

**Framing Strategies of Elite India- Pakistan Print Media on Their Bilateral
Relationship: An Exploratory Study**



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Relationship: An Exploratory Study**

**by
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Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of MS entitled “Framing Strategies of Elite India-Pakistan Print Media on Their Bilateral Relationship-An Exploratory Study” is entirely my own work, that I have exercise reasonable care to ensure that the work is original and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of cpyright, and has been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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Certificate of Approval

It is certified that we have read this thesis entitled “ Framing Strategies of India-Pakistan Print Media on Their Bilateral Relationship” submitted by Mr. Atta Ullah.. It is our judgement that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic University Islamabad for the award of MS Degree in Media and Communications Studies.

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Abstract

This study examines the front and back page stories of two reputed englishes newspapers, the Daily Dawn Pakistan and the Hindustan Times of India on their bilateral relationship under thematic and episodic aspects of the framing theory with three moths time frame October 2015 to December 2015. Content analysis has been used as a reaserch design. After proper analysis of the contents it is found out that 60% stories covered under episodic aspect by the newspapers of both countries. Comparative anlaysis shows that Daily Dawn Pakistan covere stories with more thematic and less episodic approach than The Daily Hindustan Times of India. The Daily Hindustan Times cover stories with more episodic aspect and less of thematic approach.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Media has been considered the fourth pillar of the state alongwith Exccutive, Legislation and Judiciary and play a vital role in interpreting and molding insights of the public and to develop the opinion and attitudes in the considered directions. This dissertation is based on the hypothesis that epidsodic frame will dominate the framing strategies in two countries newspapers and episodic frame will mostly be used negatively in portrayal of Indo-Pak relationship, therefore, it will be an utmost pre-requisite to reflect key issues and core areas of discussion between the two strained neighbours and then to check out the framing treatment of the selected newspapers on the hypothesis of the researcher to proceed towards conclusions whether the research findings supports the hypothesis or not in correspondent to the research hypothesis. First important step is to present purview of Indo-Pak relations in historical perspective and to prioritize the important core areas aiming at to arrive at the role of print media on these issues. As episodic frames are the micro analysis of the issues and being not considered as favourable and supportive to resolve issues in comparision to the thematic frames which studies and analyze the complete aspects of the problems with different angles in other words an analysis based on macro aspect.

1.2 Indo-Pakistan Relations historical overview & Core issues of conflict

Since indpendence in 1947 and its further divide in two nations – both these countries have stuck into continuning conflict as their partition was basically stood on the religious grounds between two opposite communities the Hindus and the Muslims. The history of relations between the two countries are taken in the most difficult situation as in one hand it is a forever acknowledgment of the need to talk to each

other with option that no one is ready to step forward and to break the stalemate in realisation of good relations.

A prime minister of one country extend a hand of friendship to the other and similar reciprocation and like wise sentiments from the latter. Both the countries made pledges for cementing diplomatic relations and prisoners are being freed and in one stage there was strong news in the air that after Iraq both were agreed to keep Americans out of the sub-continent but due to the eternal ups and down the progress made turned to reverse. India never ready to accept third party mediation in Kashmir while Pakistan always welcomed it as a very pragmatic and good option to pursue.

Some positive thinker observed it as a positive development that India acknowledges Kashmir to be at least one of the issues that need to be discussed, but Pakistan consider Kashmir as a sole and core issue between the two countries in line with other issues. The recent past Pakistan's moves to take actions against the terrorists has been taken as an encouraging development, but the Indian satisfaction level is unknown.

The question does arise that is there any reason exist to believe that both these nations are now finally approaching towards a peaceful and meaningful direction.? The reply is that these are so called sentimental approaches towards peace with no pragmatic measurement towards amicable solutions of problems and issues. Conflicts as a troubled nations has contributed adversely to the economies of both the countries especially to Pakistan count keeping in mind the magnitude and cushion of the economy.

Many observers point out that the gap between India and Pakistan has considerably widened in economic and military terms. On this count of Indian view, if these neighbour come with confrontation India will come as dominant but Pakistan will ruin. But this view is necessarily will not prevail due to

India internal threats and terrorism aspect which fall India into defence Jeopardy. India's politics has become much more explosive, its different freedom movements in Punjab and Kashmir.

These freedom movements in India is real and potent and likely to take the turn in dangerous direction. In Indian terms the vulnerability of cross borders terrorism has tensed the relation between muslims and Hindus. The sense of terrorism is not only changing the face of democracy in USA but it also assuage our experience of democracy in India as well. India should not promote the thought that skirmishes and conflicts with Pakistan would not have adverse consequences on her face as a nation and stigma on democracy. This is understandable that continued disturbance with Pakistan will mark the Indian external policy more weaker than any practical defensive move.

Both India and Pakistan with nuclear capabilities have become a dangerous flashpoint on the globe with calculation of nuclear undue use against rival one. Their inability to come with cordial friendly fold has opened an entry gate for the external interference. If talks are to succeed both sides will have to go in with a sense that there is too much at stake to allow talks to fail. Both the nations are still not acknowledging the price of dialogue deferment or its partial failure. Beyond disputes and conflicts both sides should engage in dialogue serial. But is there any available package of incentives to bind both India and Pakistan for mutual interactions? And what would they present each other on this unlevelled field? What would break the frozen relations icebergs? To be fair, a very sincere efforts of talks has been offered by Pakistan but never a tit for tat response has been received. India always insisting to discuss all issues excluding Kashmir, but Pakistan with its principal stance that Kashmir is the core issue and must have core value in the dialogue process.

The renewed offer of talks may have been prompted by many factors. First, much of the world, including the US, is rather tired of India's and Pakistan's inability to get together. There were some

bleak signs that the G-8 group was finally agreed some what a resolution of Kashmir issue. India's move may have been a smart way of pre-empting any international activity. Second, while the Americans have formally acceded to India's grievances over terrorism, it is crystal clear that they are not going to pressure down on Pakistan as much as India had expected they would, despite the considerable impression on Pakistan. India's expectation that the global phenomena of war on terrorism would itself turn on Pakistan and would be punished under this undue phenomena but Pakistan has globally proved that her stand on this issue is very much transparent and India plot to declare Pakistan a terrorist country failed in every count. There is no international solution to the terrorism problems this is India and Pakistan to come forward and solve the problem bilaterally. Pakistan dealing with terrorism problems at global level realises India that its policies to make Pakistan alone in the international arena completely proved unsuccessful and unfruitful. After Iraq, the Vajpayee's undue remarks to the fact that world has changed now was designed to look on Pakistan position was a clear sign for USA to call for greater interference in Pakistan. This is a clear approach of India to America to take action against Pakistan. No one quite knows whether a hovering American threat to intervene in Pakistan is real in any way.

India allegedly claim that talks initiative by Pakistan to engage India is a strategic weapon which Pakistan want to use for catching the world attention especially America for having the influence of America and world community on the core issue of Kashmir on side line of all other outstanding conflicts between these two countries. This is a strategical move of Pakistan to engage in talks. India is of the probable belief that military settlement of the problems is not a preferred way keeping in mind the aftermath of military solution. Here it is also worth mentioning that a clear definition of terrorist activities and freedom fighter movements is not exist in the so called campaign against terrorism. The living example of Kashmir is there, India termed the freedom movement as a terrorist activities started by the infiltrator on the behalf of Pakistan, however, Pakistan is publically declared that Kashmir

freedom movement is the home nurtured efforts of the Kashmiri people and Pakistan only providing moral and ethical support. India aggressive tone to attack on precision against terrorist hide out in Pakistan was to built psychological pressure on Pakistan and than on backfoot that their armed forces are not structured for such precision- demanding operations.

These are the nul slogans could not justify precarious state of their air force, which is not at high edge over Pakistan Air force as the latterone is compatible enough to combate aggressive attack of powerful enemy. Simply put, even apart from the risk of a nuclear escalation, India cannot achieve its objectives through military action. What will India and Pakistan talk about? What can they offer each other? These questions cast shadows that darken the horizons of any space for dialogue created by the recognition of necessity or a revival of good sentiment.

No doubt at this critical stage both the countries restore diplomatic relations, set free all those innocent imprisoned citizens from both sides, and perhaps clear the way for greater cultural relations and exchanges between citizens. But the pevailed culture of suspicion that questions the governments of both countries makes any meaningful openness is an unpragmatic.

India and Pakistan should make effort to promote trade relations and strengthen economic ties and to follow principle of free market economy and easy market accesss to each other for stablizing economies of both countries.India and Pakistan could and ought to encourage trade between the two countries and sort out all economic ties constructively.

In the long run both countries have a good deal to gain from mutual economic relations, at least if they measure their gains in absolute and not relative terms. India has started rethinking about routing an oil pipeline through Pakistan with worried that this would give leverage Pakistan over India with pragmatic

effects. All these pros and cons should be considered before taking any concrete step, however both the countries must have some sympathy of national interest of the other to proceed forward on major issues. But while economic ties are a sensible place to start, bilateral discussion on economic ties have three parameters.

First, the economic gains are not so overwhelming that they can alter the course of the general relationship between the two countries, as we have seen in the recent past. Second, although trade is being considered a gateway for extensive cultural liaison, so it can be affirmably said that in case of India and Pakistan the fundamental link will be an alternate way around.

It is appropriate supposition that India will allow unbarred movement of Pakistan citizens for larger economic benefits even if it does not ensure a low level non-governmental exchange?

In other words, trade cannot cause a general thaw in relations, it depends upon that thaw. Third, realistically arguing that economic relation of not significant value in domestic perspective of both these nations.

If Pakistan gets the most favoured nation trading status, or India gets access to Pakistan's markets, will it significantly strengthen the domestic political constituency for peace in either country? Will Musharraf be able to say he got something from India? Security concerns ought to have the highest priority. But here again, both military de-escalation and talks on nuclear issues depend on a prior sense of trust. The dialogue initiative and to retain normal relations between the two rivals will precedes their military tensions. But this assuage in tension will be proved as stable and permanent to stand as extensive peace. But this diminution in tension will be only as enduring as the wider peace within which it is wrapped. (Ganguly, Conflict unending, 2001).

The most important issues remain Kashmir and terrorism. There is a significant peculiarity in Indian stance that Kashmir is not one of the core issues but terrorism is when the both are kept in weightage. It is difficult to decide that dialogue on terrorism without discussing the core issue of Kashmir could proceed further. It is Pakistan to restrain from helping terrorist activities and to stop fundamentalist penetrators. For Pakistan to stop supporting terrorism and actively clamp down on fundamentalist activities, Pakistan has now decided that Kashmir cannot be grasped through armed compulsions and to stop activities to bleeding India and extract a heavy price from it.

Can Pakistan be supposed to have committed to this proposition? At least, no and never; the crux is that there is no sure way to find the truth. Pakistan's each sitting regime have hook or by crook proved themselves legitimised with their standing positions and understated the Indian pressure and there is no real reason to think that this reality has changed. Pakistan's domestic political economy and the brainchild developed by the Pakistani rulers will have necessarily to be shifted, considerably prior to their adherence to this proposition becomes credible in Indian eyes. It could be argued, as suggested above, that interference in Kashmir has damaged Pakistan's preferences. It could also be argued that terrorism in Kashmir simply had the effect of delegitimising the grievances of the Kashmiris themselves; at the very least it has generated considerable anti-Pakistan sentiment in the Valley. The elections in Kashmir have only strengthened India's moral claims and if India continues to adopt the course of real form of sharing authority and understanding, will be in a position to reestablish regime in Kashmir. In perspective of Pakistan it is positive incentive to restrain from any kind of state nurtured destabilizing activity in Kashmir. The question is: which Pakistani leader will have the political courage to explicitly explain this logic? Will Pakistan have any other interest and reasons to worry India through enticement? This is a big question mark from Indian count. It seems quite difficult if not impossible to have stopped

terrorism as a whole, despite sincere efforts by Pakistan. What would count as credible success from an Indian point of view?

This is a dual responsibility of both the nations to have a thorough system of monitoring that after a reasonable suppression by Pakistan on terrorists is at least not responsible for any kind of passion. On the other count India will also have to stop to blame Pakistan for every wrongdoing. Is India's statement have their political courage and wisdom to stop henceforth the blame game against Pakistan for all domestic problems in India. It is apparent that both sides, perhaps Pakistan somewhat more than India, have to very pointedly come to terms with where their real interests lie (Mehta, 2003).

Musharraf was quite active to have developed cordial relations with India. Let us suppose even that he has every reason to curtail terrorism, enhance economic relations with India. And let us it is imagine that India could be assured that Pakistan will take all possible measures for India satisfaction, then the question does arise that what India will do in reciprocal? India still could arguably persist the responsibility to be on Pakistan shoulder to be fixed. If this stance is supposed to be true it is more than a strong assurance that it would never solve the political dilemma of the Pakistan leadership. If it is resupposed that Pakistan accedes Indian stance on Kashmir by relinquishing all the claims that Kashmir will be wrested and would compromise with the current status quo it clamps down on terrorism, what will it get in return? Even if we formalise the LoC, as some have suggested, the net result will be a concession to India, without any returns aimed at Pakistan.

Suppose is something exist that permit leadership of Pakistan to have a major rebate from India in returns what would be that in black and white? No option is acceptable to India that visibly could not be captioned as a plain setback to Pakistan. While the logic of interests would suggest that in the long run India-Pakistan relations need not be a zero sum game, in any negotiations they will always be seen as such. The Indian leadership will have to ask this pointed question. Can anything can be granted to

Pakistan for sake of defence and claim it to be a minor success ? During the Simla agreement, if P N Dhar is to be believed, India conceded Bhutto's request that India not humiliate Pakistan further by insisting on formalising all aspects of an agreement on Kashmir. That resolution proved to be unstable and it is not clear that any Indian administration will now be in the mood to let Pakistan hide behind ambiguity, even if it is only for the sake of their domestic constituencies. So we are in a situation where triumph for both of the two countries could not be claimed simultaneously, and any talks that do not provide both the nations with triumph, there remains no reason except to assuage the respective local constituencies are viably difficult to make progress.

I predict that the basic thing for India is not to eliminate bad omens about Pakistan leaderships convictions for an everlasting peace. We could at least think of institutional mechanisms that address this problem. The impossibility is that India as such no lenient compensatory measurement to present to Pakistan which are politically acceptable and creditable inside Pakistan. As a final option both the countries need a politically developed culture to concede that nationalism sometime play an anmity role against the national interest; and therefore we should develop a culture as a levelled field to pay for a brief time envisaging an updated sturcture for the subcontinent; and an environment that will permit both the nations to sideline the remnants of historical relations has always come with a negative role. Until all this ground alterations no pragmatic success on any count is a concept to build castle in the air. All the assumption and paradigms for good relation have always proved a success for one side and defeat for the other despite of the fact each one has the potential to ruin other (Mchta, 2003).

And where only one side can win there is little incentive to play the game. We want to talk, but each side wants to not let the other win, or give anything at all that could be construed as a victory. But we have no option but to try and break out of the current stalemate. Since both countries will eventually

Since the first war of 1948, Pakistan and India fought many skirmishes and two other wars (referred to 1965 and 1971), Conflicts icidently started between the two nations especially due to Pakista's involvment in Jamu's fight for independence from the Indian goernment. Bother countrics agreed for cease fire, called Line of Conrol (LoC) in Kashmir followed by a new phase of skirmish raised between these rivals in Siachen and mostly controlled by the India. After the 1984 Siachen War, both Pakistan and India have

established military posts on the clacier, which has somehow balanced out tensions include sir creek, Karil, Siachin etc.

1.4 Water Issues

The major component of the Indus Riveris fall in China and the head source of basin located in India and the chanks of the subsidiaries come in Pakisstan. Of the Indus Basin's 1,138,800 km area, fifty two percent is in Pakistan and thirty four percent in India; the rest fourteen percent falls in China Afghanistan and Nepal. (Farwa Idrees, 2005). Disputes about water distribution between the rival states has got started since partition in 1947. In the era 1947 to 1960 many efforts were made to solve the water issues bilaterally but with sorrow results and never seen on the same page for settlement and finally international mediation had to be requisitioned.

Pakistan has an agrarian economy and major components of its population directly or indirectly attached to the agriculture sector for livelihood. Therefore, water has the key importance for well nurturing of the agrculture based economy and allied needs for fisheries etc. The paucity of water has created a major differcece in supply and demand paradigm consequent upon their further sub division of water between

provinces, states which has created continued tension in each country. As Peter Gleick has pointed out in a report" written in a report "one factor remains constant: the importance of water to life means that providing for water needs and demands will never be free of politics. The water is was and will be an issue of vital importance in the whole subcontinent and both rival states India and Pakistan will always in tug of wars in passage of time if not solved on regular basis. The British government divided the land in such a way that all rivers went to the Indian territories. These terms were not acceptable since Pakistan had depended upon the Indus basin for decades. The new demarcations made that its water sources are originated from another country. Subcontinent partition was carried out in 73 days but it seems that the division of the Indus water basin is still not acceptable to anyone till now.

As discussed above, agriculture is the backbone of the Pakistan economy, For agriculture a proper irrigation system is required. Due to population growth, water consumption increases manifold as well as pressure on agriculture but both the countries have limited water resources. Pakistan water supply had decreased 75% per capita in last 60 years and the country only has few dams to store rain water. Due to the construction of several dams to store rain water. Due to the construction of several dams by India, both the water supply and the direction of the water streams to Pakistan have changed.

These actions infringe the Indus Water Treaty which leads Pakistan a severe water shortage. Pakistan faces floods almost every year because when the water level exceeds the capacity of the dams constructed by India, they release the water which flows downstream into Pakistan territory. Usually during the highest flows in these rivers become destructive in the shape of flooding which enter the nearby cities and villages, a lot of people lost their lives, properties, crops and animals, which presented the bad image of Government bodies in the water resources management because its highest flow was not one or two times.

We can see this highest flow was not one or two times. We can see these government bodies never take it seriously and did not make any permanent solution of this and people are losing their belongings and life still now. It is assumed that if India continually violates the treaty, it may lead to water conflicts between both atomic powers, it would be the first war on water in the world, which may lead to devastating the life and environment due to the nuclear capabilities of both countries.

1.4.1 Indus Basin & Indus Water Treaty (IWT) 1960

Stephen P. Cohen has observed, "The Indus Waters Treaty is a pattern and symbol for cooperation in regional perspective in the area of energy, environmental issues and also its management in the area of populous of water. This treaty was signed by the Government of Pakistan and Government of India. The aim of this agreement was to solve the water-related issues of both countries. Accordingly, the Indus Water Treaty (IWT) India has rights on water of Eastern Rivers (Ravi, Sutluj and Bias); While Pakistan has right on water of western rivers e.g. Jhelum, Chinab and Indus (Indus Water Treaty 1960). Treaty includes almost all information regarding the use of water, commission of water, exchange of data, future cooperation and dispute settlement. Under the Treaty, India is authorized to make all season use of water of Eastern Rivers. Pakistan was permitted by way of exception to take water for domestic use, non-consumptive use and certain limited agricultural use.

1.5 Issue of Terrorism

The argumentative and strained relations between these two rival states mostly reasoned towards their regional unsolved disputes gravely originated to their unjust partition. These unsolved conflicts or may be called disputes slowly and gradually further extend the scope of the overall conflicts followed by some other type of non-traditional and organizational conflicts. Terrorism is one of the most burning issue when these genre of hostilities are being taken into account. What are reasons to be quoted when

one speaks on terrorism may be a mixture of some solid and unsolid elements, however for the last some year, terrorism has appeared as an unique bilateral issue between these rival states.

Interestingly, it was the difference between the two states over their respective 'positions' on this issue, which proved to be the stumbling block at the Agra Summit as well as the worsening of bilateral relations in the aftermath of 9/11 and the terrorist attack on the Indian parliament. The positional adjustment on the same issue (on the part of Pakistan) became the starting point of the current peace process initiated in February 2004

Who will be kept responsible and why both states are facing grave mistrust and uncertainty regarding each other therefore both of them are purely failed to trace the root cause of terrorism and badly engaged in the blame game domestically and at international forums promoting the culture of rivalry and antagonism. The micro elements of uncertainty and mistrust are the logics each country unduly possessed with to avoid any type of its involvement in the rebellious act against the other country. This game of play and hide continued since beginning has either weighed down the relationship or culminated at a very blurring position. In the present biological wide spread elements of so-called non state actors has further bost up the mutual mistrust and miscalculation.

These continued game of subversive planes to blackmail each other are so strong that signs of involvement in that mishappening are either altogether non-existent or with a very blurred pictures and no one can claim a clear involment of the other and the vicious circle is continued to move on.

India is continued to blame Pakistan for almost all mideeds which are called in common trms insurgency and terrorist activities whether in India or Indian occupied Kashmir. Affixed to the stance India has preconditioned ties with Islamabad upon an anti-terrorist operation against the infiltrators as India claimed having strong suport from Pakistan. Pakistan has never accepted these plain allegation of the

Indian government, however, India in continue efforts to change the behaviour of Pakistan and to some extent succeeded . The incidents and occurrence of terrorisms is increasing with ever day pass and so the the status quo of terrorism to be a core issue among others is further strengthened. In the prevailing circumstance it is quite difficult for both countries to handle with these nasty affairs of terrorist activities however, terrorists are very comfortably making transactions of their own.

New versions of terrorist activities such as rleigious extremism and other home nurtured forms are being introduced with new styles of occurrence and with a very bad consequences. Now it is the need of the hour to handle these activities with a tactful manner to control the menace of terrorism with their nafarious designs rather than a tool for undue political motives matiching with the objectives of terrorists.

For the successful cemented dialogues process it is now exact point in the time to remove all the standing hurdles and to resolve all the outstanding issues and disputes bilateraly. To leave with peace and tranquility the sole option to create en enviornment of trust and confidence among the citizens of both the countries otherwise all the measure will prove a futile efforts and nothing will be gained in return (Noor, April 2007).

1.6 Siachen Glacier

Since 1984 India & Pakistan have been in fight with one another through their armed forces to have cemented their control over Siachen Glacier and each ones furtherest to the eastern Karakoram mountaineous range, trialiterally annexed to the borders of India, Pakistan and China. The continued armed conflict between two strong and regular armies of the two strong rivals of the subcontinent have proved casualties in high tolls mostly due to unfriendly environment and climatic reasons prevailed in that range of mountain. The price paid in economic terms by both the countries in this unfriendly region

and seasonally inhospitable area is no doubt quite unimaginable. All effort made in the past to make and find out an amicable

solution acceptable both the countries have not carried out any fruitful results due to their mistrust on each other. To find out a stable solution to the problems mainly depend upon more than anything else on political will of the top political leaderships of both the countries

besides full thought out monitoring mechanism with reasonable justification to enable enhanced their capability culminating towards long existing and durable accord of the Siachen.(Sahani, 1998-03-01)

1.7 Statement of the Problem

This study investigates that how Pak & India media report on bilateral relations. Main focus would be whether reporting is being done through episode or thematic frame.

1.8 Objective of the Study

The objectives of this study are:-

1. To know that what types of framing are used by the media of two countries.
2. To know whether the media of two countries provide a macro or micro level level of analysis to report on bilateral relations.
3. To know differences between different topics between India & Pakistan.

1.9 Significance of the Study

By conducting this study it will be analyzed that how elite English press cover the stories as thematic framing is considered a complete picture and helpful in understanding the whole issue in contrary to episodic framing based on individual incidents or occurrence and provide a limited scope.

News media reflects Foreign Policy of states. The micro and macro level of news media analysis has significant consequences for public knowledge of other country.

Chapter 2

LITERATUR REVIEW

The present arena has been termed as the age of information and speedy communication with the focused role of media in shaping and changing the public perception about all issues of public interest in any form; from entertainment to sports, trade to bilateral relations between countries and neighbours. While analyzing the key role of print media in framing the Indo-Pak relationship some key studies have been selected to glance over into and to portray the real face of media while dealing and transacting with the strained relationship between India and Pakistan. As a matter of fact there are always two aspects of the media' reporting issues generally taken into consideration one positive approach to minimize the distances with possible feasible measurements and the other is the sensational approach exacerbating the issues with negative flavor creates undue polarization and hurdles among public to public contacts. Thus there appears a common flavor of nationalism and beneficial relationship between states and media while reporting on official dialogue. It is ironic that in many domestic issues, the media and the States do not on the same line, but while it comes to India-Pakistan relations, a considerable likeness and conformity in their respective policies are found with the sole aim to protect nationalism and to get both the counties stand aside to minimize the options of amicable solutions of issues between the neighbours. All that's are encapsulate by the media is mistrust, suspicion, inertia and predispositions which keeps festering for years.

Numerous studies frame the Pakistan India mutual relations carried out by different by a number of researchers and scholars on the Pak-India relations. Zahid says that Pakistan India relations mostly remained on the strained page since partition with efforts to bring them in frindly fold, however, all proved aimless and the concept of cordial relation is still the imaginary (Zahid Yousaf, 2013).

(Ahmed, 2004) framed the trade between the two countries and focussed the comparative price of consumable commodities which are at low toll in the countries of the region. He suggested that trade relations should be cemented for the welfare of the citizens of both the countries and larger interest of the regions.

According to Sabir & Rasul (2011) Pakistani reputed English press is developing the larger component of the citizens view point through different frames. The issue of Kashmir is specilly focussed and all the pros and cons have been discussed at length they are of the opinions that Kashmir issue should be amicably and to the entire satisfaction of the Kashmiri peopple.

Seth, (2016) argued while highlighted the importance of journalism quotes the words of John Ilger, the reputed and renowned Australian war correspondent 'Without it, our sense of injutice would lose ites vocabulary and people would not be armed with the information they need to fight it." She observed that none of the media of these neighbour follow the quoted ideal and overall position is that negativism being used as a preface on coverage of India-Pakistan relations. She specifically underlined the unduc tilt of media in India towards the State policy while covering the relationship between the countries.

The researcher argued that however there is an enmity that divide India and Pakistan but at the same time there is common ties and heritage and other common annexures stood as a fact to flourish cordial relations. She argued that conflicts are not the only peace of discussion between India and Pakistan but have a shared alikeness in cultures to enjoy. She underpinned the importance of commercial cinema as an impresive tool to fight cverlasting prejudices between India and Pakistan for positive transformation of societies. She lamented the nationalist and patriotism sentiments that negatively cover the media interactions. She observed that media have have a significant impact on the conduct of negotiations

between both the countries. She argued that solutions to strained relationship is for the media selection of role to play that of gatekeeper, scorekeeper or a watchdog.

Siraj (2007) conduct a study on war and peace journalism framing Kashmir as conflict between Pakistan and India in two newspapers of US of vital importance i.e. New York Times and Washington Post, for the period of one year from January 2001 onwards. The causal of the selection of this period was mutual unrest during in this point in time was very high and they were at the verge of practical war like situation with the risk of nuclear war. Kashmir has been the bone of contention between the two rival states since independence due to unjust decision made against the basic norms of partition. Uptil now atleast four big wars have been fought, the first one in 1948 and the last is of 1999 and have agreed mutually on many avowals and announcement of peace but all efforts come with failure and no solid achievements have been made. The terrorist activities from borders now has reached to all areas of both countries with new patterns and dimensions. India blames terrorists from Pakistan for attacks and killings in the Kashmir valley while Pakistan also blame India for undue attacks in Pakistan with toll of casualties in different of the countries (Dasgupta 2006).

Siraj (2007), while focussing while analyzing the appearance of Pakistan Pakistan in the US newspapers, reveals that mostly covered stories regarding Pak-India relations about peace and security issues of both the countries. During period of research span from 2001 to 2002, Siraj suggests US government not interested in any kind of war between the two countries but whole heartedly intends that Pakistan sincerely focus on the war against terrorism with mobilization of armed forces on the borders attached to Afghanistan to fight terrorism with full power. agrees that the US government never wanted war between Pakistan and India, rather wanted Pakistan to fully concentrate on the war against terrorism

and mobilize its forces on the border with Afghanistan to combat terrorism. The only motive to eject all threats of war and war like situation but to concentrate how to develop economic and social activities.

Siraj,(2007) while analyse the overall image received to Pakistan in US newspapers portray Pakistan with unfavourable approach and treats in black and white as enemy not as a friend. In accordance to the researcher the approach in US newspapers about Pakistan image is quite different in both journalism and peace frame and never correspond in true directions. In contrary the India portrayal in the US newspapers is quite favourable and mostly been treated as a friend and in rare cases slightly with undue treatment. India image is favoured in the war journalism setting than peace journalism. The undue and foe like picture in the sample papers may be clearly comprehend within the background of Islamic country with nuclear weapons. The second second reason is that Pakistan has ever been in enmity fold with Isreal and friendly relationship with China.

Khan (2013) conduct a study on Pak-India Relations that how Pakistan leading news papers portray core issues of Pakistan-India by selecting two elite News paper i.e. The Nations and The News concentrating the editorials coverage for the period from February 2008 to 2010 under theoretical brainchild of Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model and framing theory. Contents of these elite Newspapers were analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The research historically highlighted the severe relations focusing the opposing and different religious demographics with their strained relations since period of partitions and territorial issues and borders tensions.

The researcher specifically refers to frequently disturbed by tension on borders and outbreak of hostilities, like the wars of 1948, 1965 and 1971. The research observed that the main area of confliction between both countries is the issue of Kashmir. A major clash between India and Pakistan took place in the Kargil sector on the same issue. The researcher suggests that In the collective interest of

subcontinent, it is indispensable for both countries to develop a policy of mutual The researcher recommends that press is considered a great game player in normalization of relations, the researcher selected two Newspapers (The News and The Nation) with the sole reason having a huge circulation and reputation among the readers. These newspapers are playing an role in covering the national as well as international issues and providing information with healthy criticism and responsibility to educate the masses through their editorial coverage.

After thorough editorial analysis the researcher finds that The Nation supported the government's policy on Kashmir issue; Mumbai attacks and it opposed the government's policy on Negotiations. The Nation emphasized on the permanent solution of the Kashmir issue according to UN resolutions. It believes that the future of peace in South Asia by and large depends on the Kashmir issue. The Nation endorsed the president reaffirmation of Pakistan's commitment on Kashmir issue. The Nation supported the government's stance on Mumbai attacks. Pakistan always tries to reduce tensions in the region and condemn the terrorism. The Nation endorsed the Pakistani efforts in this connection. It endorsed the Pakistani response on the investigation on Mumbai attacks.

In brief, it is concluded that English Press in Pakistan gives a lot of importance to international issues relevant to Pakistan. Press is also free in Pakistan to criticize government and it is playing a watchdog role and press also shows patriotism like other institutions during times of conflict with other countries.(Khalid, 2014). The researcher highlights the importance of media to minimize the adverseries among the two nuclear states vulnerable to continued crisis and stubborn issues. The researcher points out the ever failure of these states to inter into a meaningful dialogue rightly culminates at solid achievements. "Aman Ki Asha" selected as a case study of peace media nurturing a level field for creating brotherhood sentiments on both sides.

Focussing the key role of media the researcher suggests that construction and revival of peace and brotherhood are the key elements of every society stands as a significant pre-cursor of human existence. The Researcher reiterates that media is fourth influential pillar besides Executive, Legislation and Judiciary have the potential to shape and mold the opinions and attitudes of the public at large.

The researcher co-relate the study on the findings of Benard Cohan where he concluded that “the press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it stunningly successful in telling readers what to think about”, therefore, the research marked this theory as most relevant in the subcontinent stands on the war-oriented agenda setting among the other reasons of strained relations between the two states. As this theory is mainly focused the television viewing effects on the audience exposed and vulnerable to television contents are liable to shape opinion more similar to television media. “Aman Ki Asha” has been taken as a positive move of peace journalism and the researcher counted various meritorious aspects of this type of peace journalism after 2008 animosity media’s treatment of Mumbai incident.

This notion is based on the role of media in confidence building and bilateral discourse between the two countries started in January 2010 by two elite newspaper “Jang Group” of Pakistan and Indian “Times of India”. The project was aimed at to develop peace objectives between the two states and to create and mobilize public support. This peace building initiative forced the journalist’s community to bring shared values and cultural correspondence of these two countries and given up sensational disparities to promote and provide a level field for cordial relations. It has covered issues with wide scope including trade, business, culture, language, education, visa policy, health issues, politics, cricket diplomacy, lifestyle, music, drama, movies and other grave issues like Siachen, war prisoners, Kashmir and water issues. The research after thorough encouraging pictures of this initiative concluded that peace

journalism as an autonomous theme of peace-research. The researcher culminates at a point that after having gone through an entire literature a peaceful media can play a revival role in forgotten history of both countries and to refill the communication gap and to allow free movement of people (Mediratta, 2014).

The researcher conducted a study on bilateral trade normalization by covering the periods late 1990s, mid-2000s and early 2010s. Media coverage interlinked with these activities to check out the impression that media coverage is pre-occupied with security dimensions between the two countries and non-security issues are on exclusion such as trade. Five Newspapers have been selected i.e. Times of India, Economic Times, Business Standard, New York Times (NYT) and Wall Street Journal. The researcher found out that Economic Times, Business Standard and Wall Street Journal cover heavily trade related activities between India and Pakistan while Times of India and New York Times in contrary do not.

A focused consensus of the researcher that media objective to publish reporting on negative events for the sole purpose of improved viewers ratings. The researcher observed that the commercial aspect is prominent. The Researcher intimates that future India-Pakistan relations will be based on greater cooperation and lesser antagonism. He referred to improved public opinion and the country foreign policy suggests that "with the scholarship on Indian public opinion and the country's foreign policy suggests that "with the spread of education and media the Indian public is becoming increasingly aware of India's foreign policy options and the issues at stake" (Blarel & Pardesi, 2013).

Bose (2011) conducts a study covering the negative role of print media by quoting of Najam Sethi, Editor, Friday Times (Pakistan) remarks that "I regret to say that the media in both countries remain entrapped in narrow nationalism and remain part of the problem rather than the solution (Bose, 2011).

The researcher argues that media of both the countries are closely portraying nationalism and sentiments of jingoism. The researcher took 03 events as case studies The Kargil War of May 1999, The Agra

Summit of June 2001 and The Mumbai Terror Attacks of Nov. 2008. Terming the origin of the media in Pakistan purining the agenda of anti-muslim propaganda special heed paid to English Newspaper Dawn founded by Mohammad Ali Jinnah terming the Islam as significant pillar of nationalism and nexus between the religious leaders and the military, the civil bureaucracy and intelligence services had a huge influence on the Pakistan media.

In all above case studies it is pointed out that sentiments of nationalism were painted on both side by the media and it became utterly helpless and obedient. Media of both electronic and print pushed the official view points rather than independent or investigative approach. There is a desire for peace and for this purpose two reputed media houses of India and Pakistan-Times of India Group and the Jang Group and Jang Group- launch a campaign on January 1, 2010 to build a peace and bridges between both nations. A day after the launch of the Aman Ki Asha campaign, the right wing Nawa-e-waqt newspaper of Pakistan, saying they do not forget that it was on the issue of culture and economy, the two nation theory came into being and became the basis for the division of India. The main compulsion is the fixed mindsets and myth in both sides and media on both sides the glasses too.

2.1 Episodic Vs. Thematic Stories

The episodic frame is the more prevalent one. It ordinarily takes the form of an event-based news report. An example would be the depiction of the terrorism issue in the context of an Irish Republican Army bombing in Northern Ireland. The thematic frame provides a broader perspective; it reports the issue in the context of "collective outcomes, public policy debates, or historical trends". An example would be a news story that discusses the terrorism issue against the backdrop of the historical bitterness between Northern Ireland's Protestants and Catholics. On the basis of experimental research, Iyengar concludes that episodic framing on television encourages viewers to assign the blame for society's problems to individuals, rather than to social and political institutions, such as Congress or political parties.

Thematic framing is concluded to have the opposite effect. Because television news emphasizes episodic framing, says Iyengar, it deflects the blame for problems from government, resulting in a weakening of political accountability. (ShantoIyengar, (Dec., 1992),)

Episodic news frame are those that apply a narrow-angle lens to the coverage of the issue-focusing on individual case studies and discrete events. In contrast, thematic news frames are those that apply a wide angle lens coverage to the issue-focusing trends overtime and highlights context and environment.

Episodic frame highlights how to fix the person experience a problem, while a thematic frame highlights how to fix the conditions that led to the problems. Episodic frame would more likely approach the audience as consumers in contrast to thematic frame, which approach the audience as citizens. Finally the solution to problems within an episodic frame is better information in contrast to thematic frame, which asks for better policies.

Iyengar (1991) found that episodic frame produced individual attributions for political problems and thematic frame produced societal attributions for political problems. Societal attributions of responsibility lead people to offer greater support for government programmes to solve political problems and hold political leaders responsible. Episodic framing of political problems diverts attentions from societal responsibility and lead people to hold individual responsible for their own situations, thereby diminishing the support for government programmes designed to address problems.

An alternative possibility is that episodic frames are less persuasive than the thematic frames because the arguments are processed with less depth. The persuasive effect of the episodic frames would seem to run through their ability to engender sympathy and pity. Results of experiment shows that episodic framing operates both effective and cognitive routes.

For journalists the frames may be employed in coverage of any number of issues. There are ways of telling the story that make it understandable and accessible to readers. Journalists often use episodic

frames because they believe them to be more compelling and more likely to draw the readers or viewers to the story. Episodic are thought to be more more emotionally engaging. Partisans also use what might be considered for much of the same reason. Advocates frequently highlights a particular individual story as illustrative of a braoder issue as compelling way to use their case.

The media frame issues in an "episodic" manner, focusing on unrelated events and idiosyn- cratic happenings. "Thematic" framing, containing contextual information that allows citizens to make broader connections between issues, is lacking. (Mendilson, 1996).

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Framing is applied to explain that how print media of Pakistan and India is dissiminating news on relationship of both countries and to find out the type of frame used by the selected news papers.

2.3 Framing Theory

Entman(1993) referred to framing as “ dotted conceptualization” deficient of elucid definitions and depends on contextual narrations rather than operationalization generally applicable for all situations. (A.Scheufele, Winter 1999). Brosius and Eps (1995) define that framing is not a concept which could be easily applied to all research based questions. Keeping this aspect of the framing definitions this terms is being used in a like but always with eminent different slants .McCombs, Shaw and Weaver (1997) recommends that agenda setting and framing are inter changeable but framing serves as a extension to agenda setting. Generally the term as a second level agenda-setting is being used whenever the impacts of the media are going to be checked on the audience.

Journalist communitiies use various aspect of the frames in time of coverage of different issues. Realistically speaking these are changed ways of advocating the narrations for understanding of the readers in the perceptions of how the jounrlists understand it thereselves. There are numerous aspects of

frames journalists use in a specific culture and environment format as this study is restricted to frames i.e. episodic and thematic, therefore focus will be given to these frames. As the research question is that most of covered stories of the selected newspapers will be under Episodic framing as journalists believe these are more attractive in drawing the readers into the story.

Further Episodic frames are emotionally engaging follows from appraisal theories of emotions.

2.3.1 R. Q No.1:

What type of frames are prioritised in the coverage of Daily Dawn of Pakistan and The Hindustan Times of India while covering India Pakistan's relations?

2.3.2 R.Q No.2:

Do the two newspapers apply the of different strategies of episodic and thematic approaches while reporting on bilateral issues.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Methodology

Kerlinger's interpretation is quite a classic one: content analysis is way of understanding communication under a an organized, unprejudised and quantative style aiming at to determine variables.

To utilize content analysis as a tool of research in order to search out framing rupture of the stories of the selected newspapers and to put them into either episodic or thematic aspecte related to any issue specific. In this study front and back page news of the selected news papers would be used as discourse units. In the each news item the frame under focus will be checked whether it is present or absent and if present the degree it is featured. It is hypothesized that most of the contents with the frame episodic will explore the nationalism and remain part of the problem instead to solution of the problem with subjective approach of reporting.

3.2 Sampling

The selected sample size is Front and back page news story of the daily Dawn Pakistan and The Hindustan Times of India.

3.3 Time Period

The time span of this study starts for the period from October 2015 to Dccember 2015.

3.4 Conceptualization and operationalization

On the basis of experimental research, Iyengar concludes that episodic framing on television encourages viewers to assign the blame for society's problems to individuals, rather than to social and political institutions, such as Congress or political parties.

3.4.1 Operational Definitions of Episodic Framing

A story will be coded of episodic framing,

- If only the event is reported and process is neglected
- If only statements are reported and causes /backgrounds are neglected
- If the issue is simplified and socio-cultural aspects are neglected

The thematic frame provides a broader perspective; it reports the issue in the context of "collective outcomes, public policy debates, or historical trends". An example would be a news story that discusses the terrorism issue against the backdrop of the historical bitterness between Northern Ireland's Protestants and Catholics.

3.4.2 Operational Definitions of Thematic Framing

A story will be coded in thematic framing,

- If complete process of the event is reported
- If statement with causes/background and history is reported
- If statement with social, cultural, political issues is reported.

Chapter 4

Analysis

The research method applied is content analysis of two newspapers Dawn Pakistan and Hindustan Times of India on the coverage of India & Pakistan Relations. The period of study ranged from September 2015 to October 2015. The following questions were posed.

i. **Research Question No.1**

What type of frames are prioritised in the coverage of Daily Dawn of Pakistan and The Hindustan Times of India while covering India Pakistan relations?

ii. **Research Question No.2**

Do the two newspapers apply the of fferent strategies of episodic and thematic approaches while reporting on bilateral issues.

4.1 RQ: No.1

What type of frames are prioritised in the coverage of Daily Dawn of Pakistan and The Hindustan Times of India while covering India Pakistan relations

Table-1

Topic-wise distribution of Episodic & Thematic framing

Topic	Episodic	Thematic	Total
Kashmir-1	39(63.09%)	22(36.06%)	61(100%)
Cross border firing-2	53(74.64%)	18(25.35%)	71(100%)
Terrorism-3	32(69.56%)	14(30.43%)	46 (100%)
Water-4	16(61.53%)	10(38.4%)	26(100%)
Total:	140(69%)	64 (31%)	204 (100%)

1: chi-square 91.50 p value .000

2: chi-square 34.40 p value. 01

3: chi-square 84.23 p value .03

4: chi square 46.00 p value .04

5: chi square 128 p value .001

As shown in the above table both the newspapers primarily reported the India -Pakistan relations through the perspective of episodic framing. Statistically 69% of total coverage on the above issues is under episodic coverage and just 31% reports were through thematic frames. The lowest value p value is .001 which shows the difference is significant between the two categories.

Separately the Kashmir Issue was mainly reported in the episodic frames i.e. 63.09% is episodic and 36.06% is thematic in nature. The p-value is .001 indicates that this difference is significant.

While covering the issue of Cross Border Conflict the newspapers of the two countries mainly applied the episodic framing approach as evident from the above table 75% coverage was given through episodic frames and 25% coverage through thematic approach. The lowest p-value is .01 indicates that this difference is significant.

Thirdly the issue of terrorism is taken by the two countries newspapers mainly under the episodic approach as shown in the above table 70% of news coverage on the selected topic through the perspective of episodic and the 30% were on thematic approach. The low p-value is .03 indicates that the difference is significant.

Water issue coverage by two countries newspapers is mainly under episodic approach as shown in the above table 61% content analysis is under episodic frames and above 38% issues coverage is thematic. The lowest p-value is .04 indicates the difference is significant statistically.

4.2 R.Q No.2:

Do the two newspapers apply the of fferent strategies of episodic and thematic approaches while reporting on bilateral issues.

Table 2: N/P distribution of episodic & thematic framing

Newspapers	Episodic	Thematic	Total
Dawn- Pakistan-1	53 (56%)	40 (43.01%)	93 (100%)
Hindustan Times-2	87(78.37%)	24(21.62%)	111(100%)

1. Chi-squar 34.01 – p value .01
2. Chi square 46.00 p value .001

As shown in the above table-2 the newspaper Dawn Pakistan pushbished 56% news stories in episodic frames and 53.1% in thematic approach, while Hindustan Times of India published 78% of stories in episodic perspective and 21% stories were covered under themtic approach.

The lowest p-value for both newspapers suggest.

Chapter 05

Discussion and Conclusion

First Kashmir issue which is a core issue between the two countries was viewed in details while checking the reporting frames and it is evident that majority of framing is under episodic approach and a very slight proportionate coverage was given thematically by the newspaper of both the countries. This means that these newspapers are affixed with micro level analysis

Portraying the standing stance of their respective regime and ignoring the key elements and background information about the issue. In this analysis episodic approach dominates the coverage with above 63% and 36% coverage under thematic perspective.

Similarly the rest of 03 issues were also checked under these approaches and mainly it reveals that most of the stories are pre-dominated with the episodic versions and very little coverage was given to the thematic aspect which deals with the structural causes background, impacts, or solutions of problems and issues.

This research has found some important results. Most of the print media reports cover the stories by focusing the individualistic behaviours and they did not indulge into meaningful debates, employing the episodic approach avoiding the wider context involving both the nations to come with reasons and logics of strained relations.

If the episodic frame predominates over the media coverage on political corruption, we can say the media are not doing their watch dog role well, which a majority of audiences expect in a democratic society (Park, 2012). Gamson, 1992 states the manner of framing the news has a significant impact on how people come to understand, social, cultural and political realities (Park, 2012).

More than something else episodic stories never define the misdeed like corruption clearly but merely

crimes and corruption committed by public officials and ignoring the other opposite aspects i.e. public opinion polls and press releases to understand the different dynamics of the misdeed.

Johston 1986 states that Episodic frames used may erode the support and trust of common citizens in democracy, in public institutions in general and the political class in particulars (Park, 2012).

Conclusion.

After having gone through the literature review on the subject of Pak-India relations, most of the studies frame focus the security dimensions of the two countries and non security issues are either ignored or a very little attention is paid (Bose, 2011). The newspapers are entrapped in pursuing the nationalism agenda and instead to minimize the distance between the two nations and advocate the situation in a manner to make helpful in solving the long standing issues and problems between these nations (Zahid Yousaf, 2013).

Some times it is felt that newspapers are being part of the problems which further develop the polarisations in the contemporary societies with creation of opposed sentiments. It is generally seen that media of both the countries are never seen in commitment with the official stance of the respective government in other issues of national and international importance, but come with a full conviction with official stance on reporting the news of Pak-India relations.

The study under focus is different in a aspect to analyse the Pak India relation in purview of two reputed english news papers i.e. Dawn of Pakistan and the Hindustan Times with their front and back page news that how they frame their news stories when comes to the coverage of Pak India relations. The research question that how these news papers covers stories on Pak-India relations? For this purpose four important issues hanging between the two countries were selected and to analyse the frames used.

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