

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

Article:	Comparative Editorial Analysis of Pakistan-India Relations with Reference To Kashmir Issue during PML(N) and PTI Regimes in Pakistani Press
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Published:	9 th June 2024
Publisher Information:	Journal of Peace, Development and Communication (JPDC)
To Cite this Article:	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), 171–185. https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V08-I02-13
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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the editorial coverage of the Kashmir conflict in prominent Pakistani English and Urdu newspapers. Focusing on the Kashmir issue, a central bone of contention between Pakistan and India, the researchers explore how newspapers framed this issue and its relationship with foreign policy. The selected newspapers for analysis were Daily Dawn, Express Tribune, Daily Jang, and Daily Dunya. Utilizing theoretical frameworks of framing, the study categorized editorials into favorable, unfavorable, and neutral frames. A non-random convenient sampling technique was employed to select the editorials. The findings indicated a consistent framing pattern across all newspapers, addressing topics such as the Right of self-determination, human rights violations, political victimization, and legislative actions in IoK. Notably, Urdu newspapers provided more space to the Kashmir conflict compared to English newspapers, aligning their narratives with respective governments and national sentiments. Overall, the study provided insights into how media outlets in Pakistan shaped public discourse on the 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

Ours is an age of mediated realities. Media plays several significant functions in society (Okocha et al., 2023; Yousaf, 2023). Media plays an important role in shaping social realities about issues and attributes of the issues (Yousaf et al., 2022), democratic participation (Ijaz & Yousaf, 2023; Shehzad et al., 2021), and framing the image of nations (Ji et al., 2016). The Kashmir issue is basically a matter of self-determination for which the Kashmiris have been struggling since the division of British India. Khan (2015) noted that 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 is why many scholars termed it as a nuclear flashpoint'. Yousaf et al. (2020) found that the Pakistan press framed the Kashmir conflict in the context of conflict-orientated frames compared to peace frames. The authors found that media indexed government frames.

India has the military upper hand over Pakistan since it has a lot more soldiers and weaponry than Pakistan and is the world's largest arms buyer. This has always undermined Pakistan's attempts to normalize relations. Pakistan's primary concern is still protecting itself against Indian attacks (Talib, 2011).

Ganguly (1998) said that because of the enormous budgets and expenses for defense, economic growth has been neglected. If military spending is directed toward the welfare of the populace, people's quality of life will be enhanced, and their fundamental necessities will be met.

Pakistan's stand is that the 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 every discussion related to this dispute.

Presently, the Muslim youth is playing a vital role in the 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 about independence. The new wave of freedom governed by the indigenous youth in IoK is attracting attention from the international community (Bose, 2005). India is facing complete failure to control the Indigenous movement, and as a result, habitually, she tried false flag operations, e.g., Pathan Kot, Uri, and Pulwama, to blame Pakistan. As a result of the Balakot strike, the Indian Air Force combat aircraft Mig21 shoot down by Pakistani troops who intruded and crossed the Line of Control and later released the arrested pilot, Wing Commander Abhi Nandan, as a goodwill and peaceful gesture. The perspective of Pakistan is concise and clear that the Kashmir dispute must be resolved through peaceful means and according to the United Nations Security Council resolution.

This research study gave importance to the role of the leading Pakistani English and Urdu newspapers in exploring how these played an advocative part in highlighting the Kashmir issue and the government's policies.

This research study also validated Alteschull's (1984) version that the press is controlled by government machinery or the elite as it depends upon them for survival. However, this question is complicated because globally, media and government relationships vary from dispute to cooperation. Different scholars have their point of view, as in Pakistan, the behavior of different newspapers towards the government is quite different. As such, it can rightly be

said that different newspapers have different points of view on the same issue, as cited in Talib (2011).

Lipman (1922) stated that the media "is responsible for the shadows in our eyes. It owns the power to enhance or lessen the importance of an issue," as cited in Talib (2011). McCombs and Shaw have defined the media as talking about important happenings (1972).

No state can survive in isolation in this world. Therefore, a country's foreign policy should be flexible and could be changed according to the needs. It is true, as Lord Palmerston said that no one is a permanent friend or foe in international relations.

Newspaper coverage of the country's foreign policy and government agenda on core issues is also debatable. While other academics believe that the press occasionally casts a shadow over foreign policy, etc., the media has an impact on policymaking. Sometimes, the press role becomes helpful to others, but it injures them. The media plays a critical role in the subcontinent from a national perspective. It takes the lead in determining national priorities and public relations. (Talib, 2011).

PROBLEM STATEMENT

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

The public perception of PMLN was that the political party was inclined towards the establishment and had right-wing political ideas. However, in the last regime, PMLN was seen as anti-establishment. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf came into power with the support of youth and the slogan of "change." PTI claimed to bring change to the country's foreign policy and also said that the ways forward will be searched for to find a solution to the 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 abrogated her 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. It was very interesting to see how the English and Urdu press in Pakistan portrayed and framed the issue of Kashmir in their editorials. Besides, the country's foreign policy towards the issue of Kashmir during these "5 crisis years".

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Objectives of this research study are:

- To explore how much editorial coverage has been given to the issue of Kashmir in the leading press of Pakistan (English and 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

RQ1: How much editorial coverage has been given to the issue of Kashmir in leading press of Pakistan during PMLN and PTI regimes?

RQ2: How did leading Pakistani newspapers portray and frame their editorials related to the issue of Kashmir during PMLN and PTI regimes?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study lasted from 18 February to 2 February 187 FebruarFebruary 17. This period of study is significant for the following reasons.

- The period of study (18th February 18o, 17th February 17is comprised two different regimes in Pakistan: the first two and a half years of the Pakistan Muslim League (N) regime and the last two and a half years of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf regime. This research study provides a comparison of foreign policy and treatment of the Kashmir issue in the 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 ceasefire violations by Indian forces at the Line of Control.
- India politically victimized the leadership and general masses in Indian-occupied Kashmir by enforcing curfews and a complete lockdown.

RATIONALE FOR SELECTING EDITORIALS

Editorials are considered the lifeline of newspapers, reflecting newspaper policy and the voice of editors. An editorial can be defined as the editor's subjective point of view. Editorials play an important role in setting the public discourse for discussion and deliberation.

RATIONALE FOR SELECTING PRINT MEDIA

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

LITERATURE REVIEW

Schofield (2003) explored the rise of the Kashmir issue by saying that India fled to the United Nations on January 1, fearing they would be defeated when the war began in 1948. The United Nations agreed that a plebiscite would be held to determine the resolution of the Kashmir dispute, taking into account the wishes of the Kashmiri people. Regrettably, the international organization never put the United Nations Security Council resolution into practice. Furthermore, Hider (2010) stated that India fled to the United Nations on January 1, fearing they would be defeated when the war began in 1948. The United Nations agreed that a plebiscite will be held to determine the resolution of the Kashmir dispute, taking into account the wishes of the Kashmiri people. Regrettably, the international organization never put the United Nations Security Council resolution into practice. Moreover, according to Buch (2003), the Western nations consented to revisit the Kashmir case since they strongly supported Pakistan's position on the issue in the 1957 Security Council.

Rizvi (1994) defined Sino-India as Pakistan. Subsequently, Pakistan benefited from the

1962 Sino-Indian War in relation to the Kashmir dispute. It was helpful to Pakistan to finally bring up the Kashmir dispute on an international platform. Additionally, according to American President Nixon (1992), although nuclear powers have never engaged in combat, the conflict between Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan over the disputed province of Kashmir has the potential to spark the first nuclear war in history.

The Kashmir dispute persisted as a contentious matter in the initial years following India's independence and division. Kashmir currently holds a dominant and distinct position in both states' foreign policy. The United Nations Security Council had resolved to organize a plebiscite to settle this controversy. However, India, the country that brought the matter to the attention of the UN, is unwilling to do so. Since the majority of people in the state are Muslims, she thinks that Kashmir may be lost to popular will and wants to end the atrocities committed by Indian security and paramilitary forces (Hussain, 2000). Two of the biggest nations in the world, the United States and the United Kingdom, may both significantly contribute to the settlement of the Kashmir dispute. However, there are not any serious initiatives to hold a plebiscite to put the UN Security Council decision into action or to find a workable solution (Buch, 2003).

Asiya (2001) has the opinion that it is accurate to say that, given the long-standing animosity between India and Pakistan, the media plays a mixed role in the nationalistic fervor across the subcontinent. Can the press in Pakistan and India act as a restraint to maintain the two countries' relationship, even though they both waste little time in scoring and declaring victory over their rivals? Nixon (1991) said that the American news media system is unique among other nations in that the government does not influence it. Press freedom guarantees similar to those found in the First Amendment are uncommon around the globe; instead, most people are used to media that are either directly controlled by the government or are agents of it.

Yu et al. (1989) discussed the relationship between the government and the media. They said that news websites should not be used as a platform for criticizing or endorsing the leaders of other countries, no matter how strongly the administration labels its allies or foes. In foreign policy, the media should ideally steer clear of such fervor.

Theoretical Framework

Framing

Since its inception in the discipline of sociology in the mid-1960s, framing theory has seen a swift evolution. Nowadays, framing is a multidisciplinary paradigm that makes it possible to examine media effects on audiences and people in an all-encompassing way (Ardèvol, 2015). Framing is used as a theoretical framework for the study. Gitlin (1980) describes media frames as the enduring patterns of thought, interpretation, and presentation of choice, emphasis, and exclusion that symbol-handlers regularly use to structure spoken or visual conversation. The media and conflict are inextricably linked; the media frequently covers conflicts, and it sometimes serves as a battlefield. However, there is still a fragmentation in conflict literature and the media. In the media, the frames of war and peace compete. It is thought that because media outlets have war correspondents spread over the globe but no peace correspondents, they have a greater role in fomenting violence than in resolving it. Because there are war correspondents stationed all around the globe, "it bleeds it leads." As a result, conflict journalism continues to receive more attention from the media than peace journalism

(Yousaf et al., 2020).

Moreover, the diversity in framing definitions, approaches, and sponsors contributed to its appeal. Having a single paradigm for all framing studies is easier said than done, and the idea may need to be more complex (Borah, 2011). Additionally, the advent of the mass media on a daily basis transformed the use of framing by expanding and intensifying the authors' defining authority for the entire community. This process may lead to the monopolization of social and cultural frameworks. However, it may also cause a division of the social reality along class and group lines, giving rise to divisive ideological paradigm shifts. This language construction-usage process forms a daily social-linguistic bargaining contest between the media representatives of social groups. These days, frames are employed in interpersonal communication situations that involve the usage of message units such as images, videos, and their relationships, in addition to texts found in the mass media (Güran & Özarslan, 2022).

Research Design

This study used a cross-sectional research design to investigate the editorial coverage of Urdu and English newspapers in Pakistan regarding the Kashmir conflict. The cross-sectional design was used as a snapshot. The study used content analysis as a method to analyze different editorials from selected newspapers. The newspapers under study include Daily Dawn, Express Tribune, Daily Jang, and Daily Dunya.

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”.

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

CONTENT ANALYSIS

The method used for this research is content analysis, and both quantitative and qualitative approaches will be employed. Berelson (1952) defines content analysis as a methodical, quantitative, and objective research tool for characterizing the apparent substance of communication.

Krippendorff (1980) defined it as a technique for conducting a methodical, objective, and quantitative analysis of communication with the aim of measuring a variable.

UNIVERSE OF THE STUDY

The universe of study includes selected English and Urdu newspapers (Dawn, Express Tribune, Jang, and Dunya) published in Pakistan during the study period.

SAMPLE TECHNIQUE

A non-random-conient sampling technique is employed.

SAMPLE

Daily Dawn, Express Tribune, Daily Jang, and Daily Dunya are the samples of the study.

SAMPLE SIZE

The editorial pages in the selected newspapers from 18th February 180 to 17th February 17re the study's sample size.

RATIONAL BEHIND SELECTING THIS SAMPLE

The selected Elite and prestigious English and Urdu newspapers of Pakistan for this research are Daily Dawn, Express Tribune, Daily Jang, and Daily Dunya. This research might be the first study that analyzed the editorial treatment of the Kashmir issue of Express Tribune and Daily Dunya news and editorial pages during the five years (18th FeFebruary 18o 17th FeFebruary

17Altschull (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 fulfill Altschull's defined standards.

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 = ceasefire violations, D = Political victimization, and E = Legislative actions in Indian-occupied Kashmir.

UNIT OF ANALYSIS

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

FINDINGS

The research study's quantitative and qualitative findings are presented in this section. Comparative topical coverage of the editorials of "The Dawn," "Express Tribune," "Jang," and "Daily Dunya" on the subjects of human rights breaches, ceasefire violations at the Line of Control, political victimization in the Islamic Republic of Kashmir, and legislative actions in the region is demonstrated by quantitative findings. The qualitative results, however, demonstrate the same topical orientation of the editorials in both Urdu and English newspapers. In order to demonstrate the Pak-India relations, five tables for analysis have been put together. These tables compare editorials from four English and four Urdu publications published throughout the study period, which includes the PML N and PTI regimes.

Comparative Topical coverage of Dawn, Express Tribune, Jang, and Dunya on the issues of A = Right of self Determination, B = Human Rights Violations in IoK, C = Ceasefire 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%
Dunya	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 Dunya on the issues, A = Right of self Determination, B = Human Rights Violations in IoK, C = Ceasefire 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 Ceasefire 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 the Right of self-determination, 25.58% to Human Rights violations, 20.88% to Ceasefire Violations, 9.39% to Political Victimization, and 13.05% editorial coverage to illegitimate legislative actions. On the other hand, The Urdu press (Jang, Daily Dunya) gave 30.02% coverage on the Right of self-determination, 26.93% to Human Rights violations, 20.52% to Ceasefire Violations, 9.93% to Political Victimization and 12.58% editorial coverage to illegitimate legislative actions. This table reflects that overall, the issue of the Right of self-determination was more discussed by The English (Dawn, Express Tribune) as well as the Urdu press (Jang, Dunya).

Comparative Topical direction of editorials of “Dawn, Express Tribune” and “Jang, Dunya” 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
Dunya	63 30.5%	63	0	0

This table shows that The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) published 119 editorials, and The Urdu press (Jang, Dunya) published 136 editorials during the period of study on the Right of self-determination. This indicates that 31.07% of the editorials of The English Press (Dawn, Express Tribune) covered the issue of the Right to self-determination. In comparison, 30.02% of editorials in The Urdu press (Jang, Dunya) covered the issue of the Right of self-determination. The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune), as well as the Urdu press (Jang, Dunya), published 100% editorials in favor of the government’s policy.

Comparative Topical direction of editorials of “Dawn, Express Tribune” and “Jang, Dunya” 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

Dunya	56 27.1%	56	0	0
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This table shows that The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) published 98 editorials, and The Urdu press (Jang, Dunya) published 122 editorials during the period of study on human rights violations. This indicates that 25.58% of editorials in The English Press (Dawn, Express Tribune) covered the issue of human rights violations. In comparison, 26.93% of editorials in The Urdu press (Jang, Dunya) covered the issue of human rights violations. The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune), as well as the Urdu press (Jang, Dunya), published 100% editorials in favor of the government's policy.

Comparative Topical direction of editorials of “Dawn, Express Tribune” and “Jang, Dunya” 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%
Dunya	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, Dunya) published 93 editorials during the period of study on human rights violations. This indicates that 20.88% of editorials in The English Press (Dawn, Express Tribune) covered the issue of human rights violations. In comparison, 20.52% of editorials in The Urdu press (Jang, Dunya) covered the issue of human rights violations. The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune), as well as Urdu press (Jang, Dunya), published mostly editorials in

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

Comparative Topical direction of editorials of “Dawn, Express Tribune” and “Jang, Dunya” 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%
Dunya	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, Dunya) published 45 editorials during the period of study on human rights violations. This indicates that 9.39% of editorials in The English Press (Dawn, Express Tribune) covered the issue of human rights violations. In comparison, 9.93% of editorials in The Urdu press (Jang, Dunya) covered the issue of human rights violations. The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) and the Urdu press (Jang, Dunya) published mostly editorials in favor of the government's policy. However, the English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) published 0.78% neutral editorials, and the Urdu press (Jang, Dunya) published 1.32% neutral editorials. Comparative Topical direction of editorials of "Dawn, Express Tribune" and "Jang, Dunya" 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%
Dunya	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, Dunya) published 57 editorials during the period of study on human rights violations. This indicates that 20.88% of editorials in The English Press (Dawn, Express Tribune) covered the issue of human rights violations. In comparison, 18.32% of editorials in The Urdu press (Jang, Dunya) covered the issue of human rights violations. The English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) and the Urdu press (Jang, Dunya) published mostly editorials in favor of the government's policy. However, the English press (Dawn, Express Tribune) published 1.30% neutral editorials, and the Urdu press (Jang, Dunya) published 1.10% neutral editorials.

Discussion

This section deals with the results regarding answering research questions.

RQ1: 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 the Right of self-determination, 25.58% editorials on human rights violations, 20.88% on ceasefire violations, 9.39% on political victimization, and 13.05% on illegitimate legislative actions. Meanwhile, the Urdu press "Jang, Dunya" published 453

editorials during the period of this study on issues under discussion. The Urdu press wrote 30.02% editorials on the Right of self-determination, 26.93% editorials on human rights violations, 18.32% on ceasefire violations, 9.93% on political victimization, and 12.58% on illegitimate legislative actions.

RQ2: 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% of editorials on the Right of self-determination and human rights violations. The English press supported government policy on ceasefire violations, political victimization, and illegitimate legislative actions, respectively, in 93.25%, 91.66%, and 90% editorials and remained neutral in 6.75%, 8.34%, and 10% editorials, respectively, on the issues of ceasefire violations, political victimization, and illegitimate legislative actions.

Results indicate that 96.61% of editorials in the English press backed government policy on all matters under discussion, while 3.39% of editorials were neutral. It also indicates that The News's impartial editorial coverage is noteworthy, as it supported government policy regarding Pakistan-India relations.

The Urdu press "Jang, Dunya" favored the government's stance in 100% editorials on the Right of self-determination and human rights violations. The Urdu press supported government policy on ceasefire violations, political victimization, and illegitimate legislative actions in 91.39%, 86.66%, and 91.22% of editorials. It remained neutral in 8.61%, 13.34%, and 8.78% of editorials, respectively, on the issues of ceasefire violations, political victimization, and illegitimate legislative actions.

CONCLUSION

The study's goal was to investigate Pakistan Press's perspective on the government's position. Whether or not it has benefited its government on matters that are currently being discussed with India. To what extent did the media cover ties between Pakistan and India throughout the research period? What were the similarities and differences between the four English and Urdu newspapers that were chosen for this study, and did the press support or disagree with the government on matters pertaining to India? Two programmers received training and were tasked with determining the topics, points made, and editorials that supported, opposed, or were neutral toward government policies. The coders were also given a coding sheet and coding instructions. The researcher examined and contrasted the government's position with that of the under-discussed problems in both the Urdu and English press. In the light of findings, analysis, and discussion, the answers to research questions were sorted 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. The total number of editorials about Pak-India relations in English as well as Urdu newspapers was 836. English newspapers published 383 editorials while the Urdu press published 453 editorials. On the Right of self-determination, 255 editorials were published. Out of Two hundred fifty-five editorials, English newspapers published 119 editorials, while the Urdu newspapers published 136 editorials. Regarding human rights violations, 220 editorials were published; English newspapers published 98 editorials, while Urdu published 122 editorials. On CFV, 173 editorials were published, The Nation published 80 Editorials, whereas the Urdu

press published 93 editorials. On Political victimization, 81 editorials were 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's stance in 100% of editorials on the Right of self-determination and human rights violations. The English press supported government policy on ceasefire violations, political victimization, and illegitimate legislative actions, respectively, in 93.25%, 91.66%, and 90% editorials and remained neutral in 6.75%, 8.34%, and 10% editorials, respectively, on the issues of ceasefire violations, political victimization, and illegitimate legislative actions.

Results indicate that 96.61% of editorials in the English press backed government policy on all matters under discussion, while 3.39% of editorials were neutral. It also indicates that The News's impartial editorial coverage is noteworthy, as it supported government policy regarding Pakistan-India relations.

The Urdu press "Jang, Dunya" favored the government's stance in 100% editorials on the Right of self-determination and human rights violations. The Urdu press supported government policy on ceasefire violations, political victimization, and illegitimate legislative actions in 91.39%, 86.66%, and 91.22% of editorials and remained neutral in 8.61%, 13.34%, and 8.78% of editorials, respectively. On the issues of ceasefire violations, political victimization, and illegitimate legislative actions.

The study's theoretical framework used the framing theory. Over the five-year study period, 383 editorials in English media and 453 editorials in Urdu newspapers were published, demonstrating their considerable concern for Pakistan-India ties. Newspapers in both Urdu and English demonstrated their patriotism by endorsing Pakistan's foreign policy regarding the Kashmir dispute and related matters.

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