

INDIA IN THE COVERAGE OF PAKISTAN MEDIA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS STUDY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO POST PATHANKOT ATTACK

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Abstract:- India-Pakistan, the two countries that did not separate before and after the partition. India and Pakistan are connected with each other through Kashmir and that's why Kashmir is primary Prime issue for both. Both countries share geographical boundaries but differ in religious demography. This study aims to investigate the coverage of Pak media in portrayal the image of Indo-Pak relation in terms of news media, after the recent incidence of "Pathankot Terror Attack" on January 2nd, 2016 in India. The English newspapers (The Dawn and The Nation) have played a positive or negative, favorable or unfavorable, or neutral role regarding Pathankot terror attack in India. The study focused on content analysis of two leading English newspapers of Pakistan i.e. The Dawn and The Nation from 1st January, 2016 to 15th January, 2016.

Key Words :- Indo-Pak relations, cross border insurgency, religious harmony, news, views

Introduction

India and Pakistan have been in conflicting relations since 1947. Both the countries have been unable to resolve their differences and develop a normal or good neighborly relationship. Kashmir remains the most important and core issue between the two countries. Continuous denial to talk regarding Kashmir issue is the reason behind the terrorism and conflict between both countries also impacting the people of Kashmir. Indian PM Narendra Modi's Lahore drop-in on 25th Dec, 2015 is a transformational development for a relationship that has been mired in uncertainty and stagnated because of mutual suspicion for over a decade. India-Pakistan relations had been more on the ropes than on the rails and during Modi's stopover at Lahore and the announcement of the foreign secretaries of both countries would meet in three weeks time. The intensity and the potential of the terrorist strike on the Pathankot air base suggest that their aim could be more substantial than just to derail the tepid India-Pakistan parleys. India and Pakistan both play important role in South Asian region. Both the

countries were engaged each other in very serious conflicts in 1947, 1965, 1971 and in 1999 when the forces of both the countries were engaged fighting against each other, and other attack like Indian Parliament attack on 13th Dec 2001, Mumbai attack 26th Nov 2008, Pathankot attack 2nd Jan 2016. In early hours of 2nd January, 2016, terrorists attacked the Indian Air Force base in Pathankot, killed seven Indian soldiers. The relations between Pakistan and India remained more critical during 1999 to 2002 as high-level of tensions were there between both the countries particularly due to the Kargil crisis in 1999 and attacks on Indian parliament in 2001. The press performing a great attempt in creating awareness among people about relations between both countries, as well as they are projecting the voice of common man regarding issues. Media is also portraying the image of other country through their news coverage.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE- Nazir (2005) says that Pakistan India relations have been tensed since very long despite the efforts for the normalization of the relations between both

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the countries. Manzoor (2002), the press of Pakistan is very much concerned with the international issues particularly Urdu press that is more concerned than the English press. He further argues that Pakistani press is much free even to criticize the government but patriotism is also there in the Pakistani press. In the study it was determined to find out the attitude of the Pakistani press towards the government's stance that whether it has favored the government in conflict situation with India. Sabir & Rasul (2011) Pakistani elite English press is helpful in the framing of the public opinion regarding the Pakistan's view point on the Kashmir issue and also that Pakistan is interested in peaceful resolution of the conflicts between Pakistan and India particularly the Kashmir issue. Hayat (2001) says that the press of Pakistan and India were infect showing the one sided picture of the issues that is Pakistan favors its government whereas India favors Indian government. The study shows that the media play a very important role in reflecting the government's foreign policy and the media's support is a catalyst in this regard. Khan (2000) says that the press instead of settling the situation and creating peace and harmony between Pakistan and India worsened the situation. He says that the press can play an important role and it can be vocal to convince the policy makers of their respective countries in addressing the issues. He concluded that the press instead of making the situation better made the conditions worse to bring the neighbours closer to each other. Herman cited in Gul (1998) is of the view that in the situation of conflict between the two countries, the press is the source that articulate the government view point and the elite class as well.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK-

Agenda setting and framing theories have been implemented in accordance with the objectives of the study. According to Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, Agenda setting theory suggest that the media sets the public agenda, they may tell you what to think about, here agenda theory

explain how importance given to the Pathankot Attack and making the readers to think about the issue in positive, neutral and negative way. According to Goffman (1974) explains the idea of framing by publishing a book "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life". In his work, he explains has individuals construct the meaning of outer world on the bases of framing working in their minds. Tuchman, (1978) says framing is the extension of agenda setting theory. According to Tuchman "the act of making news is the act of constructing reality itself rather than the portrayals of reality".

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY-

1. To study how the Pak media cover India in their news content after Pathankot attack.
2. To find out what are the issues regarding Kashmir that Pak news media prefer to cover.
3. To what extent Pak media reshapes cross border insurgency issue.
4. To determine how much religious harmony Pak media reflect in news content.
5. To compare the coverage of The Dawn and The Nation newspapers in a given time period.

METHODOLOGY- The methodology used in this study was content analysis; it is a scientific process of investigating both qualitatively and quantitatively the oral, printed, audio and visual information within a context in view of the intended and perceived meaning.

The Dawn and The Nation newspapers had been choosen because both are the leading print papers of Pakistan. Both papers have online publication and both are in English language. All news and opinion of the Dawn and The Nation were analyzed from 1st January, 2016 to 15th January, 2016. The reason for selection of these newspapers was to understand the editorial policy of major media organizations and what is the general trend of Pakistan's media regarding relation with India.

Universe:

The universe of this study comprised of The Dawn and The Nation newspapers from 1st January, 2016 to 15th January, 2016.

Sample:

The universe is the sample of all stories related terrorism attack in India, Kashmir issue, cross border insurgency, religious harmony, economic connectivity and opinions regarding these all categories in the selected newspapers.

Unit of Analysis:

Unit of analysis is that unit or element of recorded information that are under the investigation. This study has the following units:

Opinions

News

Directions:

The news and opinions are further divided into positive (+), negative (-), and neutral (0) directions.

CODE BOOK:

S No.	Categories	Sub-categories
1	Cross Border Insurgency	<ul style="list-style-type: none">FiringInfiltrationInterferenceSecurity issuesBorder issuesTypical enemyChina interferenceUSA interference and allAfghanistan interference and all
2	Kashmir issue	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Pakistan occupied Kashmir (Pok)Hostility in regionPartitionBilateral talksBilateral meetingKashmir disputeAfzal GuruIndo-Pak peace talk
3	Terrorism issue	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Mumbai attackPathankot AttackIndian blame on PakPak blame on IndiaIndian ministers' speechesPak ministers' speeches
4	Religious Harmony	<ul style="list-style-type: none">HinduMuslim
5	Economic connectivity	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Trade with PakistanTrade with Afghanistan

DATA INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

RQ1: How the Pak media cover India in their news content after Pathankot attack: The Dawn newspaper published 59.1% news stories and 40.9% views and opinions regarding India

whereas The Nation newspaper published 67.6% news stories and 32.4% views and opinions. The average percentages of news stories were 63.35% and average percentage of views and opinions were 36.65%. Total average of positive news published by both newspaper were 15.50%, Neutral news were 37.26% and Negative news were 47.23%. Average percentages of Negative news of both newspapers were high. Total number of views headlines of both newspapers regarding Pathankot was 22 and regarding other issues related India was 28.

News and views of both newspaper

S No.	Category of stories	The Dawn	The Nation
1.	News stories	39	48
2.	Views and Opinions	27	23
	Total	66	71

Both Newspapers: Headlines

S No.	Categories	The Dawn	The Nation
1.	Aggressive	17.5	21.7
2.	Suggestive	25.0	23.9
3.	Attitudinal	27.5	23.9
4.	Sarcastic	17.5	23.9
5.	Religious Politics	12.5	6.6
	Total	100.0	100.0

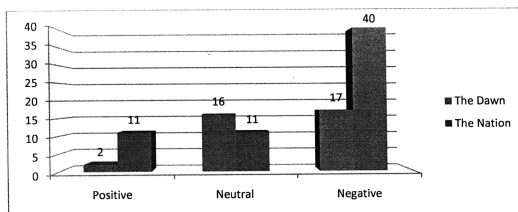
Terrorism Issues: The content of views of both newspapers divided in four categories i.e. Pathankot issue, Kashmir issue, Relationship with India and other affairs regarding India. The average percentage of views regarding Pathankot issue were 40%, Kashmir issue 9.24%, Relationship 35.38% and other affairs were 15.38%. The content of views of both newspaper categories in three directions i.e. Peace matters, suggestive and strategic. The average percentage of peace matters were 13.84%, suggestive 38.56% and strategic 47.70%. The photos of both newspapers were categories in four categories i.e. Hostility, Defensive, Friendly Relations, Neutral. Average percentage of Hostile photos was 13.85%, Defensive 21.53%, Friendly Relation with India 21.53% and Neutral was 43.09%.

S No.	Terrorism issues	The Dawn Positive	The Nation Positive	The Dawn Neutral	The Nation Neutral	The Dawn Negative	The Nation Negative
1.	Mumbai Attack	0	0	3	0	2	1
2.	Pathankot Attack	7	8	23	13	12	15
3.	Indian Ministers' Statements	3	7	9	8	10	2
4.	Pak Ministers' Statements	2	9	7	7	4	5
5.	Indian Blame on Pak	1	1	1	1	0	8
6.	Pak Blame on India	0	0	1	1	0	5
	Total	13	25	44	30	28	26

RQ2: What are the issues regarding Kashmir that Pak news media prefer to cover: In this research, we categorised Kashmir Issue into nine categories i.e. Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK), Hostile in region, Partition, Bilateral talks, Bilateral meetings, Kashmir dispute, Afzal Guru, Indo-Pak peace talk, which is again categorised in three direction i.e. Positive, Neutral, Negative. The study shows that only two news regarding PoK published which is negative. Only news was negative regarding Hostile in region and four news of Partition which is negative. 13 news regarding Bilateral talks in which two were positive, five were neutral and other six were negative. 14 news of Bilateral meetings in which one was positive, four were neutral and seven were negative. 25 news related to Kashmir dispute in which four were neutral and 21 were negative. Three news regarding Afzal Guru and all were negative. 33 news regarding Indo-Pak peace talk in which ten were positive, twelve were neutral and eleven were negative. The average percentage of positive news were 13.68%, 28.42% neutral and average percentage of negative news were 57.89% regarding Kashmir issues which Pak media prefer to cover.

Kashmir Issues:

S No.	Kashmir issues	The Dawn Positive	The Nation Positive	The Dawn Neutral	The Nation Neutral	The Dawn Negative	The Nation Negative
1.	Pakistan occupied Kashmir(PoK)	0	0	0	0	2	2
2.	Hostile in Region	0	0	0	0	0	1
3.	Partition	0	0	0	0	2	2
4.	Bilateral talks	0	2	4	1	0	6
5.	Bilateral meetings	1	0	3	3	0	7
6.	Kashmir dispute	0	0	3	1	8	13
7.	Afzal Guru	0	0	0	0	2	1
8.	Indo-Pak peace talk	1	9	6	6	3	8
	Total	2	11	16	11	17	40

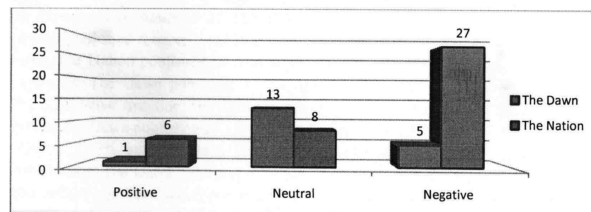


RQ3: To what extent Pak media reshapes cross border insurgency issue: In this research, we

categorised cross border insurgency into nine sub categories i.e. Firing, Infiltration, Interference, Security issues, Border issues, Typical enemy, China interference and all, USA interference and all and Afghan interference and all, which is also categorised in three directions i.e. positive, neutral and negative. Total number of news stories regarding Firing was two in which one was neutral and one negative. Three news stories regarding Infiltration in which two were neutral and one was negative. Only News of Interference which was negative. One of Security issue which was positive. Four were Border issues in which one was positive and neutral, and two were negative. Twelve news stories regarding Typical enemy in which three neutral and other nine were negative. Four of China interference and all in which one was neutral and three were negative. USA interference and all were 23 news stories in which five were positive, nine were neutral and nine were negative. Afghan interference and all total ten news stories in which four were neutral and six were negative. The average percentage of positive news stories were 11.67%, average of neutral news were 35% and the average percentage of negative news stories were 53.33% which Pak media reshapes cross border issues.

Cross Border Insurgency

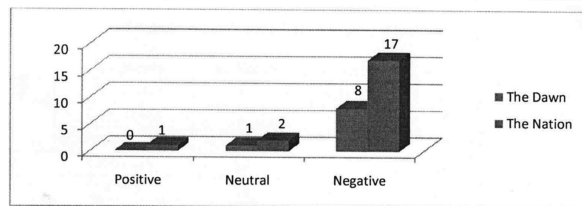
S No.	Cross border insurgency	The Dawn Positive	The Nation Positive	The Dawn Neutral	The Nation Neutral	The Dawn Negative	The Nation Negative
1.	Firing	0	0	0	1	1	0
2.	Infiltration	0	0	1	1	1	0
3.	Interference	0	0	0	0	1	0
4.	Security issues	0	1	0	0	0	0
5.	Border issues	1	0	0	1	0	2
6.	Typical enemy	0	0	3	0	1	8
7.	China interference	0	0	1	0	0	3
8.	USA interference	0	5	7	2	0	9
9.	Afghan interference	0	0	1	3	1	5
	Total	1	6	13	8	5	27



RQ4: How much Religious Harmony Pak media reflect in news content: In this research study Religious Harmony is categorised into two sub-categories i.e. Hinduism and Muslim and three directions were positive, neutral and negative. News related Hinduism was 20 in which two was neutral and ten were negative. The news regarding Muslim was nine in which one was positive and neutral, and other seven were negative. The average percentage of positive news were 6.89%, 10.34% were neutral and average percentage of negative news which reflect Religious Harmony were 86.20%.

Religious Harmony:

S No.	Religious Harmony	The Dawn Positive	The Nation Positive	The Dawn Neutral	The Nation Neutral	The Dawn Negative	The Nation Negative
1.	Hinduism	0	0	1	1	8	10
2.	Muslim	0	1	0	1	0	7
	Total	0	1	1	2	8	17



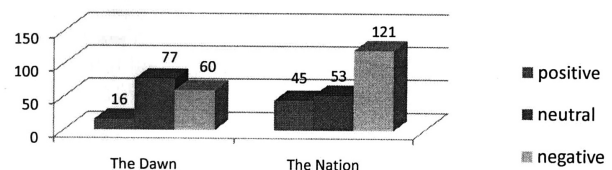
RQ5: Comparative analysis of The Dawn and the Nation newspapers: The Dawn newspaper published total 63 total stories in which 36 were news and 27 were views and opinions. The Nation published 69 total stories in which 46 were news and 23 were views and opinions. The Dawn published 17.5% aggressive headline and The Nation published 21.7%. Suggestive headline The Dawn published 25% and The Nation 23.9% published. Attitudinal the Dawn published 27.5% and The Nation 23.9%. Sarcastic the Dawn 17.5% and the Nation 23.9% and Religious politics the Dawn published 12.5% and The Nation published 6.6%. The Dawn published 12 views headlines regarding Pathankot and 15 views of other affairs and The Nation published 10 views headlines of Pathankot and 13 of other affairs with India. In

The Dawn newspaper views content regarding Pathankot were 40%, Kashmir 14.28%, Relationship 43.33 and other issue 17.14. The Nation 40% Pathankot issue, 2.85% Kashmir issue, 43.33% relationship and 13.33% other issue. The Dawn published 14.28% views in direction of peace matter, 48.57% suggestive and 37.14% were strategic whereas The Nation published 13.33% peace matter, 26.66% suggestive and 60% strategic. The Dawn published only one photo of PM Modi that was only face and The Nation published 11 images of PM Modi in which nine were half photo if Modi and two were only face. The Dawn published 21 photos in which three were hostile and defensive, 15 were neutral whereas The Nation published 44 photos in which six were hostile, 11 defensive, 14 friendly relation and 13 were neutral. Total common news stories related to India was 22 in which Total no. of words given by The Dawn newspaper to all common news stories was 8536 whereas total no. of word given by The Nation newspaper was 10776. Total no. of common news between both newspapers was 22 in which eleven news stories had similar First actors and ten news stories had Second actor similar.

Comparison: Views content					
S No.	Categories	The Dawn	The Nation	Total	Percentage
1.	Pathankot issue	14	12	26	40.00
2.	Kashmir issue	5	1	6	9.24
3.	Relationship	10	13	23	35.38
4.	Others issues	6	4	10	15.38
	Total	35	30	65	100.0

Comparison of both Newspapers: All Photos

S No.	Categories	The Dawn	The Nation	Total	Percentage
1.	Hostility	3	6	9	13.85
2.	Defensive	3	11	14	21.53
3.	Friendly relation	0	14	14	21.53
4.	Neutral	15	13	28	43.09
	Total	21	44	65	100.0



Conclusions of the study:

- Data imitate that 63.35% were news stories and 36.65% were opinions regarding issues published in newspapers, it shows that Pakistan media reflect less views of common people and news reflection is almost double than views.
- The headlines of newspapers 19.6% were aggressive, 24.45% suggestive, 25.7% attitudinal, 20.7% sarcastic and 9.55% were religious politics. Attitudinal and aggressiveness is almost parallel in analysis, which should not be in the headlines. Headlines should be objective, balanced and unbiased.
- Total positive news was 15.5%, neutral 37.26 and 47.23% were negative and it clearly shows that Pakistan media publishes more negative news regarding India. Cross border insurgency requires more positive news between the nations on various issues
- Total number of views regarding Pathankot attack were 44% and other issues related to India were 48% it shows that after Pathankot attack, Pakistan media published more views regarding

other issues than the Pathankot attack. Views are summative feeling and opinions of masses and media also helps in making summative opinion, so media should focus on other issues also instead of terrorism attacks, so that masses can understand the real facts of everything.

- Directions of views in research regarding peace matters were 13.84%, suggestive 38.53% and strategic were 47.7%. Highest views are strategic and least is suggestive which cannot help in the creation of harmony between the nations.
- Average percentage of Hostile photos was 13.85%, Defensive 21.53%, Friendly Relation with India 21.53% and Neutral was 43.09%. One photo is equal to one thousand words so it should be sensible in the direction to resolve conflicts and to increase insurgency. It shows that photos published in newspapers were mainly neutral.
- The news regarding Muslim were two in which one was positive and one was neutral, and other eight stories are on Hinduism and they were negative. Which is not creating religious harmony and further which means Pakistan media is not creating cultural harmony.

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