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Article:	Exploration of Thematic, Diagnostic & Prognostic Frames: A Study on Military Operations in Pakistan
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Abstract

The present study aims to explore news framing by English dailies of Pakistan regarding Military Operations being conducted across the country. News stories were analyzed from 2001-to 2015. English dailies were taken from the biggest conglomerates of Pakistan i.e., Daily Dawn, The News, and The Nation. News stories were selected via systematic probability sampling. Results indicate that there is a significant difference in thematic framing in news stories of English dailies related to Military Operations, as compared to diagnostic and prognostic framing. Findings also revealed that English dailies vigilantly reported news stories in identifying problems and giving solutions.

Keywords: Military Operations, Framing, English Dailies, Content Analysis, Diagnostic framing, thematic framing, prognostic framing, framing analysis.

Introduction

In today's world media is of significant importance in giving new directions to think about on issues of public concern. Media sometimes act as a watchdog on daily happenings of any society, sometimes as information providers and sometimes as an issue resolver. Media of any society give directions to the targeted community by framing an issue of societal/national or international importance.

Framing being the important and key element of agenda-setting is the process that could play a vital role in shaping up the issue in a specific direction. Print media usually frame news stories of vital prominence in any dimension representing the policy of the organization. It has been observed that any conflict about religious, linguistic, racial, or political usually gain coverage due to its nature and magnitude.

Talking about Pakistan, various conflicts have been witnessed since the beginning of the new millennium. They include suicide bombings, ethnic and racial conflicts, target killings, political instability, linguistic intolerance, religious disharmony, etc. These conflicts commenced the series of Military Operations in affected parts of the country by taking power elites on the same page to wipe out these evils from the face of Pakistan.

In this context role of Pakistani media was of crucial importance in reporting news stories related to Military Operations being conducted in Pakistan.

Background of the Study

For years Pakistan has been a victim of terrorism due to insurgencies in many parts of the country such as Baluchistan, Karachi, KPK, Tribal areas, and Southern Punjab. Gazdar (2006) stated that state security forces for 20 out of the last 35 years have been engaged in counter-insurgency operations. Author further states that Military Operations are defined as to exclude situations when security forces have been deployed as armed policemen, to counter-insurgencies, or to provide emergency cover.

There are several Military Operations conducted by the Pakistan Armed Forces according to ISPR (Inter-Services Public Relations) i.e, Operation in Karachi between 1992 and 1996 against outlaws and dacoits for restoration of democracy which was raised due to ethnicity in Karachi. On the other hand Operation in Waziristan was aimed at targeting Al-Qaida terrorists and their local supporters. Operations in Swat named, "Operation Rah-e-Nijaat" and "Operation Rah-e-Raast" is the extension of Military operations to eliminate Al-Qaeda terrorists from Pakistan. According to Siddiqa (2016), Pakistan Government and Pakistan Military took a unanimous decision to eradicate terrorism from the country. As a result, Armed Forces started air strikes on North Waziristan by employing its Infantry Division, Artillery, and Air Force, and this operation was named Operation Zarb-e-Azb.

According to the report of ISPR in 2015, Zarb-e-Azb had been successful in killing around 3400 militants, destroying 837 sanctuaries, and recovering a huge quantity of weapons and explosives.

Crackdown operation has been launched against terrorists and their supporters in Southern Punjab after the suicide attack in Lahore at "Gulshan-e-Jinnah Park" on March 28th, 2016 which killed 72 people and children (Dawn, March 29th, 2016).

Mostly military operations of post-2008, the Army was given free hand to bomb commercial or resident buildings after making announcements to civilians to leave the territory, (Hussain, 2016).

The utmost important aspect of agenda-setting is framing which explicates that the making of the content becomes subjective or slanted by framing as it forms people's opinion. According to Entman (1993), framing is the process of choosing significant fundamentals from a huge quantity of content.

Framing refers to making certain features of reality more salient in a text to define a problem, its causal explanation, moral assessment, and finally the treatment. (Jasperson et.al, 1998).

According to Anderson (nd), media hide issues by giving prominence to disputes. He further explained the types of media framing concerning Iyengar's research titled *Is anyone responsible*, as "episodic framing" and "thematic framing", episodic framing explain one or more concrete instances of the issue, whereas thematic treatment frames explain the issue as a general condition with abstract rather than personal causes".

According to Hallahan (1999), thematic framing includes storytelling "more broadly from a societal perspective using abstract concepts instead of case studies or exemplars."

Dietram (2000) mentioned that Gerhards & Rucht in 1992 combined previous findings into a model explaining different kinds of frames. These frames are diagnostic frames which are to identify a problem and prognostic frames which states what requirements are to be done.

Methodology

Present research studies the news stories of leading English dailies of Pakistan on Military Operations by Pakistan Armed Forces being conducted specifically from the period 2001 till 2015. The research thus aims to contribute towards the exploration of newspaper framing towards Military operations.

Framing is the second level of agenda-setting and is investigated through the attributes mentioned in the news content of newspapers. These attributes are unique regarding Military Operations i.e, thematic framing, diagnostic framing, and prognostic framing.

Significance of the Study

The main focus of the research was to analyze how English dailies of Pakistan framed Military operations during fifteen years i.e, from 2001-to 2015. This study will help power elites in understanding and countering insurgencies/terrorism vigilantly.

The present study will also help journalists in reporting news related to conflict with a better understanding of frames. Policymakers will get benefit from this study by making policies towards the socio-political and military situation of the country.

Problem Statement

The present study aims to explore the framing of military operations in leading English dailies of Pakistan during fifteen years i.e, from 2001 till 2015.

Research Objectives

Considering the aforementioned problem statement, the following are the research objectives

- To investigate the coverage pattern of three leading English dailies regarding Military Operations.
- To observe which aspect of framing was highlighted during military operations in Pakistan by English dailies.

Research Questions

Following are the research questions for the present study.

RQ1: What was the coverage pattern of Military Operations by English dailies?

RQ2: What are the keyframes related to Military Operations used by English dailies?

The rationale behind Newspapers selection:

For the present study, only mainstream leading dailies of the English language from the biggest conglomerates of Pakistan have been chosen to analyze the framing of Military Operations being carried out in Pakistan from 2001-to 2015. Newspapers include the News, Daily Dawn, and The Nation.

Study Universe and Sampling

The population for content analysis is news stories from the English newspapers of the largest conglomerates of Pakistan i.e, Jang group of newspapers, Nawa –and an i-waqt group of newspapers, and Dawn group of newspapers.

The period for the analysis of the present study comprises fifteen years i.e, from 2001 till 2015.

Using Probability Systematic sampling, every second issue has been selected for the analysis of news stories on Military operations in terms of framing.

News stories are selected with the help of keywords in heading, subheads, and in the body of the news story. These keywords included Military operations, Armed forces, a Government statement on military operations, Terrorism, Target killing, Ranger's operation, Baluchistan operation, Tribal belt, Air force crackdown, terrorists attack police headquarters, Operation Swat, APS attack, Zarb-e-Azb, Sectarian Violence, COAS / ISPR statement (Chief of Army Staff / Inter-Services Public Relations), Insurgency, Al-Qaeda, Taliban, TTP (Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan), linguistic intolerance, ethnic killings, suicide bombing, etc.

Measurement, Instrument & Coding Procedure

News stories were examined based on three dimensions of framing i.e, thematic, diagnostic, and prognostic.

Thematic frames focus more on developing themes within the story (Pan & Kosiki, 1993).

Iyengar (2005) mentioned that "thematic frames place an issue in some general context and usually takes the form of an in-depth background report" (p.6), by addressing the historic context.

According to Benford & Snow (2000), diagnostic framing is linked with the identification of a problem, whereas prognostic framing is concerned with problem resolution.

Sandberg (2006) stated that diagnostic framing identifies a range of problems.

Kaplan (2008) discussed that diagnostic aspects of frames explain the understanding of the problem, whereas prognostic frames guide the assessment of the solution.

Campbell (2002) explains that the diagnostic frame is the assessment of a problem and the prognostic frame is the assessment of solution.

According to Kroon et.al (2016) stated that diagnostic frame tells regarding the problem, and prognostic explains how the problem should be solved.

For the present research, all three categories of framing i.e, thematic, diagnostic & prognostic were refined through repeated pre-testing and all subframes with operationalization were then finalized. Three coding assistants were trained after establishing the final coding scheme. Intercoder reliability generated good results (Krippendorff's $\alpha = .84$). Each news story contains multiple thematic, diagnostic & prognostic frames.

Thematic Framing

Thematic framing explains the issue broadly from a societal perspective and it focuses on developing themes related to different arenas mentioned in news stories. It is categorized as per the following themes: Ethnic, Religion, Political & Civil unrest.

- Ethnic themes are identified if the news has the story on target killing or any other terrorist/brutal/violent activity based on racial communities/nationalism etc).
- Religious themes have been analyzed if news stories reported religious personnel target killing/terrorist or violent activity based on religion / religious minorities/sects etc.)
- Political themes include power games, it also includes conflict between pressure groups/ political parties/ political target killing/ or political anarchy)

- Civil Unrest is anything related to law & order situations, social insecurity, target killing of social workers in operation areas, harassment and blackmailing of locals, kidnapping, etc.

Diagnostic Framing

Diagnostic framing reveals to identify the actual problem highlighted in news stories related to Military Operations.

Diagnostic framing has been explored with the help of five categories; terrorist attack, insurgency, security threat, airstrikes, and ground battles.

- The terrorist attack is anything related to showing aggression, creating violence, bomb blast, target killings, suicide bombings, fighting, and brutality.
- Insurgency is about the uprising of rebellions.
- Security threat is retorted to safety risk, disturbance, or disorder of Govt. writ/law & order situation.
- The airstrike is a sub-frame of diagnostic framing revealing the usage of warplanes to hit or target terrorists' sanctuaries.
- A ground battle is all about the usage of armed personnel with heavy guns, artillery, weapons, missiles, etc.

Prognostic Framing

Prognostic framing discusses the content in news stories that what requirements to be done related to military operations, which is the need to arm for corrective action.

Prognostic framing has been explored and analyzed with the help of these subframes i.e, marginalizing terrorists, dialogue, reconciliation, and economic stability.

- Marginalizing terrorists is about of blockage of communication networks or blockage of the supply chain.
- Dialogue reveals dialogic communication between government / armed forces with terrorists or terrorist organizations.
- Reconciliation is the main aspect of prognostic framing for present study tells termination of mutual attacks between terrorist groups & armed forces, initiation or beginning of peace agreements.
- Economic stability analyzed if there is any story related to restoration of business activity or creation of jobs in operation areas.

Results & Data Analysis

There were a total of 1029 news stories on Military Operations in leading English dailies of Pakistan i.e, Daily Dawn, The News, and The Nation. The period selected for news stories was from 2001-to 2015 comprises of fifteen years of data.

News stories selected via systematic probability sampling, according to every nth number, every second issue has been selected to see if news stories on military operations appeared or not. For this reason out of 16,425 newspapers issues, 8,212 have been analyzed. Out of 8,212 newspapers issues, the total news stories found out on military operations were 1029.

Following is the data analysis as per the research questions of the present study.

RQ1: What was the coverage pattern of Military Operations by English dailies?

The distribution of news stories explored per newspaper is mentioned in the table below.

Table 1. Distribution of news stories in English dailies

Newspaper	Frequency	Valid Percent
Daily Dawn	478	46.5%
The News	453	44.0%
The Nation	98	9.5%
Total News Stories	1029	100.0

The above table shows the coverage pattern of newspapers regarding military operations. There were 1029 news stories, out of the 478 were reported in Daily Dawn with 46.5%, 453 news appeared in The News with 44.0% whereas 98 news stories reported in The Nation with 9.5%. The table shows that Daily Dawn has the highest percentage of reporting news items on Military Operations.

Another important feature of the present study is to explore the number of military operations reported in leading English dailies of Pakistan. Results indicated that there were a total of 19 military operations reported in newspapers from 2001 till 2015 as mentioned in the following table.

Table 2. Military Operations cross-tabulated with newspapers

Military Operations	Daily Dawn	The News	The Nation	Total
Not mentioned	0	1	0	1
Operation Rah e Nijat	7	21	11	39

Operation Swat	4	12	4	19
Operation Koh e Sufaid	2	0	0	2
Operation Zarb e Azb	42	45	14	101
Waziristan Operation	319	17	31	367
Operation Khyber Agency	104	8	24	136
Operation Meezan	0	1	0	1
Diamer Operation Gilgit	0	1	0	1
Wana Operation	0	176	2	178
FATA Operation	0	3	1	4
Hangu Operation	0	4	0	4
Bajaur Operation	0	45	0	45
Bara Operation	0	10	0	10
Darra Operation	0	4	0	4
Mohmand Agency Operation	0	11	0	11
Miranshah Operation	0	85	11	96
Kurram Operation	0	7	0	7
Operation Bia Daraglam	0	2	0	2
Any other Secret MO	0	85	11	96
Total	478	453	98	1029

Statistics showed that there was only one news story that appeared in The News on Military operation but the name of MO has not been mentioned in the headline, lead, and in text. On Operation Rah-e-Nijat there were 39 news stories, out of the 7 that appeared in Daily Dawn, 21 in The News, and 11 published in The Nation.

19 news stories were reported on Operation Swat, out of which 4 were published in Daily Dawn, 11 in The News, and 4 in The Nation. Similarly only 2 stories have been reported in Daily Dawn on Operation Koh-e-Sufaid.

Operation Zarb-e-Azb got the visible attention of newspapers and there were a total of 101 news stories published on it. Out of 101, 42 news stories were published in Daily Dawn, 45 in The News, and 14 in The Nation.

Significant numbers of news stories on the Waziristan operation have been observed and out of 367 news stories, 319 were reported in Daily Dawn, 17 in The News, and 31 in The Nation.

Results indicate that out of 136 news stories, 104 were published in Daily Dawn, 8 in The News, and 24 were published in The Nation. Operation Meezan had only one news story in The News. Similarly, Diamer Operation Gilgit had one news story in The News.

WANA operation got visible attention in The News having 176 news stories, and 2 in The Nation.

On FATA operation, The News reported 3, and The Nation reported only 1 news story. Similarly, on the Hangu operation, only 4 news stories appeared in The News.

There were 45 news stories in total on Bajaur Operation published in The News. Likewise only 10 news stories on the Bara operation were published only in The News. There were 4 news stories on Darra's operation in The News.

11 news stories on Mohmand agency operation and only published in The News. On the other hand, a total of 96 news stories appeared in leading English dailies, out of which 85 were published in The News, 11 in The Nation. Whereas, only 7 news stories appeared in The News on Kurram operation. Similarly only 2 news stories were published in The News on Operation Bia Daraglam.

Another important feature explored that 96 news stories published on Military Operations that kept secret and names of those were not revealed in news stories of leading English dailies. Out of 96, 85 news stories were published in The News and 11 in The Nation.

Data revealed that out of 1029 news stories in total, 478 news stories were published in Daily Dawn, 453 in The News, and only 98 new stories were published in The Nation. Therefore, there is a significant difference among news stories published on Military Operations in English dailies of Pakistan showing clearly that major quantum in terms of space has been given by Daily Dawn and The News.

RQ2: What are the keyframes related to Military Operations used by English dailies?

All three newspapers were evaluated with the help of three different aspects of framing i.e, thematic framing, diagnostic framing, and prognostic framing as mentioned below.

Thematic Framing

ANOVA test was conducted to find out whether there were any differences between the three newspapers regarding thematic framing. Thematic framing was measured with the help of ethnic framing, religion, political and civil unrest and shown in the following table.

Table 3. Thematic framing in English dailies

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Df	F	Sig.
Daily Dawn	478	1.35	0.88			
The News	453	1.23	0.03			
The Nation	98	0.84	0.07	2/ 1026	16.573	.000
Total	1029	1.25	0.02			

Hereby findings ($F(2, 1026) = 16.573, p=0.00$) indicated that there are significant differences between the three newspapers Daily Dawn (Mean= 1.35, Std= 0.88), The News (Mean= 1.23, Std= 0.03), The Nation (Mean= 0.84, Std= 0.07). This result indicates that the least thematic framing is done by The Nation, whereas Daily Dawn had 1.35 which was more thematic as compared to other newspapers and The News had almost the same with the slight difference of 1.23.

Ethnic framing was measured if target killing or any other terrorist/brutal/violent activity based on racial communities/ nationalism were present in news stories.

Religion aspect in thematic framing has been measured via religious personnel target killings/ terrorist or violent activity based on religion/ religious minorities/ sects etc.

Political aspects include power games; it also includes conflict between pressure groups/ political parties/ political target killing/ or political anarchy.

Civil unrest was being measured by mentioning law & order situations in operation areas, social insecurity, target killings of social workers in operation areas, harassment, and blackmailing of locals, kidnapping, etc.

Diagnostic Framing

ANOVA test was conducted to find out whether there were any differences between the three newspapers regarding diagnostic framing, whereby findings ($F(2, 1025) = 0.289, p=0.749$) indicated that there are no significant differences between the three newspapers Daily Dawn (Mean= 2.06, Std= 1.51), The News (Mean= 2.00, Std= 1.50), The Nation (Mean= 2.11, Std= 1.55) as per the following table.

Table 4. Diagnostic framing in English dailies

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Df	F	Sig.
Daily Dawn	478	2.06	1.51			
The News	453	2.00	1.50			
The Nation	98	2.11	1.55	2/ 1025	0.289	0.749
Total	1029	2.04	1.51			

This result shows that all three newspapers discuss diagnostic framing more or less in the same manner. Diagnostic framing includes terrorist attacks, insurgency, security threats, airstrikes, and ground battles.

A terrorist attack has been measured if there was a presence of aggression, violence, bomb blast, target killings, suicide bombings, fighting, brutality, and cruelty in news stories. The insurgency was measured in news stories with the presence of rebellions, uprising, and riots. Security threat is about risking safety, disturbance, or disorder of law & order situation.

Air Strike was identified in news stories with the following angles if there is any usage of warplanes to hit or target terrorist's hideouts.

Ground battles were identified by the usage of armed personnel with heavy guns, artillery, weapons, missiles, etc.

Prognostic Framing

ANOVA test was conducted to find out whether there were any differences between the three newspapers regarding prognostic framing, whereby findings ($F(2, 1025) = 7.22, p=0.001$) indicated that there are no significant differences between the three newspapers Daily Dawn (Mean= 0.44, Std= 0.91), The News (Mean= 0.25, Std= 0.57), The Nation (Mean= 0.30, Std= 0.76). the following table shows the statistics.

Table 5. Prognostic framing in English dailies

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Df	F	Sig.
Daily Dawn	478	0.44	0.91			
The News	453	0.25	0.57			
The Nation	98	0.30	0.72	2/ 1025	7.22	0.001
Total	1029	0.34	0.76			

Prognostic framing was measured with the presence of Marginalizing terrorists i.e, blockage of communication network and supply chain, dialogue between stakeholders i.e, government, armed forces with terrorists or terrorist organization, reconciliation i.e, termination of mutual attacks, initiation or beginning of peace agreements, Economic stability. The result indicates that there is a significant difference among the three English dailies, The News had more prognostic frames in news stories as compared to Daily Dawn which had the least prognostic frames, whereas The Nation lies in the middle of both newspapers.

Discussion

The present study found out that the keyframes were explored into three dimensions i.e, thematic, diagnostic and prognostic.

Thematic framing has been categorized into ethnic, religious, political & civil unrest. And data clearly shows that there is a significant difference among three leading English dailies i.e, Daily Dawn, The News, and The Nation.

Findings revealed that Daily Dawn was more inclined towards highlighting news stories based on ethnic, religious, political, and civil unrest as compared to The News which lies in middle, and The Nation which had the least news stories promoting themes that were identified.

While diagnostic framing is more or less is same in all three leading English dailies of Pakistan regarding Military Operations. All three newspapers identified terrorist attacks, insurgency, security threats, airstrikes, and ground battles as the major problems of Pakistan. And most news stories were framed to diagnose them as key concerns.

Prognostic frames have been identified with the help of subframes i.e, marginalizing terrorists, dialogue between stakeholders, reconciliation and economic stability. Statistics show that Daily Dawn highlighted much on prognostic frames as compared to The News and The Nation in news stories by emphasizing dialogue, reconciliation and by restoring economic activity in problem-ridden areas without showing any significant differences with The News and The Nation.

These results also predict the policy of three newspapers in terms of highlighting news stories on Military Operations in some specific dimensions. Daily Dawn came out as the problem solver by highlighting issues in the form of insurgency or terrorism and then by giving solutions to all problems as compared to The News and The Nation. These solutions focused much on reconciliation and dialogue between all stakeholders including the Pakistan government, Pakistan Armed Forces, local tribes/citizens, and terrorist groups.

Referring to Entman, Vreese (2005) discussed that "frames 'define problems', 'diagnose causes', 'make moral judgments, and 'suggest remedies'." The present study also explored that leading English dailies of Pakistan emphasized defining problems, diagnosis, and then remedies in the form of frames being identified.

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