Pakistan and Afghanistan in Pashto Service of China Radio International (CRI)

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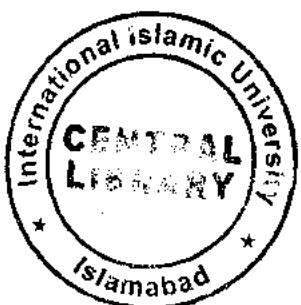
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of MS in Media & Communication Studies

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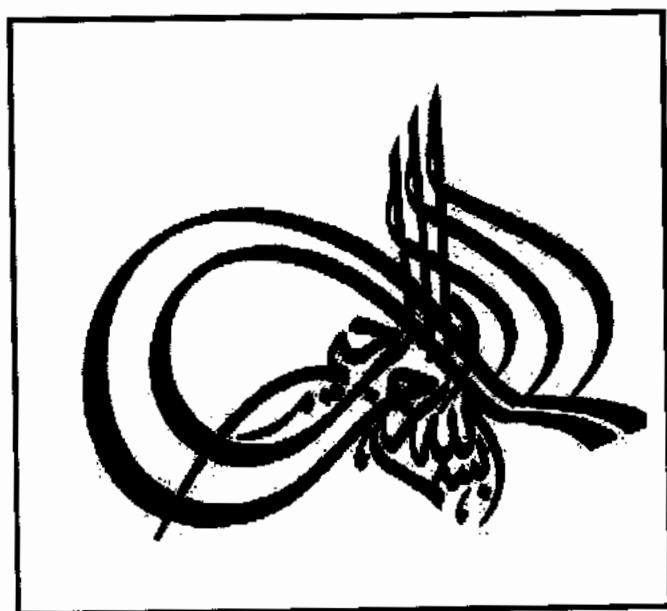
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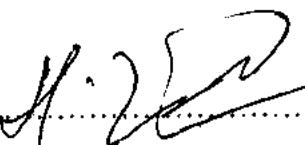
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DEDICATION

Reverently dedicated to my parents, teachers

and all my family members

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ABSTRACT

Pakistan and Afghanistan are located in a strategically significant zone- the middle of a trio of South Asia, Central Asia and the Gulf Region. This region is in full focus of the global media for the last more than three decades due to the direct involvement of the world powers in Afghanistan. China shares borders with Pakistan and Afghanistan in its west. It also has strategic interests in the region. Being an emerging economic and military power (mostly termed as soft power); China has also gushed into the ongoing global media race in order to project and advance its new role in global affairs. As China is following a Communist doctrine, the Chinese media is under the state control. It is termed as "State Media of the People's Republic of China (PRC)". Chinese state media adopt and disseminate the Government's stance on domestic and international affairs and endeavor to uphold favorable and cordial relations between China and the world. In recent years, China has extended its media out-reach to remote areas of the globe and enlarged its overall communication infrastructure. China Radio International (CRI) is the public radio broadcaster of China for external audiences which radiate programmers in 66 foreign (international) languages. The Pashto Service of CRI had been launched in 1973 mainly for the Pashtun population of Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, Pashtun population living in Pakistan is double in size than that inhabits there in Afghanistan. Hence the CRI also gives coverage to Pakistan in its Pashto transmission despite also having a separate Urdu transmission for the Pakistani audiences. With the application of Content and Discourse analyses, the content which CRI delivers to the population of the area has been analyzed. The main intent of this work is to explore the nature of media substance of CRI Pashto Service that is being delivered to the Pashtun population of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Key Terms:

China Radio International (CRI), Chinese Central Television (CCTV), Xinhua, Controlled Media, Communist doctrine, Uni-polar World, Media content, Audiences, Broadcasting

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Expansion
PRC	People's Republic of China
CRI	China Radio International
CNC	China News Network Corporation
CCTV	China Central Television
CNS	Chinese News Service
CPC	Communist Party of China
CPD	Communist Party's Central Propaganda Department
SARFT	State Administration of Radio, Film & Television (China)
NOCFL	National Office for Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language
CNN	Cable News Network
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
DW	Deutshe Welle Radio/TV (Germany)
VOA	Voice of America
NHK	Nippon Hoso Kyokai (Japan Broadcasting Corporation)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
CARs	Central Asian Republics
TAPI	Tajikistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India Gas Pipeline Project
NSS	National Security Strategy of 1999 (U.S.A)
IMS	International Media Support of UNESCO

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Pakistan and Afghanistan have remained focal points of international media for the last more than three decades, because Afghanistan had been staged as a theatre of war against the former USSR- a war jointly fought by the US-led Western bloc and Islamic World during the decade of eighties. Pakistan played the role of front-line state in the war against Communism. By and large, Capitalist media of the pro-US bloc also remained on the front as a propaganda tool in this conflict. Then in 1989 when the Soviets finally did withdraw, the Afghan story disappeared from the media's radar completely (Paul & Elizabeth, 2009). The world media kept its attention away from Afghanistan's affairs during the resurgence of Taliban in 1996, the arrival of Osama Bin Laden and his closest Al-Qaida associates to Afghanistan and their subsequent settlement in this mountainous terrain. The region mainly gone unnoticed, with seldom exceptions, till the tragic event of 9/11 (2001) terrorist attacks, in the USA.

The 9/11 spectacle of terror was a global media event. Attacking the heart of U.S. symbolic power in the World Trade Center in the New York financial district and the symbol of U.S. military power the Pentagon, the terror spectacle took over live global media coverage for days to come, becoming an emblematic event in media history, whereby McLuhan's "global village" became a site of horror, death and destruction (Kellner, 2007). After proclamation of the USA's so-called global war against terrorism, terming Osama Bin Laden- the master mind and Al-Qaida as the sole perpetrator of 9/11 attacks and waging battle against the Taliban regime - the host of Al-Qaida, this region once again engrossed the attention of international media. All prominent world TV Channels focused their cameras on the region

for live broadcast of events and time to time breaking news and Media reporters rushed to the region. Radio and TV channels launched special broadcasts and bulletins. A race amongst the global media started for taking lead in coverage from Afghanistan. Amongst the leading broadcast media were the CNN, FOX News, Al-Jazeera TV, Voice of America (VOA), BBC Radio & TV, DW (German) Radio & TV, All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company (VGTRK), NHK (Japan Radio & TV), CCTV and CRI.

However, as a matter of fact, amid the above media channels, some, in particular the Radio Services, were operating since a long time before, whereas, several others launched their broadcast for the region later on. China Radio International (CRI) had launched its Pashto Service transmission earlier in 1973. Before introducing CRI, a brief over view of the Chinese State Media has been given as below.

1.2   The Chinese State Media

As China follows a Communist socio-political and economic structure, so its media fall under the purview of Controlled Media. It is called as "The Chinese State Media". The 1980's socio-economic reforms paved the way for massive expansion and diversification of the Chinese media by widening out-reach to the entire China through multiple transmissions, including satellites, wireless and wired systems. Today, there are over 2,000 newspapers, over 8,000 magazines, 282 radio stations and 374 TV channels in China (Chinese Government Official Web Portal, 2012). The prominent organs of the Chinese State Media are briefly mentioned as under:

A-   Prominent Newspapers:

1.   People's Daily *(Renmin Ribao)*

This widely circulated Chinese-language newspaper was founded in 1948. It is also published in Russian, French, Japanese, Spanish, Arabic and English languages and owned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

2.   China Youth Daily *(Zhongguo Qingnian Bao)*

It is the state-run daily and in the ownership of China's Communist Youth League.

3.   China Daily *(Zhōngguó Rìbào)*

China Daily is an English-language state-run newspaper and its headquarters is situated in Beijing. This Media conglomerate holds 10 publications.

4.   Global Times *(Huánqiú Shìbào)*

This newspaper is bilingual (Chinese and English) and published in Weekdays.

5.   People's Liberation Army Daily *(Jiefangjun Bao)*

This daily, also having English web page, is owned by the armed forces of China.

6.   China Economic Times *(Zhongguo Jingji Shibao)*

It is a state newspaper on economy.

7.   Legal Daily *(Fazhi Ribao)*

This newspaper is in the possession of the PRC's Supreme People's Court.

8.   Southern Daily *(Nanfang Ribao)*

It is owned by the Communist Party and issued from Guangdong province.

9. **Workers' Daily** *(Gōngrén Rìbào)*

It was initiated in the year 1946. It is published in simple Chinese language and circulated all over the country for the masses especially the labor class.

10. **Shanghai Daily** *(Shànghǎi Rìbào)*

It is a leading newspaper in the Shanghai region of China (Google 2014).

B- Journals:

1. **China Securities Journal**

This magazine is a popular source for financial and industrial news in China.

2. **China Today**

This is a socio-cultural monthly magazine of China which unfolds the entire features of the Chinese society.

3. **China Now**

"China Now" is an independent periodical which reports on day to day activities and progress in socio-economic and cultural life of the Chinese People.

4. **China Perspective**

This journal attributes day to day commerce news, publishes detailed features, and breaks up-to-date news regarding China's economic sway across the globe.

C- Television:

China Central Television (CCTV): State-owned public broadcaster, networks include more than 374 satellite/terrestrial stations across mainland China.

D- Radio:

1. China Radio Services (CRS): State-run national, regional and local broadcasts.

2. China Radio International (CRI): State-run external broadcaster.

E- News Agencies:

1. Xinhua

Xinhua is the official (state-owned) news agency of China. It supplies news services in six international languages including Chinese and English languages.

2. China News Service (CNS)

It is also a publicly owned news producing agency of China, serving overseas Chinese (China News Service, 2014).

1.3 China Radio International

China Radio International (CRI) started its broadcast for external audiences on December 3, 1941. It is the official and worldwide radio broadcaster of China. CRI espouses the government's posture on day to day domestic and international issues. It endeavors to promote favorable relations between the PRC and the world (Wikipedia, 2014). As like Voice of America (VOA), BBC World Service and Radio Australia, CRI performs a key role in the soft power approach of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC).

CRI broadcasts 1,520 hours programs daily in 66 languages comprising news, views, reports, commentaries, current affairs shows, interviews and features on varied topics including world politics, international affairs, global economy, art, culture and science & technology. With

more than 32 overseas bureaus, it has the largest and broad-based foreign radio service in Asia. Most regions of the globe are covered with above the number of 50 powerful shortwave transmitters. Internet streaming and various satellites are also used for the CRI transmission. As of 2011, CRI had 70 overseas urban radio service branches, three domestic FM radio services and 18 Internet radio services. CRI claimed to receive above three million pieces of feedback from listeners in 161 countries and regions in 2011 (CRI English, 2014).

1.4 Pashto Service of China Radio International (CRI)

The Pashto Service of CRI was launched on July 15, 1973 mainly for Pashtun population in Afghanistan. At present, CRI Pashto Service radiates a 30 minutes duration transmission on short waves in the morning (6.30 - 7.00 am) and two half-hourly transmissions in the evening (7.30 to 8.00 pm & 8.00 to 8.30 pm local time in Afghanistan). Moreover, it also broadcasts an hourly transmission on FM-102.2 in Kabul from 07.00 to 8.00 pm in the evening and two hours transmission in Kandahar city from 07.00 to 09.00 am (morning) and 05.00 to 07.00 pm (evening). The shortwave transmission can also be listened in Peshawar, Quetta and adjoining areas (CRI Pashtu, 2014). The key portion of this transmission is daily 10 minutes news bulletin and five minutes commentary. Commentary is aired five days in a week excluding Saturday & Sunday. The CRI Pashto Service is also available on Internet via **"pushtu.cri.cn"**.

As a matter of fact, the total number of Pashtun population in Pakistan, inhabited in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan, FATA and some cities of Sind and Punjab Provinces, is higher than the Pashtun population of Afghanistan. Moreover, Pakistan currently hosts some 1.6 million registered Afghans, the largest protracted refugee situation globally (UNHCR Pakistan, 2014). According to the CIA Fact book, Pashtun population in Pakistan is around 29

million (15% of the total population & the second largest ethnic community), and in Afghanistan, it is around 14 million, the largest ethnic community i.e. 42% of the total Afghan population (CIA, 2014). This study investigated the nature of CRI Pashto broadcast for the period from 1st December 2013 to 31st March 2014 (four months). Out of the entire transmission, contents of the daily 10 minutes news bulletin and five minutes commentary, which is broadcast five days in a week (except Saturday & Sunday), were selected for inquiry. The contents for investigation have been classified into the following four main categories.

A-   News regarding Afghanistan

B-   News regarding Pakistan

C-   News regarding China

D-   International News

1.5   Objectives of the Study

1. To examine that which of the above four categories of CRI Pashto Service is getting more coverage and which is receiving less coverage.

2. To determine the differences of coverage, in terms of importance, amount and treatment given by the CRI Pashto Service.

3. To investigate the nature and treatment of coverage given to Pakistan and Afghanistan by the China Radio International, Pashto Service.

4. To study and evaluate the current composition of coverage given to Pakistan and Afghanistan in the Pashto Service of CRI.

5. Another objective is to explore that how the CRI Radio projects China and the world overall in its Pashto Service.

1.6 Importance of the Study

The territory comprising Afghanistan and Pakistan is a gate way to the Central Asian region which is the hub of natural resources. Moreover, this area is situated at the threshold of Gulf region. Presently, many international actors are engaged in this part of the world. China is an emerging economic giant and a natural military and industrial contender of the USA. It is very anxious to defend its strategic interests in the region. Some Chinese thinkers are concerned, that as China is increasingly dependent on oil and natural gas supplies from the Middle East and Central Asia, the US may use its newly gained influence there (military presence in the region) to impede these supplies, when it thinks necessary, to contain China (Wang, 2004).

Conversely, mainstream wisdom in China looks more optimistic and sustains that advancement in economic & security assimilation, collaboration & joint venture with other influential states and strong potential for managing & solving crises has enabled China to turn as a prominent actor in global affairs. A section of Chinese intelligentsia accentuates China's "soft power" (strategic vision & cultural cohesion) for expanding Chinese socio-cultural and economic influence in world affairs that is integrated into economic globalization.

Pakistan and Afghanistan both share borders with China in its West which is fearful of a potential insurgency in its Muslim majority Xinjiang province owing to the Taliban operatives and their orthodox ideology in Afghanistan and tribal areas of Pakistan. Violent turbulence in Xinjiang province prevails since the last two decades. Apart from decades long strategic partnership with Pakistan, China also shares vital common interests with Afghanistan in business, investment, security and political turfs. Beijing secures these interests keeping in view the factors, namely, the Indo-Pak equation, implications of a large US military presence

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in the region, consequences of growing drug proliferation and its linkages with pan-Islamist groups which in turn could potentially stir trouble in Xinjiang and adversely impact upon China's desire to expand and secure its commercial interests in the region (Sharma, 2010).

In order to keep its western borders safe and secure its strategic interests in the region, China has increased its radio broadcast activities in this area. Bill Gertz (2012) a senior editor of the Washington Free Beacon reported that according to U.S. officials, a popular Pashto-language Spogmai Radio operating in Afghanistan and financed by China's global broadcaster - China Radio International (CRI), is disseminating programmes with a twisted version viz-a-viz the U.S. and NATO forces. The American authorities say it admits to receiving funds, training and equipment from China. Earlier in 2008, a MoU was also signed for cooperation between Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation and China Radio International for Urdu Service broadcast in selected Pakistani cities on FM Channels (Malik, et al 2011).

Despite elimination of the apex Al-Qaeda leadership by the US-allied forces, the world media is still focused on the region. Media has always been used as front line force (propaganda and public relations tool) by the USA and its allies in all of their external expeditions like the 1st & 2nd World Wars, Vietnam War, the Gulf Wars (against Iraq) and the so-called war against the forces of terrorism and extremism (Chomsky, 2001). Apart from dozens of Daily Newspapers and Magazines, prominent global TV and Radio Channels, including CRI, are giving extensive coverage to the region comprising Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The aforesaid realities and geo-strategic location of the region are quiet enough to justify the importance of this work which is aimed at to analyze and judge the nature of content which is being aired in the Pashto Service of China Radio International for Pakistan and Afghanistan.

1.7 Statement of the Problem

In this age of swift information and speedy communication systems, an ideal mass medium is supposed to be objective, fair and impartial in its overall coverage. However majority of the communication research investigations reveal that mass media go either way and cannot follow the narrow line of objectivity. Occurrences and events are perceived and analyzed differently by the media conglomerates, managers and practitioners due to their varied interests, dictates of consciousness and certain other material and non-material motives. In this study, content analysis of news stories and discourse analysis of commentaries of the CRI Pashto Service has been conducted to know that how media coverage in the same language from the same media organization in a Communist controlled and dictated media environment, deals otherwise with Pakistan, Afghanistan, China and rest of the world.

Rationale of the Study

1.8-1 Rationale for Selection of Topic

Pakistan and Afghanistan are located in a geo-strategically important zone in Asia. Proximity to China, Central Asia and the oil-affluent Gulf region signifies the worth of this geo-strategic location. Pakistan is a natural gate way for a transit market in the region due to its geographical position and the main trade routes of Afghanistan-the landlocked country, pass through Pakistan. Pakistan shares with China a 400 km long border. China has enormously developed its southern provinces but its eastern less developed part (Xinjiang) is 4500 km away from south-eastern China. In contrast, Gwadar is just 2500 km away from Kashghar in Western China.

Pakistan provides for the Central Asian region, the shortest corridor of 2600 km to the Arabian Sea shores at Gwader deep water port, in contrast with Iran's 4500 km and Turkey's 5000 km longest routes. The coastal belt of Baluchistan can also provide outlet to China's western provinces to have access to Middle Eastern markets with the development of coastal highways and motorways (RINP Pakistan, 2012). Pakistan's geographic location is a vital attribute in affecting regional as well as worldwide geo-politics.

Petroleum crude resources, iron ore (rich with lithium, cobalt & gold), precious stones and other unused mineral deposits of Afghanistan have a predictable cumulative value of more than a trillion dollars. The most strategic of these minerals are Rare Earth Metals, which are used in manufacturing cell phones, laptops, compact disks, flat screen display monitors, rechargeable batteries, catalytic converter, hybrid cars and solar panels, to name a few items (Fallon, 2013). China is well-versed with all these valuable treasures and their usefulness.

Since 1990s, China emerged as one of the fastest rising economies with an annual growth rate of around 10% that has turned China into the world's second biggest economy following the USA. China is now the world's largest exporter and the world's second largest importer. The sole engine driving this economic growth is China's southern coast, which is the hub of China's overall economic, industrial and commercial activities. On the other side, the western parts of China, comprising the vast regions of Xinjiang, Tibet, Qinghai and Gansu provinces (almost equal to the half of the mainland China), are less developed. The western region of China has also great economic potential due to abundance of agricultural and natural resources and nearness to the petro-chemical rich Central Asia. This is why China is focusing on its western provinces to gain access to Central Asia and the Gulf region.

China's growing economy is in dire need of petroleum energy of the region and the USA tries to avoid China to benefit from these assets. According to Fallon, the geopolitical objectives enunciated by the Pentagon and Dr. Brzezinski, center on control of the natural resources of Afghanistan and Central Asia to prevent the rise of regional hegemons like Russia or China.

Hence, this region has gained a great importance and became the theatre of great powers game. International Media are also involved in this grand fixture to serve interests of their respective states. In light of the above cited realities, the rationale behind this study is to investigate the nature and intention behind the message of China Radio International which is being delivered to the Pashtun listeners of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

1.8-2   Rationale for Selection of Methodology

1.8-A   Content Analysis

Content and Discourse Analyses have been selected to be applied in this study. Content technique has remained very popular in media studies. The practical and scientific use of content analysis in modern age can be traced back to World War-II, when the allied forces used to monitor radio broadcasts of German Radio in European countries, and Japan Radio in the Pacific Ocean to judge the movement of forces in various theatres of war. In 1952, Bernard Berelson formally introduced content analysis as a technique in communication research. Riffi and Fritag (1997) found that about 25% of 1977 full length research articles, published in Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly (1971 to 1995), were content analyses. Kamhavi and Weaver (2003) revealed that content analysis was the most popular data gathering method reported in major mass communication journals between 1995 and 1999 (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010).

According to Bernard Berelson, Content study is "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of manifest content of communications". It is a research tool that is focused on the actual content and internal features of media and used to determine the presence of certain words, concepts, themes, phrases, characters, or sentences within texts or sets of texts and to quantify this presence in an objective manner (Google, 2014). Texts include books, units, treatises, interviews, debates, dailies headings, editorials & articles, historical papers, speeches, dialogues, publicity, stage acts, informal conversation or any prevalence of communicative language. Content method is a product of the electronic age (Palmquist N/A). It is used to examine any portion of writing or occurrence of recorded communication. Content analysis is used in the arenas of media, marketing, literature, rhetoric, ethnography, cultural studies, gender, age issues, sociology, political science, etc.

Advantages

- Content technique straight away observes communication through transcripts. Thus, it deals with the main characteristic of societal relations.

- This procedure is of dual nature, both quantitative as well as qualitative process.

- The use of text analysis offers precious historical & socio-cultural intuitions over time.

- It may be utilized to interpret transcripts for many purposes, for example codification of relationship amongst concepts. This method also arranges for vision and intuition into intricate models of human thinking process and use of language.

- If and when done properly, content analysis is considered as comparatively "exact" research technique, because, it is based on hard facts, unlike Discourse Analysis.

- It brings nearness to text which can interchange among explicit groups & relationships and also statistically analyzes the coded form of text (Google, 2014).

Drawbacks

Some theoretical as well as procedural weaknesses in this method are:

- Content analysis may sometime be extremely time-consuming in certain cases.

- It may cause greater inaccuracy, in particular, while relational analysis is conducted for obtaining advanced and sophisticated level of interpretation.

- This technique is intrinsically deficient and reductive to deal with complex texts. It often leans towards to simply count, words, sentences, images or measure sizes of texts.

- Content method often ignores the preceding context that yields the text, and also those after effects which occurs following the construction of text.

- This procedure often lacks theoretical foundation, and attempts too liberally to draw meaningful inferences about the relationships and impacts implied in a study.

- Sometimes it becomes difficult to automate or computerize the data (Google, 2014).

1.8-B Discourse Analysis

Discourse is a common phrase that is used for a series of methods to analyze scribed, verbal and symbol language use or any momentous semiotic occurrence. The essential apparatus of this study i.e. letters, dialogue & communicative occasion (discourse) have a variety of definitions in terms of coherent sequences of sentences, propositions, speech or turns-at-talk. In these procedures, we examine verbal communication ahead of the sentence border. Moreover, we rather evaluate naturally occurring language application. Discourse analysis and text linguistics are however, inter-related. The essential difference between them is that the former aims at revealing socio-psychological characteristics of a person/persons rather than text structure (Wikipedia, 2014).

Text-linguistics and Discourse Analyses both cover a vast domain and deal with the nature of text-related explanations. Three key concepts i.e. text analysis, the variance between semantic meaning and pragmatic effects and the concept of default versus marked phenomena, are involved in both methods. Discourse method is practiced in almost all social science subjects.

Discourse is a complex set up of different relationships among objects. The words are different collections of objects and symbolic expressions, which are spoken in one way or another, hand-written, printed or displayed so as to provide access and availability to others. Such a discourse is an interconnected body of texts that brings so-called called "reality" to life. It is the study of language and texts in relation to the construction of social reality. Discourses are not impartial. They influence and restrict people to talk about things in a certain way and to speak to create subject positions that are authorized on issues and ideas in certain forums. Discourse analysis as a therapy on a large scale. Language-text explanations are drawn inside phrases or words. No syntactic or morphological factors are involved in this process. Rather, descriptions are drawn from the wider perspective of the statement.

Discourse in its description and structure is not permanent. Anything at all that is written on discourse analysis is partial and controversial. Even so, conversations and written contents are the core means of social science research, mostly available in the form of interviews, focus groups, observation, documents, reports or questionnaires. Qualitative research starts from and returns to words, talk and texts as meaningful representations of concepts (Stubbs, 1983). Discourse analysis means the examination and investigation of a language which is in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent from the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs (Bill, N/A).

1.9 Significance of the Period of the Study

The period of the data selected for this study is from 1st December 2013 to 31st March 2014. The importance of this period is due to many reasons. First, in 2014, most of foreign forces left Afghanistan and the test of Afghan government and forces began to maintain law and order in the country. Second, in April 2014, Presidential Elections were held in Afghanistan. According to the new Afghan constitution, no president can hold the presidential office for a third term. Afghans voted for a new president after Hamid Karzai who held the office for more than a decade. This was a crucial period and turning point in the post-Taliban history of Afghanistan. Third, when in a major policy shift, the Gen. (R) Pervez Musharraf regime withdrew to support the Taliban rule in Afghanistan after the 9/11 and announced Pakistan to be a front-line US allay, terrorist activities in Pakistan took momentum.

Fourth, the new Government in Pakistan formed in June 2013, was in favor for negotiations with the Taliban fictions for a peace deal. Several APCs and meetings were held in this regard. As claimed by the Pakistan government, when a dialogue process was going to start, the US targeted the Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) Chief Hakimullah Mehsud in a drone strike on 1st Nov, 2013 (Dawn, Islamabad). Afterwards, the Taliban intensified their terrorist activities across Pakistan. A decisive operation against the Taliban was anticipated. However, in a surprise move, the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in his address to the Parliament on January 28, 2014, announced a negotiations process with Taliban. But, after a few rounds of talks, no progress was made. And the government launched military operation on 15th June 2014 in North Waziristan against the Taliban. All the aforementioned developments took special attention of the media. Therefore, the period of the study (1st December 2013 to 31st march 2014) proved to be very crucial and significant for media coverage.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   The Role of Media & Communications in International Affairs

Media and communications in their organized form are comparatively recent phenomena. Political figures, advertisers, statesmen and armed forces have been operating media means & tools regularly and systematically since the beginning of the 20th century. Media are being used in theoretical form, practical shape and as artistic performance, elsewhere in the world. They play a significant role in national and global politics, diplomacy and wars (cold or hot). An objective, responsible and real-time journalism, as of the ever more commercialized media groups perform a significant function in the worldwide dissemination of communication.

Taylor, (2002) opined, "Modern journalism serves the public well as a force for their democratic "right to know", imparting news and information in ways which serve their democratic "need to know". Today, global affairs and events require more comprehensive and contextualized coverage than they presently obtain. An important question rises that is to find out that since when media was indulged in world affairs as a technique and key tool. Taylor traced the ever increased participation and contribution of the media in matters of tranquility and particularly conflicts from the 19th century up to the recent past and quoted many instances and forms of the use and abuse of communication. He analyzed the character, function and impact of communications worldwide and their role in the on-the-ground foreign policy matters. Utilizing the Gulf and Vietnam Wars related studies, Taylor listed in detail, the existing nature and dilemmas of reporting. He also made available, an ample amount of historical context with a review of international communication and global politics.

2.2   The Use of Media for Propaganda & Public Relations Purposes

Initially, Media industry flourished in America and afterward in Europe. The US-led Western Media still dominates and dictates the overall global communication spectrum. This US-led alliance excessively used mass communication system for its politico-economic and military purposes. Chomsky (2002) examined propaganda, the varieties of mind control and behavior modification that result when regimes and businesses use image manipulation and disinformation to influence events. His classic work on influence over propaganda and public opinion commences with two models of today's democracy. In one model, active participation of the masses takes place, and in the other they are manipulated and curtailed.

Chomsky asserts, "Propaganda is to democracy as the bludgeon is to a totalitarian state," and in the USA, mass media have remained the prime source for disseminating propaganda. Starting from how Woodrow Wilson's Creel Commission "succeeded, within six months, in turning a pacifist population (of the USA) into a hysterical, war-mongering population," to the Iraq expedition by George Bush Senior, he inferred that big powers (especially the US and its allies) have always used the media institutions and civic relations departments as propaganda tools to breed public in favor of war. He argued that the modern US public relations industry has been influenced by Walter Lippmann's theory of "spectator democracy," in which the public is seen as a "bewildered herd" that needs to be directed, not empowered or informed.

For people who are interested in the media reporting of foreign policy issues, Chomsky views that propaganda or "political spin by some analysts" is the sole and most useful apparatus operated by the privileged class to force the common public analogous to their own interests and global outlook. He quoted the example of the United States' engineered and concerted

public-relations efforts to depict the involvement in Kuwait affairs in 1991, as an effort to liberate a valiant democratic nation, whereas, in fact, the autocratic kingdom was a minor demesne which was being governed authoritatively. These days, the news media is inclined to concentrate on entertainment, leisure and sports through the festivity of celebrities rather than to update and enlighten people about the crucial and valuable information they need to make informed decisions regarding their own lives, are parts of this game.

Chomsky promulgated the "propaganda model" as a substitute to the "adversarial model" of communication media. All-time existence of filters and gates narrowing the range of news or even limiting what can become 'big news' cannot be denied, but they do not always function as Chomsky contended. Moreover, Chomsky's qualitative criticism cannot be put into critical and statistical tests. He dedicated much concentration on news pertaining to the US invasion over Vietnam. The Vietnam War coverage led to the media's adversarial model. The press as an institution and informational medium, functions within certain limits. The professional norms of journalists oblige them to be above the position they hold in their institutions and more than just a podium for the performers. Chomsky only tolerates such a picture of the world from the media that should be close to reality, which is practically impossible.

Media are battlegrounds for various political factions and diverse interest groups to contend over there. Multiple conflicts exist within the elite and as well in the masses. Political arena is an uneven playing turf. The media often turn major players in such conflicts. Present media practices are not that much ideal. Had the media enjoyed complete openness and objectivity, they would still have not got rid of the entire discrepancies of authority and expertise. Public affairs have all-time need to be handled by somebody acting on its behalf and hopefully, with majority consent, but perhaps, Chomsky will still not accept it as legitimate.

2.3 Transformation in Global Mass Media Systems – The China Case

Historically speaking, mass media systems have always remained affected due to the socio-political conditions, economic structures and geographic locations of the states, wherein, they exist. In the beginning, media means were purely used for political and military purposes as propaganda tools. Then, media organs were also utilized for information and entertainment purposes on a large scale. Commercialization in media sector took dominance in the last quarter of the 20th century. The overall structure of today's Media has been raised on advertising sector in the free market economies. The equation of politics, economy and media created a new subject and area of study & research i.e. the political economy of media.

Akhavan and Majid (2004) made historical analysis of transformations in media structures. "In the case of China, they stated, "a state vs. market scenario has been superimposed on this basic framework, in the context of which the Chinese Communist party-state is often portrayed as a monolithic entity with intent on promoting market-oriented reforms in China's economic base, while keeping a tight grip on the country's mass media system and political superstructure". Akhavan and Majid introduced a new conceptual framework of the Chinese media system by incorporating the unique dynamics of Chinese history and society.

They contended that several alterations in media structure of China to bring it at par with the modern liberal media systems during the post-Mao period, have been achieved by non-state actors, not in a conflict with the state, but through what may be called 'creative renegotiation and expansion' of new policy openings initiated by the Chinese government. The Chinese media system has now become a joint investment venture of the state and the private sector. It has thus got a vast expansion, modernization and restricted openness.

2.4   China's New Role in Asia

Since 1949, China made a smooth and consistent journey toward socio-economic progress. Despite having a dense population of more than 1.35 billion, it emerged as the second biggest global economy and surpassed Japan in Asia. Wang Jisi (2004) explored the Chinese outlook about its new role in Asia and policy approach for neighboring countries with analysis of three conceptual questions i.e. first, China's response to the widely shared perception in recent years about the "rise of China", second, the principal Chinese concerns in Asia that shape China's strategy toward the region and third, the main threads of China's strategy toward the region against the broader background, especially its relations with the USA.

Main Chinese concerns in the region are regional security issues, relationship with neighbors, terrorism & extremism, US presence in Afghanistan and sustainable economic growth. Leadership and masses in China have diverted their attention toward the large scale debate on the "rise of China" and its worldwide and regional implications. All this has stimulated a sense of national pride in them, Jisi revealed. Chinese official speeches, reports, and media coverage are inundated with descriptions of success stories. In near future, China is expected to carry out serious diplomatic and public relations endeavors to redesign its global reflection.

According to Jisi, some discernible features describing China's prospective position in Asia in near future are: Improved bilateral ties with all neighbors, active involvement in multilateral security & economic arrangements, cautious initiation of new forms of regional economic cooperation; and a serious consideration of US influence and interests in the region in conjunction with China's own strategic goals. Consistency in its soft global posture and steady socio-economic growth indicates China's faithful adherence to the above principles.

2.5 China – As a Soft Power

Many observers perceive China as a rising soft power as it moves ahead with a steady and peaceful socio-economic development and adopts a non-conflictual stance on most of the world's affairs. The very notion of soft power means all those capabilities to bring close and get on-board rather than pressurize, intimidate, induce or employ might as a source of persuasion. Joseph Nye of Harvard University conceived the phrase "soft power" just before the end of 1980s and refined it in 1984 in the form of a book, entitled "Soft Power-The Means to Success in World Politics". He elaborated the axiom of soft power, as "a country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics, because other countries-admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness-want to follow it....getting others to want the outcomes that you want- co-opts people rather than coerces them. Soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others".

The phrase "soft power" is now widely used in global affairs by analysts. Many intellectuals perceive China as a soft power. In the *"Wall Street Journal Asia"* on December 29, 2005, under the title "The Rise of China's Soft Power" Nye wrote that America was not invited to the first East Asian Summit, when countries stretched from Australia up to India met in Malaysia in 2005. "It was a meeting which some fear marks the first step in China's long-term ambition to build a new regional power structure, known as the East Asian Community that excludes Washington", he added. "While recent US Congressional reports have focused on the rise of China's economic and military power, far less attention has been paid to the rise of China's soft power. Yet in a global information age, soft sources of power such as culture, political values and diplomacy are part of what makes a great power", He further commented.

Nye wrote that China has also re-adjusted its diplomatic priorities. It has joined the World Trade Organization, settled down territorial and borders disputes with neighbor nations, and took membership of many regional clubs. This new re-engagement along with the slogan of "China's peaceful rise", have helped to alleviate suspicions of other states. He opined that, "but just as China's economic and military power is far from matching that of the US, China's soft power still has a long way to go. China does not have cultural industries like Hollywood, and its universities are far from the equal of America's. It lacks the many non-governmental organizations that generate much of America's soft power". Although China is far from America's equal in soft power, it would be foolish to ignore the gains it is making".

Palit (2010) argued that by and large, China's current diplomatic activities in the region are a cautious blend of soft and firm stances. Notable aspects of China's soft power strategy are cultural exchange diplomacy, trade & investment partnerships and development assistance programmes, in many countries of the region. China has intensified educational, cultural, economic, trade and investment diplomacy in South Asia.

In pursuit of these cherished goals, China Radio International (CRI) in collaboration with China's Central Confucius Institute, has launched on-air Confucius Institutes in all eight countries of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). China is now enjoying the membership of almost all significant international organizations. China has openhandedly used the apparatus of soft power internally and as well as across the globe that has helped it to portray a constructive replica in its efforts to build a modern, democratic and harmonious society. Palit anticipated that China will strive to uphold a combination of "flexible & solid" foreign outlook for its neighbors in the region.

2.6 The Global Promotion of Chinese Language and China's Soft Power

Communication language is a powerful tool in the overall influence and worldwide stature of a modern day state. History tells that victorious nations propped up their respective languages in conquered territories. The Western nations promoted their languages and cultures in occupied lands during the colonial era. China is presently making strenuous efforts to promote the grasp of Chinese language across the world. China's Education Ministry website states: "To promote teaching of Chinese as foreign language (TCFL) is of strategic significance to popularize the Chinese language and culture throughout the world, to enhance the friendship and mutual understanding as well as the economic and cultural cooperation & exchanges between China and other countries around the world and to elevate China's influence in the international community".

Chinese language is promoted through the NOCFL, Confucius Institutes, state sponsored teachers and volunteers. Established in 1987, the National Office for Teaching Chinese as Foreign Language (NOCFL) also called Hanban in (Chinese), is the main organ for the promotion and spread of the Chinese language. Since 2004, China, through NOCFL, has been setting up non-profit education organizations (Confucius Institutes) outside China to teach Chinese language and culture, through a partnership between a Chinese university and a university in the host country. NOCFL also established a radio-based Confucius Institute in December 2007 in cooperation with the State Administration of Radio, Film & Television, Confucius Institute and CRI. This broadcast Confucius Institute offers Chinese language teaching programs via both wireless and online in 46 foreign languages (Annual Report 2012). An online Confucius Institute has also opened (www.confuciusinstitute.net).

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Jaffery (2008) summed up over 260 (currently 440) Confucius Institutes in 75 countries and regions (across the globe).... China has spent a total of US$26 million on the Confucius Institute project and has plans to expand it in near future. It aims to have established 500 Confucius Institutes by 2010 and 1000 by 2020. Plans are also underway to set up a television-based Confucius Institutes. Current statistics show that presently 30 to 40 million people learn Chinese around the globe. Despite all these worldwide gigantic and extensive measures of China, the drive of Chinese language promotion faces many hitches. When the foreign media unveils China's internal issues such as over-population, air pollution and its back up for dictatorial governments; it influences foreign public perception regarding China. China, however, looks determined to continue these efforts in future.

2.7 China and Central Asia

Three Central Asian realms namely Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan have common borders with China in its west, whereas, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan are also located in the vicinity. With a population of more than 1.35 billion, the energy-starving industrial economy of China needs "clean power resources" of Central Asia and its western regions of Xingjian and Uyghur bordering Central Asia are comparatively less developed.

Bhadrakumar (2009) portrayed the China-Central Asia energy deals as such: "A pipeline to the heart of Asia...the history and politics of Central Asia was resetting the terms of engagement in the region: the development of an ambitious 7,000 kilometer pipeline to link the region's gas fields to cities on China's eastern seaboard".... Uzbekistan reached at an accord with China in 2008 to supply around 10 bcm gas per annum to China... "Kazakhstan and China agreed to build a 3,000 km crude oil pipeline in 1997. In 2008, they agreed to

jointly develop oil & gas reserves on the continental shelf of the Caspian Sea"... China made a big energy deal with Kazakhstan in April 2009, to grant Kazakhstan US $10 billion as "loan-for-oil". China also agreed with the Kazak official Oil & Gas Company Kaz Munai Gas to mutually procure oil manufacturer Mangistau Munai Gas for $ US 3.3 billion".

Chinese companies at present are active inside Central Asia in all major sectors like petro-products, telecommunication, transportation, fabrics, agriculture, chemicals & foods and constructions. After China-Central Asia pipeline project, Russia's hold over exports of oil & gas has squeezed therein. The US experts propagated this in terms of Russia's loss. But this pipe channel crafts China as a "stakeholder" in Central Asian security and economy. The US analysts termed the Central Asian - China pipeline as impractical, futile and branded Xinjiang as a "pressure cooker" which Beijing is nowhere near controlling. "The US is watching its forays into the region closely and will not let China pass without challenge", Bahadrakumar added. Beijing also knows that militant groups with foreign support can blow up the pipelines which are hard to be protected in Xingjian's stretched hilly and barren regions.

China's western part of Xingjian adjoining Central Asia also shares borders with Afghanistan and Pakistan- the two countries severely hit by extremism. The presence of Western forces near its western borders and troubled region is a major concern for China. Strategic interests of China in Central Asia have increased after the USSR's down fall as the region attracts attention of all major powers due to abundance of natural resources. According to Russell (2009), "Beijing has adopted a cautious, realistic and comprehensive approach to compete international players in the Central Asian region". Socio-political, economic, diplomatic and security aspects all seem crucial in China's policy towards the Central Asian Region.

2.8   USA's Objectives in Afghanistan and the Containment of China

The super powers "Great Game" in the regions lying across Central, Southern and South-western Asia started in the 19th century. During that 'Grand Game', Afghanistan, which strategically connects these geographical segments of Asia, has historically been the heartland for British and Russian maneuvers and struggle for control over Central Asia in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Rafi, 2013). The region is also significant because of its mineral and power reserves potential. The ongoing US involvement in Afghanistan "is like the revisit of "The Great Game", where, the US and its rivals, Russia and China, seek influence in Afghanistan as a means of securing the resources of Central Asia. If the US wins, Russia and China remain lesser powers. If Russia or China wins, the US confronts a formidable rival with potential to disrupt the projection of American power" (J. E. Fallon, 2013).

The Russia's collapse in 1991 and ensuing volatile situation in Trans-Caucasus and Central Asia, maximized USA's geopolitics. Pentagon in its 1992 report stated that, "Our first objective is to prevent the re-emergence of a rival that poses a threat on the territory of the former Soviet Union. We endeavor to prevent any hostile power from dominating a region whose resources would, under consolidated control, be sufficient to generate global power". Rafi marked that ground leveling for the Afghan War had already started in 1999, when the US Congress passed the "Silk Road Strategy Act" which outlines the basic policy approach for energy acquisition in the Eurasian region. Section six of the Act declares that the region of the South Caucasus and Central Asia has enough energy resources to meet US' needs and reduce its dependence on the volatile region of Persian Gulf. The Act was amended in 2006 which then declared energy security as the prime reason for the US to stay in Afghanistan.

To prevent the rise of China, the US has pursued three courses of action. First, China has the world's largest reserve of Rare Earth Metals and controls 97 % of the world's supply. Afghanistan has the world's sixth largest reserve of these metals. If Washington effectively controls this alternative source, the US and the West would be less dependent on China. Secondly, China's growing economy needs access to the oil and gas reserves of Central Asia. Dr. Brzezinski advocated the US geopolitical objective in Central Asia should be to limit China's access to oil reserves. Without increased economic and military power, China lacks the ability to project political influence and emerge as a regional hegemon. And thirdly, to limit China in the region, the US promotes alliances (Fallon). Washington seeks to include in its strategic partnership, India, Central Asian states and Far East countries.

The successful implementation of Silk Road Act required huge military presence in the region. Most of the US bases built in Afghanistan lie across the proposed pipeline (TAPI) route, in order to ensure its security against all odds, which is to transfer oil from Eurasia to the Indian Ocean. Washington has also signed with Kabul a Security Agreement allowing NATO to keep 12 to 15 thousand combating troops in Afghanistan up to 2025. Until the Rare Earth Metals in Afghanistan can be commercially extracted, China retains a monopoly in this regard and its energy needs continue to be met. China's oil imports come by sea as well as by land. To protect the sea shipping lanes, China has established bases in the Indian Ocean which are referred to as the "String of Pearls". These naval facilities stretching from Pakistan up to Thailand and the roads being built to connect China to Pakistan, Burma, and Bangladesh, completely encircle India. The Ameriacn policy to prevent China from becoming a regional hegemon has not been successful so far.

2.9   China's Afghan Policy

China's Afghanistan policy is a bit undefined although it looks for viable commercial opportunities in Afghanistan. Since 1949, China-Afghan ties remained modest till a Soviet-backed faction attained rule in Kabul and backed Soviet Union versus China. After 1979, the Chinese government played an active if low-key role in assisting the anti-Soviet insurgency by providing weapons and training in collaboration with the United States and Pakistan, where most of the guerrillas were based (Weitz-2008). China did not recognize the Moscow-backed Afghan regime, resultantly pulled out its diplomats from Kabul in February 1993, when intra-Mujahedeen tussle erupted and shut down its embassy till February 2002.

Meanwhile, the appearance of Taliban in Afghanistan during the mid-1990s startled China who, later on, developed bonds with Islamist elements of Xinjiang/Uyghur Region- an area that borders Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Uyghur separatists, who strive to create an East Turkestan Islamic Republic, carried out widespread violence in Xinjiang during 1990s. China blamed that Afghan Taliban and Islamist militants, operative in some Mid Asian states, sponsor separatist activities in Western China through arms and drugs smuggling.

During 1994 to 2002, the trade between China and Afghanistan stuck between US $17-39 million per annum. In May 2003, the two sides finalized an Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement paving the way for $15 million Chinese grant to Kabul. In 2008, the Afghan regime offered its natural resources sector for global investment. China's national Metallurgical Group (MCC) amazingly purchased a controlling stake in the copper mine at Aynak in Afghanistan which is amongst the world's biggest copper ditches. According to the British Geological Surveys, the copper deposit there contains 240 million tons of material.

Moreover, China indirectly backs the counterinsurgency drives of Kabul as it has made significant investment in Afghanistan's rare substance sector. It assists in the development of overall infrastructure, mining and other areas in Afghanistan. China has also supported to expand the role of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in Afghanistan. Some analysts believe that Chinese leadership and policymakers appear to be uncertain about the role of ISAF in Afghanistan. On the one hand, China feels uneasiness about the long presence of Western forces in Afghanistan. On the other side, they definitely do not like Islamists to turn victorious there, since they could then exploit the volatile situation in Xinjiang region.

Although other states might desire to restrict China's influence over Kabul, but the Chinese investment in Afghanistan cannot sustain without their support. While PRC's policymakers oppose a long-term Western military presence in China's backyard, they fear that an abrupt NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan would endanger important Chinese commercial interests in that country. China up to some extent agrees with its strategic alley Pakistan that India is also seeking to deepen its presence in Afghanistan to curtail Pakistani and Chinese influences there. The PRC's leaders and policymakers have also concerns that open military collaboration with the anti-Taliban alliance will definitely bring China at the aim of terrorists.

In such circumstances, China would prefer to avoid taking a leading part in armed operations in Afghanistan. The Chinese media in regular intervals caution the government against delivery or supply of any arsenal assistance to the ISAF troops in Afghanistan. The major weak point in China's Afghanistan approach is its reliance on the American-allied armies to restrict the militant uprising and make sure a safe and secure investment atmosphere in Afghanistan without much security support from Beijing.

2.10   Pak-China Relationship

Pakistan and China enjoy a long-standing close strategic relationship. This partnership initially began in 1950s once Beijing approached a number of emerging states after the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) gained power on October I, 1949. Ghouri et al, (2011) recorded, that Pakistan was the first country which recognized China on 4th January 1950. Pakistan always admits the explicit support of China on the Pak-India disputes and many global issues. On the other hand, China recognizes Pakistan's facilitative role of becoming a bridge between China, the United States, Europe, and as well as the Muslim countries.

Pak-China ties strengthened profoundly in the era of China-India rivalry. China's Pakistan policy is primarily based on seeking a land route access to the Gulf region and curtailing Indian influence in the region. Lisa (2009) quoted US' Expert on Asian Affairs Stephen Cohen, who described "China as pursuing a classic balance of power by supporting Pakistan in a relationship that mirrors the one between the US and Israel. China is the biggest arms supplier to Pakistan. To augment Pakistan's influence in the tactical equilibrium of South Asia, China provided strategic expertise to Pakistan's nuclear and missile programs throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Pakistan has established two nuclear reactors and is constructing two more at Chashma (Punjab province), with the cooperation of China.

China also assists Pakistan in up-gradation of a sea-bed harbor at Gwadar in Baluchistan. The port would help China to acquire petro-chemical products from the Persian Gulf. In 2014-15, both sides agreed upon a new multi-purpose plan, China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) of worth U.S $46 billon that contains high speed rail and road links between Kashghar and Gwadar, joint enterprises and several power projects. On the other hand, Beijing has also

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fabricated good relationship with India, particularly in trade and business areas. An example of improving ties with India is China's impartial stance on the decades old Kashmir issue. Despite this change, China continues to maintain multifarious relationship with Pakistan. This affiliation works as a valuable approach to water down the Indian influence in South Asia.

The issue of Islamic separatists in Western China is one cause of strain between Beijing and Islamabad, who allegedly enjoy safe havens in Pakistan's tribal areas. Islamic extremism is another challenge to Pak-China ties. When the Red Mosque activists abducted some Chinese citizens whom they blamed for operating a brothel in Islamabad in 2007, China complained to Pakistan that led to the Red Mosque Operation. Some Chinese officials working on various projects were also attacked across Pakistan. China influenced Pakistan to espouse a conscientious anti-terrorism strategy. Defense analysts believe that the aspirations of Beijing were also included in the military operation launched in June 2014 in North Waziristan.

Despite all such hitches, Pakistan and China both consider their relationship as of a geo-strategic nature. The Peoples Republic of China is an active member of the 11- countries "Friends of Democratic Pakistan" consortium that was formed in September 2008. The volume of bilateral trade continued to grow from US $ 1.4 billion in 2001 to US $ 3 billion in 2004, which further rose to 05 billion in 2006. An MOU was also signed for cooperation between Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation and China Radio International for Urdu Service broadcasts in selected Pakistani cities on FM Channel with the China Radio International (CRI), (Ghouri et al). Ghouri concluded that China has remained the largest economic and military supporter of Pakistan and the mutual interdependence of the two countries and increasing volume of trade and investment, keeping them engages continuously.

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2.11 The Growth of Chinese Media and Its Impact on Politico-economic Development

Beside other areas, China has also made wonderful progress in Media sector. Media have incredible sway over civic life, public opinion and politics in China. The latest information technology has allowed the Chinese people to have substantial and quick entrance to digital information. Authorities in China are forced to continuously re-examine state media policies, regulations and code of conduct. International Media Support (IMS) and the Danish National Commission for UNESCO organized a Conference in Copenhagen on November 28, 2008 on Chinese media. Over 100 foreign journalists and delegates from reputable world universities, media institutions, governmental and non-governmental organizations attended it.

Sun Yusheng, Vice-President, CCTV argued that the 1993 reforms in TV journalism promoted the process of democracy and rule of law. CCTV has relative independence in programming. Revenue comes from advertising instead of direct government funding. In China, there are now (2008) 294 TV stations, 1283 channels, four million TV sets and 1.2 billion viewers. On September 14 1987, China sent its first email. In 1994, China officially joined the Internet club. In 1996, the first Internet Company was formed. China is one out of seven countries that use the newest media technology. A serious problem is that all channels look rather similar due to the feed of identical stuff and competition persists among rather matching channels.

Prof. Dr. Yuezhi Zhao, School of Communication, Simon Fraser University, Canada put that, the Chinese media are commercialized, advertising-supported, but state controlled. This is "commercialization without privatization." The media have thus changed their business model but not their ownership structure. The private capital is limited to the peripheries of the system. Dr. Zhao highlighted two main issues-the dominance of neoliberal market rationality

in media content and the rise of "the dictatorship of (neoliberal) economists". The rise of a consumerist angle in news reporting, to the neglect of the perspectives of workers and farmers, has posed serious implications on social power structure. He believed that media commercialization and globalization are part and parcel of class polarization and social stratification that have created explosive social tensions in China.

Prof. Hugo de Burgh, Director of The China Media Centre, University of Westminster, U.K. said that in the West, the image of China is constructed with at least two levels. The brand or emotional level- the perception of a country's overall facets of popular culture i.e. films, TV, sport, music, history, art and literature. This image usually rises above short-term political biases and engages audiences at an emotional level. The second one is reputation, which is more rational and is about how a country promotes and justifies its political and economic actions and what others say about it. Burgh foresees many challenges for media managers in China today. But the Chinese media are not, as many Western experts write, backward and utterly politicized and are the biggest and fast changing media set-up in the world.

Explaining the Chinese media regulatory structure, Dr. Hu Zhengrong, Vice President, Communication University of Beijing, China put that: there is a vertical structure that coordinates from Centre to locality. This takes place through the party system with propaganda departments at all levels (state, province, city & council). Similarly, China has a four-tier media structure with the State media for the central party and government, the Provincial media for the provincial party and government, the City media for the municipal party and government and finally the County media for the county party and government. The media outlets are not affiliated but independent from each other.

The horizontal structure of authorities that coordinate and regulate different media sectors is: (1) The State Administration of Radio, Film & TV regulates radio, TV, film and animation, (2) The State Administration of Press & Publication regulates newspapers, press & publications, (3) The Ministry of Culture regulates art & entertainment, (4) The Ministry of Industry & Information regulates telecom, wire-less services & broadband, (5) State Council's information office regulates the online media & Internet and (6) The Bureau of Radio, Film & TV, the Bureau of Press & Publication, the Bureau of Culture and the Bureau of Sports are all gathered in the Commission of Culture.

This huge and complex paraphernalia indicates that Chinese Media in the last three decades have made massive growth and they have far-reaching impacts on socio-political and economic development of the country.

2.12   Global Out-reach of the Chinese Media

In the past two decades, China has multiplied spending for media & broadcasting to convey its viewpoint worldwide, melt down the US-allied Western media cartel and showcase its leap as a global power peacefully. China in its "go-out" media venture has launched many multi-language satellite Radio & TV channels, websites and established FM radio stations in foreign countries. It also conducts on regular basis, displays of its ancient heritage and organizes art & cultural concerts abroad. Organizations such as CCTV, Xinhua and People's Daily could reportedly receive up to RMB 15 billion (US$2.19 billion) respectively for ambitious schemes geared towards enhancing China's international influence. The English Channel of CCTV, CCTV International, within just a few years, has claimed its stake in the global communication landscape, covering 98% of the world's landmass (Zhang 2009).

From 1949 to the late 1970s, China's campaign for external publicity mainly revolved around the "socialist camp" and a few selected nations of Asia and some African and Latin American countries. The main propaganda sources were the Xinhua News Agency, People's Daily, and China Radio International (CRI). Overseas TV publicity activities (since1958) simply meant exchanging news documentaries with other Communist TV stations. Since its economic reforms, China's overseas publicity activities have moved gradually from passive (in line with Deng Xiaoping's low-profile foreign policy) to pro-active as China adopted a more active foreign policy under the leadership of Hu Jintao.

In 2001, government-controlled news websites were developed and launched on a massive scale. In addition, sites specifically designed for overseas publicity were created. The China National Network (china.com.cn) was created in 1997 as the key national overseas publicity website. From 2005 onward, China started to build an all-dimensional, multi-channeled and wide-ranging grand framework of overseas publicity, a centrally managed and coordinated framework for influencing worldwide public opinion, Zhang opined. In the period 2000-2010, China launched another image-building campaign to show its progressiveness and competency, that marked the second phase of China's enhanced public diplomacy and pursuit as an emerging soft power.

As a matter of fact, The Chinese media present their own version of issues and events happening inside China and in the world. They have increased their coverage like CNN and BBC and also report more on the developing countries. They cover sports, socio-cultural activities, business, investment and China's achievements in these sectors to give an image of prosperity and success. The Chinese media also actively defend sensitive issues for which China is often criticized.

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China's centrally organized public diplomacy has certain advantages. Chinese TV stations at all levels work together. CCTV takes up the leading role and all other TV stations feed their programmes. Similarly, all local websites are required to support and provide information to the China National Network ... However, surveys conducted in the UK in 2007 (involving 106 informants from 13 countries & regions) and 2008 (involving 126 informants from 14 countries & regions) on the impact of China on changing global information flow showed less than five percent audience penetration of Chinese state media. Surveys conducted in Southeast Asia also show that China's soft power is far from dominating the region.

Zhang suggested some measures for effective global out-reach of the Chinese media. First, China competes in a very crowded transnational global media sphere. Second, the role and mission of its media is to tell China's story to foreign audiences with more entertainment, free news with less government control. Third, the nature of Chinese controlled media goes against the nature of real-time global communication which requires accuracy, objectivity and above all timeliness. Fourth, although China's media have been professionalized over the years, the level of professionalism continues to be low. Finally, setting up of many channels is not enough. What is more important is the message that is getting across.

It is a fact that in recent decades, the interest of international community in emerging China and its culture has amplified. But the advocacy of China for a harmonious world with its base value of authority and respect is very stiff to attain. Though the single actor model of China has helped to prop up its international sway and moved ahead its soft power image worldwide, but it also has some inbuilt drawbacks such as the media's restricted autonomy and their low credibility. Hence its successes are partial and limited.

2.13   China's Grand Strategy for Media

China undertook a revised "going out" media strategy after 2000, that meant to launch broadcasting in many overseas regions and external languages. This ambitious plan was meant to become a part of the global information system to boost up country's image and communicate new Chinese outlook worldwide. The in-land media service of China has been corresponded with a strong foreign service. This overseas broadcasting structure is composed of three key global workplaces in the capital Beijing, North America (Washington) and Africa (Nairobi), in addition to over than 70 worldwide bureaus. China is tracking critical investment in media sector in regions like West Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America. The dissemination takes place across many different Chinese media platforms, both old and new.

Film Industry Promotion is also a key part of Chinese media "going out" policy. In 2012, China became the world's second biggest movie market and the Chinese media conglomerate Dalian Wanda bought the U.S. theater chain AMC Entertainment, creating the world's biggest chain of movie houses....Movie box office receipts in China grew 30% in 2012, elevating it's ranking to one of the highest in the world. Chinese companies are currently exploring partnerships with Hollywood power houses such as Paramount and Dream Works, hoping to marry the economic might of the Chinese marketplace with the appeal of American culture (Anne Nelson, 2013). The PRC's media goals seem rather as providing an oppositional discourse to the dominant hegemony of Western media. Since 1979, CCTV is almost entirely supported by domestic advertising. Clients include both domestic businesses such as Bank of China and e-commerce giant Alibaba and global advertisers such as Proctor & Gamble and Volkswagen. CCTV's advertising revenues hit a record high of $ 2.5 billion in 2012.

China's aim for its media are to enter into joint agreements with foreign broadcasters, develop strong overseas marketing & distribution system, improve their understanding of media laws and policies in target areas and study the culture and audience tastes, the politics, history, economy, etc. of target countries to "help with the government's policy-making". In 2009, the South China Morning Post reported, "CCTV channels reach 838 million overseas subscribers in 137 nations." But "reaching subscribers" can be a different metric than "viewership". In 2011, Thomson Reuters reported that it had reached an agreement to distribute CCTV's content and scripted footage to more than 700 broadcasters across the US, Europe, Asia and Africa. CCTV News (English) is one of 42 channels that are globally available. The African region has also been identified as a media priority. CCTV opened its third global bureau in Nairobi. China opened the Nairobi office for China Radio FM in 2005. CCTV Africa's Nairobi center was opened in January 2012. Chinese companies are also signing agreements to develop large-scale communications projects in the Asian-Pacific Region.

Foreign policy analysts have been talking about China's "grand strategy" for years. Beijing considers news dissemination for media development as it makes long-term strategic investments in media. Many Western countries have left their news industries to the mercies of brutal economic conditions and technological disruption. Some US media networks have closed most of their foreign bureaus. Global broadcasters such as the CNN and BBC are cutting staff and international reporting. Western state broadcasters, including the Voice of America, the BBC World Service and Deutsche Welle (DW) are under increased pressure to defend their services. As Western news operations are buffeted by the winds of economic uncertainty and technological disruption, the Chinese are playing the long game. It won't take a century to see which approach—improvisation or strategy—gains the upper hand.

2.14   Media Censorship in China

As stated earlier, Chinese media is under state control. Beina Xu (2013) analyzed media censorship in China from the Western perspective saying that governments in China have permanent and extensive control on both conventional and the internet-based media. This strict media control entails screening mechanisms, proscribing publications or websites and detaining divergent journalists, social media bloggers & activists. The rising demand for access to information in China has challenged the state's sway over the media. The regime is busy in efforts to poise the demand for more information with its primary goal for hold on content. It is a common perception that society needs press freedom but is also worried that such independence could challenge the status quo. Even though joint public-private media ownership and the number of publications in China have risen considerably, but this increase has not caused adequate change in the arena of media in China.

Freedom of speech, views and press is ensured to the citizens in the constitution of China, but the country's press laws contain certain equivocal clauses and authorities make their own interpretation of the vague language and use it as a license for onslaught on media on the pretext of state's security. The prevailing code of laws on protecting state's classified information was modified in April 2010, to ensure additional sway over the communication and information stream. This modification reinforced necessary conditions for Internet Service Providers (ISPs), suppliers and telecom operators to assist authorities in inquiries into leakages and disclosures of sensitive information. In May 2010, the government issued its first white paper on the Internet that emphasized the concept of "Internet sovereignty," requiring all local and foreign internet users in China, to abide by Chinese regulations.

Moreover, suspicious websites are blocked. Certain keywords alert authorities and the in-flow of entire data from foreign Internet roots are filtered through the three computer bases located in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. Foreign journalists are required to obtain permission before reporting in China. Reportage on sensitive topics is strictly prohibited. During a political transition in China, censorship is tightened through release of fresh guidelines. The Internet users are required to provide actual names to service providers. Authorities spare no time to block information on issues that may lead to provoke social unrest.

Above a dozen state regulatory organs evaluate and put in force rules & regulations coupled with the streaming of information within, into and from China. The most powerful monitoring body is the Communist Party's Central Propaganda Department (CPD), which coordinates with General Administration of Press and Publication (GAPP) and State Administration of Radio, Film & Television (SARFT) to ensure content promotes party doctrine. Censorship guidelines are circulated weekly from the Party's propaganda department and the Bureau of Internet Affairs to prominent editors and media providers.

Myriad ways of censoring the Internet include technical methods like bandwidth throttling, keyword filtering, as well as the wholesale blocking of access to websites. Journalists censor themselves to avoid dismissals, demotions, libel lawsuits, fines, arrests, and the shuttering of news outlets. Journalists and activists who overstep boundaries can also face prison; as of February 2014, thirty journalists and seventy netizens were imprisoned, according to Reporters without Borders. In 2009, Chinese rights activist Liu Xiaobo was sentenced to eleven years in prison for advocating democratic reforms and freedom of speech which earned him the Nobel Peace Prize. The watchdog group "Reporters without Borders" ranked China 173 out of 179 countries in its 2013 worldwide index of press freedom.

Regardless of the organized restrictions on information sources, the Chinese public has discovered many means to get news through proxy servers and virtual private networks (VPNs), as well as through micro-blogging sites. Right now, China has roughly 620 million Internet users. Voices are being raised for full press liberty in China. The advent of Internet has greatly transformed the backdrop of Chinese media in an information-starving society. The battle for free expression appears in shape of escalating citizen interest toward more relevant social campaigns like ecological crumble, communal disparities, corruption etc. They materialize the social media as a source of proliferating information.

2.15 The Role of China Radio International in China's Global Media Race

China Radio International (CRI) is the state-owned worldwide broadcaster of China. On 3rd December 1941, it went on-air initially as a propaganda outlet named "Radio Peking". Presently, CRI enjoys a significant position in the soft power strategy of China. Qing Luo et al (2010) evaluated the role of CRI to examine the concerted approach of China in consolidating its global influence and image in the digital age. After achieving economic miracles, China has also stepped into the domain of popular global culture and wide-spread public relations contest. China promotes culture as part of the soft power policy with the worldwide creation of Confucius Institutes and broadcasts in various foreign languages by CRI and CCTV. Its media has expanded globally such as the publication of People's Daily in eight foreign languages, the initiation of the English Daily Global Time, establishment of CRI & CCTV's sub-offices & channels in most regions of the world and Xinhua news agency net-work of above 100 overseas bureaus. China's official television channel CCTV and external radio service CRI occupy chief share in the foreign publicity campaign of China.

Since 1941, CRI aired propaganda based programs. The late 1970s opening-up policy of China, directed CRI towards commercialization. It currently airs programmes in 66 foreign languages, using a range of transmission methods, including FM, AM, Internet radio, satellite, and podcast. CRI has also 117 global FM radio and 32 AM radio partners in Asia, Africa, North America, Europe and Oceania. Today, CRI's total broadcasting time is 1520 hours per day, reaching more than 60 countries in the world. Integrating the new technologies, CRI created its own multi-language web portal in December 1998. In 2000, the Information Office of the State Council allowed the CRI, CCTV, People's Daily, Xinhua and China Daily to serve as news service providers via Internet. On January 24, 2002, under the permission of the Central Department of Propaganda, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the SARFT, CRI integrated three Chinese websites (China news, Global Chinese Net & TV.com) and formed "CRI Online" to broaden China's influence and perspective globally.

CRI Online also includes e-Journals, Board Bulletin System (BBS), blogging and a multi-language podcasting. All these services aim at stimulating debates and opinion exchanges about China among users, bloggers and visitors.... INet Radio (of CRI) also integrated the new technologies, which is a specific web radio launched in July 2005 by the Chinese, English, German and Japanese versions of the CRI. INet Radio webcasts currently in 11 languages and offers several thematic channels which allow for interactivity with speaker. In October 2006 the "SARFT" authorized CRI to serve as the fourth operator of IPTV. Operating since March 2007, this offers a 24-hour programming schedule such as sport, news, movies, education, weather, shopping, entertainment and interactivity. The use of new technologies by CRI also includes transmitting on television via mobile phone: since 2007, thanks to a partnership with telecom operators China Unicom and China Mobile.

The Chinese leadership realizes that the China's global image is dominantly painted by the hegemonic and commercialized capitalist media, which is more often biased. Therefore CRI has a two-pronged strategy. First it focuses on technological innovation as it is most useful in raising influence and improving image of the country inland and abroad and manipulating the global opinion. Second, CRI is establishing vital accords and joint ventures with foreign media organizations within a broader context of global cooperation and has thus made many strategic achievements in the modern era in comparison with its Western counterparts.

2.16 Significance of Media Coverage in Pakistan and Afghanistan

Pakistan and Afghanistan have remained the most volatile countries of the world since the post-1979 (Russian intervention in Afghanistan) events. The US-led multi-national military expedition in Afghanistan turned to be the second major live media coverage war after the first Gulf War of 1991. On the other hand, the militants also excessively used their communication system in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The most effective amongst the tools of militant's propaganda mechanism were the covert and mobile FM radio transmitters.

Burno (2009) stated that with overwhelming firepower, Western armies rarely lose in combat to Taliban fighters in Afghanistan. But in the communications battle, the militants appear to hold the edge...using FM transmitters, Internet, and threatening notes. This makes evident that all contending world powers and parties give substantial importance to the use of media in the region in the struggle of safeguarding their vested interests. Moreover, the region has remained a conflict zone for the last more than three decades and conflict naturally invites the attention of media. This factor also enhances the significance of global media coverage of the territory comprising Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Theoretical Framework

2.17   Theoretical Framework

Modern day research is carried out under certain parameters, agreed upon by the scholar's community at large. The sole objective is clarity and specification. Every scientific study is conducted in a specific frame work for the sake of focus on the issue, avoidance of confusion, and achievement of results in order to further suggest useful predictions. Research studies are thus fitted in certain theoretical frameworks and are done from a specific perspective.

A theoretical framework is meant to find out a safer place where the researcher can put his or her work so that it is not strayed in the vast body of knowledge (Khan, 2008). However, a research problem may be investigated from either one or several perspectives simultaneously. It depends upon the general character of the issue and field of the study. Similarly, sometimes a study cannot be put in a specific structure. It may overlap many theoretical settings at a time and seem fit in many perspectives. It depends upon the nature of a study. It is not necessary that any research would be having a specific kind of theoretical framework, Khan added.

A theoretical framework provides the casing which grips or helps sustain a theory in an investigative study. It provides a base for the theory and illustrates why the research problem chosen for examination stays alive. It is a collection of interconnected concepts and look like a theory but not needed to be very much refined. It guides a research work; decides what stuff the researcher will evaluate, and which type of statistical relationships he chooses to search for. Theoretical frameworks provide a particular perspective or lens, through which we examine a topic. This study was conducted under the theoretical ambit of the agenda setting, framing and gate keeping theories which have been defined and discussed in brief, as below.

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2.17-1   Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda-setting is the process whereby the news media lead the public in assigning relative importance to various public issues (Rogers, Dearing & Bregman, 1993). This proposition surfaced when researchers turned discontented with the dominant theoretical presumption in media research (the limited effects model), during 1950s and 1960s. Joseph Klapper (1960) wrote: "Mass communication ordinarily does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions among and through a nexus of mediating functions and influences"(Scheufle, 1999). The notion of agenda setting is mostly credited to Walter Lipmann. In his book "Public Opinion" he asserted that the apparatus of mass media craft imagery of occurings in public brains and that policy makers should be cognizant of those 'pictures in people's heads'. He argued that the pictures of reality created by the news media were merely reflections of actual reality and therefore were, sometimes distorted (Kirk, 1999).

The first ever rational analysis over Lipmann's ideas on agenda setting appeared in 1972 that is known as the Chapel Hill Study. Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw tested the manipulation of voting drive coverage on people's discernment about the significance of issues. Before the Election Day, the researchers inquired the Chapel Hill voters that what were they most concerned about those days? In response, the issues they identified – were found almost identical to the agendas on the news media. Hence, they found an incredibly strong correlation (Branislav Kovačić, 1997). The public agenda was a virtual reflection of media agenda. They named this 'transfer of salience' of issues from the media to the public "the agenda setting influence of mass communication (Saqib, 2008). According to agenda setting supposition, people acquire prominence of topics and matters from the broadcast

media in their daily life. They then add to their personal agendas, identical set of preference. Transmission of these saliencies is one of the most important aspects of mass communication.

The news media inform us about the world at large. Like a magnifying mirror, they provide us chief elements for our pictures of the globe. Thus the media also manipulate the eminence of those elements in these pictures. Agenda Setting tells that how many agendas are there; like the Government agenda, the media agenda and the public agenda. Here the first two are combined in case of CRI (being a controlled media), which is the focus of this study.

2.17-2   Framing Theory

The term framing means as to how a mass communication medium constructs packages of information and conveys them to the audience. This theory states that, the media choose a few incidents amongst many events and afterward unleash them from a specific perspective to promote or depress some elucidations. Thus the media manipulate how public observe actuality. Mass media actively set the frame of references that readers and viewers use to interpret and discuss public events (Tuchman, 1978).

According to Numan, Just and Crigler (1992), "they give the story a 'spin'...taking into account their organizational and modality constraints, professional judgments and certain judgments about the audience". At the same time, people's information processing and interpretation are influenced by preexisting meaning structure or schemas (Lippmann, 1922). The concept of "framing" was first unleashed by Anthropologist Gregory Bateson in 1972. He defined a psychological frame as "a spatial and temporal bounding of a set of interactive messages" (Google, 2014). Framing is also seldom labeled as second-level agenda setting.

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Researchers have associated the following concepts with framing:

1. Journalists select those topics which they will present to the audience. They also decide how those issues will be presented.

2. The masses construct their own frames. They interpret the media packages through their own perspectives which may\ overlap or contradict the media's frames.

3. Every time, frames are reinforced positively or negatively.

4. The construction of framing is a steady and organized course that takes place over time.

Time and resource limitations often cause framing in media as each and every event cannot be reported. Journalists choose which events to cover and which to ignore and decide which facts, values and perspectives will be mentioned or given prominence. Thus journalists apply their own interpretive frames when packaging news. Reporters are also influenced by social norms, pressures from interest groups, journalistic routines and their own ideological or political orientations. As a result, some definitions, evaluations and approvals contained within news reports are promoted over others. This selectivity and limitation influences audience's perception and interpretation of events.

2.17-3   Gate Keeping Theory

Kurt Zadek Lewin (1890-1947) a German Psychologist primarily coined the word "Gate keeping". This concept entered into the communication arena from the domain of psychology and at present is one of the fundamental theories in media studies. Blocking needless and discarded items through a gate is gate keeping. It is nothing but to block unnecessary and useless things by using a gate. The decision maker in this regard is called "Gatekeeper". He

makes a final decision that what should be communicated to the audience and what should not. Thus they are the decision makers who let the whole information to the social system. Based on their own influences, like social, cultural, ethical, political and personal, they release the information. Through this process the unwanted, sensible and controversial information are removed by the gate keeper which helps to control the society or a group and letting them in a right path (Soroka, 2012).

Media editors play the vital roles who finalize news items for ultimate release. They receive various news items of the world on daily basis. Apart from the state's regulations and norms of society, the channel has its own ethics and policies. Sometime, the organization policies or the nature of communication items also cause this editorial rejection. Journalists and editors have to select from a wide range of stories. We know that their selection is systematically biased, driven by a combination of organizational factors, news norms and audience interests.

Christ Robert (2005) viewed gate keeping theory as a springboard to other media theories like agenda-setting, semantics and framing. He observed that the latest gate keeping based research continues to improve upon earlier models. The arrival of the Internet has further sparked considerations of gate keeping in both scholarly research and in popular press. Singer (2001) studied how traditional newspapers chose to link or not to link to web sites, and it affects the gatekeeper's decisions. In case, if one information channel ignores an item to carry, some other available on line will publish/air it. In the changed circumstances, the mainstream media have made a connection with the internet-based on line media. Many theorists (like Shoemaker) argue that despite the emergence of new technology and the new gatekeepers, gate keeping will continue to exist, but only much faster.

2.18   Hypothesis

H-1   Being a state broadcaster, the CRI in its Pashto Service will give larger and extensive coverage to its own country as to protect its interests in the region and portray China as an active and influential actor in this zone.

H-2   China would be framed in the capacity of a soft power on the industrial, economic, diplomatic and socio-cultural fronts in the world in CRI Pashto Service and to show its eagerness to participate dynamically in the region's affairs in future.

H-3   China Radio International (CRI) in its Pashto transmission would also cover international events, at a maximum level, to project its soft power image and emerging leading player in global affairs.

H-4   In Afghanistan, Pashtuns enjoys the status of the largest ethnic community. The Pashto Service of CRI had been initially launched for Afghanistan. Therefore, the coverage given to Afghanistan would be larger than that of the coverage of Pakistan.

H-5   The Urdu Service of CRI broadcasts programmes for the listeners in Pakistan. Therefore the coverage given to Pakistan in Pashto language would be not as much as compared to the coverage given to Afghanistan.

H-6   The CRI coverage of Pakistan and Afghanistan will be mainly focused on Taliban, incidents of violence and terrorist activities, rather than other socio-economic and political news.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1   Research Methodology

Methodologies selected for this study are Content and Discourse techniques. Both can be applied to various types of communications. Content analysis uses a quantitative approach to identify, categorize and describe themes, issues or subjects in order to record bias or differences in representation, reveal or examine trends in a particular medium or make a comparison between two media (Kramarae & Spender, 2000). Researchers usually observe artifacts of social communication in content analysis like written texts or transcriptions of recorded audio/video communication. "Content analysis is any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages" (Holsti, 1968). Thus photographs, audio/video cassettes, storage devices or other objects from which data may be converted into written form are open to content analysis.

With this methodology researchers seek to determine the manifest content of written, spoken or published communication by systematic, objective and quantitative analysis. It is then a quantitative method applicable to what has traditionally called qualitatively material- written language (Zito, 1975). Content analysis also includes an organized & logical categorization, arrangement and explanation of media segments in accordance with a pre-arranged classification. This method involves quantitative procedure or qualitative technique or both. Technical objectivity requires that the category of classification and analysis be clearly and operationally defined so that other researchers can follow them reliably (Wright, 1986).

On the other hand, discourse analysis is solely a qualitative method. Its primary aim is to disclose the various ways, behaviors and traditions, wherein communication justifies or upholds an ideology. This method was introduced in the decade of 1970s. Discourse technique is chiefly the analysis of a language, the meaning given to it and the subsequent actions carried out after language use, in a specific context within a communication. Even a single sentence or utterance can be analyzed as "communication" or as an action. It is the study of language above the level of a sentence, of the ways sentences combine to create meaning, coherence and accomplish purposes (Paul & Handford, 2012).

3.2   Population/ Universe

Population selected for this study was the CRI Pashto Service, wherein, news content was put on air for the Pashtun population of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

3.3   Delimitation

The Pashto Service of China Radio International was delimited into 10 minutes daily news & 5 minutes commentary and other programmes.

3.4   Sample

The sample that was chosen for investigation, was a four months broadcast content including daily 10 minutes news bulletin and 5 minutes commentary, aired from CRI Pashto Service and uploaded (in text form) on the official website of CRI Pashto Service "**pushtu.cri.cn**", from 1st December 2013 to 31st March 2014. The material was downloaded from this website in Word document file in normal font size of Times New Roman 12 (body of the story), 24 (headline/caption) and with images, on daily basis for successive four months.

3.5   Categories of Analysis

After delimitation, the following news categories were selected for final analysis. They were counted to find out that which of these categories got more coverage.

A- News regarding Afghanistan

B- News regarding Pakistan

C- News regarding China

D- International News

Commentaries (Evaluated through discourse analysis to co-relate/cross check   results of the above mentioned categories in Content analysis)

3.6   Variables

Main variables of aforesaid categories (A to D) in the study are:

1.   Political news (election campaigns, meetings, public addresses, voting etc.)

2.   Economic/financial/business news (budgets, grants, aid, loans etc.),

3.   Foreign relations/affairs/diplomatic news (visits, treaties, MoUs, agreements, etc.)

4.   Violence news (Operation against Taliban & assaults of Taliban, suicide attacks, drone strikes, attacks on polio teams, blasts, firings etc.)

5.   Defense/Military News (military exercises, forces movements, arms deals, military alliances, military delegations visits etc.)

6.   Public Welfare News (educational, health, environment etc.)

7.   News of Science & Technology,

8.   Accidents/Natural Disaster News

9.   Daily life/Socio-cultural News (exhibitions, celebrations, music, games paintings etc.)

10.   Other News

3.7 Conceptual Definitions of Variables

1. Political News:

News of or relating to the state, government, policy-making or news dealing with the civil aspects of government, a political person, parties and the adherence features of politics, structured or ordered as regards the government or a political entity.

2. Economic/financial/business News:

News of or relating to finances, money, capital, credit, funds, financial futures stock-exchanges, currency rates, interest, banks, building societies, brokers etc.

3. Foreign Affairs/relations/diplomatic News:

News covering the management of relationship between states, international organizations or focusing on matters pertaining to global affairs and national interests of a country in other states, like visits, treaties, diplomatic exchanges etc.

4. Violence News:

To report any event or pattern of controlling, coercive or threatening behavior, violence or abuse regardless of gender or sexuality with such types of exploitation as psychologically, physically, sexually, financially or emotionally. The larger extent is killing, murders, injuring, kidnapping, firing, blasts, suicide attacks etc.

5. Defense/military News

Defense/military News are those stories that cover all activities related to armed forces of states globally such as military exercises, preparations, movements, exhibition of arsenals, military parades, war courses, etc.

6. Human Welfare News (educational, health, environment

News pertaining to all educational, health, environment related activities

7. **News of Science & Technology**

Publishing or airing news and information regarding scientific organizations, scientists, researches, inventions etc.

8. **Accidents/ natural disaster News**

News stories regarding floods, earth quakes, storms, accidents, fire incidents etc.

9. **Daily life/Socio-cultural/Sports News**

News stories which report the typical life characteristics of a nation or group of people like language, religion, social habits, music, dance, paintings, arts, and traditional/ modern sports etc.

10. **Other News**

Any other news that was broadcast apart from aforementioned categories.

3.8   Operational Definitions of Variables

1. **Political News**

News stories containing content regarding election campaigns, political gatherings, parties meetings, public addresses, rallies, assemblies sessions, etc.

2. **Economic/business/financial/news**

These bulletins are consisted of material on budgets, grants, aids, loans, stock exchanges, prices of commodities, imports & exports currencies exchange rates etc.

3. **Foreign relations/affairs/diplomatic news**

Stories about international visits, meetings, conferences, treaties, MoUs, agreements, statements, foreign offices communiqués, reporting functions of the UNO its organs and other world bodies, diplomatic tensions, all ambassadorial activities etc.

4. Violence news

In the scope and domain of this study, violence news means stories of operation against Taliban & attacks of Taliban, suicide attacks, drone attacks, attacks on polio teams, blasts, firings, killings, injuring, kidnapping etc.

5. Defense/Military News

Coverage of military exercises, forces movements, arms deals, military alliances, military delegations visits, defense budgets, arms deals etc.

6. Human Welfare News

News stories which are mainly focusing on various aspects of public well-being and human development, such as education, health, environment, social welfare, shelter, reconstruction, rehabilitation etc.

7. News of Science & Technology

Newscast of latest inventions, innovations and discoveries in the field of science, technology, IT, space research & technology, latest researches, seminars and all other related activities.

8. Accidents/Natural Disaster News

Broadcast of news regarding rail, road & air accidents, natural disasters like floods, rains, earth quakes, volcano eruptions etc.

9. Daily life/Sports/Socio-cultural News

Transmission of news regarding all socio-cultural and other daily life human activities like exhibitions, celebrations, music, paintings, dance, games etc.

10. Other News

This includes all other news stories apart from above-mentioned categories of news.

3.9   Coding Units (Units of Analysis)

Coding Units (for categories)

A- News regarding Afghanistan	A
B- News regarding Pakistan	B
C- News regarding China	C
D- International News	D

Coding Units (for variables)

i. Political news	1
ii. Economic/financial/business news	2
iii. Foreign relations/affairs/diplomatic news	3
iv. Violence news	4
v. Defense/Military News	5
vi. Public Welfare News	6
vii. News of Science & Technology	7
viii. Accidents/Natural Disaster News	8
ix. Daily life/Sports/Socio-cultural News	9
x. Other News	10

The font size of every headline of each story uploaded on the CRI Pashto Service website "pushtu.cri.cn" was 24, and that of the body was 12 (in Times New Roman). The size of normal image was 2.5" (height) and 3.3" (breadth). Some stories were uploaded without images, some with one image and few with two or more than two pictures. All stories were measured in terms of numbers of lines allotted to the headlines, lines in the bodies of stories and number of images given with the stories.

1. **Lines of Headline**

   a. Less than one and half line was considered one line. Coding unit was "1".

   b. More than one and half line and less than two and half lines were considered two lines. Coding unit was "2".

   c. More than two and half lines and less than three and half lines were considered three lines. Coding unit was 3.

   d. So on and so forth.

2. **Lines of Story**

   a. Less than one and half line was considered one line. It was denoted as "1".

   b. More than one and half line and less than two and half lines were considered two lines. They were denoted as "2".

   c. More than two and half lines and less than three and half lines were considered three lines. They were denoted as "3".

   d. So on and so forth.

3. **Images with a Story**

   a. Story supported with one image was given additional one (5) score.

   b. Story supported with two images was given additional two (10) scores.

   c. Story supported with three images was given additional three (15) scores.

   d. So on and so forth.

3.10 Application of Computer Programmes/Statistics

The required computer programmes like MS Word, Excel and relevant statistics as sum, division, multiplication, division and percentage were applied. Data collected from the specified data bank was analyzed through these programmes and statistics.

Chapter 4

DATA ANALYSIS

A-   Content Analysis of News Stories

How Pakistan and Afghanistan are given coverage in the Pashto Service of China Radio International was the core objective of this study. Moreover, due to the growing role of China in global affairs and its emergence as a soft power, it was also aimed at to see that how China projects itself to the outer world. The coverage of Pakistan and Afghanistan has also been investigated in comparison with the coverage of China and the world by CRI Pashto Service. In this study the data of every day news broadcast of the CRI Pashto Service for successive four months, i.e. (1st December 2013 to 31st March 2014) was contently analyzed. The data was obtained from the web page, **"pushtu.cri.cn"** of CRI Pashto Service and preserved in Word text format for investigation. Detail of data analysis of the study is given below:

4.1   Frequency of News Stories

Table - IV.I   Summary of Frequency of News

S.NO	MONTHS	AFGHANISTAN	PAKISTAN	CHINA	INTL.	
1.	Dec, 2013	32	17	180	194	
2.	Jan, 2014	30	29	136	177	
3.	Feb, 2014	20	31	160	169	**GRAND TOTAL**
4.	Mar, 2014	17	15	230	223	
GRAND TOTAL		**99**	**92**	**706**	**763**	**1660**

Chart - IV-A   Frequency of News Stories Broadcast
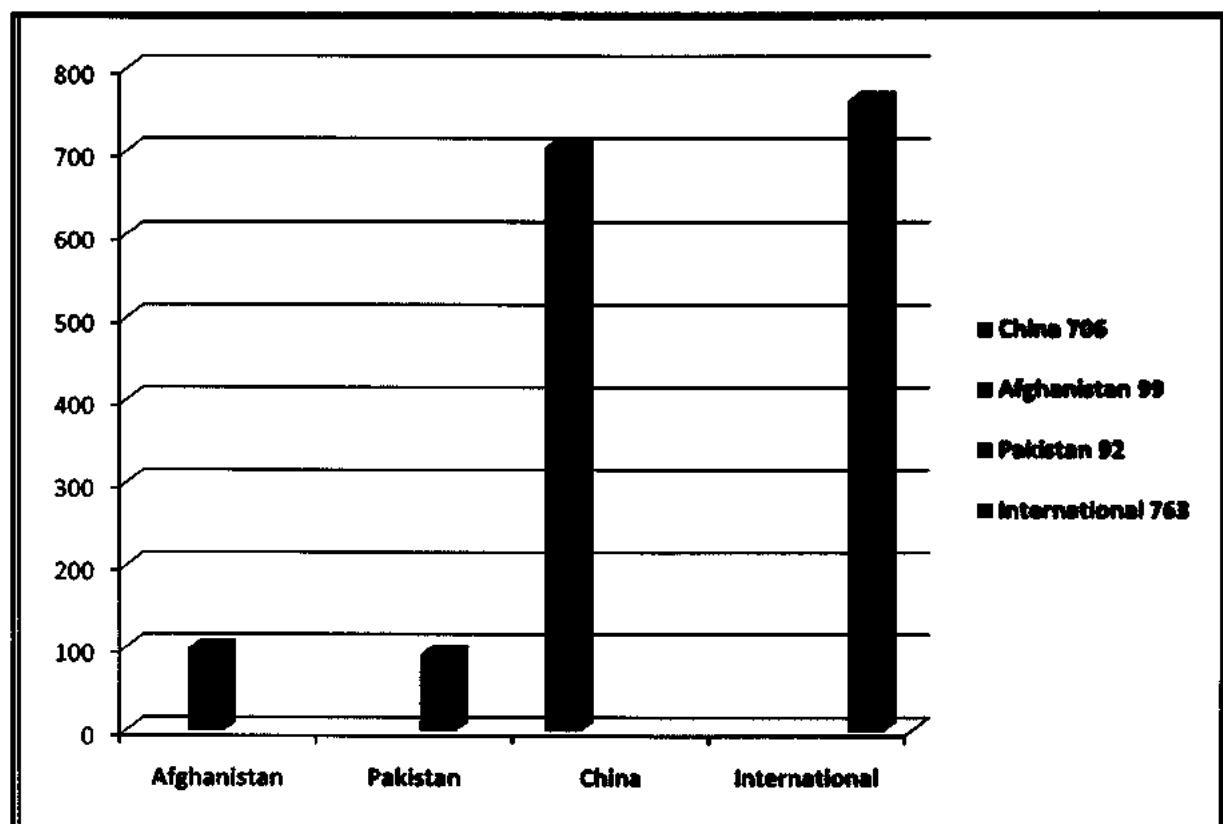
Table IV.I and Chart IV-A (above) express the total number (Frequency) of news stories broadcast by the CRI Pashto Service. After calculation and analysis of the data, it was found that a total number of 1660 news stories were broadcast by the Pashto Service of China Radio International (CRI) in four months, i.e. December 1, 2013 to March 31, 2014 (Table IV.I). International coverage took the lead, i.e. 763 news stories, followed by China with 706 stories. A total number of 99 stories were put on air regarding Afghanistan, whereas, Pakistan got the minimum coverage with 92 news stories, but not much far behind from Afghanistan. Both the countries had a difference of just seven (07) stories in their coverage by the CRI Pashto Service.

4.2   Ratio (%) of News Stories

Table - IV.II   Ratio (%) of News

S. No.	Category	No. of News Broadcast	Ratio (%)
1.	Afghanistan	99	5.97%
2.	Pakistan	92	5.54%
3.	China	706	42.53%
4.	International	763	45.96%
Total	(Four Main Categories)	1660	100%

Chart - IV-B   Ratio (%) of News
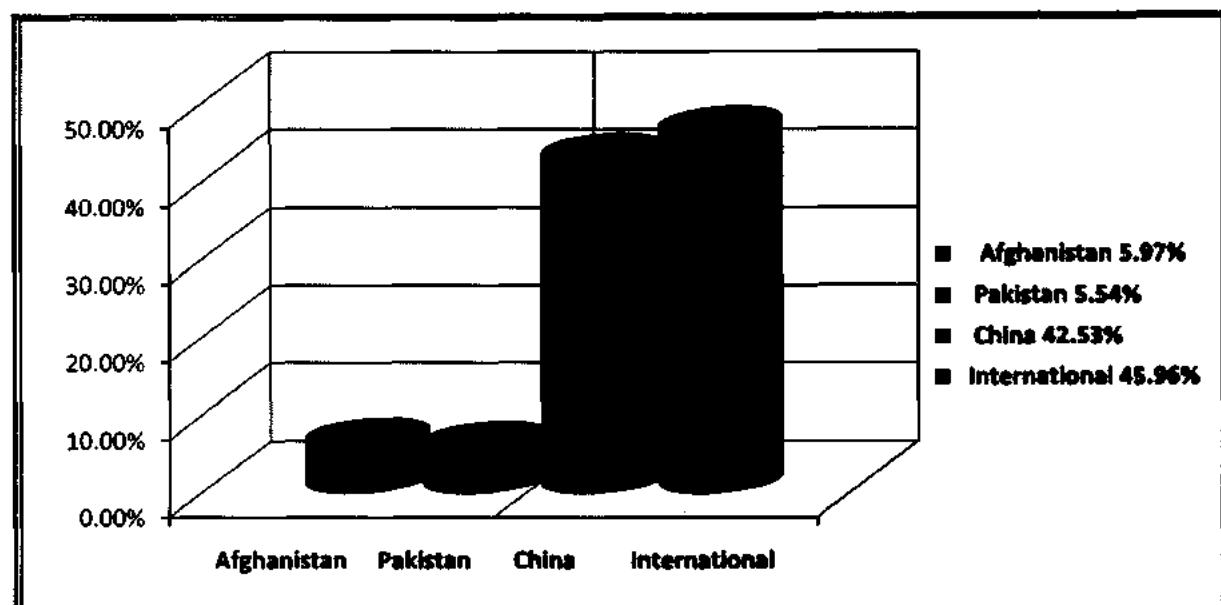
Table IV.II and Chart IV-B shows the ratio (%) of news stories which were put on air. International coverage remained on top, with 45.96% of the total stories, followed by China as second with 42.53% share. A portion of 5.97% of the whole stories were put on air regarding Afghanistan, whereas, Pakistan got the minimum coverage with (5.54%) news stories, slightly less than Afghanistan. Thus Afghanistan and Pakistan received almost the same coverage.

4.3   Nature of News

Table IV.III and Chart IV-C below elaborate the nature of news and coverage given to various areas and aspects of life by the CRI Pashto Service. Detail is given beneath.

Table - IV.III   Break-up (Sub-categories of News)

S. No	Nature of News	Afghanistan	Pakistan	China	Global	Total
1.	Political News:	16	23	55	85	179
2.	Eco/finance/business	3	4	214	57	278
3.	Foreign relations/	34	17	273	345	669
4.	Violence news	34	34	24	125	217
5.	Defense/Military	8	1	33	70	112
6.	Pub. Welfare News	1	Nil	10	10	21
7.	Sci. & Technology	Nil	2	25	10	37
8.	Acc. /Nat. Disaster	1	7	16	20	44
9.	Socio-cult. News	2	4	39	26	71
10	Other News	Nil	Nil	17	15	32
	Grand Total	**99**	**92**	**706**	**763**	**1660**

Chart - IV-C   Sub-Categories of News
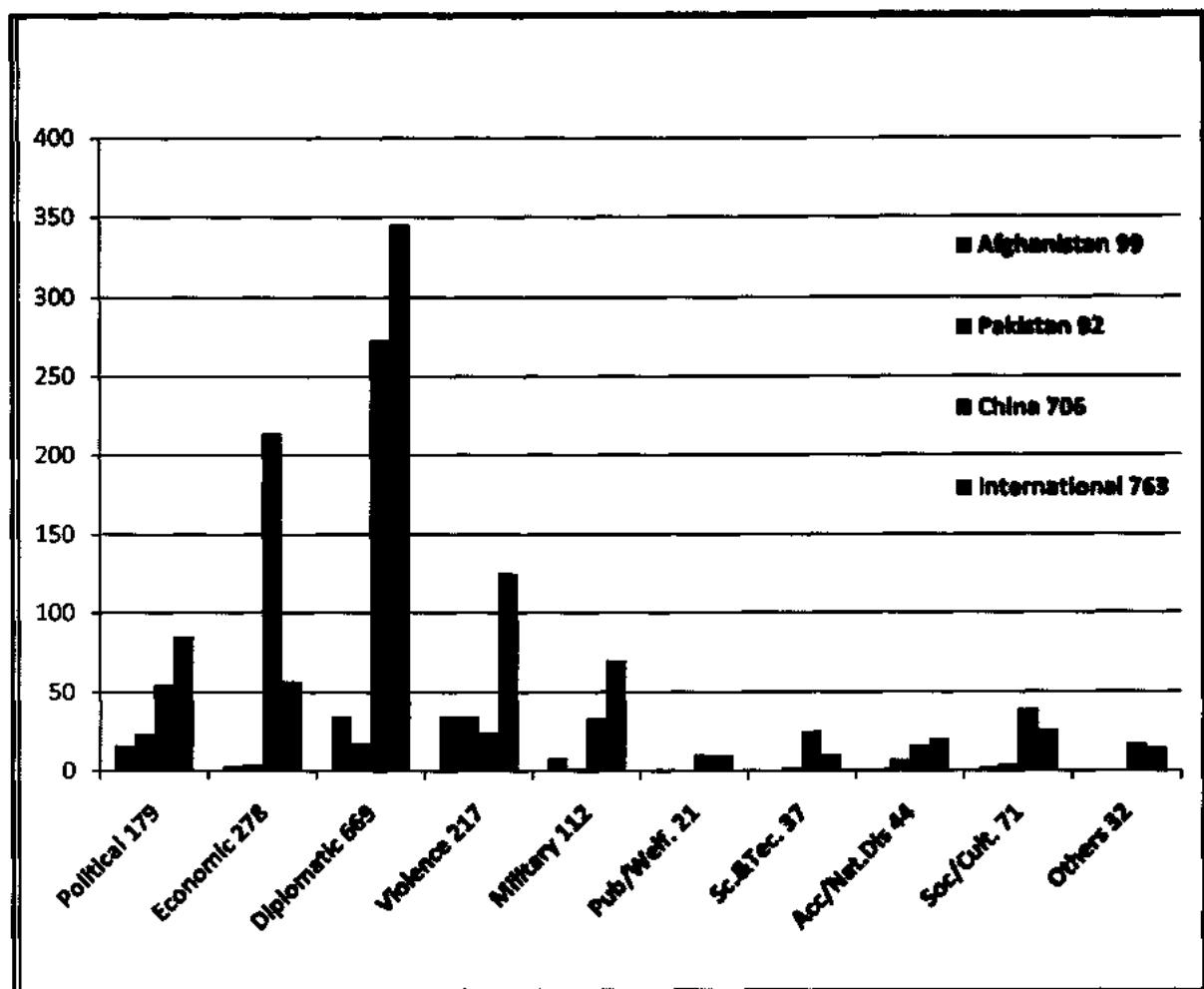
Table IV.III and Chart IV-C elaborate the nature of news and coverage given to various areas and aspects of life. Amongst all ten sub-categories of coverage areas, the maximum reportage was given to foreign relations/affairs with a number of 669 stories out of the total 1660 stories. Economic and business news with 278 stories was the 2nd largest area. The third largest sub-category relates to the coverage of violence with 217 stories. Political news got the 4th position with a number of 179 news stories followed by defense and military news with 112 stories, securing the 5th position. Socio-cultural news and activities got the sixth place with 71 stories. Multi-type accidents and natural disasters were reported 44 times. The field of

Science & Technology received 37 news items. The sub-class of "other news" got 32 stories and the most minimum coverage was obtained by public welfare news with just 21 stories, as in media coverage, this area in is treated as local news in most of the cases.

The hypothesis that the China Radio International (CRI) Pashto Service coverage of Pakistan and Afghanistan will be mainly focused on incidents of violence rather than socio-cultural and economic news has proved correct because amongst all ten sub-categories of news, both countries received maximum coverage in the sub-category of violence news, i.e. 34 stories each out of 99 and 92 respectively. Afghanistan also received considerable coverage in the area of foreign affairs and diplomatic activities with 34 stories testifying that international powers and organizations maintained constant engagement with Kabul. Political arena of Afghanistan attracted 16 stories out of 99 stories. Most of those news stories were related to the campaign for the Afghan Presidential Election of April 2014.

In the field of diplomatic activities, Afghanistan got double size coverage with 34 news pieces as compared to Pakistan which received only 17 stories. Pakistan took the edge in political field with 23 stories, where, Afghanistan got only 16 stories. In defense and military field, eight stories regarding Afghanistan and only one story about Pakistan were broadcast. It affirmed military activities of foreign and local Afghan forces in Afghanistan. It is interesting to note that China Radio International (CRI) in its Pashto service took a seven time notice of terrible traffic accidents that happened across Pakistan from December 1, 2013 to March 31, 2014 and reported only one story of traffic accident in Afghanistan. That shows the horrific situation in traffic management in Pakistan.

4.4 Collective Ratio (%) of Sub-categories of News

Table IV.IV and Chart IV-D, below express the collective ratio (%) of sub-categories of news stories aired by the China Radio International (CRI) in its Pashto service.

Table - IV.IV   Collective Ratio (%) of Sub-categories of News

S. No.	Nature of News	Total	Ratio (%)
1.	Political News	179	10.78%
2.	Economic/financial/business news	278	16.75%
3.	Foreign relations/ affairs/diplomatic news	669	40.30%
4.	Violence news	217	13.07%
5.	Defense/Military News	112	6.75%
6.	Public Welfare News	21	1.27%
7.	News of Science & Technology	37	2.29%
8.	Accidents/Natural Disaster News	44	2.65%
9.	Daily life/Sports / Socio-cultural News	71	4.28%
10	Other News	32	1.93%
	Grand Total	**1660**	**100%**

Chart - IV-D   Collective Ratio (%) of News Stories
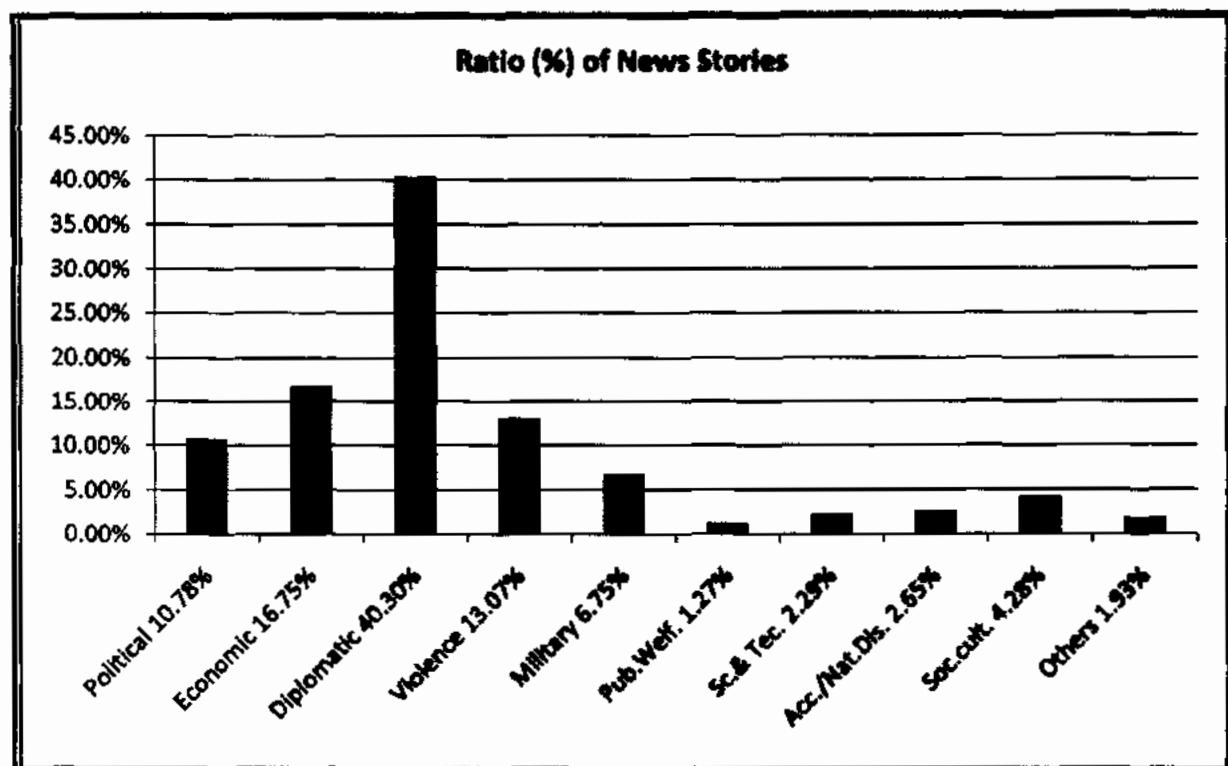
Table IV.IV and Chart IV-D; above express the collective ratio (%) of sub-categories of news stories. Foreign affairs and diplomatic news got the highest coverage with 40.30% share of all news stories. The second leading sub-category was that of economic and financial news with 16.75%. This shows that China pays greater attention to the global affairs and seems very much keen to play its role in international dealings and in the fields of finance and business. Violence news acquired the 3rd position with 13.07%. It expresses the Chinese concerns over the world disputes and global terrorism & extremism. China itself faces insurgency and terrorism in its western regions of Xingjian and Uyghur provinces. Political sphere got the 4th place with 10.78% of the total aired news stories, followed by defense/military news as 5th in the list with 6.75% portion. Socio-cultural activities obtained 4.28% slice of the entire news and stood as 6th in the line. Accidents and natural disasters news got 7th place with 2.65% and

66

science & technology news with 2.29% secured 8th number in the series. Ninth position was

attained by other (multiple type) news and the group of public welfare news remained at the

last (10th) in the chain of news stories.

4.5 Distinct Ratio of Sub-categories of News

Table - IV. V   Distinct Ratio of Sub-categories of News

S. No.	Nature of News	News of Afghanistan	News of Pakistan	News of China	Global News	Total
1.	Political News:	16 (8.94%)	23 (12.85%)	55 (30.73%)	85 (47.48%)	179
2.	Economic/ /business news	3 (1.08%)	4 (1.44%)	214 (76.98%)	57 (20.50%)	278
3.	Foreign relations/ /diplomatic news	34 (5.08%)	17 (2.54%)	273 (40.81%)	345 (51.57%)	669
4.	Violence news	34 (15.67%)	34 (15.67%)	24 (11.06%)	125 (57.60%)	217
5.	Defense/Military News	8 (7.14%)	1 (0.89%)	33 (29.46%)	70 (62.5%)	112
6.	Public Welfare News	1 (4.76%)	Nil (0.00%)	10 (47.62%)	10 (47.62%)	21
7.	News of Science & Technology	Nil (0.00%)	2 (5.41%)	25 (67.57%)	10 (27.02%)	37
8.	Accidents/Natural Disaster News	1 (2.27%)	7 (15.91%)	16 (36.37%)	20 (45.45%)	44
9.	Daily life/ Socio-cultural News	2 (2.82%)	4 (5.63%)	39 (50.70%)	26 (36.62%)	71
10	Other News	Nil (0.00%)	Nil (0.00%)	17 (53.12%)	15 (46.88%)	32
	Grand Total	**99**	**92**	**706**	**763**	**1660**

Table IV.V shows distinct ratio (%) of each individual sub-category of news stories in each

category/area.

4.6   Analysis of Score of News Stories

Aggregate score of news stories has been derived as under:

Headline length (in lines) + Story length (in lines) + Image (5) = Score of a news story.
Whereas;

1. Each single line in a headline was allotted (1) score.

2. Each single line in the body of story was also awarded one (1) score.

3. And image had been given five (5) scores as a picture with news story increases the value, prominence and importance of that particular event.

Table IV.VI and Chart IV-E, below describe the final (aggregate) scores of news stories broadcast during the review period of this study.

Table - IV.VI   Summary of News Stories Score

S. No.	Country	Headline length (in lines)	Story length (in lines)	Images	Score
1.	Afghanistan	120	696	30	967
2.	Pakistan	121	647	15	840
3.	China	1040	5024	153	6804
4.	International	993	5304	113	6842
	Total	2274	11671	311	15453

Chart - IV-E Score of News Stories

Legend:
- Headline length 2274
- Story length 11671
- Images 311
- Total Score 15453

X-axis categories: Headline Length (In lines), Story Length (In lines), Stories (With Images), Total Score
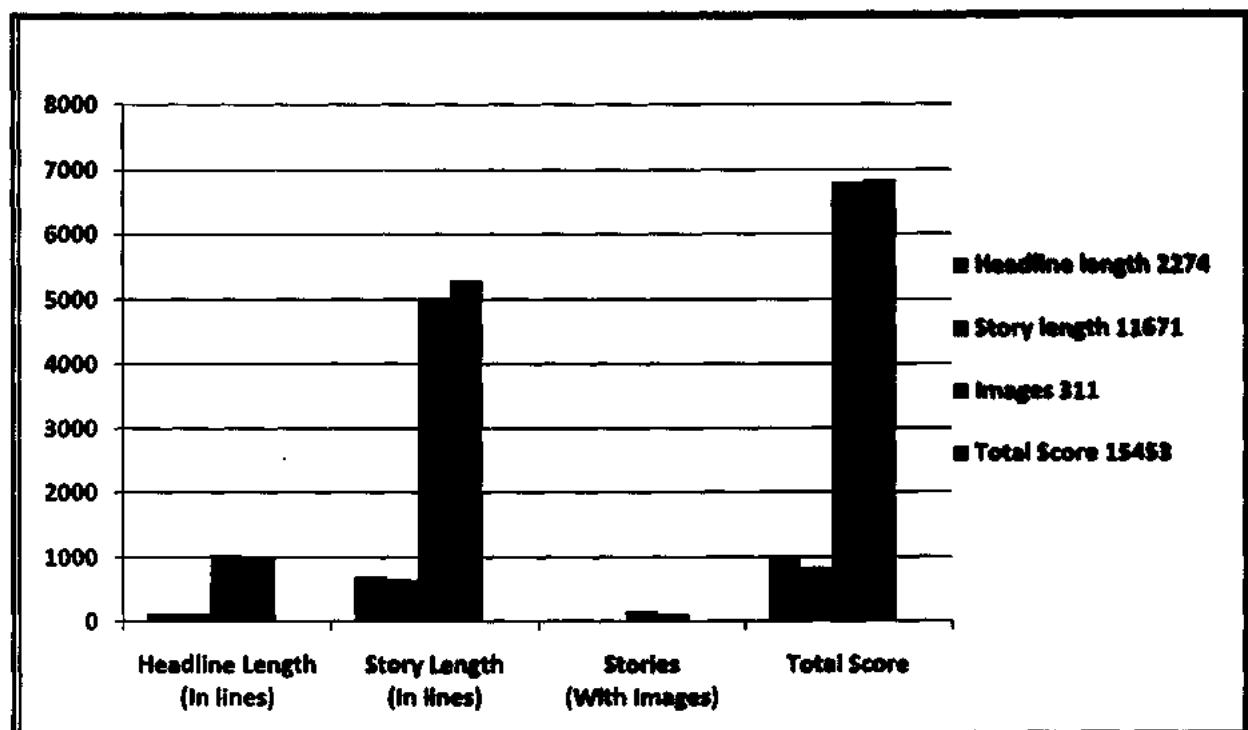
Table IV.VI and Chart IV-E describe the final (aggregate) scores of news stories broadcast during the review period of this study. A total number of 1660 news stories with an aggregate score of 15453, were broadcast by the Pashto Service of China Radio International (CRI), from December 1st 2013 to March 31st 2014 (during four months). International News got the highest score of 6842. The news regarding China received 6804 score, which is less but near to the category of International Score.

This calculation testified the diagrams (Table IV.I) and (Chart IV-A) of total number (frequency) of stories, which showed that the highest number of stories were broadcast in the International Category. With a score of 967, Afghanistan took the lead in coverage as compared with Pakistan, which got 840 score. This statistics also maintained positive correlation with the Table IV.I and Chart IV-E of total number of stories.

Chart -IV-F   Ratio (%) of Score
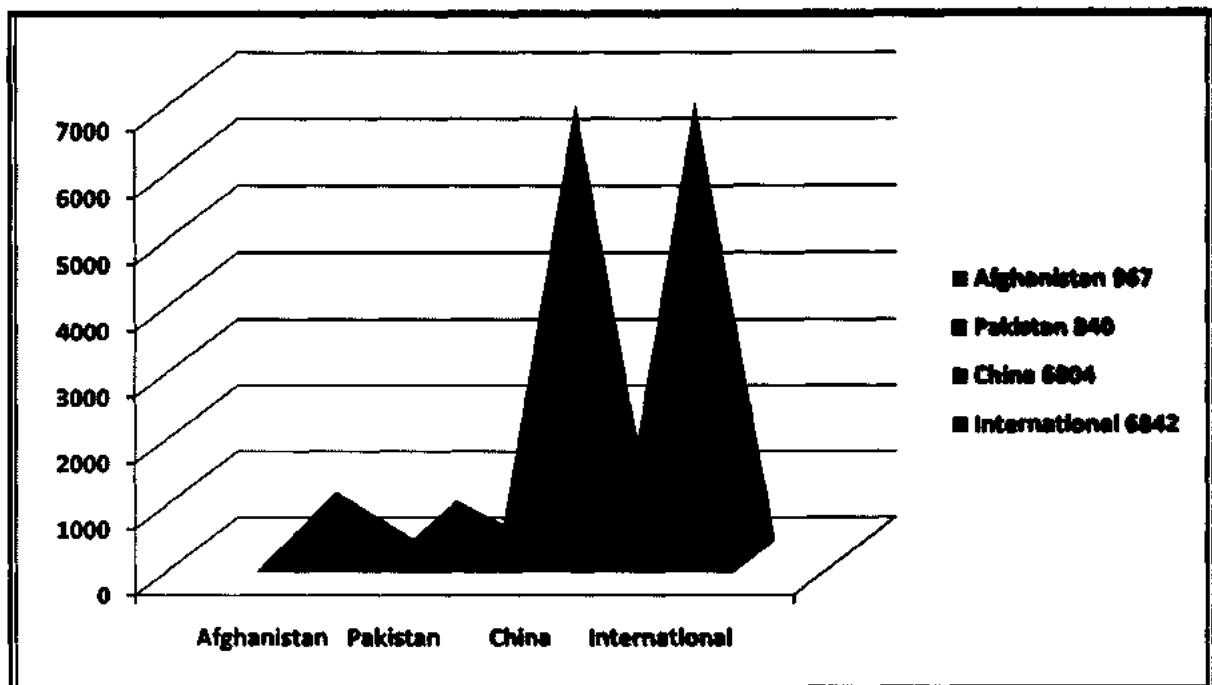
Chart IV-F elaborates the aggregate score in all four main categories. International coverage took the leading score of 6842. With a difference of 38 score, China remained second in the run with 6804. The third largest category is Afghanistan with 967 score and Pakistan received the minimum score of 840 amongst all four categories.

4.7   Analysis of Images

Table IV.VII and Figure IV-G illustrate the overall position of images appeared with news stories. The whole number of news was 1660, but the total number of images appeared along with stories is 311. It was also found that some stories were supported with two or more images. Table IV.IV shows that out of 311 images, 153 (about half) were appeared with the stories relating to China. This indicated that the Pashto Service of CRI was much keen to give prominence to news stories pertaining to China, with the support of pictures to substantiate and supplement the projection of China to the world.

Table IV.VII Break-up of Images				Chart (Figure) IV-G Percentage of Images
S. No	Country	Number	% age	
1.	Afghanistan	30	9.65%	
2.	Pakistan	15	4.82%	
3.	China	153	49.20%	
4.	International	113	36.33%	
Total		311	100%	
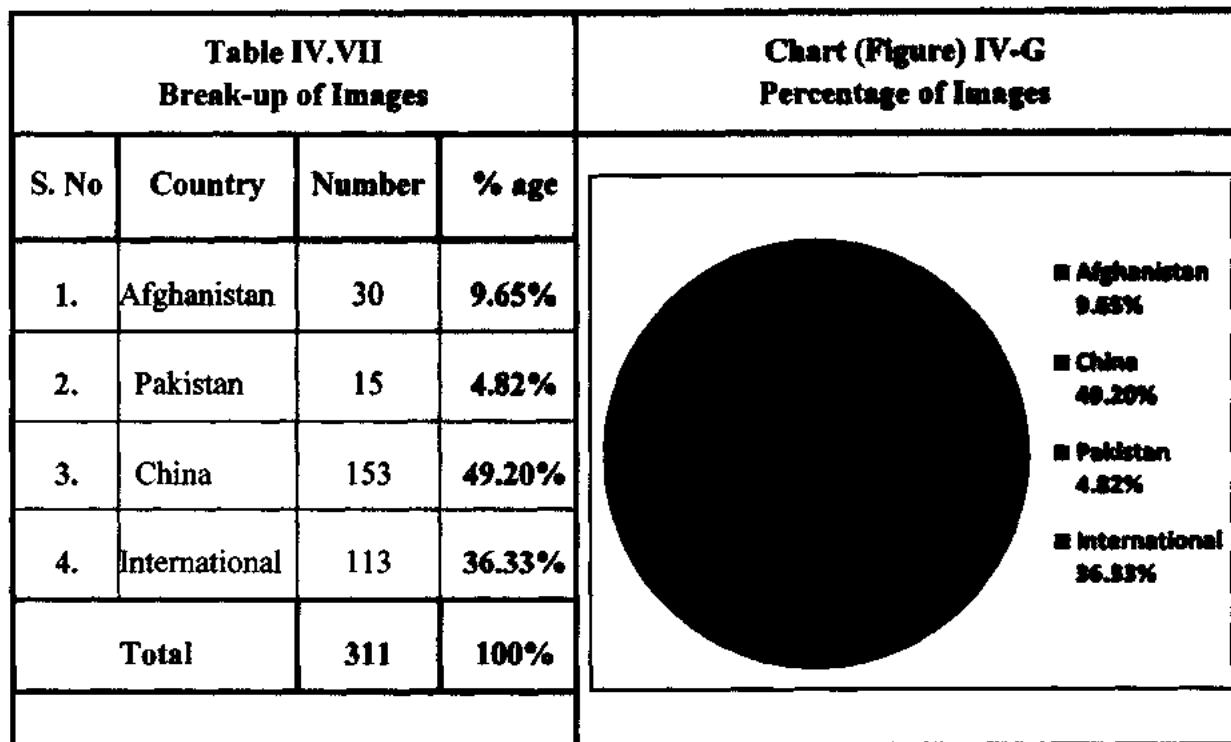
Table IV.VII and Figure IV-G show that a total number of 113 images were accompanied with International stories. That is the second high number in the table. It specified that global news was given the second highest importance in terms of highlighting and enhancing the worth of news. Afghanistan related stories have 30 images, which are double than the number of images with news items regarding Pakistan that is 15 only. It indicated that the news regarding Afghanistan was given more importance and prominence as compared to the news pertaining to Pakistan.

It has been pointed out that out of 311 appeared images, 266 were accompanying the news stories regarding China and International news. This is a clear cut indication that The Pashto Service of CRI gave the major share of its broadcast to the news relating to China and the outer world as compared to Pakistan and Afghanistan. Only 45 images appeared with news stories that pertained to Afghanistan and Pakistan.

B-   Discourse Analysis of Commentaries

4.8   Analysis of Commentaries

Apart from broadcasting a bulletin of 10 minutes on daily basis, the CRI Pashto Service also airs a commentary of five minutes duration, five days in a week (except Saturday & Sunday).

Table - IV.VIII   Summary of Frequency of Commentaries

S. No	Month	Afghanistan	Pakistan	China	International
1.	Dec.2013	3	3	5	9
2.	Jan.2014	2	2	4	13
3.	Feb.2014	5	3	4	10
4.	Mar.2014	2	-	7	13
Total		12	8	20	45
G. Total		85			

Chart- IV-H   Frequency (total number) of Commentaries
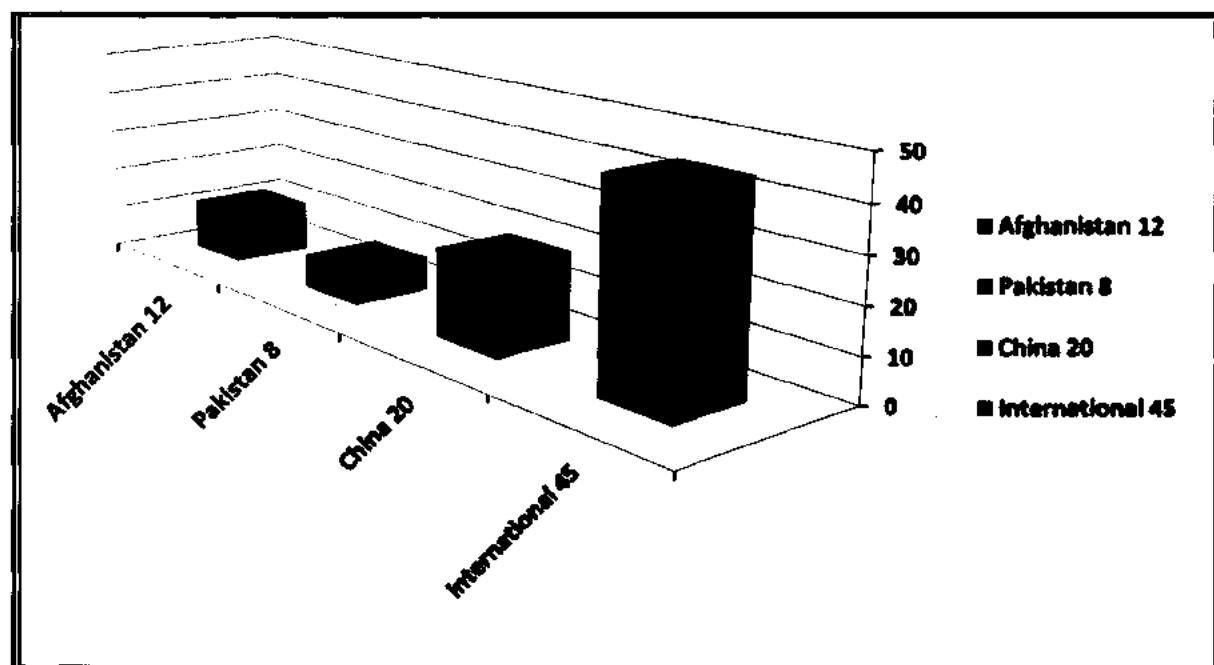
Table 4.8 and Chart 4-H (above) articulate that 85 commentaries were put on air from December 1, 2013 to March 31, 2014 in 120 days (four months). More than half (45) were broadcast on international topics and 20 commentaries were aired on matters related to China.

The share of international commentaries comes as 52.91% out of the total number. Commentaries on topics associated with China makes 23.53% of the whole sum. Twelve (12) commentaries making 14.11% of the whole were broadcast on issues associated with Afghanistan and only eight (8) commentaries were radiated on subjects that pertained to Pakistan which amounts to 9.41% of the grand sum.

Thus in terms of commentaries, the coverage of Afghanistan is more than the coverage of Pakistan. Out of 85 commentaries, 66 were related to the affairs and issues of the world and China. Here too, a huge share of 77.65% coverage has been taken away by these two categories. This calculation reveals the intention and conduct of China articulating itself as a key player in the international matters and also as a close observer of the global affairs. Thus, the international stance, posture and outlook of China are visible in the Pashto Service of China Radio International.

4.9 Topics/Areas/Themes of Commentaries

The examination of commentaries radiated from the Pashto Service of China Radio International (CRI) illustrates (Table IV.IX and Chart IV-I) that out of 85 commentaries, 50 were related to the area of foreign relations/affairs and diplomatic engagements. It means that China keeps a close watch on international relations and global politics and shows its readiness to play active role in this respect.

Table - IV.IX   Break-up of Commentaries

S. No	Nature	Afghanistan	Pakistan	China	Global	Total
1.	Political Activities	3	3	3	13	22
2.	Economic / business	-	-	2	-	2
3.	For. affairs /diplomacy	8	5	6	31	50
4.	Violence	1	-	2	-	3
5.	Defense/Military	-	-	-	-	-
6.	Public Welfare	-	-	2	-	2
7.	Science &Technology	-	-	2	-	2
8.	Nat. Disasters /Accidents	-	-	-	-	-
9.	Sports / Socio-cultural	-	-	3	1	4
10	Other News	-	-	-	-	-
	Grand Total	**12**	**8**	**20**	**45**	**85**

Chart -IV-I   Break-up of Commentaries
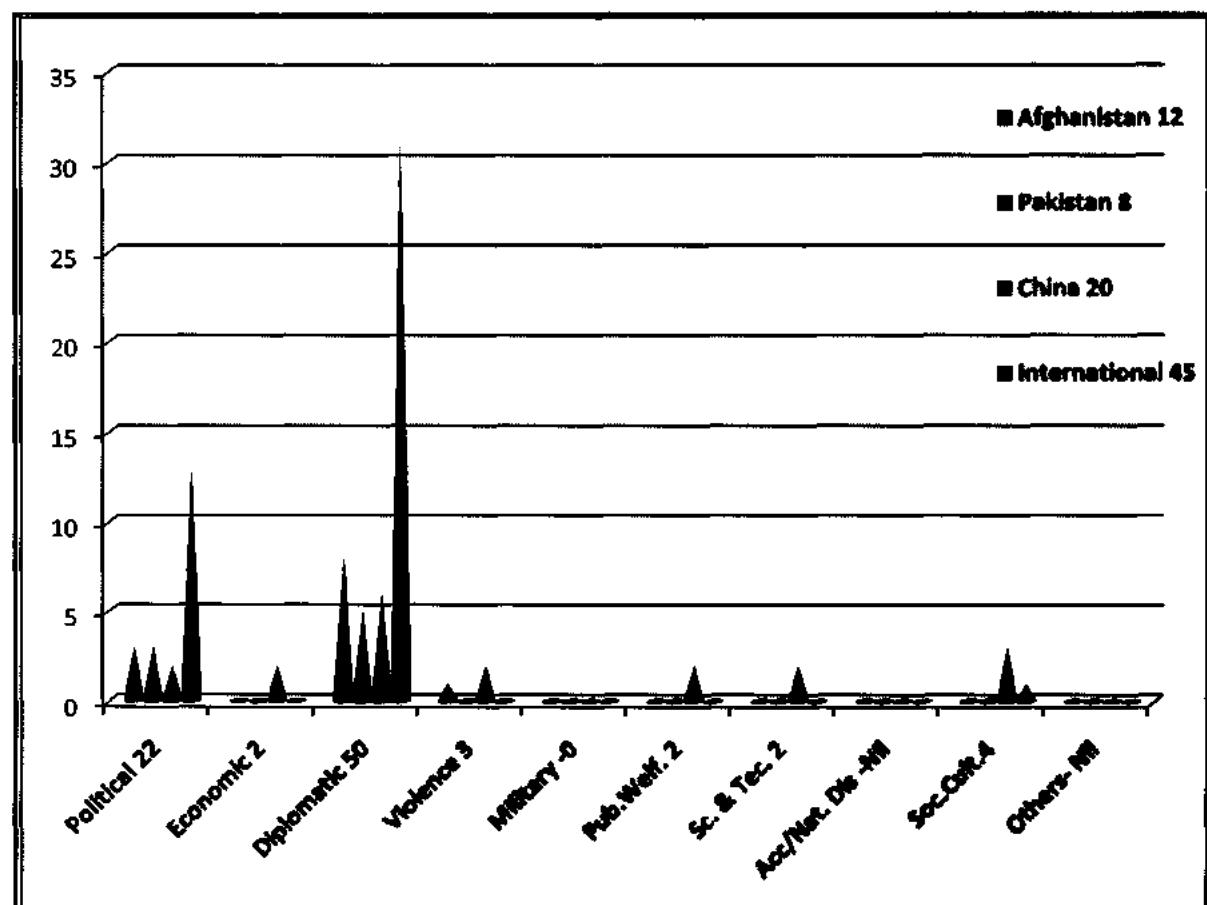
Table IV.IX and Chart IV-I show that the second highest area was that of political issues where, 22 commentaries were put on air. The CRI Pashto Service broadcast only three commentaries regarding political activities in China. This indicates that China seems reluctant to bring to discussion and limelight its political system and country's internal affairs whereas, 19 commentaries were aired on the political developments that emerged on the international arena which on the contrary, shows greater interest of China in international political affairs.

Pakistan and Afghanistan were treated equally by the CRI Pashto Service with three commentaries each in the sub-category of political affairs. Only three commentaries regarding violence were aired and socio-cultural activities got four. The sub-categories of economic & business affairs, human development and science & technology fields acquired two (2) commentaries each. The sub-categories of accidents, defense/military, natural calamities, accidents or other topics other than the specified ten categories got no commentaries.

4.10   Brief Appraisal of Commentaries

A-   Afghanistan

The CRI Pashto Service aired commentaries on Afghanistan in three sub-categories, as below.

1.   Political Activities

In this sub-category, three commentaries were transmitted. Two pertained to the presidential election campaign in Afghanistan, wherein, a brief comparison of the political position of the contesting candidates was made. The third one entitled criticism of the U.S. over the release of Taliban prisoners from Baghram Jail by the Afghan regime. The U.S.A had opposed that decision stating that many among the prisoners were hard core militants and after release, they could re-join the Taliban and Al-Qaida and thus become threat for the ISAF and Afghan

forces. In analysis, the allegations and counter allegations of the U.S. and Afghan regime against each other had been reviewed. America had termed the decision as dangerous and political scoring by the out-going Afghan President Karzai, whereas, the Kabul regime had called it as an internal political and re-conciliatory effort for the country's peace process.

2.   Violence News

Only one commentary regarding violence in Afghanistan had been aired, which was associated to the terrorist attack on the five stars Serena Hotel in Kabul in March 2014. Taliban and insurgent elements had been viewed as constant threat for peace in Afghanistan in the scenario of foreign troop's withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014.

3.   International Relations, Diplomatic Engagements

Under this sub-category, eight commentaries were put on air, which were based on visits of high dignitaries to and from Afghanistan, high level meetings regarding Afghanistan, U.N.O's activities and international seminars regarding Afghan conflict, dialogue efforts with Taliban etc. The most/ prominent events were Pak-Afghan-Turkey Summit on Afghanistan in Istanbul, Turkey in February 2014 and review of Afghanistan-China ties in 2013.

B-   Pakistan

Eight commentaries were broadcast about Pakistan as per following detail.

1.   Political Activities

About political activities in Pakistan, two reviewed the government Talks with Pakistani Taliban, pros and cons, chances of success, international as well as local reaction and previous history of such talks. One commentary was regarding former president General (R) Perviz Musharraf's trial in high treason case. Stance of the present Pakistani government and counter stand of the former president had been highlighted with remarks of lawyers of both sides.

2. International Relations, Diplomatic Activities

Two commentaries were regarding Pakistan's protest over drone attacks in tribal areas. Stance of the Pakistan's government especially the protest of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provincial government, stoppage of NATO supply routes in Pakistan and prospects of Pak-U.S. relations was reviewed. One commentary each was on the resumption of Pak-US Strategic Talks as an indication of betterment of Pak-U.S relations, Pak-Afghan-Turkey Summit over Afghanistan situation in Istanbul and review of long-lasted Pak-China Relations.

C- China

Out of 85 commentaries that were broadcast from CRI Pashto Service, 20 were related to issues and subjects pertaining to China. Brief review is given as under:

1. Political Activities

Three commentaries were put on air in connection with political activities in China. Two were regarding the 2nd annual meeting of the 12th National People's Congress, wherein, the overall internal socio-political, economic, geo-strategic, security situation in the region and international affairs affecting China were also appraised. One commentary highlighted the salient features of Chinese Premier Li Keqiang's address to the NPS's meeting regarding introduction of reforms and overall in China and status of implementation over those reforms.

2. Economy

Two commentaries, one pertaining to the performance and key achievements of various sectors of Chinese Economy in 2013 and the other about the famous Silk Route, its ancient & traditional history, emerging geo-strategic & economic importance for China and the Central Asian countries were relayed. Both commentaries were the summary of Chinese efforts to enhance and maintain its business and economic status in the global business markets.

3.   Violence

In the year 2014, China experienced a series of terrorist activities allegedly conducted by the East Turkistan Islamic Movement of Xingjian and Uyghur provinces. In this context, under the sub-category of violence, two commentaries were radiated. The topics were; Terrorism & extremism is on ripe in Xinjiang Province and World Community condemned terrorist attack in Chinese Kunming City. Terrorism in China was analyzed in the purview of global extremism and terrorism. The government steps to eliminate violence in China, was evaluated and the state authorities were urged to further strengthen the inland security of China.

4.   International Relations, Diplomatic Engagements

Six commentaries were broadcast. The topics were, Chinese aid for poor countries, Chinese foreign minister visit to Saudi Arabia, China's role in dismantling Syrian Chemical weapons, China ensures support for peaceful transition in Afghanistan, China-Russia relations and Pakistan's president visit to China & China-Pakistan ties.

5.   Public Welfare News

Two commentaries were broadcast. The subjects were; Smoking is rising in China and extension of health facilities in Ningxia Province of China.

6.   Science & Technology

In December 2013, China propelled its Moon Rover mission called Chang'e No. 1 and successfully managed to land it to the moon surface. This gigantic lunar exploration mission branded as the Chang'e Project after a primitive Chinese myth about a gorgeous young fairy who took a magic potion, flew to the Moon, and stayed there as Goddess of the Moon. Two commentaries on this achievement and China's advancement in space research and progress in satellite communication were highlighted.

7. Socio-cultural News

Three commentaries on the themes, Chinese squad in Sochi (Russia) Olympic, traditional methods of paper making from mulberry leaves in China and China's New Year Spring Festival-the biggest amongst China's festivals, were broadcast.

D- International

Of the total 85 commentaries, that were broadcast from CRI Pashto Service during 120 days (1st December 2013 to 31st March 201), 45 (52.94%) more than half were associated to International topics. Their brief description is given below.

1. Political

Thirteen commentaries were put on air on latest political developments round the world. Four (30.77% portion of 13) commentaries were about political situation in Egypt, out of which three were regarding Egyptian Referendum after dismissal of the Muslims Brothers government led by Muhammad Morsi and one was about preparations for presidential election, wherein, the ex-Army head Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi was affirmed as elected. Eight (61.54%) commentaries were radiated regarding political crisis in Ukraine, the role of Russia, US and European in the Ukrainian Crisis and one (7.69%) pertained to local bodies' elections in Turkey which was won by the ruling party of the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

2. International Relations and Diplomatic Engagements

In the category of International coverage, the major sub-category happened to be international relations and diplomatic engagements, where the largest number of 31 (68.89%) commentaries was broadcast. Among this total, seven were broadcast regarding Six Big Powers Talks with Iran on its Nuclear Issue. China, U.S.A, U.K, France, Germany and Russia are members of the Group that remained engaged in talks with Iran to peacefully avert Iran

from making nuclear weapons. Concern of the West regarding Iran's nuclear programme and stance of Iran were analyzed in these commentaries. Six were aired on Syrian internal conflict that included human rights violations in Syria, hardships of Syrian refugees, efforts of the world community to help resolve the Syrian Conflict, dismantling chemical weapons of Syria and the overall impact of Syrian Crisis on the Gulf region.

The Nuclear Security Summit was held in Hague, Netherlands on March 24-25, 2014 which ended with a joint declaration by all 53 participant countries and four international organizations. The 36-article joint communiqué said that the nations are committed to nuclear disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation and the use of nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes. The communiqué required that the states minimize their stocks of highly enriched uranium and keep their stockpile of separated plutonium to the minimum level. Four commentaries were aired on this summit, wherein, communiqué of the summit, global efforts to tighten nuclear security, prevent terrorists and all other unauthorized actors from acquiring nuclear materials that could be used in nuclear weapons, possible futuristic achievements of the summit and other important challenges in the years to come, were evaluated.

Three commentaries were aired on the Sudan conflict which reviewed efforts of the U.N.O and African Countries League to resolve this conflict. Two commentaries were transmitted on the Ukraine Issue that reviewed the role of U.S.A, Russia and European Union and possible repercussions of the Ukraine crisis on the regional as well as the international level. In December 2013, the Gulf Countries Summit was held in Kuwait. Two commentaries were broadcast in regard analyzing the challenges faced by the Gulf regions like Iran-Saudi Arabia Ties, Iraq and Syrian civil wars, Palestine Issue and political developments in Egypt.

Moreover, one each commentary was broadcast regarding the US Espionage of German Chancellor by tapping her telephone calls, Iran-Iraq ties, Afghanistan-India relations, China-Japan-Korea relations and over all security situation in East China Sea & Korean Peninsula and Palestine-Jordon-Israel Joint Water Supply Project Agreement. One commentary was also aired about the Russian condemnation of the visit of Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to the Yasukuni Memorial in Tokyo- the first visit by a Japanese prime minister in seven years, where, among others, war criminals from World War II are enshrined. Having a tragic history of military assaults from Japan's side in the past, China remained very sensitive to this visit by the Japanese Prime Minister, categorically condemned it and very much highlighted the news of denunciation of this visit by other former World War-II allies.

3.   Socio-Cultural

Only one commentary was aired in this sub-category in International coverage about the 35th Anniversary of Islamic Revolution in Iran on 11th February 2014. In this commentary, Iran's relations with the West were reviewed after the 1979 Iranian Islamic Revolution. Key policy statement of the Iranian President Hasan Rohani was highlighted, stating that Iran was always ready to resolve its nuclear issue with the West through peaceful negotiations but without subjugation and surrendering the fundamental right of peaceful use of nuclear energy.

4.11   Comparison of Results of News Stories and Commentaries

It was discovered that the CRI Pashto Service broadcast a total number of 1660 news stories from December 1, 2013 to March 31, 2014. Ninety-nine (99) stories were put on air regarding Afghanistan, whereas, Pakistan got the minimum coverage with 92 news stories, a little after Afghanistan. International coverage was the maximum with 763 stories, followed by China

with 706 stories. Thus Afghanistan received 5.97%, Pakistan 5.54%, China 42.53% and International 45.96% portion of the total coverage.

Moreover, 85 commentaries were put on air during the same period. Twelve (12) commentaries making 14.11% of the whole were broadcast on Afghanistan related issues and only eight (8) commentaries were radiated on subjects that pertained to Pakistan which amounts to 9.41% of the grand sum .Thus in terms of commentaries, the coverage of Afghanistan is more than that of Pakistan. More than half (45) were broadcast on international topics and 20 commentaries were aired on matters related to China. The share of international commentaries comes as 52.91% out of the total number. Commentaries on topics associated with China makes 23.53% of the whole sum.

Table IV.X Comparison of Results of News Stories and Commentaries:

S. No.	Country	Frequency & Ratio of News Stories	Frequency & Ratio of Commentaries
1.	Afghanistan	99 (5.97%)	12 (14.11)
2.	Pakistan	92 (5.54%)	8 (9.41%)
3.	China	706 (42.53%)	20 (23.53%)
4.	International	763 (45.96%)	45 (52.91%)
Total Number		1660 (100%)	85 (100%)

Table IV.X shows the comparison of frequencies and ratio of both the news stories and commentaries. Subsequent results in each category of news stories and commentaries show a positive relationship with each other.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1   Objectives of the Study and Results/Findings

Main objectives of the study have been reproduced below. Subsequent and relevant results/findings after data analysis have been mentioned with objectives.

1. To examine that which of the four categories of CRI Pashto Service is getting more coverage and which is receiving less coverage.

    Findings: It was discovered that a total number of 1660 news stories were broadcast by the CRI Pashto Service in four months, i.e. December 1, 2013 to March 31, 2014. International coverage took the lead with 763 stories, followed by China with 706 stories. A total number of 99 stories were put on air regarding Afghanistan, whereas, Pakistan got the least coverage with 92 news stories slightly behind Afghanistan.

2. To determine the differences of coverage, in terms of importance, amount and treatment given by the CRI Pashto Service.

    Findings: Amongst the ten sub-categories of coverage areas, the maximum reportage was given to foreign affairs and diplomatic matters with a number of 669 stories out of the total 1660. The second largest coverage area was that of economic and business news with 278 stories. Violence was the third major sub-category with 217 stories. Political news got 4th position in the list with a number of 179 news stories and defense and military news secured the 5th with 112 stories. Socio-cultural news, educational and sports activities got the sixth place with 71 stories. Remaining four sub-categories took little attention.

3. To investigate the nature and treatment of coverage given to Pakistan and Afghanistan by the China Radio International, Pashto Service.

Findings: Amid the selected ten sub-categories of news, both Afghanistan and Pakistan have received maximum coverage in the sub-category of violence news, i.e. 34 stories each out of 99 and 92 respectively. Afghanistan also received substantial coverage in the area of foreign affairs and diplomatic activities with 34 stories testifying that international powers and organizations maintained constant engagement with Kabul. Political arena of Afghanistan attracted 16 stories out of 99 stories; most were related to the Afghan Presidential Election 2014.

In the field of diplomacy and world affairs, Afghanistan got double size coverage with 34 news pieces as compared to Pakistan, which received only 17 stories. Whereas, Pakistan took the edge in political field with 23 stories, where, Afghanistan got only 16 stories. It is interesting to note that CRI in its Pashto service took a seven time notice of terrible traffic accidents that happened across Pakistan from December 1, 2013 to March 31, 2014 and reported only one story of traffic accident in Afghanistan. That shows the horrific traffic situation in Pakistan.

4. To study and evaluate the current composition of coverage given to Pakistan and Afghanistan in the Pashto Service of CRI.

Findings: Out of the entire 1660 news stories, a share of 5.97% (99) were put on air regarding Afghanistan, whereas, Pakistan got the minimum coverage with 5.54% (92) news stories, slightly less from Afghanistan. Thus Afghanistan and Pakistan received almost the same coverage. Average of daily coverage of Afghanistan remained (0.83%) and that of Pakistan (0.77 %), which is less than one story per day.

5. Another objective is to explore that how the CRI Radio projects China and the world overall in its Pashto Service.

Findings: It was found that foreign affairs and diplomatic news got the highest coverage with 669 (40.30%) stories of all 1660 news stories. This shows that China pays greater attention to the global affairs and seems very much keen to play active role in the international arena. The second leading sub-category was that of economic and business news with 278 (16.75%) news stories. It indicated that economy is one of China's topmost priorities in its international dealings. Most of the news stories projected China as a soft power which is engaged with the international community in fields of economy and diplomacy. Violence news acquired the third position with 13.07%. It expresses the Chinese concerns over the world disputes and global terrorism. Political sphere got the fourth place with 10.78% of the total aired news stories, followed by defense/military area as fifth in the list with 6.75% portion. Socio-cultural activities obtained 4.28% slice of the entire news and stood 6th in the line. Other sub-categories were given minimal coverage.

5.2   Hypotheses of the Study and Corresponding Results

H-1   Being a state broadcaster, CRI in its Pashto Service will give larger and extensive coverage to the state of China as to shield its interests in the region and portray China as an active and influential actor in this region.

Findings: Out of the total 1660 news stories, 706 stories pertaining to China were aired. This total amounts to 42.53% of the total number (Frequency) of news stories. The news regarding China received an aggregate score of 6804 points, which is slightly less but near to the category of International Score of 6842.From the analysis of photographs, it was found

that out of 311 images, 153 (49.20%, almost half) appeared with the stories relating to China. This indicated that the Pashto Service of CRI was much keen to give ample prominence to China related stories, with the support of pictures. The purpose was to substantiate and supplement the projection of China in the international community.

It was found that foreign affairs and diplomatic news got the highest coverage with 40.30% share of all news stories. It exhibits that China pays greater attention to the global affairs. The second leading sub-category economic, financial and business news with 16.75%, which designates that one of China's topmost priorities in its international dealings, is business and finance. At the present movement, China owns the second leading economy in the world after the U.S.A. Violence news acquired the third position with 13.07%. It expresses China's concerns over the world conflicts and global terrorism & extremism. China itself faces insurgency and terrorism in its western regions of Xingjian and Uyghur provinces.

H-2 China would be framed in the capacity of a soft power on the industrial, economic, diplomatic and socio-cultural fronts in the world in CRI Pashto Service and to show its eagerness to play more active role in the affairs of the region in future.

Findings: The study established that international and diplomatic news got the highest coverage with 40.30% share of all news stories. The second prominent sub-category was that of economic news with 16.75%, which indicates that one of China's chief priorities is finance and business. Furthermore, out of 311 images, 153 (49.20%, almost half) pictures appeared with the stories relating to China. This illustrates the PRC's global vision of popularizing and expanding its role particularly in the fields of diplomacy, business and partnerships with the world community in other spheres of life as well. China's enthusiasm and fervor for extensive

and effective role in global affairs and this region has been noted in this study. The CRI Pashto Service was observed as profoundly committed to give extensive prominence to China related stories, using images and pictures. The purpose was to substantiate and supplement the worldwide projection of China. Thus China was framed in the capacity of a soft power.

H-3 China Radio International (CRI) in its Pashto transmission would also cover international events, at a maximum level, to project its soft power image and emerging & leading player in global affairs.

Findings: After calculation and analysis of the data, it was found that a total number of 1660 news stories were broadcast by the CRI Pashto Service in four months, i.e. December 1, 2013 to March 31, 2014. International coverage stood on top of the list with 763 stories, followed by China with 706 stories. International coverage earned 45.96% share of the total stories, tailed by China with 42.53% portion and secured the second position. Global news got the highest aggregate score of 6842. Amongst all sub-categories, foreign affairs and diplomatic news got the highest coverage with 40.30% share of all news stories. Economic and business news with 16.75% of the total news stories remained the second largest coverage area, which shows the Chinese intent of chasing the fields of global trade, finance and business. Out of 311 photographs, 113 (36.65% of total) images were accompanied with world stories. That is the second high number of images in all four categories. Out of 85 commentaries, broadcast by the CRI Pashto Service during selected four months, 50 pertained to foreign affairs and diplomatic engagements. By virtue of broadcasting, projecting and analyzing news regarding global affairs, like BBC, VOA, DW Radio, the CRI tried to project China's soft power image and its emergence as a new leading player in international affairs.

H-4 In Afghanistan, Pashtuns enjoys the status of largest ethnic community. The Pashto Service of CRI had been launched initially for Afghanistan. Therefore, the coverage given to Afghanistan would be larger than that of the coverage extended to Pakistan.

Findings: Of the entire 1660 news stories, 99 stories were put on air regarding Afghanistan, whereas, 92 news items pertaining to Pakistan were radiated. Thus with a difference of seven stories, Afghanistan obtained maximum coverage as compared to Pakistan. Thus Afghanistan received 5.97% share of the total coverage and Pakistan achieved 5.54% portion. Therefore, Pakistan got the minimum coverage in CRI Pashto Service, but with a slight difference. Moreover, out of 85 commentaries, 12 were broadcast on subjects related to Afghanistan and only eight (8) commentaries belonging to Pakistan specific issues were aired. Out of 311 images posted with stories on website, 30 were related to Afghanistan and 15 images appeared with news stories associated to Pakistan.

H-5 The Urdu Service of CRI broadcasts programmes for the listeners in Pakistan. Therefore the coverage given to Pakistan in Pashto language would be not as much as compared to the coverage given to Afghanistan.

Findings: Similar results/findings as of H-4 above.

H-6 The CRI coverage of Pakistan and Afghanistan will be mainly focused on Taliban, terrorist incidents and violence rather than other socio-cultural and developmental news.

Findings: A share of 5.97% of the whole stories were put on air regarding Afghanistan, whereas, Pakistan got the minimum coverage with (5.54%) news stories. Both Afghanistan and Pakistan received maximum coverage in the sub-category of violence news, i.e. 34 stories each out of 99 and 92 respectively. The sub-category of violence news included news and

reports of all kinds of terrorist acts, operations against insurgents, suicidal attacks, drone strikes and other relevant incidents of violence in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Most of 34 stories regarding foreign affairs and diplomatic activities in Afghanistan were also in connection with how to strengthen and build the Afghan Forces to combat the insurgency.

In defense and military field, eight stories regarding Afghanistan and only one story about Pakistan were broadcast. It affirmed military activities of foreign and local Afghan forces in Afghanistan. Only two stories of business and economic activities regarding Afghanistan and four relating to Pakistan were put on air. In the field of science & technology, Pakistan received only two news items and Afghanistan got none. In the class of public welfare news one story regarding Afghanistan and none of Pakistan was broadcast. Two Socio-cultural news regarding Afghanistan and four associated to Pakistan were radiated.

5.3   Discussion on Results

If we look at the objectives and hypotheses of this study, subsequent findings and results after content analysis of the selected data support and verify the basic assumptions made in the study. Established results also validate the fundamental postulate of the agenda setting theory, framing theory and gate keeping theory. In China, media function under the official control and direct supervision of the state. The Chinese government descends its legitimacy from the Maoist Ideology of the Communist Party of China (CPC). Therefore, the agenda of CRI Radio is mostly prepared keeping in view the official out-look and priorities set forth by the government. As CRI is the external radio broadcast service of China, the overall international out-look of China can be judged from its transmission.

The general policy outline for media agenda in China is framed by the central leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and then implemented through various echelons of local, district, provincial, regional and central governments. Agenda for media is usually set in advance, within the framework of country's communist doctrine and ideology, and with certain goals and targets. In pursuance of that, various organs of the Chinese state media implement the agenda with certain local, regional and organizational adjustments and minute alterations. Similarly, most of the times, certain issues are framed from the Chinese context. The state officials, working in various cadres and hierarchal orders, and answerable to various tiers of the party leadership, perform their function as gate keepers. The gate keepers are very much familiar with their role to pass through their respective media gates, such news stuff, that very much conforms to the pre-defined and well established policy.

The Chicago Tribune (Dec. 18, 2013), quoting Reuters wrote that early next year (2014), Chinese journalists will have to pass a new ideology exam to keep their press cards, in what reporters say is another example of the ruling Communist Party's increasing control over the media under President Xi Jinping....The manual is peppered with directives such as "it is absolutely not permitted for published reports to feature any comments that go against the party line", and "the relationship between the party and the news media is one of leader and the led". The story added, 'Traditionally, Chinese state media has been the key vehicle for party propaganda. But reforms over the past decade that have allowed greater media commercialization and limited increases in editorial independence, combined with the rise of social media, have weakened government control, academics said.

The Chinese government has constricted both traditional and new media to avoid potential rebellion against its authority, but the Western media style compelled China to review its media policy. China undertook a new "going out" policy to expand state broadcasting into foreign languages after 2000 and to become a part of the global information system. The domestic media was supplemented by international media service that included CRI, CCTV, Xinhua, Chinese News Service and China Daily (Eng. Edition). The growing demand for information has forced the authorities to make more flexible their control over media.

Chinese Media is bent upon to project China as a soft power. China Daily in its editorial on April 19, 2014 under the title "China Displays Soft Power in MH370 Search" wrote that although there were little successes in search of the missing Malaysian plane, China deployed some of its most advanced naval hardware in the Indian Ocean, suspended other routine exercises and spent millions of Chinese Yuan. The editorial opined that "some critics might have considered this search as mere power of military show by China, but it's the power of attraction- not economic or military muscle- that captures people's hearts and that is what China desire to increase"... "For years, China has been exploring ways of translating potential sources of its soft power into real influence with some success.

The definition of soft power by Harvard University's Joseph Nye was also quoted in the editorial in support of the soft power case of China. It further wrote that, its (China's) efforts have won accolades from home and abroad, which have ranged from being "determined and forceful" in its response to taking the "high moral ground" to being a responsible superpower" China's soft power tools are investment, humanitarian aid, exchange programmes, diplomacy and participation in multilateral bodies.

The China Daily on June 19, 2014 published an article entitled "Giving Shape to Asia's New Order", - an excerpt from the speech of Bob Hawke, the former prime minister of Australia which he delivered at the 2nd International Symposium on Security and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region. The article reviewed at large, the past, present and future of China-US relations, their roles and clash of interests in the region. Bob was of the view that raising China has challenged the U.S. supremacy, but it does not mean that China will necessarily replace America at the pinnacle of the global power that it has occupied for so long. He further opined, "But it does mean that China today is a country that is fundamentally more powerful than any that America has ever had to encounter before.... America will not accept the establishment of Chinese primacy over Asia, but it might will be brought to accept that it should share the leadership in Asia with China, thus according China for more status and influence in Asia than it has enjoyed for centuries.

The Business Standard of India on 1st January 2014 reported that President Xi Jin Ping has vowed to use its (China) cultural soft power to project the Communist giant as a responsible nation. "The stories of China should be well told, voices of China well-spread, and characteristics of China well explained. Efforts are needed to build China's national image", Xi said while speaking to top leaders at a group study session of members of the Politburo of the ruling Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee in Beijing. "China should be portrayed as a civilized country featuring rich history, ethnic unity and cultural diversity and as an oriental power with good government, developed economy, cultural prosperity, national unity and beautiful mountains and rivers". The Paper wrote, "To strengthen China's soft power, the country needs to build its capacity in international communication, better use the new media and increase the creativity, appeal and credibility of China's publicity", Xi said.

From the data of this study, it has also been observed that China takes very careful stance on all international issues. Taking the instance of the Ukraine internal conflict and civil war that very much inflamed in 2014, China always took a neutral stance, calling upon the concerned parties to show restraint and resolve their differences through negotiations. Unlike China, Russia openly supported the pro-Russian Ukrainian population and even allowed the former Ukrainian province of Crimea to re-join Russia. On the other hand, U.S.A, European states and even Australia publicly supported Ukraine against Russia.

On the issue of global terrorism and extremism, China has, however, adopted a clear cut posture. It is in rhythmic order with that of the international community as China itself faces the menace in its western regions of Xinjiang and Uyghur provinces. According to the official Xinjiang Daily, the number of people arrested in the Xinjiang in 2005 for endangering state security, was 18227. Terrorism in China is usually identified with the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) and other Uygur separatists cells in Xinjiang, and to a lesser extent, militant members of the Tibetan Buddhist clergy agitating for independence.

In the aftermath of the events of September 11, 2001, the PRC authorities treated the global "war on terror" essentially as a foreign relations exercise, to protect its relations with the United States, and as an excuse to crackdown on what it deemed to be terrorist activities on Chinese soil and uncover foreign linkages to the perpetrators. Washington has since become more sympathetic to Beijing's charge of terrorists fomenting "splittist" or separatist violence and its "Strike Hard" (*yan da*) campaign against them, most notably by placing the little known ETIM on the U.S. list of terrorist groups in August 2002.

Analysis of this study showed that the Pashto Service of China Radio International very much focused its transmission on world-wide diplomatic engagements, international affairs, global economic activities, trade & investment and business matters. It also concentrated on broadcast of news relating to those matters and engagements, in which China remained involved on international front especially in exchange of high level foreign visits, international summits and conferences, bilateral agreements and multilateral treaties, day to day functioning of the U.N Security Council, foreign investment, imports & exports, trade partnerships and other related matters. The key objective behind this strategy seems to portray China as a soft power in the Asia-Pacific region as well as on the global level.

5.4   Conclusion

Findings of this study signpost that although, the Pashto Service of China Radio International (CRI) had been initially launched for and targeted at the Pashtun population of Afghanistan and Pakistan, but it largely covers subjects and issues which pertain to China and the world around. The results of this study confirm and validate the long-standing presumption that, being a mouth-piece and spokesman, every state broadcaster in the world would, promote the agenda, priorities and goals of the respective country at the maximum level. Even the public media establishments in the free-market economies did the same practice in the past and they still do that at present, despite the fact that they enjoy enormous freedom, but the case with Communist countries media like China, is much different.

Results of this study showed that although being a target area, Afghanistan and Pakistan received very minimum coverage from the CRI Pashto Service as compared to China and rest of the world. A total number of 1660 news stories were broadcast by the CRI Pashto Service

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in four months, (1st December 2013 to 31st March 2014). Global coverage stood at the top with 763 stories, followed by China with 706 stories. The net sum of these two befalls 1469. Ninety-nine (99) stories were aired regarding Afghanistan and 92 about Pakistan. The whole sum of Afghanistan and Pakistan related stories is 191. Thus the share of China and global coverage was 88.49% and Afghanistan & Pakistan jointly received only 11.51% coverage.

One objective of this study was to determine the differences of coverage, in terms of importance, amount and treatment given by the CRI Pashto Service. It was found that the highest reportage was given to foreign relations/affairs and diplomatic matters with a number of 669 stories out of the total 1660. Economic and business news with 278 stories was the second largest coverage area. Violence was the third major part with 217 stories. Political news got the fourth position with 179 news stories and defense and military news secured the fifth position with 112 stories. Socio-cultural news and activities got the sixth place with 71 stories. Remaining four sub-categories took slight attention.

It was also intended to investigate the nature and treatment of coverage given to Pakistan and Afghanistan, by the CRI Pashto Service. The results disclosed that both Afghanistan and Pakistan received maximum coverage in the sub-category of violence news, i.e. 34 stories each out of 99 and 92 respectively. Afghanistan also received substantial coverage in the area of foreign affairs and diplomatic activities with 34 stories affirming that international powers and organizations retained constant engagement with Kabul. Political amphitheater of Afghanistan attracted 16 stories out of 99; most were related to the Afghan Presidential Election of 2014. In the field of diplomatic affairs, Afghanistan got double size coverage with 34 news pieces as compared to Pakistan, which received only 17 stories, whereas, Pakistan took the edge in political field with 23 stories, where, Afghanistan got only 16 stories.

One aim was to evaluate the current composition of coverage given to Pakistan and Afghanistan in the Pashto Service of CRI. The analysis unveiled that out of 1660 news stories, 5.97% (99) stories were put on air regarding Afghanistan, whereas, Pakistan got 5.54% (92) news stories, slightly less than Afghanistan. Thus Afghanistan and Pakistan received almost the same coverage in terms of news stories. To explore that how the CRI Radio projects China and the world overall in its Pashto Service, it was found that foreign affairs and diplomatic news got the highest coverage with 669 (40.30%) stories of all 1660 news stories. That exhibited that China paid greater attention to the global affairs and seemed much keen to play active role in the international arena.

The second leading sub-category was that of economic and business news with 278 (16.75%) news stories. It indicated that economy is one of China's topmost priorities in its international dealings. Most of the stories depicted China as engaged with the world community in fields of economy and diplomacy and thus China was projected as a soft power. Violence news acquired the third position with 13.07%. This articulated the Chinese apprehensions over the menace of terrorism as China itself faces insurgency and terrorism in its western regions of Xingjian and Uyghur. Political sphere got the fourth place with 10.78% of the total aired stories, followed by defense/military area as fifth with 6.75% portion. Socio-cultural activities obtained 4.28% coverage and stood as sixth. Other sub-categories of science & technology, accidents, natural disasters and public welfare news were given minimal coverage.

The principal hypothesis of the study was that being a state broadcaster, CRI in its Pashto Service will give larger and extensive coverage to the principle engagements of China as to guard its interests in the region and portray China as an active and influential actor in this

region. The findings exhibited that out of the total 1660 news stories, 706 stories pertaining to China, were aired. This total amounts to 42.53% of the whole number (Frequency) of news stories. The news regarding China received an aggregate score of 6804 points, which is slightly less but near to the category of International Score of 6842. From the analysis of photographs, it was found that out of 311 images, 153 (49.20%, almost half) appeared with the stories relating to China. This indicated that the Pashto Service of CRI was much keen to give ample prominence to China related stories, with the support of pictures. The purpose was to substantiate and supplement the projection of China in the international community.

The second key hypothesis was that China would be framed in the capacity of a soft power on the industrial, economic, diplomatic and socio-cultural fronts in the world in CRI Pashto Service and to enjoy a more proactive role in the affairs of the region in future. The study established that international affairs and diplomatic news got the highest coverage with 40.30% share of all news stories. The second prominent sub-category was that of financial and business news with 16.75%, which indicates that one of China's chief priorities in its international dealings is the field of finance and business. Furthermore, out of 311 images, 153 (49.20%, almost half) pictures appeared with the stories relating to China. This illustrates the PRC's global vision of popularizing and expanding its role in world affairs, particularly in the fields of diplomacy, business and partnerships with the world community in other spheres of life as well. The Pashto Service of CRI was observed as profoundly committed to give extensive prominence to China related stories, using images and pictures.

Another key hypothesis was that China Radio International in its Pashto transmission would also take notice of international events, at a maximum level, to project its soft power image

and emerging leading player in global affairs. After examination of the data, it was found that out of 1660 news stories, international coverage stood on top of the list with 763 stories, followed by China with 706 stories. International coverage earned 45.96% share of the total stories, tailed by China with 42.53% portion and secured the second position. International news got the highest aggregate score of 6842.

Likewise, diplomatic news got the highest coverage with 40.30% share of all news stories. Business news with 16.75% of the total stories remained the second largest coverage area, which shows China's intent of chasing the fields of global trade and business. Out of 311 photographs, 113 (36.65% of total) images were accompanied with International stories. That is the second high number of images in all four categories. Out of 85 commentaries, broadcast by the CRI Pashto Service during the selected four months, 50 (more than half) pertained to the area of foreign relations and diplomatic engagements. By virtue of broadcasting and analyzing news regarding global affairs, like other world broadcasters, CRI tried to project China's soft power image and its emergence as a new leading player in international affairs.

The hypothesis that the Pashto Service of CRI had been launched initially for Afghanistan, therefore, the coverage given to Afghanistan would be larger than that of the coverage extended to Pakistan, got the answer that of the entire 1660 news stories, 99 stories were put on air regarding Afghanistan, whereas, 92 news items pertaining to Pakistan were radiated. Thus with a difference of seven stories, Afghanistan obtained maximum coverage as compared to Pakistan. Thus Afghanistan received 5.97% share of the total coverage and Pakistan achieved 5.54% portion. Therefore, Pakistan got the minimum coverage in CRI Pashto Service, but with a slight difference. Moreover, out of 85 commentaries, 12 were

broadcast on Afghanistan's issues and only eight (8) commentaries belonging to Pakistan specific issues were aired. Out of 311 images posted with stories on website, 30 were related to Afghanistan and 15 images appeared with news stories associated to Pakistan.

The last hypothesis was that the CRI coverage of Pakistan and Afghanistan will be mainly focused on incidents of violence and terrorism, rather than other socio-cultural, economic and developmental news. The analysis disclosed that in amongst all ten sub-categories of news, both Afghanistan and Pakistan received maximum coverage in the sub-category of violence, i.e. 34 stories each out of 99 and 92 respectively. Most of 34 stories regarding diplomatic activities in Afghanistan were also in connection with how to strengthen the Afghan Forces to combat the insurgency. In defense and military field, eight stories regarding Afghanistan were broadcast. It affirmed military activities in Afghanistan. Only two economic activities reports regarding Afghanistan and four relating to Pakistan were put on air. In the field of science & technology, Pakistan received only two news items and Afghanistan got none. In the class of public welfare news, one story regarding Afghanistan and none of Pakistan was broadcast. Two Socio-cultural news regarding Afghanistan and four associated to Pakistan were aired.

At a glance, we can say that consequential conclusions and outcomes after analysis of the selected data for this study support and verify the basic assumptions made in the objectives, and hypotheses. Results revealed also corroborate the fundamental hypothesis of the agenda setting theory, framing theory and gate keeping theory. Chinese media function under the state supervision. The general policy guide-line for media in China is framed by the central leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and then implemented through various echelons and organs of the government. Therefore, the agenda of CRI Radio is also framed

keeping in view the official out-look and priorities of the government. As CRI is the external radio service of China, the overall international out-look of China can be judged from its transmission. The state officials, working in various cadres and hierarchal orders, perform their function as gate keepers. The gate keepers are very much familiar with their role to pass through their respective media gates, such news stuff, that very much conforms to the pre-defined and well established policy of the Chinese government.

Chinese media worked as a party propaganda outlet till late 90s, but the style of Western media compelled China to review its media policy. Another reason was to introduce China's economic and socio-cultural set-up to the world. China started a new global out-reach policy to commence broadcasting in overseas dialects after 2000. This ambitious plan meant to become a part of the global information system. China's booming economy allowed for greater multiplicity in its media coverage. The growing Chinese demand for information forced the authorities to make more flexible their control over media. In the past, only state agencies could own media in China, but today there is increased public/private ownership.

It has also been observed during analysis that China takes very careful stance on international issues. China always took a neutral position on world conflicts and issues, calling upon the concerned parties to show restraint and resolve their differences through negotiations. On the issue of global terrorism and extremism, China has, however, adopted a clear cut posture, that is consonance with that of the international community as it itself faces the menace in its western regions of Xinjiang and Uyghur provinces.

Analysis of this study showed that the Pashto Service of China Radio International very much focused its transmission on world-wide diplomatic engagements, international affairs, global

economic activities and business matters. It also concentrated on broadcast of news relating to those matters and engagements, in which China remained involved on international front especially in exchange of high level foreign visits, international summits and conferences, bilateral agreements and multilateral treaties, day to day functioning of the U.N Security Council, foreign investment, imports & exports, trade partnerships and other related matters. The key objective behind this strategy seems to portray China as a soft power in the Asia-Pacific region as well as on the global level.

5.5 Limitations of the Study

Due to constraint of time and material resources, this study was reduced to the content analysis of news stories and discourse analysis of commentaries which were broadcast from the Pashto Service of China Radio International (CRI) from 1st December 2013 to 31st March 2014. The period of analysis (universe of the study) was merely four months. Only four main categories i.e. Pakistan, Afghanistan, China and International coverage were selected for investigation.

Though CRI relays programmes in 66 different international languages covering latest global news, sports, weather, cultural events, business etc., but only the news items of CRI Pashto Service with respect to above mentioned four categories, were analyzed. The study was also limited to the CRI Pashto Service listeners and readers of its web page who reside in Pakistan and Afghanistan. However, the results represented the trends in the China Radio International's overall broadcast policy and general foreign outlook and external posture of the state government and the People of China.

5.6   Implication

Media research is a developmental process. As the track and mode of media and communication is very fast and multifaceted, therefore research in this field is very complex phenomenon. After each and every study, new findings and conclusions are occurred. Most of studies pertaining to media and communication have been conducted in the USA and a few in the Western countries, but now media research work has also spread into the rest parts of the world. The region comprising Afghanistan and Pakistan owns a special geo-strategic importance. We see the presence of international actors in this part of the world. Now the newly emerging world powers are also taking interest in this region.

This study was supposed to dig out a bit about the future plans and interests of China in the region. It discovered that what type of content is being passed on to Pashto speaking audiences of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Moreover, no specific study has been carried out in this particular area so far. This study certainly led a bit towards some new findings. Furthermore, authorities of the China Radio International can benefit from results of this work to make onward policies, in particular to the Pashto Service.

Additionally, academic researchers can use this study as reference material in future in such relevant studies. Additionally, society at large can look at this study to see how the Pashto Service of China Radio International reported about the issues of Afghanistan, Pakistan, China and the globe. In general, the current study is beneficial to the broadcasting industry and society at large. Its results are noteworthy because the media organizations have substantial power to affect the outlook of public. It provides important findings about the relationships between the coverage and issues of Afghanistan, Pakistan, China and the world.

5.7   Recommendations

Keeping in mind the analysis and findings of this study, the under-mentioned recommendations are proposed.

1.   For radio broadcast to a certain region and a specific target audience, the agenda setting, gate keeping and framing theories are necessary requirements for media organizations. They should, however, also consider the socio-political & cultural structure, local requirements and over all socio-psychological mindset of the native populace.

2.   The global media, should maintain, a balance in broadcast of local, regional and international issues and subjects. People are very much inclined and keen to know about issues of their surroundings.

3.   Media establishments should appropriately cover the issues of concern to the population of the specific region. It has been observed in this research study that although international broadcasters give ample space to the national and international issues and matters in their broadcast, but they often overlook the real issues and problems of the home-grown public (target audience) by giving them very meager coverage.

4.   Today's media coverage needs a balance, objective and independent reporting. A balanced coverage heightens and solidifies credibility of the media. Uneven, biased and one-sided reportage erodes reliability and integrity of media. The principal and fundamental journalistic standard of objectivity and impartiality should be observed by every media set up in its true spirit.

5.8 Areas for Future Research

This is the first ever study regarding coverage of the Afghanistan and Pakistan by the China Radio International (CRI) Pashto Service. It is a prelude to a number of future related research projects. Mass media research has shown a constant growth in Pakistan especially after 2000. Scholars can further discover new panoramas in their research projects on the basis of this study. This work investigated the content of sound (audio) media on the basis of content that were posted on the CRI web-site in text format. Availability of many (foreign & local) radio and television channels offers numerous opportunities for likewise research projects.

Prime limitation of this study is that it only investigated broadcast content of the CRI Pashto Service which was categorized into the coverage of Afghanistan, Pakistan, China and International. A similar project may be initiated on the comparative study of two or more different languages services of CRI Radio out of its 66 foreign services. Research can be made on two local radio channels or two TV channels or one radio and one TV Station. Longitudinal research project can also be conducted on the relationship of the broadcast content of two media channels. Public and private media agenda of a state media channel and a private channel over a specific issue like the 14th August 2014 Political Long Marches of Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and Pakistan Awami Tahreek (PAT) may also be investigated.

This study was conducted on the basis of the broadcast content of an international media "Pashto Service of China Radio International". Hundreds of local & foreign FM, Medium Wave Radio Stations, TV channels, newspapers, Magazines and periodicals are also available for investigation. Their media agenda, gate keeping principles and farming techniques can also be examined and reported in some future researches. Only sky is the limit in this regard.

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APPENDICE

CODE SHEET

DATE: _____

S. No	News about Afghanistan				News about Pakistan				News about China				International News			
Coding Unit	H.line length (in lines)	Story length (in lines)	Story with image	Score	H. line length (in lines)	Story length (in lines)	Story with image	Score	H. line length (in lines)	Story length (in lines)	Story with image	Score	H. line length (in lines)	Story length (in lines)	Story with image	Score
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