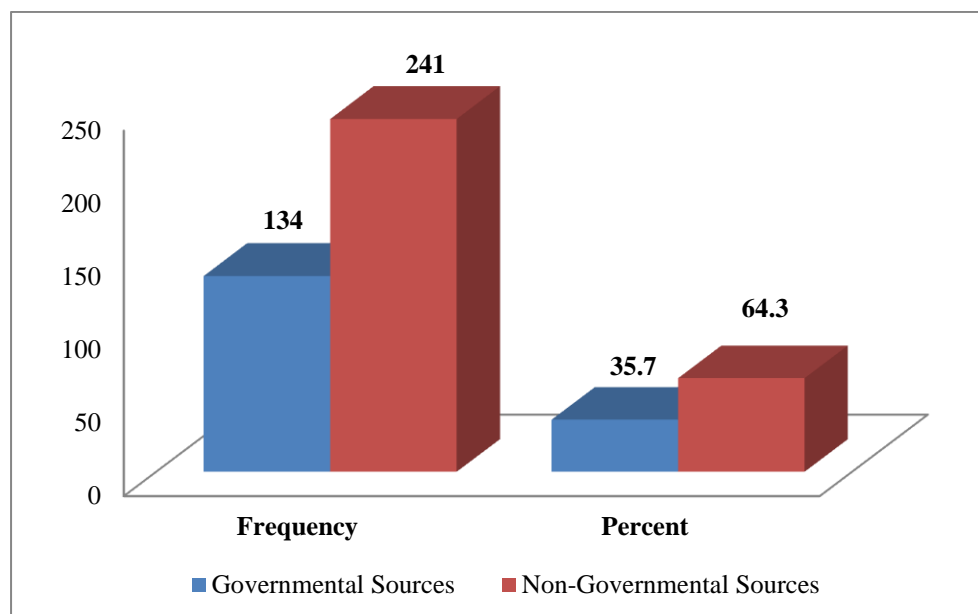
Conflicting Political News Stories & Medium Trust



The above figure clearly shows the responses of the university students regarding the source of political news they would trust when they are encountered with the conflicting versions of same political news stories. The majority of the respondents (43.7%) ranked TV news channels most credible medium for getting credible political news stories. In addition, the survey participants ranked traditional newspapers (19.7%) as second most believable source of political news. Moreover, internet news websites were ranked as third most trustworthy source of political news.

Figure: 1.2 Responses of Participants Regarding the Credibility of Governmental & Non-Governmental Sources of Political News:

Governmental & Non-Governmental News Sources & Youth's Trust



The above figure shows the perception of the university students regarding the political news source they trust. It is very clearly evident from the above given figure that the clear cut majority (64.3%) of the participants shared their opinion that they consider non-governmental source of political news as most trustworthy political news source.

Discussions & Conclusions

This research was designed to evaluate youth's perception about the credibility of mainstream and new media sources of political news in province Punjab-Pakistan. The major focus of current research was to unearth the respondent's credibility perception about the sources of national political news which they were utilizing. In order to achieve the objectives of the study and to unearth highly credible and lesser credible sources of political news, survey was used as research design for the measurement of youth's credibility perception about mainstream and new media sources of news.

The findings of our research endorse the results of (Moehler, 2009) and (Elareshi, 2012). It was revealed that the overwhelming majority of the respondents were of the view that they consider non-governmental/private owned sources of political news as most credible. It was found that Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV), which runs under government control, is perceived by the youth as less credible traditional TV news channel as compared to mainstream private TV news channels. Private TV news channels were granted permission by Pakistan Electronic Media Regularity Authority (PEMRA), Government of Pakistan under PEMRA ordinance 2002 for broadcasting satellite TV news channels in Pakistan.

Over the years, mainstream TV news channels are being watched by the majority of the audience for news bulletin, news analysis programs, political debates and talk shows as well as for watching other important news. Mainstream news audience is accustomed to, familiar with and feels comfortable with the news of traditional TV news channels. In addition to it, the medium of Television has certainly many features which cannot be replaced by the online news websites or social media sites. The adoption of new media technology for disseminating and receiving news and information has assembled both news organizations and the audience with diverse features but still the audience considers mainstream news sources as credible.

The major reason behind these results might be the frequent exposure, availability and convenience of the audience for watching traditional TV news channels. In addition, television is perceived by the youth as most credibility political news sources due to it's more serious, critical and well-researched political news and information programs which are beautifully presented for the audience in the timely manner. Youth watch different mainstream TV news channels for the sake of political news and the next day the newspapers reports more or less the same political news which they have already watched through the

traditional and online broadcast of TV news channels. Consequently, that also may be the reason that youth did not differentiate between the credibility perceptions about political news reported through the medium of traditional/online TV news channels with the traditional newspapers.

Secondly, mainstream news media also shares hourly news bulletin, breaking news and similar news content with the audience which is then re-shared through alternative means of news dissemination e.g. Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp etc. On the other hand, it is important to understand that the traditional TV news broadcast is the master piece of well composed, organized and attractive combination of images, sounds and footages of the events which summarizes almost every aspect of the reported news stories. So in this context, the characteristic of the mediums itself as well as the team work greatly influence the minds of the audience in context of credibility. Usually, the youth read those online newspapers, watch those TV news channels which they read and watch through the traditional source of political news.

In addition, It is also important to note that there can be many different reasons and factors which certainly play an important role in strengthening the credibility perception about TV news channels as well as other news organizations. These factors may include the number of years of experience in the news industry, research on news and information, association of well-known journalists/analysts with the organization, technology and expertise of news content production, strength and network of reporters/correspondents in the country and abroad, popularity of the news and talk shows, number of social media followers and subscribers and website visitors and the most importantly the powerful network of the authentic sources of news and information which certainly enable the news organization to break the news story before any other news organization that certainly increase the TRP and credibility. Similarly, (Sabigan, 2007) found that there were three main factors which have


contributed towards the perceived credibility of mediated news. The research concluded that news credibility, medium credibility, and reporters' credibility directly influence the credibility of the communicated news both on television and online news. Whereas, individual reporter's credibility is directly associated with the individuals intelligence, expertise, education, authoritativeness and trustworthiness. Moreover, the medium of television is evaluated by its comprehensive nature, fairness, and taking care for the public interest whereas the internet is evaluated on the basis of its objectivity, public interest as well as credibility. Besides, the yard stick for measuring the credibility of news for both the sources was objectivity and trustworthiness. These are the some of the important reasons which give the confidence to the news audience to depend on a specific TV news channels, newspapers over the other. Likewise, (Schweiger, 2000) also found that television news channels and newspaper were perceived as most authentic sources of news due the fact that TV was regarded as more serious, critical and well-researched.

Moreover, user's selection of news sources on the social media environment is also a significant factor which determines the credibility and authenticity of the news. As the social media has lesser checks and media gatekeeping process is not followed like in case of mainstream media, any one with just an email address can instantly create the account on social media. Duplicate and unverified social media pages of newspapers and TV news channels is another issue the social media users may encounter which assessing the credibility of communicated news and information. The analysis of social media pages of mainstream Pakistani newspapers and TV news channels revealed there are more than one social media pages of the one and the same news organization. It is alarming that thousands of the users are the subscribers/followers of these unverified/fake news pages. Such pages must be reported by actual news organization to the authorities for closure and necessary actions. Monitoring and observation of social media channels e.g. Facebook, Twitter and

WhatsApp exposed another, significant aspect which must not be ignored in any case by the users that is the habit of sharing and re-sharing unverified news and information. So, it is important that before subscribing any news source one must check and verify the authenticity of the sources of news. Usually, TV news channels frequently shares their social media account details with their audience. Mainstream TV news channels in Pakistan frequently shares the snapshot of news headlines, video news bulletin and various news and information programs for their social media audience. Furthermore, there are many credible internet/social media based news organization disseminating the news and information for thousands of subscribers.

Credibility is the significant feature of journalism and communication. The current research has thrown light upon the broader picture of the phenomena of credibility perception of the youth. The characteristics of mainstream media are different from the new media. To understand the issue of credibility deeper and to pin point the other factors and reasons which contributes towards the development of credibility perception, a separate comprehensive research is required to explore and analyze every source of news and information individually. In addition, to evaluate the credibility of traditional TV news channels, there are other aspects which need to be investigated.

Additionally, the other factors of TV news channels include access and availability, frequency of use and dependence, quality of broadcast e.g. HD transmission, coverage of the news stories, past experience with the source, breaking news etc. On the other hand, to measure the credibility of new media sources of news like websites of traditional TV news channels and newspapers, social media sites of newspapers, TV news channels, political parties and personalities, news blogs, political parties' websites, it is important to focus on other dimensions to explore which factors are the most significant contributor of credibility online. For instance, these additional factors of online sources credibility may include,

availability & access, professional and attractive page design, performance & presentation, website organization and navigation, absence of broken links and errors, interactivity of website, multimedia support, news search feature, frequency of news dissemination, strength of subscribers & followers, blue verification badge , fast download speed, domain name, absence of advertisements, links reputable news organization, presence of security and privacy policies, multi language support, social media following support, latest/breaking news tickers, notification subscription, live news streaming, availability of Android/IOS news apps. news sharing feature and “About news organization” link etc.

In addition to it, the factors regarding news organization and author may include: Identification, qualification and credentials of author or news communicator, contact information, reputation, association with media groups, presence on mainstream media etc. Whereas, the news itself is also very important which can be studied using the factors of Timeliness, accuracy and depth of the news, availability of date stamp showing the currency of news, links to external sites, video support, Professional quality and clear writing etc. Finally, the news receiver evaluates the news and information on the basis of above mentioned possible factors which certainly contributes in developing the credibility perception. The credibility evaluation at the end of the receiver may vary from individual to individual due to the past experience with the source, prior knowledge & attitude, personal expertise, medium dependency, experience of using internet & trust, age, gender, education, political party affiliation and income level.


An important step is already taken to tackle with the serious issue of systematic spread of fake notifications, political news, disinformation, political propaganda and other content of similar nature on social media, the newly elected government of Pakistan has launched a Twitter account 'FakeNewsBusterMoIB' to expose and deal with such news and information. This account was launched by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting on

the instruction of minister of information and broadcasting Fawad Choudhary. According to the Tweet by information minister the 'FakeNewsBusterMoIB' account will be used to give the official response to the false propaganda in timely manner. In addition, he added in this Tweet that this twitter account will also be used to identify the users involved in spreading fake news as well as to report it to the authorities to take action against such users. Such measures are good but not enough to counter such negative activities in the complex internet environment. For self-assessment/evaluation and differentiating the real news stories and information from the fake, here are some important recommendations.

Recommendations:

How to Identify Fake News?

- Examine the news headlines wisely. Usually, the sensationalism technique is utilized to attract the attention of the reader but don't panic because the shared news or information can be misleading.
- Don't trust solely on the news headline and initially read 100-200 words to understand more deeply.
- Pay attention to the date and time of news. News stories usually resurface on the internet and social media and can be provide wrong information.
- Research and investigate the author of the news. Reputed news sources / organizations often provide the information regarding the author and expertise of communicator.
- Have a look on the homepage of the news websites; fake news websites have the ability to look like real site which seems original.
- Evaluate the URL of the news site. The URLs of the fake news sites are very similar to the original popular news websites that consist of additional word or different domain.

- Look for the different hyperlinks of the website and try to analyze the other news stories.
- Identification of the source is must. Ensure that the news story is originally disseminated by the news organization you trust. If the source of the story is unknown or unfamiliar visit their “About” section to learn more about it.
- The fake or misleading news can also be identified by observing the unusual formatting and awkward layouts. Most of the false news website has mistakes in the spellings and grammar. Carefully identify such signs.
- Carefully examine the photos and videos on the internet. Fake news stories are usually supported by the photoshopped and manipulated images and videos which have nothing to do with the reality. Some of the photos are real but are presented out of the context.
- Moreover, with the use of video editing software the real videos can also be manipulated closely by joining the parts of entirely different videos and adding new voice over which is in fact not real.
- Think critically concerning the news stories you read, share only those news stories that you believe to be authentic.
- If you think that the news story seems suspicious or fake then go for the alternative sources to verify the news like traditional TV news channels and official news websites of the famous news organization which you regularly utilizes for getting credible news and information.
- Facebook, Twitter and YouTube assign the blue verification badge  that allows the audience to know that the profile or page is authentic. Only eligible media organization, public figures and brands can apply for the verification badge. If the

news page has this badge it means the material being provided on the page is authentic.

- Only subscribe and follow the official news and information sources. TV news channels disseminate the information about the official websites, Facebook, Twitter and YouTube of the news organization.
- It is recommended that mainstream media organizations should establish a specialized monitoring cell to verify the news and information disseminated by different unverified Facebook and other social media pages.
- Anonymity and no identification checks of social media is the major cause which leads to the lesser believability and credibility of disseminated news and information. Anyone can create an email and Facebook account in some minutes without real identifications.
- To counter this issue it is recommended that social media organization should form a proper mechanism of official identification of social media pages and accounts with the support of relevant government ministries and institutions like ministries of information technology, interior, information and broadcasting and law enforcing agencies working in the different countries.
- Mass media organizations itself should search and report the fake news pages to Facebook, Twitter etc. It would help to eliminate the mirror/duplicate social media pages of real news organization.
- The government's institutions dealing with law making and enforcement should make strict laws, rules and regulations to control the dissemination of fabricated news, political propaganda, disinformation and other related acts.
- Social media users interested in seeking credible news and information through online channels should follow and subscribe only to the official sources of news

organization. Mainstream news organization i.e. traditional TV news channels and newspapers frequently inform the audience and share the information about their official address of their websites, Facebook, Twitter , YouTube and other social media pages.

- The official social media news sources are regularly updated and provide news and information to their subscribers. Most of the traditional TV news channels shares their hourly news bulletin for their Facebook, Twitter and YouTube news audience. The list of the most of the official mainstream news sources is also part of this thesis.
- News organizations and smart phone companies together should develop and provide built-in news application software to their users which consist of all the official mainstream and alternative sources of news.
- To facilitate the news audience to enjoy live transmission of traditional TV news channels on their smartphones, it is recommended that all traditional TV news channels should develop smart phone news apps. that provide the uninterrupted and error free live news transmission to the consumers.
- Before sharing and re-sharing, liking and commenting on the news and information. It is recommended that the individual must initially verify the authenticity of the communicated news and information.

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Article:	Framing of Pak-Afghan Relations by Elite Pakistani and American Press during PMLN Government (2013-2018)
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Abstract

The study Framing of Pak-Afghan Relations by Pakistani and American Press during PMLN Government (2013-2018) is focused to analyze the Pak-Afghan relations as both countries are neighbors sharing a long border on one hand and is focus of the international powers since decades due to cold war and the war on terrorism after 9/11 attacks in the United States. The study is focused to analyze that how the elite Pakistani and American press frames the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan during the PMLN government that is from June 2013 to May 2018. For the study the elite English newspapers of the two countries Pakistan and United States were selected. Dawn and The News were selected from Pakistan and The Washington Post and The New York Times were selected from US. The editorials of selected newspapers were analyzed in this study using content analysis method. The study is supported by agenda setting theory focusing on the media agenda and the framing concept. Four categories discussing terrorism, US as factor in Pak-Afghan relations; the Pakistani and American stance on the Pak-Afghan bilateral relations are analyzed in three directions positive, negative and neutral. The study concludes that the elite Pakistani press has given more coverage to Pak-Afghan relations than US press whereas both Pakistani and US press has framed Pak-Afghan relations negatively.

Keywords: Pak-Afghan, Press, Framing, PMLN, United States, Terrorism

Introduction

Media has been considered as an important tool to shape the minds of the people at present, it has got a prominent position among all the circles of life across the globe and people are no more unaware about the happenings. They have in fact become part of the global village through media and they are having keen interest to know about the events and incidents from politics to the social issues and local to global matters. They are interested to know about the global market and economy to the regional matters and international relations as well. Nations are being transformed into globalization through media and the world scenario is being reshaped. Media has become a key tool of information at one end whereas creating an opinion and perception on the other. Media agenda is considered as more important in recent age which transforms and reshapes public opinion and agenda (Yousaf & Ali, 2012; Ali & Shahid, 2012).

The relationships between two neighbors and Islamic states Pakistan and Afghanistan are having greater importance not only at regional level but international level as well. Both countries are sharing a long boundary line of about 2250 kilometers, a large movement of the people is there between both countries on regular basis. Pakistan and Afghanistan are having a long history being neighbors but there are some historical differences too due to borderlines since independence of Pakistan. These disputes have become a base for the differences between both the countries. Afghanistan claims to have the right on certain parts which are under the territory of Islamic republic of Pakistan at present and this thing has created a sense of hate between both nations particularly in Afghanistan (Qaseem, 2008). As said earlier that both Pakistan and Afghanistan enjoyed a prominent position among the international powers since decades as during cold war United States and the allies used this region as a battlefield against USSR and later on in the war against terrorism after the September 2001 (9/11) attacks in the

United States claiming almost three thousand human lives. The region again became a center for the world as United States announced to start war against terrorism and its center was once again Afghanistan as it was claimed by the United States that the masterminds of the 9/11 attacks were hiding in Afghanistan and Pakistan being its neighbor had to become a part of the war against terrorism (Yousaf & Ali, 2012; Sultan, 2013).

The US led war against terrorism influenced the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan as Pakistan was asked by the US authorities to help her in the war against terrorism whose center was Afghanistan. Pakistani leadership agreed to support the United States in the war against terrorism. The 9/11 incidents left deep effects at global political, economic and social arenas. The government of Taliban was there in Afghanistan and United States demanded the government to hand over leadership of the organization named Al-Qaeda including Osama Bin Laden who was considered as mastermind of the 9/11 attacks but the Taliban government refused to do so. As result United States along with her allies attacked certain places in Afghanistan to target Al-Qaida and its leadership whose head was Osama Bin Laden. Pakistan being immediate neighbor of Afghanistan had to play its role by one mean or other and ultimately Pakistan supported United States and her allies in the war against terrorism. After this support to the United States Pakistan faced a series of terrorism and extremism for long time which damaged Pakistan at various fronts (Yousaf, Ali & Ahmed, 2013). Pakistan also faced a pressure by the United States to revisit the foreign policy regarding Afghanistan which also played a role to worsen the circumstances in Pakistan particularly law and order situation as Pakistan was the direct target of certain forces who were fighting against United States and her allies in Afghanistan (Sultan, 2013; Ali & Shahid, 2012).

The United States attacks in Afghanistan after 9/11 worsen the situation in Pakistan as well because Pakistan supported United States in war against terrorism and it was considered by certain circles in Afghanistan the Pakistan is playing role as a key player to damage Afghanistan and the situation was already not smooth between the two neighbors due to the boundary line dispute. Afghanistan went against Pakistan at time of independence and opposed its membership of the United Nations. In 1979 the Soviet Union invaded in Afghanistan and after this a war got strike. The circumstances between Pakistan and Afghanistan got better during cold war when United States supported Afghanistan through Pakistan to fight against USSR and at that time Mujahedeen (Holy fighters) were supported by United States with weapons and every type of support they were required. During that period Pakistan warmly welcomed the Afghan refugees and provided them with all the support that was required to live a normal life. The circumstances became better between the two states during this period and an atmosphere of brotherhood and harmony was also observed. At the end of war in Afghanistan in 1989 United States left Afghan territory in a vulnerable situation and after this US withdrawal a battle to hold the power and rule over Kabul started between different forces. The weapon that was given to fight against USSR was now being used against each other to seek power in Afghanistan. Pakistan also faced various issues after the US withdrawal from Afghanistan (Sultan, 2012). Pakistan and Afghanistan being neighbors could never ignore one another and the smooth terms between the two states were necessary for regional peace and stability as foreign forces ultimately had to leave the region but the permanent neighbors had to be there forever. So, the need of the hour was to establish strong ties between the two states but due to the internal political situation of Afghanistan stability among the relations could not be ensured. During the decade of 1990s the relations were neither too cordial nor too worse. So, a situation of normality was there which caused to greater extent

after 9/11 incident in the United States which changed the global scenario to greater extent. The war against Afghanistan built new nexuses as well particularly in the South Asian, South East Asian and Central Asian regions.

The relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan faced various ups and downs particularly after the start of war against terrorism and the US intentions to eliminate terrorism from the world whose center was Afghanistan. In Afghanistan there were major powers including Afghans and Taliban and it was now a tough time for Pakistan to extend her support to any of the stakeholder in Afghanistan. The relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan faced ups and downs during Hamid Karzai as Kabul blamed Pakistan to destabilize the Karzai government whereas Pakistan claimed Afghan involvement to destabilize Baluchistan by supporting Baluch nationalists on one end and also allowing Indians to fuel insurgency in Pakistan (Sial, 2011). Similarly, during Ashraf Ghani regime circumstances also remained same although after holding office by Ashraf Ghani it was decided to create an atmosphere of smooth relations between the two neighbors. Efforts for peace building in Afghanistan were made by Pakistan on one end but at the other end the evidences for creating instability in Pakistan by Afghanistan were found (Maqsood, 2014). Sial (2016) addresses that the rapprochement policy was adopted by the Ghani regime after assessing that a stable Afghanistan is not possible without establishment of smooth ties with Pakistan. Afghanistan has suffered a lot due to the wars and it requires peace and stability in the country, United States also intends to withdraw from Afghanistan and give hold to the local leaders but it is not possible without the facilitation of Pakistan. Smooth relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan are necessary for peace building process in Afghanistan (Maqsood, 2014). Studies show that the smooth relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan are important for peace and stability in Afghanistan and the region as well.

Keeping in view the regional and international circumstances the current study intends to analyze the framing of Pak-Afghan relations in the elite press of the two major stake holders in Afghan peace process Pakistan and Afghanistan. The study is aimed to analyze that how Pak-Afghan relations are presented by the Daily News and Daily Dawn from Pakistan whereas The Washington Post and New York Times from United States during PMLN government during June 2013 to May 2018. The era is important to study as during the same time period it is witnessed that the peace building efforts are made in Afghanistan where the role of Pakistan is considered integral on one end whereas at the other end the evidences of the involvement of Afghan territory in terrorism and extremism in Pakistan were also there (Mateen, 2014; Krista & Hashim, 2016). Media being fourth pillar of the state and it is necessary to study that how media has framed the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The purpose behind selection of the press from United States and Pakistan is that both are key stake holder in Afghan peace process and smooth Pak-Afghan relations are key to ensure the peace and stability in the region.

Objectives

The major objectives of the study are to study the following;

- Interference of the United States in Pak-Afghan relations
- Terrorism as factor between the relations of Pakistan and Afghanistan
- Stance of Pakistan on Pakistan Afghanistan bilateral relations
- United States stance between Pakistan Afghanistan bilateral relations

Media is controlled by the powerful class in any society which holds maximum resources and means of production including media and this powerful class plays an important role to establish the facts regarding the events and issues using the media Altschull (1984). The study in hand is

focused to determine the Pak-Afghan relations in the elite press of Pakistan and the United States where Altschull (1984) refers elite press as the responsible, objective, independent and widely circulated press.

The News

The News is a leading English newspaper of Pakistan. Its target audience is both elite and metropolitan. It started its publication in 1991 and is published from the major cities of the country including provincial capitals Karachi and Lahore along with the federal capital Islamabad. The News also publishes from London, England where its main audience are Pakistani nationals settled in the United Kingdom.

Dawn

The Dawn newspaper is also an elite English newspaper of Pakistan. It was first published in 1942 in Delhi before the independence of Pakistan. The best thing about this paper is it was founded by Pakistan's founder Muhammad Ali Jinnah for media coverage of All India Muslim league. It played an important role in the Pakistan movement. After independence of Pakistan it started publishing from Karachi. It is famous because of its news stories, articles and columns on national and international level. Its editorials play an important role in writing about the hidden issues of Pakistan and also guide its audience about international matters.

The Washington Post

The Washington post is an American newspaper. It is one of the elite newspapers of the United States. It is hundred years old newspaper. Media organization set some objectives for the editorial policy of the newspaper that it has to follow. The newspaper should tell the truth to its audience. It must tell the truth about the important matters of America and other world. It also

states that printing should be up to the mark, reading should be fit for all ages of audience i.e. young, adults and old.

The New York Times

It is an elite newspaper of United States of America that is published in New York daily and distributed internationally. The New York Times Company publishes number of other newspapers including the New York Times. This paper was founded in 1851 and it has the privilege to win 98 Pulitzer Prizes that is a record itself. The name of this newspaper is abbreviated as The Times and its motto is “All the news that's fit to print” is written in the upper left-hand corner of the front page like other newspapers.

Every newspaper has an editorial section and is very important part and consideration. Editorials include columns, articles and editorials. Editorials mostly show the policy of any newspaper. The reason of selecting the editorials of elite newspapers is to show how these editorials portraying and validating the topic of study. For this study, the selected anonymous editorials of chosen elite newspapers are position representative. As stated above editorials show the policy of any newspaper so it will help the researcher to understand the approach under specific issues. (Mughees, 1994; Salim, n.d; Yousaf& Ali, 2012; Ali, Jan &Saleem, 2013).

Hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1:

The elite English press of Pakistan has given more coverage to Pak-Afghan relations than American press.

Hypothesis 2:

The elite English press of Pakistan has given maximum negative framing to Pak-Afghan relations.

Hypothesis 3:

The elite press of United States has given maximum negative framing to Pak-Afghan relations.

Hypothesis 4:

Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations is given maximum coverage.

Hypothesis 5:

America's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations is given least coverage.

Literature Review

A number of studies are there regarding the coverage and framing of the bilateral relations between the different countries. The purpose of the study is to find out the framing of bilateral relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan in the elite press of Pakistan and the United States analyzing the editorials of the Pakistani and US newspapers. The topic under study is also widely discussed by the scholars and researchers. Press and foreign policy by (Cohen, 1963) is considered as one of the pioneer study in this domain which presents that press is an important medium to discuss the foreign policies of the countries. Mughees (1997) presents that media is an important tool to analyze the policies of the states and to frame the policies between the countries. Media framing of the events are considered very important to make perception of the people.

According to Cohen (1963) the foreign policy of the United States is having greater influence of the media and media plays an integral role to define the official policies of the country which are based on the suggestions by media and are also having the input of the public through media. Pakistan has got prominent position in the US newspapers before, during and after cold war where the framing was quite controversial regarding Pakistan before the cold war period, during the cold war the US media showed a soft tone towards Pakistan whereas it has

again presented Pakistan in a critical manner after cold war. This shows that the media in United States presented Pakistan according to the situation keeping in view the national interests. Media of the United States used a hard tone while framing Pakistan particularly over the economic and the military aid given to Pakistan during different time periods. Similarly, the media in United States frames the Muslim states keeping in view their own interests and intentions. The media praises until they are having their own interests and after that an entirely opposite stance may be witnessed by the media in United States. Moreover, the media also criticize the government policies in its coverage (Ali & Shahid, 2012; Mughees, 1991) and such criticism is observed during war in Afghanistan and gulf war. The media of any country protects the national interests and it ensures that the policies of the state are in larger interest of the nation and the stakeholders are working in a positive manner (McQuail, 1983). Ali & Shahid (2012) says that the western media frames Muslims and Islam in a negative manner and Islam is presented as a violent and destructive religion.

Muslims have always been insulted by American media since a long ago so violence or terror is not the only issue where Muslims have been projected in an offensive way. The Western Media have always been very biased in some issues like human rights, women issues, child welfare, patriotism, democracy and relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. About these issues American media always done disproportionate criticism and hence proved as biased and prejudice on those issues. In the US media, since 9/11, Islam has been portrayed as a very negative religion that should not follow and if it is to survive in present world that need to be modified. They have done this only with Islam. It is evident from history that this harsh criticism has never been done with any other community or religion like "Christianity", "Judaism",

"Hinduism" nor "Buddhism". Even if these communities were involved in violent acts directed against American or the Western world in general, they never got such a cruel criticism.

While discussing the Pak-Afghan relations (Sial, 2016) says that Pakistan and Afghanistan are the nations which are having long borders and peace and stability of both countries is linked with the regional peace and stability. While discussing the Pak-Afghan relations in the elite press of Pakistan Khan et. al (2014) concluded that the major newspapers of Pakistan mostly framed Pak-Afghan relations in a negative manner.

Theoretical Framework

Agenda Setting

The agenda setting concept deals with the priorities of the news and events presenting that which issues are considered more important and which are taken as less important (McCombs & Shaw, 1972 cited in Ali & Shahid, 2012). The study is supported by the agenda setting theory which presents that there are certain agendas which work at same time in different manners. The said agendas include the media agenda which serves the media and presents the media point of view including the official policies of the media houses and their editorial treatments. The media agenda is considered as important because it frames the events which make the public perception as well. The second is public agenda deals with the public interests and intentions over certain issues and events, it presents that what public thinks and what they want media to present and how to present the issues and events and the third is policy agenda which refers to the policy making of the media (Yousaf & Ali, 2012).

The study in hand deals with the media agenda setting which refers to what media intends to present to the public in its coverage of the editorials and the news stories and to which issues more importance is given and how the incidents are presented.

Concept of Framing

Framing deals that how media presents the frames or images of certain events and incidents. Framing allows the readers to create images of the pictures in the minds of the readers that how image of any news or story may be made by the media consumers. In the study the images or frames of the events related to Pak-Afghan relations are created and according to these frames study will be analyzed. Gitlin (1980) says that the media frames are considered just like the images which are interpreted according to the perceptions and understandings of the observer or the readers.

Methodology

In this study the content analysis method is used. Content analysis is a documented method, and its objectives include the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the content of texts, pictures, films and other forms of verbal, visual or written communication. (Sarantakos, 1998). According to Krippendorff (1980), “content analysis is a research technique for making replaceable and valid reference from data to their context”. Kerlinger’s (1986) states that “For the purpose of calculating variables, content analysis is a method of studying, and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner”. In the study the triangulation method is used as it contains both qualitative and quantitative methods.

The study is aimed to analyze that how Pak-Afghan relations are presented by the Daily News and Daily Dawn from Pakistan whereas The Washington Post and New York Times from United States during PMLN government during June 2013 to May 2018. The editorials of the selected newspapers during selected time period is analyzed where the editorials are considered as unit of analysis. The triangulation method is employed where each and every word, sentence, paragraph and even entire editorial is analyzed related to Pak-Afghan relations.

Categories of Analysis

Category is basically set criteria on the basis of which study is pursued and this is evaluated according to defined theme (Sarantakos, 1998). The category is considered as a center point of the study in content analysis because it allows the study to analyze the situations or themes under investigation. Without the proper construction of the categories the study cannot be pursued using the content analysis technique. For the study there are four categories designed to determine the Pak-Afghan relations, the selected categories are analyzed in the three different directions named as positive or supportive, negative or non-supportive and balanced or mixed. Any word, sentence, paragraph, editorial or theme which favors the Pak-Afghan relations by any mean will be placed in positive or supportive; any word, sentence, paragraph, editorial or theme which opposes the Pak-Afghan relations by any mean will be placed in negative or non-supportive whereas neutral or balanced refers to a mixed stance. These categories are as follows;

- (A) America as a factor in Pak-Afghan Relation
- (B) Terrorism as a factor between Pak-Afghan relations
- (C) Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations
- (D) US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations

Results

Frequency of the selected Newspapers				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The News	34	25.8	25.8	25.8
Dawn	46	34.8	34.8	60.6
Washington Post	24	18.2	18.2	78.8
New York Times	28	21.2	21.2	100.0
Total	132	100.0	100.0	

Table 1

Table 1 show that form the Pakistani elite newspaper Dawn 46 (34.8%) editorials has included on Pak-Afghan relations whereas 34 (25.8%) from The News has included in the study about Pak-Afghan relations. From American newspapers 28 (21.2%) editorials have given by New York Times and 12 (18.2%) on Pak-Afghan relations has given by Washington Post.

Category A: America as a factor between Pak-Afghan relations

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive	10	7.6	38.5	38.5
Negative	14	10.6	53.8	92.3
Neutral	2	1.5	7.7	100.0
Total	26	19.7	100.0	

Table 2

According to the results of Table 2 America as a factor between Pak-Afghan relations that the positive observations are 10 (7.6%), negative observations 14 (10.6%) and 2 (1.5%) neutral observations given by the selected newspapers from Pakistan and the United States. Total 26 (19.7%) articles are included regarding the selected issue.

Category B: Terrorism as a factor between Pak-Afghan relations

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive	10	7.6	25.0	25.0
Negative	26	19.7	65.0	90.0
Neutral	4	3.0	10.0	100.0
Total	40	30.3	100.0	

Table 3

The results about the category B are 10 (7.6%) positive observations, negative observations are 26 (19.7%) whereas 4 (3%) on neutral observations given by the selected Pakistani and American newspapers. Total 40 (30.3%) editorials are included concerning terrorism as a factor between Pak-Afghan relations.

Category C: Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive	12	9.1	27.3	27.3
Negative	25	18.9	56.8	84.1
Neutral	7	5.3	15.9	100.0
Total	44	33.3	100.0	

Table 4

According to the findings of Table 4 about category C i.e. Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations contains 12 (9.1%) positive observations, 25 (18.9%) negative observations whereas the neutral observations are 7 (5.3%) given by the selected Pakistani and US newspapers. Total editorials are 44 (33.3%) are included about border issue between Pak-Afghan relations

Category D: US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive	3	2.3	13.6	13.6
Negative	14	10.6	63.6	77.3
Neutral	5	3.8	22.7	100.0
Total	22	16.7	100.0	

Table 5

About the category D i.e. US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations the results show that there are 3 (2.3%) positive observations 14 (10.6%) negative observations whereas 5 (3.8%) neutral observations given by the selected Pakistani and US newspapers. Total 22 (16.7%) editorials are given about the category D.

Statistical Results using Chi-Square

	America as a factor between Pak- Afghan relations	Terrorism as a factor between Pak- Afghan relations	Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations	US's stance on Pak- Afghan bilateral relations
Chi-Square	8.615 ^b	19.400 ^c	11.773 ^d	9.364 ^e
Df	2	2	2	2
Asymp. Sig.	.013	.000	.003	.009

Table 6

Table 6 shows that all the categories are statistically significant as p is less than .05

Overall Analysis

Country of Newspaper	Newspaper	Direction	Category				Total	
			A	B	C	D		
US Newspapers	New York Times	Positive	01	03	01	01	28	52
		Negative	04	07	06	02		
		Neutral	01	00	01	01		
		Total	06	10	08	04		
	Washington Post	Positive	01	04	04	02	24	
		Negative	01	02	04	03		
		Neutral	00	00	02	01		

		Total	02	06	10	06		
Pakistani Newspapers	Dawn	Positive	04	01	03	00	46	80
		Negative	07	08	10	05		
		Neutral	01	02	03	02		
		Total	12	11	16	07		
	The News	Positive	04	02	04	00	34	
		Negative	02	09	05	04		
		Neutral	00	02	01	01		
		Total	06	13	10	05		
Overall Newspapers	Total	Positive	10	10	12	03	132	132
		Negative	14	26	25	14		
		Neutral	02	04	07	05		
		Total	26	40	44	22	132	

Table 7

Table 7 shows the overall analysis about the issues described in above mentioned categories

Discussion and Conclusion

Numerous researchers have conducted research studies on the Pak-US and Pak-Afghan relations. Specifically, American foreign policies have given more significance by the researchers due to the reason of being world power and also US is directly or indirectly related to concerns of various nations. In the present study Framing of Pak-Afghan Relations by press of Pakistan and United States during PMLN Government from June 2013 to May 2018. The study is conducted using the content analysis method employing the agenda setting theory focusing on media agenda along with the concept of framing.

Keeping in view the regional and international circumstances the current study intended to analyze the framing of Pak-Afghan relations in the elite press of the two major stake holders

in Afghan peace process which are Pakistan and Afghanistan. The study analyzed that how Pak-Afghan relations are presented by the Daily News and Daily Dawn from Pakistan whereas The Washington Post and New York Times from United States during PMLN government during June 2013 to May 2018. The era is important to study as during the same time period it is witnessed that the peace building efforts are made in Afghanistan where the role of Pakistan is considered integral on one end whereas at the other end the evidences of the involvement of Afghan territory in terrorism and extremism in Pakistan were also there (Mateen, 2014; Krista & Hashim, 2016).

The study is based on the categories including America as a factor in Pak-Afghan relation; Terrorism as a factor between Pak-Afghan relations; Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations and US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations which were analyzed in three directions as positive, negative and neutral. The study shows that Pakistani press has given more coverage to the Pak-Afghan relations as compared to the US press. In category A, Pakistani press had given more negative coverage followed by positive and then neutral coverage. In US press there was more negative coverage followed by positive. In category B, Pakistani press had given more negative coverage whereas in the US press maximum negative coverage was observed. In category C, Pakistani press had maximum negative coverage whereas in the US press maximum negative coverage was seen followed. In category D, Pakistani press had given maximum negative coverage followed by neutral and no positive coverage was given, whereas in the US press maximum negative coverage was seen followed by positive coverage, there was no positive coverage in the US press in this category.

It is concluded from the analysis of selected newspapers of Pakistan and US that as compare to US press, Pakistani newspapers had given more coverage in all the A, B, C and D

categories. In Pakistani press maximum negative stance was observed regarding all selected categories. Similarly, maximum negative stance is observed in US newspapers. While discussing the hypotheses it is analyzed that H1: The elite English press of Pakistan has given more coverage to Pak-Afghan relations than American press is proved (Table 1). H2: The elite English press of Pakistan has given maximum negative framing to Pak-Afghan relations is also proved (Table 7). H3: The elite press of United States has given maximum negative framing to Pak-Afghan relations (Table 7). H4: Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations is given maximum coverage is proved (Table 6 & 7) whereas H5: America's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations is given least coverage is also proved (Table 6 & 7). The overall statistical analysis presents significant response for all selected categories. The study showed that the media of both the selected countries Pakistan and the US had given free opinion while covering the selected issues. The study concludes that the elite Pakistani press has given more coverage to Pak-Afghan relations than US press whereas both Pakistani and US press has framed Pak-Afghan relations negatively.

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Article:	Impact of Multicultural Diversity on the Gender Stereotyping in Bapsi Sidhwa's <i>The Pakistani Bride</i> through the Deconstructive Perspective
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Abstract:

The article analyzes the impact of multicultural fictional representation of the two female characters on the gender stereotyping in Bapsi Sidhwa's *The Pakistani Bride* (1990) by applying Judith Butler's gender approach. The novelist (1938) is a distinguishing Anglophone, post-colonial and diaspora writer in South Asia (Suleri, 2001) who is known to be the pioneer of Pakistani novel in English. Sidhwa's portrayal of different cultural milieu in the novel under study is to highlight the impact on gender identification through the analysis of the performativity of the two brides, Zaitoon and Carol. The first lady, one of the key characters, confronts and challenges the tribal gender norms of a Pakistani society and the second bride mirroring of an American culture projecting of a diverse identification. The multicultural contextual background of the novel leads the debate to analyze how different gender roles are performed by each of the brides to support the research contention that gender is wrought not by sexual categorization but by socio-cultural stereotyping. Therefore, the cultural differences in the book necessarily require fluid shades of gender identification accordingly. It is the targeted objective of the research framework applied by the study that gender is an action, it is a fluid and instable feature as has been manifested through the performance of the focused characters in the novel.

Keywords: Sidhwa, gender identification, multicultural impact, gender stereotyping, fluidity, socio-cultural norms

Knowledge Background

“The two story lines (Zaitoon's and Carol's), combine to produce a splendid tale – at a level far above that which is familiar in Pakistani Anglophone writing”.

Alamgir Hashmi in World Literature Today

The Pakistani Bride symbolizes multicultural diversity and its impact on gender stereotyping with the manifestation of the performativity of the two key female characters. The plot revolves around their confrontation and resistance against the challenging circumstances. Zaitoon is the symbolic lady from the Kohistani tribal culture and Carol is a next lady, a western woman who has a changed gender role to play that is different from Zaitoon due to their dissimilar socio-cultural gender norms they are born in. The multicultural contextual background of the novel torches the deliberation on how different gender roles are performed by each of the brides to highlight the research contention that gender is wrought not by sexual categorization but by its stereotyping. Therefore, the cultural difference the book by Sidhwa necessarily requires diverse shades of gender identification accordingly. The deconstructive gender approach states that gender is an action, it is to be performed in accordance with the conventional rampant norms. It should be made obvious that gender is not a free choice for a performer to select as one deems (Salih, 2002) because its performance is restrained only by the innate patriarchal norms that are reckoned to be natural. Though gender subversion is a risky and unconventional option yet it is in no way an impossible entity. That is why, Judith Butler (1990) problematizes/challenges permanency and naturalness of the gender assigned roles. She argues that the collapse of gender binary opposition becomes too terrifying to be challenged or questioned (Butler, 1990).

The article therefore contents that the notion of gender's fixity and its naturalness is a stereotypical conception that has nothing to explain the gender roles through the analysis of the textual excerpts and discussion of the novel, the performativity of gender construction by different characters strengthens the idea that it has fluid tendency to be conformed as per the requirements of normative structures.

Moreover, the study analyzes the gender roles by Zaitoon from her infantile age to a wedded woman. The bride is one of the three pivotal female characters, the brides after whose name the novel is titled at. The plot mainly is the narration of the resistance of her life against the socio-cultural gender taboos. Her initial entry and appearance in the novel comes before readers' eyes as a tender age baby as she is narrowly escaped from a life-threatening incident during the riots of the partition which took her parents' lives on the spot. Miraculously, she was salvaged by a man namely Qasim. She was running away in the darkness, suddenly in search of her parent, she got hold of Qasim's legs incidentally for rescue. She started sobbing, 'Abba, Abba, my Abba! For a moment Qasim lost his wits. The child was the age and size of his own little Zaitoon lost so long ago' (Sidhwa, 1990, p.22).

1.2.About the novelist and overview of the selected Work

Bapsi Sidhwa (1938) is an acclaimed Anglophone, post-colonial novelist in South Asia (Suleri, 2001). She has a multicultural background to be a Pakistani, Punjabi, Parsi and American novelist who is distinguished to be the pioneer of English novel in Pakistan. Her art therefore reflects the literary color of the diverse and multinational pluralism (Mahesar, 2018). The artist has infused a literary appeal in the diaspora fiction of South Asian which was once supposed to be barren and devoid of an International appeal (Brians, 2003). Her works blend indigenous (Asian) literary contextualization with the global literary horizon comparatively. Moreover, the

artist appears to be a robust voice for women, segregated segments of society and minority (Escherle, 2013). This is echoed by Brians that the two facts, about Sidhwa to be a woman and a member of a minority, don't hamper the reputation (Brians, 2003) of her art.

Furthermore, Sidhwa was granted International awards besides receiving the national highest award of Sitara-e-Imtiaz, the highest award of the land. She has authored five reputed novels that have been translated into different languages like Italian, German, Russian, French, and Urdu.

2. The Research Framework applied: An analytical Overview

Judith Butler is a distinguished American post-structural gender philosopher. Her theory of gender deconstruction has stirred a heated debate among gender theorists. She is a challenging thinker of the contemporary world, her works questioned the traditional stances of gender and feminist school of thought. Her works impacted (Butler & Salih, 2004) different fields like gender studies, feminism, literary, ethical, queer linguistics and political disciplines profusely. Salih remarks about her in her book, *The Judith Butler Reader* that to categorize Butler as a post-structural, feminist, Marxist and psychoanalytic philosopher often mix all the elements. (Rognstad, 2012). This marks the dialogic theoretical background of her thought.

The most acclaimed work by Butler is *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity and Bodies that matter* (1990) that caused her reputation in the world. Her area of specialization at Yale University during her doctorate helped quench her thirst of (Blumenfeld, 2001) exploration in the areas of phenomenology and post-structuralism. Her doctorate is literally a significant contribution in the field of post-structural gender. Later on, she worked as a professor at different international American universities.

Butler's the most sever attack on the taken-for-granted notion of 'naturalness' of gender is penned down in, *Gender Trouble* (1990). That was published in 1990 and it has been translated into almost twenty-seven languages of the world to meet the curiosity of readers, critics and researchers. The work is mostly a criticism of, "a pervasive heterosexual assumption in feminist literary theory" (Butler, 1990, p. viii).

Butler's post-structural gender stance is to theoretically highlight the aporias and contradictions in the feminist movement that is aimed at projecting gender discrimination in society and literary works. The feminists emphasized to eradicate the discriminatory practices rooted in a patriarchal culture. They contend that the prevalent patriarchal norms affect women's due participation and equal advancement in a society at par with men. That resultantly provided feminists a motivation to introduce different feminist movements to curtail the segregation of women in all walks of life at equal footing with men. Therefore the issue of gender appeared on the world horizon in which status discrimination and differences were underlined for criticism. But in Butler's view, feminists have projected their perspectives about gender through the erroneous association of gender with sexuality; that is the focal point of difference of Butlerian approach from feminism. Henceforward, feminists struggled for the equality of legal, political and academic right of women with men but through their classification of gender into a binarism that is femininity and masculinity that is the major concern of the post-structural understanding to differ from. Bulerian approach is a review of feminists and gender theorists' status quo stances. Thus, the conventional and stereotypical gender binarism goes eventually to strengthen the conventional concept of gender. The masculinity is always favored and kept on the left side of the binary while femininity is kept on the right side of the binary opposition. All those notions of strength, wisdom, superiority are associated with masculinity to be at the favourable location

of right side. It demonstrates the unfair and imbalanced treatment of femininity in this binary concept of classification due to the mistaken stance of feminism and gender theorists.

The study therefore aims at reviewing and criticizing of the status quo stance taken by feminist theory from the contextualization of *The Pakistani Bride* by Bapsi Sidhwa. The trouble with the traditional, cultural construction of gender binary may lead to get rid of gender discrimination by first rectification of the tool used by feminists for a significant cause of elimination of gender inequality.

3. Significance

The study critiques the contemporary issue of gender identity that is misinterpreted and misjudged by following its stereotypical rampant notions. The gender roles and its identification are one of the common issues in today's world of human engage. Therefore, the misconstrued ideas of gender construction is concerned with each sphere of human society and life. That is the reason that the issue of gender identity ever remains present in day-to-day deliberation and talk. It is explained by Barnett and Rivers(2004) that we witness gender differences “in management texts, newspapers and magazine articles, best-selling books—maybe even in chats with your best friend over coffee” (p. 31). So a significant issue is dealt with by following the unfeasible concepts of gender as a natural or binary perception that is to be deconstructed by the present research through the fictional representation of the selected novel.

The issue of gender has significant status across most of the disciplines in contemporary world. Gender roles and its identification earn scholarly heed for its further exploration. The present study intends to investigate the causes of its normative concept. Such an exhaustive body of research can be found on the topic by feminist and gender scholars, however, the present article makes a contribution by applying different research framework that deems gender not as a

fixed entity like sex, and rather it perceives gender as a fluid entity, not a static. Besides, the study applied an innovative approach to study the western theory from South Asian indigenous contextualization. Thus, the research focuses on the following major concerns as its objectives.

1. To critique the traditional feminist and gender perspectives that confine it into a stereotypical box
2. To question the erroneous binary oppositional demarcation of gender into masculinity and femininity
3. To expose the rampant gender stereotyping that restrains the opportunities of progress of in the novel
4. Through the relevant textual and contextual fictional representation of the novel, it is to manifest that gender is not a natural and permanent biological entity but it is a fluid characteristic that changes according to the performativity of characters
5. The research is mainly concerned with its significant objective to problematize the deep-rooted gender discrimination that can be rooted out by rectification of the take-for-granted notions about gender roles.

4. Discussion and Findings

4.1. Impact of Cultural Diversity on Gender identification in The Pakistani Bride

“The two story lines (Zaitoon's and Carol's), combine to produce a splendid tale – at a level far above that which is familiar in Pakistani Anglophone writing”.

Alamgir Hashmi in World Literature Today

The novel represents multicultural diversity and its impact on gender stereotyping with the portrayal of the performativity of the two key female characters, the two brides. The plot revolves around their struggle and resistance against the challenging circumstances woven by the

conventional gender culture. The first lady, Zaitoon is the resistant voice from the Pakistani tribal culture whom we meet in the initial pages of the novel as a child and Carol is an American woman who has a different gender role and different challenges from Zaitoon due to her different background and brought-up from a tribal culture. The multicultural contextual background of the novel proceeds the deliberation on how different gender roles are performed by each of the brides to highlight the research contention that gender is wrought not by sexual categorization but by its stereotyping. Therefore, the cultural differences of the two brides in the book by Sidhwa necessarily requires different shades of gender identification accordingly despite the fact that both the brides live and survive in the same culture. The deconstructive gender understanding contends that gender is an action, it is to be performed to conform to the conventional rampant standards. It should be made obvious that gender is not a free choice for a performer to perform as one deems (Salih, 2002) because its performance is restrained only by the innate patriarchal norms that are reckoned to be natural. Though gender subversion is a risky and unconventional choice to do yet it is in not an impossible.

Moreover, the study problematizes the gender's notions by Zaitoon since her tender age of a baby girl to a wedded woman. She is one of the three pivotal female characters, the bride, the novel is named at. The plot mainly is the narration of the resistance of the two ladies generally against the socio-cultural gender taboos. They became the worst victim of the discriminatory tribal environment that defines gender into the binary of masculinity and femininity.

Zaitoon's appearance in the novel at a time when she as a baby has narrowly escaped from a life-taking incident during the riots of the partition which took her parents' lives on the spot. Miraculously, she was salvaged by a man namely Qasim. She was running away in the

darkness, suddenly in search of her parent, she got hold of Qasim's legs incidentally for rescue. She started sobbing, 'Abba, Abba, my Abba! For a moment Qasim lost his wits. The child was the age and size of his own little Zaitoon lost so long ago' (Sidhwa, 1990, p.22).

Her character's manifestation in the novel begins with no gender to be categorized. She is as an orphan child with no identification of her parental background. She was screaming with fear and she started running after Qasim in the pitch darkness in search of her parents. The novelist has beautifully represented that as a cultural tradition for a girl to have her identification only due to her link and relationship with a male member of society. Her performativity therefore reveals her quest for identity of a name and family in the conventional gender culture. Qasim approaches her, "Kneeling before her, he sheltered the small face in his hands. The girl stared at him". However, She remarked, "You are not my Abba(papa). She said in accusing surprise" (Sidhwa, 1990, p.22). One's affinities, one's family name or one's own play a pivotal role in shaping one's gender role in a culture represented in the novel. Qasim wants to know her identity that is the impressive manifestation of gender stereotyping through his first question, "What's your name?" She responded, "Munni" Qasim asks again, "Just Munni? Aren't all little girls called Munni?"(22). Zaitoon is failed to demonstrate those attributes of her persona that can be convincing to meet the stereotypical gender standards devised by the tribal society. Qasim is yet not convinced about Zaitoon's gender identification that lacks of her association with any male member of her family. He rephrases his question again, you should have some other name. Do you remember your father's name? To which she replied that it was Sikandar.

The gender stereotyping acts as a strong force that determines one's gender status and role .If a girl lacks her relationship and association with her male family member, she is not recognized and identified in the predefined gender categorization in which one is to rule over the

other weaker one. Culturally, a girl has her no identity without her reference to masculinity. It further aggravates the situation if a girl is an orphan as is the role of Zaitoon.

4.2. Comparative Gender Performativity of the two Brides: A challenge to Gender

Stereotyping

The comparative gender performance of each of the two brides has much significance to highlight the impact of different socio-cultural standards and cultural backgrounds on shaping of gender construction that keep changing as the circumstances change. It unfolds that gender is not fixed entity, it gets different shades according to diverse social norms. Zaitoon and Carol have different attitudes, exposures and reactions to deal with a question of sex-discussion at the pubertal age. Zaitoon's tribal culture does not permit a girl to discuss sex at this phase of life. While Carol's exposure in the western culture gives her a comfortable position to discuss the subject of sex freely without any hindrance. However sex should be a no subject for (Marwah, 2008) Zaitoon.

Therefore, Zaitoon is brought-up in a culture where these issues are prohibited for girls to speak about. It is a society of sex-vacuum. "Living in 'Muslim seclusion' in a 'sexual vacuum', she is not aware of her instincts because of the orthodox environment. (Marwah, 2008, p.35). The discussion of sexuality so freely as is done by Carol cannot be tolerable in the tribal society where Zaitoon was brought up in. It unearths that different cultures have different parameters and standards

However Carol's assertive and daring performativity can be witnessed as she feels more comfortable to discuss these matters openly. Her attitude (Marwah, 2008) with males of even Pakistani society shows that she is used to deal these sensitive issues. Her exposure in American culture equips her with a conspicuous status not to allow any male member of her family to

decide about her marriage, rather, she considers it her personal issue so she has the right to decide about. Carol's 'manly' identification in the male-controlled culture is wrought by her brought-up in an American culture. Opposite to submissive role of Zaitoon initially, who cannot ask her father about her own marriage, but Carol has resisted against the unwillingness of her parents about her love-marriage and her migration to Pakistani Kohistani tribal society from America. She persuaded her parents to reconsider their decision and finally they let her marry Farukh and even let her accompany her husband to Pakistan. Despite the fact that Carol's parents were certain that her husband would force her to convert to Islam. Sidhwa described this scene that at last her family showed its willingness for her marriage. "the young couple had left for Lahore" (p.91). Sidhwa has portrayed an assertive lady in Carol's character as she did not show any hesitation to do the risky job of going to the clannish area for her choice and love where no other western woman has ever supposed to take such a risk.

The novelist's portrayal of Carol's 'manly' role with these words, "In the area of sex, however, she had moved timorously. Her conventional upbringing, though modified by California liberality and the relaxed morals of an affluent neighborhood" (Sidhwa, 1990, p.90). Carol's daring gender performativity proves that it is the culture that determines one gender's role, not the sexual categorization. Her such actions which are hard to be expected of a lady in the tribal culture, are confidently done by her, she smoked openly, and she did not hesitate to use marijuana. No woman in the tribal society can think to smoke where Carol is using the marijuana.

Carol's such a freedom distinguishes her to be a bold character, however it created suspicions and doubts in Farukh's mind about her wife. Therefore, Farukh takes the recourse of cultural sanctity and standards set for gender. He warns his wife not to violate the cultural drawn lines set by the patriarchy. He expressed his reservation in the words that it is not permissible for

you to be at heels for all types of men. (Sidhwa, 1990). Later his tone gets hard when he forbade his wife to step out without his permission. It should be a last warning. (91). This resulted in waning her love for Farukh who is becoming suspicious and critical of her actions. She started hating her husband due to her uncontrollable suspicion and jealousy about her free-mixing with her husband's friends.

Carol's gender delineation is the cause of cultural construction that is shaping for her new and complicated roles to perform. Now the new orthodox tribal culture demands her of a role that is quite opposite of a role in a western culture where she was born in. When she violates the pre-defined rules, she is ultimately threatened by her spouse. It unfolds that her liberal identification in the western society confronts resistance now in a new culture. It shows therefore that gender is not a permanent and natural concept, it is caused by socio-cultural norms. The clash between the two different cultures of Pakistan and American is an effective representation by the novelist. Farukh doesn't tolerate his wife to violate the cultural gender limits by his society. He utters, "I'm so ashamed of you! Displaying your honky-tonk pedigree! You laugh too loudly. You touch men" (Sidhwa, 1990, p.92). Carol replied that you are suspicious of your friends and your talk seems to be ridiculous. The suppressive and authoritative attitude of Farukh caused hatred in his wife's mind and heart because she is not used to such a culture of dominance and discrimination. She appears to be a symbolic character who resists and challenges this environment of restraints, ultimately she gets angry with her husband. She reacted that to hell with your suspicion and stupidity. This is waning our love. (1990, p.94). Consequently, this caused her to be inclined and tempted towards major Mushtaq for sexual needs.

Transformation of Gender Identity: A shift

It is thus the focal point here that Zaitoon's identification shows swinging throughout the plot. Although Carol is an overwhelming female character in the tribal society of Pakistan, yet her role remains arguably consistent and it does not mark such a quick change of her identification comparably. However, Zaitoon's role has undergone a rapid transformation in accordance with the circumstances, it is not stagnant and constant role rather it is a volatile and fluid performativity manifested from the initial scenes of the novel to the very end of it. From her long struggle for her survival in the incident that took her parents' lives as an orphan girl to her resistance and confrontation against the gender stereotypical standards as a bride in the tribal society of Kohistan marks a series of shift and transformation of her gender identification. Then, she appears to be a strong challenging voice against the tribal traditions. Zaitoon symbolizes not only as an assertive woman struggling against the repressive Pakistani culture but she is the representative of human spirit against all discrimination for women's survival. She appears to be an indefatigable and indomitable persona. (Dull,2010)

The shift of Zaitoon identification from a meek girl to a challenging lady signifies the fragility of gender stereotypical norms that are deconstructed by her actions in the novel. She primarily appears to be a beseeching lady to register her protest in the soft tones, "Abba, take me back... if I must marry, marry me to someone from the plains...I will die rather than live here"(Sidhwa,1990,p.136). Her questions made her father angry, "Hush, Munni, be quiet" (136). Now she unexpectedly appears to be a repelling person, she objects the decision of her father in her words, my father, please listen to me, I don't wish to marry. The differences of life-style, eating-habits etc. are hard to be adjusted with. "Dirty maize bread and water! My stomach hurts"

(Sidhwa, 1990, p.136). The idea of ‘hurting of stomach’ is the first answer against the unilateral decision of men about the fate of women symbolically.

To cut the matter short, the stereotypical gender taboos in Pakistan as has been painted by the novelist supports the argument that gender is taken as a natural characteristic of human beings like a sexual categorization. The association of gender and sexuality has caused the repressive gender notions that lead to discrimination and repression of the weaker ones.

The gender stereotyping painted in the novel causes the overriding roles of husbands over their wives but these inequitable and partial gender powers are resisted by the daring roles done by Zaitoon and Carol. The normative conception of gender identity (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2018) is a consequent of a traditional patriarchal society. Therefore, the research aims at deconstructing the gender-matrix that causes persecution of those who don’t follow the taken for granted gender norms.

Conclusion:

The diverse gender performances of the two characters in the novel reveal that gender stereotypical standards have a significant role in determining the flawed notions of gender identity in a tribal society. The work unveils the diversity of socio- cultural gender standards and their impact on gender roles. Most considerably, the two female key characters, Zaitoon and Carol experience different shades of gender assigned roles to play in the orthodox culture of Kohistan. The plot reflected the clash of the stereotypical norms that have much importance for determining one’s gender role and identification of the two brides who have to survive in. A woman has no identity unless she succeeds in establishing her association with a male member of her family. Any identity other than the defined gender categories is believed to be odd, and unnatural. For example a woman has her identity but through her relations to men.

The multicultural contextual background of the novel leads the debate on how different gender roles are performed by each of the brides to support the research contention that gender is wrought not by sexual categorization but by socio-cultural stereotyping. Therefore, the cultural differences in the book by Sidhwa necessarily require fluid inclinations of gender identification accordingly. It is the contention of the present research that gender is an action, it is not a natural or fixed entity; it is a fluid and instable feature that has been manifested in the novel.

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Abstract

The study evaluated perception and opinion of the listeners of international radio services – British Broadcast Corporation (BBC) and Voice of America (VOA) – for Pakistan and Afghanistan listeners in their regional language i.e. Pushto. Similarly, Focused Group Discussions were held to analyze the nature of reporting of these two broadcasters and to eke out a strategy for constructive coverage of the war on terror. The results of the study showed that that majority of population living in border areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan, do not appreciate the involvement of outsiders in their matter but still there is a great scope for international broadcasters to shape the opinion of local as less than fifty percent population is still in the favor of West and perceived it as friendly. It was revealed that radio listeners of BBC and VOA in Pakistan and Afghanistan are in favor of using force against terrorism and militant groups. Contrary to that, they do believe the content of the BBC and VOA radio is leading them astray because the ground realities are different and these channels are portraying it differently. The researchers identified an array of issues that characterize reporting of these two broadcasters. These include serving the strategic interests of US and UK, propaganda and mass persuasion. The experts agreed that due to lack of alternative source of information in the border regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan was the key reason for the popularity of both BBC and VOA.

Keywords: war on terror; propaganda; international broadcasters; survey; focus group discussions; alternative strategy.

Introduction

The literature on war and media suggests that states often resort to propaganda to maximize their strategic interests and influence public opinion during wars and conflicts (Lasswel, 1927; Knightly, 1975; Hallin, 1986; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005; Carruthers, 2011 and many others). From the First World War to the Iraqi invasion in 2003, these and other researchers have found that media openly supported the cause of their respective governments and compromised their editorial independence. According to Lynch and McGoldrick (2005), in all these major wars, journalists have happily surrendered the professional ethos of journalism and became propagandist and nationalistic.

Consistent with the above, after the attacks on US by Al-Qaeda in 2001, a global coalition was formed to defeat Al-Qaeda and Taliban fighters in Afghanistan (Marcela, 2009). Alongside the military operation that dislodged the Taliban government in Afghanistan, a substantial media promotion was launched by the UK and US governments to win support for their cause (Michael, 2007). As the Pakistan tribal areas bordering Afghanistan were also suspected to have got Taliban sympathizers, these areas are also getting a huge media attention. This study investigates the perceptions and opinions about the international broadcasters among the people living on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. The researcher endeavors to find answers to a number of pertinent questions in this regard like how the people on the border areas perceive the roles of BBC and VOA, do they regard these channels providing them accurate information, and do the views of the people converge with the nature of the coverage and the likely effects of these channels? Similarly, this study also focuses on the performance of these radio channels through the perspective of Pakistani experts who were engaged in a focused group discussion by the researcher.

International broadcasters and propaganda

Media's role in war times has been extensively studied in the context of propaganda research after the First World War (Lasswell, 1927 and Bernays, 1928). After the Second World War, there was some academic shift but the Vietnam invasion reignited the interest in the area (Hallin, 1986; Strobel, 1996). The invasions of certain Latin and Asian countries provided new impetus to the scholarly investigations (Chomsky and Herman 1988; Taylor, 1995). Most studies that investigate the relationship between war and media concentrate on the abuse of media for war advancement.

There are a variety of courses in which international broadcasters can control information so as to bend the message or spread misinformation, disturbing the musings and responses of the message saver. One clear approach to twist the facts is to just present one side of the story, and oppress or overlook information in fact. Be that as it may, with an end goal to be reasonable or fair in their reporting, news reports will regularly give equal broadcast time to the individuals who object to or deny inevitabilities. Such reporting can advance authenticity to the objector's argument and act to viewers as though the issue is still being mocked about, when most specialists have acknowledged a specific point as reality (Drescher, 2009).

Mowlana (1997) proposes a movement from the established perspective of international communication to a dream of international communication to mirror the full extent of communication between country states, foundations, gatherings and people crosswise over national, geological and social fringes. The expression "international communication" is likewise reflected in the titles of books, for example, International Communication in the 21st Century (Stevenson 1994) and International Communication and World Politics (Tehrani 1999).

Hamelink (1994) likes to utilize the expression "world communication" as more comprehensive of both state and non-state on-screen characters.

As contended by Philip that if learning is power then dissemination of information must result in a dispersion of force and the control of this procedure is, in itself, a type of force. While it is not really shocking that those legislatures which fear the force of the media to shape the impression of their local populaces, to the point that they practice strict state control over those media, ought to likewise fear the force of international interchanges to undermine that very control, we do need to advise ourselves that the critical component here is undoubtedly control, not TV. All things considered, charge and control of communications has truly been seen to be a key to the upkeep of political force as it has to the accomplishment of military achievement. Internationalization and the commercialization of the media can consequently have all the earmarks of being the most recent dangers to the continuation of that control (Philip, 2003).

Researchers Junhao Hong examined and Shaojung Wang stated that Voice of America's (VOA) services established that the use of new information scenes has caused VOA to develop from a pure propaganda machine to an idea of informational soft power. However, they opine that not only is there a gap between VOA's target audiences and its actual website visitors but its website attracts more American and western users than users in the societies it intends to influence the most. The role of informational soft power in uttering attractive ideas, standards, customs and ethics through all manners of media and new information and communication technology to create the insight that United States hegemony is gentle postures challenges for its information strategy.

3.3 Research Questions

R.Q.1: What is the perspective of listeners in Pakistan and Afghanistan on the performance of BBC and VOA?

- Hypothesis 1: Listeners agree that the two radio services reflect ground realities in the war-torn areas.
- Hypothesis 2: Listeners of both BBC and VOA strongly support the war on terror launched against Al Qaeda and Taliban both in Pakistan and Afghanistan
- Hypothesis 3: Listeners of the two services blame ISI for sponsoring terrorism in region.
- Hypothesis 4: Listeners of both BBC and VOA hold similar views about the important problems faced by the internally displaced people.

R.Q.2: What are prospects and challenges for ensuring constructive reporting of war on terror in international broadcasters?

Research Methodology

For this study, the researchers have applied both survey and focused group discussion to evaluate the role of both BBC and VOA from the listeners residing on the border-region on Pakistan and Afghanistan. The researchers selected a total of 700 radio listeners residing in seven different areas each in Pakistan and Afghanistan as a sample of the study. The questionnaire was distributed in the selected areas on equal basis. As there is no authentic and systematic list of listeners of radio available, the researcher selected equal responders from each area to ensure that findings can be generalized to all target areas.

The sample distribution plan prepared for this study was constructed by taking into account the demographic, cultural and socio-economic factors of the population living in these areas. Seven areas of Pakistan including Mohmand Agency, Bajaur Agency, Swat, Buner, Charsadda, Bunnu and Taank and as many areas situated on the border line of Afghanistan namely Khost, Paktia, Laghman, Nangarhar, Kunar, Kabul and Paktika were included with equal number of sample size (50) for all the 14 regions(hence making a total of 700 respondents).

Similarly, for this purpose, twelve professionals from media and academia were contacted who are broadly recognized for their services and expertise on this subject and remained the part of this field for long period of time to participate in a focus group discussion. It was decided to conduct a series of focus groups to gauge the reaction of professionals who are affiliated with this profession in either way but due to financial constraints and time limitations the researcher restricts himself to organize one focus group discussion comprising a panel of five professional with the sound background knowledge on the issue.

A group discussion was held in Islamabad, capital city of Pakistan on May 10, 2016. The author of this study himself moderated the discussion and asked some key questions from participants of group discussion. Utmost effort was made to provide the participants' with open environment so that they could respond the in-depth questions prepared for the discussion without hesitation.

Research Findings

- Hypothesis 1: Listeners agree that the two radio services reflect ground realities in the war-torn areas.
- **Table 4.1**

Question	Aggregate disapproval	%	Aggregate approval	%	Total	Chi-Square	Asymp. Sig
Ground realities reflected	321	50.4	316	49.6	637	0.039	0.843

- df=1

The results for Hypothesis as given in the above table suggest that the hypothesis is not supported. The higher p-value (0.843) indicates that the difference between cumulative agreement and disagreement is not statistically significant. The hypothesis stated that listeners

agree that the two radio services reflect ground realities in the war-torn areas. This means that listeners don't believe the content of the two radio services i.e. BBC and VOA and think that it is leading them astray because the ground realities are different and these channels are portraying it differently. The relevant literature on the subject reveals that if people do not believe on the veracity of information, media effects are not powerful. Hence despite the efforts of US and UK officials, the desired results could not be generated among the audiences through these services. The results of Focus Group with media practitioners and experts also illustrated the same side of radio effects on listeners. According to participants of FGD, the BBC & VOA Urdu service hardly portray the image of local community and international broadcasters are more interested in highlighting the positive image of the bilateral and multilateral donor agencies. Their contents are directed at the local community who are at the receiving end. The participants believed that multilingual radio service has the same agenda and would not differ from each other in terms of agenda setting.

Hypothesis 2: Listeners of both BBC and VOA strongly support the war on terror launched against Al Qaeda and Taliban both in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Table 4.2

Questions	Disapprove	%	Approve	%	Total	Chi-Square	Asymp. Sig
Terrorism is the most important issue	248	38.9	389	61.1	637	31.21	0
Normalcy	305	47.9	332	52.1	637	1.144	0.285
Global Support	275	43.2	362	56.8	637	11.882	0.001
Use of force	240	37.7	397	62.3	637	38.695	0.00
Factual Reporting	269	42.2	368	57.8	637	15.386	0.00

df=1

According to the table given above, it is shown that hypothesis 2 is supported. Majority of people living on Pakistan and Afghanistan border support the war on terror. This hypothesis is based on 5 questions; except for question that normalcy is returning to the region, the comparatively lesser p value suggests that difference between cumulative agreements for this war is statistically significant. On the basis of table, it can be inferred that listeners of BBC and VOA in Pakistan and Afghanistan are in favor of War on Terror going in the region.

Similarly, the experts participating in focus group organized for this study highlighted the same issue with the opinion that the British Broadcast Corporation (BBC) and Voice of America (VOA) in their radio services for Afghanistan and Pakistan frame the issues relevant to this society in a larger and Western context. These contexts include the Western overall perspective about the Muslims, the West perspective about the third World, The political economy of Western media perspective, the so-called War on Terror Perspective etc. The issues pertaining to Pakistan and Afghanistan are framed in either of these perspectives and certainly BBC and VOA are very much actively pursuing their policies while framing the issues and setting the agenda relevant to Afghan and Pakistani society.

Hypothesis 3: Listeners of the two services blame ISI for sponsoring terrorism in region.

Table 4.3

Agency	Disagree	%	Agree	%	Total	Chi-Square
CIA	234	36.7	403	63.3	637	254.521 P Value 0.001
ISI	174	27.3	463	72.7	637	
Northern	295	46.3	342	53.7	637	

Most of the respondents who are direct consumers of BBC and VOA radio services blame spying agency of Pakistan ISI, for aiding the terrorism activities in both countries. It is evident that Pakistan has agreed the terms of USA on war against terrorism. In that context,

Pakistan security forces have paid a heavy cost and lost thousands of precious lives on the cause of war against terrorism. The locals residing on border areas are less likely aware of national plan and stance of Pakistan on war against terrorism, this very reason, to some extent, determine the perception of population living in areas included for this study. The statistical analysis approved the significance of hypothesis that audience of the two services (BBC and VOA) blame ISI for sponsoring terrorism in region. The low p value suggests the hypothesis is supported.

The group discussion in this regard confirms that Media is money consuming entities and the government would not fund media houses if it does not promote government's interest. Now as the war on terror is more complex, the media being the handmaiden of government simply follow them. If the governments concede that war on terror is unwanted, it is easy for media to chart a policy of neutrality and do good journalism. But in case of Pakistan and Afghanistan, the US and other states including Pakistan have many foreign interests which are the reasons that media simply confound the problem and forced to do negative propaganda than impartial and unbiased reporting.

Hypothesis 4: Listeners of both BBC and VOA hold similar views about the important problems faced by the internally displaced people.

Table 4.4

Channel	Theme	Disagree	%	Agree	%	Total	Chi Square	P value
VOA	Shelter and Food	245	38.5	392	61.5	637	33.923	0.00
BBC		218	34.2	419	65.8	637	63.424	0.00
VOA	Education	272	42.7	365	57.3	637	13.578	0.00
BBC		205	32.2	432	67.8	637	80.893	0.00
VOA	Rehabilitation	196	30.8	441	69.2	637	94.231	0.00
BBC		278	43.6	359	56.4	637	10.3	0.001

Internally dispersed persons or IDPs remained one of the core issues in conflict areas where the fight against terrorism was fought. The perception of local audience remained higher in terms of solving this issue by taking preemptive measures. The hypothesis 7 which was about similar views of listeners of BBC and VOA radio services about the major problems faced by IDPs was found significant in all three cases i.e. problem of shelter and food, education and rehabilitation. The p value of all cases is less than 0.005 that shows the relevance and significance of the hypothesis. Therefore, the hypothesis is approved and accepted.

The results of focus group discussion in this regard were also found similar. The participants concluded their discussion by posing the prime responsibility of promoting development issues on International broadcasters. It was maintained by the experts that international broadcasters have a huge role in regions and countries where the local media is not up to the task. It can raise issues of transparency, accountability and other elements of governance such as resource allocation more independently. It can arguably promote greater transparency and participation in government. As far as dispersed people rehab is concerned international media can play an important role if provided with proper access to the areas from where they have been displaced. Local media though enjoys more freedom as far as this access is concerned, but international media is restrained. On anti-terrorism strategies question, the participants specified that international media can question the genuine of intentions of the rulers, their capabilities and decisions more independently. The idea always is to after talking to relevant experts suggests reforms so that it is more comprehensive and coherent. They think that compared to local media, international broadcasters have little chance to create any scare or sensationalism hence it could be more useful. Among the participants it was also agreed that the international broadcasters can play an important role in all these areas provided they project the

issues objectively and give voice to the community. They can play an important role in education, health and nutritional awareness and income generating activities and peace initiatives. Their programs in Pushto can be more appropriate and effective.

FG Question 1: What are your thoughts about the framing of the issues relevant to our society and agenda setting role of British Broadcast Corporation (BBC) and Voice of America (VOA) in their radio services for Afghanistan and Pakistan?

Outcomes: The experts were of the view that the British Broadcast Corporation (BBC) and Voice of America (VOA) in their radio services for Afghanistan and Pakistan frame the issues relevant to this society in a larger and Western context. These contexts include the Western overall perspective about the Muslims, the West perspective about the third World, The political economy of Western media perspective, the so-called War on Terror Perspective etc. The issues pertaining to Pakistan and Afghanistan are framed in either of these perspectives. Some Certainly BBC and VOA are very much actively pursuing their policies while framing the issues and setting the agenda relevant to Afghan and Pakistani society.

Some guests specified that the focus of these broadcasts is to do propaganda for the West and promote their interests, according to them. However to give the impression of impartial reporting, they do become critical of US policies sometimes. To some professionals, the international broadcasters frame Pakistan and its society as part of the problem, sponsoring terror and that to do more to defeat terror. They are more powerful as these are in regional language and common people to a large extent believe in them.

The discussion on this question could be summarized as the frames used in the contents on various socio-economic issues do not usually favor this society. International radio is framing

this region as if citizens' residing in this part of the world is consists on most downtrodden individuals of the world with prime needs.

FG Question 2: In your Opinion, how International Broadcaster could effectively play his role to ensure peace and stability in Pakistan and Afghanistan and advocate a neutral part in bringing the two nations (Afghanistan and Pakistan) on same page against terrorism.

Outcomes: When asked from the participants if the International Broadcasters could effectively play their role to ensure peace and stability in Pakistan and Afghanistan and advocate a neutral part in bringing the two nations (Afghanistan and Pakistan) on same page against terrorism, The pointed out some basic strategies to be adopted by the international broadcasters including by highlighting the real cause of terrorism, extremism and militancy, by stressing and digging out the core common issues of both countries, by ignoring the news, issues and matters that create split and differences between Pakistan and Afghanistan, not giving maximum coverage to those politicians, statesmen, and experts which time and again create controversies and differences between Pakistan and Afghanistan, opinions of those analysts would be materialized more and more who are neutral and want rapprochement between two neighborly states and international media should call upon both countries as both have common enemies.

The participants stated that the international broadcaster should realize upon Afghanistan that Pakistan is a benefactor of Afghanistan, who became a front line state against the USSR onslaught of Afghanistan in the decade of 80's, then Pakistan became a host to more than six million Afghan Refugees and finally Pakistan again became a front line state against the Taliban in the Global War on terror. For the sake of Afghanistan, Pakistan suffered irreparable loss in terms of drugs, smuggling, Weapon Culture and socio-economic loss.

Addition to that, the journalism is not about ensuring peace and stabilities, it is the job of the rulers and law enforcing agencies. Media is there to report what is actually happening on the ground without any exaggerations or prejudices, and of course not to aggravate any situation. Ideally, it cannot be independent if it starts taking sides or act as predictors. It can only report and get background analysis from relevant experts to pin point errors in strategies and suggest better options. But journalists have in their own personal articles and write-ups suggested better coordination and addressing issues of mistrust as a priority between the two neighboring countries.

The experts agreed that international broadcasters can play vital role in development of the community by sharing healthy information and programs but it is a wishful thinking that they will ever do that to bring the two nations on the same page. Rather their efforts had been keep them poles apart so that they can play their role with ulterior motives.

Media is money consuming entities and the government would not fund them if they do not promote their interests. Now as the war on terror is more complex, the media being the handmaiden of government simply follow them. If the governments concede that war on terror is unwanted, it is easy for media to chart a policy of neutrality and do good journalism. But in case of Pakistan and Afghanistan, the US and other states including Pakistan have many interests like countering china, weakening Pakistan and giving India more power, so in this context, media simply confound the problem and do propaganda than good journalism. The solution to this issue is they needed to be honest and set-aside from their defined agenda.

FG Question 3: According to your opinion, what are the major workable solutions and valuable suggestions that may help local Radio listeners to segregate the propaganda out of messages propagating by International Broadcasters and how well they could utilizing these services for their socio-economic development.

Outcomes:

The experts provided some workable solution for this matter. Some valuable solutions are as following:

1. The local media of Pakistan and Afghanistan should educate the people over the issue of foreign media propaganda.
2. Authorities of both countries should realize upon the people the vested interests of the World powers.
3. The private media owners, senior journalists and analysts should educate the people.
4. The local Radios should tell the truth so that they could gain the trust of the people as the local population do not trust over the local Radios and usually blame them for telling lie and concealing the truth from them.
5. The local radios should become more professional, objective and fair.
6. Listeners of international broadcasters should not be considered as ignorant. It would be like judging them wrongly. Even a politically conscious street vendor would know where the clever spin is coming from. We always get requests for more science and technology, health, sports and entertainment reports and programs than political content. By paying attention to these requests one can help them get better aware of opportunities.

7. The local audience should shun the foreign propaganda machinery of BBC & VOA and learn to trust, support and patronize the local broadcaster and media channels. There is a need of the capacity building and training of the local media professionals.
8. If people have strong critical sense, they filter out propaganda but common people cannot do it as they cannot differentiate between information and propaganda. They see many things for themselves and somehow get the power to differentiate reality from propaganda. If they hear that Pakistan soldiers are killed, they would trust that we are fighting Taliban and that we are the victims. Having said this, still there are strong chances for propaganda to succeed.
9. Good intelligent people and not vocalist entertainers are needed in the society.

Discussion and Conclusion

The research questions mainly revolved around the perception of these two broadcasts among the listeners, exploring their opinions on war on terror and critical analysis of these broadcasts. The first hypothesis conjectured that people would trust these two broadcasters for providing timely information on events in the area. However, majority of people were convinced that these broadcasts had their own agendas and were making propaganda. Media dependency model says that during crisis times, people rely on media most and usually accept media messages. However, the respondents said ground realities were different and the information provided was not as accurate. To understand what people thought these broadcasts favored which party in this conflict, majority of them said that media favored Afghanistan over both Pakistan and USA. Literature suggests that people usually start supporting a party in a conflict if it reported in victimhood frame. In fact, there is a growing concern in Pakistan that though it has suffered immensely in this conflict, still it is a blamed for the problem in the region. Many in

Pakistan say that West has never supported Pakistan for its role in the war on terror and as revealed in this study; their media toe the same line.

One probably most interesting thing is the support for war on terror. Majority of people living on Pakistan and Afghanistan border support the war on terror. There is a debate both within Pakistan and Afghanistan that the war on terror is not successful because people on the border areas do not support it. However, this study finds that people of the area do not support the Taliban regime and want peace and development. Additionally, the researcher found strong case for propaganda effects of these two services when they were asked about the trouble making role of different agencies. Majority of people blame spying agency of Pakistan ISI, for aiding the terrorism activities in both countries. Both BBC and VOA have always casted the Pakistani ISI in bad perspective and the effects become evident here. The locals residing on border areas are less likely aware of national plan and stance of Pakistan on war against terrorism, this very reason, to some extent, determine the perception of population living in areas included for this study.

Majority of people believe that use of force instead of withdrawal of troops from the conflict areas or peace dialoged is not the durable solution for peace and stability in the region. The respondents are likely reluctant to speak against the militant groups as they do know the on ground realities as well as the agenda of armed people fighting for unjustified cause. Finally, the internally dispersed persons or IDPs remained one of the core issues in conflict areas where the fight against terrorism was fought. The perception of local audience remained higher in terms of solving this issue by taking preemptive measures. The hypothesis, was about similar views of listeners of BBC and VOA radio services about the major problems faced by IDPs was found significant in all three cases i.e. problem of shelter and food, education and rehabilitation.

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Abstract

This study attempts to investigate the effects of Turkish drama on University students. Drama plays influential role in changing life style of its audience. Through drama viewers come to know the diverse values of different cultures and it has a different effect on different audience. University level students are more expose to media especially with television drama and current study is an attempt to gauge the effects of Turkish drama on youth. The students of Punjab University Lahore, GC University Faisalabad, University of Gujrat and The Islamia University of Bahawalpur are selected as respondents. The study is qualitative and quantitative in nature and non-probability sampling technique is used for data collection. Questionnaires were distributed in 400 respondents and hypotheses were also constituted to envisage the general perception. The data collected through questionnaire accepted two hypothesis while one of the hypothesis was rejected. The study finding states that Turkish dramas are good source of entertainment but these dramas are not challenging basic teachings of Islam and it has made no effects on our norms. On the basis of findings, suitable recommendations are suggested.

Keywords: Turkish dramas; University students; Adaptation; Celebrities style

Introduction

It is believed that Media is the ‘mirror’ of the contemporary social order as it shapes our lives. It helps the audience to get information about things and to make opinions about different issues. It keeps the people informed about what is happening around them. The basic function of the media is providing information, education and entertainment (Baran et al., 2004). Dwivedi and Pandey (2013) emphasized that in the current decade of knowledge and awareness, media has a large role. From watching television and listening radio to reading books, magazines and newspapers, everywhere people connect to the media to collect knowledge and information especially young people mostly use television for dramas, educational programs, news and movies. Similarly, in shaping views about gender, media is considered the most influential tool. In our daily routine, the media inculcate its messages into the viewer’s mind in many ways. Therefore, the media’s role in representing gender and gender issues is considered critical.

Dramas are measured a powerful tool for propagating specific attitudes, ideas and different cultural beliefs in society and at the same time, these are the biggest source of educating, informing and amusing their audience. From the start of the broadcasting media industry, television is considered to be an effective tool for influencing and changing the attitudes of viewers. As we see in daily lives, consumers follow and adopt different words, actions, feeling and living styles of their favorite actors who are shown in different dramas. After the proliferation of cable television and dish antennas in Pakistan, over one hundred channels in all genres are successfully working where a healthy competition between Pakistani and foreign channels has been generated. After the popularity of Turkish Drama *Ishq-e-Mamnoon*, the local production industry considered these dubbed Turkish dramas as a threat for local and in reaction they did many strikes for banning these foreign contents but

unfortunately, no serious action was taken by Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA).

In Pakistan, there are various drama channels after the growth of the media industry in the last few decades, but the dramas of Turkish TV are reported best by the Asian Viewers Television Awards, 2015 and won the award of Best Urdu channel (Best Urdu Channel, 2015). This channel was launched in 2005 and got the 11th position among the best 20 top highest viewed channels in 2013 (Gallup Pakistan, 2013). Shabir et al. (2013) stated that Geo TV dramas are not depicting Pakistani culture, whereas Turkish TV dramas are representing the cultural and traditional norms of Pakistan. Therefore, after reviewing researches and, considering the importance of Turkish TV dramas and its popularity, the researcher has selected a Turkish TV channel for the present study to know the perception of university students about Turkish TV dramas and to examine the impact of dramas on university students of Southern Punjab.

Now a days Turkish Urdu dubbed drama have become the great source of entertainment in the Pakistani society specially university students. Through dramas, every country promotes its culture and traditions intending to get popular among the people of the society. The aim of selecting Turkish Dramas is to study and observe diverse influences of such dramas on the Islamic lifestyle of Pakistani university students that how these dramas withstand and catches the attention of students with special focus on female university students. In this research focuses on these influences that which kinds of impressions are accepted the university students by watching Turkish Dramas, especially in the Punjab. One must have basic knowhow about Turkish culture before going into a detailed discussion about the effects of Turkish dramas in modern life style and Islamic values of university students in Punjab. University students create the strong influence on the society and within the families therefore, this study to explore the effects of Urdu dubbed Turkish television dramas on the

university students with in Punjab in the context of Pakistani culture. The statement of the problem in this study to find out the effects of Turkish drama's on university students in Punjab, Pakistan.

Hypotheses

1. Turkish dramas had been affecting the Islamic values amongst the university students.
2. The style of Turkish dramas models was influenced by university learners.
3. University students were struggling hard to embrace their flairs.

Literature Review

Shabir et al. (2013) piloted the study titled "Cultural impacts of Urdu dramas of Geo and Hum TV on women: A case study of Bahawalpur, Pakistan". The investigators also analyzed that these Urdu dramas were endorsing the Pakistani culture. The research also indicated that the female population of Bahawalpur City took on the fashion of models that were exposed in Hum, ARY, and Geo TV channels. According to Baran stated that media has strong impact on our daily life, and people unaware about media influence. Media notify, entertain, and aggravated us. Media changes our emotions, state of mind, and abuses our intellect. Findings showed that these channels were endorsing Pakistani culture among society. "And also these dramas were altering the religious and social system of Pakistani society. Geo Kahani was the cause of promotion of Turkish dramas in Pakistani entertainment channels." Dramas were the key foundation to adopt or non-adopting the things those were offering in the TV dramas. More or less "Urdu Dramas" showed the rival among close relatives like sister that was entirely in contradiction to our ethical norms and values. Frequently females were dressing in western outfits. Mostly these dramas were offering the women concerns which were faced women in society. It is presented in Zaid bin Ismail, Rao (...) study titled "impact of Television on youth". He observed; "Owing to television programs the opinions of student of Punjab University had been rationalized. Their opinions

about diverse problems had modernized like parental authorities, women's liberty, coeducation etc."

Shahbaz Aslam et al. (2015) led research titled "Socio-Ethical Impact of Turkish Dramas on Educated Females of Gujranwala- Pakistan". Pakistani and Turkish culture are similar and "Turkish Dramas" had a great direct impact on the Pakistani culture and civilization. This study adopts survey research and selected randomly sample size of 100 viewers. The study showed Turkish dramas were the finest foundation of entertainment.

Madni et al. (2014) conducted a research on "Portrayal of fashion by Turkish and Pakistani dramas on private channels and viewers' perception". TV was the main foundation of communication among the different cultures. World recognize the culture, values and existing style of other nations through TV. We interchange our culture and societal morals and livelihood of diverse nations and also accept the life style of western nations as per our choice. In this study size of 300 were selected. "Researcher collected data from 300 respondents with the help of stratified sampling and for this purpose used survey research method. The data collected from the female students of Sargodha University, working women and housewives of Sargodha city. For this purpose researcher selected two Television entertainment channels Hum TV and Urdu 1." The results of this research showed that female like "Shalwar Kameez suits rather than miniskirts which were presented the dressing style of female in Turkish dramas"

Abbasi et al. (2011) led study on "Ethical issues in advertising in Pakistan: An Islamic perspective". In this study the researcher want to explore the ethics involve in publicity promotions in Pakistan had a skirmish with Islamize Shariatic thoughts. Presently dramas and plays broadcasted through television were absolutely in contrary to Islamic norms. Distressing role of community, exhibited, advertised promotions, nakedness sensual pictures depicted adverse messages seemed to be vulgar in household get-together. People sitting in

domestic premises, everyone felt embezzlement from kinsfolk's. Social standards, norms of culture played a significant part in chalking out attitudes among masses. TV shows, Dramas, films were found devastating Islamic morals, standards. Other nation-stated displays were frequently sighting, sponsoring on private TV stations. Groups using offensive dialectal, bareness among commercials to advertise self-own goods within Pakistan were causing indecency among observances of customers due to self-own products.

Cerami (2013) led a study on "Rethinking Turkey's soft power in the Arab world: Islam, Secularism, and Democracy". Research executed a meaningful examination, stuffs, improvement, objectives, edge, and Turkey's capability of workout "soft power" associations with Arab world. Owing historic evolution progression the Turk soft powers arise Kemalism and Islamism were two symbolic parts of existing Turkey. Internal political, fiscal, and societal revolt commenced in 1970's- 1980's carried end of the cold war were origin of development. On foot of renewal Turkey cultivated fiscal, technical and industrialized development. Continuous fiscal development carried by development in societal renewal, inner monetary firmness.

Ali & Hassan (2014) witnessed daily routine of housewives in Hyderabad city with survey technique. The results revealed that media directly influence change in deeds and manners of women. The women who devote more time in viewing cookery shows and entertaining series are yes reposing and mimic the actions in their day-to-day practices.

Shahbaz (2004) tested influence of star plus plays, altering the social thoughts mid class early stages by surveys, lamented western as well as Hindu values were highly involved in cultivating culture of Pakistani, teenager group was extremely adopting rules and ethics of these states in style, broad-mindedness and modernization.

A content analysis was done in analyzing the soap operas programs of Star Plus in promoting Hinduism. It was discussed that these drams are highly promoting Hindu culture in using of

words and in generating a plot. Zia A (2007) described that the Pak-Indian religious and cultural presentation in dramas, films and music. Researcher involve survey method for quantifying the observations of females where he discovered that high viewers of these programs are directly affected by changing in their lives styles such as using Hindi words “Jija g, Chatta, chinta na kar, bagwan rikshaw karay, etc”.

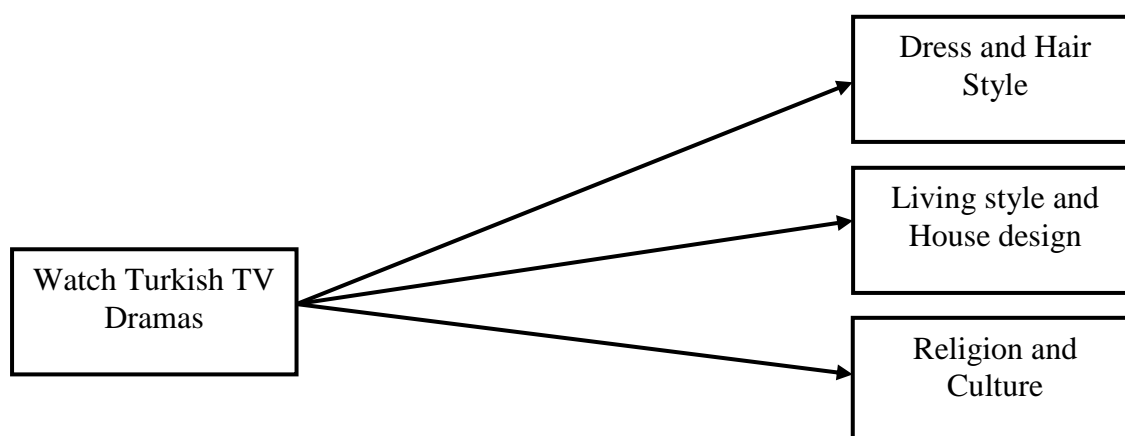
Theoretical Framework

- Cultivation Theory
- Uses and Gratification Theory
- Social Learning Theory

Research Methodology

The method applied for collection of information as well as statistics with purpose to make professional outcomes. The method might be including publication of research, interview, survey and other research technique, and might contain existing as well historical materials. Technique was planned, theoretic investigation means advantageous for the arena of research that contained the theoretic exploration of frame of approaches, doctrines linked with a subdivision of achievement. Quantifiable analysis technique would be applied to supposed study by meant of questionnaire, a tool of data assemblage. Population of study was University students of Punjab and data would be gathered from four Universities located in the Punjab to analyze the effects of Urdu dubbed Turkish drama's on university students because now a days Turkish dramas are more popular in the Pakistani media entertainment industry which may cause to rapidly adopting the modernization by university students . This particular study was done by using survey method because and was meant to find out sound impressions of Turkish Television Drama's on university students. Quantitative approach was used for this study because it is based on variables measured with numbers and analyzed with statistical procedures. Prepared questionnaire was distributed to the students of Punjab

University Lahore, GC University Faisalabad, University of Gujrat and The Islamia University of Bahawalpur. The population of this study is consists of all the 75000 enrolled male and female students (in the year 2020) of Punjab University Lahore, GC Faisalabad, University of Gujrat and The Islamia University of Bahawalpur studying in different departments. The sample of the study was 400 students, selected from the total population. Convenience sampling technique was used for this study. Convenience sampling is a form of non-probability sampling. Total 400 questionnaires were distributed among the male and female students of Punjab University Lahore, GC University Faisalabad, University of Gujrat and The Islamia University of Bahawalpur through the method of convenience sampling. Out of 400 questionnaires 367 were returned back. 33 questionnaires were not filled properly and excluded from the result. Remaining 367 questionnaires equivalent to 91.8% were coded and data entered in Excel 2010 and SPSS (version) 21. Babbie (1998) examined that response rate above 70% is considered very good, 60% ratio is good and equal to 50% is considered adequate.



Detail of Sampling

Sr. No.	Universities	Total students
1	Punjab University Lahore	100
2	GC Faisalabad	100
3	University of Gujrat	100
4	The Islamia University of Bahawalpur	100
Total 4 Universities		400

Respondents' about Dressing and Hair Style

The dress style of Turkish drama actor's inspired you in selection of your own dressing

Option	Frequency	Percentage	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
SA	37	10.1	2.88	1.340
A	120	32.7		
N	49	13.4		
DA	83	22.6		
SDA	78	21.3		
Total	367	100.0		

It is shown in Table **Error! No text of specified style in document..1** that majority of the respondents (32.7%) were agree and (10.1%) were strongly agree with the statement that dress style of Turkish drama actor's inspire them while selection of their own dressing. On the other hand (22.6%) respondents were disagree and (21.3%) were strongly disagree with the statement. While (13.4%) respondents remained neutral with this statement. The mean score is (2.88) and standard deviation (1.340) gave a negative response about the statement that they dresses used in the Turkish dramas help them to select the designs of their own dresses.

Turkish drama actor's hairstyle really attractive

Option	Frequency	Percentage	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
SA	79	21.5	3.71	1.143
A	192	52.3		
N	38	10.4		
DA	26	7.1		
SDA	32	8.7		
Total	367	100.0		

It is shown in Table **Error! No text of specified style in document..2** that majority of the respondents (52.3%) were agree and (21.5%) were strongly agree with the statement that Turkish drama actors hairstyle really attractive. On the other hand (7.1%) respondents were disagree and (8.7%) were strongly disagree with the statement. While (10.4%) respondents remained neutral with this statement. The mean score is (3.71) and standard deviation (.1.143) gave a positive response about the statement that Turkish drama actor's hairstyle attractive.

Would you like to purchase the similar dresses used in Turkish dramas

Option	Frequency	Percentage	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
SA	103	28.1	3.84	1.077
A	176	48.0		
N	29	7.9		
DA	46	12.5		
SDA	13	3.5		
Total	367	100.0		

It is shown in Table **Error! No text of specified style in document..3** that majority of the respondents (48%) were agree and (28.1%) were strongly agree with the statement that they would like to purchase the similar dresses used in Turkish dramas. On the other hand (12.5%) respondents were disagree and (3.5%) were strongly disagree with the statement. While (7.9%) respondents remained neutral with this statement. The mean score is (3.84) and standard deviation (1.077) gave a positive response about the statement that they would like to purchase the similar dresses used in Turkish dramas.

Turkish drama actor's living standards have positive impact on your living style

Option	Frequency	Percentage	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
SA	133	36.2	4.21	.795
A	203	55.3		
N	13	3.5		
DA	12	3.3		
SDA	6	1.6		
Total	367	100.0		

It is shown in Table **Error! No text of specified style in document..4** that majority of the respondents (55.3%) were agree and (36.2%) were strongly agree with the statement that the Turkish drama actor's living standard had positive impact on their living style. On the other hand (3.3%) respondents were disagree and (1.6%) were strongly disagree with the statement. While (3.5%) respondents remained neutral with this statement. The mean score is (4.21) and standard deviation (.795) gave a positive response about the statement that the Turkish drama actor's living standard had positive impact on their living style.

I like to formally dress up and wear jewelry like different characters of Turkish drama.

Option	Frequency	Percentage	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
SA	51	13.9	2.81	1.419
A	95	25.9		
N	49	13.4		
DA	79	21.5		
SDA	93	25.3		
Total	367	100.0		

It is shown in Table **Error! No text of specified style in document..5** that majority of the respondents (25.9%) were agree and (13.9%) were strongly agree with the statement that they like to formally dress up and wear jewelry like different characters of Turkish drama. On the other hand (21.5%) respondents were disagree and (25.3%) were strongly disagree with the statement. While (13.4%) respondents were remained neutral.. Mean score

is (2.81) and standard deviation (1.419) gave a negative response about the statement that they like to formally dress up and wear jewelry like different characters of Turkish drama.

Turkish dramas are under discussion during Interpersonal and Group Communications

Option	Frequency	Percentage	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
SA	89	24.3	3.58	1.249
A	153	41.7		
N	43	11.7		
DA	47	12.8		
SDA	35	9.5		
Total	367	100.0		

It is shown in Table **Error! No text of specified style in document..6** that majority of the respondents (41.7%) were agree and (24.3%) were strongly agree with the statement that Turkish dramas were under discussion during interpersonal and group communications. On the other hand (12.8%) respondents were disagree & (9.5%) were strongly disagree in this statement. While (11.7%) neutral respondent with this statement. The mean score is (3.58) and standard deviation (1.249) gave a positive response about the statement that Turkish dramas were under discussion during interpersonal and group communications.

Do you think Turkish dramas present Islamic values

Option	Frequency	Percentage	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
SA	42	11.4	2.85	1.361
A	104	28.3		
N	62	16.9		
DA	74	20.2		
SDA	85	23.2		
Total	367	100.0		

It is shown in Table **Error! No text of specified style in document..7** that majority of the respondents (28.3%) were agree and strongly agree were (11.4%) with the statement that they think Turkish dramas present Islamic values. On the other hand (20.2%) respondents were disagree and strongly disagree were (23.2%) with this statement. While neutral respondent were (16.9%) with this statement. The mean score is (2.85) and standard deviation (1.361) gave a negative response about the statement that they think Turkish dramas presenting the Islamic values.

Do you think that Turkish dramas are promoting the liberalism among Pakistani Women?

Option	Frequency	Percentage	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
SA	159	43.3	4.22	.907
A	164	44.7		
N	17	4.6		
DA	20	5.4		
SDA	7	1.9		
Total	367	100.0		

It is shown in Table **Error! No text of specified style in document..8** that majority of the respondents (44.7%) were agree and (43.3%) were strongly agree with the statement that they think Turkish dramas are promoting the liberalism among Pakistani women. On the other hand (5.4%) respondents were disagree and (1.9%) were strongly disagree with the statement. While (4.6%) respondents remained neutral with this statement. The mean score is (4.22) and standard deviation (.907) gave a positive response about the statement that they think Turkish dramas are promoting the liberalism among Pakistani women.

Do you think that life style presented in Turkish dramas is accordance to Islamic norms

Option	Frequency	Percentage	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
SA	79	21.5	3.45	1.264
A	138	37.6		
N	54	14.7		
DA	60	16.3		
SDA	36	9.8		
Total	367	100.0		

It is shown in Table **Error! No text of specified style in document..9** that majority of the respondents (37.6%) were agree and (21.5%) were strongly agree with the statement that they think that life style presented in Turkish dramas are accordance with the Islamic norms. On the other hand (16.3%) respondents were disagree and (9.8%) were strongly disagree with the statement. While (14.7%) respondents remained neutral with this statement. The mean score is (3.45) and standard deviation (1.264) gave a positive response about the statement that they think that life style presented in Turkish dramas are accordance with the Islamic norms.

Correlations Analysis

	City	1	2	3
Turkish dramas had been affecting the Islamic values amongst the university students	Pearson Correlation	0.024	1	.078
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.673		.180
The style of Turkish dramas models was influenced by	Pearson Correlation	-	.078	1
				.702**
				.275**

university learners	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.180	.000
University students were	Pearson Correlation	-	.093	.702** 1
struggling hard to embrace their		.247**		
flairs	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.110	.000

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The first hypothesis is “Turkish dramas had been affecting the Islamic values amongst the university students”, the second hypothesis is “The style of Turkish dramas models was influenced by university learners”, the third hypothesis is “University students were struggling hard to embrace their flairs” (Table 4.45).

Discussion

This research is to find out the effects of Turkish drama’s on university students in Punjab. For this purpose, four universities were selected from Punjab to get data i.e., Punjab University Lahore, GC Faisalabad, University of Gujrat and The Islamia University of Bahawalpur. This study proves that the effects of Turkish drama’s on university students are very strong. The first factors of the study indicate that majority of the respondents (32.7%) were agree and (10.1%) were strongly agree with the statement that dress style of Turkish drama actors inspire them while selection of their own dressing. Majority of the respondents (46.6%) were agree and (40.6%) were strongly agree with the statement that Turkish drama actor’s dressing and hair style always fascinate them to adopt. Majority of the respondents (48%) were agree and (28.1%) were strongly agree with the statement that they would like to purchase the similar dresses used in Turkish dramas.

The second factors of the study indicate that 55.3% were agree with the statement that the Turkish drama actor’s living standard had positive impact on their living style. Majority of the respondent (21.5%) were disagree and (25.3%) were strongly disagree with the statement that they like to formally dress up and wear jewelry like different characters of

Turkish drama. Majority of the respondents (41.7%) were agree and (24.3%) were strongly agree with the statement that Turkish dramas were under discussion during interpersonal and group communications.

The third factors of the study revealed that Majority of the respondents (28.3%) were agree and (11.4%) were strongly agree with the statement that they think Turkish dramas present Islamic values. Majority of the respondents (44.7%) were agree and (43.3%) were strongly agree with the statement that they think Turkish dramas are promoting the liberalism among Pakistani women. Majority of the respondents (37.6%) were agree and (21.5%) were strongly agree with the statement that they think that life style presented in Turkish dramas are accordance with the Islamic norm.

In this study the results prove that the effects of Turkish drama's on university students are very stronger. In Pakistani TV channels to promote channels and gain profit therefor local media houses and actors are facing many difficulties for their survival. Turkish dramas influence the university students and they look forward for more Turkish dramas and dress along with lifestyle influence them a lot consequently they tried to adopt them.

H1: Turkish dramas had been affecting the Islamic values amongst the university students

In this research the first hypothesis is Turkish dramas had been affecting the Islamic values among the university students. For this purpose, the correlation method was used and correlate it hypothesis. For this purpose 400 students were selected from four different Universities of Punjab and after analysis the data it is found that Turkish media is influenced by the western culture and their life style along with presenting portrayal of women is accordance to Islam but they are promoting the liberalism.

This hypothesis proves that Turkish dramas had not been affecting the Islamic values amongst the university students and this hypothesis was rejected on the bases of data collection for this study.

H2: The style of Turkish dramas models was influenced by university learners

In this research the second hypothesis is “The style of Turkish dramas models was influenced by university learners”. For this purpose, Correlation method was used to testing hypothesis. For this purpose 400 students were selected from four different Universities of Punjab and after analysis the data it is found that the university students wants to adopt the living style which is presenting in the Turkish dramas and the Turkish dramas were under discussion during their interpersonal communication but they disagree to formally dress up as actors wear in Turkish drama series. This hypothesis is approved on the bases of data collection for this research.

H3: University students were struggling hard to embrace their flairs

In this research the second hypothesis is “University students were struggling hard to embrace their flairs”. For this purpose Correlation method was used to testing hypothesis. For this purpose 400 students were selected from four different Universities of Punjab and after analysis the data it is found that the university students found these dramas very nice and the style of these characters fascinate them. They look forward for more Turkish dramas because the dressing design, living style and life style attract them and they recommend watching the Turkish dramas for their buddies and households. This hypothesis is approved on the bases of data collection for this study.

Conclusion

This study deals with the effects on the University students by the Turkish dramas. For collecting data, four Pakistani Universities were chosen: University of Gujrat, GC Faisalabad, Punjab University Lahore, Gujrat and The Islamia University of Bahawalpur. In

this research, it is proven that Turkish dramas have very strong effects/influence on University students. A large number of Pakistani audiences like to watch Turkish dramas on their Pakistani TV channels. University students are under the influence of Turkish dramas' models and their lifestyle. Another major effect of Turkish dramas is that they are promoting empowerment and liberty amongst Pakistani women as they are getting aware of how to make their selves independent in this era. Three hypotheses are developed for this research that University students are influenced by Turkish dramas' models and their lifestyle, and the hypothesis proved right because mostly respondents said that they are under the influence of the styles of Turkish dramas models. The next hypothesis is that University students are adopting Turkish dramas models' style and way of living and the common response by the respondents was that the style of Turkish dramas models is attractive and mesmerizing and that is why they are trying to adopt their styles. The third and last hypothesis is that Turkish dramas are affecting Islamic values because Turkey represents Islam but they do not represent Islam in their dramas and this hypothesis is rejected because they Turkish dramas had not been affecting the Islamic values amongst the university students.

After the deep analysis of all the dependent and independent variables and received responses it is clearly identified that there is a strong relationship between watching Turkish dramas and changes that occur in the cultural dimensions. There is a huge number of respondents who show their willingness to adopt a different style, lifestyle, and habits from the characters of the Turkish dramas. There are so many people who watch the Turkish dramas merely for entertainment purpose but on the other hand, there are a lot of respondents those get emotionally involved with the character of these dramas. Emotionally attached respondents were crazier to adopt the styles and habits of the characters from the dramas. According to the research study conducted by the faculty of Media and Communication and by receiving responses from 220 respondents, it is concluded that currently, the highest-rated

Turkish drama is *Ishq-e-Mamnoon*, furthermore, it is the first Turkish drama that is broadcasted on Pakistani TV channel. The publicity to foreign culture by broadcasting their dramas and programs on Pakistani media has weighty impacts on our youth particularly on the female viewers, hence these dramas and programs are affecting and influencing our cultural identity, norms, and values thus affecting everything. So there must be appropriate screening and balance for selecting such sort of dramas/programs broadcasting on television. Overall, this research demonstrates larger influences on respondents and shows that it is the need of the hour to control this situation to save our own culture from secularism and feminism.

Suggestions and Recommendations

- All Pakistani media houses may promote the Pakistani culture through TV dramas and regarding to this PEMRA should strictly observed rules and regulations.
- Pakistani media houses may show the Islamic values in their dramas and regarding to this they makes dramas on Muslims victories belonging to sub-continent.
- Pakistani media channels may promote only those TV dramas which are according to Islamic religion philosophy and regarding to this PEMRA should introduce their vision infrastructure for licensing.
- PEMRA should not allow TV channels to broadcast those content that's are not against Pakistani culture.
- Further research studies should be conducted on school students and teachers.

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Abstract

Pakistan is facing serious environmental issues which is becoming a risk for the citizens of the country. This study is designed to focus on the Environmental journalist's perspective on the coverage of environmental issues in the Media of Pakistan. Survey research method was used and a structured questionnaire was distributed to collect data from environmental journalists in Pakistan. A non-probability sampling method, snow ball sampling was applied to collect data from the journalists on the specified issues. The questionnaire was sent to 20 journalists covering environmental beats, in which 18 responded. All major issues prevailing in the context of environment (globally/locally) were incorporated in the questionnaire.

The results showed that, according to the environmental journalists, the coverage of environmental issues in the media of Pakistan is not satisfactory, even considerable low, print and electronic media were the only major channel of communications that covered environmental issues, while these issues have significance and also audiences have some sort of interest in these issues, but journalists noted that there is no such options to highlight in the media due to some major reasons except a little coverage in the media.

Keywords: Environment, Environmental issues, Journalists perspective, Media and Environment, Pakistan and Environmental issues

Introduction

Presently, there has been a prime concern over the degrading environmental situation all over the world. Scholars are pursuing various studies to dig out the weakness in addressing this issue. Media scholars are taking on this issue in light of the coverage environmental issues are getting on various media channels. However, there is a concern that media channels don't have a bend towards environmental beat. They are concern with crispy news items to increase their ratings and to earn maximum profit. This practice has created lack of awareness in relation to environmental issues all around the world.

However, in the current years, due to the various environmental problems that have troubled humans at large and posing future threats, there has been an increased interest in this area in the media. There have been detailed reports in media to alert the people regarding the nature of the problem and possible solution.

Several studies have highlighted media coverage as an important factor in addressing an issue; media frame issues and establish opinion over it. A study conducted by Parlour (1980) has established that, the quantity of coverage and environmental issues are directly related. It is therefore pertinent to mention that the more media coverage highlights the environmental issues the more there will be awareness regarding it and more people will think of ways to control these problems.

Therefore, the objective of this study is to dig out how the media reported the environmental issues in Pakistan. Moreover, this study has focused on the study of environmental issues coverage in the media by considering the environmental journalists perspective.

Literature Review

Environment, Media and Communication

According to Olayiwola (2015) in the last 50 years, dramatic changes have been noticed in the environment. Population increase, pollution and the effect of human on natural resources are the key aspects that are notable. It recommended efforts for a good coverage of environmental issue which is to guaranteed a viable growth of human in a suitable environment. Furthermore, it cannot be neglected that this issue has to be a key element in economic and decision making at political level, else, a deteriorating state of environment issues will put human being into risk.

Hansen (2010) has analyzed the role of communication and media in the emerging concern for environment that is both important in the context of politics and public. It has also been examined that who and what actors shapes the public agenda on environmental issues. These actors are mainly scientists, experts, governments, pressure groups and others.

According to Luedecke and Boykoff (2017) the frames that media sets have an influence on the coverage of environment, the way these issues are discussed and perceived.

According to Rong (2009) in China that has gone through tremendous development over the years lacks coverage of some environmental issues that is not drawing public attention. It states that, Media frames in the context of environmental issues can be used as a way to generate public opinion on environmental issues ultimately motivates societies to take actions to tackle them.

Researchers have assumed that news reporting is disillusioned by inconsistencies, distortions, cyclical and sporadic attention, and a misrepresentation of data (Adler, 1992; Boyle, 1993). While some media outlets employ a reporter on environmental side, a "rule of least effort" looks to be normally related to the outsized bulk of environmental issues (Dunwoody and Neuwirth, 1991).

In an exertion to be dramatic, timely, and simple, the media incline to underplay risks and overdramatized twists on issues in environmental journalism (Sachsman, 1996).

Problems and conflicts are mentioned over solutions. Most agreed that the media often reported the environment with a dike of twisted suspicions and misinformation (Jaehne, 1990).

Latest studies in international media coverage of environment issues Boykoff, McNatt, and Goodman (2015) in addition to climate discourse and the relationship of media, politics, and public opinion, proposed that media agenda contest public agenda on the awareness of climate change and policy implications. Through, the media have thus affected a range of processes from formal environmental policy to informal notions of public understanding about the environment. According to Paton (2000) media spread poorly investigating stories related to environmental issues to create sensationalism and not focused on the solution of these issues, sometimes news or stories are covered through opinion by experts of specific field. The literature also noted that environmental issues in Pakistan are poorly covered in sense of investigations and problem solving techniques.

Huge amount of coverage of environmental issues is very important for Pakistan, as we all know that Pakistan is the 5th county in the world which is most vulnerable to climate change. According to news reports and think-tank German watch report, Pakistan has lost thousands of lives and damaged its economy, however, despite this serious scenario the environmental issues does not given sufficient amount of coverage in the media having vibrant media landscape. After thoroughly investigating the above literature the following questions were developed to conduct this study.

Research Questions

RQ1: Is the coverage of environmental issues by the Pakistani media satisfactory?

RQ2: Which environmental issues are covered more by the Pakistani media?

RQ3: Which environmental issues should be covered more by the Pakistani media?

RQ4: What are the reasons for the low visibility of environmental news in Pakistani media?

RQ5: To what extent, which channels of information provide the most reliable environmental news coverage?

Methodology

Survey methodology was used in this research study. To collect data for this study, a structured questionnaire was used. After the review of the literature, the different environmental issues were made part of this study. Mainly, Journalists who treat environmental issues in print media took part in this research. They were identified and contacted through the various sources like online searches, personal contacts and other references.

A non-probabilistic sampling technique, snowball method sampling method was chosen for this study. This method is used, when the target group is unrecognizable and impossible to draw a sampling frame. In this case, a few known individuals that belong to the group are asked to invite others to participate thus gradually increasing the sample size.

Twenty Journalists were asked to fill the questionnaire, whereas eighteen of them responded. The questionnaires were distributed personally; this process took four months, approximately.

Data Analysis

Your satisfaction with the degree of coverage of environmental issues by the Pakistani media

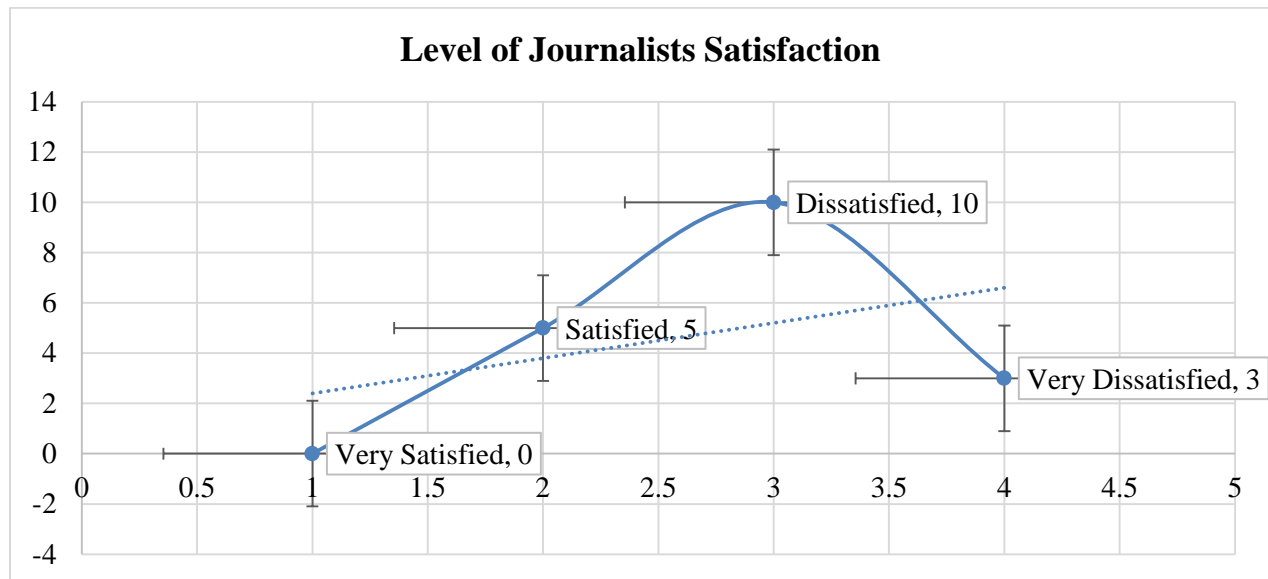


Figure 1

Journalists have shown dissatisfaction over the coverage of environmental issues in the Pakistani media. 55% of Journalists were of the view that the coverage of environmental issues is less. While 28% believe that print media give satisfactory coverage to environmental issues. 3% were dissatisfied and 0% very satisfied.

Your view on the reasons of low visibility of environmental news

Table 1

	Totally agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Totally disagree
They are boring	0	0	2	0	16
They create pessimism	11	4	0	3	0
They are difficult to understand	3	5	5	10	

They are not among routine life problem of an average citizen.	6	8	2	2	0
They are interesting, but people think that there is nothing they can do about these problems	12	6	1	1	0
Politics is high rating beat for media, they ignore the environment issue.	5	12	0	1	0
They are in conflict with the interests of organizations providing advertisement to the media, they exert pressure in order to ignore such issues	6	6	0	6	0
Environmental issues are not popular in the media	11	2	3	2	0
Journalists lack specialization and experience in the area of environment.	11	6	0	1	0

Most of the journalists (12) are of the view that they are interesting to the people, but they think that there is nothing they can do about these problems, while (11) says that they are not popular in the media and there is lack of specialization, experience of the journalists on the issues and they create pessimism.

Your view regarding channel of information that provide environmental news coverage

Table 2

Channels	Very much	Adequate	A Little	Not at all
Press	14	4	0	0

Television	15	2	1	0
Radio	11	5	2	0
Specialized books and magazines	1	1	16	0
Discussions with friends, relatives, colleagues etc.	2	3	12	1
Public speeches in schools and universities	1	2	13	2

This table shows that press (14) and television (15) are the top two channels of information regarding environmental news.

The channels of information which journalists consider to be the most reliable for the dissemination of environmental news

Table 3

Channels Outlets	Very much	Adequate	A Little	Not at all
Environmental documentaries	5	10	3	0
Panel discussion on television and radio	11	6	1	0
Specialized environmental programs	15	3	0	0
Articles in the daily press	17	1	0	0
Articles in the specialized press	11	6	1	0
Internet	5	5	8	0
Environmental exhibitions	6	6	6	0

This table shows that, articles in the daily press (17) and specialized environmental programs (15) are the most reliable channel for the dissemination of environmental news in view of the journalists.

Your view on environmental News that is covered by print media**Table 4**

Environmental issues /Variables	Not at all	Very Little	Widely	Very Widely
Water pollution	0	13	2	3
Air Pollution	0	11	5	2
Floods	0	2	7	9
Waste	0	12	6	0
Sound Pollution	0	16	2	0
Biodiversity	5	12	1	0
Risks from nuclear energy	16	2	0	0
Acid rain	15	3	0	0
The ozone hole	16	2	0	0
The greenhouse effect	13	5	0	0
Risks from biotechnology	15	3	0	0
Recycling	10	6	1	1
Pakistan Environmental Protection Act, 1997	17	1	0	0

This table shows that, most important issues are not covered in the print media. These issues include risks from nuclear energy, acid rain, the greenhouse effect, ozone hole and Pakistan environment act, 1997. The issues that are covered are sound pollution, water, wastes and air pollution.

The study investigated that media covered water pollution, air pollution and flood issues however, the coverage was very little in the terms of its importance, we can say while analyzing the results that some of most important issues like, Risks from nuclear energy, Acid rain, The

ozone hole, The greenhouse effect and Risks from biotechnology is ignored by our media which showed that there is a significant ignorance in the terms of such important issues. The study also showed that editors are agreed that communication channels like Environmental documentaries, Panel discussion on television and radio, Specialized environmental programs, Articles in the daily press, Articles in the specialized press, Internet and Environmental exhibitions are very important for the awareness of the people however, if we look into the data received from our participants, it showed that media is not giving sufficient amount of coverage to the issues highlighted by the study pertaining to environment. The study however, analyzed that Press and TV are the mediums which are covering the issues but in limited amount.

This study after analyzing the results answered the research question RQ1 that the coverage of environmental issues by the Pakistani media was not satisfactory (Figure A) and it need to give a significant amount of coverage in all sort of media in order to highlight its impact on the society and human being.

The results while answering the RQ2 of this study showed that flood is the one environmental issue which is given more coverage in Pakistani media followed by water pollution and air pollution accordingly.

While answering RQ3 of this research study, the journalists were on the view that all the related environmental issues highlighted by this study need to have a significant level of coverage in the media however, greenhouse effect, air and water pollution and recycling are the major issues need to fully covered by the media in Pakistan.

The study find out that basic reason behind low coverage of environmental issues is the commercialization of media, and media agenda. The journalists highlighted during this study that political news and other commercial related news have impound huge amount of space and time

in the media and also low level of viewer interest in the environmental issues are reasons for the low visibility of environmental news in Pakistani media. The study analyzed that specialized environmental programs, articles in the daily press and articles in the specialized press are the channels of information provide the most reliable environmental news coverage.

The study also find out that, journalists also think the environmental issues are the complicated topics for news stories and need some technical and scientific knowledge pertaining to environment. The study also noted that environment impact all journalists beats i.e. politics, sports, economics and other social beats. However, other reason of low coverage of environmental issues is journalist need to convenes editor to print or broadcast the environmental issues story, as the editor thinks that these news stories are not that must interesting than politics.

Conclusion

This research paper was aimed to find out the Environmental Journalists perspective on the coverage of environmental issues in the print media of Pakistan. It has been revealed that the coverage given to environmental issues is less. Very rarely the important and ever growing issues in the realm of environment are covered. This study was an attempt to explore the area and give and provide direction to other researcher to focus on it. There is scope for research in this domain and they are open to work on the various other angles of this area. A study can be done comparing TV and print media and analyzing its coverage of environmental issues. The study highlighted that most important issues are not covered in the print media like risks from nuclear energy, acid rain, the greenhouse effect, ozone hole and even lacks coverage regarding the awareness to the Pakistan environment act, 1997. Lack of technical facilities and training, low priority of environmental concerns are the major reasons behind the low coverage of environmental issues in Pakistan, the study analyzed.

Moreover, the daily press and specialized environmental programs are the most reliable channel for the dissemination of environmental news, while there is need of other channels to enhance the coverage of environmental issues. Awareness programs in Schools and collages should be one of the prime objectives of authorities to highlight these issues.

Overall, Environmental Journalists were dissatisfied with the coverage of environmental issues in the print media of Pakistan. Here, it is pertinent to mention that, the same responsibility rests on editors to consider the environmental issues as important and give space to these issues in print and other channels of communication. The more the sensitivity of environmental issues are highlighted, the more informed the public will be and in turn greater concern for environmental issues and addressing them. The study also noted that government of Pakistan also need to sponsor programs and special pages and space in the electronic and print media in order to give sufficient amount of coverage to environmental issues in Pakistan, as Pakistan is facing climate change and it is the time to create awareness among the citizens. State run media also not giving coverage to environmental issues, here Government to take special interests for environmental coverage. Pakistan is vulnerable to climate change, and journalists who were the participants of this study hoped that in coming days government will do its part in crating awareness about environmental issues by sponsoring programs and paces in the media.

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Abstract:

Geopolitics and geographical identity of a state holds great significance in today's arena of International Politics. The geographical sphere is a source of global puissance in regional policy making. From the last few decades, the world has witnessed major variations in regional power dynamics from Atlantic to Pacific and from Europe to Asia. Oceans and seas are an imperative driver of dynamic change and clutches prosperity enigmas from eras. The Indian Ocean, in contemporary world, is a major maritime transit lounge. Global economy relies on this giant oceanic connector as it is an emerging economic gravity center in world's trade and economic affairs. Hegemonic influence on the littoral states of Indian Ocean is the dire need of Asian economic giants as well as the US and European rivals. Pakistan's geographic location and its embryonic Gwadar port holds great strategic significance in regional economy, prosperity, security and stability. Notwithstanding, there are certain maritime challenges for Pakistan. The aim of this paper is to identify maritime challenges to Pakistan in terms of CPEC and to highlight possible remedial measures in changing regional geopolitical power dynamics. It can be concluded with a thorough study that Pakistan requires adequate measures to cope up with existing and futuristic challenges in the maritime domain.

Key words: Geopolitics, South Asia, Indian Ocean, Strategic Challenges, Maritime Security, Pakistan

Introduction

Geopolitics, is a study of physical and anthropological influences of a state on regional politics and International affairs (Devetak et al 2017). In the context of IR (International Relations), geopolitics is a technique to evaluate overseas policy of a particular state in light of geographical variables. These variables cover topography, demography, area studies, climate studies, natural resources, applied and pragmatic sciences (Evans & Newnham 1998). The core emphasise of geopolitics is political power interlinked with topographic location. Geographic elements (i.e area, population, and climate etc) and fundamental interests of global actors are other associated topics of geopolitics which form world's geopolitical system (Toncea 2006). According to Gogwilt (2000), the term geopolitics at present is being used to define a wide spectrum of notions, in a general its used as “a synonym for international political relations”, but more precisely to indicate a worldwide structure of such relations. Mahan (1890) said that national supremacy is inextricably linked with sea power and its use in war and peace and emphasized on the tactical locations (such as canals, rivers, chokepoints and coaling stations) as well as assessable fighting power in an armada, are helpful to control over the sea. He further elaborated that following six elements have potential to increase sea power and geographical importance of a state:

1. Valuable topographical position.
2. Functional coastlines, auspicious climate and natural resources.
3. Longitude and Latitude of territory.
4. Inhabitants, sufficient to defend its geographical boundaries.
5. The social order with a capacity for the sea and commercial enterprise.
6. Administration with the inspiration and proclivity to control the sea.

However, while discussing about geopolitics and geographical importance, it will not be expedient to ignore 'Heartland' and 'Rimland' theories. The 'Heartland' theory is a geopolitical concept which analyzes the political and economic success of the world's regions by geography (Sloan 1999, 15-38). The concept of Heartland was theorized by a British scholar, Halford John Mackinder in 1904 (Kruszewski 1953, 388). Mackinder (1904) said that the core of global influence lies in the Heartland, the region consisted of Eurasia and Africa (comprise of 2/3 of total world's land area, abundant natural resources and densely populated), naturally fortified from all around by geographical barriers. He predicted, "Whoever rules East Europe, will rule Heartland, whoever rules the Heartland, will rule the World Island, and whoever rules the World Island, will rule the world" (Mackinder 1904). The theory remained focused in international power politics in the 20th century. However, Spykman thought that the Rimland (a strip of coastal belt that encircles Eurasia) is more imperious than the central Asian zone (the area identified as Heartland) for the control of the Eurasian continent and emphasized that "who controls the Rimland rules Eurasia, who rules Eurasia controls the destinies of the world" (Spykman 1969, 170-177). Geopolitics prior, post and during Cold war era seriously remained under influence of these two theories. However, after collapse of Soviet Union in 1991, geopolitics changed its dimensions, dramatically.

In the globalized world, geography is imperative in terms of economic, ecological, and transnational security and converts it into burning debated issue, that make geopolitics a dynamic source of international politics (Chapman 2011). In general, the study of interaction between geography, transnational politics and interstate relations, has apparently passed its zenith and now critiques are evolving in the society about new geopolitical dimensions. In today's digital age, multilateral institutions, technological developments and upsurge of non-state actors

decisively considered in global affairs. Cyber warfare and surveillance are new persuasive elements that can produce complex political conflicts and multinational crises. Al-Rodhan (2012) has extended classical and traditional geopolitical contemplations to include “societal, health and the environment” and elevates geopolitics into space which is known as meta-geopolitics. The supremacy of geographical boundary has been outdated by the hard and soft power tools that can be utilized by a state to obtain and preserve power and sovereignty. Political and social mobilization, digital media and diplomacy are new tools of geopolitical influence (Al-Rodhan 2012).

Research Methodology:

The paper is aligned with the concept to investigate maritime security challenges for Pakistan in the changing power dynamics of South Asia. This argument based, international strategic policy research employs a qualitative research methodology (Creswell 2009, 3-21). Fresh insights are presented through a combination of analytical efforts that are primarily reflexive in nature (O'Reilly 2009, 13-17), whereas findings are a source from both primary and secondary data. Primary sources include content from speeches and arguments of serving / former naval officers and diplomatic personnel, taken from newspapers and official websites of respective organizations. They help focus on Pakistan's growing importance in the seas in context of Port of Gwadar, the OBOR and the need to strengthen maritime security governance in the Northern Indian Ocean Region. Secondary sources include selected bibliography and journal papers to support theoretical knowledge and contemporary prospective. In seeking to produce robust, defensible and implementable policy outcomes, and in keeping with the imperatives of strategic analytical approaches, no single theoretical line of enquiry is entirely adequate. The convergent outcomes of multi-disciplinary approaches provide a loose analytical

framework that enables synthesis. Several intellectual ‘prisms’ (lenses or perspectives) are employed, primarily risk and vulnerability theory in concert with maritime strategy and security theories. Aspects of international relations, international law, strategy, and traditional and non-traditional security theories are also applied to contemporary Indian Ocean maritime security policy considerations.

3. Analysis & Discussion:

Geopolitics of Indian Ocean:

Throughout the history, oceans and sea remained major drivers of change and stimulates interstate relations. As being the cheapest and appropriate source of transportation, man is using marine resources from centuries. Aquatic zones of the planet not only provide modes of transportation but contains abundant natural resources for well-being of human life. The Indian Ocean is stretches within an area of 68 million square kilometers, surrounded by three continents, several Islands and spills out into the Southern Ocean (Tomczak & Godfrey 2013). Evolving economic growth in Asia is highly contributed by globalized economy and trade carried out through Indian Ocean.

Regardless of its geographical prominence and massive rising population, the Indian Ocean was neglected in worlds geopolitics prior 20th century. However, in today’s world, the area holds a vital geostrategic significance due to abundant hydrocarbon resources of the Persian Gulf, reliance of worlds cargo shipment on its sea lines of communications (SLOCs), and narrow straits. Turbulent and unstable socio-political situation in some littoral states has also fascinated world attention towards the Indian Ocean. Rise of Chinese, Indian and Russian military and economic capacity is another factor of its regional importance in the geopolitical system of the world. In 2011, a total of 142 political conflicts were recorded in the IOR, representing more

than a third of 388 conflicts worldwide, including 12 of the world's 20 wars, as well as an additional eight limited wars (Halpern et al 2008).

The significance of Indian Ocean Region as a geopolitical focal zone is already recognized worldwide. Notion of Indian Ocean (IO) as a nonviolent, maritime thoroughfare and as a cohesive interregional arena of commercial and social interaction and exchange is identical. There is an evolving consensus that "Asia Pacific concerns will play an important role in reshaping the transnational framework that it has done for centuries" (Till and Bratton 2012). The IOR "has swiftly give the impression as the geographic connector of giant economic and security topics that have worldwide consequences" (Garofano and Dew 2013). The Indian Ocean has not been looked into more than as a transit passage for world's trade in recent past by major powers, however, growing interest and dependency of world actors on its sea lines of communications (SLOCS), increased its potential and significance. This situation has made the IO difficult to deal with as an articulated area, from a geopolitical perspective. The IOR is bounded by diverse social, cultural, economic and political states. There are 51 littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean (28 rim states, plus 10 Persian Gulf and Red Sea coastal states, and 13 landlocked states) are distinguished for their diversity and lack of equality (Brewster et al 2013). Some states are wealthier enough (i.e Persian Gulf states and Australia) whereas some are poorest (i.e Bangladesh, Myanmar and East Taimor). According to Gupta (2010), total number of inhabitants in this region are more than 2.65 billion (approx 39 per cent of entire world population) and the SLOCs of Indian Ocean are the busiest shipping lines as two third of the world crude oil, more than half of the ampoule trade and one third of bulk cargo.

Maritime Security; an International Agenda:

The term maritime security cannot be elucidated without familiarization with the concept of security, under the literature of international relations. This will develop an understanding how issues of security should be perceived when considered from a maritime prospective. The security dilemma fabricates when a nation state seeks out measures to maximize its security via policies of peace through strength (Mack 1991). Buzan (1991) has observed that intimidations to a territorial entity may not only be military, but also economical, societal, political and ecological. The concept of maritime security has been evolved since 2000s, when a dire threat to the port facilities and maritime domain has been posed by non-state actors. Maritime strategies to counter expected security threat and vulnerabilities at sea has been formulated by several states and international organizations.

Maritime security has progressively been conferred a broader understanding and superior firmness, as states have pursued to retort to varied threats in and from the oceans. A new collaborative approach among world navies has been emerged, since the UN Security Council highlighted the agenda of piracy near Somali coastline and Gulf of Aden. Klein (2011) says that transnational felonious activities, particularly drugs and human trafficking, continues to tax law implementation efforts and has recently provoked greater consideration of communal patrolling authority in sovereign maritime areas. The overwhelming consequences of unlawful fishing and marine contamination have led states to regard their ecological and economic security as vulnerable and they have responded accordingly. Although these developments have been analyzed for their reliability with international law rules and policies in vogue, what has been missing in these scrutinization is a “reflection on how these developments in their totality operate

vis-à-vis the existing legal paradigm and whether that paradigm is still appropriate to meet current security imperatives” (Klein 2011).

There is no universally accepted, international definition of maritime security (Rahman; 2009). According to Bueger (2015), maritime security is one of the latest buzz words of international relations. From last few decades, oceanic ascendancy and international security have been included in maritime security policies of major world powers. After the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the US policy makers redefined maritime security as associated it with maritime terrorism (Bueger 2015). Maritime security, like other tactical terms, attracts attention towards new security challenges. It can be referred to the threats directly posed to maritime domain. They refer to threats such as maritime inter-state disputes, maritime terrorism, piracy, trafficking of narcotics, people and illicit goods, arms proliferation, illegal fishing, environmental crimes, or maritime accidents and disasters ((Bueger 2015). According to UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, while identifying common maritime security threats, there is no agreed definition of maritime security (UN General Assembly 2008). The acknowledged threats to maritime security are, first, piracy and armed robbery against merchant and humanitarian assistance vessels, second, acts of terrorism relating to offshore installation, shipping and other maritime interests to hamper economic flow of trade, third, illegal trading of WMDs and conventional arms, forth, illicit trafficking of narcotic drugs, fifth, smuggling of persons by sea in an inhuman environment onboard, sixth, , illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing (IUU fishing) and finally damage to marine environment, intentionally and unlawfully (UN General Assembly 2008).

Changing Regional Power Dynamics in South Asia:

Power politics in Asia especially in South Asia is at its peak from few decades as it was never before. Old friends and foes are no more rivals, but enhancing bilateral relations with each other. Evolving relationship between Afghanistan and India, China and Pakistan, India and United States, India and Iran, Russia and Pakistan are forming new power dynamics in the region. Major world powers always remained player in the regional politics of South Asian countries, especially developing nations (i.e Afghanistan, India, Iran and Pakistan). During the Cold War era, the US and the USSR have implemented counter balancing measures against each other to cater hegemony in the region. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the United States became the sole superpower in the world politics. However, from last decade, the world is changing in to multipolarity, as China, Russia and the United States are again trying to maintain their foothold in the regional politics of South Asia. Presently, China, India and Pakistan have shaped a strategic triangle (Kapur; 2010). Emerging heightened political, economic, military and social relationship between China and Pakistan has compelled United States to strengthen ties with India or the same is vice versa. Russian and Eurasian states interest in the multipurpose, multidimensional China-Pakistan economic corridor (CPEC) is another alarming stunt for US policy makers.

Presently, India and Pakistan, both are nuclear states and are traditional opponents since their inception. Both counties fought three major wars and many border clashes within last 70 years. There are several conflicting issues between two states (i.e Kashmir dispute, border demarcation, water problem, Siachen glacier etc). Major powers mediated several times between India and Pakistan on above cited issues but constant and reluctant attitude of India failed these attempts all the times. Strategic partnership between India and United States after civil nuclear

deal, China and Pakistan have also boosted their 60 years old strategic relationship. These evolving trends created new power dynamics and strategic quadrangle of US-India and China-Pakistan which stretching towards two extremes, US and India are on one end, whereas China and Pakistan are on the other (Markey et al 2011). Moreover, after Indian struggle to enhance its nuclear capabilities within the region, Pakistan remained with the only nuclear option to equalize strategic and geopolitical Indian threats (Paul 2005). A vibrant indicator of change in Pakistan and China strategic ties is signing a Treaty of Friendship in 2005 for cooperation, collaboration and good relations, which has initiated high level strategic dialogue (Zeb 2012). The CPEC agreement in 2015, is also a dramatic move in bilateral relations of both states. According to Jahangir (2013, 50-58), in the contemporary situation, the fragile and distinctive balance-of-power is rising in South Asia within which the United States ought to play its very important role as a balancer in post U.S withdrawal from Afghanistan and can have to be compelled to treat equally with India and Pakistan.

CPEC an Evolving Game Changer:

The CPEC, a regional connectivity network, hypothetically holds ample economic, cultural and academic implications for China and Pakistan. The geographical linkage between Gwadar and Kashgar through CPEC will enhance cooperation, trade, business, cultural harmony and economic development in the entire region of South Asia. The Central Asian Republics including Afghanistan, India and Iran will also be the beneficiaries of this marvellous rail, road and air transportation network subject to their willingness. In this context, Gwadar port of Pakistan and Indian Ocean retains viable prominence in success of this worthy venture. Maritime trade corridors of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean will provide new shipping alternatives to China through Gwadar. Thus, safety and security surveillance of Gwadar port and

its futuristic shipment activities is a challenging dare for both China and Pakistan. Recent developments in defense cooperation between China and Pakistan are a step to preserve and promote regional maritime safety, security and stability in the Indian Ocean Region.

Presently, Pakistan is operating two international deep-sea ports, Karachi port and Port Qasim. The rising dependency of Pakistan on sea-borne trade and shipping industry, it was considered essential to extend cargo handling service on both ports. However, it is pertinent to mention that there are certain limitations to extend Karachi port facilities, especially due to its location within the Karachi city, which is on rapid growth. Port Qasim has an option to be extended as vast physical area and space is available there, however, being at 40 kms from open sea, it is not considered economical for cargoes having destination elsewhere other than Karachi. Resultantly, need of third deep sea port was arised which had been established in Gwadar. The first phase of the Gwadar port was inaugurated in 2007 by President Pervez Musharraf at a total cost of \$248 million (Walsh 2013). Second phase of development is under process and progressing rapidly.

The diplomatic and bilateral relations between China and Pakistan commenced in 1950s and improved with the passage of time. Presently, China and Pakistan are all-weather tested friends. Both the states are enjoying steadfast and consistent support on various key issues related to their national interests. CPEC is a journey towards economic regionalization in the globalized world and the corridor is a hope of better future with peace, development and growth of economy (Ministry of Planning, Development & Reform 'P' block Pak-Secretariat, Islamabad, Pakistan., n.d.). It is a major pathway for China's Silk and Belt Road program and might even solve the endemic energy crisis that Pakistan faces (Bhattacharjee 2015). It was conceived back in the 1990s, and the first approach to Pakistan from China about connecting China's western

provinces to the Arabian Sea came in 1999 (Hussain 2017). Gwadar deep sea port holds great significance in this \$46 billion project (Gwadar Port Authority 2019).

Maritime Challenges for Pakistan:

The global challenges and threats to maritime sector (i.e piracy, sea-based terrorism, narcotic and human trafficking, proliferation of unauthorized arms and weapons, illegal fishing and climate degradation) are common and also applicable to Pakistan maritime trade zones. Pakistan has been blessed with a maritime zone of approx 30% to its total land area which is enriched with quite abounded natural resources. In March, 2015, United Nations Commission on the Limits of Continental Shelf has accepted the claim of Pakistan over 50,000 square kilometers as extension, to its continental shelf in Indian Ocean which increased existing 240,000 square kilometers upto a range of 290,000 square kilometers with rights over seabed and subsoil resources (Ghauri 2016). It is an unpleasant fact that Pakistan didn't exploited its sea resources to their optimum level. Pakistan marine industry can be divided into four main areas i.e Services, Marine Fisheries, Manufacturing and Energy Sector.

Certain threats to maritime trade zones of Pakistan at national level are to be categorized into traditional and non-traditional. The traditional threats posed to Pakistan are mainly from India's grand strategy towards the Indian Ocean. A persistent likelihood of war always exists between India and Pakistan in the maritime domain due to unsettled disputes of Sir Creek or Mumbai like staged terrorist attacks. Close proximity of Indian Air Force and Indian Naval bases pose a direct threat to vital maritime infrastructure of Pakistan, especially South Eastern SLOCs. India is constantly developing its maritime arsenal and desires to achieve blue water navy status to become a regional military giant in the Indian Ocean. Rapid inclusion of nuclear submarine, frigates, destroyers and aircraft carrier in Indian Navy establishes critical situation to

its neighbors and especially for Pakistan. Fragile law and order situation in Afghanistan, US-Indian interference in its politics and military is another growing threat to the sovereignty and security of Pakistan. The United States strategy to launch India as a regional power in the Indian Ocean to counter Chinese and Russian strategy of regional hegemony poses direct threat to maritime domain of Pakistan. It is now impartially manifest that in the prevalent geo-strategic environment, United States will continue India's political backing as well as military support. Pakistan needs to intensely invest in its sea based second strike capabilities and necessarily counter US-Indian military influence in the Indian Ocean Region by conducting joint maritime exercises with friendly navies.

Non-Traditional security threats to Pakistan and its maritime setup are asymmetric challenges of piracy, terrorism, narco-arms and human trafficking, ecological degradation, and other unauthorized activities that complicates security matrix additionally. Somali Piracy in the Gulf of Aden and East coast of Africa hampers marine traffic towards the territorial waters of Pakistan, results in loss of valuable monetary benefits. A formidable threat to shipping vessels and maritime infrastructure emanates from sea-based terrorism. The notorious Hash Highway (drug route for narco-trade) which links North Arabian Sea to Europe and North America remains busy as our western neighbor Afghanistan produces of 9% of worlds total opium production. Human smuggling is also a lucrative business across the globe, and popular in the region due to prevalent poverty.

The future operationalization of CPEC will enhance the spectrum of threat perception for Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan is extremely conscious about future maritime challenges in the Indian Ocean Region (IRO). Pakistan Maritime Forces are continuously upgrading their surface, sub-surface and underwater arsenal. Gady (2016), said that China has already consented in April

2016 to provide 08 x submarines to Pakistan by 2028, valued US\$4 to \$5 billion and is expected to extend a long-term loan at a low interest rate. The first four submarines are expected to be delivered by the end of 2023, however, remaining 04 x submarines will be constructed at Pakistan as announced by Managing Director Rear Admiral Syed Hassan Nasir Shah HI(M) (Karachi Shipyard and Engineering Works Ltd [KS&EW Ltd] 2016). He further highlighted that this project will elevate KS&EW among the elite club of few shipyards of the world where construction of both submarines and ships are undertaken ("Karachi shipyard & engineering works limited," n.d.). Moreover, Pakistan Ex-Chief of Naval Staff Admiral Muhammad Zakaullah, in his farewell address said that 'new vessels are being inducted while contracts have been signed to acquire frigates from China, in order to strengthen the Pakistani Navy' (Gao 2017). He further added that Pakistan Navy is under process to purchase two planes from Holland, ATR planes from Germany and Sea King helicopters from Britain (Siddiqui 2017). Pakistan Navy has already acquired 02 x ships from China, equipped with state-of-the-art weapons and sensors to protect Gwadar port and will also be utilized to protect the sea lanes in the Arabian Sea (The Economic Times 2017).

4. Conclusion:

The Indian Ocean region is a key medium for sea-based transportation. All sea traffic, either it is for commercial purpose or for human assistance is transiting thorough its waters. These shipping lines facilitates the transport of energy resources and other freights and industrial goods to the world. The existence of extra-regional states, interstate relationship and the predominant, unresolved boundary issues are aspects that have driven maritime strategic outlook in the IOR. The countless issues between littorals of Indian Ocean made the region competitive instead of comparatively peaceful. The formulations of peaceful settlement of disputes between

these littorals are the only option to preserve peace in the region. Finally, Pakistan needs to build more inclusive relationship with maritime security communities. The IOR is an extremely important and highly utilized ocean space that a vast majority of the world relies on it, there is inadequate cooperation between the littoral states as well as its users; the extra regional states. In this backdrop, collaboration via various mechanisms would enable Pakistan to ensure security of its maritime domain.

South Asia and its adjacent littoral waters are susceptible in terms of maritime security. The region covers an extensive oceanic area which is heavily trafficked with marine vessels. Therefore, all vulnerabilities highlighted above in maritime security domain are existed here. It can be concluded with the above discussion that Pakistan requires adequate measures to cope up with existing and futuristic challenges.

5. Recommendations:

1. Formulation and upgradation of local networks of LEAs to enhance cooperation and information sharing in maritime domain. This act will also highlight real time picture of security threats and concerns to the maritime domain of Pakistan.
2. Participation in Maritime Security Partnerships (MSPs) of extra regional powers is a source of escalation of professional experience and competence of maritime security forces. Efforts to safeguard own area of interest while participating in a multinational maritime partnership is the dire need of the day.
3. Formation of a Track-II political forum to discuss and resolve interstate maritime disputes is considered essential. Presently there are two forums IO-ARC and IONS are there, but these are not diplomatic forums to discuss conflicting issues. This effort can be further elevated to Track-I level diplomatic partnerships, too.

4. Establishment of an academic platform, where imminent scholars of all littoral states can share their views and expertise in order to provide mutually acceptable solution of interstate disputes and counter security measures.
5. New models of maritime security cooperation in line with cold war military partnerships (i.e North Atlantic Treaty Organization) are required in the Northern Indian Ocean. The Idea may be prevailed in forthcoming competition of regional and extra regional powers in the IOR.
6. National level legislation related to marine and ocean policies, rules, and regulations be regularly conducted to counter adaptive challenges of maritime security in the contemporary scenario.
7. Confidence building measures (CBMs) to share maximum information related to maritime security between the states engaged in multilateral security operations is to be revisited and implemented.
8. Adoption of best management practices (BMPs), ISPS codes and acquisition of new marine technologies will be a source of retaliation against evolving maritime security threats. The same measures may be adopted by Gwadar Port Authority in order to take maximum benefit from CPEC.

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Article:	Media and Foreign Policy on Pak-Afghan Relations (1997-2005): The Role of US and Pakistani Press
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Abstract

The main purpose of the present research is to investigate Pak-Afghan relations in the editorials of US newspapers, The Washington Post & The New York Times and Pakistani newspapers Dawn & The News related to the following issues during the period 1997-2005; A) US as a factor in Pak-Afghan relation, B) Coverage of Islam/Muslims regarding war on terrorism, C) Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations, and D) US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations. The time period to be examined in this proposed study spans over eight years regarding the editorial coverage of Pak-Afghan relations in the US and Pakistani leading English Press. Triangulation method based on qualitative and quantitative method was used to conduct the present research. The results show that the editorial contents of USA and Pakistani newspapers were not different regarding Pak-Afghan relations before and after 9/11. The incident of 9/11 changed the American foreign policy towards developing and least developing nations especially Muslims states like Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran etc. Pakistani press highlighted the issues regarding the Pak-Afghan relations before and after 9/11 as a favorable and conducive, related to Muslim/Islam regarding war on terrorism. The study suggested that instead of the focus on military resolution of the different problems, rather social bilateral negotiations should be prioritized which would be long lasting and full of mutual respects and honor.

Keywords: Media, Foreign Policy, Editorials, Newspapers, Relations, Contents, Pak-Afghan

INTRODUCTION

Media plays a vital role to construct the social relations at national and international levels (Siraj, 2006). People are becoming aware of different happenings around the world in context of changing cultural aspects, norms and values (Karim, 2002), customs and traditions (Harvey et al., 2005), and all other perspectives (Kim, 2004) through media and technology (Halttu, 2008). It is interesting to uncover the official policies of national media regarding a particular event, issue and incident etc. (Straubhaar & Larose, 2001).

The 9/11 strikes on USA by the terrorists was a horrible incident which seems to have brought far reaching effects in the global political (Wang, 2006) and social arenas (Paul, 2004). After the strikes on USA, the quick response by the USA authorities, blamed Taliban administration of Afghanistan and ultimately “Al-Qaeda”. So, USA focused on this part of the world to deal with Taliban and Al-Qaeda (Huntington, 2002). Being immediate neighbor of Afghanistan, Pakistan had to face many hardships in this political scenario (Weaver, 2002). Furthermore, Pakistan was one of those three countries that had recognized the Taliban administration legitimate along with Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. Osama Bin-Ladin and its organization, Al-Qaeda were blamed for the carrying out these attacks (Want et al., 2004).

The incident of 9/11 was drastic one for the American people, even they didn't expect it. Even the plane of President Bush kept on flying in the Western side of the country without any destination for 10 minutes from 10:10 A.M. to 10:20 A.M. on that day. Massacre of thousands of people and complete destruction of the twin towers

of WTC, brought a great anxiety among the civilian population and particularly tremendous distress in the official arena of the USA (The 9/11 Commission Report, 2004).

The grim situation may be apprehended by the following excerpt of the editorial of The New York Times which published on September 12, 2001.

“The world would never be the same”.

It is a matter of prime importance that the 9/11 incident seems to have brought drastic changes in the global political arena in general and Pak-Afghan relations went through dramatic changes in particular (Islam, 2005). It is evident from the historical perspective that these two countries don't enjoy persistent cordial relations since the emergence of Pakistan in 1947. Although 9/11 incident seems to affect the relationship between the two countries, yet this relationship needs to be understood in the historical context (Mark, 2001). This relationship took unusual shape in 1979 when USSR attacked Afghanistan (Kim, 2004). Consequently, this invasion of USSR made conscious the two countries to act in a sane way to meet the challenges in the best possible way. In that scenario USA played an active and effective role in Pak-Afghan relations in covert and overt ways in the context of invasion of the USSR (Johnson and Mason, 2008).

In the context of historical developments that took place in Afghanistan (Nojumi, 2002) the researcher has observed that U.S. and Pakistani media have supported their respective national foreign policies regarding Pak-Afghan relations before and after 9/11 attacks (Kiouisis et al., 2007).

Objectives of the Study

The study aims at the investigation of Pak-Afghan relations in the editorials of newspaper The New York Times and The Washington Post (US) While Pakistani newspapers Dawn and The News related to the following issues during the period 1997-2005.

- (A) US as a factor in Pak-Afghan relation.
- (B) Coverage of Islam/Muslims regarding war on terrorism.
- (C) Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations, and
- (D) US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations.

This study has also accessed the relative weight-age given in the above-mentioned press for the aforesaid four issues. In addition, the study reveals whether the above-mentioned newspapers have agreed or disagreed with the U.S. and Pakistani policies on above issues or not.

Rationale of the Study

Foreign policy has its origin with the start of earliest human societies which institutionalized sovereignty and nation state system marked in the post-colonial era of today (Zuberi, 2009). Political environment has been changed in international law due to emergence of new superpower and relaxation of the new Cold War (Jalalzai, 2003). This progress made in international law create the principle of foreign policy based on national interest (Zubri, 2008) which is driving force to formulate foreign policy shaped by both history and geography (Amin, 2009).

Furthermore, the studies done in the past relate to foreign policy of a country and its relationship with the media on a specific issue (Nossek, 2004). The present study is conducted to

check the media and foreign policy relationship in a different way. In this case the relations between two nations Pakistan and Afghanistan are analyzed keeping in view the involvement of USA, the only superpower of the unipolar world today. The relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan fluctuate as per the national interests of USA (Zaller and Chiu, 2000). Subsequently Pak-Afghan relations are studied with special reference to US and Pakistani press. The study is focused on 9/11 attacks, and it has been tried to comprehend that how Pak-Afghan relations were affected after it.

Research Questions

Following research questions are formulated for the present study;

The main research question is;

Does there any difference in the editorial treatment of the elite English press of US on US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations pre and post 9/11 attacks?

Other research questions include;

1. Does the elite English press of US support US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations before 9/11 attacks?
2. Does the elite English press of US support US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 attacks?
3. Does there any difference in the editorial treatment of the elite English press of Pakistan on Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations during pre and post 9/11 attacks?
4. Does the elite English press of Pakistan support Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations before 9/11 attacks?

5. Does the elite English press of Pakistan support Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 attacks?

Research Method

For the present study researchers practiced the triangulation methods to conduct the present research. Quantitative research design includes determining the issue of time-frame, research questions population and sampling, measurement rules and category construction, data presentation and analyses. While qualitative research design includes the issue of latent meanings and direction of text and evidence that 'did results of the study support proposed theories, on which study is based or not.

All the unsigned editorials of U.S. newspapers; The Washington Post and The New York Times on one side and on the other side; Pakistani newspapers Dawn and The News which were pertaining to the following issues in Pak-Afghan relations, during September 1997 to September 2005 (eight years) were selected as the universe for study. The unit of analysis and the unit of coding were the unsigned editorials for the present study. Since an unsigned editorial most often takes a stance on an issue, the meaning of an editorial was understood in parts. Therefore, it was appropriate to consider the editorial as the unit of analysis as well as unit of coding. The contents of all those unsigned editorials were analyzed, which related to the Pak-Afghan relations. After coding these editorials, direction of editorial contents was identified to examine the foreign policy, media relationship as portrayed by the two U.S. newspapers; The Washington Post and The New York Times on the one side and on the other side two Pakistani newspapers; Dawn and The News in the time period mentioned earlier. The editorials of the selected US and Pakistani newspapers regarding Pak-Afghan relations have been divided into following four categories;

- (A) US as a factor in Pak-Afghan relation.
- (B) Coverage of Islam/Muslims regarding war on terrorism.
- (C) Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations, and
- (D) US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations.

Qualitative portion of the study is done to explain the quantitative data and interpret the direction of the contents. It has been done in the following ways:

- By studying the material relevant to the study with justification and interpretation.
- Keeping in view the period under consideration, whether some other factors and important developments on domestic regional, and international scenario influencing the editorial contents.
- By making impressions about the orientation of the editorials on the basis of the researcher's observation about contents' characteristics.
- By constructing "the world of the text", isolating assumptions, values and beliefs that buttress an editorial.

Finally, to determine the direction of the contents of the editorials, data were ranked on a three-point scale: Supportive (+), Opposite (-), and Neutral (0).

RESULTS

Results based on the editorial in four newspapers are under the research questions.

Research Question 1

Does there any difference in the editorial treatment of the elite English press of US on US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations pre and post 9/11 attacks?

The editorial treatment of the elite English press of US regarding Pak-Afghan relations before and after 9/11 attacks in America remained same as per US's foreign policy. The editorial coverage in US newspapers was increased after 9/11 regarding Pak-Afghan relations.

Data depicts that USA press gave 79.2 percent editorial coverage after 9/11 and only 20.8 percent editorial coverage before 9/11 regarding Pak-Afghan relations. USA newspapers gave 39.6 percent editorial coverage regarding Pak-Afghan relations unfavorable, 36.8 percent neutral, and only 23.6 percent editorials were favorable. It is seen that the editorial coverage of Pak-Afghan relations was higher after 9/11 in USA newspapers. The value of Chi-square test (8.25, $df = 2$, $p\text{-value} = 0.016$) shows that the difference is not much significant. It can be assumed that policy of USA's newspapers remained almost same as of their government.

Furthermore, before 9/11 the USA's newspapers wrote 22 editorials regarding Pak-Afghan relations, out of which 09 were written unfavorable, 08 neutral and only 05 favorable. While after 9/11 the USA's press wrote 84 editorials, out of which 33 were written unfavorable, 31 neutral and only 20 favorable.

Research Question 2

Does the elite English press of US support US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations before 9/11 attacks?

Content data depicts that elite English press of US newspapers support foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations before 9/11 attacks. USA was not favoring the relationship between the two countries before 9/11, so the most of the editorials regarding Pak-Afghan relations were written in unfavorable way. Table 08 depicts that

before 9/11 the USA' newspapers wrote 22 editorials regarding Pak-Afghan relations, out of which 09 were written unfavorable, 08 neutral and only 05 favorable.

Research Question 3

Does the elite English press of US support US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 attacks?

The editorial coverage in USA newspapers regarding Pak-Afghan relations was higher after 9/11 as compared to before. These editorials support US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 attacks. Table 08 presents that after 9/11 the USA's press wrote 84 editorials, out of which 33 were written unfavorable, 31 neutral and only 20 favorable. So the press of US supported US's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 incident.

Data reflects that about half (50.9 %) of the editorial coverage regarding Pak-Afghan relations was related to the coverage of Islam /Muslims regarding war on terrorism in USA newspapers. 28.3 percent editorials were related to US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations, 17.0 percent were related to USA as a factor in Pak-Afghan relations and only 3.8 percent of the editorials were related to the category of C in USA newspaper.

Research Question 4

Does there any difference in the editorial treatment of the elite English press of Pakistan on Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations during pre and post 9/11 attacks?

Editorial treatment of the elite English press of Pakistan on Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations was favorable and supportive before and after 9/11.

Data describes that 66.5 percent of the editorial coverage after 9/11 was in Pakistan and only 33.5 percent editorial coverage was before 9/11 regarding Pak-Afghan relations in Pakistani newspapers. Regarding directional coverage of the editorials in Pakistan it was seen that 38.9 percent were in favor, 32.5 percent were unfavorable and only 28.5 percent were neutral editorials regarding Pak-Afghan relations in Pakistani newspapers. It is seen that the editorial coverage of Pak-Afghan relations was higher after 9/11 both in Pakistan newspapers. The value of Chi-square test (8.25, $df = 2$, $p\text{-value} = 0.016$) shows that the difference is not much significant. It can be assumed that the policy of Pakistani newspapers remained as per the foreign policy of Pakistan before and after 9/11 incident.

Research Question 5

Does the elite English press of Pakistan support Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations before 9/11 attacks?

Editorial coverage of Pakistani press supported Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations before 9/11 attacks. Data indicates that Pakistani press wrote 168 editorials before 9/11, out of which 80 were written in favor of Pak-Afghan relations, while 45 unfavorable and only 43 editorials were neutral. So, it depicts Pakistani press officially treated Pak-Afghan relations as per the foreign policy of Pakistan.

Research Question 6

Does the elite English press of Pakistan support Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 attacks?

Pakistani newspapers support Pakistan's foreign policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11. Data reflects that Pakistani press wrote 333 editorials after 9/11, out of which 115 were written in favor of Pak-Afghan relations, while 118 unfavorable and only 100

editorials were neutral. There was huge pressure on Pakistan's foreign policy from USA, regarding relations with Taliban administration of Afghanistan, So, Pakistan's foreign policy regarding relations was not as supportive as it was before 9/11. That is the reason the results of the present study depict the situation, that the number of favorable editorials is almost equal to number of unfavorable editorials. Hence Pakistani press officially treated Pak-Afghan relations as per the foreign policy of Pakistan. It is seen that the editorial coverage of Pak-Afghan relations was higher after 9/11 in Pakistan newspapers. The value of Chi-square test (8.25, df = 2, p-value = 0.016) shows that the difference is not much significant.

DISCUSSION

The empirical data gathered for the present study reveals that the editorial policies of both countries 'press Pakistan and USA regarding Pak-Afghan relations remained same as per the policies of governments of these respective countries before and after 9/11 attacks. Analyses of the contents reflect that as policies of the two countries changed, likewise these stances on Pak-Afghan relations also changed (Clarence, 2002). Consequently, the press of both the countries support their national policies before and after 9/11 incident. Hence study confirms positive relationship between media and foreign policy (Sntman, 2004).

The historical context as well as collected data express that Pakistan had to face many hardships in its socio-economic and political spheres in the specific period of the present study. Being the front-line state, the role which she had to take, was very volatile (Lamin, 2001). So, the Pakistani press gave too much coverage to Pak-Afghan relations especially after 9/11 attacks as compared to USA's press. Among the two newspapers of Pakistan, The News gave more coverage as compared to Dawn. "The News" is considered the mouth organ of the government, while Dawn is relatively independent in its approach. On the other hand, USA's newspapers

namely, The New York Times and The Washington Post represented their national policies in a favorable way. The New York Times was very staunch in its coverage regarding different categories mentioned earlier for the present study. The newspaper used very harsh words for the Muslims and Islam in its editorial treatment to different happenings in the context of new geo-political scenario of the globe after 9/11 incident. The coverage of the both newspapers regarding editorial treatment of Pak-Afghan relations increased after 9/11 incident (Carroll, 2004).

The present study affirms the relationship between media and foreign policy of both the countries' Pakistan and USA regarding Pak-Afghan relations pre and post 9/11. USA's elite English press favored their national policies in both prescribed time periods (Kioussis et al., 2007). The 9/11 attacks brought drastic changes in the number and contents of the editorials of the US press (Andrew, 2001). Although USA's policy regarding Pak-Afghan relations was not favorable even before 9/11 attacks, yet its intensity increased after 9/11. The US's pressure on Pakistan's administration to change its foreign policy vis-à-vis Taliban administration in Afghanistan was also discussed vigorously by the US press (Najmudheen and Farhana, 2013). In this regard the USA's press favored the demand of their govt. regarding handing over of Osama Bin Ladin to bring him to justice, as he and his Al-Qaeda organization was allegedly involved in carrying out 9/11 attacks.

As the data collected for the present study corroborates the media & foreign policy relationship in the positive way (Cohen, 2005). It is pertinent to note here that US's interests regarding Pak-Afghan relations were at the peak at the time of USSR's invasion in Afghanistan (Nuri, 2007). But after the withdrawal of USSR from Afghanistan in 1991, the concentration of US on this part of the world was partially diverted towards the reunion of East and West Germany in 1990. In the consequent events the war-torn country Afghanistan was left in turmoil

in the absence of the interest of the only super power of the world along with its western allies (Weaver, 2008). Different warring factions were fighting each other to establish such a government, which may be in accordance with the wishes of a particular group (Cohen, 2000). In the meanwhile, the Taliban came to fore and eventually 95% of the territory was under their sway in 1997. Osama Bin Ladin and Al-Qaeda had also joined the coalition with Taliban to establish an Islamic Caliphate under the command of Mulla Muhammad Umar, the Taliban leader (Bohman and Augustus, 2005). These developments were against USA's interests. They strongly criticized the Taliban administration and tried to get rid of Usam Bin Ladin by firing cruise missiles on his residence in Afghanistan in 1998. The US press supported the US's policy in all these events. Post 9/11 American media launched an effective propaganda campaign on the behalf of President George W. Bush's administration resulting in the persuasion of a large public support that the annihilation of Afghanistan and Iraq was both necessary (Miller, 2004). As most of the surveys conducted before, during and after the war on Iraq (Luther and Miller, 2005) demonstrate that majority of the American believed in the following myth proliferated by the Bush administration that a) link between Saddam Hussain and Al-Qaeda, b) the possession of mass destruction by Iraq and c) international legitimacy of war (Kull et al., 2004). The degree by which the public opinion is alarmingly changed through the media management in accordance with the aspirations of the elite decision makers is disturbing (Barker, 2008).

The data shows that the USA's policy was very staunch towards Pak-Afghan relations after 9/11 incident. As the Washington suspected Osama Bin-Ladin and his Al-Qaeda in carrying out these attacks (Kronstadt, 2009). US's media fully supported their government, especially The New York Times and The Washington Post wrote aggressively against the Muslims and Islam (Mazhar and Naheed, 2013). After the 9/11 attacks, USA launched war on terrorism with the

help of her international coalition partners (Lawson et al., 2009). To combat the terrorism, all channels were being used and the media played an active role to achieve the USA's goals in this regard (Calvert, 2004). USA demanded Pakistan to revisit its policy vis-à-vis Afghanistan and break ties with Taliban administration if she was failed to convince Mulla Umar's administration to handover Osama Bin-Ladin to bring him to justice (Canil, 2002). There are subsequent changes in US mindset which is globally resulted into the US policy of war on terrorism determining hot pursuit of terrorist elements (Masood, 2007). These consequences changed South Asian policy as well (Kux, 2004) and Pakistan as being the immediate neighbor of Afghanistan has been playing front line state in the war on terrorism (Black, 2004). US blamed Al-Qaeda as the wrongdoer of 9/11 attack (Javaid & Fatima, 2012).

The data collected from Pakistani press, namely The News and Dawn, depicts that these newspapers supported their national policies before and after 9/11 regarding Pak-Afghan relations (Frant and Marshall, 2003). Although Pakistan was one of those countries, who had recognized the Taliban administration, yet it changed its foreign policy after 9/11. Pakistani press acted swiftly in accordance with the change of national policy (Bell and Garrett, 2000).

Keeping in view the changing atmosphere of international politics the present study findings showed that the Pak-Afghan relations were being presented in the U.S. and Pakistani media before and after 9/11 attacks (Barbara, 2006). This study implies the dynamic relation between foreign policy and national media.

Military operations radicalized a section of the Pakistani society, fueling more terrorist attacks against the Pakistani civilians and security forces (Dale, 2009). The effect was growing suicide attacks, and frequent terrorist attacks, which destroyed the fabric of the Pakistani society (Gearus et al., 2004). On the other hand, Pakistan's economy was badly affected. According to

some renowned Pakistani analysts that the cost of the war on terrorism to Pakistan was much higher than the economic aid it gained from the United States (Ayoob, 2004). According to Talat Masood, a well-known defense analyst, the cost of the war to Pakistani economy was \$28 billion, measured by the depressed economic growth rate. Another analyst Sartaz Aziz, former Pakistani finance and foreign minister gave approximately a similar estimate. Aziz finds that the direct and indirect economic cost of the war on terrorism to Pakistan was 2083 billion Rupees (equivalent to \$26 billion) from 2004 to 2009. This indicates an average \$4.3 billion annual cost, which is substantially higher than the \$2 billion annual concessionary aid Pakistan received from the United States since 2001. Aziz is of the view that indirect costs were much higher (83%) than the direct costs (17%) of the war. The indirect costs accounted for the loss of exports, foreign investment, and industrial outputs; whereas the direct costs comprised the costs associated with the values of human lives lost or injured the value of property or infrastructure destroyed or damaged, and the security spending (Evan, 2006).

There is a dire need to study Pak-Afghan relations in the context of Osama Bin-Ladin's Killing on May 02, 2011 in Abotabad by the special services group of American Military. By committing violation of international boundary, USA succeeded to kill Bin Ladin. The long awaited this news brought a sort of sigh of relief in USA's authorities' camp. On the other hand, Pakistan took this violation seriously, so the relations between USA and Pakistan became strained. Pakistan withdrew its assistance in carrying out different goods for NATO forces in Afghanistan (Rizvi, 2003). So, these latest developments in the mutual relations of Pakistan and USA have seriously affected the war on terrorism, hence Pak-Afghan relations have also taken a new tilt in the recent political turmoil (Golan et al., 2007). There is need to comprehend Pak-US relations in the context of regional developments taken place after the emergence of Pakistan in

this volatile part of the globe (Akram, 2002). Pakistan's relations with the United States have always had a salience features due to its ties with China and strained relations with India (Cohen, 2005). The role of United States in all major crises of Pakistan from the wars with India to the war on terror is critical to meet these challenges. Different reports of Wiki Leaks confirm that relations with United States have always remained buoyant (Anholt, 2008). The future study in this regard can be very helpful in comprehending the present media-foreign policy nexus with special reference to Pak-afghan relations (Ahmed, 2009). The present study indicated that Pakistan has to go through extremely difficult times since its independence, so in the context of last three decades and subsequent events taken place in the international political arena, and especially in the context of 9/11 incident, Pakistan needs to reprioritize its foreign policy goals (Dixit, 2000). A fundamental flaw in foreign and national security policies has been disconnected between overly ambitious goals and available resources (Dale, 2004). Pakistan possesses one of the largest armies in the world. Its nuclear capability provides a credible deterrent to external aggression (Abbas, 2005). Pakistan needs to use its security forces not to widen the sphere of influence but to single-mindedly and indiscriminately counter the violence let loose by non-state actors which threaten the national security of the state (Abidullah, 2003).

CONCLUSION

The editorial contents of USA and Pakistani newspapers were not different regarding Pak-Afghan relations before and after 9/11. The incident of 9/11 changed the American foreign policy towards developing and least developing nations especially Muslims states like Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran etc. Pakistani press highlighted the issues regarding the Pak-Afghan relations before and after 9/11 as a favorable and conducive, related to Muslim/Islam regarding war on terrorism. Contrarily the editorial coverage in USA newspapers was totally different and

unfavorable before and after 9/11. They focused on their own foreign policy which they developed for developing countries and according to their own interests. Content data reflected that editorial coverage regarding Pak-Afghan relations in USA and Pakistani newspapers was increased after 9/11. An incident like 9/11 is an irony in the human history. The 9/11 attacks in America, brought transmutations in the international relations, along with other socio-economic and geo-political ties of the world. There is need to formulate alternative foreign policy, which may be applied in time of crisis like 9/11 attacks for the developing countries like Pakistan. Pakistan had no option available, except to accept all the demands of USA after 9/11. Consequently, she had to face such odd circumstances domestically as well as internationally to meet the different challenges as a sovereign nation.

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Abstract

Inter-media agenda setting is a commonly used phenomenon to investigate the transfer of contents between news media. The recent digitization era challenges the traditional presuppositions. This study investigates the inter-media agenda setting influence between social media and traditional media. To address this question, the present study investigates first level agenda setting between Twitter and ARY news during Farishta murder case 2019. Content analysis method was used to assess agendas present within Twitter and ARY news. By employing cross-lagged correlation, the study investigates the inter-media agenda setting influence between Twitter agendas and of ARY news agendas. Aggregate findings of cross-lagged correlation reveal a clear agenda setting influence of Twitter on ARY news coverage agenda about Farishta murder case. The results of the study suggest that Twitter has the capability to influence broadcast agendas of television in Pakistan.

Keywords: Twitter, inter-media agenda setting, first level, influence

Introduction

In the past two decades, the world has seen a massive growth of Internet. Almost world's 50% population is using Internet and out of which around 38% are using social networking sites (Hootsuit, 2020). With such a growth, the importance of social networking sites has risen significantly. The traditional agenda setting power of traditional mainstream new media is being contested by the social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, blogs, etc. As these social media platforms provide participatory role to the people where they can post their views, comments with a greater ease and affordance. Scholars described the shifting of agendas setting power of traditional news media to social media and results indicated that social media is challenging the agenda setting power of traditional media and in some case dominating the agendas of traditional media (Ceron et al., 2016, Wang, 2015; Zheng, 2017).

Based on the above arguments, the present study has been designed to investigate the power of social media in setting the agenda of traditional news media in social issues. The study has selected the issue of killing of a minor girl in Islamabad, Pakistan. In May 2019, Pakistanis were shocked when a ten-year-old girl Farishta, a resident of Islamabad, was kidnapped and later murdered. The news of her killing sparked outrage in the country and media persons, rights activist, politician turned to social networking sites to condemn this gruesome incident and calling for justice (Tribune, 2019). This research study has been deigned to investigate Twitter opinions and Television channel broadcast coverage of the incident. As in the previous studies, agenda-setting theory is frequently used in political settings and the current study examines the application of agenda setting theory in a crisis event or tragedy. This study also presents new dimension on the relationship between microblogging platform Twitter and Television channel in a crisis event.

Literature review.

Agenda-setting theory is primarily focusing on the transfer of issue salience from media to the public. This first level agenda setting deems the transmission between media and the public, either on the salience of object or the issue salience. Meanwhile, the second level of agenda setting deals with the traits of the objects or issues; or how to think about those objects (Lee, et al., 2005; McComb & Shaw, 1972). Later, the scholars presented another whole new idea of research by posing the question, 'When media sets the audience agenda then who sets media agenda' (Rogers et al., 1993). Danielian and Reese (1989) identified this process as 'inter-media agenda-setting process.' White (1949) conducted the very study to examine the selection of the topics by the editor of *Midwestern wire*, Mr. Gates. Breed (1955) identified that the larger media platforms tend to influence agenda of the smaller media platforms. Later in another study, Gue and Vargo (2015) suggested that the smaller media outlets follow the issue agendas of elite media outlets due to the credibility and importance of the content of the elite media.

Denham (2014) suggested that the inter-media agenda setting happens between different medias for few different reasons. The very first reason is the news value of the content as Journalists and media outlets are primarily concerned with the newsworthiness. The elite media with its resources tends to play a significant role in setting the agenda of other medias and journalist at the news selection process. The reason of inter-media agenda setting between the competition media is that no media outlet wants to miss out any news content, so they tend to watch out for each other coverage. The third and the last reason is pertaining to the economic factor for the news organization. For local media, instead of creating their own content It is quite easier for them to adopt the contents of other media outlets. In summary, inter-media agenda

setting between media outlets are taking place due to strong competition, newsworthiness, and the economic factors.

The core idea of inter-media agenda setting process assumes that the coverage of one media platform would influence the coverage of other media platforms. In the earlier studies in United States, the elite newspaper like New York Times have often found to be influencing the agendas of the other newspapers, magazines, television, and radio (Vliegenthart & Walgrave, 2008). In another study on global warming news coverage, Trumbo (1995) found that elite print media including New York Time and Washington post influence the agendas of broadcast media in United States.

In the last three decades the research conducted on inter-media agenda-setting have provided great understandings of changing aspects of news and the importance of different media platforms in dissemination of news in a competing environment. Earlier research was concerned with the inter-media agenda setting influence between traditional media outlets and results indicated the influence of traditional elite media on the other media outlets (Gilberg, Eyal, McCombs, & Nicholas, 1980, Danielian & Reese, 1989).

With the innovation of new technologies, particularly Internet gave rise to new phenomenon of social networking sites, websites, blogs. In the past one decade, researchers have focused on the agenda setting influence between traditional media and social media to figure out which media form has the agenda setting influence on other. Various studies were conducted to measure the inter-media agenda setting influence of social media (i.e blogs) on traditional media, found that the blogs are affecting the agenda setting power of traditional media (Maier, 2010; Sayre et al., 2010). Messner and Garrison (2011) indicated in their study that the traditional media is frequently using blogs as a source and in some instances, blogs are also influencing the

agendas of traditional media. In Chinese context a study was conducted during a tragic train incident in 2011, Wu et al. (2013) found that blogs influenced the coverage agenda of both print and television during this incident. Similarly, another study found Twitter influence on television channel on the issue of disaster news (Valenzuela et al., 2017). Meraz and Papacharissi (2013) suggested that the social media is creating a public space where people can debate and share opinions without any censorship. Above mentioned studies suggest that the agenda setting power of traditional media has been questioned and in some cases being replaced by the social media. The current study proposes the following hypotheses:

H1- Twitter agendas at Time 1 are likely to influence agendas of ARY news at Time 2 in Farishta murder case.

H1- Twitter agendas at Time 2 are likely to influence agendas of ARY news at Time 3 in Farishta murder case.

H1- Twitter agendas at Time 3 are likely to influence agendas of ARY news at Time 4 in Farishta murder case.

Methodology

The study uses content analysis that is an appropriate method to analyse the content because it allows the researcher to draw reasonable inferences from the text to the context of their use (Krippendorff, 2004). Majority of the studies pertaining to inter-media agenda setting have applied content analysis (including Rogstad, 2016; Su & Borah, 2019), as the current study also investigates the agenda setting effects between Twitter and ARY news during Farishta murder case so it is appropriate to use content analysis technique. While using purposive sampling, the study has sampled Twitter and ARY news. For Twitter, data is collected from Tweet deck and ARY news data is collected manually from the archives. For the Twitter, the

most popular hashtag #JusticeForFarishta was selected and all data under this hashtag was retrieved. The data was further securitized, only English and Urdu posts were selected then graphic and pictures were removed. Keeping in view the aspect of salience, tweets with fifty or more retweets were selected for content analysis.

Similarly, for ARY news 9pm news bulletin was selected, and all news related to Farishta murder case were collected and coded for content analysis. The total twitter posts from the selected hashtag were N=792 and total news stories from ARY news were N=284. All the selected tweets and news stories were coded for the purposive of content analysis. The study has identified five topics in Farishta murder cases. These topics include, calling for justice, statements, government inaction, calling for punishment and legislation.

Time lag.

Time lag is an important factor while measuring agenda setting hypothesis between two different times. In the initial years of inter-media agenda setting effects, scholar suggested a longer time lag ranging from eight to one week (Stone and McCombs, 1981; Winter and Eyal, 1981; Wanta, and Leggett, 1988). With the arrival of social media the time lag has shrunk to days as in this fast paced news environment, the editors do not wait for the stories for weeks before they publish or broadcast (Lee, et al., 2005; Hopmann et al., 2012). The scholars has suggested a very short time lag when comparing social media and traditional media agendas, as the current study is examining agenda setting relationship between Twitter and ARY news, the researcher selected a one day time lag in each time span. The time span of the study has been divided into four-time spans with three days each. Two time spans are related to when this incident happened and two-time spans are reacted to the time when the culprit was arrested. In the Farishta murder case, the time spans of the Twitter and ARY news are: May 16-May 18,

2019, Time 1, May 20-May 22, 2019, Time 2 and June 22-24 June Time 3 and June 28-June 30, 2019 Time 4, each time span has a one day time lag.

The study uses cross-lagged correlation to measure inter-media agenda setting relationship between Twitter and ARY news. This correlation permits the researchers to identify the movement of content from one time period to another time period of the competition variables. As the past research studies have identifies the frequent use of this correlation for measuring the agenda setting effects of one media platform on the other media platform (Dunn, 2005; Sweetser et al., 2008; Tedesco, 2005). Cross-lagged correlation helps analyse the relationship between two variables, if hypothesis predicts that variable X has influenced variable Y then following conditions are necessary for the support of the hypothesis; the cross-lagged correlation value between Variable X at Time1 and variable Y at Time2 is greater than then the cross-lagged correlation value between variable Y at Time1 and variable X at Time2 and also above the Rozelle-Campbell baseline value. This illustrates that the Variable X at Time1 has influence the variable Y at Time2 and no reverse correlation happened. Rozelle-Campbell baseline value is calculated by using this formula $\frac{[(PX1Y1 + PX2Y2)/2] - \{[(PX1X2)^2 + (PY1Y2)^2]/2\}}{2}$ (Campbell & Kenny, 1999; Ragas, 2010). For this research study, the researchers set up three panels to measure inter-media agenda setting influence of the Twitter and ARY news from Time1 to Time4.

Results of content analysis

The total number of tweets were N=792 which were analysed with reference to the categories presented in the data. Similarly, ARY news broadcasted total number of N=284 stories about the Farishta murder case during the period of the study.

Table 1.1 presents the issue agendas withing Twitter during Time1, Time2, Time3 and Time4 during the period of study.

Table 1.1- Twitter agendas during Farishta murder case

Issues	Time1(N=265)		Time2(N=183)		Time3(N=178)		Time4(N=166)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
Calling for Justice	1	57.4	1	58.5	3	23.6	2	26.5
Statements	4	7.4	4	3.8	4	12.9	4	15.7
Government inaction	3	10.9	3	8.7	5	3.4	5	0.6
Calling for punishment	2	19.9	2	26.2	1	34.3	1	38.0
Legislation	5	4.9	5	2.7	2	25.8	3	19.3

Table 1-1 shows the Twitter agendas posted regarding Farishta murder case in Time1, Time2, Time3 and Time4. Twitter posts frequency was inconsistent with N=265 in Time1, N=183 in Time2, N=178 in Time3 and N=166 in Time4. Table 1-1 indicates that during Time 1 of the Twitter agenda, calling for justice was the highest agenda among twitter users, followed by calling for punishment and government inaction in 2nd and 3rd place, respectively. Similar patterns of Twitter agendas were found in Time2. However, during Time3 and Time4 calling for punishment was top agenda, followed by legislation and calling for justice. While the government inaction category got the lowest coverage on Twitter during Farishta murder case.

Table 1.2 shows ARY news coverage agendas withing Twitter during Time1, Time2, Time3 and Time4 during the period of study.

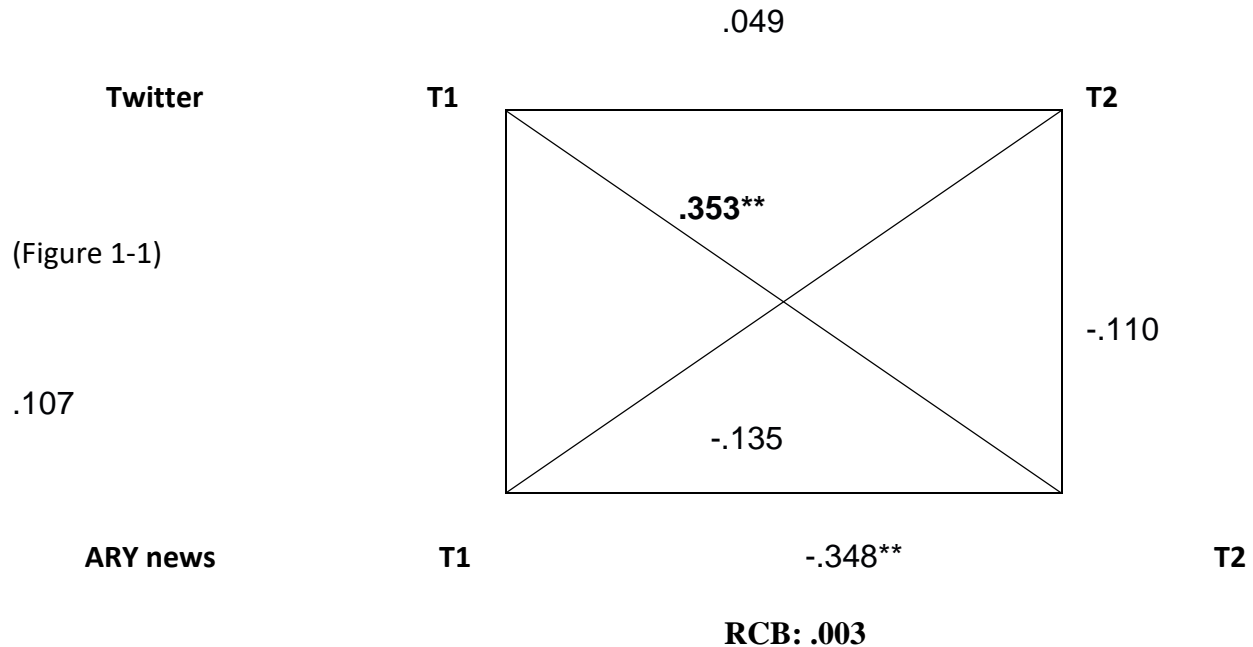
Table1.2- ARY news coverage agendas during Farishta murder case

Issues	Time1(N=79)		Time2(N=91)		Time3(N=53)		Time4(N=61)	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
Calling for Justice	4	16.5	1	38.5	2	34.0	4	11.5
Statements	2	27.8	2	19.8	4	7.5	3	18.0
Government inaction	3	17.7	3	11.0	5	3.8	5	0.0
Calling for punishment	1	29.1	2	19.8	1	41.5	1	39.3
Legislation	5	8.9	3	11.0	3	13.2	2	31.1

Table 1-2 shows the ARY news agendas broadcast regarding Farishta murder case from Time1 to Time4. ARY news coverage was broadly inconsistent with N=79 in Time1, N=91 in Time2, N=53 in Time3 and N=61 in Time4. Table 1-2 indicates that during Time1 of the ARY news broadcast agenda, calling for punishment was the most frequent agenda, followed by statements and government inaction in 2nd and 3rd place, respectively. Interestingly in Time2, calling for justice became the top issue in ARY news Coverage and statements categories maintained at 2nd place. Whereas calling for justice received the highest coverage in ARY news in Time3 and Time4. Legislation issue coverage overwhelmingly increased from 8.9% in Time1 to 31.1% in Time4. Government inaction issue got the least coverage during all time spans of the study.

This study uses cross-lagged correlation to investigate the agenda setting influence between Twitter and ARY news during Farishta murder case. A total of three panels were set to examine each hypothesis of the study and result of the panels are:

Figure 1-1 Cross-Lagged Correlation results for agenda between Twitter Time1 and ARY news Time2



To analyse the proposed hypothesis, Figure 1.1 presents the cross-lagged correlation between Twitter and ARY news at Time1 and Time2 by using Rozelle-Campbell baseline. As shown in the figure, there is a very significant cross-lagged correlation (**.355****) between the Twitter agendas at Time1 and ARY news agendas in Time2 and this correlation is above the Rozelle-Campbell baseline value (.003) and the reverse correlation (**-.135**). The findings identify that the hypothesis one, which states that Twitter agendas at Time1 would influence agendas of ARY news at Time2 is supported.

Figure 1-2 Cross-Lagged Correlation results of Twitter agendas at Time2 and ARY news agendas in Time3

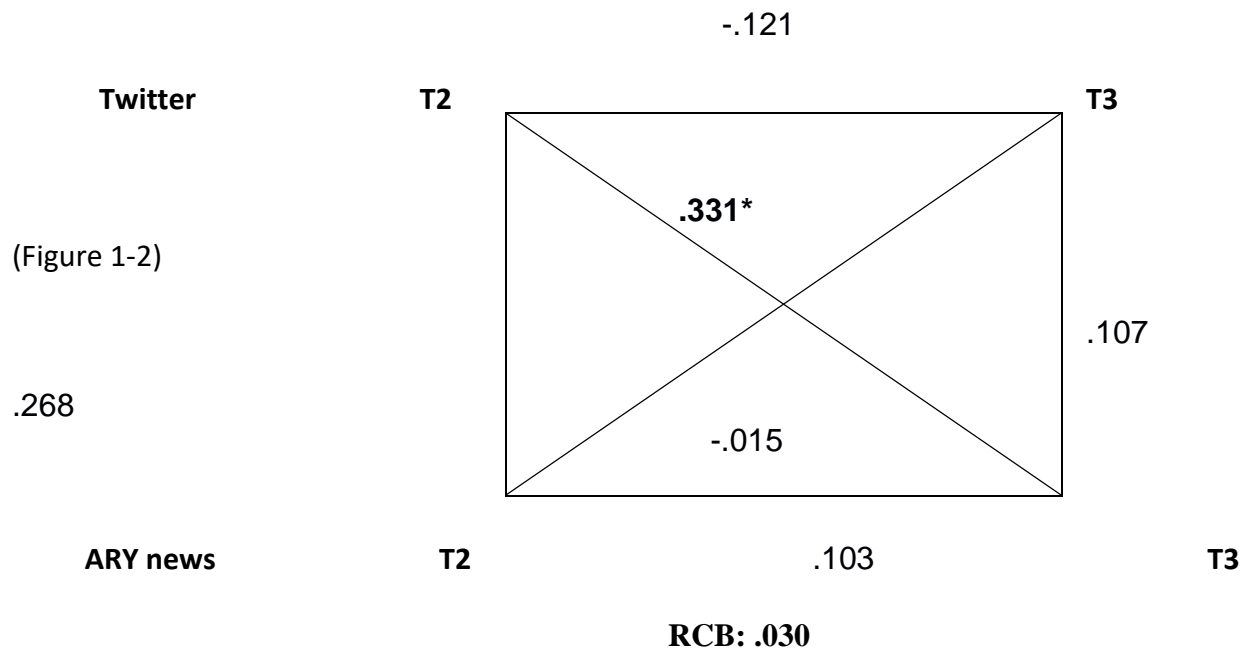


Figure 1.2 shows the cross-lagged correlation results of issues agendas between Twitter and ARY news in Time 2 and Time 3 during Farishta murder case. There is a significant cross-lagged correlation of .331* is found between the Twitter at Time2 and ARY news in Time3 and this correlation is above the Rozelle-Campbell baseline value (.030) and reverse correlation (-.015). Hence, the results indicated that Twitter has significantly influenced the agendas of ARY news during this time span and the hypothesis two is supported.

Figure 1-3 Cross-Lagged Correlation results of Twitter agendas in Time 3 and ARY news coverage agendas Time4

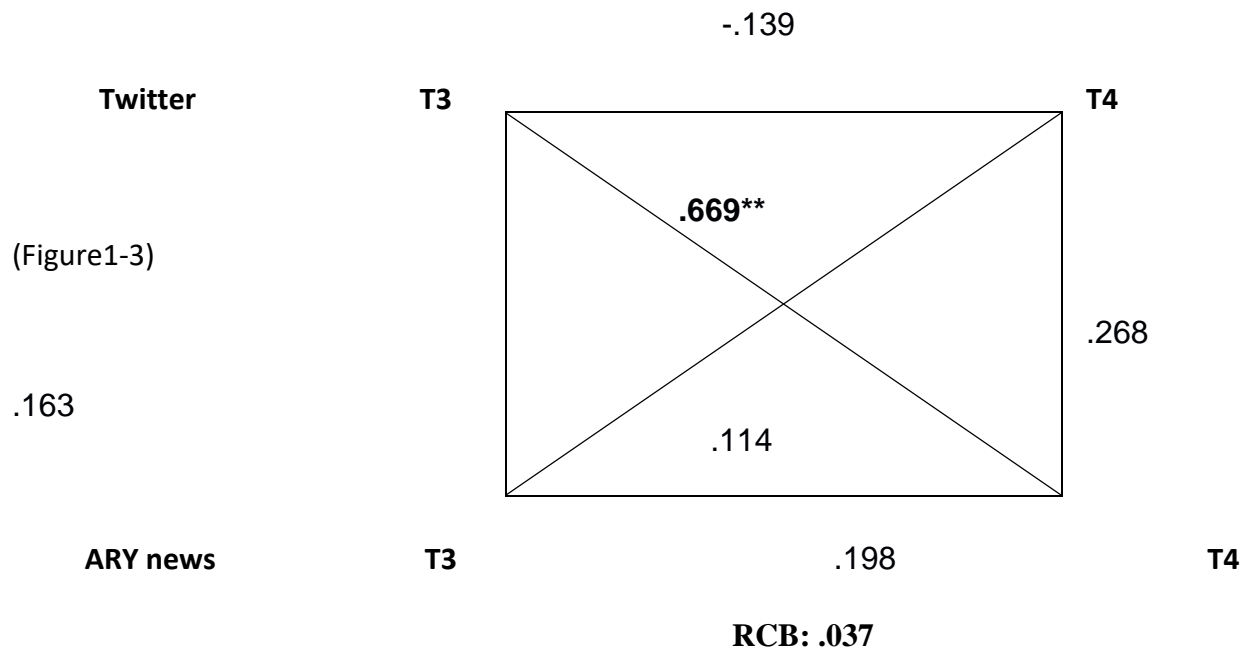


Figure 1.1 depicts the cross-lagged correlation results of issues agendas between Twitter and ARY news in Time 3 and Time 4 during Farishta murder case. There is a very significant cross-lagged correlation of $.669^{**}$ is found between the Twitter at Time 3 and ARY news at Time 4 and this correlation is also above the Rozelle-Campbell baseline value (.037) and the reverse correlation (.114). The results of the figure1.3 illustrates that the Twitter agendas at Time 3 has influenced ARY news agendas at Time 4, and the findings support the hypothesis three.

Discussion and Conclusion

This research article investigates the inter-media agenda setting influence between Twitter and ARY news during Farishta murder case. The results of the study presented a significant influence of the Twitter on the issue agendas of ARY news in the Farishta murder case. The finding of the research study suggested that the social media platform, i.e Twitter has significantly influenced the coverage agendas of ARY news during all the selected time spans.

The results of this study are consistent with the existing literature where scholars have identified the influence of social media on traditional media (Fu, 2013; Jang 2010, Li, 2015; Valenzuela et al., 2017). Valenzuela and his colleagues (2017) identified Twitter agenda setting role in disaster news. This research study proposes three hypotheses in the assumption of influence of Twitter on ARY news issue during Farishta murder cases. The hypothesis one proposed that the Twitter posts at Time1 will influence the broadcast agenda of ARY news at Time2. The finding during this time identified a significant influence of the Twitter posts on ARY news coverage during this time span. The finding of the study also supports the second hypothesis where Twitter agendas influenced the ARY news coverage and similarly hypothesis three was also supported. The findings of the study identified a clear inter-media agenda setting influence of Twitter on ARY news at issues level during the period of the study. Twitter is becoming a podium of communication and has established a more influential role. The ear of powerful effects of traditional media is diminishing and in some instances is being replaced by the booming social media platforms, particularly Twitter, and blogs.

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