

## Journal of Peace, Development and Communication



Volume 08, Issue 02, April-June 2024  
 pISSN: 2663-7898, eISSN: 2663-7901  
 Article DOI: <https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V08-I02-13>  
 Homepage: <https://pdfpk.net/pdf/>  
 Email: [se.jpdc@pdfpk.net](mailto:se.jpdc@pdfpk.net)

<b>Article:</b>	<b>Comparative Editorial Analysis of Pakistan-India Relations with Reference To Kashmir Issue during PML(N) and PTI Regimes in Pakistani Press</b>
<b>Author(s):</b>	Asim Rizwan Talib PhD Scholar, Centre for Media & Communication Studies, University of Gujrat, Gujrat
	Dr. Muhammad Yousaf Assistant Professor, Centre for Media & Communication Studies, University of Gujrat, Gujrat
<b>Published:</b>	9 <sup>th</sup> June 2024
<b>Publisher Information:</b>	Journal of Peace, Development and Communication (JPDC)
<b>To Cite this Article:</b>	Talib, A. R., & Yousaf, M. (2024). Comparative Editorial Analysis of Pakistan-India Relations with Reference To Kashmir Issue during PML(N) and PTI Regimes in Pakistani Press. <i>Journal of Peace, Development and Communication</i> , 08(02), 171–187. <a href="https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V08-I02-13">https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V08-I02-13</a>
<b>Author(s) Note:</b>	Asim Rizwan Talib is a PhD Scholar at Centre for Media & Communication Studies, University of Gujrat, Gujrat
	Dr. Muhammad Yousaf is serving as an Assistant Professor at Centre for Media & Communication Studies, University of Gujrat, Gujrat

**ABSTRACT**

The study, "Comparative Editorial Analysis of Pakistan - India Relations with Reference to Kashmir Issue during PML N and PTI Regimes in Pakistani Press" investigated the editorial coverage of prominent Pakistani English and Urdu newspapers from February, 18, 2016, to February, 17, 2021. Focusing on the Kashmir issue, a central bone of contention between Pakistan and India, the researcher explored how newspapers framed this issue and its relationship with foreign policy and media. The selected news papers for analysis were Daily Dawn, Express Tribune (English), Daily Jang and Daily Duniya (Urdu). Utilizing theoretical frameworks of Agenda Setting and Framing, the study categorised editorials into favourable, unfavourable and neutral perspectives. Employing a non random convenient sampling technique. The study analysed daily editorial coverage on Kashmir during the specified period. The findings indicated a consistent framing pattern across all newspapers, addressing topics such as the right of self determination, human rights violations, political victimisation and legislative actions in IoK. Notably, Urdu newspapers allotted more space to the Kashmir conflict compared to English newspapers aligning their narratives with respective governments and national sentiments. Overall, the study provides the insights into how media outlets in Pakistan shape public discourse on Kashmir issue within the broader context of Pakistan - India relations.

**Keywords:** Comparative Editorial Analysis, Pakistan - India Relations, Kashmir Issue, PML-N, PTI, Pakistani Press,

## **Introduction**

The Kashmir issue is basically a matter of self-determination for which the Kashmiris are struggling since the division of British India. As of Khan (2015) Kashmir is a case study of self-determination and fulfills all the criteria that a nation-state possesses. It is a core dispute and bone of contention between the two nuclear neighboring countries, Pakistan and India. It has been a cause of friction permanently that's why many of scholars termed it as 'nuclear flashpoint'.

"India is armed upper hand having much more armed personnel and equipment than the Pakistan and is a biggest arms purchaser globally which always sabotaged Pakistan efforts for normalization of relations. Consequently, Pakistan foreign policy main point always remains her defense from Indian aggression". (Sayeed, P262 cited in Mehran, 2001, P10, Talib, 2011 & Published in 2012, P4)

Ganguly (1998) rightly said that the economic growth has been neglected due to huge defense expenditures and budgets. If the military expenditures will use for the welfare of the people, it will improve the quality of life and also will meet the provision of basic and essential human needs.

Pakistan's stand is that Kashmir issue is connected with millions of human beings as they are the persons who have the right to decide their fate. Therefore, Kashmiris should be the party in each and every discussion related to this dispute.

Presently, the Muslim youth is playing a vital role in indigenous freedom movement in IoK. The young Burhan Wani Shaheed has become the symbol of freedom among youth in Indian occupied territory. The Kashmiri youth are passionate for independence. The new wave of freedom governs by the youth indigenously in IoK is attracting international community attention (Bose, 2005). India is facing complete failure to control the indigenous movement and in result habitually she tried false flag operations e.g Pathan Kot, Uri and Pulwama to blame Pakistan. In result of Balakot strike Indian air force combat aircraft Mig21 shoot down by Pakistani troops who intruded and crossed Line of Control and later on, released the arrested pilot Wing Commander Abhi Nandan as a good will and peaceful gesture. The perspective of Pakistan is concise and clear that the Kashmir dispute must be resolved through peaceful means and according to United Nations Security Council resolution.

It gave importance to this research study regarding role of the Pakistani leading English as well as Urdu newspapers for exploring that those these played an advocative part in highlighting the Kashmir issue and government's policies.

This research study also validated Alteschull (1984) version that the press is controlled by government machinery or elite as it depends upon them for survival. However, this question's answer is a bit complicated because globally media and government relationship varies from dispute to cooperation. Different scholars have their own point of view as in Pakistan behavior of different newspapers towards government is quite different. As such it can rightly be said that different newspapers have different point of view to treat the same issue (cited Talib, 2011 & Published in 2012).

Walter Lipman (1922) has stated the media in the words, "it is responsible for the shadows in our eyes. It owns the power to enhance or lessen the importance of an issue" (cited Talib, 2011 & Published in 2012). Maxwell Mc Combs and Donald Shaw have rightly defined media, "It tell us not what to think but what to think about".

No state can survive in isolation in this world. Therefore, a country's foreign policy should be flexible which could be change according to the needs. Lord Palmerston has rightly stated, "In the international relations no one is permanent friend or foe."

Newspapers coverage of country's foreign policy and government agenda on core issues is also debate able. In view of some scholars, "media affects the policymaking whereas the other scholars think that the press at times shadow on foreign policy etc". Sometimes the press role became helpful on the others it injures. In the subcontinent media's role is very important from thenational point of view. It plays leading role in making the national priorities and publicity (cited Talib, 2011 & Published in 2012

### **PROBLEM STATEMENT**

This research study covers five crisis years comprised on two different political regimes in Pakistan. As far as the core issue of South Asia the dispute of Kashmir is concerned, the period of study can rightly be titled as "5 crisis years" because of uprising in Indian occupied territory of Kashmir and indigenous movement governed by the youth. In these five crisis years of period of study many ups and downs have been observed between the two South Asian players, Pakistan and India e.g military standoff between the two neighbors and opening of Kartar-Pur corridor.

The public perception about PMLN was that the political party is inclined towards establishment and has right wing political ideas. However, in the last regime PMLN was seemed as anti-establishment. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf came in power with the support of youth and slogan of "change". PTI claimed to bring change in country's foreign policy and also said that the ways forward will be searched out for the solution of burning and chronic issue of Kashmir. On the other hand, in these five years Indian occupied forces increased their cruelties in IoK, changed the special status of the state and also she abrogated her own illegitimate legislative actions e.g abrogation of article 35A and article 370. Previously, in authoritative and military regimes the increase in conventional rivalry and bilateral clashes have been observed between the two nuclear neighboring countries and it is also very unfortunate that even in democratic regimes in Pakistan the neighboring country India seemed aggressive in her designs. So it was very interesting to see that how English and Urdu press in Pakistan portrayed and framed the issue of Kashmir in their editorials? Besides, country's foreign policy towards issue of Kashmir during these "5 crisis years".

### **RESEACRH OBJECTIVES**

Objectives of this research study are:

- To explore how much editorial coverage has been given to the issue of Kashmir in leading press of Pakistan (English & Urdu both) during PMLN and PTI regimes.
- To analyze the stance of leading Pakistan English as well as Urdu newspapers towards the issue of Kashmir during PMLN and PTI regimes

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

R.Q.1: How much editorial coverage has been given to the issue of Kashmir in leading press of Pakistan during PMLN and PTI regimes?

R.Q.2: How leading Pakistani newspapers portrayed and framed their editorials related to the issue of Kashmir during PMLN and PTI regimes?

**HYPOTHESIS # 1**

Urdu newspapers give more coverage to the issue of Kashmir in their editorials as compared to the English press during the period of study.

**RATIONLE**

Maximum number of general masses in Pakistan read Urdu newspapers, and because of this reality Urdu newspapers have more circulation as compared to English press in Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistani people have emotional attachment with Kashmir issue, hence, Urdu press gives more coverage to the Kashmir issue than English press in Pakistan.

**HYPOTHESIS # 2**

English and Urdu both newspapers support the foreign policy regarding Kashmir issue of the respective governments.

**RATIONLE**

The foreign policy of Pakistan is based on nation's stance on Kashmir and being the patriotic press both of newspapers (English and Urdu) supports the foreign policy regarding Kashmir issue of the respective governments.

**SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

Duration of study for this research is 18<sup>th</sup>Feb2016 to 17<sup>th</sup>Feb2021.

This period of study is significant to the following reasons.

- The period of study (18<sup>th</sup> Feb 2016 to 17<sup>th</sup> Feb 2021) is comprised on two different regimes in Pakistan i-e first two and half years of Pakistan Muslim League (N) regime and last two and half years of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf regime which means this research study provides the comparison of foreign policy and treatment of Kashmir issue in prestige press during two different regimes in Pakistan.
- Human rights violations in IoK
- Indian illegal legislation in occupied Kashmir and abrogation of article 35-A and 370.
- India seemed aggressive and an extraordinary increase was observed in cease fire violations by Indian forces at Line of Control.
- India politically victimized the leadership and general masses in Indian occupied Kashmir by enforcing curfews and complete lock down.

**RATIONALE FOR SELECTING EDITORIALS**

Editorials are considered as the life line of newspapers, a reflection of "newspaper policy and the voice of the editors. The researcher focuses on them when examining editors. The researcher focuses on them when examining Pak India relations in the English and Urdu newspapers Dawn, The Express Tribune, Jang and Duniya. An editorial can be defined as the editor's subjective point of view. The expected duties of an editorial in this new era of information are to inform, interpret, evaluate, extrapolate, suggest, criticize, persuade, guide, and much more. A newspaper that is free and independent.

**RATIONALE FOR SELECTING PRINT MEDIA**

Press is among the most innovative and traditional mass media to express human communication. The press is regarded as the reliable, and accountable member of the mass media in Pakistan. Print media is also thought to be more reliable than the electronic media and to be significant when it comes to the domestic and global or international issues. Print media portrays society as it is truly.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Schofield (2003) explored the rise of Kashmir issue in these words, “After the war started in 1948, India had feared of defeat and ran to United Nations on January 1, 1949. It was decided by the United Nations that the Kashmir dispute will be resolved according to the wish of Kashmiris and through plebiscite. Unfortunately, the United Nations Security Council resolution was never implemented by the international agency”.

Haider (2010) has expressed his opinion about the beginning of Kashmir issue in these lines, “After the first war of Kashmir in 1948 the dispute has become the core issue of confrontation between two South Asian players, Pakistan and India that led to many bilateral clashes and wars e.g 1965, 1971 and May 1999 Kargil collisions between Pakistan and India”

Buch (2003) wrote about UN security council resolution on Kashmir, “The western powers strongly favored Pakistan’s stance over Kashmir in 1957 at Security Council and agreed to reopen the case of Kashmir”.

Rizvi (1994) defined Sino India war as, “Later on, outbreak of Sino-Indian war 1962 also helped Pakistan as far as the Kashmir issue is concerned. It helped Pakistan to table and place Kashmir dispute at international forum after a long time”.

According to American president Nixon (1992) “Nuclear powers have never fought each other, but the clash between Muslim Pakistan and Hindu India over the disputed Kashmir territory could erupt into world’s first war between nuclear powers”.

Kashmir dispute remained a burning issue in the early years after independence and partition of India. Up to now Kashmir has strongest and unique position in the foreign affairs of both the states. The United Nations Security Council had decided to resolve this dispute through plebiscite but India who brought this issue on United Nations forum is not willing to hold plebiscite. She fears to lose Kashmir through popular will as majority of the population is Muslim in state and wants to get rid of the brutalities of Indian security as well as paramilitary forces” (Hussain, 2000).

“All major powers among nations and states around the globe including United States and United Kingdom can play very important role to resolve the Kashmir issue. But the sincere efforts are not made to find out a possible solution or to carry out the United Nations Security Council resolution through plebiscite” (Buch, 2003).

Riaz, Asiya (2001) has the opinion, “But keeping in view long lasting hostility between India and Pakistan, can it be said that the role of media in the sub- continent nationalistic frenzy follows a mixed path? While the press in both India and Pakistan spares no moment to score and claim a victory over its rival, can it also serve as a restraining element to keep the relationship between both the countries?”

Nixon(1991)said, “A particularly novel feature of the American news media system in contrast to most countries is its independence from government. First Amendment type guarantee of press freedom are not common in the world; most people are accustomed instead to media that are either agencies of the government or closely controlled it”.

Chou yu and Riffe discussed media & government relationship as, “Of course, news pages are not forum for attacking or praising other nation’s leaders regardless how vehemently the administration might label from enemies or allies. Ideally, the press avoids such passion in foreign policy”

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **AGENDA SETTING THEORY**

It will be the important component of theoretical framework of this research study. This academic theory was introduced by two journalism professors Maxwell Mc Comb and Donald Shaw. This theory speaks as to how media affects the point of over concentration in the other words media sets our minds to give importance to an issue as per it desire (Azmat,2000, Talib, 2011,P24 Publishes in 2012.)

Mc Comb concludes, “The media affects in such a way that we think through priming and framing.”

### **FRAMING**

Gitlin (1980) defines media frames as, “Persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual”.

According to Mc Comb and Shaw, “The press and television cause audience ego involvement in the issue to rise and fall in response to media emphasis” (Griffin ,1997 , P.377).

### **DIRECTION OF THE CONTENT**

To measure the direction of the contents of selected four newspapers the researcher relied on the method that Berleson (1952)called “total problem” or “totality of impression”.

Favorable/Supportive/positive(+ve)	Unfavorable/Opposite/Negative	(-ve)
Neutral/Balanced (0)		

### **CONTENT ANALYSIS**

Methodology for this research is content analysis and quantitative and qualitative approached will be employed. Berelson (1952) defines content analysis as, “It is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication”.

Krippindroff (1980) defines it,” It is a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables”.

### **UNIVERSE OF THE STUDY**

Selected English and Urdu newspapers (Dawn, Express Tribune, Jang and Duniya) which published in Pakistan during the period of study are the universe of study.

### **SAMPLE TECHNIQUE**

Non-Random– convenient sampling technique is employed.

### **SAMPLE**

Daily Dawn, Express Tribune, Daily Jang and Daily Duniya are the sample of the study.

### **SAMPLE SIZE**

The editorial pages in the selected newspapers from 18<sup>th</sup> Feb 2016 to 17<sup>th</sup> Feb 2021 are the sample size of study.

### **RATIONAL BEHIND SELECTING THIS SAMPLE**

The selected Elite and prestige English and Urdu newspapers of Pakistan for this research are Daily Dawn, Express Tribune, Daily Jang and Daily Duniya. This research might be the first study who analyzed the editorial treatment of Kashmir issue of Express Tribune and Daily Duniya news and editorial pages during the five years (18<sup>th</sup> Feb 2016 to 17<sup>th</sup> Feb 2021) Altschull (1984) defines elite or leading press as “it terms a purposeful, independent and

responsible press having large circulation. The newspapers selected for this research study fulfills Altschull defined standards. Opinion leaders read leading newspapers to formulate public opinion. “Readers of leading newspapers affect public opinion and cultural, political and economic policies. Public officials, scholars, journalists, theologians, lawyers, judges and influential business leaders’ are more educated and take more interest in common or public importance affairs than that of others” (Merill, Bryan and Alisky, 1970).c opinion” (Merril, Bryan and Alisky, 1970).

### CONCEPTUAL AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF THE CONSTRUCT

This conceptual definition has been operationally defined in the research instrument in the following categories: A= right of self-determination, B = Human rights violations in Indian occupied Kashmir, C = Cease fire violations, D = Political victimization, and E = Legislative actions in Indian occupied Kashmir.

### UNIT OF ANALYSIS

Editorial coverage on daily basis regarding the issue of Kashmir published in sample newspapers during the period of study is the unit of analysis.

### FINDINGS

This portion of research study comprises quantitative and qualitative findings. Quantitative findings show comparative topical coverage of the editorials of ‘The Dawn’, ‘Express Tribune’, Jang and Daily Duniya on the issues of Right of self Determination for Kashmiris, Human rights violations, Cease Fire Violations at LoC, Political Victimization in IoK and Legislative actions in IoK. While the qualitative findings show the comparative topical direction of the editorials of both the English as well as Urdu newspapers. Five tables for analysis have been compiled in this regard to illustrate the Pak-India relations through a comparative study of editorials of selected four English as well as Urdu newspapers during the period of study which comprises on PML N and PTI regimes..

### Comparative Topical coverage of Dawn, Express Tribune, Jang and Duniya on the issues of A = Right of self Determination, B = Human Rights Violations in IoK, C = Cease fire violations at LoC, D = Political victimization in IoK, E = Legislative actions in IoK

Newspapers	Ed	A	B	C	D	E
Dawn	198 23.6%	61 30.8%	52 26.2%	43 21.7%	15 7.5%	27 13.6%
Express Tribune	185 22.1%	58 31.3%	46 24.8%	37 20%	21 11.3%	23 12.4%
Jang	247 29.5%	73 29.5%	66 26.7%	54 21.8%	22 8.9%	32 12.9%
Duniya	206 24.6%	63 30.5%	56 27.1%	39 18.9%	23 11.1%	25 12.1%
Total	836	255 30.5%	220 26.3%	173 20.6%	81 9.6%	107 12.7%



This table shows that coverage of the editorials of Dawn, Express Tribune and Jang, Daily Duniya on the issues, A = Right of self Determination, B = Human Rights Violations in IoK, C = Cease fire violations at LoC, D = Political victimization in IoK, E = Legislative actions in IoK. The table illustrates that both English and Urdu press (selected four newspapers) 836 editorials on the issues under discussion. Out of them 255 editorials (30.5%) published on Right of Self Determination, 220 editorials (26.3%) published on Human Rights Violations in IoK, 173 editorials (20.6%) published on Cease fire violations at LoC, 81 (9.6%) editorials published on Political victimization in IoK and 107 (12.7%) editorials published on illegitimate legislative actions in IoK. The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) gave 31.07% coverage on Right of self determination, 25.58% to Human Rights violations, 20.88% to Cease fire Violations, 9.39% to Political Victimization and gave 13.05% editorial coverage to illegitimate legislative actions. On the other hand, The Urdu press (Jang, Daily Duniya) gave 30.02% coverage on Right of self determination, 26.93% to Human Rights violations, 20.52% to Cease fire Violations, 9.93% to Political Victimization and gave 12.58% editorial coverage to illegitimate legislative actions. This table reflects that overall the issue of Right of self determination was more discussed by The English (Dawn, Express Tribune) as well as Urdu press (Jang, Duniya).

#### **Comparative Topical direction of editorials of “Dawn, Express Tribune” and “Jang, Duniya” with reference to topics**

##### A) Right of self determination

Newspapers	Editorials	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
Dawn	61 30.8%	61	0	0
Express Tribune	58 31.3%	58	0	0
Jang	73 29.5%	73	0	0
Duniya	63 30.5%	63	0	0

This table shows that The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) published 119 editorials and The Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) published 136 editorials during the period of study on right of self determination.. It indicates that 31.07% editorials of The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) covered the issue of Right of self determination while 30.02% editorials of The Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) covered the issue of Right of self determination. The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) as well as Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) published 100% editorials in favor of the government's policy.

### Comparative Topical direction of editorials of “Dawn, Express Tribune” and “Jang, Duniya” with reference to topics

B = Human Rights Violations

Newspapers	Editorials	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
Dawn	52 26.2%	52	0	0
Express Tribune	46 24.8%	46	0	0
Jang	66 26.7%	66	0	0
Duniya	56 27.1%	56	0	0

This table shows that The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) published 98 editorials and The Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) published 122 editorials during the period of study on human rights violation.. It indicates that 25.58% editorials of The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) covered the issue of human rights violation while 26.93% editorials of The Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) covered the issue of human rights violation. The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) as well as Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) published 100% editorials in favor of the government’s policy.

### Comparative Topical direction of editorials of “Dawn, Express Tribune” and “Jang, Duniya” with reference to topics

C = Cease Fire Violations at LoC

Newspapers	Editorials	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
Dawn	43 21.7%	40 20.20%	0	3 1.51%
Express Tribune	37 20%	35 18.91%	0	2 1.08%
Jang	54 21.8%	49 19.83%	0	5 2.02%
Duniya	39 18.9%	36 17.47%	0	3 1.45%

This table shows that The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) published 80 editorials and The Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) published 93 editorials during the period of study on human rights violation.. It indicates that 20.88% editorials of The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) covered the issue of human rights violation while 20.52% editorials of The Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) covered the issue of human rights violation. The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) as well as Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) published mostly editorials in

favor of the government's policy. However, English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) published 1.30% neutral editorials and the Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) published 1.76% neutral editorials.

### Comparative Topical direction of editorials of “Dawn, Express Tribune” and “Jang, Duniya” with reference to topics

D = Political Victimization in IoK

Newspapers	Editorials	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
Dawn	15 7.5%	14 7.07%	0	1 0.50%
Express Tribune	21 11.3%	19 10.27%	0	2 1.08%
Jang	22 8.9%	19 7.69%	0	3 1.21%
Duniya	23 11.1%	20 9.7%	0	3 1.45%

This table shows that The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) published 36 editorials and The Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) published 45 editorials during the period of study on human rights violation.. It indicates that 9.39% editorials of The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) covered the issue of human rights violation while 9.93% editorials of The Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) covered the issue of human rights violation. The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) as well as Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) published mostly editorials in favor of the government's policy. However, English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) published 0.78% neutral editorials and the Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) published 1.32% neutral editorials.

### Comparative Topical direction of editorials of “Dawn, Express Tribune” and “Jang, Duniya” with reference to topics

E = Legislative Actions in IoK

Newspapers	Editorials	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
Dawn	27 13.6%	24 12.12%	0	3 1.51%
Express Tribune	23 12.4%	21 11.35%	0	2 1.08%
Jang	32 12.9%	29 11.74%	0	3 1.21%
Duniya	25 12.1%	23 11.16%	0	2 0.97%

This table shows that The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) published 50 editorials and The Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) published 57 editorials during the period of study on human rights violation.. It indicates that 20.88% editorials of The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) covered the issue of human rights violation while 18.32% editorials of The Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) covered the issue of human rights violation. The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) as well as Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) published mostly editorials in

favor of the government's policy. However, English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) published 1.30% neutral editorials and the Urdu press (Jang, Duniya) published 1.10% neutral editorials.

## **RESULTS**

This section deals with the results of the research questions and testing of hypothesis.

### **Question No.1**

R.Q.1: How much editorial coverage has been given to the issue of Kashmir in leading press of Pakistan during PMLN and PTI regimes?

Findings reveal that The English press "Dawn, Express Tribune" published 383 editorials during the period of this study on under discussion issues. The English press wrote 31.07% editorials on right of self determination, 25.58% editorials on human rights violation, 20.88% on cease fire violations, 9.39% on political victimization and 13.05% on illegitimate legislative actions. Whereas the Urdu press "Jang, Duniya" published 453 editorials during the period of this study on under discussion issues. The Urdu press wrote 30.02% editorials on right of self determination, 26.93% editorials on human rights violation, 18.32% on cease fire violations, 9.93% on political victimization and 12.58% on illegitimate legislative actions.

### **Hypothesis No.1**

So, the afore referred findings proved the hypothesis No. 1 that the Urdu press has given more coverage quantitatively to the Kashmir issue in their editorials as the Urdu press published 453 editorials in total during the period of study whereas the English press published 383 editorials.

### **Research Question No.2**

R.Q.2: How leading Pakistani newspapers portrayed and framed their editorials related to the issue of Kashmir during PMLN and PTI regimes?

Findings reveal that The English press "Dawn, Express Tribune" favored the government stance in 100% editorials on right of self determination and on human rights violations. The English press supported government policy on cease fire violations, political victimization and on illegitimate legislative actions respectively in 93.25%, 91.66%, 90% editorials and remained neutral in 6.75%, 8.34% and 10% editorials respectively. on the issues of cease fire violations, political victimization and illegitimate legislative actions.

Findings shows that The English press supported government policy on all under discussion issues in 96.61% editorials while it remained neutral in 3.39% editorials. It means that The News supported government policy on Pak-India relations and its neutral editorial coverage is also significant.

The Urdu press "Jang, Duniya" favored the government stance in 100% editorials on right of self determination and on human rights violations. The Urdu press supported government policy on cease fire violations, political victimization and on illegitimate legislative actions respectively in 91.39%, 86.66%, 91.22% editorials and remained neutral in 8.61%, 13.34% and 8.78% editorials respectively. on the issues of cease fire violations, political victimization and illegitimate legislative actions.

### **Hypothesis No.2**

So, the hypothesis No.2 that The both English as well as Urdu press supports Pakistan's foreign policy on Pak-India relations and the under discussion Kashmir dispute related issues, proved true.

## CONCLUSION

The objective of the study was to examine the attitude of Pakistan Press towards government's stand. Whether it has favored its government or not on under discussion issues with India. How much coverage did the press give to Pak-India relations during the period of the study? Did the press support or oppose government on issues with India and what were the similarities and differences between the four selected English as well as Urdu newspapers on the subject under study. Two coders were trained and assigned to identify the issues, directions and items of selected editorials whether they were supportive to government policy opposite or neutral policy. Coding sheet and instruction of coding were also provided to the coders. Researcher compared, analyzed the under discussion issues, both English and Urdu newspapers with each other and with the standpoint of the government. In the light of findings, analysis & discussion the answers of research questions were sort out. The quantitative findings of content analysis of editorials of The English as well as Urdu newspapers during the period of study unfold that the selected newspapers gave coverage to Pakistan India relations in their editorials. Total number of editorials about Pak-India relations in the English as well as Urdu newspapers were 836. English newspapers published 383 editorials while the Urdu press published 453 editorials. On right of self determination 255 editorials were published. Out of 255 editorials, English newspapers published 119 editorials while the Urdu newspapers published 136 editorials. On Human rights violations, 220 editorials were published; English newspapers published 98 editorials while the Urdu published 122 editorials. On CFV's, 173 editorials were published, The Nation published 80 Editorials whereas the Urdu press published 93 editorials. On Political victimization, 81 editorials published. The English newspapers published 36 editorials while Urdu newspapers published 45 editorials. On illegitimate legislative actions 107 editorials were published. Out of which English newspapers published 50 editorials whereas Urdu newspapers published 57 editorials.

Qualitative findings show that The English press "Dawn, Express Tribune" favored the government stance in 100% editorials on right of self determination and on human rights violations. The English press supported government policy on cease fire violations, political victimization and on illegitimate legislative actions respectively in 93.25%, 91.66%, 90% editorials and remained neutral in 6.75%, 8.34% and 10% editorials respectively. on the issues of cease fire violations, political victimization and illegitimate legislative actions.

Findings shows that The English press supported government policy on all under discussion issues in 96.61% editorials while it remained neutral in 3.39% editorials. It means that The News supported government policy on Pak-India relations and its neutral editorial coverage is also significant.

The Urdu press "Jang, Duniya" favored the government stance in 100% editorials on right of self determination and on human rights violations. The Urdu press supported government policy on cease fire violations, political victimization and on illegitimate legislative actions respectively in 91.39%, 86.66%, 91.22% editorials and remained neutral in 8.61%, 13.34% and 8.78% editorials respectively. on the issues of cease fire violations, political victimization and illegitimate legislative actions.

Agenda setting theory and the theory of framing was used in the theoretical framework of the study.

The period of the study was five years and the publication of 383 editorials in English newspapers and 453 editorials in Urdu newspapers shows their serious concern towards the Pak-India relations issue. Both the English and Urdu newspapers also showed patriotism by favoring government of Pakistan foreign policy regarding Kashmir dispute and allied issues.

## REFERENCES

- Ahmad, I. (Dec 04, 2018). 2-3 Solutions Available to Kashmir Issues, says Pak PM Imran Khan. *Hindustan Times*.
- Aljazeera (28th February, 2019). Imran Khan Ready to Talk Peace with India's Modi: Pakistan FM.
- Altschull, Herbert J. (1984). *Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs*. New York: Longman Publishers.
- Becker Lee B. (1977). "Foreign Policy and Press Performance", *Journalism Quarterly*, 54, P364-368.
- Begum Nusrat (1968). *Indo-Pak relations 1947-1958*, M.A thesis, University of the Punjab, Lahore.
- Berelson, Bernard (1952). *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York Free press.
- Berelson Bernard (1968). *Pakistan's Relations with India (1947-1966)*: London Pall Mall Press Ltd.
- Bennett' W La.nce (1990). *Towards a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States*, *Journal of Communication*, P 40 (Spring 1990).
- Bose, S. (2005). *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace*. Harvard University Press. Buch, Y. (2003). *Kashmir Dispute*; Islamabad.
- Chaudhry, G.W (1968). *Pakistan's Relations with India (1947-1966)*, London: Pall Mall Press Ltd.
- Chibber, M.L. Lt Gen (1990). *Indian Defense Review*, January, P149.
- Chou Yu, Yang and Riffe, Daniel (1989). *Chiang and Mao in US News Magazines*, *Journalism Quarterly*. Winter 1989.
- Entman, Robert M. (1993). "Framing Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradaigm". *Journal of Communication*. 43(4), P 51-58.
- Ganguly, R. (1998). *India, Pakistan and the Kashmir Dispute*. *Asian Studies Institute Victoria University of Wellington*.
- Ganguly, S. (2007). *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace* (review). *Journal of Cold War Studies* 9(1), 144-146.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *Decline of Oaradigm? Bias and Objectivity in News Media studies*, M. Gurevitch and M.R.levy, Eds, *Mass Communication Review Year book*, 5 (P251-277).
- Haider, "Settling the Kashmir Issue" (pp. 153-166). Islamabad: Institute of Regional Studies.
- Haider, S. (2010). *Three Minutes that Changed India Pak ties*. *The Hindu*
- Hayat, Javed (2001). *A Comparative Study of the Editorial Contents of "Times of India" and "The News"* with special refrence to Indo-Pak relations, M.A thesis, University of the Punjab, Lahore.
- Herman, Edward & Noam Chomsky (1988). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York, Pentheon..
- Holisti, Ole R. (1969). *Content Analysis of the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Reading. M.A: Adison Wesley Company.
- Hussain, I. (2000). *Kashmir Dispute – An International Law perspective*, Islamabad: *National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaide-IAzam University*. pp.180-181.
- Jones, Marsha & Jones, Emma (1999) *Mass Media* Macmillan Press Ltd

- Kerlinger, F. (1973). *Foundations of behavioral research* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Khan, Muhammad Rashid (2000). *Pakistan-India relations and the role of newspapers.*(A Comparative study of the editorial coverage of the Dawn and the Hindustan Times during 1999). M.Phil Thesis. Department of Mass Communication. University of the Punjab, Lahore.
- Khan,A.(1970). *FreeKashmir*.Karachi:CentralPrintingPress.
- Khan, A. A., Mehmood, S. S., & Alam, M. (2018). Kashmir and Global Powers. *South Asian Studies* Vol. 33(1), 147 – 159,
- Khan,M.(2008).KashmirDisputeandtheProspectsofIndia –PakistanPeace Process. *NDU Journal, Volume – II*.
- Khan, R. M. (2015). Kashmir Dispute: A Legal Perspective. *NDU Journal*. Khursheed, Zahiruddin (1999). The plight of Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir: A Review of Information Sources: Islamic World Information Sources.
- Krippendorff, Klaus (1980). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its methodology*. Beverley Hills: Sage Publishers.
- Lamb, A. (2002). *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy: 1846 - 1990*. Karachi: Oxford University Press. Nixon, R. (1992). *Seize the Moment: America's Challenge in a one-superpower World*. New York. Simon and Schuster.
- Manzoor, Uzma (2001). Editorial coverage of Pakistan's stand during Pak- India war tension (2001-2002), M.Phil thesis, University of the Punjab,Lahore.
- Matinuddin, Kamal (1994). "Pakistan India Relations: A Historical Perspective", *Journal of Regional Studies*, Vol.xiii, Islamabad.
- McQuail, Dennis (1994). *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*, California: Sage Publishers.
- Mc Quail, Dennis & Windahl, Sven (1993).*Communication Models*. New York: Longman.
- Pakistan will address actionable evidence if shared by Delhi, PM Khan tells India after Pulwama attack. Dawn. February 19, 2019.
- Riaz, Asiya (2001). Editorial Treatment of India-Pakistan Nuclear Tests in the Elite Newspapers of United States, India and Pakistan. M.Phil thesis, University of the Punjab, Lahore.
- Rizvi,G.(1994). *IndiaPakistanandKashmir problem1947-71*(ed.)
- Rizvi, Hassaqn Askari (1999). *Pakistan-Indian Relations in the Eighties*. Grover Verinder & Arora, Ranjana. New Delhi: Elephant Printers.
- Saxena, Ajay (1987). *India and Pakistan, Their Foreign Policies*, New Delhi: Anmol Publications.
- Schaffer, H. B. (2008). *The International Community and Kashmir. Swords and Ploughshares, winter 2007-8*.
- Schofield, V. (2003). *Kashmir in Conflict; India, Pakistan and the Unending War*. London: Ashgate Publications.
- TheHindu. (March1, 2013).
- The National (15th February, 2019). Narendra Modi vows strong response as Pakistan is blamed for Kashmir car bombing.



The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Human Rights Charter,"available at [www.un.org/documents](http://www.un.org/documents).

Talib, Asim Rizwan (2011). Indo-Pak Relations during Musharraf regime; An Analysis of News Treatment of Kashmir Issue, Ms Thesis, International Islamic University, Islamabad. Published in 2012: Lap Lambert Academic Publishers, Germany.

Wimmer, Roger D. & Dominick, Joseph R. (1991). Mass Media research, California: Wordsworth Publishing Company.