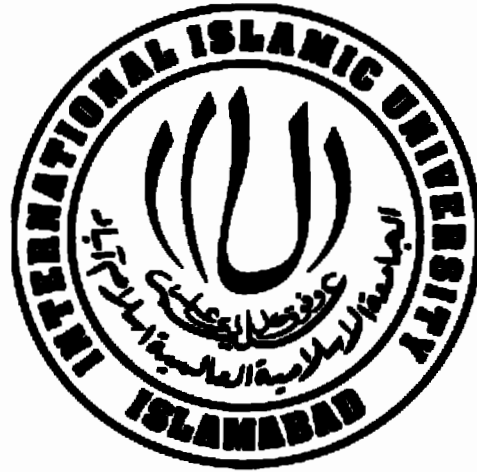


**COVERAGE OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES IN PAKISTANI
MEDIA: TOWARDS CONTEXTUAL MODEL OF MEDIA-
FOREIGN POLICY INTERACTION**

Ph.D. Thesis



**Researcher
Jamal Ud Din**

**Supervisor
Dr. Shabir Hussain**

Reg.No.12-FSS/PHDMC/F16



**Department of Media and Communication Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD**

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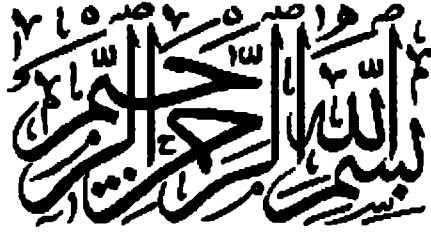
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- 2. Domestic relations
- 3. U.S. and Pakistan
- 4. U.S. -- China --
Tensions

Foreign Relations

**COVERAGE OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES IN PAKISTANI
MEDIA: TOWARDS CONTEXTUAL MODEL OF MEDIA-
FOREIGN POLICY INTERACTION**

**Mr. Jamal Ud Din
12-FSS/PHDMC/F16**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Media and Communication Studies at
the Faculty of Social Sciences,
International Islamic University Islamabad**



In the name of Allah, the most merciful and beneficent

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my parents (late) whose love and care are the most valuable wealth of my life, which, indeed, enabled me to complete this research study successfully.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis, neither as a whole nor as a part thereof, has been copied out from any source. It is further declared that I have prepared this thesis entirely on the basis of my personal effort made under the sincere guidance of my supervisor and colleagues. No portion of work, presented in this thesis has been submitted in support of any application for any degree or qualification of this or any other university or institute of learning.

**Jamal Ud Din
12-FSS/PHDMC/F16**

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My deepest gratitude goes to all of my family members, whose support has a lot of roles in achieving this task; whereas I would like to pray for the departed souls of my dearest parents, whose prays are the most valuable asset of my life.

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INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD
Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Media and Communication Studies

Dated: May 11, 2022

CERTIFICATE

It is certified that we have read this Ph.D. thesis entitled "Coverage of Foreign Policy Issues in Pakistani Media: Towards Contextual Model of Media-Foreign Policy Interaction" submitted by Mr. Jamal Ud Din under Registration No.12-FSS/Ph.DMC/F16. It is our judgement that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic University Islamabad for the Ph.D. degree in Media and Communication Studies.

VIVA VOCE COMMITTEE


Supervisor

Dr. Shabir Hussain

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Internal Examiner

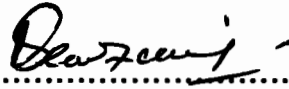
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External Examiner

Prof. Dr. Aslam Pervaiz

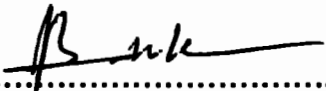
Gomal University, Dera Ismail Khan

.....



External Examiner

Dr. Bakht Rawan

Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad

.....


Head, DMCS, FSS

.....


Dean, FSS, IIUI

.....


FORWARDING SHEET

The thesis entitled “Coverage of Foreign Policy Issues in Pakistani Media: Towards Contextual Model of Media-Foreign Policy Interaction” submitted by Jamal Ud Din as partial fulfillment of PhD degree in Media and Communication Studies has completed under my guidance and supervision. I am satisfied with the quality of student’s research work and allow him to submit this thesis for further process as per IIU rules & regulations.

**Dr. Shabir Hussain
Professor/Supervisor**

ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the media and foreign policy interaction in the context of Pakistan, where the nature of coverage in Pakistani media has thoroughly been studied. The existing literatures focus on the elite debate and/ or elite consensus on foreign policy related issues and their coverage in media, particularly in media of the developed countries. This study examines the coverage of foreign policy issues in two broader dimensions i.e. Political Environment/ policy certainty (certain or uncertain policy line of the government) and nature of violence (violent and non-violent nature of issue). This study evaluates the Pakistani media tendencies toward foreign policy issues through examining three different foreign policy related issues including “the NATO’s attack on Salala check post (2011), “Kashmir conflict (2016) after killing of Hizbul Mujahideen commander Burhan Wani in Indian held Kashmir and Yemen conflict (2015)”. The findings of the study are, mainly, in line with the key arguments of Pier Robinson (2000, 2017) that policy certainty leads to support the government’s stance on policy issue, while policy uncertainty trigger oppositional coverage. However, this study, mainly, adds a new set of influencing factors i.e. violent and non-violent nature of issue in the available scholarship of media and government relations in broader context of policy matters, including the scholarly works of Pier Robinson (2000, 2017), Bennett (1990) and Wolfsfeld(1997). In the context of Pakistan, which is one of the politically vibrant countries of South Asia, this study found that the nature of violence [violent and non-violent nature of issue] and the issue of proximity [issue at home and issue at distance] have also a vital role in shaping media coverage on policy related issues. The combined treatment of all the three selected issues show that the sudden and a tragic incident [the Salala attack] is framed high in perspective

of violence, followed by politically controlled and convinced issue [the Kashmir conflict]. Contrary to the violent nature, the non-violent nature of issue, mostly, influenced the media coverage on 'the issue at distance' i.e. the Yemen conflict, which triggered, comparatively more critical coverage, criticizing Pakistan's ambiguous policy line on the issue of joining the Saudi Arab led military coalition, aimed at fighting against terrorism. Hence, the study is not only a rigorous study in its nature outside the Western countries but it also proposes a new model "Towards Contextual Model of Media- Foreign Policy Interaction" in the context of Pakistan, which will help in explaining the nature of media coverage of the foreign policy issues in developing countries, which mostly suffer of 'conflicts at home'.

Key Words: NATO's attack, U.S aggression, Pakistan's sovereignty, Burhan Wani, right to self-determination, Yemen conflict, Islamic alliance, neutrality.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Cable News Network
HzBM	Hizbul Mujahideen
IHK	Indian held Kashmir
IMCTM	Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
U.S.	United States
UN	United Nations

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study contently analyzes the relationship between media and government in nexus of policy issues in Pakistan. For determining this relation, either affable or hostile, the research examines media coverage of the three selected issues including the U.S led NATO's attack on Salala check post (November, 2011), Kashmir conflict (July, 2016) after killing of Hizbul Mujahideen commander Burhan Wani Killing in Indian held Kashmir and Yemen conflict (March, 2015) in elite English and Urdu newspapers of Pakistan.

In the context of developed countries, it is argued that media independently report the policy issues but some of the studies found that media, especially western media, follow the policy line/ guidelines of [their respective] governments when covering an international crisis (Bennett & Paletz, 1994; Carpenter, 1995; Friel, et al, 2004; Reese & Lewis, 2009). As the media care of foreign policy guidelines thus the political leaders used media for public opinion formation to support the government foreign policy lines (Hill, 1996; Morgenthau, 1978).

Different research studies on the broader topic of the foreign policy and media interaction including Daghrir, 2016; Robinson, 2000, 2017; Touri, 2006; Wang J& X Wang, 2014; Zhang & Meadows, 2012 have mainly focused on the coverage of western governments' foreign affairs during the international and humanitarian crisis, where the media has mostly taken the government policy guidelines into consideration.

Media's role becomes more important when there is controversy or law and order situation in a country or a country is passing through hostile relations with its neighboring

or strategically allied countries. A study revealed that media played comparatively more important role in times when foreign policy goals were subject to controversy (Ferrira, 2009). The interaction between the mass media and foreign policy has always been a debatable topic among various scholars including Bennett, 1990, Livingston, 1997; Robinson, 2000 etc. Carrying this topic [media-policy relationship], it is worth to investigate the state of media and government relationship in Pakistan, where political environment, most of the times, remains unfavorable for the profession of journalism.

1.1 Pakistani Media

Culturally, Pakistan has vibrant print media since its inception in 1947 as dozens of newspapers and [weekly, biweekly or monthly] magazines have been playing their independent role, considerably (Pintak et al., 2018). A mushroom growth in media, particularly in electronic media, has been witnessed after the establishment of Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) in 2002. The history of media in Pakistan shows that despite of the constitution of Pakistan (1973), which guarantees the freedom of expression under article 19, stating that;

“Every citizen shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, and there shall be freedom of the press, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the glory of Islam or the integrity, security or defense of Pakistan or any part there of friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, [commission of] or incitement to an offence.”

The media has been experiencing ups and downs. This is because of the politically unfavorable environment and worst law and order situation, but despite of these all odds, the media sustained itself (Hussain, 2020). Today, there exist thousands of newspapers, over 90 TV channels and hundreds of radio stations in the politically vibrant country (Ellis-Petersen and Baloch, 2019), minimizing the control of state-owned TV and radio channels as the private media, now, holds a large share of the audience (Pintak et al., 2018).

The heterogeneous nature of media in Pakistan, more obviously, criticize issues relating to internal politics, however when covering the security issues and foreign policy, no media can afford to be critical (Hussain and Lynch, 2019). For this state of media, Pakistan has been criticized by international watchdogs over the decades for media censorship (Ellis-Petersen and Baloch, 2019).

1.2 Media and Foreign Policy

Media and foreign policy relationship can be determined on the basis of coverage, which media give to foreign policy issues (Bennett, 1990). It is viewed that foreign policy crisis, more likely, to be reported in the point of view of elites (Bennett, 1990, 1993) or to be framed on the basis of policy certainty, generating supportive coverage (Robinson, 2000), hence there would exist friendly relationship between media and government. Contrary, the policy issues may be framed on the basis of elites dissensus (Bennett, 1990) or policy uncertainty (Robinson, 2017), shaping cortical coverage, which leads to create an unaffable relationship between media and government.

Media, considering as an important player in political arena (Gelders et al. 2007), perform a vital democratic role as it shapes public opinions, which lead to create awareness among masses[audience] politically, and hence ensure political participation (Habermas,

J., 1991). However, in context of policy matter, the media has been using as an influential tool to advance foreign policy of a country or its relations with other countries in the arena of world's politics. Hallin (1994) highlights the bias approach in Western media in the context of policy issues, arguing that [U.S] media frame the American stance in conflicts as the correct one, and any step/ measure taken by the government to achieve its goals is justified.

Some of the studies including Çarkoğlu et al. (2014); Hallin and Mancini (2004); Sheaffer and Wolfsfeld (2009), mainly focus on Western parliamentary or presidential systems, whereas the relationship between media and government is, mostly, determined on basis of policy crisis abroad such as the 1990-91 Gulf War, Somalia (1990-1991), Bosnia (1995) and war at Kosovo (1999). However, media's role become more considerable in [political] development of society, which is fragile and divided politically (Taylor, 2000) as in the case of Pakistan. Where media, acting as the "watchdog" role (Norris, 2000), perform its function of shaping public opinions through news reporting (Street, 2010).

In this study the overall approach of Pakistani media is analyzed on the nature of coverage given to foreign policy related issues including NATO's attack on Salala check post, Kashmir and Yemen conflicts. The media coverage has been examined on the basis of two broader dimensions i.e. policy certainty (certain or uncertain policy line of the government) and nature of violence (foreign policy related issues are violent or non-violent in their nature). For data collection two newspapers each are selected from mainstream English and Urdu dailies of Pakistan. These include *Dawn* and *The News* (English dailies), *Daily Nawa-e-Waqt* and *Daily Express* (Urdu dailies). The three selected issues have a lot

of importance in Pakistan's foreign policy debate about its neighboring country India, in case of Kashmir conflict, its strategic partner the U.S, in case of the issue of Salala check post and the Islamic world, in case of Yemen conflict.

1.2.1 Salala Check Post Attack (2011)

After 9/11 attacks on Washington and New York, the United States sorted out its strategies to start anti-terrorism war after mobilizing 'the international support' to fight against terrorism (Ahmad, 2013). This changing political scenario at global level provided an opportunity to Pakistan to improve its relationship with the USA by providing its territory to the U.S. to get in Afghanistan. Being an active ally in war on terror, Pakistan confronted multiple difficulties while taking operative measures and cooperating with the U.S-led NATO forces. According to media coverage, both Pakistani & global, the sentiment of trust deficiency has been overlapping this working relationship, which further jerked up common strategy of counter-terrorism. The strategy got ebbing away after Salala attack 2011 (Hassan, 2012).

In the war on terror context, the U.S recognized Pakistan's [important] role in eliminating terrorism, thus it [the U.S] extended its assistance to turn Pakistan into more politically stable and prosperous country (Epstein & Kronstadt, 2011). However, this friendly relationship revolved into hostility after the U.S-led NATO forces attacked on Salala check post in Mohmand Agency, Pakistan on November, 26, 2011. Prior to the incident, the Pakistani forces had carried out operation in the area- Salala, and killed 65 Taliban, causing a mistrust about [further] presence of the Taliban, hence this mistrust led to another violation of Pakistani border- fourth in its nature, but more deadly than previous

attacks. The early attacks that occurred in June 2008, September 2010 and June 2011 claimed total 13 lives of Pakistani security personnel (Malik, 2012).

The Salala incident, which claimed lives of 28 soldiers (*Dawn*, 2011) caused a political environment in Pakistan, where the government's policy towards the U.S as ally in war on terror was questioned, which caused a [political] conflict between Pakistan and the U.S. (Fair et al, 2014). This incident provoked different segments of Pakistan, especially the Pakistani Army took it as "unprovoked and deliberate act of aggression" (*The News*, November 30, 2011). This outrageous act of NATO's attack proved a black stigma over U.S-Pak relations as within few hours of the attack, Pakistan closed the Pak-Afghan border for supplies bound for Nato's forces (*Dawn*, November 26, 2011; Noshina, 2016). Pakistani Media, at that time become very violent about increasing tense relations between Pakistan and the U.S.

It was not first time, earlier in 1990 decade the Pak-U.S. political romance got failed when the Cold War and Soviet occupation of Afghanistan came to an end. While Soviet stay, both U.S. and Pakistan were actively struggling against the occupation of USSR in Afghanistan and they shared strategic interests, which made them closed but game got over when Soviet left Afghanistan. However, 9/11 attacks, gave new dimension to Pak-U. S relations. Pakistani media covered lot of stories where ruling government of that time was keen to be an active ally of America in war against terrorism. The U.S administration also acknowledged this stance and used Pakistan's route to get in Afghanistan (Anwar, 2013), giving in return a substantial economic and diplomatic support to Pakistan. But Salala attack changed the scenario and made Pakistan to revisit its strategical position by making its working relationship with the U. S more tactical, calculated and premeditated, as the

NATO's attack on Salala check post not only questioned Pakistan's sovereignty but also caused trust deficit between the Pakistan and the U.S. (Malik, 2012).

1.2.2 Burhan Wani Killing (2016)

The Kashmir conflict entered into another phase of history i.e. the advancement of freedom's narrative through social media after Burhan Wani became a militant at the age of 15. Belonging to a highly-educated upper-class family of Kashmir, Burhan Wani joined a militant group after [Indian] police beaten him and his brother "for no reason". Afterward, he openly used the platform of social media, and [unlike militants in the past] he did not hide his identity behind a mask (*BBC* July 11, 2016). The Indian forces killed Wani in a military combat on July 08, 2016 that sparked a series protests across the Kashmir valley, compelling the Indian government to suspend certain account on social media (*Dawn* July21, 2016), and the Kashmir valley went through 51 consecutive days of curfew, which was lifted from most parts of the valley, except few areas on August 29, 2016 (*Hindustan Times*, 2016). However, Wani's fame in media transformed the situation, and now every 2nd Kashmiri is eager to make a public display of his involvement in armed jihad (Nabeel et al., 2016).

This tense situation in Indian held Kashmir, caused after the killing of the digitally connected Kashmiri militant commander, belonged to Hizbul Mujahedeen in Indian Kashmir, triggered [further] hostility between the arch rivals of South Asia- Pakistan and India. This episode, in the context of Pak-India policy on the long-awaited dispute of Kashmir, is considered as the worst period of insurgency since 2010. *The New York Times* in its issue on July 15 (2016) termed the situation in Indian held Kashmir after the killing of Burhan Wani as more violent in its nature in the restive region- Kashmir.

This violent phase of Kashmir was, seemingly, reported more in the context of government's policy in Pakistani media, especially print media that showed various aspects of this event, condemning and framing it as "massacre of citizen" (*The News* July 11, 2016).

1.2.3 Yemen Conflict (2015)

Yemen conflict caused policy uncertainty, when the kingdom of Saudi Arab put a request to Pakistan, asking for military support against the [rebel] Houthi militants (*The Guardian*, 2015). Pakistan has not only close economic and strategic relationship with Saudi Arab but it [Pakistan] also helps Saudi Arabia militarily (Afzal, 2019). The emerging political environment in March, 2015 in Yemen, forced Pakistan into a difficult situation, generated a hot debate on Pakistan's role in Yemen conflict. A visible division was seen between the government and opposition political parties and other stakeholders including the religious groups on the issue to join or not the Saudi-war (Afzal, 2019). This political division made government unable to sort out her clear policy on Yemen conflict, hence, the government convened a joint session of Parliament, where it was decided to remain neutral in this conflict (Hussain, 2020). However, later on, Pakistan not only joined the coalition on December 17, 2015 but its former army chief, "General (ret'd) Raheel Sharif was made the chief of 39-nation Islamic military coalition" (*Dawn* January 6, 2017).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Researchers working on media-foreign policy interaction have found that media support government on the foreign policy related issues, when there is certainty (Robinson, 2000) or there is elite consensus (Bennett, 1990). On the other hand, media give critical or oppositional coverage to those foreign policy related issues on which government policy line is uncertain (Robinson, 2017) or there are elite differences.

However, the role of media on foreign policy related issues become more important when there is a violent conflict, effecting the foreign policy of a country. Hence there is need to investigate that how the foreign policy reporting determines the relationship between the government and media when the foreign policy related issue is violent or non-violent in its nature.

Keeping in view the potential role of media in shaping public perception about policy matters, which determines the nature of relationship between media and government, this study investigates the role of Pakistani media during policy crisis. It is important to investigate that to what extent the media of third world countries, like Pakistan, follow the policy line of their respective government during policy crisis/ violent conflict or they exert critical perspectives that challenge the government's stance on policy issue. To answer this question, this study is an attempt to analyze the media-government relationship in context of policy issues in Pakistan, which has been confronting with its neighbor- India on the issue of Kashmir and other unresolved disputes, and has also been suffering of the U.S -led war on terror, as in the case of Salala check post attack and other incidents on Pak-Afghan border.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

Following are objectives of this study:

1. To investigate the nature of coverage towards government when the foreign policy related issues are violent or non-violent in their nature.
2. To analyze the nature of media coverage towards government in terms of foreign policy related issues when there is policy certainty or uncertainty.

3. To devise a more comprehensive model to analyze media and foreign policy interaction in the Pakistani context.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Many theories have been used by researchers to study the media coverage of the foreign policy related issues. These theories include CNN Effect Theory, Indexing Theory (Bennett, 1990) and Media- Foreign Policy Interaction Model (Robinson, 2000).

First, most of the existing theoretical debate on media coverage of foreign policy matters are mainly focusing to evaluate the elites or governments' role in policy making process as Bennett's Indexing theory (1990) concludes that the policy elites dominate the media coverage on foreign policy related issues as their opinions and views, mostly, determine the pattern of media coverage. However, the available scholarship that supports the indexing theory, points out two conditions (i) if there are differences among policy elites on any issue, the media will exert critical tone in its coverage. However, when there exists elite consensus, the government will be framed favorably in media.

Secondly, Piers Robinson's Media- Policy Interaction Model is mainly focusing to evaluate the news media coverage of the foreign policy on the basis of certainty and uncertainty in the government policy line (Robinson, 2000, 2017).

The available theoretical debate, mostly, evaluates the media and foreign policy interaction on the basis of government's position i.e. a clear policy line of government or ambiguity in its policy line on any foreign policy issue. Whereas, the researchers have usually relied on a single set of themes like certainty and uncertainty or elite consensus and dissensus to evaluate the media coverage of the foreign policy issues and determine that

how and to what extent these themes influence the media coverage of the foreign policy issues. The research studies including Becker, 1977; Bennett, 1990; Kellner, 2007; Livingston, 1997; Robinson, 2000, 2017 lack to evaluate that how and to what extent other factors such as violent and non-violent nature of the foreign policy related issues determine the media and government relationship in the context of foreign policy coverage.

This study is designed to fill this theoretical gap in the available scholarships relating to the media and foreign policy interaction. It contributes in the available scholarship to examine the impact of another set of theme i.e. violent and non-violent nature of policy issue on the media coverage.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter deals with the review of relevant literature regarding media and foreign policy interaction, which is a topic of great concern among academia, researchers, policy makers and media. The issue of possible interaction between media and foreign policy has been thoroughly investigated by many researchers including Bennett & Paltez, 1994; Carpenter, 1995; Friel et al, 2004; Robinson, 2000.

Cohen (1956) conducted a study, *The Press and Foreign Policy*, which is considered as the pioneer study and a base for the research scholarship on media and foreign policy relationship. In his study, he explained the media effects on foreign policy-making process on the basis of media functions and linked four functions of media/ press into foreign policy treatment. Media/press perform functions of communication, interpretation, advocacy and initiation that have effects on foreign policy-making process.

In the light of Cohen's study, it can be argued that media function of communication is twofold i.e. to communicate [foreign policy] contents in shape of routine news and to explain the issue through incorporating the views of experts in the field of foreign policy. However, the interpretation function of media is, one step, ahead of the communication function. This is, deliberately, designed to explain the complex issue of foreign policy, which is aimed at giving some structure to foreign policy issue for an inexpert audience.

The rest of two functions including advocacy and initiation, which Cohen had identified as contributing factors that influence, or, effect the foreign policy-making

process, need thoroughly discussion as these functions challenge, to some extent, the basic function of journalism i.e. objectivity.

However, Cohen concludes that press has an important role in the political process, especially in foreign policy-making as he argues that all these four functions help in creating or shaping the outlines of foreign policy issues on one side and help to provide policy-makers with some image of "public opinion" on the issues on other side, thus [the press] structured the issue (Reese & Lewis, 2009).

Media and foreign policy relationship is a complex phenomenon; however, it is obvious that the role of the media in foreign policy-making is like two-way edge. At one side, it can be considered an active participant in policymaking process but at the other end, it is a transforming instrument for foreign policy makers to mold or manipulate public opinion. But it is not very true all the times, as media is neither a powerful force in foreign policy nor under the control of the government while reporting of foreign policy (Cohen, 1956).

For interactive relation between media and foreign policy, there are different schools of thought exist. One of among, says that media coverage of the mega foreign policy events involves media as a player or participant in the foreign policy process. In the context of mega foreign policy event it is, to large extent, obvious that journalists influence policy, even in some cases, media play its role vigorously and strongly. It seems many high officials can be viewed complaining about sabotaging pre-set foreign policy. That is why public receives information about international events as they happen, leaving little time for policymakers to consider their options. In other words, the prestige and power of a

country or a nation cannot be determined by its military power[only], but by its print media and electronic media influence too (Berry, 1990).

On the other hand, it is also obvious that media coverage about foreign policy is not as simple and straight. Globally, major Western media seem more than fair to presidents and their foreign policies, rather it [Western media] engages to report foreign policy proposals, the policies themselves, and the possible potential outcome. However, it is also very obvious that the media has, in many cases, no direct effects on policy issues, rather its framing of policy issue [coverage] guides the electorates/ masses to approve government's stance or challenge it, hence [indirectly] influencing the policymakers' decisions (Palloshi, 2015).

2.1 Media and Foreign Policy Interaction

The interaction between media and foreign policy is not restricted to some of the factors that are mentioned in above studies, such as manipulating role of media, media exert indirect influence in foreign policy-making and, in some cases, its coverage create problems for policy makers. As some of the studies, also, revealed the diversified nature of literature on media and foreign policy (Arnold, 2011; Bennett & Paltez 1991; Nacos, Shapiro & Isernia, 2000), hence for better understanding of the complex nature of media and foreign policy relationship, there is need of comprehensive scholarship; whereas the scholars should focus and address, even the minor dimensions of this relationship.

In this regard, this study is an attempt, which examines the interaction between media and foreign policy, not only in the context of developing countries such as Pakistan, but also in a broader frame of reference, where the researcher evaluates the approach of media towards foreign policy related issues at the time of conflicts, especially in the context

of *conflict at home* and *conflict at distance*. It is worth to investigate the differences, if any, in media coverage of the foreign policy related issues/ events that passed through violent and non-violent phases, and having their nature as *conflict at home* as in case of Kashmir conflict and Salala attack or *conflict at distance* as in case of Yemen conflict.

Existing scholarship on media and foreign policy interaction, ranging from CNN effects to the studies that have been conducted in the framework of Media- Policy Interaction Model, highlight different scholarly views on the subject matter. Hence, the researcher, keeping in view the diversified nature of the interaction between media and foreign policy, classified the available scholarship in different phases to thoroughly investigate the relationship between media and foreign policy related issues.

2.2 Humanitarian Crisis- Emergence of CNN Effects

Technological development in the field of mass media led the foundation of 24/7 television's transmissions in many parts of the world, especially in the United States (U.S.) in the decade of 1980. Of course, the world witnessed revolution in the field of mass media, eventually the television channels in developed world inserted their influences in many fields of life including the international politics and foreign policy related issues.

Ted Turner established CNN (Central News Network) in 1980. CNN is a credible name of global geo-political communications and news coverage as it is the first one news network that has been broadcasting 24/7 news around the world since 1980. A crucial moment in history of CNN's recognition came in 1990s when it reshaped the history of news coverage as proving itself war-communicator. The 1990-91 Gulf War was an opportunity for CNN to become a game-changer in global communications and politics.

Such news coverage, which had its influence on foreign policy, especially at crisis time, is known as the CNN effect (Bennett, 1990).

Prior to the CNN effect Bahador (2009) conducted a study Vietnam war, which he called “television war” and argued that the consistent images of war and casualty [has]made a deep impression on public attitudes. However, the 24/7 television channels caused deeper impact on foreign policy, especially at the time of war.

The famine crisis in Somalia (1990-1991), war at Bosnia (1995) and war at Kosovo (1999) made CNN a prominent actor again. At this time CNN became the striking example of how the media can influence local, national and internal politics and policy matters. Owing to this crucial role of the CNN during crisis, the scholars argue that the news can make policy is the fundamental notion of the literature on ‘CNN effect’ (Robinson.1999). However, the CNN effect lacks the empirical evidence, and hence it is difficult to conclude that the real-time coverage of CNN compelled the US government to intervene in Somalia and Iraq at the beginning of 1990 decade. The research studies on the CNN effect lacks uniform results, therefore the scholarship, in the broader context of CNN effect, doesn’t justify the media influence on the foreign policy-making and foreign affairs. Rather, the results of the scholarly studies on the CNN effect are either contradictory to each other or confusing.

Studying the interaction between media and foreign policy in the broader context of CNN effect many scholars including Cohen,1994; Mandelbaum, 1994; Livingston & Eachus, 1995; Shattuck,1996; Mermin, 1999; Riley, 1999; Wheeler, 2000; & Robinson, 2000 presented different point of views on the role of media in foreign policy-making. It is argued that television, through its daily coverage of the hungry children in Somalia,

compelled the [U.S.] government to intervene in Somalia on humanitarian reasons (Cohen, 1994).

Similarly, Cohen (1994) and Shaw (1996) argued in their studies that the U.S. policy makers were forced by coverage of [global] television to intervene in Iraq in 1991 with a basic reason of saving the Kurds while on the same analogy the U.S. intervened in Somalia in 1992 to help people, who were suffering of massive shortage of food. However, the role of media in foreign policy matters, in the context of 24/7 news coverage of CNN, was criticized by foreign policy experts, and some of the scholars. It is argued that media forced the U.S. for intervention in Somalia and then, it framed stories to help the U.S. withdrawal from Somalia, Shattuck (1996) called this role of media as the “curve effect”.

The early, to some extent the immediate, effect of the news coverage of CNN on humanitarian crisis in Somalia and Northern Iraq heated up debate among academia and government officials, especially the foreign policy ‘experts’ while criticising the CNN role urged on the need for elite control of the foreign policy making process (Robinson.1999). However, from academia circle questions were raised that either the intervention policy of the U.S. was a result of the media coverage, which influenced the policy matter of the government or there were other elements who used media for putting pressure on government. Livingston & Eachus (1995) argued that “the U.S. intervention in Somalia was the result of diplomatic and bureaucratic operations, with news coverage coming in response to those decisions” their arguments on the U.S. decision to intervene [militarily] in Somalia indicate that there might be a little or weak influence of media on foreign policy matters. Similarly, Mermin (1999) argued that the U.S. intervention in Somalia doesn’t

provide evidence of the television's power that compelled the government rather it is evidence of the government's power of using/ mobilizing television.

In another study, the researcher narrated a similar argument, testifying that leaders set the media's agenda in cases of Somalia and Rwanda (Riley, 1999). Unlike Riley's study some of researchers confirm the effect of media on foreign policy, but at minimal level. In this context, the Wheeler (2000) and Robinson (2001) argued that in both cases- intervention in Somalia and Kurdistan- the media had a "supportive" or a "weak" effect.

It is also an unveiled fact that the mass media coverage gets more obvious when foreign policy goals and policies are not much clear even subject to controversy. At that time of trial, the impact of media coverage gets more significant and can be easily assess based on coverage that media give to foreign policy issues. The war-time foreign policy or human- crisis time foreign policy gets more folds of public opinion, elite outlook and country's priorities. Here media can be used as an influential tool to move forward to have foreign policy formulation. Sometimes the portrayed angle of foreign policy seems very weedy and sometimes looks very unrealistic. The media shows leading stance of foreign policy as resolution to any conflict and sometimes a true guide for conflicting foreign policy issues. But, such cases lead devastating effects. These effects of massive coverage, instant communications and time pressure created by media push policymakers to make decisions without sufficient time to carefully consider options (Mueller, 1973).

2.3 Government, Political Elites and Media Coverage of Foreign Policy

Contrary to the CNN effect, some other studies found that during an international crisis the media, especially media in the U.S. and U.K. usually follow and support the governments' foreign policy guidelines (Bennett, 1993; Eytan Gilboa, 2003; Reese &

Lewis, 2009). The researchers, who supported the CNN effect, linked the media effect on foreign policy with the development of technologies, arguing that the advent of new technologies in the field of communication led media to a powerful platform, where it uses its power to shape, define and, even, determine the policy responses to foreign policy events. This argument is not only supporting the discussion of the “CNN effect” but also reflects that the constant flow of [international] media has the ability [to play its role] in the field of international affairs (Gilboa & Eytan 2005).

However, diverse opinions have been expressed by different researchers in the scholarly discussion on the role of media’s influence on foreign policy issues; wherein some of the researchers argue that the mass media have little or no influence in the foreign policy-making. However, they argue that journalists, usually, perform their duties within the governmental boundaries of foreign policy, and hence they are inclined to support the policy objectives or extended their help to government in achieving its foreign policy goals. The media, therefore, perform function to safeguard the policy decisions of the dominant elites, and hence its role is no more than to “manufacture consent” (Robinson, 2001).

The media research studies on the CNN Effect reveal that CNN Effect is not a game-changer at all. There are many evidences, which ensure that media cannot influence foreign policy, one of the leading theory /hypotheses is the indexing theory. Basically, the “indexing hypothesis” predicts that news content on political and public policy issues only follow generally the given parameters of elite debate around the globe. Bennett (1990), the main originator of indexing hypothesis, points out two conditions that determine the nature of media coverage of policy issue. The first conditions “elite consensus’ provide

policy makers to dominate the generated debate on policy issues, however, the second condition “elite dissensus’ leads media to generate/trigger critical coverage.

For Kosovo crisis in 1999, an extensive media study has applied the indexing hypothesis to forty-two foreign policy crises and found the “indexing hypothesis” holds true stance as compare to CNN effect (Robinson, 2000). Indexing hypothesis, much close to framing theory, gives different stance from media agenda-setting models as Lance Bennett’s (1990) indexing hypothesis asserts that official debate sets the parameters of media debate, whereas agenda-setting hypothesis deals with active agenda set by media owners. It also tells that mass media professionals use government elites as official sources but also gives their own opinions as well. Media professionals tend to index news to give multiple shades of official debate. However, indexing hypothesis gets better reflection in case of crisis situation, especially when elites are involved in such crisis.

The critics of media argue that a limited and a restricted role has been playing by media in shaping of foreign policy- its role is to communicate the likes and dislikes or goals of [political] elites- In case of Vietnam, the government of U.S. free-censorship environment to its media, which was used for the fulfilment of U.S. interests associated with war. However, after media reports the U.S. government, initially, sent its troops to South Vietnam to aid. In the war hit Vietnam media of the U.S. and the local media of North Vietnam framed the war with propagated diverse opinions to serve their different purposes and goals (Zaller & Chiu, 1996).

2.4 Critique on Elites’ Influence over Media

The role of elites in determining the media coverage of foreign policy issues has been criticized by different scholars including Althaus at el 1996; Entman,2003; Hallin

,1994 & Wolfsfeld, 1997 on the ground that this notion challenges the basic norms of journalism and curtailed the role of journalists, who most often, independently, select frames of their news stories. There is scholarly discussion on the control of [political] elites over flow of information during the process of policy-making, however it is argued that despite of the carefully attempts of the state agencies to control the flow of information to achieve the desire goals of government, it seems difficult to predict or proceed events as planned [by government] (Bar, 2016).

Media, in many cases, counter the elites' stances, and inclined to professional norms of accuracy, balance and [objectivity], hence it reflects that media is not restricted to elite sources, patriotism and [political] ideology (Robinson, Goddard, Parry & Murray, 2009). The elites' stances on the issue of foreign policy matter has often been challenged by media when the policy decisions of government caused human casualties. Hallin (2005) argue that when the allied bombing of the Amiriya air raid shelter caused large scale loss of civilian during the 1991 Gulf War, the situation went beyond the control of U.S. officials. In such circumstances the media, reportedly, found more focusing on human's suffering instead of advancing the elites' stance on the incident.

When foreign policy matters are passing through critical phase, especially war that causes human losses, the media role went beyond the gatekeeping process and the journalists prefer to present the competing views in their reports. Journalists, most of the time, presented challenging perspectives of Gulf War and [they]were often the initiators of the critical viewpoints (Althaus at el, 1996). In the study he also differentiates the end discourse from context discourse, arguing that the end discourse is designed to justify the outcome for policy while the context discourse is designed to explain the political context

of the foreign policy. The researcher found that journalists, most often, initiate critical coverage than merely framing the issue in the context of elite consensus.

It can be concluded that elites have their control and/or influence over the flow of information regarding foreign policy-making, but it is not true in all cases. Many events during wartime including human casualties, and even the incidents of friendly fire are beyond the control of government, and may, possibly, curtail the government's influence over media (Livingston and Bennett, 2003).

2.5 The Issue of Certainty and Uncertainty

It is very open debate now, in this globalized era, that there has been a talk about role of media in policy formation as public is not, just, limited to one country. Everyone is now globalized citizen, so the impact of news media content is also globalized now. In recent years, apart from scholars, every [global] citizen is needed to understand the relationship between the media and global politics, which has become more pressing and demanding. Many commentators attribute enormous power to news media, claiming they have the ability to *'move and shake governments'* (Wolfsfeld & Gadi, 1997).

Robin Brown (1999) while studying the relationship between media and politics identified two types of tendencies among researchers, who study the media coverage and its impact on politics including the process of foreign policy formation. The researchers, Robin argues, either overestimate or underestimate media impact. He argues that researchers, who are more interested in studying the media power in politics [and foreign policy], using *media-centric* approach and are tended to reach 'radical conclusion' regarding media power. On other hand, the researchers, who are using *world politics-*

centric approach to study the existing actual aspects of politics, reach to more modest conclusion.

Taking Brown's insight as a starting point of critical research study, Pier Robinson evaluated the problems of media-centric and world politics-centric researches, which led the researchers to divergent conclusion about the power of media. The researcher suggested some ways that help in avoiding the tricks of politics-centric and media-centric when studying the relationship between media and world politics (Cohen, 1994).

Furthering his study Robinson (2000) presented his Media- Policy Interaction Model, suggesting that media and policy have an interactive relationship. The mutual interaction of media-foreign policy gets a clear expression in the debate over the CNN effect that claims to have apparent ability of news media coverage, which can drive western intervention, during humanitarian crises. Although it is not always true as politicians use media for their own political gains. They want to use the media to assert the importance of news media coverage in shaping policy responses to humanitarian crises. Unlike the CNN effect, it is claimed in Robinson's model that there is the possibility of media 'taking side' during elite debates over policy formulation . At the one end, the media affects policy shifts and in return, policy dynamics determines news media contents.

Evaluating his model, it can be argued that media role in foreign policy-making is subject to the nature of policy- "certainty or uncertainty". When the issue is certain the media takes the side of government or foreign policy elites, however; when the foreign policy issue is uncertain or there is lacking of a clear stance of government then the media takes oppositional line. However, the nature of foreign policy issue such is certainty and uncertainty may determine the nature of media coverage, but would lack some other

factors, for instance, functions of journalism that may lead journalists to take oppositional line, even, when foreign policy issue is certain.

2.6 Prevailing Political Environment

Political environment is a significant factor that determines the mode of media coverage, especially when the environment is loaded with emotional sentiments (Gadarian, 2010), whereas the media has [due] influence over policy debate. In this regard, Pier Robinson explains, the possible, media influence during conflict in following lines;

“The theoretical models can be used, as demonstrated when examining the Vietnam example, to reconcile contrasting claims regarding the role of the media. With respect to the frequency and significance of media influence, the policy–media interaction model would suggest that media influence is likely to be a frequent occurrence within the context of elite debate over policy” (Robinson, 2001, p. 541).

After 9/11 incident when the U.S. foreign policy towards South Asia, especially Afghanistan, was charged with emotions and revenge, the U.S. media was tended to highlight the military related themes, which were deliberately designed to support and justify the U.S. government’s policies regarding military strikes. In this connection, the inflammatory frames were used to pave support for military action such as “America Strikes Back” and “America’s New War” (Gadarian, 2010). In another researcher study, the researcher argues that the U.S media, both print and electronic, framed Saddam Hussain as direct threat to world, especially the U.S. and that he can use mass distraction weapon on his rival- America (Kellner, 2007). Some of the studies indicate that the U.S. media approach towards foreign policy is uncertain and it looks at the issues on the basis of prevailing political environment in the country (Becker, 1977; Kaufmann, 2004).

2.7 Framing the Policy Issues of Other Countries

In case of direct relation of a policy issue with any country, for instance the U.S., then the foreign policy decisions would be managed by the [presidential] administration (Tallman & Mckerns, 2000). Thus, the media, in such particular scenario, give prominence coverage to political elites or government's stance on the issue of foreign policy. But, when the foreign policy matters have not direct impact on the home country of media rather their government involve in the issue for its political gains, the media coverage would, possibly, be framed critical. In a study the researcher argues that the Indian and Chinese media are watchful and critical toward each other when they cover the foreign policy issues relating to both countries (Livingston, 1997). The researcher examines the nationalistic approach in Chinese newspaper- *Global Times* in its coverage relating to India, where the paper framed the Sino- Indian relationship in the anti-Indian line.

Similarly, different studies conducted on the U.S. foreign policy indicate that American press is critical toward some of its government' policy, especially about Pakistan and other developing countries. Banyan (2012) argues that the New York Times opposed the U.S. foreign policy towards Pakistan [lacking direct impact on internal affairs of the U.S]. Similarly, another study on media and policy relations found that the U.S media 'contradictorily' reported their government's policy towards Pakistan. Media has been found supportive at sometimes while it [U.S. media] opposed a certain issue regarding Pakistan at another span of time (Becker, 1977).

2.8 Sum Up Debate on Media Influence on Foreign Policy

There is different point of views of the researchers regarding the role of media in the foreign policy-making, as some researchers including Bennett (1990, 2007) and Wolfsfeld (1997) argue that media role is limited to the government's guidelines and elites' debate on the issue of foreign policy, while others argue that media is not a silent observer, rather it is playing a vital role in the process of policy-making, and hence, sometimes, the media became an active participant in the process (Schnell, 2001; Weible, at el ., 2012). Studying the relationship of the press and American foreign policy-making, the researcher argues that press, itself, is composed of different people having different functions in the process of foreign policy-making, and thus, the press can have different effects (Salaita, 2012).

Hence, it is not so simple to say that media professionals index the elite debate on the issue of foreign policy, however it is a complex phenomenon and needs further studies. In this regard, Althaus at el., (1996) revised the indexing hypothesis while studying the U.S.-Libya crisis of 1985–1986. The researchers argue that journalists, most often, are contacting or approaching foreign sources to incorporate their opinions that might be contrary to the dominant policy position, and hence, this [professional] approach of journalist marginalizes some stances of the U.S. elites on foreign policy issues. Similarly, the social media also provided space for countering the elites' stance [s] on political issue, hence it [social media] formed of alternate 'public spheres. For instance, Bosch, et al., (2020) while exploring the potential role of Facebook in African' politics, argued that when using social media for political discussion it will lead to "digital activism", compelling the politicians to keep themselves connected with people/ their potential voters.

The journalists, who keep their vigilant eyes on many social, economic, political and other issues of human interests, are not passive communicators to convey the elite point of view on the issue of foreign policy matters to their audience. They have their important role in communicating the stances of government and political elites on the issues of foreign policy, but their role as influencing factor in this regard cannot be ignored. Althaus et al. (1996) viewed the mass media is an important strategic actor in the foreign policy outcome, which, the researchers argue, can play a critical role together with citizens and elites to shape the public's attitudes about foreign policy.

The complexity of foreign policy issue and its direct or indirect impact on a country is a contributing factor, which determine the mode of media coverage of the foreign policy related issue, especially during wartime. The embedded journalism practice with military units during Vietnam war, shaped the media coverage, which went beyond of restating the [U.S.] government messages (Hallin, 1989). However, other researchers identified some more factors including the angles of news story, culture, personal beliefs or point of view of reporters and reporting pattern. They argue that these factors, when combine, construct news that become images of reality for audience (Tallman & Mckerns, 2000).

2.9 Adding to Existing Literature

After studying the different available scholarship relevant to this study, the researcher identified the following gaps and this study is conducted to fill them;

Some of the studies indicate that the U.S media approach towards foreign policy is uncertain and it looks at the issues on the basis of prevailing (political) environment in the country (Althaus et al., 1996; Becker, 1977; Kaufmann, 2004; Kellner, 2007). While some other studies, as mentioned in introduction of this study, found that during an international

crisis the media, especially media in the U.S. and the U.K. usually worked in line with governments' foreign policy guidelines (Bennett, 1993; Carpenter, 1995; Friel et al., 2004; Livingston, 1997; Reese & Lewis, 2009)

Similarly, Robinson (2000) found that the U.S. media, especially from the incident of 9/11 till the U.S attack on Afghanistan, was loaded with warlike frames/ themes such as "America Strikes Back" and "America's New War" that were aimed at justifying the Bush's military policies. Many theories have been used by researchers to study the media coverage of the foreign policy related issues. These theories include CNN Effect Theory, Indexing Theory (Bennett, 1990), and Media- Foreign Policy Interaction Model (Robinson, 2000).

Theoretically speaking, most of the available literatures on media coverage of foreign policy matters are mainly focusing to evaluate the elites or governments' role in policy making process as Bennett's Indexing Theory (1990) concludes that the coverage of foreign affairs in the media will reflect the opinions and views of the foreign policy elite. Whenever there is elite dissensus on a topic, this will be reflected in the press as critical coverage. However, when there is elite consensus on a topic, critical voices will normally be marginalized. Another theorist, Piers Robinson in his model of media- policy interaction evaluates the news media coverage of the foreign policy on the basis of certainty and uncertainty in the government policy line (Robinson, 2000).

The available scholarships, referring to the significance of this study, mostly evaluate the media and foreign policy interaction on the basis of government's position i.e. a clear policy line of government or ambiguity in its policy line on any foreign policy issue, whereas the researchers have usually relied on a single set of themes like certainty and

uncertainty or elite consensus and dissensus to evaluate the media coverage of the foreign policy issues and determine that how and to what extent these themes influence the media coverage of the foreign policy issues. The research studies, mentioned in this chapter, mostly, lack to evaluate that how and to what extent other factors such as violent and non-violent nature of the foreign policy related issues determine the media and government relationship in the context of foreign policy coverage.

In the above-mentioned studies, it was examined that media coverage focused on government policy line and they (media) looked at issues on the basis of government policy guidelines. Research studies indicated that media towed what the government set to promote its policy goals. However, this study is designed to analyze the media coverage of the foreign policy issues in Pakistani media on the basis of prevailing scenarios/ nature of violence (violent or non-violent nature of issues) and political environment/ policy certainty (certainty or uncertainty in government policy line) in which issues relating to Pakistan's foreign policy towards its neighboring and/ or strategically allied countries, such as India, the U.S and Saudi Arab, are being covered.

This study fills the gap in the available literature through analyzing the Pakistani media coverage of the foreign policy issues. Previous studies in the field are mainly focused on media approach in the developed countries, covering conflicts of other countries or it can be argued that the western media, mostly covered, the "*issues at distance*", which had no direct impact on their countries. Hence, critical approach of western media on policy issues is, mainly, generated in the context of "*issues at distance*" while this study rigorously examines the media approach in Pakistan, where media cover the "*issues at home*" such as Kashmir conflict and war on terror, which have direct impact on Pakistan

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and its policy. Hence, the study contributes another set of themes [issue at distance and issue at home], which effect or direct the media approach towards policy related issues.

2.10 Media and Foreign Policy Interaction: Theoretical Perspective

The theoretical perspective of mutual interaction of media and foreign policy is very rich in terms of media coverage of the foreign policy related issues. The insights of CNN Effect Theory, the glimpses of indexing theory and inputs of media-foreign policy interaction model can be helpful to understand some theoretical aspects of mutual interaction of media and foreign policy.

2.10.1 CNN Effect Theory

Ted Turner established CNN (central news network) in 1980. CNN is a credible name of global geo-political communications and news coverage as it is very first news network that started to broadcast 24/7 news around the world since 1980. It has been very favorite channel among its viewers but a crucial moment in history of CNN's recognition came in 1990s when it reshaped the history of news coverage as proving itself war-communicator. The 1990-91 Gulf War was an opportunity for CNN to become a game-changer in global communications and politics. This war established CNN as one of the "big three" American networks due to the impressive reporting the network offered. It was the only news outlet broadcasting from inside Iraq during the American bombing campaign. Such news coverage and media influence on foreign policy especially at crisis time is known as the CNN effect (Robinson, 2000).

The famine crisis in Somalia (1990-1991), war at Bosnia (1995) and war at Kosovo (1999) made CNN a prominent actor again. At this time CNN became the striking example of how the media can influence local, national and international politics and policy matters. This CNN effect made people rethink and re-explore how the media war gets more significant in crisis time. Even politicians believed that the US defeat in Vietnam is potential outcome of critical television coverage of CNN however many others think in collapse of the Soviet Union in 20th century, CNN's coverage played fostering role by getting an adversary or mouth piece of government foreign policies. Viewers of CNN think CNN as news network has a major role in global politics by creating its influence over target governments' decisions regarding foreign policy. This CNN effect can also be known as "CNN Complex", or "CNN curve", or "CNN Factor" (Bahador, 2009).

Basically, the rationale behind the "CNN Effect" is its real-time communication cycle that influences decision-making process of policy makers by giving multiple perspectives of one event to public. Such orientations of global events really get more global when media makes them global. Such impact may support the arguments that the more effective the CNN effect the less the policy control on the part of policy makers. It indicates actual power of the media. It includes everything from the impact that graphic pictures of human suffering on television, which makes public feel hard for policy makers. It drags the attention of officials to take quicker decisions as public wants so. The forceful forcing of media really creates mess for officials to take quicker rather wrong decisions in response to foreign events involving (or not) U.S. interests.

Being a significant broker in politics, media can reshape policy. It is very true about CNN as it has been very successful to get politician's say and leaders' fascination. It

resulted into prevailing the notion of media-image, idea that television can do /undo everything in global politics and foreign policy. The CNN Effect has been attributed as tool of transformation for power-game of international politics. Although for liberals and human rights activists, CNN effect is known as voice of humanity as it speaks about humanitarian grounds. This stance becomes indicative way-out in which media can open up the traditionally conservative and non-interventionist orientation of foreign policy moves by mega political powers. It also makes CNN a superpower in the world of foreign policy and international relations. This effect is also coined with media-democracy, mediacracy, media-politik, tele-democracy, and medialism (Hulme, 2001).

There is another phase of CNN Effect is that politicians themselves use media for the propagation of their “confused ideas” regarding policy matters of ruling political party. Therefore, politicians or high official use of media to send messages to their counterparts in another locality or in same locality by little alteration of standard/planned diplomatic communication methods. It is not just true for CNN (Cable News Network) only but all mass media that have a global reach, can do this job so it seems a collective and shared impact of CNN effect while giving global real-time news coverage. It is also believed that CNN effect is taken as unquestionable truth and many others take it is just a broadcast medium. Of course, it is something beyond of this as it involves more complexity than simple cause-and-effect. Basically, such vast-ranging effect attributes huge amount of influence that real-time media have on both elite policymakers and public opinion. CNN Effect, at one end links with government officials and at the second end links with global audience. The claim of the CNN Effect is that at various points in time it is just a media

which leads dance among parties and they respond accordingly with respect to ruling government, public sphere and media's initiatives (E Gilboa, 2005).

2.10.2 Indexing Theory

The media research studies on the CNN Effect reveal that CNN Effect is not a game-changer at all. There are many evidences, which ensures that CNN effect cannot influence foreign policy, one of the leading theories is the indexing theory (Bennett, 1990), which was, later, clarified by Bennett, Lawrence and Livingston (2007). Basically, the "indexing hypothesis" predicts that news content on political and public policy issues only follow generally the given parameters of elite debate around the globe. According to Bennett (1990), the main originator of indexing hypothesis claimed that when political elites got engaged in a general agreement about an issue, the resulted news coverage of that issue tends to reflect that consensus but when political elites disagree, resulted news coverage creates more confusion. It tries hard to fall more or less within the contours of their disagreement. In other words, this hypothesis suggests that the media are a tool in the hands of policymakers. For Kosovo crisis in 1999, an extensive media study has applied the indexing hypothesis to forty-two foreign policy crises and found the "indexing hypothesis" holds true stance as compare to CNN effect (Zingarelli, 2010).

It also involves new areas of media research including multiple on-going changes in media systems with respect to fragmenting audiences. It is also linked with proliferating media channels, which gives that impact of market dynamics into ever-thinner segments of viewership. Such indexing of news content makes audience more confused as it allows target audience to tailor their media environment by their interactive feedback with its browser bookmarks, "favorite" channels, RSS feeds and more. So indexing hypothesis

focus over the rationale that when and how media's agenda can be set and Who or what sets the news media's agenda? now with fragmenting audiences and proliferating media it is highly matter of concern for indexing hypothesis to argue that who controls the media, or rather, what controls the media? Although there are few specialized mediums which cater to unique interests of audience by enabling electronic cocooning.

The Indexing hypothesis further argues mechanisms related to controlling the media. It gives different stance from media agenda-setting models as Lance Bennett's (1990) indexing hypothesis asserts that official debate sets the parameters of media debate whereas agenda-setting hypothesis deals with active agenda set by media owners. Indexing hypothesis tells policy makers and official debate also sets the parameters of much of public debate by print and broadcast media. It also tells that mass media news professionals overwhelmingly use government elites as official sources but also gives its own opinion as well. Media professionals tend to index news to give multiple shades of official debate. However, indexing hypothesis gets better reflection in case of crisis situation with respect to elite conflict at global scenario. It also gives insight about disagreements between factions of political elites and media coverage. It really creates mess and serious issues but decline of such issue related to news coverage does not leads to any potential solution or resolution of a problem. However, such issue can disappear in case of setting any formal agenda or getting input from official elites by stopping them and making any hyper discussion about burning issues.

2.10.3 Media- Foreign Policy Interaction Model

Irrespective of CNN effect and Indexing hypothesis, the media- foreign policy interaction model gives another perspective of news media coverage and its effects over

public opinion. It states media affects foreign policy and in return major foreign policy targets reshapes media content so it is two-way effect model where media might play a key role in influencing political outcomes and political set-backs gives input to media to react and to cover. It is very open debate now, in this globalized era, there has been a talk about role of media for public policy formation as public is now just limited to one country. Everyone is now globalized citizen so impact of news media content is also globalized now. In recent years, there is also a need of every global citizen to understand the relationship between the media and global politics which has become more pressing and demanding. Many commentators attribute enormous power to news media, claiming they have the ability to *'move and shake governments'* (Zaller & Chiu, 1996).

The mutual interaction of media-foreign policy gets a clear expression in the debate over the CNN effect that claims to have apparent ability of news media coverage that can drive western intervention based over during humanitarian crises. Although it is not always true as politicians use media for their own political gains. They want to use the media to assert the importance of news media coverage in shaping policy responses to humanitarian crises. However, media-foreign policy model suggest that media and policy have an interactive relationship. At the one end media affects policy shifts and in return, policy dynamics determines news media content. Although there is no doubt that policy makers have their effects over media. This model argues that how one can deny the possibility of the media shaping or influencing government policy-making as in totalizing formulation, it is believed that media works to mobilize support for the policy preferences.

The participative role of media for making political decisions has been a hot topic for every-day media talk. Although, media organizations try hard to maintain impartiality

in most political and governmental issues but still by taking a strong stance, media shows its “Yes” or “No” about prevailing public policy or foreign policy matters. However, it rarely happens during the time when a very oppressive and clearly wrongful act is committed or about to be committed. In such critical situation, media takes a stand and create a venue for public discourses by promoting noises and loud dissents. Moreover, regarding mainstream media sphere, media is being considered as less affective with respect to independent influence on elite policy debates over foreign policy (B. Cohen, 1994).

The prevailing conceptual understanding of media in today’s globalized era, is closely linked with dynamics of state relations by taking a position of better recognition of importance of media’s content re-shaping and its determination for political outcomes. It leads towards a goal, which offers the beginnings of a theory of media–state relations providing a two-way understanding of the direction of influence between the media and world politics. Basically, the pivotal role of news media coverage that can reshape government policy is not very simple. It can lead towards having a consent theory but multiple empirical and theoretical misconceptions can hinder the way of manufacturing a consent theory.

As literature reviews shows that there is no any framework for any general theory of foreign policy which can guide any researcher to understand well dynamics of foreign policy so media coverage of foreign policy is also gives multiple dimensions. Moreover, it is also obvious that most of literature revolved around media coverage of western foreign policy issues. For 3rd world country or under-developed countries like Pakistan, there is

much room of research to check actual aspects of media coverage about foreign policy issues.

It is also a bitter reality that this area requires more attention as without a general theory, it seems very hard area of disciplined scientific inquiry. As a researcher there is need of having an empirical data to get academic attention to fit it into the framework of a general theory of foreign policy with respect to media coverage. Moreover, many research studies lack to evaluate that how and to what extent other factors such as violent and non-violent nature of the foreign policy related issues determine the media and government relationship in the context of foreign policy coverage (Bennett, 1993; Carpenter, 1995; Friel et al., 2004; Livingston, 1997; Mermin, 1999).

There are also some gaps, which put a serious question mark over analysis of foreign policy media coverage that mostly put strong emphasis on the process itself and the determinants that influence foreign policy. Many research studies revealed that media gives more coverage during crisis time, but not at the peace time foreign policy concerns. This is why there is need to conduct an extensive research to address research gaps highlighted.

2.14 Towards Contextual Model of Media- Foreign Policy Interaction

This research study mainly aims to examine the media coverage of the foreign policy issues in different perspectives i.e. the policy certainty, nature of issues and the themes of '*issue at distance*' and '*issue at home*'. At the end, this study proposes a model ('*Towards contextual model of media- foreign policy interaction*') in order to determine the Pakistani media relationship with the foreign policy related matters by evaluating the nature of media coverage on the policy making process.

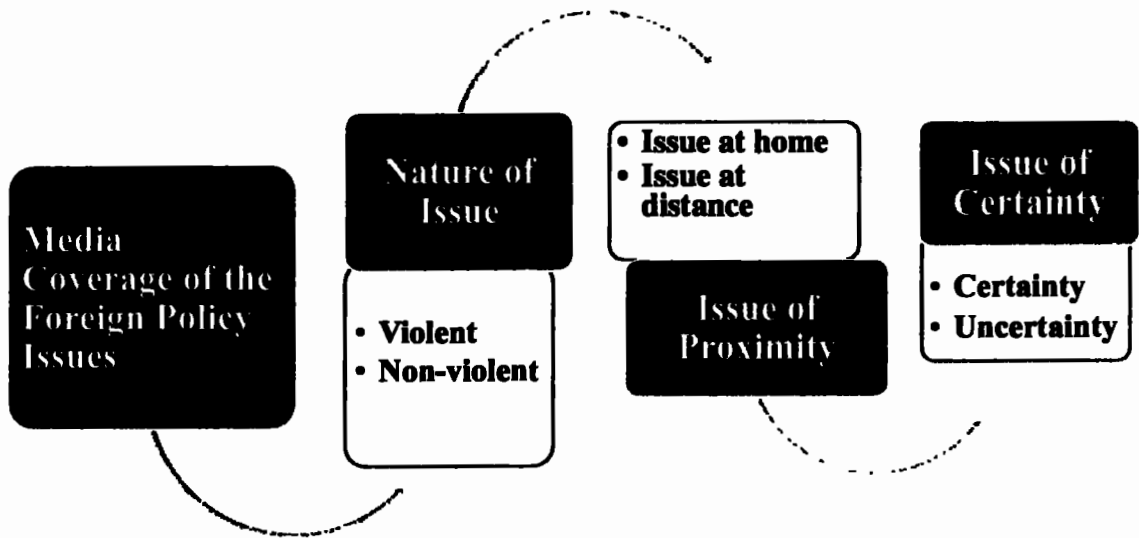


Fig.1. Towards Contextual Model of Media- Foreign Policy Interaction

Table 1. The inter-connectivity of variables of the contextual model is as following

Media Coverage of the Foreign Policy Issues		
Nature of Issue & Proximity	Issue of Certainty	
	Certainty	Uncertainty
Violent	[Possibly] Supportive →	[Predominantly] Mixed/ Neural ↔
Non-violent	[Predominantly] Mixed / Neural ↔	[Possibly] Oppositional ←
Issue at home	[Possibly] → Supportive <i>*would, more possibly, be supportive, if the issue is violent in its nature also.</i>	[Predominantly] Mixed/ Neural ↔
Issue at distance	[Predominantly] Mixed/ Neural ↔	[Possibly] Oppositional ← <i>*would, more possibly, be oppositional, if the [policy] issue causes human casualties.</i>

2.15 Model Determinants

The contextual model shows that media supports government when there is certainty in government policy line and the nature of issue is violent. It also highlights that media coverage can be, possibly, oppositional when there is uncertainty in government policy line and the nature of issue is non-violent. However, the media approach towards policy issues would, predominantly, be mixed/neutral when the nature of issue is violent but the government policy line is not clear. Similarly, the media coverage would, more likely, be mixed/neutral when the government policy line is certain but the nature of issue is non-violent in its nature. These determinants of the above model are, closely, in line with the arguments of John Galtung & Fischer (2013), whereas they classified four types of direct and four types of structural violence, identifying the four basics of violence [that may determine the nature of media coverage] i.e. (i) survival that leads the media to focus on death and mortality as in the case of Salala check post attack, (ii) wellness that provokes the media to focus on miseries and injuries as in the case of Yemen conflict, (iii) freedom that incite the media to highlight more the repression or tyranny as in the case of Kashmir issue and (iv) identity that motivates the media to alienation or hostility as in the case of all the three selected issues of this study.

The [proposed] model suggests another set of themes i.e. *issue at home* and *issue at distance* that, possibly, effect the media coverage. Discussing this set of themes in light of John Galtung (1967) classification of violence i.e. direct and indirect violence, where he argued that the direct violence can be occurred when there is an actor [including government] that commits the violence of highly consequential while the indirect violence is no longer important as there is, usually, not involved actor having its powerful influence.

More likely to the Galtung's arguments about direct and indirect violence, this contextual model adds the impact of violent and non-violent nature of violence with the nature of issue i.e. issue at home [putting direct impact] and issue at distance [causing indirect impact] shows that media supports government as an actor and its policy [line] when there is policy certainty in government's circle on the issue at home. Particularly, the media would, more possibly, be supportive, if the issue is violent in its nature as in the case of Kashmir conflict and Salala check post attack.

However, the media approach towards policy issue [at home] would, predominantly, be mixed/neutral when the issue is violent but there prevails policy uncertainty in government's policy line on the issue [at home]. It can be argued that the policy uncertainty, which is more likely a result of internal politics, provides space to media to give oppositional/ critical coverage, however no media can [openly] afford to be critical when they are covering the foreign policy issue that mostly considers as security issue in Pakistan (Hussain and Lynch, 2019).

The model, referring to *issue at distance*, shows the media will, predominantly, apply the neutral/ mixed approach towards policy issue [at distance] when the government has a clear policy line. However, the media will, possibly, report the issue [at distance] critically when the issue is passing through a stage of policy uncertainty. Particularly, more possible oppositional coverage of media will happen when the issue [at distance] causes human casualties as in the case of Yemen conflict, where oppositional coverage was triggered due to policy uncertainty as well as human casualties in armed conflict that was started in March, 2015.

2.16 Research Question and Hypotheses

Based on the above suggested model and its determinants, following research question and hypotheses are formulated to conduct this study.

R.Q. What is the distribution of key frames and slants in the selected issues?

H1: Kashmir conflict having high policy certainty is reported in more supportive mode as compare to Salala attack and Yemen conflict

H2: The violence-oriented media coverage is dominated in 'deadly incident' Salala attack as compare to the Yemen and Kashmir conflicts.

H3: There is significant interaction between the policy certainty and the nature of violence in shaping the nature of media coverage.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The aim of this chapter is to provide the related methodology to analyze the media and foreign policy interaction in the context of Pakistan, where the nature of coverage in Pakistani media has been studied. In the first part of the chapter, the story actors and subjects are identified and discussed in more detail. The purpose of this section is to make stories coding on the basis of story actors and subjects. Stories are coded as neutral and/or oppositional for the Pakistani government if it lacks immediate response to the issues of foreign policy related issues, or it fails to give a clear stance on the issue[s]. Moreover, this section discusses the variables of the study such as policy certainty, uncertainty, violent and non-violent nature of issues, issue at home and issue at distance, which allow the researcher to assess which voices are accessed and the autonomy of reporting at the time of conflict. This section also discusses the media coverage of Salala check post attack, the issue of Kashmir and the Yemen conflict. In the second part of the chapter, methodology is proposed to check the strength of the data.

The study of Tumber and Palmer (2004) focuses on assessing the news pattern of U.K to examine the level of autonomy during the 2003 Iraq war, found that, more negative coverage on military campaign was shaped in British media when the television channels relay, heavily, upon coalition sources. In another study, researchers also found similar determinants as Tumber and Palmer (2004) identified, arguing that the media reliance upon official sources make them [official sources] more dominant, and hence lead media to trigger less criticism on military operations (Lewis et al., 2006). For this study, the researcher devised a methodology that supplements the above studies, especially the

Hallin's (1986) study on "U.S. media and the Vietnam war". By refining this framework to create a sensitive approach to analyzing foreign policy coverage of Pakistani media, the researcher reaches to evaluate the nature of media coverage of policy issues while quoting or relying more on elites/ government or official sources, especially when foreign policy is certain [as the case of Kashmir conflict] or subject to [external] violence as in the case of Salala attack. The study identifies the political environment that conducive for more supportive coverage [as in case of Kashmir conflict and Salala attack] or to give neutral coverage, or generating an opposing point of view/ oppositional coverage [as in the case of Yemen conflict]. The researcher, on basis of above discussion, able to specify three measuring elements to systematically analyze the media and policy interaction, which determines the media and government's relations in Pakistan. These elements are. (a) story actors, focusing on the extent to which sources are used (b) story subjects, explaining the overall subjects being covered in news reports and (c) frames, focusing on the extent to which Pakistani perspectives on issues of Burhan Wani killing in Indian held Kashmir (2016), the U.S. attack on Salala check post (2011) and the Yemen conflict (2015) were reflected in media reporting (frames).

3.1 Story Actors and Subjects

Story Actors: The story actors, here, in this study are sources including official and unofficial/ political parties' leaders. The researcher recorded sources of each story in three broader categories including official and unofficial/outside sources and other [mainly the marginalized political forces, civil/students' societies and locals].

They [sources/actors] are coded on the basis of their presence and prominence. The researcher grouped all the sources/actors into above three categories, helping the researcher to assess which actors are most successful at accessing media.

Story Subjects: This measure provides an indication of the subject matter of news reports—for example, a news report might frame the U.S. attack on Salala as aggression, the media might focus on casualties, human suffering in Indian held Kashmir, and/or the background to and rationale for support of the Kashmiri fighters. The researcher while following Hallin's (1986) study draw a list of subjects that enables him to evaluate the full range of media coverage on the three selected issues. For instance, the subjects containing of the Pakistani government's wish to highlight the violation of human rights in Indian held Kashmir [e.g., legitimate struggle] and the antiwar movement (e.g., public protest).

3.2 Frames

The variables of this study such as policy certainty, uncertainty, violent and non-violent nature of violence along with another set of themes i.e. issue at home and issue at distance allow the researcher to assess the autonomy of reporting when policy issues are subject to violence or turned into conflict.

This study devises a detailed criterion for assessing the extent to which reports favored the Pakistani government's perspectives on the selected issues, maintained a balance of perspectives, or adopted a stance, which opposes the Pakistani government's responses to the issues. The framing criteria is developed for key areas of coverage by which the range of media debate could be assessed. The researcher, while analyzing the media and policy relations that determine the media's relationship with government in the semi-democratic country- Pakistan, identified frames and slants in news stories being

published on all three selected issues of this study. According to Gamson and Modigliani (1989) frames refer to dominantly shaped idea, providing meaning to clarify the strip of events. Hence, highlighting the controversy, which is the essence of the issue. Whereas, “slant is created when framing of events favors one side over the other in a current or potential dispute” (Entman, 2007). In this study the researcher uses frames and slants for analyzing the media coverage on selected issues including the Salala attack, Kashmir conflict and Yemen conflict, which determine the government and media relationship in Pakistan. Frames are used for highlighting the key aspects of selected issues while slants are used to assess the overall impression generated in a news story on a given issue. The researcher, while following the Carter et al. (2011), identified frames after reading news stories carefully. At first attempt, total 21 frames, seven for each of the three selected issues, were identified while after thoroughly refining these selected frames the research reached to finalize 10 frames, collectively, that are more representative and useful for analyzing the media tendencies toward policy related issues in Pakistan. A below list denotes frames for the three selected issues of this study;

Salala Attack: (a) Protests/ condemnation (b) Pakistan's sovereignty and (c) U.S response to the issue. In one representative story signifying ‘Pakistan’s sovereignty’, daily *Dawn* (December 29, 2011) reported the Pakistan’s wishes to have good relations with international community including the U.S, however “it [Pakistan] cannot compromise its national sovereignty and integrity.” *In this study, the researcher investigates that how the Pakistani media covered this tragic incident, which determines media–government relationship.*

Kashmir Issue: (a) Legitimate struggle (b) Victimization of Kashmiri (c) Peaceful resolution and (d) Role of global community. In one representative story signifying 'victimization of Kashmiri', daily *The News* (July12, 2016) termed the Indian actions against the protesters as "symbols of tyranny and torture." *In this study, the researcher investigates the relationship between media and government in broader context of politically controlled environment.*

Yemeni Conflict: (a) Diplomatic/ Political Process (b) Neutrality (c) Policy Uncertainty. In one representative story signifying 'diplomatic/political process', daily *The News* (April 06, 2015) framed the "current situation in Yemen is part of international conspiracy against Muslims and called for a peaceful solution to the crisis." While in another representative story signifying 'neutrality frame' daily *Dawn* (April10, 2015) while reporting the parliament's unanimous decision, urged "to remain neutral in Yemen conflict." *In this study, the researcher investigates that how and to what extent the policy uncertainty effects the relationship between media and government.*

3.3 Content Analysis

The content analysis offers systematically objective analysis of the evident of communication (Berelson, 1952), which is an observational research method, using to evaluate the symbolic content of all forms of recorded communications, systematically (RH Kolbe., SM Burnett, 1991). Hence, the content analysis is a multipurpose technique, which might be applied to textual, visual, and audio data (Stemler, 2015). Content analysis has been using by different scholars and researchers in the field of journalism, whereas the Berelson (1952) identified three different factors of content analysis that help to understand the written communication (i) focusing on interpretation of the intent [observed fact] with

help of the [written] content, leading to understand the objectives and intentions of those involved in the content dissemination process. (ii) focusing on common agreement over objectives of communication among the relevant stakeholders such as, those design and communicate the contents [communicators], those consume contents [audience] and those who interpret the contents [analyst]. (iii) considering the quantitative analysis of media content as a meaningful process in a communication phenomenon.

Likewise, the relevant studies, where researchers have studied the relationship between media and government in broader context of policy issues including Bennett, 1990; Hallin, 2005; Hussain, 2017, 2020; Robinson, 2000, 2017; Wolfsfeld, 1997, this study is also, mainly, designed to investigate the essence of relationship between media and government in Pakistan.

3.4 Population

The population of the study is comprised of Pakistani media, whereas the researcher has selected two English newspaper daily *Dawn* and *The News* and two Urdu language newspapers i.e. daily *Nawa-e-Waqt* and *Express*, which have high circulation in Pakistan (Malil,S., & Iqbal, Z. 2010), exerting their influence in policy debate in the country.

3.5 Census Sampling and Timeframe

Timeframe for the two issues i.e. Salala attack and Kashmir conflict consists of three months, starting from the initiation of these events [from November 26, 2011 to February 26, 2012 and from July to September 2016 for the issue of Salala attack and Kashmir conflict respectively]. However, timeframe for Yemen conflict consists of two months [March 01 to April 30, 2015], covering the event from initiation to its end. Census

technique was adopted where, in case of Salala attack and Kashmir conflict having their nature as '*issues at home*', all the relevant news stories that published on front, back and national pages were collected. While, in case of Yemen conflict which has its nature as '*issue at distance*' all the relevant news stories published on front, back, national and international pages were gathered for further analysis.

In this study, the researcher retrieved English newspapers including daily *Dawn* and *The News* from Central Library of University of Swat, Pakistan, whereas the Urdu language newspapers i.e. *Nawa-e-Waqt* and *Express* were retrieved from their respective online database. After accessing the record, the researcher determined the media coverage on the basis of headline or intro of each news story and/or proceeding paragraphs. Out of the final sample 1068 news stories 432 were published on the issue of Kashmir, 350 news stories were related to Yemen conflict while the rest of 286 news stories were published on the issue of Salala attack.

3.6 Keywords of the Selected Issues

Different keywords were identified to obtain data on all three selected issues of this study. Issue-wise keywords are listed below;

i. Salala Attack

Key Words: Nato's attack, U.S aggression, Pakistan's sovereignty, anti-U. S protests.

ii. Kashmir Conflict

Key Words: Burhan Wani, protests, right to self-determination, condemnation, use of force.

iii. Yemen Conflict

Key Words: Yemen conflict, Islamic alliance, neutrality.

3.7 Conceptual and Operational Definitions of Variables

3.7.1 Policy Certainty vs Uncertainty

An affable relationship exists between media and government when government has clear and well-articulated policy, in such circumstance the government set agenda and “the media coverage is unlikely to influence policy” (Robinson, 2000).

On other hand, lacking of a clear stance on policy issue creates a political uncertainty, which “leads to critical coverage that may exert some influence on the policymaking process” (Robinson, 2017).

a. Operational Definition of Policy Certainty

A story falls in the category of policy certainty if:

- Government has a clear policy line.
- It [government] gives timely response to other party on the selected issues.
- It plans well to raise the issue[s] on different international forums.
- It designs its political, economic and security measures, well, in context of changing political scenario.

For example, in one of the representative stories the daily *Dawn* (December 29, 2011) reported the Pakistan’s clear policy line in the context of Salala attack, promoting Pakistan’s wishes to have good relations with international community including the U.S, however “it [Pakistan] cannot compromise its national sovereignty and integratory”.

b. Operational Definition of Policy Uncertainty

A story falls in the category of policy uncertainty if it highlights:

- Lacking of policy line or ambiguity in stance of government.
- Government lacks the political support on any policy issue.
- Shelving response to other party of the policy conflict.
- Keeping, otherwise, weak stance on any selected issue.

For example, government's initial silence over Yemen conflict reflects policy uncertainty, especially the prevailing ambiguity regarding "Pakistan's official position on the Yemen conflict" (*The News*, 2015).

3.7.2 Violent vs Non-violent

The use of force turns the [policy] issue into violent mode, whereas the researchers should have to think about two ways when intended to consider violence in their research studies i.e. violence in terms of an act of force, or [violence] in terms of a violation (Bufacchi, 2005).

On other hand, non-violent nature of issue can be determined by action, taken by either side of conflict. This action can better be identified by looking for "methods" of social, political and economic constraint that "collectively constitute the technique of nonviolent action (Sharp G, 2005). He, further, divided these methods into three different types, which best suit with this study, (i) method of nonviolent protests and persuasion [as in the case of Kashmir conflict], (ii) method of noncooperation [as in case of Salala attack] and (iii) method of nonviolent intervention [as in case of Yemen conflict].

a. Operational Definition of Violent Nature of Issue

A story falls in the category of violent nature of issue if, it highlights:

- Humans' suffering and casualties.
- Violation of Pakistan's territorial boundaries.
- Violation of human rights.
- Violent protests.
- Violent tone.

For example, promoting the government's stance, Pakistani press highly reported the Kashmir issue in perspective of "human rights' violation" (*Dawn*, 2016).

b. Operational Definition of Non-violent Nature

A story falls in the category of non-violent nature if, it highlights:

- Political process/ peaceful resolution of conflict.
- Fulfilment of humans' rights during conflict.
- Territorial integrity and sovereignty.

For instance, supporting the stance of government on the issue of Kashmir, Pakistani media called upon "the Indian government to fulfill its human rights obligations (*Dawn*, 2016). Similarly, on the issue of Yemen, Pakistani press stressed on neutrality and framed the issue, more, in the context of "peaceful solution to the crisis" (*The News*, 2015).

2.7.3 Elite debate vs Common Debate

It is viewed that foreign policy crisis tend to be indexed to the range of elite opinion and priorities (Bennett, 1990, 1993). Hence, it is another important feature of policy reporting that determine the media and government's relations.

On other hand, in some of cases, media challenge the elites' stance, for instance, Hallin (2005) argued that when the allied bombing of the Amiriya air raid shelter caused large scale loss of civilian during the 1991 Gulf War, the situation went beyond the control of U.S. officials. In such circumstances the media, reportedly, found more focusing on human's suffering instead of advancing the elites' stance on the incident. Hence, triggered 'common debate' on the Gulf War.

a. Operational Definition of Elite Debate

A story falls in the category of elite debate if, it highlights:

- The perspectives of the political and military elites.
- Stance of government, even if there prevails policy uncertainty.
- Framing the political environment, more, in perspectives of policy makers.

For example, an elite's viewpoint on the issue of Kashmir is, comprehensively, reported in *Dawn* (July 10, 2016). "It is deplorable that excessive and unlawful force was used against the civilians who were protesting against the killing of Burhan Wani. Oppressive measures cannot deter the valiant people of Jammu and Kashmir from their demand of exercising their right to self-determination in accordance with the UN Security Council resolutions," Nawaz Sharif said in a statement released from his office. In this

story, the media advocate the 'elite debate' while quoting the then Prime Minister of Pakistan soon after the killing of Kashmiri militant commander Burhan Wani.

b. Operational Definition of Common Debate

A story falls in category of common debate if, it highlights:

- The viewpoints of common people, especially the victims of conflict.
- Oppositional voices, which challenge the stance of government/ or political elites.
- The common people-oriented contents or the opinions of marginalized political forces, which get a substantial share in the media reports.

For example, in one of representative stories the daily *Dawn* (November 27, 2011) framed the voice of an elected female lawmaker of a regional political party and its local office bearer, saying that “the time to just condemn the border violations had ended and now the government should take action against the US and Nato forces for violation of our soil.”

3.8 Data Coding

Applying the coding procedures of Lee et al., (2005). the researcher coded all the news stories published on selected issues of this study. A single paragraph was taken as 'unit of analysis', whereas on the basis of above mentioned ten [10] framing strategies, the researcher identified the slant categories i.e. supportive, oppositional and neutral. News stories were placed in supportive category if the media tended to highlight the government policies and appreciate its actions (Hussain, 2020). News stories were enlisted in oppositional category when the media criticized government for its [possible] policy failure. While, news stories that either simply narrated the event or include point of views

of both sides of the conflict were placed in neutral category. The three slant categories are, systematically, decided on the basis of unit of analysis, which was a single paragraph in this study. For instance, a story contains two oppositional paragraphs and one supportive paragraph, the researcher placed that particular story in oppositional category. In case of equal paragraphs, the researcher first consulted the headline and then the number of sentences in each paragraph to determine the nature of media coverage, which helps to explain the relationship between media and government in the context of policy issues in Pakistan.

3.9 Inter-Coder Reliability

The Inter-Coder Reliability is aimed at reaching maximum agreement in the coding process (Bourdon, 2000). To assess the level of agreement on the coding process, the researcher trained two independent coders, who have MPhil qualification in media studies, and assigned them to code 60 news stories, 20 each on Salala attack, Kashmir conflict and Yemen conflict. The author, himself, coded the same news stories that were given to coders. After completion of coding process by both the author and coders, the inter-coder reliability was tested for the given data. At first attempt, the Cronbach's alpha was calculated 0.62 for slant categories while 0.71 for frames categories.

During the re-assessment of data, the researcher found that the coders faced problem in coding of Urdu language newspapers, where news stories, along with main headline, are split in many sub-headlines also. Similarly, apart from intro and headlines each story also consists of the remaining part that is, usually, given in inner pages. The researcher gave more training to overall four coders, this time, to bring clarity regarding the coding process, because "coders who are not well familiar with the format of Urdu

press make mistakes in defining the news treatment” (Hussain and Siraj, 2019). In the second attempt, the higher value of alpha was calculated for three slant categories ($\alpha = 0.84$) and for 10 frames categories $\alpha = 0.95$ was calculated.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

In this study, which rigorously evaluates the media and government relations in Pakistan- one of the politically vibrant states of South Asia, the researcher has contently analyzed three issues including NATO's attack on Salala check post (2011), the Issue of Kashmir after killing of "digitally connected" young Hizbul Mujahideen commander- Burhan Wani (July, 2016) and Yemen conflict (2015). On the later issue, there prevailed policy uncertainty in Pakistan on debate over the issue of joining the Saudi Arab led Islamic Military Counter Terrorism Coalition (IMCTC). Two elite English newspapers i.e. daily *Dawn* and *The News* and two nationally circulated Urdu newspapers including daily *Nawa-e-Waqt* and *Express* were selected for analyzing the government-media relationship in the broader context of policy issues. For data collection, hard copies of the English newspapers were obtained from the central library of University of Swat, Pakistan while for the rest of two Urdu newspapers, the researcher with the help of four trained coders, retrieved the data from online archives of daily *Nawa-e-Waqt* and *Express*. The final sample of all the three selected issues comprised of 1068 news stories. This chapter is outlined to analyze the selected issues separately, followed by the accumulated analysis of all the selected issues to test research hypotheses and research question of this study.

4.1 Event-Wise Results

Table 2. Distribution of coverage of Salala attack in term of policy certainty and slants by selected newspapers

Newspapers	Supportive (N%)	Neutral(N%)	Oppositional (N%)	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	37	11	06	54
<i>The News</i>	29	12	09	50
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	61	30	09	100
<i>Express</i>	44	28	10	82
Grant Total	171(60)	81(28)	34(12)	286(100)

$$\chi^2(2, N=286) = 101.61, p < 0.01$$

Policy Certainty	Supportive(N%)	Neutral(N%)	Oppositional(N%)
Certainty	124 (74)	59(73)	08(24)
Uncertainty	47(26)	22(27)	26(76)
Total	171(100)	81(100)	34(100)

$$\chi^2(2, N=286) = 34.71, p < 0.01, V = 0.35$$

As shown in the above table 2, that all the selected newspapers, collectively, published 286 news stories on the issue of NATO's attack on Salala check post. The first part of table reflects that all the selected newspapers, mostly, covered the Salala attack in line with government's policy on the issue. The supportive category is framed 60% in all selected newspapers, followed by the neutral coverage (28%) and oppositional coverage

(12%). Statistically, there is a significant difference in the distribution of three slant categories ($X^2(2, N=286) = 101.61, p < 0.01$).

These findings show that the issue, which badly affected the Pak-U. S relations in 2011-2012, is mainly reported in broader perspective of government's policy line. For instance, Pakistan viewed the attack as an act against Pakistan's sovereignty that could cause mistrust among the allies in the war on terror. The daily *Dawn* (December 29, 2011) reported the Pakistan's wishes to have good relations with international community including the U.S, however "it [Pakistan] cannot compromise its national sovereignty and integratory". Interestingly, this incident brought both treasury and opposition benches in parliament on one page, who "unanimously passed a resolution strongly denouncing the Nato attack on the Salala military check post in Mohmand Agency" (*The News*, 2011). Contrary, the issue is also framed in the context of policy uncertainty. For example, there prevailed an uncertain policy line regarding- a clear- timely response to the NATO's attack as daily *The News* (November 30, 2011) while quoting security officials in a news story, few days after Sala check post attack, reported that "technologically Isaf may be superior, it did not mean that we do not have the will or resolve to fight. We will be ready if given the orders".

The findings in the second part of the table explain the effect of policy certainty in determining the nature of media coverage. Out of total 171 supportive news stories on the issue of Salala attack, 74% supportive coverage falls in the category of policy certainty while 26% stories are framed in the context of policy uncertainty. Similarly, out of the total 81 neutral news stories on the issue of Salala, 73% are framed in the context of policy certainty while 27% news stories fall in the category of uncertainty. Unlike the supportive

coverage, out of the total 34 oppositional stories 76% are framed in the context of policy uncertainty, criticizing the government on the issue of Salala attack.

Statistically, there is significant difference in cross tabulation of two categories of policy certainty and nature of media coverage i.e. $X^2(2, N=286) = 34.71, p < 0.01$ while the Cramer's value, $V = 0.35$ indicate strong relationship between the given variables i.e. policy certainty [independent variable] and the nature of media coverage in above given cross table.

Table 3. Distribution of coverage of Salala attack in term of nature of violence and slants by selected newspapers

Nature of Violence	Supportive (N%)	Neutral(N%)	Oppositional (N%)
Violent	164(96)	69(85)	12(35)
Nonviolent	07(04)	12(15)	22(65)
Total	171(100)	81(100)	34(100)

$X^2(2, N=286) = 84.87, p < 0.01, V = 0.55$

This table shows the relationship between the nature of violence [violent and non-violent] and media coverage of the Salala attack [For newspaper-wise media treatment see first part of table 2]. The findings of above table 3 reflect that the violent-orient contents are highly reported in supportive category (96%), collectively in all four newspapers. Contrary to supportive category, the oppositional category is, highly, framed in non-violent perspective i.e. 65%. The findings demonstrate that the issue, which occurred suddenly, dominates violent nature of treatment in all selected newspapers. For example, the Nato's act is termed as "the unprovoked aggression" (The News, 2011), which caused anger in

both political and military circles of Pakistan. The daily *Dawn* (December 28, 2011) while quoting security sources, “accused the Americans of an intentional attack on its [Pakistani]troops”.

Statistically, the differences between the nature of violence and slant are significant in above cross table i.e. ($X^2(2, N=286) = 84.87, p < 0.01$) that indicates considerable influence of nature of violence in shaping media coverage. The Cramer’s value, $V = 0.55$ supports the finding by indicating strong relationship between the given variables i.e. nature of violence [independent variable] and the nature of media coverage in above given cross table.

Table 4. Distribution of coverage of Salala attack in term of story actors and slants by selected newspapers

Newspapers	Official (N%)	Unofficial/ Outside actors(N%)	Other (N%)	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	31	14	09	54
<i>The News</i>	38	10	02	50
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	43	32	25	100
<i>Express</i>	37	28	17	82
Grant Total	149(52%)	84(29%)	53(19%)	286(100%)

$X^2(2 N=286) =50.35, p<0.01$

Story actors	Supportive	Neutral	Oppositional
Official	97 (57)	49(60)	03(09)
Unofficial	45(26)	20(25)	19(56)
Other	29(17)	12(15)	12(35)
Total	171(100)	81 (100)	34 (100)

$X^2(4, N=286) =29.29, p<0.01, V=0.23$

The above Table 4 indicates, the possible effect of elites' debate (Bennett, 1990) over media coverage of Salala attack. The first part of table shows that the incident of Salala is framed, high, in the context of official elites, both political and military (52%), followed by 29% news stories that carried the perspectives of unofficial/ outside actors including opposition parties, the U.S officials [who are considered as outside actors in this incident]. However, voices of others including the locals of Mohmand district [formerly known as Mohmand Agency] and civil societies got 19% space as 'story actors' in the issue

of Salala attack. Statistically, there is significant difference in categories of story actors ($X^2(2, N=286) = 50.35, p < 0.01$).

The findings in the second part of the table explains the [possible] influence of story actors on pattern of media coverage. The supportive coverage of Salala attack is framed 57% in the perspectives of official actors, followed by 26% unofficial/outside actors and 17% other actors including common people and civil societies, who, mainly, staged protests against the Nato's attack. Similarly, the neutral coverage is, also, highly framed in context of official debate (60%), followed by 25% news stories that carried the point of view of unofficial/ outside actors while the voices of common segments of Pakistan are reported 15% neutrally. Unlike the supportive coverage, the oppositional coverage is reported, comparatively high, in the perspectives of unofficial/outside actors (56%), followed by the voices of others including the tribal protesters (35%). However, out of total 34 oppositional news stories 09% are related to official actors. The overall findings indicate that though the official actors were dominated in the debate on the Salala incidents, as mentioned in the supportive category (57%) and neutral category (60%), which is in line with the key arguments of Bennett (1990) Indexing hypothesis, however, the voices of unofficial actors and common people were heard, comparatively, high in the oppositional category i.e. 56% and 35% respectively. These findings add with the existing literature on indexing theory that when media show sympathetic approach, as in the case of Salala attack, voices other than official/ political elites would also be part of elite debate.

The above findings indicate that there exists significant difference among the three categories of story actors, in regard with slants, i.e. ($X^2(4, N=286) = 29.29, p < 0.01$, which

are also, statistically, supported by the Cramer's value, $V=0.23$ that indicates a moderate relationship between the story actors and nature of media coverage.

Table 5. Distribution of coverage of the Kashmir issue in term of is policy certainty and slants by selected press

Newspapers	Supportive(N%)	Neutral(N%)	Oppositional (N%)	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	52	29	11	92
<i>The News</i>	63	22	08	93
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	93	32	09	134
<i>Express</i>	72	32	09	113
Grant Total	280(65)	115(27)	37(08)	432(100)

$X^2(2, N=432) = 213.79, p=0.01$

Policy Certainty	Supportive (N%)	Neutral(N%)	Oppositional (N%)
Certainty	266(95)	84(73)	05(14)
Uncertainty	14(05)	31(27)	32(86)
Total	280(100)	115(100)	37(100)

$X^2(2, N=432) = 157.08, p<0.01, V=0.60$

The above table 5 presents the overall media coverage of Kashmir conflict in connection with policy certainty. The first part of table reflects that all the selected newspapers, highly, covered the issue of Kashmir in line with government's policy. The supportive category is framed 65% in all selected newspapers, followed by the neutral coverage (27%) and oppositional coverage (08%). Statistically, there is a significant difference in the distribution of three slant categories ($X^2(2, N=432) = 213.79, p<0.01$).

The second part of the table reflects that the policy certainty shaped 95% supportive category of the media coverage of Kashmir issue, whereas out of total 37 oppositional news stories the policy uncertainty shaped 86% the category of oppositional coverage. The findings, mainly, support the government's stance on the issue of Kashmir, which is one of the long-awaited disputes between Pakistan and India. In the charged political environment after Burhan Wani's killing, the media, most obviously, carried the policy line into consideration in its daily reporting on the issue of Kashmir. For example, furthering the government's stance, Pakistani press reported the Kashmir issue in perspective of "human rights' violation" (*Dawn*, 2016). The findings suggest that the supportive coverage of Kashmir conflict is framed 05% in perspective of policy uncertainty, which indicates a stage of ambiguity on some of the aspects, pertaining to the issue of Kashmir. For example, government failed to take a clear stance on demand of the Chief of Hizbul Mujahideen Syed Salahuddin, who said that calling back ambassadors from India is the "best solution at the moment" (*The News*, 2016).

Statistically, the differences between the policy certainty and slant are significant in above cross table i.e. ($X^2(2, N=432) = 157.08, p < 0.01$) that indicates significant influence of policy certainty in shaping media coverage. This relationship has also been supported by the Cramer's value, $V = 0.60$, indicating strong relationship between the given variables i.e. policy certainty and the nature of media coverage in above given cross table No.4.

Table 6. Distribution of coverage of Kashmir conflict in term of nature of violence and slants by selected newspapers

Nature of Violence	Supportive (N%)	Neutral(N%)	Oppositional (N%)
Violent	235(84)	28(24)	07(19)
Nonviolent	45(16)	87(76)	30(81)
Total	280(100)	115(100)	37(100)

$X^2(2, N=432) = 156.26, p < 0.01, V = 0.60$

The above table 6 indicates the media coverage of the conflict of Kashmir in connection with the nature of violence. [see the above table 5 for interpretation of coverage in selected newspapers]

The findings reflect that the violent-orient contents are highly reported in supportive category (84%), collectively in all four newspapers. Contrary to supportive category, the oppositional category is, highly, framed in non-violent perspective i.e. 81%. The conflict, which was erupted after the killing of Burhan Wani, caused deaths of 95 Kashmiri, leaving about 15,000 injured including 850 Kashmiri with pellet injuries in their eyes (Ministry of foreign affairs, 2016). For example, in violent perspective the local people of Kashmir, who came out into streets against the Indian government, are framed in Pakistani press as “angry protesters” (*Dawn*, 2016) while labeling the Indian actions against the protesters as “massacre of citizens” (*The News*, 2016), depicting that “the Kashmir valley is on the boil again”, (*The News*, 2016). The selected newspapers, however, framed the oppositional category high in non-violent perspective (81% out of total 37 oppositional news stories).

Statistically, the differences between the nature of violence and slant are significant in above cross table i.e. ($X^2(2, N=432) = 156.26, p < 0.01$) that indicates due influence of nature of violence in shaping media coverage. The Cramer's value, $V = 0.60$ supports the finding by indicating strong relationship between the given variables i.e. nature of violence and the nature of media coverage in above given cross table No.6.

Table 7. Distribution of coverage of Kashmir conflict in term of story actors and slants by selected newspapers

Newspapers	Official (N%)	Unofficial/ Outside actors(N%)	Other (N%)	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	37	27	28	92
<i>The News</i>	39	35	19	93
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	48	46	40	134
<i>Express</i>	41	38	34	113
Grant Total	165(38)	146(34)	121(28)	432(100)

$X^2(2, N=432) = 06.76, p = 0.03$

Story actors	Supportive	Neutral	Oppositional
Official	107(38)	52(45)	6(16)
Unofficial	70(25)	50(43)	26(70)
Other	103(37)	14(12)	5(14)
Total	280(100)	116(100)	37(100)

$X^2(4, N=432) = 52.26, p < 0.01, V = 0.35$

The above Table 7 shows the distribution of overall news coverage of the Kashmir conflict in context of story actors, which is supplementing to the scholarship on elites' debate (Bennett, 1990). The three different types of actors, in this issue, consist of official

including political and military official, unofficial and outside actors such as major opposition parties, Kashmiri protesters, Indian leaders and other actors including local or regional political parties, sub wings of major political parties, civil societies etc. The first part of table shows that the issue of Kashmir is framed, slightly, high in the context of official elites (38%), followed by 34% news stories that carried the perspectives of unofficial/ outside actors. while, in this violent issue, voices of marginalized political forces, civil societies, and students' organizations were heard in the debate on the Kashmir conflict, which got 28% space as 'story actors' in Pakistani media. Statistically, there is significant difference in categories of story actors ($X^2(2, N=432) = 06.76, p < 0.05$).

The findings in the second part of the table elaborates the influence of elites' debate on media coverage of Kashmir conflict. There exists significant difference among the three categories of story actors, in regard with slants, i.e. ($X^2(4, N=432) = 52.26, p < 0, V = 0.35$). Supportive coverage of the conflict is framed 38% in the perspectives of official actors, followed by 37% of other actors of society [marginalized political groups-local and regional political parties, sub wings of major political parties, students' organizations and civil societies] while unofficial/outside actors are framed 25% as actors in supportive category of media coverage on the issue of Kashmir. Unlike the supportive coverage, the official and unofficial/outside actors have produced, almost similarly, neutral coverage on the issue of Kashmir i.e. 45% and 43% respectively. However, the oppositional coverage is, mainly, caused by the influence of unofficial/ outside actors (70%), where, mostly, the opposition political parties of Pakistan shaped oppositional coverage.

The overall findings indicate that the politically controlled issue of Kashmir (Hussain, 2020) is positively covered in perspectives of official actors (38%), which is

supplemented by the voices of marginalized political forces and civil societies (37%) and the voices of Kashmiris and stances of major political parties (25%). These findings add argument into the existing literature on media and policy, especially Bennett (1990) Indexing hypothesis that the politically controlled issue such as the issue of Kashmir, brings, almost all, segments of society to a 'stage of consensus', leading the media to generate more supportive coverage [65% in case of Kashmir, see part first of Table 05].

Table 8. Distribution of coverage Yemen conflict in term of policy certainty and slants by selected press

Newspapers	Supportive (N%)	Neutral (N%)	Oppositional (N%)	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	22	24	28	74
<i>The News</i>	21	30	27	78
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	28	36	45	109
<i>Express</i>	25	31	33	89
Grant Total	96(27)	121(35)	133(38)	350(100)

$$X^2(2, N=350) = 08.68, p=0.01$$

Policy Certainty	Supportive (N%)	Neutral (N%)	Oppositional (N%)
Certainty	76(79)	48(40)	10((08)
Uncertainty	20(21)	73(60)	123(92)
Total	96(100)	121(100)	133(100)

$$X^2(2, N=350) = 117.98, p<0.01, V=0.58$$

The above table 8 shows the nexus between media coverage and policy certainty in context of Yemen conflict. The first part of table reflects that, unlike the previous issues,

the Yemen conflict triggered, comparatively high oppositional coverage (38%) out of total 350 news stories published on Yemen conflict. This issue of the study, where the government's failed to take a clear policy stance that caused more critical coverage, is framed 35% in neutral perspective and 27% stories were published in support of Pakistan's stance on Yemen conflict. Statistically, there is a significant difference in the distribution of the slant categories [nature of media coverage] i.e. $X^2(2, N=350) = 08.68, p=0.01$.

The second part of above table reflects that how and to what extent the issue of certainty effects the nature of media coverage. Unlike the issues of Salala attack and Kashmir conflict, the Yemen conflict is framed, more, in context of policy uncertainty, wherein the selected newspapers, mainly, criticized the government's initial silence over conflict, especially the prevailing ambiguity regarding "Pakistan's official position on the Yemen conflict" (*The News*, 2015), leading media to put stress on government to "to remain neutral in Yemen conflict" (*Dawn*, 2015).

The findings unveil the effect of policy certainty and uncertainty in shaping the media coverage on the issue of Yemen conflict as, statistically, there is significant differences among the three categories of slants in regard with policy certainty i.e. $X^2(2, N=350) = 117.98, p < 0.01, V = 0.58$. Evaluating the slant categories, the results show that supportive coverage of the issue is highly framed in the context of policy certainty (79%), whereas 21% supportive coverage falls in the category of policy uncertainty. Interestingly, the neutral and oppositional categories of slant are framed high in the context of policy uncertainty i.e. 59% and 92% respectively, which indicate that government lost her control over media discourse on the issue of Yemen. Hence, generated, comparatively, more oppositional perspective in political arena of the country.

Table 9. Distribution of coverage of Yemen conflict in term of nature of issue and slants by selected newspaper

Nature of Violence	Supportive	Neutral(N%)	Oppositional (N%)
Violent	47(49)	39(32)	13(10)
Nonviolent	49(51)	82(68)	120(90)
Total	96(100)	121(100)	133(100)

$X^2(2, N=350) = 40.72, p < 0.01, V = 0.34$

The above Table 9 shows the relationship of the nature of violence [violent and non-violent] to the nature of media coverage on the Yemen conflict [see the above table 8 for interpretation of coverage in selected newspapers]. Unlike, the previous issues of Salala attack and the issue of Kashmir, the last issue of this study [Yemen conflict] is, comparatively, framed high in non-violent perspective in Pakistani media. For instance, the selected newspapers urged for neutrality in the Yemen conflict, framed the issue, more, in the context of “peaceful solution to the crisis” (*The News*, 2015). However, the selected press framed the Yemen conflict, less, in violent perspective, mainly, supported the government’s stance of joining the Saudi Arab led military coalition against terrorism, which was aimed at “protecting Yemen and his people from the aggression of the (Shia) Houthi militia” (*Dawn*, 2015).

The findings reflect that the Yemen conflict is reported in quite different policy scenario than the first two conflicts, which have their nature as ‘*issue at home*’, effecting, directly, Pakistan’s policy towards the U.S and India. More likely, the Yemen conflict exhibits indirect impact on Pakistan’s foreign policy, keeping its nature as ‘*issue at distance*’. The findings suggest that supportive coverage of the conflict is framed, slightly,

high in the context of non-violent scenario (51%), while the violent oriented news generated 49% news stories out of total 96 supportive stories on the Yemen conflict. Similarly, the neutral and oppositional coverage is also framed, high, in non-violence perspectives i.e. 68% and 90% respectively.

Statistically, the differences between the nature of violence and slant are significant in above table i.e. $X^2(2, N=350) = 40.72, p < 0.01$, indicating significant influence of nature of violence in shaping media coverage. These finding in above given cross table is also supported by the Cramer's value, $V = 0.34$, which indicates strong relationship between the given variables i.e. nature of violence and the nature of media coverage.

Table 10. Distribution of coverage of Yemen conflict in term of story actors and slants by selected newspapers

Newspapers	Official (N%)	Unofficial/ Outside actors(N%)	Other (N%)	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	39	32	03	74
<i>The News</i>	37	39	02	78
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	50	46	13	109
<i>Express</i>	52	36	01	89
Grant Total	178(51)	153(44)	19(05)	350(100)

$$X^2(2, N=350) = 125.32, p < 0.01$$

Story actors	Supportive	Neutral	Oppositional
Official	69 (72)	81(67)	28(21)
Unofficial	24(25)	38(31)	91(68)
Other	03(03)	02(02)	14(11)
Total	96(100)	121(100)	133(100)

$$X^2(2, N=350) = 78.53, p < 0.01, V = 0.34$$

The above Table 10 explains the [possible] influence of story actors in shaping news coverage on the Yemen conflict. The first part of table indicates that the conflict is framed, comparatively, high in the context of official actors (51%), followed by 44% news stories that reflect the perspectives of unofficial/ outside actors including major opposition parties of Pakistan and international actors such as Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Iran and the U.S officials [who are considered as outside actors in this issue of the study]. The ‘other actors’, who are, mainly, representing the local and regional political parties, students and civil

societies, are frame 05% in overall coverage of the Yemen conflict. Statistically, there is significant difference in categories of story actors ($X^2(2, N=350) = 125.32, p < 0.01$).

The findings in the second part of the table show that official actors are dominated in supportive and neutral coverage of the Yemen conflict as they are indexed, in this regard, 72% and 67% respectively. Followed by the unofficial/ outside actors, who shaped 25% and 31% supportive and neutral coverage respectively. However, the oppositional coverage is, mainly, framed in the perspectives of unofficial/ outside story actors (68%), followed by official actors 21% and 'other actors' 11%. Unlike the first two issues of the study- Salala attack and Kashmir conflict, the Yemen conflict is framed, too less, in the perspectives of 'other actors' [mainly consist of local and regional political parties, students and civil societies' organizations], as these actors are indexed 03%, 02% and 11% respectively in supportive, neutral and oppositional coverage. This is, more obviously, happened due to the nature of conflict- *issue at distance*, which could not attract protest demonstrations of the marginalized political forces, civil societies and students' organizations in Pakistan.

The above findings indicate that there exist significant differences among the three categories of story actors, in regard with slants, i.e. $X^2(2, N=350) = 78.53, p < 0.01$, which are also, statistically, supported by the Cramer's value, $V=0.34$ that indicates strong relationship between the story actors and nature of media coverage.

4.2 Research Question and Hypotheses Testing

In this study, the researcher after thoroughly discussion at different academic forum of this dissertation formulated a research question and three hypotheses to scholarly explain the government-media relations in Pakistan.

R. Q: What is the distribution of key frames and slants in the selected issues?

Table 11. Distribution frames and slants in media coverage of Nato's attack on Salala

Newspapers	Protests/ condemnation N (%)	Pakistan's sovereignty N (%)	U.S response to the issue N (%)	Total N (%)
<i>Dawn</i>	19	24	11	54
<i>The News</i>	18	18	14	50
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	44	35	21	100
<i>Express</i>	37	26	19	82
Total	118 (41)	103 (36)	65 (23)	286 (100)

$X^2(2, N=286) = 15.66, p < 0.01$

Newspapers	Supportive	Neutral	Oppositional	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	37	11	06	54
<i>The News</i>	28	12	09	50
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	61	30	09	100
<i>Express</i>	44	28	10	82
Total	171 (58)	81 (27)	34 (15)	286 (100)

$X^2(2, N=286) = 101.67, p < 0.01$

Frames	Supportive	Neutral	Oppositional
Protests/ condemnation	86(50)	24(30)	08(24)
Pakistan's sovereignty	64(38)	27(33)	12(35)
U.S. response to the issue	21(12)	30(37)	14(41)
Total	171(100)	81(100)	34(100)
$X^2(4, N=286) = 29.49, p < 0.01, V = 0.23$			

The table 11 shows that out of the total 286 news stories on the Nato's attack on Salala check post, located on Pak- Afghan border in the then FATA region of Mohmand, the selected newspapers reported 41% stories that highlighted condemnation and protests against the Nato's attack as compared to 36% stories that termed the attack as an act against Pakistan's sovereignty and 23% stories highlighted the [unfriendly] response of the U.S to the issue. Statistical findings confirm a significant difference in the distribution of three frames categories ($X^2(2, N=286) = 15.65, p < 0.01$). The above three framing categories demonstrate that Salala attack is, mainly, reported in the line with government's policy. The statistical findings $X^2(2, N=286) = 101.67, p < 0.01$, in the second part of the table, indicate that there is significant difference in the distribution of three slant categories. Whereas, the selected newspapers, collectively, gave more supportive coverage i.e. 58% that highlighted/ carried the government's stance on the incident. The issue got 27% and 15% neutral and oppositional coverage respectively, wherein the oppositional coverage,

mainly, occurred in the news stories relating to protest demonstrations of opposition parties and civil societies.

The statistical findings $X^2(4, N=286) = 29.49, p < 0.01, V = 0.23$ [see Appendix E1&2] in the third part of the table, indicate the significant relationship between the framing category and nature of media coverage. These findings, in this part, indicate the frame of 'protests/ condemnation', highly, shaped supportive coverage (50%), followed by the frame of 'Pakistan's sovereignty' that shaped 38% supportive coverage. The last frame of this issue, 'U.S. response to the issue', produced 37% and 41% neutral and oppositional coverage respectively. The Cramer value, $V = 0.23$, also confirms the existence of relationship between the frames and nature of media coverage

These findings, on one side, challenge the Lawrence (2000) event-driven news model, which suggests the anti-government coverage of media on issue/ events that occur suddenly, and having tragic nature. Contrary to this model, the Salala incident, which was sudden and tragic in its nature, produced more supportive coverage. On other side, these findings, partially, support the Lance Bennett's (1990) indexing hypothesis, which emphasizes that official debate sets the parameters of media debate[coverage]. In the context of Pakistan, apart from political elites, the military has its due influence over official debate, especially on the incidents like Salala. Hence, the political consensus and military's absolute monopoly (Hussain et al, 2019) produced conducive environment for favorable treatment of the Salala incident.

Table 12. Distribution frames and slants in the media coverage of Kashmir issue

Newspapers	Legitimate struggle N (%)	Victimization of Kashmiri N (%)	Peaceful resolution N (%)	Role of global community N (%)	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	23	42	08	19	92
<i>The News</i>	29	36	13	15	93
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	63	31	19	21	134
<i>Express</i>	25	27	16	25	113
Total	140(32)	156(36)	56(13)	80(19)	432(100)

$X^2(3, N=432) = 63.11, p < 0.01$

Newspapers	Supportive	Neutral	Oppositional	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	52	29	11	92
<i>The News</i>	63	22	8	93
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	93	32	9	134
<i>Express</i>	72	32	9	113
Total	280(65)	115(27)	37(08)	432(100)

$X^2(2, N=432) = 213.79, p < 0.01$

Frames	Supportive	Neutral	Oppositional
Legitimate struggle	99(35)	37(32)	04(11)
Victimization of Kashmiri	121(43)	27(23.5)	08(22)
Peaceful resolution	28(10)	24(21)	04(11)
Role of international community	32(12)	27(23.5)	21(56)
Total	280(100)	115(100)	37(100)

$X^2(6, N=432) = 63.14, p < 0.01, V = 0.27$

The above Table 12, carrying the overall findings regarding the issue of Kashmir that became more violent after the killing of young Kashmiri commander Burhan Wani, indicates that the conflict is mainly reported in the context of victimization of Kashmiri (36%), which is one of the major concerns of Pakistan's policy on the issue of Kashmir. Followed by the legitimate struggles 32% of Kashmiri for their right to self-determination, seeking 19% role of international community, especially the U.S to intervene for safeguarding the human's rights in Indian held Kashmir and 13% stories carried the framing category of peaceful resolution, which highlighted Pakistan's commitment to peace in the region.

These differences in frame categories of the study, show the statistically significant difference in all four frames i.e. $X^2(3, N=432) = 63.11, p < 0.01$. The highly reported frames including legitimate struggle [of Kashmiri] and victimization of the people of Kashmir,

mainly, reflected the Pakistan's foreign policy objectives of "safeguarding national security and geo-strategic interests, including Kashmir" (Foreign Office Pakistan, 2019).

These favorable framing categories generated, more, supportive coverage on the issue of Kashmir, which is shown in the second part of this table. The three slant categories, statistically produced significant differences in their distribution ($X^2(2, N=432) = 213.79, p < 0.01$). The selected newspapers looked at the issue in light of government's policy while considering the violent nature of issue, too, in their coverage. These both factors, obviously, resulted in more supportive coverage i.e. 65%, followed by 27% neutral and 08% oppositional media coverage on the issue of Kashmir.

The statistical findings $X^2(6, N=432) = 63.14, p < 0.01, V = 0.27$ [see Appendix F1&2], in the third part of the above cross table, indicate the significant relationship between the framing category and nature of media coverage. The frame of 'victimization of Kashmiri', highly, shaped supportive coverage (43%), the theme of 'legitimate struggle' dominated the neutral category by reporting the issue 32% neutrally while the frame of 'role of international community' shaped, more, oppositional coverage (56%). These overall findings, likewise the Salala incident, challenge the Lawrence (2000) event-driven news model as turning into violence after the sudden incident of Burhan Wani's killing, the issue of Kashmir is reported, merely, 08% critically that falls within procedural form of criticism (Hussain, 2020). However, these findings, mainly, support the key assumptions of policy certainty (Robinson, 2000) and, partially, in line with the key assumptions of political contest model of Wolfsfeld (1997), arguing that politically controlled environment generates pro-government narrative.

Table 13. Distribution frames and slants in the coverage of Yemen conflict

Newspapers	Diplomatic/ political process on Yemen N (%)	Neutrality N (%)	Policy uncertainty N (%)	Total N (%)
<i>Dawn</i>	22	33	19	74
<i>The News</i>	22	42	14	78
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	28	45	36	109
<i>Express</i>	23	37	29	89
Total	95 (27)	157(45)	98(28)	350(100)

$X^2(2, N=350) = 20.95, p=0.01$

Newspapers	Supportive	Neutral	Oppositional	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	22	24	28	74
<i>The News</i>	21	30	27	78
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	28	36	45	109
<i>Express</i>	25	31	33	89
Total	96(26)	121(36)	133(38)	350(100)

$X^2(2, N=350) = 8.86, p<0.02$

Frames	Supportive	Neutral	Oppositional
Diplomatic/political process on Yemen	54(56)	22(18)	19(14)
Neutrality	33(34)	75(62)	49(37)
Policy uncertainty	09(10)	24(20)	65(49)
Total	96(100)	121(100)	133(100)

$X^2(4, N=350) = 89.21, p<0.01, V=0.36$

As shown in the table 13, the Yemen conflict is reported in the context of uncertain political environment regarding the issue of joining the Saudi Arab led military coalition of Muslims countries. Along with the 28% uncertainty frame, mostly, the selected press stressed on government to remain neutral in the case of Yemen conflict (45%) while urging diplomatic/ political process (27%) to resolve this conflict. The findings that show, statistically, significant differences among the three framing categories i.e. $X^2(2, N=350) = 20.95, p < 0.01$, shaped, more, critical coverage on the Yemen conflict as compared with the rest of two issues.

In the second part of the table, the results show 38% oppositional coverage, followed by 36% coverage that falls in the category of neutrality while the selected newspapers gave 26% supportive coverage to the Pakistan's stance on Yemen conflict. The Statistical test, in this regard, illustrates the significant differences in distribution of the three slants' categories ($X^2(2, N=350) = 8.86, p < 0.02$). The statistical findings $X^2(4, N=350) = 89.21, p < 0.01, V = 0.36$ [see Appendix G1 & 2], in the third part of the above cross table, indicate the significant relationship between the framing category and nature of media coverage. The frame of 'Diplomatic/political process on Yemen', comparatively shaped high supportive coverage (56%), similarly, the 'neutrality' frame shared 62% of the total neutral coverage while the frame of 'policy uncertainty' influenced 49% oppositional coverage.

The overall findings, mainly, support one of the key assumptions of Robinson (2000) model of media-policy interaction, wherein he argued that when an issue lacks [political] certainty then it will gain critical media coverage. The same state of media-

policy relationship is witnessed in the issue of Yemen critically, and positively in the rest of two issues- Kashmir and Salala incidents.

Table 14. Overall treatment of issues in term of policy certainty in selected press

Newspapers	Salala attack (N%)	Kashmir conflict(N%)	Yemen conflict(N%)
<i>Dawn</i>	54 (19)	92(21)	74(21)
<i>The News</i>	50(17)	93(22)	78(23)
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	100(35)	134(31)	109(31)
<i>Express</i>	82(29)	113(26)	89(25)
Total	286(100)	432(100)	350(100)

$X^2(2, N=1068) = 30.09, p < 0.01$

Issues	Supportive	Neutral	Oppositional
Salala attack	171(31)	81(26)	34(17)
Kashmir conflict	280(51)	115(36)	37(18)
Yemen conflict	96(18)	121(38)	133(65)
Total	547(100)	317(100)	204(100)

$X^2(4, N=1068) = 161.07, p < 0.01, V = 0.28$

Policy Certainty	Salala attack	Kashmir conflict	Yemen conflict
Certainty	191(67)	355(82)	134(38)
Uncertainty	95(33)	77(18)	216(62)
Total	286(100)	432(100)	350(100)

$X^2(2, N=1068) = 162.65, p < 0.01, V = 0.39$

H1: Kashmir conflict having high policy certainty is reported in more supportive mode as compare to Salala attack and Yemen conflict.

The first part of the above table 14 reflects the source-wise overall treatment of all selected issues, wherein the second part consist of event-wise treatment of the selected issues while the third part of the table indicates the effect of policy certainty in shaping media coverage. The findings show that Urdu language newspapers i.e. *Nawa-e-Waqt* and daily *Express* gave more coverage to selected issues as compare to the English newspapers (*Dawn* and *The News*). Out of 286 news stories on the issue of Salala attack, daily *Nawa-e-Waqt* gave, comparatively, high coverage (35%), followed by another national language newspaper, daily *Express* (29%) while daily *Dawn* and *The News* published 19% and 17% news stories on Salala attack respectively. Similarly, total 432 news stories are published on the conflict of Kashmir, where *Nawa-e-Waqt* published 31% news stories out of the total, followed by *Express*, which shaped 26% of the total coverage while the daily *Dawn* and *The News* published 21% and 22% news stories on the issue of Kashmir respectively. In case of Yemen conflict, the selected newspapers, collectively, published 350 news stories. Whereas, the daily *Nawa-e-Waqt*, likewise the previous issues, dominated the overall coverage by publishing 31% news stories out of the total. The rest of newspapers i.e. *Express*, *Dawn* and *The News* published 25%, 21% and 23% news stories on Yemen conflict respectively. Statistically, there is significant differences in selectee issues i.e. $X^2(2, N=1068) = 30.09, p < 0.01$

The second part of the table show, statistically, significant differences among three slant categories in regard with the selected issues $X^2(4, N=1068) = 161.07, p < 0.01, V = 0.28$ [see Appendix H1&2]. The findings show that the issue of Kashmir dominated the

supportive category by shaping overall 51% supportive coverage on Kashmir conflict, followed by the Salala attack, which is framed 31% in support of government's policy line on the issue while the Yemen conflict generated 18% supportive coverage. Unlike the supportive category, the Yemen conflict dominated the oppositional category by producing 65% oppositional coverage, followed by 18% critical coverage on Kashmir conflict and 17% on Salala attack. The findings of the third part/last part of the above cross table supplement the media treatment of the policy related issues by highlighting the importance of policy certainty [certainty and uncertainty] in shaping the media coverage, especially in the politically unstable countries of the world including Pakistan.

The statistical findings, in last part of table, ($X^2(2, N=1068) = 162.65, p < 0.01, V = 0.39$) show that there is strong relationship between policy certainty and nature of media coverage. The findings suggest that the issue of Kashmir, individually, is framed high in the context of policy certainty (82%), which shaped 51% of the overall supportive coverage on all the three selected issues. Similarly, the Salala attack, which is framed 67% in perspective of policy certainty, generated 31% overall supportive coverage. These findings are, evidently, support the key assumption of policy interaction model, which argues that the policy certainty leads media to highlight the government's stance (Robinson, 2000). On other hand, the Yemen conflict, which is framed high in the context of policy uncertainty (62%), triggered more critical coverage, and hence shaped 65% of the overall oppositional coverage on all selected issues of this study. These findings support the arguments of Robinson (2017), who argued that policy uncertainty shape more independent/ critical coverage of media.

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that the differences in state of policy certainty effect the media inclinations toward policy issues. For instance, the issue of Kashmir has always been a center of tension between the two neighboring countries of South Asia- Pakistan and India since their independence/1947. There is not only consensus in political circle on the issue of Kashmir but there is commonly agreement among all segments of society in Pakistan (Hussain, 2020). Media in Pakistan, more obviously, follow the line of government and political elites when covering the issue of Kashmir. The same situation has been observed during this study, whereas the findings indicate that the issue of Kashmir got more supportive coverage in the selected press during the Pak-India conflict over the killing of Kashmiri commander- Burhan Wani in 2016.

Apart from political [elite] consensus, the presence of certainty on the issues of Kashmir and Salala was also one of the key determinants of the media coverage, which is consistent with the literature on media and policy relations (Bennett, 1990; Hallin, 2005; Hussain, 2020; Robinson, 2017). Unlike the first two issues, the last issue of the study [Yemen conflict] triggered, comparatively, more critical coverage as mentioned above. The findings relating to Yemen conflict are consistent with literature on media-government relations, where it is argued that when government's policy lacks certainty the media take, most obviously, the oppositional line by giving due space to oppositions' voices (Bennett, 1990; Robinson, 2000, 2017).

To sum-up, all the three parts of the above table show the significant relationship i.e. $X^2(2, N=1068) = 30.09, p < 0.01$ among selected issues including Salala, the issue of Kashmir and Yemen conflict. Similarly, there exist significant relationship among slant categories in regard with selected issues, i.e. $X^2(4, N=1068) = 161.07, p < 0.01, V = 0.28$.

Likewise, there also exists significant relationship i.e. $X^2(2, N=1068) = 162.65, p < 0.01, V = 0.39$ [see Appendix 11&2], between the two given categories of policy certainty in regard with selected issues. All these findings confirm the first hypothesis of this study, which states that “Kashmir conflict having high policy certainty is reported in more supportive mode as compare to Salala attack and Yemen conflict”.

H2: The violence-oriented media coverage is dominated in ‘deadly incident’ Salala attack as compare to the Yemen and Kashmir conflicts.

Tab 15. Overall treatment of issues in term of nature of violence in selected press

Nature of violence	Salala attack	Kashmir conflict	Yemen conflict
Violent	245(86)	270(63)	99(28)
nonviolent	41(14)	162(37)	251(72)
Total	286(100)	432(100)	350(100)

$X^2(2, N=1068) = 219.47, p < 0.01, V = 0.45$

The table 15 shows the relationship between media coverage and nature of violence i.e. violent and non-violent nature of issues.

[For reference of the source-wise and event-wise overall treatment see first two parts of the above table No.14]

Analyzing the findings, given in the table above, the selected newspapers, predominantly, framed the issue of the issue of Salala check post attack 86% in the context of violence. For example, the Urdu language newspaper i.e. daily *Nawai-e-Waqt* (December 5, 2011) while reporting the meeting of Difa-e-Pakistan Council, warned the U.S for more deteriorated consequences than those it [U.S] faced, earlier, in Vietnam.

Similarly, the issue of Kashmir is, also, framed more in context of violence (63%) of the overall coverage 432 news stories being published in all selected newspapers. For instance, the protests that sparked after the killing of Burhan Wani led the situation tense in Indian held Kashmir, which was framed as “*bloodbath*” of the Kashmiri Muslims (*The News*, 2016). Unlike, the issue of Kashmir and Salala attack, the selected newspapers covered the Yemen conflict, comparatively, more in the context of non-violent scenario (72%) out of the total 350 news stories.

The statistical results exhibit significant relations between media coverage and the nature of violence i.e. $X^2(2, N=1068) = 219.47, p < 0.01$, whereas the Cramer value, $V = 0.45$ [see *Appendix J1 & 2*], indicates strong relationship between variables being given in above cross table No.15. These statistical findings support the second hypothesis of the study, which guesses that “the violence-oriented media coverage is dominated in ‘deadly incident’ Salala attack as compare to the Yemen and Kashmir conflicts”.

On the basis of the above analysis, it can be argued that apart from policy certainty (Robinson, 2000, 2017) the nature of violence that consists of violent and non-violent nature of events is also the key determinant of media coverage of foreign policy related issues, particularly in Pakistan, which has been, directly, in confrontation with its neighboring country- India on the issue of Kashmir and other unsettled disputes since its inception in 1947. While, it [Pakistan] has also been suffering of the war on terror, internally, and faced threats from external forces [as in the case of NATO’s attack on Salala check post].

H3: There is significant interaction between the policy certainty and the nature of violence in shaping the nature of media coverage.

Table 16. The overall slant-wise coverage in nexus of policy certainty and nature of violence in all selected newspapers

Newspapers	Supportive (N%)	Neutral (N%)	Oppositional (N%)
<i>Dawn</i>	111(20)	64(20)	45(22)
<i>The News</i>	113(21)	64(20)	44(21)
<i>Nawai-e-Waqt</i>	182(33)	98(31)	63(31)
<i>Express</i>	141(26)	91(29)	52(26)
Total	547(100)	317(100)	204(100)

$X^2(2, N=1068) = 171.64, p < 0.01$

Level of Certainty	Supportive	Neutral	Oppositional
High	232(42)	40(13)	03(02)
Moderate	136(25)	54(17)	04(02)
Low	99(18)	99(31)	21(10)
None	80(15)	124(39)	176(86)
Total	547(100)	317(100)	204(100)

$X^2(6, N=1068) = 415.80, p < 0.01 V=0.62$

Levels of Violence	Supportive	Neutral	oppositional
High	156(29)	03(01)	01(0.5)
Moderate	198(36)	59(19)	10(05)
Low	101(18)	76(24)	27(13)
None	92(17)	179(56)	166(81.5)
Total	547(1000)	317(100)	204(100)

$X^2(6, N=1068) = 388.45, p < 0.01 V=0.60$

The above table 16 shows the overall effect of policy certainty and nature of violence [violent and non-violent] in determining the media coverage. The statistical findings relating to policy certainty and nature of violence i.e. $X^2(6, N=1068) = 415.80$, $p < 0.01$, $V = 0.62$ and $X^2(6, N=1068) = 388.45$, $p < 0.0$, $V = 0.60$ and the significant difference in three slant categories $X^2(2, N=1068) = 171.64$, $p < 0.01$ indicate that there is significant relationship between the media coverage and policy certainty, and between the media coverage and nature of nature of violence. The findings in first part of the table show that all the selected newspapers, collectively, published 547 supportive news stories on all three selected issue, followed by 317 neutral news stories and 204 oppositional news stories being published on all selected issues- Salala attack, Kashmir conflict and Yemen conflict. The overall treatment of media reflects that daily *Nawa-e-Waqt*, which published 343 out of total 1068 news stories on all selected issues, dominates all three slant categories i.e. it [*Nawa-e-Waqt*] shaped 33% supportive, 31% neutral and 31% oppositional coverage, collectively. Followed by daily Express, which produced 26% supportive, 29% neutral and 26% oppositional coverage on all selected issues. On the other hand, daily *Dawn* generated 20% supportive, 22% neutral and 22% oppositional coverage, collectively, while another English daily *The News* shaped 21% supportive, 20% neutral and 21% oppositional coverage.

The findings in second part of the table show the relationship between policy certainty and nature of media coverage, where the policy certainty has four levels i.e. high, moderate, low and none. The findings show that high and moderate levels of certainty dominate the supportive coverage by 42% and 25% respectively. The low level of policy certainty and level of none [policy uncertainty] dominate the rest of two slant categories

i.e. neutral and oppositional. The statistical findings $X^2(6, N=1068) = 415.80, p < 0.01$ $V=0.62$, suggest that the policy certainty has due influence in shaping the nature of media coverage. The Cramer value (0.62) indicate strong relationship between the given variables [policy certainty and nature of media coverage], showing in second part of the above cross table No.16.

The findings in third part of the above table illustrate the relationship between nature of violence and nature of media coverage, where the nature of violence, likewise policy certainty, has four levels i.e. high, moderate, low and none. The findings show that high and moderate levels of certainty dominate the supportive coverage by 29% and 36% respectively. The low level of nature of violence and level of none [non-violent nature of issue] dominate the rest of two slant categories i.e. neutral and oppositional. The statistical findings $X^2(6, N=1068) = 388.45, p < 0.01$ $V=0.60$, imply that the nature of violence exert influence in shaping the nature of media coverage. The Cramer value (0.60) indicate strong relationship between the given variables [Nature of violence and nature of media coverage], reflecting in third part of the above cross table No.16.

Table 17. Parameter Estimates for Logit Model of Media Coverage of selected issues

Likelihood Ratio Tests				
Effect	Model Fitting Criteria		Likelihood Ratio Tests	
	-2 Log Likelihood of Reduced Model	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept	158.815a	.000	0	.
Level of Certainty	476.568	317.753	6	.000
Level of Violence	474.486	315.671	6	.000

The results of logit model for media coverage are presented in above table 17. The results show that policy certainty and nature violence are important factors that explain the media coverage. It is clear from the results that both the independent variables i.e. policy certainty and nature of violence significantly affect media coverage at 1 percent level of significance.

The category wise results of logit model are presented in below table 18. The estimate shows a strong effect of policy certainty and nature of violence in shaping media coverage of the issues. The estimates of the parameters of level of policy certainty show a monotonic effect of policy certainty on **neutral** media coverage. Although there is

evidence that this effect may vary depending on levels of policy certainty, on average the odds of **neutral** media coverage for the issues having high certainty (level 1) categories are higher than the corresponding odds for other level of policy certainty. Moreover, the odds of **neutral** media coverage for the issues having low certainty (level 3) categories are lower than the corresponding odds for other levels of certainty.

The estimates of violence show that on average the odds of **neutral** media coverage for the issues having high violence (level 1) categories are higher than the corresponding odds for other levels of violence. Moreover, the odds of **neutral** media coverage for the issues having low violence (level 3) categories are lower than the corresponding odds for other levels of certainty.

Similarly, the estimate of certainty shows a strong effect of policy certainty on **oppositional** media coverage. The estimates of the parameters of level of policy certainty show a monotonic effect of policy certainty on media coverage. Although there is evidence that this effect may vary depending on levels of violence, on average the odds of media coverage is **oppositional** for the issues having high certainty (level 1) categories are higher than the corresponding odds for other levels of certainty. Moreover, the odds of media coverage are **oppositional** for the issues having low certainty (level 3) categories are lower than the corresponding odds for other levels of policy certainty.

Table 18. Parameter Estimates for Additive Logit Model of Media Coverage

		B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Neutral	Level of Policy Certainty					
	Intercept	1.880	.218	74.199	.000	
	High	-2.014	0.258	60.988	.000	0.133
	Moderate	-1.725	0.255	45.957	.000	0.178
	Low	-0.795	0.232	11.724	.001	0.452
	None/ uncertainty	0	.	.	.	.
	Levels of Nature of Violence					
	High	-3.643	0.419	75.435	.000	0.026
	Moderate	-2.112	0.220	91.962	.000	0.121
	Low	-1.212	0.223	29.484	.000	0.297
	None/ non-violent	0	.	.	.	.
Oppositional	Levels of Policy Certainty					
	Intercept	2.740	.234	137.539	.000	
	High	-5.108	.628	66.188	.000	0.006
	Moderate	-4.946	.558	78.549	.000	0.007
	Low	-2.809	.321	76.401	.000	0.060
	None/ uncertainty	0	.	.	.	.

	Level of Nature of Violence					
	High	-4.839	.770	39.526	.000	.008
	Moderate	-4.135	0.38 4	116.131	.000	0.016
	Low	-2.351	0.31 5	55.673	.000	0.095
	None/ non-violent	0	.	.	.	.

a. The reference category is: Supportive. b. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

The statistical results of the above given tables 16 to 18, and the interpretation of findings support the third hypothesis of this study, which states that “there is significant interaction between the policy certainty and the nature of violence in shaping the nature of media coverage”. Besides the justification of hypotheses of this study, the overall findings, on one side, support the key assumptions of Lance Bennett’s (1990) indexing hypothesis, which asserts that official debate sets the parameters of media debate and the Pier Robinson’s (2000) media- policy interaction model, which suggest that oppositional/ critical coverage triggered due to policy uncertainty. On other side, the findings of this study also established another set of variables i.e. the nature of violence [violent and non-violent nature of issue] as another key determinant of media coverage of policy related issues. Previous studies including Becker, 1977; Bennett, 1990; Kellner, 2007; Livingston, 1997; Mermin, 1999; Robinson, 2000 & 2017 lack to evaluate that how and to what extent the violent and non-violent nature of the foreign policy related issues effect the media coverage, and hence determine the nature of relationship i.e. supportive, neutral or critical between media and government in the context of foreign policy issues. The study in hands,

fills this gap in light of the above findings and arguments, especially these findings are, seemingly, important for future research studies on policy related issues, loaded with violence.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Discussion

In this study, the researcher has evaluated the relationship between media and government in the context of policy issues in Pakistan. The mode of relationship has thoroughly been examined in perspectives of two key variables of this study including nature of violence [violent and non-violent nature of issue], generating hard news stories and the issue of certainty, which is affecting the government's stance on issue, positively [if there exists policy certainty] or challenging the government's stance in elites' debate over policy related issue [in case of policy uncertainty]. Another set of themes i.e. the issue at home and the issue at distance supplements the nature of selected issues, whereas this set of themes helps in explaining the mode of media coverage of policy issues on the basis of proximity, leading media to give, comparatively, more supportive coverage to government on issue[s] at home. The coverage of three policy related issues including the NATO's attack on Sala check post (2011), The Kashmir conflict (2016) and the Yemen conflict (2015) are evaluated in the nexus of media-government relations. Two elite English newspapers of Pakistan, *Dawn* and *The News* and two Urdu language newspapers i.e. *Nawa-e-Waqt* and *Express* were selected, which have high circulation (Malil & Iqbal, 2010), possessing influence over political debate in the country.

The findings of this study, thought, mainly support the key arguments of media-policy interaction model (Robinson, 2000) and Indexing theory (Bennett,1990), however the study also add some original contribution to the available scholarship on political

communication, especially the theoretical work that explains the relationship between media and government in context of policy reporting. For evaluating the state of relationship between media and government in Pakistan, the researcher has, contently, analyzed the media coverage of the three selected issues. The findings, based on the final sample of 1068 news stories that are published on the selected issues collectively, indicate an affable relationship between media and government in two out of three selected issues of this study i.e. the NATO's attack on Salala check post and the Kashmir conflict after the killing of militant commander Burhan Wani. Both issues are, mostly, framed in the context of policy certainty. Comparatively, in this study, higher certainty is found in coverage of the issue of Kashmir (82%), leading media to highlight the government's stance on the issue, followed by 67% policy certainty in media coverage on Salala attack, bringing media and government, almost at same point, criticizing the NATO's attack on Pakistani check post. Unlike the above two issues, the Yemen conflict reflects, comparatively, an unfavorable relationship between media and government in Pakistan. The conflict, having its nature as '*issue at distance*', is highly framed in the context of policy uncertainty (62%), questioning Pakistan's position in Saudi Arab led military coalition. The issue of certainty [certainty or uncertainty in government's stance] produced results, which are presenting an interesting sketch of media and government relations in Pakistan, a strategically important country of South Asia (Tellis, 2008). In case of Salala attack, the policy certainty dominates both supportive and neutral coverage while policy uncertainty shaped, comparatively, high oppositional coverage [see table No.2].

Though the findings are, seemingly, in line with the scholarship on media-policy interaction (Robinson, 2000,2017; Wolfsfeld, 1997). and also support, to some extent, the

key arguments of Bennett's Indexing theory (1990) that media index the elites' debate; however, the findings did not provide any evidence, which may support the key argument of event-driven model that argues that sudden and tragic incident produce oppositional coverage (Lawrence, 2001). For instance, the Salala attack, which was sudden and caused tension between Pakistan and the United States, claimed lives of 24 Pakistani soldiers, but the incident, rather than triggering oppositional coverage produced more supportive coverage, furthering Pakistan's stance in global discussion on the issue of Salala attack. These findings challenge the event-driven model (Lawrence, 2001) on ground of 'proximity', adding that the tragic incident when occurs suddenly, which has direct impact on a country as in the case of Salala check post attack, the media, instead of taking oppositional line, give supportive coverage to government while criticizing the other party for its assault as Pakistani media criticized the U.S on Salala incident.

In case of Kashmir conflict, which is framed highly in the context of policy certainty, the key frame of this study- the issue of certainty guides media to advocate, mostly, the government's stance on the issue. The policy certainty, likewise the Salala incident, dominates supportive and neutral coverage [see table 5]. Unlike the supportive and neutral coverage of the Kashmir conflict, which is *an issue at home*, the selected newspapers gave, too less, oppositional coverage to the issue. The oppositional/ critical coverage is, mainly, reported in the context of policy uncertainty. The findings suggest, a comparatively, higher consensus on the issue of Kashmir than the Salala attack, hence supporting the available scholarship on media-policy interaction (Robinson, 2000, 2017). However, unlike the elites' consensus (Bennett, 1990) this study finds one of the important elements in the coverage of Salala attack and Kashmir conflict i.e. *'public support or*

consensus at public level [for reference, see tables 4&7] on both issues, especially on the issue of Kashmir, which multiplies and/or strengthen the voice of government in political arena globally.

Interestingly, the Yemen conflict, which was *an issue at distance*, is framed high in the context of policy uncertainty, shaping high oppositional coverage [see table 8]. Unlike the issue of Salala attack and Kashmir, the neutral coverage of the Yemen conflict is, mostly, covered in perspective of policy uncertainty, while the influence of policy certainty is reported, more, in supportive coverage of the issue. These findings are in line with arguments of Pier Robinson (2000) regarding the state of policy uncertainty, arguing that lacking of a clear stance on policy issue may trigger critical coverage. The same circumstances were prevailed in the issue of Yemen, whereas government was lacking a clear policy line on the issue to join the Saudi Arab led military coalition while considering the Saudia as victim of Houti's aggression (Hussain, 2020).

Another key variable of this study, the nature of issue [violent and non-violent], is found an influencing factor that shaped media coverage, especially in case of Kashmir issue and Salala attack. For instance, the Salala attack is framed high in violent scenario, mainly criticizing the NATO's attack on Pakistani check post. The nature of issue [violent and non-violent] is, evidently, shaped media coverage on the issue of Salala attack. The media supported the government's stance, mostly, in violent perspective. Apart from the supportive coverage, the neutral coverage of Salala attack is also framed high in violent perspective, highlighted the Pak-U.S. relations in violent scenario while urging the U.S to honor sacrifices of Pakistan in war on terror (Dawn, 2011). However, the

oppositional/critical coverage of the issue of Salala attack is framed, comparatively, high in non-violent perspective (*see table 3*).

Similarly, the Kashmir conflict is also framed, more, in violent perspective as anti-Indian demonstrations were sparked in India held Kashmir after Killing of Burhan Wani. This phase of violence was resulted in deaths of 95 Kashmiri, leaving about 15,000 injured including 850 Kashmiri with pellet injuries in their eyes (Ministry of foreign affairs, 2016). The violent oriented news coverage of the conflict of Kashmir dominated the supportive category, shaping news coverage in support of government's stance on this policy related issue. However, the neutral and oppositional categories are, mainly, reported in non-violence perspective [*see table 6*]. These findings indicate that media, mostly, supported the government's stance through violent-oriented reporting on one side while, on other hand, stressed was given on peaceful solution of the issue, especially in neutral category that is mainly reported in non-violence perspective.

Unlike the issue of Kashmir and Salala attack, the Yemen conflict is, comparatively, framed high in context of non-violent nature of issue in Pakistani media, which dominates all the three slant categories i.e. supportive, neutral and oppositional coverage. The findings reflect the nature of issue [violent and non-violent] as one of the key influencing factors, which shaped media coverage on the Yemen conflict. Contrary to the first two issues, supportive coverage of the Yemen conflict is, comparatively, framed high in context of non-violent scenario while the violent oriented news shaped 47% supportive coverage [*see table 9*]. Likewise, the issue of Salala attack, the non-violent nature of issue in the Yemen conflict dominates the rest of two slant categories i.e. the neutral and oppositional coverage in selected newspapers of Pakistan.

The key independent variables of this study including issue of certainty and nature of issue determine the nature of media coverage of policy related issues in Pakistani media, which reflect a comprehensive state of relationship between media and government. Mostly, the friendly relations exist in issues of Kashmir and Salala attack, having their nature as '*issue at home*', that directly affected Pakistan's foreign policy towards India [on Kashmir conflict] and the U.S [on Salala attack]. However, the Yemen conflict, an *issue at distance*, produced, comparatively, high oppositional/ critical coverage, hence the relationship between media and government remained, mostly, hostile in case of Yemen conflict.

These findings, which are produced either by policy certainty [in case of Kashmir conflict and Salala attack] or uncertainty [in case of Yemen conflict], are clearly in line with media-policy interaction model (Robinson, 2000a) while the findings, in case of the tragic incident of Salala that happened suddenly, did not provide evidence in support of event driven model (Lawrence, 2001), which argues that sudden and tragic events spark critical reporting, but unlikely to this notion of event driven model, the Salala attack produced more supportive coverage. These findings related to Salala attack, which support the scholarly discussion on media and policy (Livingston and Bennett, 2003; Wolfsfeld, 2004), indicate, evidently, influential role of officials both civil and military, who control this [tragic] event soon after its occurrence through their [official] control over the flow of information.

The Kashmir conflict is framed high in the context of policy certainty as Pakistani media cover this policy related issue after killing of Burhan Wani in politically controlled environment, supporting the scholarly work of Wolfsfeld(1997) who argued that politically

controlled environment leads to dominate the government's narrative in media. Moreover, the policy certainty (Robinson, 2000, 2017), mainly, shaped positive coverage on the issue of Kashmir, wherein the media carried the government's stance in political debate over the conflict.

Unlike the issue of Kashmir and Salala attack, the Yemen conflict is, mostly, framed in the context of policy uncertainty, which led the selected newspapers to cover this issue, independently of government influence (Robinson, 2001, 2017), and hence triggered high oppositional coverage. This oppositional coverage, in case of Yemen conflict, reflects indeterminate foreign policy of Pakistan regarding the issue of joining the Saudi Arab led Islamic counter military terrorism coalition. This state of policy uncertainty supports the arguments of Aday, (2010) and Wolfsfeld (1997) who argued that rather to undertake policy issues media organizations provide opportunity to the opposition voices, which is, more obviously, happen due to failure of government to control over the flow of information.

5.2. Conclusion

Apart from the above discussion on one of the key variables of this study (policy certainty) this study, mainly, adds a new set of influencing factors i.e. violent and non-violent nature of issue in the available scholarship of media and government relations in broader context of policy matters, including the scholarly works of Pier Robinson (2000, 2017), Bennett (1997) and Wolfsfeld(1997). In the context of Pakistan, which is one of the political vibrant countries of South Asia, this study found that the nature of violence [violent and non-violent nature of issue] has a vital role in shaping media coverage on policy related issues, especially on the issue of Kashmir and Salala attack. The combined

treatment of all the three selected issues show that the suddenly happened incident of Salala check post is framed high in violent perspective, followed by the politically controlled and convinced issue [the Kashmir conflict]. Contrary to the violent nature, the non-violent nature of issue, mostly, influenced the Yemen conflict, followed by the Kashmir conflict and the Salala attack respectively. [see table 15]. This different approach of the selected newspapers towards policy issues, in context of nature of violence, not only support the contextual model of this study [given in chapter 2], but the study in hand also contributes some original work that strengthens the available scholarship on media and policy in context political environment of South Asia.

Along with the contribution of the key variables of this study i.e. the nature of violence and issue of certainty, the findings, also supplement the main arguments of W. Lance Bennett (1990) indexing hypothesis, where he argued that mass-media news professionals tend to “Index” the range of voices and viewpoints in both news and editorials according to the range of views expressed in the mainstream government debate about foreign affairs topics, wherein the coverage of foreign affairs in the media will reflect the opinions and views of the foreign policy elites. This study, interestingly, highlights the role of story actors both official or political elites and unofficial/ outside actors in shaping the debate on policy issues, whereas the voices of common people, marginalized political forces and civil societies are also got space in policy issues, especially in debate on Kashmir conflict and Salala attack. Supplementing the arguments of indexing theory on ground of the selected issues, where two issues- the Kashmir conflict and the Salala attack fall in the category of ‘*issue at home*’, effected directly Pakistan’s relations with India and the U.S, and the rest of issue [the Yemen conflict] falls in the category of ‘*issue at distance*’, the

findings suggest that the policy certainty not only provides opportunities to official/ political elites to dominate debate but it [the policy certainty] also generates a state of '*public consensus*' as in case of Kashmir, where unofficial actors and/ or oppositional political parties as well as lowered groups of society also add their voices in support of government. The findings suggest that the voices of marginalized political forces, civil societies, and students' organizations were heard in the debate on the Kashmir conflict and Salala attack [see tables 4 and 7].

On other hand, the voices of marginalized groups are heard, comparatively lesser, in Yemen conflict (see table 10). The minimal concern of local people in Yemen conflict is a result of two factors, which have been derived from the above overall discussion, first, that the conflict had no direct impact on Pakistan as it was an '*issue at distance*', secondly, it is because of the nature of violence as the Yemen conflict is, mostly, covered in non-violent perspective that could not attract the voices of marginalized groups in Pakistan.

The overall findings of the study, which explain the government and media relationship in context of policy related issues in Pakistan, offer the following recommendations.

5.3. Recommendations

This study contours some suggestions to research scholars, who are studying or interested to study the relationship between media and policy related issues. As this study found significant impact of the nature of violence [violent and non-violent nature of policy issues] in determining the media coverage, therefore, it is suggested to research scholars to conduct more in-depth research studies, which will help them to understand and evaluate

the direct and indirect or visible and invisible impact of violence on media coverage of policy issues.

Similarly, the findings of this study support the key arguments of policy-media interaction model (Robinson, 2000a) as the issue of Kashmir, falls in the category of policy certainty, generated more supportive coverage in Pakistani media while comparatively more oppositional coverage was shaped on Yemen conflict, where Pakistan failed to adopt a clear policy line. These findings will help the future researchers, especially in developing countries, to analyze the nature of media coverage towards [their] governments in terms of foreign policy related issues when there is policy certainty or uncertainty.

Apart from researchers, some of the recommendations are also outlined for media, which is one of the major players that exerts direct or indirect influence over debate on policy issue[s]. These recommendations, which are given below, will help the media organizations to improve their [independent] coverage on the policy related issues.

1. The media, especially Pakistani media, should give more focus to conflict resolution than, merely, promoting the stance of government or political elites.
2. Media should highlight the contextual aspects of policy issue[s], which will help audience to understand the issue properly.
3. Media should also highlight the human sufferings and the possible financial impact of policy issue when it turns into a stage of conflict.
4. Media should try to avoid the biased approach and report the policy issue, more, objectively, especial when there is policy certainty in government's circle or the issue is exposed to violence.

5. Media should highlight the '*trend in foreign media*' on policy issue[s], supporting Pakistan's policy stance or otherwise, criticizing Pakistan's foreign policy towards its neighboring countries including India, Iran and Afghanistan, and its western allies including the U.S.
6. Last but not the least, the media should play its '*watchdog*' role in a given political environment, either favorable to government and political elites, or challenging their position and point of view on any policy issue.

5.4. Limitations of the Study

1. The findings of this study are, just, based on the contents of four selected newspapers, two each from English and Urdu press of Pakistan. Further studies may be conducted while considering the contents of broadcast and electronic media, which have their influence in shaping policy trend[s] in Pakistan.
2. Besides, regional language newspapers should also be taken into consideration. For instance, the research study that is designed to evaluate the media and government relations in context of Afghanistan crisis, the regional newspapers, publishing from Peshawar, would also be appropriate for such kind of research.
3. This study is confined to quantitative level of investigation. Scholars may also carry out qualitative research such as interviews with relevant experts, both in the field of journalism and foreign affairs. Even, mixed method research can also be conducted that would help justifying the quantitative data with qualitative investigations.

4. This study is limited to the perspectives of Pakistani media, which they hold on foreign policy issues. Study, based on comparison of media of more than one country that involved in policy issue[s], would help to investigate the dependence and independence nature of media.
5. Future studies may also be conducted to evaluate the role of international news agencies, which not only hold stakes in country of their origin but also get [financial] benefits from other countries of the world.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A

S. No.	Issue	Source	Frames	Story actor

Policy certainty	Level of certainty	Nature of violence	Level of violence	Nature of Coverage

Issues

Salala attack: 1
 Kashmir conflict: 2
 Yemen conflict: 3

Sources

Dawn: 1
The News: 2
Nawa-e-Waqt: 3
Express: 4

Frames

[Salala attack]

Protest/condemnation: 1
 Pakistan's sovereignty: 2
 U.S response on issue: 3

[Kashmir conflict]

Legitimate struggle: 4
 Victimization of Kashmiri: 5
 Peaceful resolution: 6
 Role of global community: 7

[Yemen conflict]

Political process on Yemen: 8
 Neutrality: 9
 Policy uncertainty: 10

Story actors

Officials: 1
 Unofficial/outside actors: 2
 Others: 3

Policy Certainty

Certainty: 1
 Uncertainty: 2

Levels of Certainty

High: 1 Moderate: 2 Low: 3 None: 4

Nature of violence

Violent: 1
 Non-violent: 2

Nature of media coverage

Supportive: 1
 Neutral: 2
 Oppositional: 3

Levels of Violence

High: 1 Moderate: 2 Low: 3 None: 4

Appendix B1

Statistical relationship between media coverage and policy certainty in issue of Salala check post attack

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	34.713	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	32.373	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	20.594	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	286		

Appendix B2

Association between media coverage and policy issue in a given cross table, in case of Salala attack

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.348	.000
Cramer's V	.348	.000
N of Valid Cases	286	

Appendix B3

Statistical relationship between media coverage and nature of violence on of
Salala incident

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	84.866	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	64.543	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	69.860	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	286		

Appendix B4

Association between media coverage and nature of violence in a given cross table,
in case of Salala attack

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.545	.000
Cramer's V	.545	.000
N of Valid Cases	286	

Appendix B5

Statistical relationship between media coverage and story actors on of Salala incident

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	29.291	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	33.061	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.585	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	286		

Appendix B6

Association between media coverage and story actors in a given cross table, in case of Salala attack

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.320	.000
Cramer's V	.226	.000
N of Valid Cases	286	

Appendix C1

Statistical relationship between media coverage and policy certainty on Kashmir conflict

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	157.080	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	130.445	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	142.008	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	432		

Appendix C2

Association between media coverage and policy issue in a given cross table, in case of Kashmir conflict

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.603	.000
Cramer's V	.603	.000
N of Valid Cases	432	

Appendix C3

Statistical relationship between media coverage and nature of violence on issue of Kashmir

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	156.262	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	161.157	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	136.808	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	432		

Appendix C4

Association between media coverage and nature of violence in a given cross table, in case of Kashmir conflict

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.601	.000
Cramer's V	.601	.000
N of Valid Cases	432	

Appendix C5

Statistical relationship between media coverage and story actors on Kashmir conflict.

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	52.262	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	53.704	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.017	1	.045
N of Valid Cases	432		

Appendix B6

Association between media coverage and story actors in a given cross table, in case of Kashmir issue.

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.348	.000
Cramer's V	.246	.000
N of Valid Cases	432	

Appendix D1

Statistical relationship between media coverage and policy certainty on Yemen conflict

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	117.981	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	130.768	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	117.503	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	350		

Appendix D2

Association between media coverage and policy issue in a given cross table, in context of Yemen conflict

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.581	.000
Cramer's V	.581	.000
N of Valid Cases	350	

Appendix D3

Statistical relationship between media coverage and nature of violence on Yemen conflict

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	40.725	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	44.166	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	39.376	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	350		

Appendix D4

Association between media coverage and nature of violence in a given cross table, in case of Yemen conflict

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.341	.000
Cramer's V	.341	.000
N of Valid Cases	350	

Appendix D5

Statistical relationship between media coverage and story actors on Yemen conflict

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	78.531	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	82.833	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	57.483	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	350		

Appendix D6

Association between media coverage and story actors in a given cross table, in case of Yemen conflict

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.341	.000
Cramer's V	.341	.000
N of Valid Cases	350	

Appendix E1

Statistical relationship between media coverage and Frames in issue of Salala
check post attack

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	29.490	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	29.530	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	24.565	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	286		

Appendix E2

Association between media coverage and frames in a given cross table, in case of
Salala attack

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.321	.000
Cramer's V	.227	.000
N of Valid Cases	286	

Appendix F1

Statistical relationship between media coverage and Frames in issue of Kashmir

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	63.141	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	55.769	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	40.033	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	432		

Appendix F2

Association between media coverage and frames in a given cross table, in case of Kashmir conflict

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.382	.000
Cramer's V	.270	.000
N of Valid Cases	432	

Appendix G1

Statistical relationship between media coverage and Frames in issue of Yemen conflict

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	89.211	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	83.698	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	64.896	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	350		

Appendix G2

Association between media coverage and frames in a given cross table, in case of Yemen conflict

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.505	.000
Cramer's V	.357	.000
N of Valid Cases	350	

Appendix H1

Statistical relationship between selected issues and nature of media coverage in selected press of Pakistan

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	161.076	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	160.520	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	99.693	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1068		

Appendix H2

Association between nature of media coverage and selected issues in a given cross table, regarding collective coverage

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.388	.000
Cramer's V	.275	.000
N of Valid Cases	1068	

Appendix I1

Statistical relationship between policy certainty and selected issues, reflecting in media coverage in selected Pakistani newspapers

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	162.657	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	165.297	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	65.281	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1068		

Appendix I2

Association between nature of media coverage [collectively] and policy certainty in a given cross table.

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.390	.000
Cramer's V	.390	.000
N of Valid Cases	1068	

Appendix J1

Statistical relationship between nature of violence and selected issues, showing in media coverage in selected Pakistani newspapers

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	219.478	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	232.871	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	216.075	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	1068		

Appendix J2

Association between nature of media coverage [collectively] and nature of violence in a given cross table.

	Value	Approx. Sig.
Phi	.453	.000
Cramer's V	.453	.000
N of Valid Cases	1068	

