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**INDO – PAK RELATIONS DURING THE  
MUSHARRAF REGIME: AN ANALYSIS OF NEWS  
TREATMENT OF THE KASHMIR ISSUE.**

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**IN THE NAME OF ALLAH,  
THE MOST MERCIFUL AND  
BENEFICENT**

**DEDICATED TO:**  
**ALL THOSE SONS OF THE NATION,**  
**WHO SACRIFICED,**  
**THEIR TODAY FOR OUR**  
**TOMORROW**

International Islamic University, Islamabad

Faculty of Social Sciences

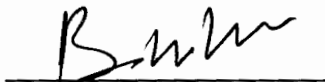
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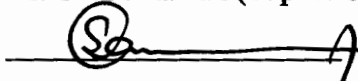
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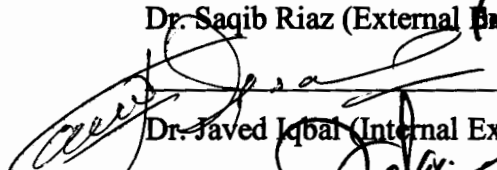
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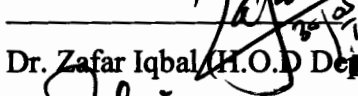
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## **ABSTRACT**

The study titled "Indo-Pak Relations during the Musharraf Regime-An analysis of news treatment of Kashmir issue" aimed at how the print media portrayed news regarding Kashmir issue which is the bone of contention between two nuclear powers, Pakistan & India. This study also explored the relationship between Pakistan and India in the context of Kashmir dispute and the relationship between the foreign policy and media. The sample selected for this study was two English Dailies that were: Daily Dawn and The News and the selected period was 12<sup>th</sup> Oct 1999 to 17<sup>th</sup> Aug 2008. The unit of analysis for the study was news coverage regarding issue. In this study the news treatment of the Kashmir issue was divided into four categories. Category 'A'- right of self determination for Kashmiris, 'B'- third option for Kashmiris, 'C'- need of dialogue for peaceful settlement of Kashmir issue, 'D'- violation of human rights in Indian held Kashmir. The researcher found agenda setting theory and concept of framing relevant to the study. The methodology employed for this study was content analysis and both qualitative and quantitative methods of content analysis have been used. The findings revealed that both the newspapers published 1048 news during the period of study. They published 501(47.81%) news on category 'A', 35(3.34%) news on category 'B', 287(27.39%) news on category 'C', 225(21.47%) news on category 'D'. Daily Dawn and The News gave 100% positive coverage to the issue 'A' and 'D', 99.26% positive coverage and 0.74% negative coverage to the issue 'C' and 100% negative coverage to the issue 'B'.

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**CHAPTER 1**  
**INTRODUCTION**

## **INTRODUCTION**

Since 1947 Kashmir is a basic cause of dispute between Pakistan and India. For last many decades on independence struggle is continued in the Indian held Kashmir. This dispute is hindrance in normal relation between both the countries, rather, it time tension is too high to fear in atomic war in the region.

All this increases the importance of this project to study the behavior of Pakistani English Press in order to discover whether press plays an advocative or adversarial rule in portraying the Kashmir issue.

This makes this study interesting as it would explore the same kind of responsibility was shown by English press during Kashmiris struggle for their right of self-determination.

Pakistan's stance is that Kashmir is a disputed territory which has been captured by India since 1947 by force. Kashmiris are required to be given their right of self determination in accordance with the United Nations resolutions. Any third option for Kashmiris is not acceptable to Pakistani as it is considered a brain child of India which is purposed only to divert the world attention. Pakistan admits the fact that the Kashmiris are an important party of this conflict, Therefore, their presence in each and every round of the dialogues on this issue is necessary. However, Pakistan's stance is that the Kashmiris should decide their future under UNO held plebiscite, to join Pakistan or India.

This study will also answer the question whether; the media is independent or controlled by the government machinery. As per Alteschull (1984) media is controlled by the elite and it depends upon them for its survival. But the answer of this question is not easy as whole of the world media government relationship is spread over, form disputes to co-operation. Different scholars see it from quite separate point of view. For example, in Pakistan some newspapers follow the government line while the others have their own policies. So, it will be rightly to say that different newspapers treatment regarding an issue might be of different in nature.

It is also a big debate as to how news coverage can shadow the foreign policy and government's agenda regarding other big and important issues. A few people think that media affects the policy making to some extent while, according to the others

press influence on foreign policy and government agenda at times, is helpful at times injurious to them. However, it is fact that the press affects policy making through molding and shaping the public opinion. Rapid development of the media industry squeezes the world. The new media shoulder the responsibility of certain images about the societies beyond our direct experience. Media role in the sub-continent is very important from the national interest point of view as it plays a leading part in orientation of the national priorities and their publicity.

In the present day world neither a state can keep her a part from the international incidents nor can survive in isolation. Hence, foreign policy of any country could not be static. Lord Palmerston has rightly please said that in the international relations no one is permanent friend or foe.

A Democratic Society only can function properly, if the voters are well informed. In the modern societies media is the main source of political information's and it performs its role as watch dog or fourth pillar of the state.(Jones and jones, 1999)

Walter Lipman (1922) has stated the media in the words that it is responsible for the shadows in our eyes. It owns the power to enhance or lesson the importance of an issue. Maxwell Mc Combs and Donald Shaw has rightly define the media, "It tell us not what to think but what to think about".

Kashmir issue caused 1948, 1965 and 1971 three large scale wars between Pakistan and India. It was also a basic reason behind the May 1999 Kargil battle.

Instead of peace and development of which both the countries were expecting, wars, fear and forestations are here from the day of independence.

Therefore, Pakistan foreign policy's important point always remains her defense from India's multiple aggression, as India is a country having and armed upper hand over Pakistan and which always sabotaged every effort of Pakistan for normalization of relations between both the countries.

Defense and security against India has always been the major concern for Pakistan. Pakistan cites the long-cherished belief held among the Hindus regarding the sacred unity of India, the ancient land of Hindus. India questions the very basis of Pakistan which was established on the theory that contiguous areas constituting Muslim

majority would be separated from India and constitute the state of Pakistan (Sayeed, P262 cited in Mahmood, 2000, 185, cited Mehran, 2001, P.10).

## **INITIAL DIFFICULTIES**

On August 15, 1947, the Dominions of Pakistan and India assumed their independent and divided existence. There was great popular rejoicing and enthusiasm in both the Dominions. For the people of Pakistan it was not only liberation from foreign rule; it also meant freedom from the threat of majority rule in a caste-ridden social system where they would have been destined to be a permanent and stagnant religious minority (Choudhury, 1968, 40, cited Khan, 2001, P. 14).

The British were in a hurry to leave India as it was becoming a liability after the end of World War II. The war against Germany and Japan, who had forcibly occupied territories, had, on the one hand, aroused Indian aspirations for independence and, on the other, made Britain economically impoverished. (Khan, 2001, P14).

Hence the British left India leaving some important issues unsolved. These issues later on caused tension between both the neighboring countries, Pakistan & India. The matters of united India princely states accretion, large scale migration of the people, disputed sir Cyril Radcliffe, boundary commission award and assets division gave birth to the disputes between both the countries while, disputed matters relates to prior to the independence period. (Matteenuddin,1994:17).

There was a four thousand million cash balance with the government of united India on 14 August 1947. Pakistan demanded her one thousand million share which disagreed by India. So the matter was referring to the Arbitration tribunal, constituted to solve such disputes. However, in December 1947 governments of both the countries reached on a financial agreement fixing Pakistan's share as Rs 750 million. Rs 200 million were paid to Pakistan as in term measure. (Choudhry,1968:63).

Despite large scale migration of Muslims from India to Pakistan at time of independence a large number yet remained in India. Before the division 61 Lac Hindus were inhabited in West Pakistan out of which only 6 Lac 20 thousand remained while the others were shifted to India, 09 million Hindus with their vast business remained in East Bengal (East Pakistan). Presence of big religious minorities

in Pakistan & India entangled with new, changing realities and created adjustment difficulties (Mateenuddin,1994:18).

## **INITIAL CONFLICTS**

When the county was divided, the division of the princely states was also considered. On May 12, 1946, the Cabinet Mission advised the princes to extend co-operation of framing of constitution so that their interests should also be safeguarded. The Cabinet Mission also urged the rulers of the princely states to confirm to the wishes while deciding the accession of their states with one dominion or the other. By 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, all princely states except Junagarh, Kashmir and Hyderabad had announced their accession with India or Pakistan (Rabbani<sup>6</sup>, 1997, 182, cited Manzoor, 2001, P. 19).

### **A) JUNAGARH**

Junagarh was a small sea state at 310 miles down ward from Karachi, having 3 thousand 3 hundred and 37 sq. miles area with 60 Lac populations. Her ruler was Muslim while, majority of the inhabitants were Hindus/non Muslims. This state declared accession with Pakistan as its direct link with Pakistan's sea coast. Adjacent to Junagarh there was another state remained manawader with Muslim ruler. This state also announced accretion with Pakistan. Pakistan accepted their accretion and informed the Indian government. Indian Governor General Lord Mounbatten telegraphs his counter part in Pakistan and said: "Such acceptance of accession by Pakistan cannot but be regarded by the Government of India as an encroachment on Indian sovereignty and territory and inconsistent with friendly relations that should exist between the two dominions. This action is in utter violation of principles on which partition was agreed upon and affected."

Side by side the protests the Indian government took steps to solve the issue with force. So Indian army seized the junagarh and cut off her rail link with India which resulted in scarcity of food in the state in addition to her deprivation of the revenue from customs and rail. Junagarh provincial government was formed at Bombay under the head ship of Gandhi's nephew Mr. Shamaldas Ghandhi. This provincial government formed her headquarter at Rajkot near junagarh.

On 7 November 1947 India framed so called thousands of members liberation army equipped with modern weapons and amour cars entered in junagarh. After 2 days India captured whole the state. Pakistan government lodged strong protest against India's illegal capture and demanded with drawl of her to with draw her forces. However, India did not adhere to Pakistan protest and after 2 months held referendum in junagarh under administration of the Indian army which resulted in favor of the India as expected. Pakistan took the matter to the United Nations where it is still pending. (Rabbani,1997:182-184).

## **B) KASHMIR**

Maharaja Hari Singh was the ruler of the state at the time of division of the sub-continent. This Hindus ruler was not in favor of merger of the state with Pakistan. In fact Maharaja wanted state's merger with India contrary to the ground realities favoring state's accession to Pakistan however increasing public pressure compelled the Maharaja to sign a treaty with Pakistan. According to this treaty Pakistan's government had to endeavor to keep the circumstances normal in the state and state's cultural and religious relation with Pakistan were to kept intact.

With the conclusion of this treaty, a large scale Muslim massacre was organized to turn the Muslim majority into minority. The poor Muslim inhabitants were subjected to the most tyrannical rule. The people revolted against these mass killings of the innocent people and the despotic policies of the Hindu ruler...

Hindu Maharaja on his failure to control the uprising for freedom called India for help. India conditions his help with the accession of the state to India. Hindu Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir accepted this condition. Pakistan's Governor General Quaid-e-Azam ordered the then Pakistan army Commander in Chief General Gracy to entered his forces in Kashmir forth with but General Gracy refused to obey with the plea that he could not do so without permission of the supreme commander of indo-Pakistan armed forces.

Kashmiri people fought against Indian army very bravely. Tribal areas volunteers entered in Kashmir to help their Kashmiri Muslims brothers in their fight for freedom. Most of the area was librated from Indians. Pakistan's border was become unsafe after entering Indian army in Kashmir. Pakistan moved army to protect his boundaries. War



began between Pakistan and India during which Indian army suffered heavy loss Indian position became unstable in the valley. Pakistan captured important places and tops. India took the matter in United Nations on first Jan 1948 because of her bad position in Jammu & Kashmir United Nations Security Council passed two resolutions one on 3 August 1948 and the second on 5 January 1949 emphasizing on both the countries for cease fire. United Nations asked both the countries to bring their forces back to the prewar positions so that the people of Jammu & Kashmir could be able to decide whether they want to join Pakistan or India. Pakistan despite his better army position accepted the cease fire as it wanted peaceful solution of the dispute. India also accepted the cease fire. Dispute lapse of almost 62 years of the cease fire and approval of UNO resolutions for plebiscite all the efforts failed to solve the issue due to the non serious attitude of the India. Several UN missions visited Pakistan and India in search of a solution to dispute but in vain because of non co-operation from Indian side (Rabbani,1997:185-187).

### **C) HYDERABAD**

Nizam of Hyderabad was Muslim who wanted to join Pakistan. Indian government was aware of the Nizam's desire so they started pressurizing him for his state's accession to India. Lord Mountbatten, the then Indian Governor General, tried his level best for Hyderabad's accession to India. Nizam was not willing to sign the document for accession with the India. He was ready for agreement with India for defense, foreign affairs and communication.

On 19<sup>th</sup> November 1947 a stand still position agreement was made between India & Hyderabad state. K.M. Munshi a staunch believer of united India was nominated as Indian agent to the state. Pandet Nehru blamed the Hyderabad for violation of the stand still agreement and threatened the state of military action. Hyderabad lodged complaint against India in the security council of UNO on 14 August 1948. But Indian forces entered in Hyderabad before any action taken by the Security Council on this complaint. Hyderabad army surrendered on 17<sup>th</sup> August 1948 after a short resistance. India liquidated the state and merged its territories like other provinces of the Indian union. However Hyderabad's complaint is still lying pending in Security Council. (Rabbani, 1997,187-188).

## **INDUS WATER DISPUTE**

In the pre-partition period the province of Punjab was the main producer of the food grains for whole the sub-continent. The British did not install any industry in the areas included in Pakistan. Hence at the time of independence Pakistan's economy was totally agriculture based. Agriculture was based on enough and timely water supply for the crops. It was insured by India through an agreement that India will not disturb water supply to the areas now included in Pakistan and also will not lessen flow of water in the canals come from the rivers of the Indian point. Both the countries reached on this agreement according to the international law on the subject. Therefore, when in March 1948 India interrupted the water of the rivers Ravi, Satluj and Bias, Pakistan protest against at very strongly as it affected and harassed lacks of the Pakistani Punjab cultivators. Pakistan issued a stern warning: "Should we be forced to take extreme measures, the responsibility would be that of India" (Saksena, 1987 cited in Mateenuddin, 1994, 23), it said.

A delegation was said to India under the leadership of Mr. Ghulam Muhammad in May 1948 so that a solution for distribution of water of the rivers flows in both the countries can be reached. This issue remained unsolved and a case of tension between New Delhi & Karachi for about 12 years and reached to its end by reaching at Indus water treaty signed on 19<sup>th</sup> September 1960 by Pandit Nehru and Field Marshal Ayub Khan. This agreement became possible with the active help and mediation of the World Bank according to this treaty water reservoirs were to be constructed on Sindh and Jehlum with the cost of 1000 crore rupees. This agreement gave Pakistan right on 3 western rivers (Sindh, Jehlum and Chenab) and to India on the 3 eastern rivers (Ravi, Satluj and Bias) (Saksena, 1987 cited in Mateenuddin, 1994, 25).

## **WARS**

India attacked the state of Jammu & Kashmir merely after 17 days of independence as such inflicted a war on Pakistan within its creation. The Hindu ruler of the state requested India for help to crush the majority Muslim population struggle for accession of their state to Pakistan. However, India took

this as a golden chance and told the Maharaja that India would not come to his assistance until he declared the state's accretion to India. Hence Hari Singh was left with no option except to meet with the Indian demand. Indian Prime Minister promised the world that the Kashmiri people will be allowed to decide their future. (Khaliq,1973: 44).

Second but actually first large scale war between Pakistan and India was fought in September 1965. In August 1965 Indian government blamed Pakistan of sending infiltrators. This blame at last caused beginning of the war between the 2 countries on 6<sup>th</sup> September 1965. This war continued for 17 days and ended on 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1965 as result of the UN Security Council resolution, calling for cease fire. USSR invited Pakistan president and Indian Prime Minister for a dialogue at Tashkand to normalize the relations. Both the leaders reached on a peace treaty in January 1966, called as Tashkand agreement. (Mehmood, 2000, 192).

March 1971 army action in East Pakistan promoted distances between both the provinces and caused a civil war in East Pakistan. India took full benefit of the situation and aired the flames. It assisted separators to her best and played a vital role in separation of East Pakistan in December 1971. (Mehmood,2000:193).

## **TASHKAND DECLARATION**

This famous declaration took place in Uzbekistan's capital Tashkand in 1966. Tashkand declaration issued after 1965 war between both the countries this declaration was signed by President Muhammad Ayub Khan of Pakistan and Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri from India. It was decided through this declaration that the disputes between both the countries will be settled peacefully, trade relationships will be strengthened and none of them will interfere in each others internal matters.

## **SIMLA AGREEMENT**

After 1971 war, in 1972 a meeting was held between the leaders of Pakistan and India at Simla. In the Simla agreement fundamental principles for relations between both the countries were laid down.

The agreement can be divided into two parts namely, the expression of general principles which were to moderate relations between the two participants, and the

articles which dealt with specific issues, including those problems that arose as an aftermath of the 1971 war. The Simla agreement represented the formal commitment of India and Pakistan to peace and mutual accommodation. The way the agreement was perceived and interpreted by Pakistan, provides a convincing illustration of this functional relationship between India and Pakistan (Mahdi, 1999, 82, cited Mehran, 2001, P. 20, 21).

## **SIACHEN DISPUTE**

Kashmir cease fire line limits were determined in 1949. However, it was up to the areas where armies of the two countries (Pakistan & India) were fronting each other. As such cease fire line was to point number NT9842, situated in the south east of Sakardu. Hilly areas beyond this point were out of the range. Siachen Glacier is 70 km long 2-4 km wide and is at twenty thousand feet height. It is an integral part of Pakistan's northern areas. Therefore, foreign countries hiking teams always took permission from Pakistan to client the K-2 and other peaks of the range with request for logistic support. They had to cross the Siachen Glacier to reach these peaks. This Glacier has been shown under the control of Pakistan in all the international maps.

Karakorum High way, constructed with the assistance of China, contacted Pakistan and China, India appose this project bitterly and never bearded it as it strengthened Pak China relations and come out as a simble of both the countries ever lasting friendship. India continued creeping towards this road so that it be cut off when desired. In 1978 an Indian army team crossed some parts of the Glacier under the command of Colnel Kumar. In 1980 they sent army racy teams towards this Glacier. At that time Pakistan ignored this movement of the Indian army which inspired India to sent more army racy teams to the glacier during 1981 and 1983.(Chibber, 1990).

On 21<sup>st</sup> August 1983 northern areas force commander of Pakistan army sent a note to the northern sector commander of India. The note read: "Request instructs your troops to withdraw beyond Loc south of line joining Point NJ 9842-Karakorum

pass NE 7410 immediately. Any delay will create serious situation". On 29<sup>th</sup> August Pakistani Commander sent another note to the Indian commander.

However, Chibber decided to capture defensive importance peaks of the glacier. He lodged a full scale attack with 17 helicopters on 13<sup>th</sup> April 1984. This operation's code name was Operation Maghdoot. In 1983 Northern areas light infantry (NLI) captured Soltoro Ridge. However, when they came to the less high peaks. When in spring 1984 they returned to Soltoro range, they noticed that Indians had deployed a platoon of army on each peak of Soltoro range to keep watch on Siala and Bilafonda passes. As such India had captured one thousand sq miles of Pakistan's northern areas. Because of these deplorable activities of India Pakistan decided to establish permanent army posts on Siachen Glacier.

Since 1984 specially trained contingents of the two countries are fronting each other at this highest battle field of the world.

From October 1989 to date several shifts of decisions have been taken place between army officials of both the countries. (Mateenuddin, 1994:42).

## **NUCLEARIZATION**

India was the first state of the South Asia who done its first nuclear explosion in Rajasthan in 1974. Indian governments stand was that she had done this for peaceful purposes. But all the United Nation Security Council members apposed it as India had not signed Non Proliferation Treaty. (Mendis, 1992, 56).

Pakistan tabled suggestion in the UNO general assembly in August 1974 to declare south Asia in nuclear free zone which was accepted later on. Srilanka, Bangladesh and Nepal favored the Pakistan's proposal whereas India apposed it as its purpose was to maintained and strengthen her dominating position in south Asia. (Mendis, 1992, P.57).

Pakistan offer India different proposals for non proliferation of nuclear weapons. It has proposed: (a) Simultaneous signing of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty: (b) inspection of each others nuclear sites: (c) declaring South Asia a nuclear weapon free zone: (d) non strike on each others nuclear installations: and (e) a five nation

Pakistan, India relations are always has uncertainty and full of positive and negative effects. Although the two countries leadership expressed good hopes and passions for each other but they could not overcome the deep, historically bitter and non trust worthy interactions. (Mehmood,1999,P.257).

## **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Purpose of this study is to investigate how the leading English press in Pakistan portrayed the relationship between India and Pakistan in the context of Kashmir Issue. The study will explore how much coverage has been given to the issue of Kashmir in the leading English Dailies, and how do they treat the Kashmir problem in their news columns. The study will also give a comparison of the coverage of the two selected English newspapers of the county.

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SELECTED NEWSPAPERS**

The researcher has selected the Elite or leading English press of Pakistan i.e. the Dawn and The News. Altschull (1984) rightly said in definition of the elite press that it means a purposeful, independent and responsible press with large circulation. Newspapers selected for this study fall in this category. Public opinion leaders read Elite or leading newspapers to formulate mass opinion. These newspapers are easily available for the students in the libraries and universities of all the countries. (Merril, Bryan and Alisky 1970). Because of their importance, they (elite or leading newspapers) are indexed, microfilmed, content analyzed, and otherwise dissected by researchers in various disciplines (Cooper Anne M. Cites in Stevenson et al, 1984 cited in Gul, 1998, cited in Mehran, 2001, P.5).

The readers of the elite and leading newspapers affect the public opinion and policies regarding culture, economics and political matters. These people “public officials, scholars, journalists, theologians, lawyers and judges and business leaders” are more educated than others and take more interest in public affairs than that of a common reader (Merill, 1968, P.12, cited in Gul, 1998, cited in Mehran, 2001, P.5).

The rationality behind the selection of these newspapers is that all two are metropolitan newspapers having vast circulation and popularity among the readers.

## **THE NEWS**

Due to its brave and out spoken style The News, own an important specific place in the English press of Pakistan. This Newspaper does oppose the Government in the sensitive matters coverage rather, price to keep a balance.

It's first copy appeared on 11<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1991. It was fully computerized daily with its first edition comprising over hundred pages. (Mubashar, 1999)

The News is published form Karachi, Lahore<sup>5</sup> and Rawalpindi/Islamabad simultaneously. It has a number of bureau offices within the country as well as abroad. It can also be read on internet.

## **DAWN**

It is published from Karachi<sup>6</sup>, Lahore, Islamabad and is read allover the country. Its readers include public and private sector policy and decision makers. Dawn is most influential newspaper of Pakistan which is known and regarded for its uncompromising track record, impartial news reporting and comments.

Dawn was founded on 26<sup>th</sup> October, 1941 as a weekly by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as vice of the sub-continent's Muslims. On 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1942 it was converted into a daily under the editorship of Mr. Pothan Joseph. In October, 1945 Mr. Altaf Hussain joined the paper as editor.

Dawn's internet edition is taken as the most reliable information source about Pakistan and south Asian region and is updated round the clock.

## **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PERIOD OF STUDY (12<sup>TH</sup> OCT 1999 - 17<sup>TH</sup> AUG 2008)**

The period of study 12<sup>th</sup> Oct 1999 – 17<sup>th</sup> Aug 2008 is significant to the following reasons.

- Uprising in Kashmir, the region was under the threat of a nuclear war that could break out any time.
- Pakistan and India detonated nukes in 1998 which made South Asia a nuclear flashpoint owing to the ongoing cold war between the two countries.

- Human rights violations in Kashmir during this period and few Kashmiri Leaders were demanding an independent state of Kashmir.
- Indian response to the offers of talks on Kashmir was hostile and they seemed aggressive.

A few above-mentioned facts indicate that the period of study (12<sup>th</sup> Oct 1999 – 17<sup>th</sup> Aug 2008) were eventful and important in South Asia. Therefore, a study of the behavior of the press during this period would be interesting.

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- Q1. Did The News and The Dawn support the foreign policy of the country on Kashmir issue?
- Q.2. How much coverage did The News give to the Kashmir issue during the period of study?
- Q3. How much coverage did Dawn give to the Kashmir Issue during the period of study?
- Q.4 Did Dawn give more coverage to the Kashmir Issue as compared to The News?
- Q.5 How did The News and Dawn frame “the right of self determination” of the Kashmiri people?
- Q.6 How did The News and Dawn frame the issue of “3<sup>rd</sup> option” for the Kashmiri people?
- Q.7 What kind of coverage was given to “the need of dialogue” for peaceful settlement of the Kashmir issue by The News and Dawn?
- Q.8 How did The News and Dawn frame “the violations of human rights” in Indian held Kashmir?



**CHAPTER 2**  
**LITERATURE REVIEW**

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The researcher has divided this chapter in 2 parts.

1. Studies related to news coverage.
2. Studies related to Indo-Pak relations.

### **STUDIES RELATED TO NEWS COVERAGE**

Franklin (1994) calls this new media politics relationship the “packaging of politics.” According to some, this new dynamic caused the media to be increasingly managed by politicians and their public relations officers, now known colloquially as “spin doctors”. In this process, politicians and policies have become packages for media presentation and public consumption (Cited Mehran, 2001, P.25-26).

King and Well (1994) encircled from newspapers first cold war congressional campaigns prestigious coverage’s amount and real part’s assumption which relates to international matters coverage. As was hoped, although news, editorial and agenda of all the four newspapers was full of big international and foreign matters related stories during this long campaign.(As own build up in the gulf and collapse of communism).Mehran, 2001, P.23-24).

Nixon (1991) stated that “A particularly novel feature of the American news media system in contrast to most countries is its independence from government. First Amendment type guarantee of press freedom are not common in the world; most people are accustomed instead to media that are either agencies of the government or closely controlled by it”.

Chou Yu and Riffe (1989) have discussed government and press relationship in their study and stated that “Of course, news pages are not forum for attacking or praising other nation’s leaders regardless how vehemently the administration might label them enemies or allies. Ideally, the press avoids such passion in foreign policy”.

But some argue that day-to-day press government relations are far from “ideal” and that neutrality in press coverage of foreign policy is problematic, Because press and government exists in a mutually beneficial exchange of information and publicity. They further wrote, “Thus US media image of a nation’s leader (be it a Gorbachev, a

Gandhi and Mao) may signal that nation's status as friend or foe. Further more, change in relations between nations may influence that image”.

Coverage of the international disputes is quite different that than of the foreign reporting. Here the media has to relay upon the army for transportation, access to the information as well as dispatch of the News. Political, Economical and Theoretical affiliations and interests also shadow the coverage of the international disputes. For example, Herman and Chomsky (1988) while condemning the USSR's aggression against Afghanistan, expose the double standard of the American press. Like wise unveiled American interference in Czeshoslovakia and Hungary on humanitarian grounds exposed the double standard of American press.

Becker (1977) in his comparative study of “New York Times” and “Times of London” 1971 Pak-India war coverage, reached the conclusion that although American Government policy during Pakistan dispute with India was in favor of Pakistan. However, American government could not succeed in her efforts and she asked the New York Times to make its news copy in accordance with the national policy.

Mujahid (1970) in his work “Coverage of Pakistan in three US magazines” has written that these magazines interest was in Pakistan internal politics than that of foreign affairs. He said that Pak-India relationship coverage was Kashmir issue centered. He exposed the view that USA News magazines behavior during world reporting and news coverage of foreign affairs was favorable to Pakistan (Cited Khan, 2001, P.44).

## **STUDIES RELATED TO INDO-PAK RELATIONS**

Asiya Riaz (2001) records “But keeping in view long lasting hostility between India and Pakistan, can it be said that the role of media in the sub-continental nationalistic frenzy follows a mixed path? While the press in both India and Pakistan spares no moment to score and claim a victory over its archival, can it also serve as a restraining element to keep the relationship between both the countries from overheating?”

Bashir (2001) rights that Pakistan India relations remain subject to ups and downs for years the basic cause of tension between the both the neighboring countries is Kashmir distribute. Pakistan always refused physical interference in the Indian held

Kashmir while, India always blamed Pakistan for that. Both the countries have been blaming each other for armed struggle in the state of Jammu & Kashmir.

Hayat (2001) said that media of both the countries have been picturing only on side of the conflict. This study shows that media of a country is real reflector of her foreign policy. New question is that what is relation between media and foreign policy answer is that the policies remain intact as for as media favors them.

Khan (2000) has concluded his work that “the press heightened the hostilities among India and Pakistan rather than suggesting measures to cool down passions in the interest of ensuring an era of durable peace and amity. The media wield power even in the most developed and highly advanced countries because of their impelling power of persuasion and mass contact”.

Rai (2000) in his article discussed in detail the role of media in creating a conflict situation. While describing how media is working in Indian Punjab, and Jammu and Kashmir, he wrote:

“Making a broad assessment of the media’s role in the terrorist stricken state of Kashmir, it is evident that the national media, excluding AIR and Dordarshan, has played a mature and fairly responsible role.” Blaming Pakistan Rai went on to say that Pakistan for more than a decade now, has been creating terrorist violence in Jammu and Kashmir by pushing Islamic Militants across the border and arming and equipping them with the help of media.

Prasad (1999) concluded that “the politics of two countries have remained a prisoner to the pre-partition vision of generating divisive tension for the sake of narrow political gains. The change in the world scenario makes but a feeble impact since the domestic compulsions made the bilateral relations critical to the survival of those in power. The Establishments in both countries add to the atmosphere of suspicion. This is harming the interests of the common people.”

Rizvi (1999) stated that “Pakistan made another attempt to overcome India’s objections to its decision to obtain weapons from the United States by offering to sign a no-war pact with India. This proposal was made on September 15, 1981, in a statement announcing Pakistan’s acceptance of the six-year US economic assistance and military sales package.”

Khursheed (1999) has revealed that, "Despite the Indian government's attempt to impose a news blackout in Jammu and Kashmir, the world media have managed to cover the events in the occupied territory quite regularly. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) through its correspondents stationed in Srinagar and New Delhi has taken a lead among other broadcasting agencies in broadcasting news reports from Kashmir in its Urdu and Hindi services almost daily. Khursheed further wrote, "The endless suffering of the Kashmiri Muslims is a matter of great concern for the Islamic Ummah."

Rehman (1999) reveals, "India had not exploded a device but it was clear that it was working on a device when it refused to sign Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1967. If anybody should have been aware of the Indian designs in Pakistan, it was Z.A. Bhutto who had served as Foreign Minister during this period."

Rais (1989) wrote, "India's superiority in conventional weapons and its quest for strategic pre-eminence in the region appear to be a plausible motivating force for the Pakistani policy – makers to pursue the option of a nuclear balancer".

Ali (1989) in her study has emphasized the need for cordial relations by maintaining that, "it is imperative that India and Pakistan calmly and dispassionately review the astonishing deterioration in their bilateral relations. Only a series of confidence – building measures on the part of India can help Pakistan to overcome her fears regarding her safety and security in the future. There is a pressing need to revive the process of normalization and have frequent exchange of official visits to all levels".

Choudhury (1975) verdicts, "the great changes of 1971-72 are unlikely to bring peace and stability to the sub-continent. India has emerged stronger and more dominant, and Indo-Pakistani amity is no nearer; Pakistan is frustrated and bitter after national humiliation and dismemberment; Bangladesh might still fall into chaos and confusion."

Burke (1973) wrote, "India, who in the past had uniformly insisted that the smaller issues must be settled first so that a friendlier climate could be created for tackling the thorny question of Kashmir, is now saying that it will not be enough to solve the peripheral issues. She is insisting that all the issues be solved simultaneously, 'to end the threat of another conflict for all time,' and is pressing for the acceptance of her

longstanding demand that the existing cease – fire line in Kashmir be declared the international border between India and Pakistan so that she can retain possession of the valley.”

Nusrat Begum (1968) writes that “it is tragic that India and her leader never reconciled themselves to the existence of Pakistan. They do not appear to let Pakistan prosper and have ever been creating new problem for her”.

Choudhury (1968) concluded: “In matters where one’s own country is involved in there are, after all, facts and they may speak for themselves. I have made extensive references to and questions from non-Pakistani scholarly sources, including documents and periodicals, together with the world press, to substantiate those facts.”

It is concluded that media support the foreign policy of its home country. But there are few studies which do not support this argument and have the point of view that media do not necessarily endorse official foreign policy. It is also seen that there are ups and downs in Indo-Pak relations over the years.

**CHAPTER 3**  
**THEORETICAL FRAME WORK**

## **THEORETICAL FRAME WORK**

The researcher found the following theories relevant to this research study.

- 1) Agenda Setting
- 2) Concept of Framing

### **AGENDA SETTING**

Agenda setting theory is an important component of my theoretical framework. It tells that the media sets agenda on some issue in accordance with its wishes.

Agenda setting academic theory was introduced by the two Journalism professors Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw. This theory speaks that as to how media affects the point of over concentration in the other words media sets our mind to give importance to an issue it desire. McCombs and Shaw perceived that the media did not tell what we should feel about an issue but it tells that as to how we have to think for it and concentrate our attention. To feel something means that we have to make our opinion relying upon the media information. Feelings mean that we draw a mentality from the available information. However, thought behind the agenda setting theory is that the media, allowing us formulation of feelings towards the issues concentrates our attention. However, McCombs reached the conclusion that the media affects in such a way that we think through priming and framing.

**PRIMING:** A psychological process where media's emphases on a certain issue focus out attention and spurs our memory of the issue.

- **FRAMING:** This idea addresses the way that the media brings issues of reality to light but skew some information to gain a different reaction.

According to McCombs and Shaw, "the press and television cause audience ego-involvement in the issue to rise and fall in response to media emphasis" (Griffin,1997,P.377).

Although there have been correlations found between the media and public ordering of priorities, this does not mean causation; however, there is an evident cause-and-effect relationship between the two. McCombs and Shaw have reached this conclusion that those people who want that media to formulate their thinking have



high need of orientation while the others are of low need of orientation. Ultimately the theory of agenda setting had “reaffirmed the power of press while still maintaining that individuals are free to choose” (Griffin, 1997, P.377, cited in Mehran,2001,P.33-34).

## **CONCEPT OF FRAMING**

Framing theory helps us to understand that as to how some incident is being portrayed in a specific story or in an article. Framing concept has rise as a prominent, important and meaningful though in the theorization and research of journalism here, Pakistan India relations and newspapers character have been viewed as per framing theory. Gitlin (1980) defines media frames as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual”. He suggests that if the media are to be seen as mirrors, it ought to be as “mirrors in a fun house.” Framing of some issue takes affects of bites of the information’s which the story includes or otherwise.

“Media are mobile spotlights, not passive mirrors of the society; selectivity is the instrument of their action. A news story adopts a certain frame and rejects or downplays material that is discrepant. A story is a choice, a way of seeing an event that also amounts to a way of screening from sight”.

Entman explains the concept of Framing in order to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make then more salient in a communicating test, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and or treatment recommendation (1993, 52).

Key to the concept of framing is the twin elements of selection and salience, as Entman later details. Producers select the frame (often called the angle, theme, perspective, or slant) for the test and then attributes of the subject within that frame become more salient than objects outside the frame (Hughes, 1997).

In general, news frames are constructed from and embodied in the key words, metaphors, concepts, symbols and visual images emphasized in editorials. But through repetition, placement and reinforcing association with each other, the words

and images that comprise the frame render one basic interpretation more readily discernible, comprehensible, and memorable than others. Hackett (1984) draws on Gitlin's (1980) definition of media frames and he argues that ideology provides a framework through which events are presented (Hackett, 1984 cited in Saleem, 2000, Cited in Khan, 2001, P.57-58).

Gitlin's ideological aspects in framing have rightly been exercised in the foreign policy domains of Indo-Pak relations with special reference to Kashmir issue under the news treatment of *The News & the Dawn* on the areas under study.

**CHAPTER 4**  
**METHODOLOGY**

## **METHODOLOGY**

The employed methodology for this study is content analysis. Both quantitative and Qualitative methods of content analysis have been used. It is a frequently used method in social sciences research. Content analysis, as defined by Berelson (1952), is a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (P. 18). This definition is useful because it highlights key facets of the method's origins and concerns. Many other mass communication scholars define content analysis differently. Krippendrof (1980) defines it as a research technique for making replicable and valid references from data to their context. Kerlinger's (1973) definition is fairly typical: content analysis is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables (Mehran, 2001, P. 39).

Content analysis then is a research technique by which certain characteristics of printed, spoken, or visual material are systematically identified (Stone et al. 1996 cited in Jones). Content analysis as a research technique goes beyond normal reading and viewing habits, as well as literacy and film criticism, in requiring that you be explicit about the criteria you apply in deciding what a text contains and the rules by which you have applied those criteria (P.40).

Holisti (1969) gives five general guidelines: (1) chose a universe or sample of contents: (2) establish a category frame of external referents relevant to the purpose of the inquiry (e.g. a set of political parties or countries; (3) choose a "unit of analysis" from the content (word, sentences, item, story, picture, sequences, etc); (4) match content analysis to category frame by counting the frequency of the references to items in the category frame, per chosen unit of content: (5) express the result as an overall distribution of the total universe or sample in terms of the frequency of occurrence of the sought-for referents. (McQuail, 1993, cited in Mehran, 2001, P.40).

In general a content analysis is conducted in several discrete stages. The following steps may be used as a rough outline.

1. Formulate the research question or hypothesis.
2. Define the population in question.

3. Select an appropriate sample from the population.
4. Select and define a unit of analysis.
5. Construct the categories of context to be analyzed.
6. Establish a quantification system.
7. Train coders and conduct a pilot study.
8. Code the content according to established definitions.
9. Analyze the collected data.
10. Draw conclusions and search for indications

(Wimmer and Dominick, 1991:167 cited in Mehran, 2001, P 40, 41).

## **RELIABILITY**

The concept of reliability is crucial to content analysis. If a content analysis is to be objective, its measures and procedures must be reliable. Reliability is present when repeated measurement of the same material results in similar decisions or conclusions. If the results fail to achieve reliability, something is amiss with the coders, the coding instructions, the category definitions, the unit of analysis, or some combination of those. To achieve acceptable levels of reliability the following steps are recommended (P. 41).

1. Define category boundaries with maximum detail: a group of vague or ambiguously defined categories makes reliability extremely difficult to achieve. Examples of units of analysis and a brief explanation for each are necessary for coders to fully understand the procedure.
2. Train the Coders: Training session in using the coding instrument and the category system conducted before the data are collected can help to eliminate methodological problems. During these sessions, the group as a whole should code sample material; afterward, they should discuss the result as well as the purpose of the study. Disagreements should be analyzed as they occur.
3. Conduct a Pilot Study: Select a sub-sample of the content universe under consideration and let independent coders categorize it. These data are useful

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for two reasons; poorly defined categories can be detected, and chronically dissenting coders can be identified (P.42).

In the light of above mentioned observations, a qualitative strategy of analyzing contents is used to explain the quantitative data and to interpret various frames (McQuail 1987, 187). The results and quantitative analysis are followed by a thorough qualitative analysis. Key categories of contents are identified and within those categories the framing of News treatment of Daily Dawn and The News are analyzed. In order to reduce and avoid the bias of qualitative approach the researcher will read the material as many times as necessary to satisfy himself.

### **THE UNIVERSE OF THE STUDY**

The main Daily English language newspapers of Pakistan are: Daily Dawn, The News, The Nation, The Post, Pakistan Times, Daily Times, Pakistan Observer and Frontier Post. However the researcher can not take all these newspapers, so the researcher selected two English Daily that are Daily Dawn and The News as population or the universe of the study for the period 12<sup>th</sup> Oct, 1999 to 17<sup>th</sup> Aug, 2008. The researcher has selected Daily Dawn and The News because they are Metropolitan Newspapers having vast circulation and popularity among the readers.

### **UNIT OF ANALYSIS**

In this study the unit of analysis was news coverage regarding Kashmir issue. In short, this research did investigation of the news coverage of Kashmir issue.

### **SAMPLE**

The sample for this study was two English Dailies that were: Daily Dawn and The News for the period of 12<sup>th</sup> Oct 1999 to 17<sup>th</sup> Aug 2008.

### **CATEGORIES FOR ANALYSIS**

In this study, the news treatment of the Kashmir issue in The News and The Nation was divided into four topics,

Category A: Right of Self-determination for Kashmiris

Category B: Third option for Kashmiris

Category C: Need of dialogue for peaceful settlement of Kashmir

Category D: Violation of human rights in Indian held Kashmir.

**(A): RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION**

The news stories which deals with the issue of Kashmir of Indo-Pak policies about the future of Kashmir. For example Indian threat to Pakistan, UN resolutions on the issue, simla accord, Lahore declaration, accession of Kashmir with Pakistan, migration of Kashmiris, US intervention as a mediator, Jihadi organztions etc will be considered as 'A'.

**(B): THIRD OPTION FOR KASHMIRIS**

The News stories related with "Third option" or Kashmir as an independent unit, like JKLF stand point on Kashmir, or American interest in the area, Indian efforts to create a rift between the Mujahideens, Kashmiris be made independent or ten years, CTBT linkage with Kashmir problem will be considered as 'B'

**(C): NEED OF DIALOGUE**

News coverage on the limited war, Secretary level talks, summit meeting, tripartite dialogue, nuclear war in the region, Washington declaration, Siachin issue, and cold war in the area etc, will be considered as "C".

**(D): VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDIAN HELD KASHMIR**

News coverage as would through light on massacre of Kashmiris, genocide, desecration of holy places, atrocities meted out to Kashmiris, rape incidents, indiscriminate firing and violation of human rights would be categorized as 'D'.

**CODING**

Placing a unit of Analysis into a Content Category is called coding (Wimmer, 1987). In this study two students of center for Media and Communication Studies, international Islamic University, were assigned to read the samples of news stories to identify the issues, their direction and to evaluate them. The detailed discussion with Coders I and II further enhanced the understanding of Coders about the Categories A, B, C and D, Catchy words, and Phrases which helped determine the direction of News stories. The following instructions were provided to the Coders: Each Coder red each

headline and the full text of the given samples of the news stories at least three times and classify the news stories into one of the categories i.e. A, B, C and D. To make classification mutually exclusive, decisions were made on the basis of contents potentially related to the topics (A, B, C and D) and the Judgments of the Coders to calculate inter-Coder reliability Holsti's (1969) formula was used. Approximately 25% of the news stories were selected to establish a satisfactory level of reliability before coding the programme in the main study.

## **DIRECTION OF THE CONTENTS**

To measure the direction of the contents of The News and Daily Dawn researcher relied on the method that Berelson (1952) called "the total problem" or the "totality of the impression". This totality of impression was used to determine the "Direction" or "orientation" of the communication related to framing. (Berelson, 1952 cited in Krippendorff, 1980 : 159, Wimmer and Dominic, 1991 : 165). To determine the direction of the contents of the news stories, data were ranked on a free point scale: Supportive/Positive (+), Opposite/negative (-) and neutral/balanced (o). For this purpose a coding sheet well prepared to accommodate all possible coverage of various categories was provided to the coders. It is attached as 'Appendix A'. In order to fill the categories appropriately, the coders were acquainted with the foreign policy of the country on the issues of the study.

### **SUPPORTIVE/POSITIVE (+)**

Any news story considered "Positive (+) if its general stand point was framed positive about right of self determination 'A', no third option 'B', the need of a dialogue 'C' and condemnation of human rights violation by the Indian troops 'D'.

### **OPPOSITE / NEGATIVE (-)**

Considered as opposite / negative (-) which was pessimistic in tone or if its general stance is negative (-) about Pakistan's official stand point on the issues of right of self-determination 'A', supportive to the notion of third option 'B', opposed the need of a dialogue 'C' and did not condemn the violation of human rights in the occupied Kashmir. For example words, terms, phrases, sentences, catchy words framing a negative picture of Mujahiddeens considered as "opposite" or "negative" (-).



**NEUTRAL / BALANCED (O)**

Any news stories considered as neutral (O) and balanced if it displays a balance of positive or negative arguments. It was neither favorable nor un-favorable.

**CHAPTER 5**  
**DATA ANALYSIS, RESULTS & DISCUSSION**

## **DATA ANALYSIS, RESULTS & DISCUSSION**

This chapter consists of two parts: The first part is comprised of quantitative findings, which includes total coverage on all the selected categories and the second part includes qualitative findings on the selected categories in Dawn and The News.

### **Part 1**

#### **Quantitative findings on categories A,B,C & D:**

#### **1 COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM OCT 12<sup>TH</sup> 1999 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 1999.**

Table 1 shows that during the period of Oct 12<sup>th</sup> 1999 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 1999, both the newspapers published 21 news, out of which Dawn published 15 and The News published 6 news on the issues under consideration. Out of total 21 news, 10(47.62%) were published on category 'A'- Right of self-determination, 1 news(4.76%) published on category 'B'- Third option for kashmiris, Four(19.05%) were published on Category 'C'- Need of dialogue, and 6(28.57%) were published on category 'D'- Human rights violation.

Table 1 also indicates that the Dawn's share was higher than The News. Out of 15 news published by Dawn, 7(46.67%) were on issue A, 1(6.67%) were on issue B, 2(13.33%) were on issue C and 5(33.33%) were on issue D.

The News published 3 (50%) news out of 6 on issue A, 2 (33.33%) on issue C, 1(16.67%) on issue D and neglected the issue B.

**Table – 1**

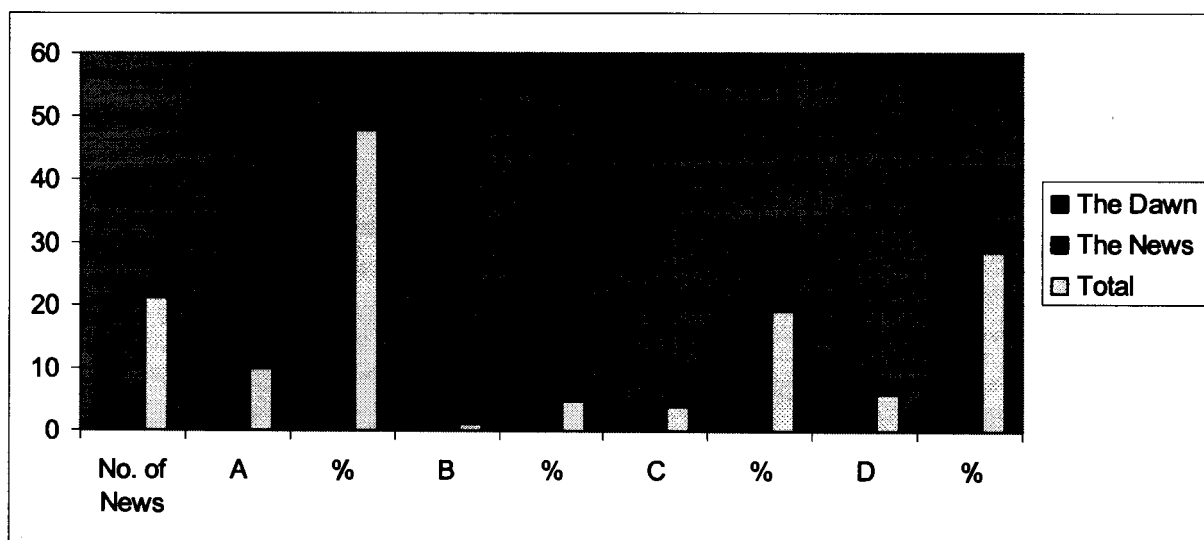
1). **Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Oct 12<sup>th</sup> 1999 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 1999.**

Newspapers	No. of News	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%
The Dawn	15	7	46.67	1	6.67	2	13.33	5	33.33
The News	6	3	50.00	0	0.00	2	33.33	1	16.67
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>47.62</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4.76</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>19.05</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>28.57</b>

- N = No of News
- A = Right of Self determination
- B = Third option for Kashmiris
- C = Need of dialogue
- D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure – 1**

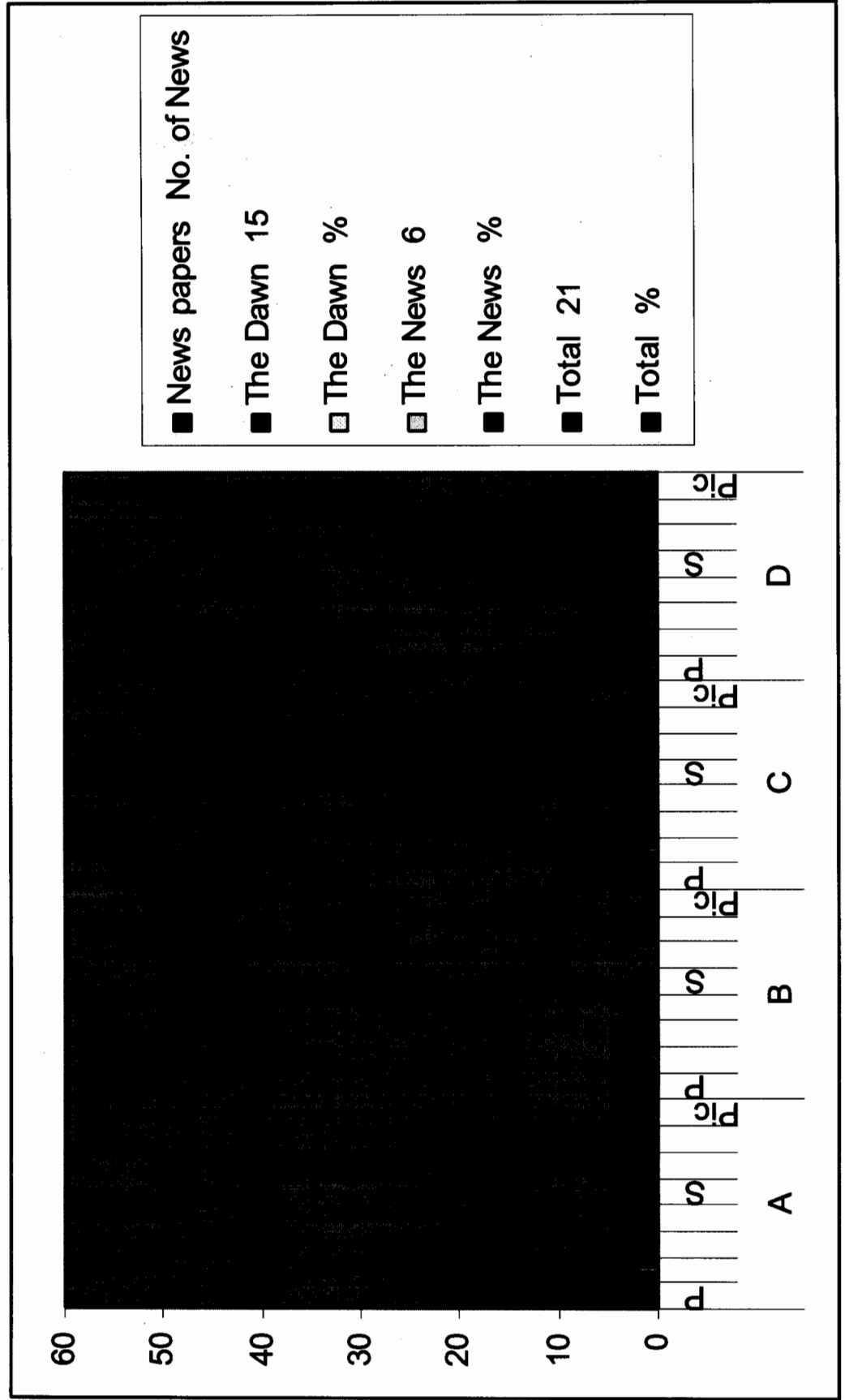
**Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Oct 12<sup>th</sup> 1999 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 1999.**





**Figure – 1A**

Comparative topical coverage of the News and The Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Oct 12th 1999 to Dec 31st 1999.



**1. A COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF  
DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D  
FROM OCT 12<sup>TH</sup> 1999 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 1999.**

Table 1A shows that during the period of 12<sup>th</sup> Oct 1999 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 1999 both the newspapers published 21 news on the issues under consideration.

Out of total news published 4(19.04%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 2(9.52%) were published on right upper half, 1(4.76%) were published on left lower half, 3(14.28%) were published on right lower half, 1(4.76%) news was published by line, 6(28.57%) were filed by news agencies, 3(14.28%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in category A.

Out of total news published 1(4.76%) news were published on left lower half and 1(4.76%) news were filed by reporters, no picture was published in category B.

Out of total news published 2(9.52%) were published on right upper half, 1(4.76%) was published on left lower half, 1(4.76%) was published on right lower half, 1(4.76%) was filed by news agencies, 3(14.28%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in category C.

Out of total news published 2(9.52%) were published on left upper half of the page, 1(4.76%) news were published on right upper half, 3(14.28%) were published on right lower half, 1(4.76%) was published with by line, 2(9.52%) were filed by news agencies, 2(9.52%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in category D.

Table 1A also indicates that during the period of 12<sup>th</sup> Oct 1999 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 1999 both the newspapers published 21 news on the issues under consideration Dawn published 15(71.42%) news were as The News published 6(28.58%) news.

Out of total news published in Dawn 3(20%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 1(6.67%) were published on left lower half, 3(20%) were published on right lower half, 1(6.67%) news was published by line, 3(20%) were filed by news agencies, 3(20%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in category A.

Out of total news published in Dawn 1(6.67%) news was published on left upper half, and 1(6.67%) news was filed by reporter, no picture was published in category B.

Out of total news published in Dawn 1(6.67%) was published on right upper half, 1(6.67%) was published on left lower half, 2(13.33%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in category C.

Out of total news published in Dawn 1(6.67%) was published on left upper half of the page, 1(6.67%) news were published on right upper half, 3(20%) were published on right lower half, 1(6.67%) was published with by line, 1(6.67%) were filed by news agencies, 2(13.33%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in category D.

Out of total news published in The News 1(16.67%) news was published on left upper half of the page, 2(13.33%) were published on right upper half, 3(50%) were filed by news agencies in category A.

Category was neglected by The News.

Out of total news published in The News 1(16.6%) was published on right upper half, 1(16.6%) was published on right lower half, 1(16.6%) was filed by news agencies, 1(16.6%) was filed by reporter and no picture was published in category C.

Out of total news published in The News 1(16.6%) was published on left upper half of the page, 1(16.67%) was filed by news agencies and no picture was published in category D.



**Table – 2**

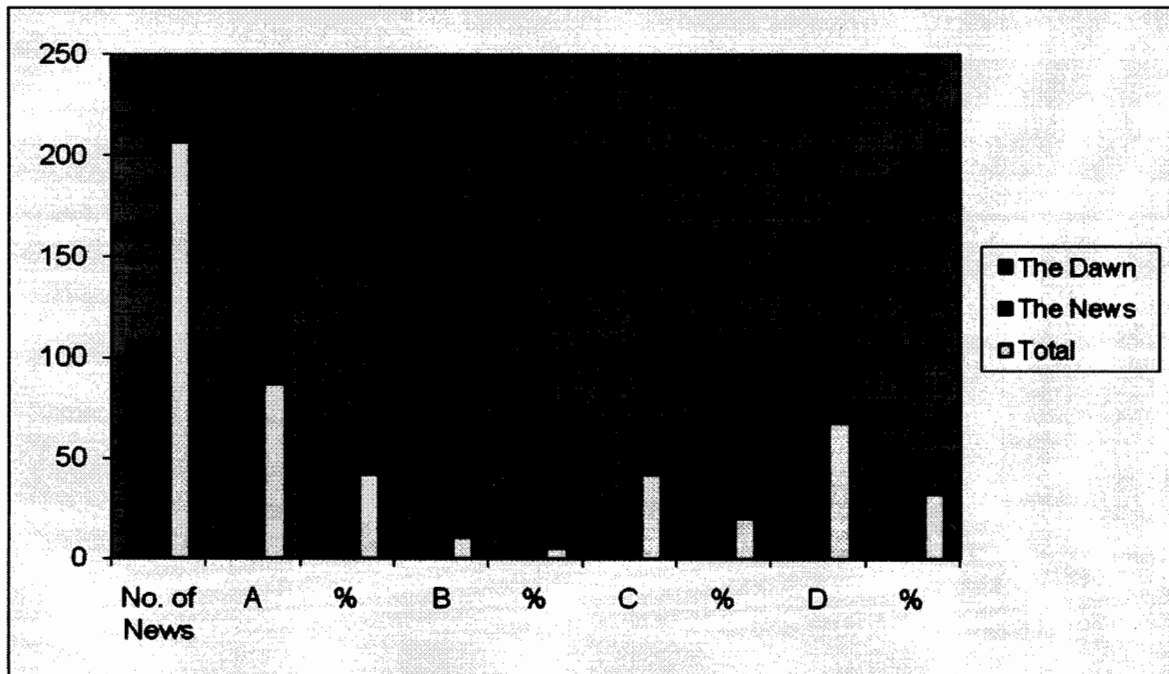
**2). Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2000 to 31st Dec 2000.**

Newspapers	No. of News	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%
The Dawn	108	48	44.44	5	4.63	14	12.96	41	37.96
The News	99	39	39.39	6	6.06	28	28.28	27	27.27
Total	207	87	42.03	11	5.31	42	20.29	68	32.85

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 2**

**Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2000 to 31st Dec 2000.**



## **2. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2000 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2000.**

Table 2 shows that during the period of Jan 01<sup>st</sup> 2000 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2000, both the newspapers published 208 news, out of which Dawn published 108 and The News published 100 news on the issues under consideration. Out of total 208 news, 87(41.83%) were published on category 'A'- Right of self-determination, 11 news(5.29%) published on category 'B'- Third option for kashmiris, 42(20.19%) were published on Category 'C'- Need of dialogue, and 68(32.69%) were published on category 'D'- Human rights violation.

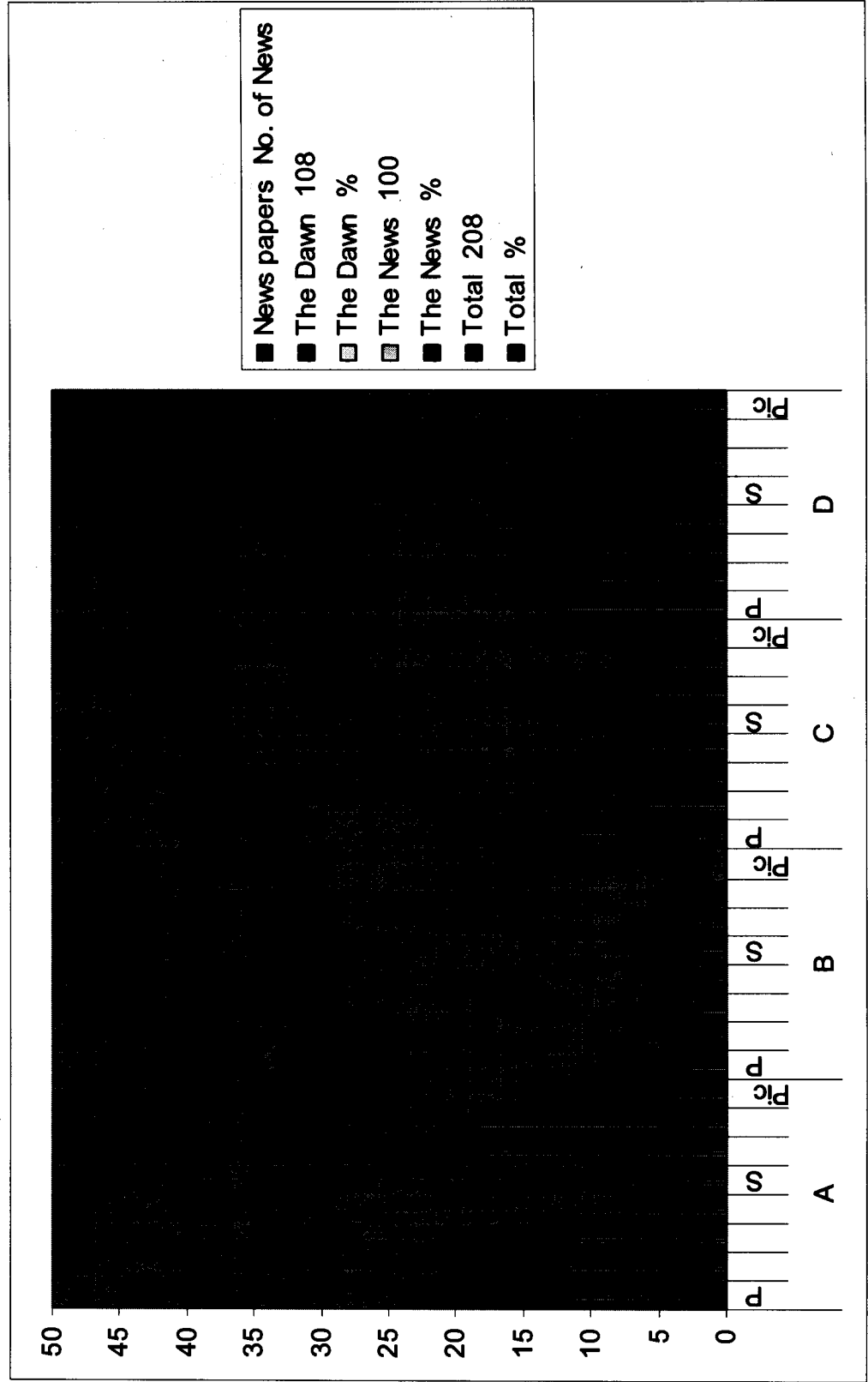
Table 2 also indicates that the Dawn's share was higher than The News. Out of 108 news published by Dawn, 48(44.44%) were on issue A, 5(4.63%) were on issue B, 14(12.96%) were on issue C and 41(37.96%) were on issue D.

The News published 100 (39%) news on issue A, 6 (6%) on issue B, 28(28%) on issue C and 27 (27%) on issue D.



Figure – 2A

Comparative topical coverage of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2000 to Dec 31st 2000.



**2A. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2000 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2000.**

Table 2-A shows that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2000 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2000 both the newspapers published 208 news on the issues under consideration.

Out of total news published on Category 'A', 30(14.42%) were published on left upper half of the page, 26(12.5%) were published on Right upper half, 25(12.01%) were published on left lower half, 9(4.33%) were published on right lower half where as 16(7.69%) news were published by line, 47(22.59%) were filed by news agencies, 27(12.98%) were filed by reporters and 7(3.36%) pictures were published on issue A.

Out of total news published on Category 'B', 5(2.40%) were published on left upper half of the page, 3(1.44%) were published on right upper half, 2(0.96%) were published on left lower half, 1(0.48%) was published on right lower half, 2(0.96%) news were published by line, 6(2.88%) were filed by news agencies, 3(1.44%) were filed by reporters and no picture were published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'C', 17(8.17%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 8(3.84%) were on right upper half, 11(5.28%) on left lower half, 4(1.92%) on right lower half, 7(3.37%) news were published by line, 27(12.98%) news were filed by news agencies, 6(2.88%) were filed by reporters and 1(0.48%) picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'D', 18(8.65%) were published on left upper half of the page, 21(10.09%) were published on right upper half, 21(10.09%) were on left lower half, 7(3.36%) were on right lower half, 8(3.85%) news were published by line, 44(21.15%) news were filed by news agencies, 15(7.21%) were filed by reporters, and 4(1.94%) pictures were published in this category.

Table 2-A indicates that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2000 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2000 both the newspapers published 208 news on the issues under consideration Dawn published 108 news whereas The News published 100 news.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'A', 14(12.96%) were published on left upper half of the page, 13(12.04%) were published on Right upper half,

14(12.96%) were published on left lower half, 8(7.41%) were published on right lower half where as 9(8.33%) news were published with by line, 20(18.52%) were filed by news agencies, 20(18.52%) were filed by reporters and 4(3.70%) pictures were published on issue A.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'B', 3(2.78%) were published on left upper half of the page, 2(1.85%) were published on left lower half, 2(1.85%) were filed by news agencies, 3(2.78%) were filed by reporters and no picture were published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'C', 6(5.56%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 2(1.85%) were on right upper half, 4(3.70%) on left lower half, 2(1.85%) on right lower half, 2(1.85%) news were published by line, 7(6.48%) news were filed by news agencies, 5(4.63%) were filed by reporters and 1(0.93%) picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'D', 13(12.04%) were published on left upper half of the page, 11(10.19%) were published on right upper half, 11(10.19%) were on left lower half, 5(4.63%) were on right lower half, 5(4.63%) news were published by line, 20(18.52%) news were filed by news agencies, 15(13.89%) were filed by reporters, and 3(2.78%) pictures were published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'A', 16(16%) were published on left upper half of the page, 13(13%) were published on Right upper half, 11(11%) were published on left lower half, 1(1%) was published on right lower half where as 7(7%) news were published with by line, 27(27%) were filed by news agencies, 7(7%) were filed by reporters and 3(3%) pictures were published on issue A.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'B', 2(2%) were published on left upper half of the page, 3(3%) were published on right upper half, 1(1%) was published on right lower half, 2(2%) were published with by line, 4(4%) were filed by news agencies and no picture were published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'C', 11(11%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 6(6%) were on right upper half, 7(7%) on left lower half, 2(2%) on right lower half, 5(5%) news were published by line, 20(20%)

news were filed by news agencies, 1(1%) was filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'D', 5(5%) were published on left upper half of the page, 10(10%) were published on right upper half, 10(10%) were on left lower half, 2(2%) were on right lower half, 3(3%) news were published by line, 24(24%) news were filed by news agencies and 1(1%) picture was published in this category.

**Table – 3**

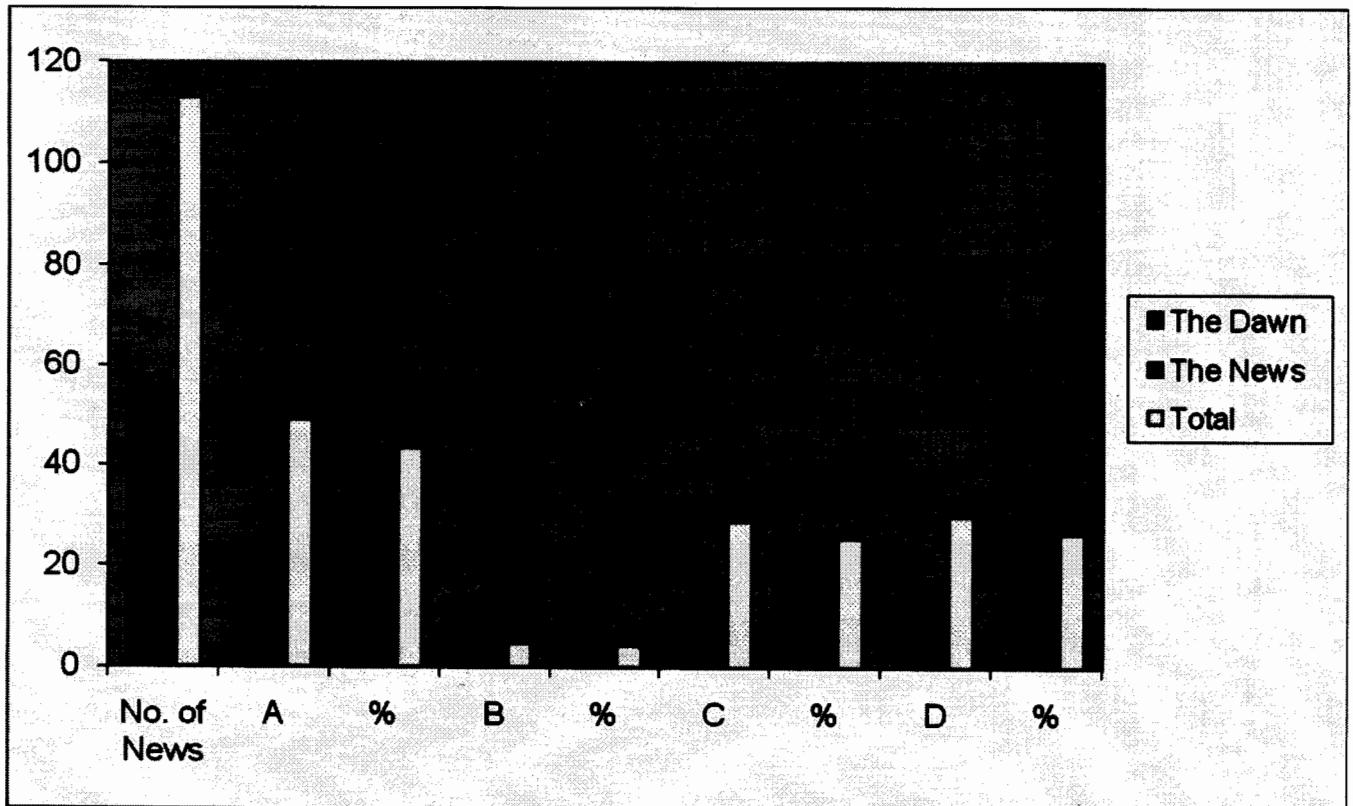
**3. Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2001 to Dec 31st 2001.**

Newspapers	No. of News	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%
The Dawn	58	26	44.83	1	1.72	14	24.14	17	29.31
The News	55	23	41.82	4	5.00	15	27.27	13	23.64
<b>Total</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>43.36</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4.42</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>25.66</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>26.55</b>

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure – 3**

**Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2001 to Dec 31st 2001.**





3. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN  
AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup>  
001 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2001.

Table 3 shows that during the period of Jan 01<sup>st</sup> 2001 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2001, both the newspapers published 113 news, out of which Dawn published 58 and The News published 55 news on the issues under consideration. Out of total 113 news, 49(43.36%) were published on category 'A'- Right of self-determination, 5 news(4.42%) published on category 'B'- Third option for kashmiris, 29(25.66%) were published on Category 'C'- Need of dialogue, and 30(26.55%) were published on category 'D'- Human rights violation.

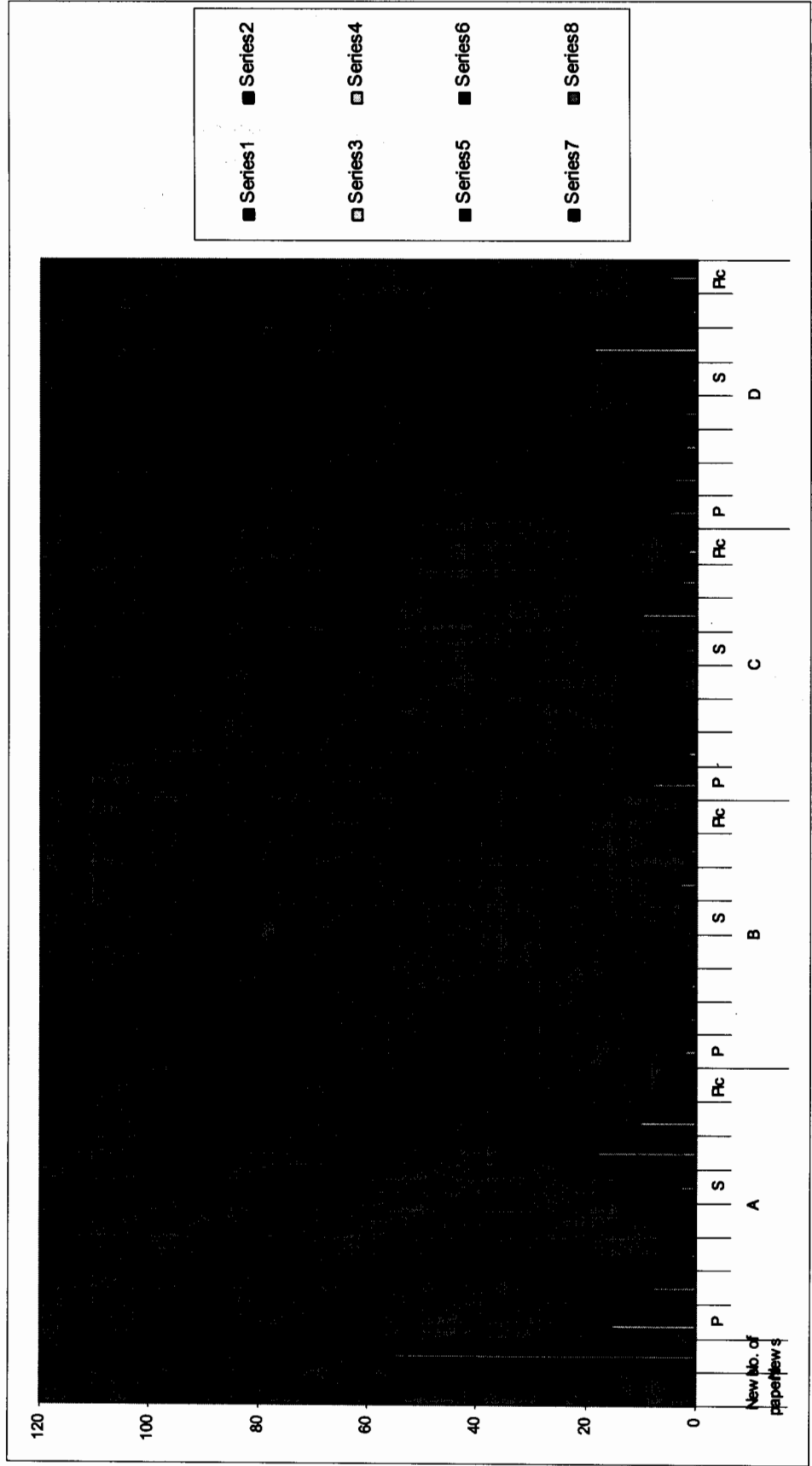
Table 3 also indicates that the Dawn's share was higher than The News. Out of 58 news published by Dawn, 26(44.83%) were on issue A, 1(1.72%) were on issue B, 14(24.14%) were on issue C and 17(29.31%) were on issue D.

The News published 23 (41.82%) news on issue A, 4 (5%) on issue B, 15(27.27%) on issue C and 13 (23.64%) on issue D.



Figure - 3A

Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A, B, C & D from Jan 1st 2001 to 31st Dec 2001



**3A. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2001 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2001.**

Table 3-A shows that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2001 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2001 both the newspapers published 113 news on the issues under consideration.

Out of total news published on Category 'A', 23(20.35%) were published on left upper half of the page, 17(15.04%) were published on Right upper half, 7(12.72%) were published on left lower half, 3(2.65%) were published on right lower half where as 10(8.85%) news were published by line, 32(28.13%) were filed by news agencies, 8(7.07%) were filed by reporters and 4(3.53%) pictures were published on issue A.

Out of total news published on Category 'B', 2(1.76%) were published on left upper half of the page, 2(1.76%) were published on right upper half, 1(0.88%) was published on left lower half, 3(2.65%) were filed by news agencies, 2(1.76%) were filed by reporters and no picture were published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'C', 15(13.27%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 8(7.05%) were on right upper half, 5(4.42%) on left lower half, 4(3.53%) news were published by line, 16(14.15%) news were filed by news agencies, 8(7.07%) were filed by reporters and 1(0.88%) picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'D', 11(9.73%) were published on left upper half of the page, 10(8.84%) were published on right upper half, 5(4.42%) were on left lower half, 4(3.53%) were on right lower half, 1(0.88%) news was published by line, 22(19.46%) news were filed by news agencies, 7(6.19%) were filed by reporters, and 5(4.42%) pictures were published in this category.

Table 3-A indicates that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2001 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2001 both the newspapers published 113 news on the issues under consideration Dawn published 58 news whereas The News published 55 news.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'A', 9(15.52%) were published on left upper half of the page, 9(15.52%) were published on Right upper half, 6(10.34%) were published on left lower half, 3(15.17%) were published on right lower half

where as 7(12.07%) news were published with by line, 14(24.13%) were filed by news agencies, 6(10.34%) were filed by reporters and 4(6.89%) pictures were published on issue A.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'B', 1(1.72%) was published on right upper half of the page, 1(1.72%) was filed by reporter and no picture were published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'C', 7(12.06%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 1(1.72%) was on right upper half, 5(8.62%) on left lower half, 2(3.44%) news were published by line, 6(10.34%) news were filed by news agencies, 5(8.62%) were filed by reporters and 1(1.72%) picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'D', 6(10.34%) were published on left upper half of the page, 6(10.34%) were published on right upper half, 3(5.17%) were on left lower half, 2(3.44%) were on right lower half, 11(18.96%) news were filed by news agencies, 6(10.34%) were filed by reporters, and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'A', 14(25.45%) were published on left upper half of the page, 8(14.54%) were published on Right upper half, 1(1.81%) was published on left lower half, 3(5.45%) news were published with by line, 18(32.72%) were filed by news agencies, 2(3.63%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published on issue A.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'B', 2(3.63%) were published on left upper half of the page, 1(1.81%) was published on right upper half, 1(1.81%) was published on left lower half, 3(5.45%) were filed by news agencies, 1(1.81%) was filed by reporter and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'C', 8(14.54%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 7(12.73%) were on right upper half, 2(3.63%) news were published by line, 10(18.18%) news were filed by news agencies, 3(5.45%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'D', 5(9.09%) were published on left upper half of the page, 4(7.27%) were published on right upper half, 2(3.63%) were on left lower half, 2(3.63%) were on right lower half, 1(1.81%) news was published by line, 11(20%) news were filed by news agencies, 1(1.81%) was filed by reporter, and 5(9.09%) pictures were published in this category.

**Table - 4**

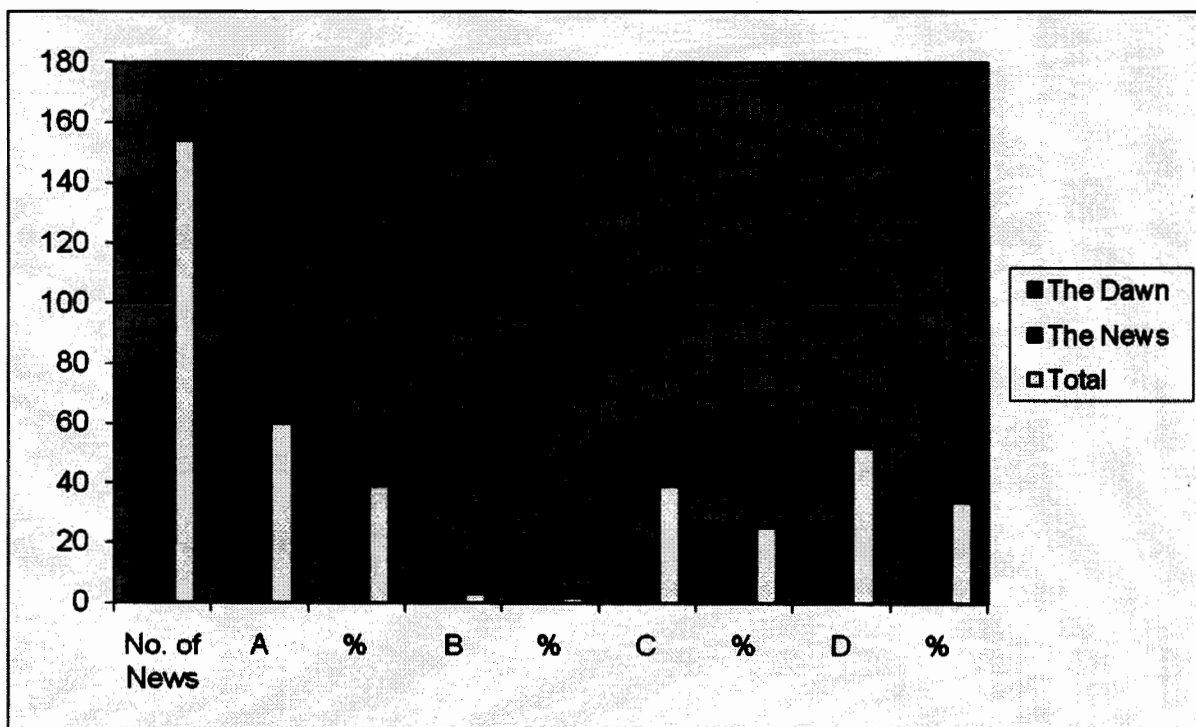
4). Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2002 to 31st Dec 2002.

Newspapers	No. of News	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%
The Dawn	80	33	41.25	1	1.25	19	23.75	27	33.75
The News	74	27	36.49	2	2.70	20	27.03	25	33.78
Total	154	60	38.96	3	1.95	39	25.32	52	33.77

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 4**

Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2002 to 31st Dec 2002.



4. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2002 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2002.

Table 4 shows that during the period of Jan 01<sup>st</sup> 2002 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2002, both the newspapers published 154 news, out of which Dawn published 80 and The News published 74 news on the issues under consideration. Out of total 154 news, 60(38.96%) were published on category 'A'- Right of self-determination, 3 news(1.95%) published on category 'B'- Third option for kashmiris, 39(25.32%) were published on Category 'C'- Need of dialogue, and 52(33.77%) were published on category 'D'- Human rights violation.

Table 4 also indicates that the Dawn's share was higher than The News. Out of 80 news published by Dawn, 33(41.25%) were on issue A, 1(1.25%) were on issue B, 19(23.75%) were on issue C and 27(33.75%) were on issue D.

The News published 27 (36.49%) news on issue A, 2 (2.70%) on issue B, 20(27.03%) on issue C and 25 (33.78%) on issue D.



Table - 4A

4A). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from

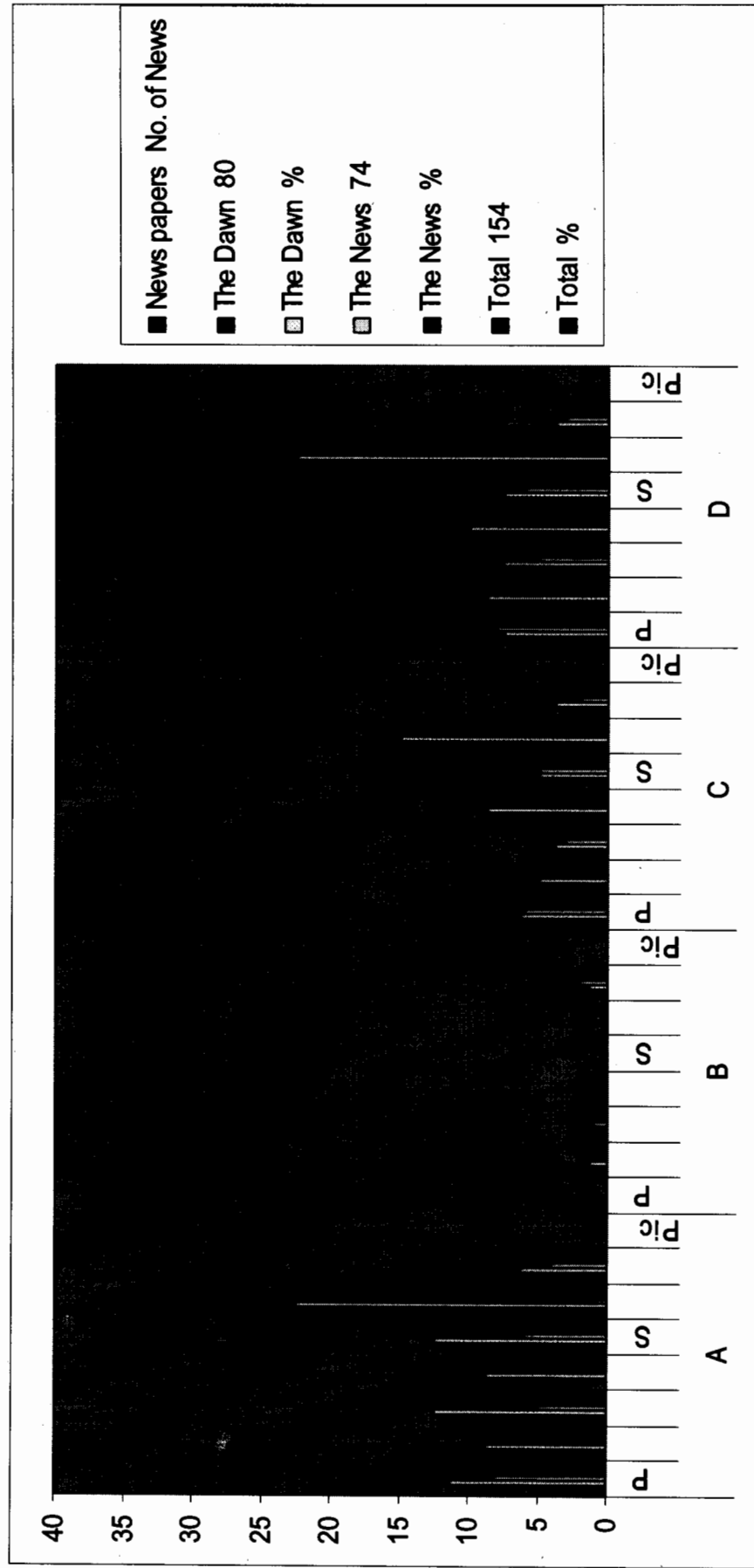
Jan 1st 2002 to 31st Dec 2002

News papers	No. of News	A										B										C										D									
		P					S					P					S					P					S					P					S				
		LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	MA	R	Ptc	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	MA	R	Ptc	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	MA	R	Ptc	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	MA	R	Ptc	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	MA	R	Ptc
The Dawn	80	9	7	10	7	10	18	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	4	3	7	4	12	3	0	0	0	6	7	6	8	8	18	3	0	0	0	0	0	
	%	11.25	8.75	12.50	8.75	12.50	22.50	8.25	0.00	0.00	1.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.25	5.00	3.75	8.75	5.00	15.00	3.75	0.00	7.50	8.75	7.50	10.00	7.50	22.50	3.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		
The News	74	8	6	5	8	6	17	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	6	5	3	8	5	13	2	0	0	8	6	5	6	6	16	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	%	10.81	8.11	6.78	10.81	8.11	22.97	5.41	0.00	0.00	1.35	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.70	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.11	8.78	4.05	8.11	6.76	17.57	2.70	0.00	10.81	8.11	8.78	8.11	8.11	8.11	21.62	4.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Total	154	17	13	15	15	18	35	9	0	0	2	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	11	9	6	13	9	25	5	0	0	14	13	11	14	12	34	6	0	0	0	0	0		
	%	11.04	8.44	9.74	9.74	10.39	22.73	5.84	0.00	1.30	0.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.95	0.00	0.00	7.14	5.84	3.90	8.44	5.84	16.23	3.25	0.00	9.09	8.44	7.14	9.09	7.79	21.62	4.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		

N = No of News, P=Placement, LUH = Lower Upper Half, RUH = Right Upper Half  
 LLH = Left lower half, RLH = Right Lower Half, S = Sources, BL = By Line  
 NA = News Agency, R = Reporter, Pic = Picture  
 A = Right of Self determination, B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue, D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 4A**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2002 to 31st Dec 2002**



**4A. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2002 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2002.**

Table 4-A shows that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2002 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2002 both the newspapers published 154 news on the issues under consideration.

Out of total news published on Category 'A', 17(11.03%) were published on left upper half of the page, 13(8.44%) were published on Right upper half, 15(9.74%) were published on left lower half, 15(9.74%) were published on right lower half where as 16(10.38%) news were published by line, 35(22.72%) were filed by news agencies, 9(5.84%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published on issue A.

Out of total news published on Category 'B', 2(1.29%) were published on right upper half, 1(0.64%) was published on left lower half, 3(1.94%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'C', 11(7.14%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 9(5.84%) were on right upper half, 6(3.89%) on left lower half, 13(8.44%) on right lower half, 9(5.84%) news were published by line, 25(16.23%) news were filed by news agencies, 5(3.24%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'D', 14(9.09%) were published on left upper half of the page, 13(8.44%) were published on right upper half, 11(7.14%) were on left lower half, 14(9.09%) were on right lower half, 12(7.79%) news were published by line, 34(22.07%) news were filed by news agencies, 6(3.89%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Table 4-A indicates that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2002 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2002 both the newspapers published 154 news on the issues under consideration Dawn published 80 news whereas The News published 74 news.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'A', 9(11.25%) were published on left upper half of the page, 7(8.75%) were published on Right upper half, 10(12.5%) were published on left lower half, 7(8.75%) were published on right lower half where

as 10(12.5%) news were published with by line, 18(22.5%) were filed by news agencies, 5(6.25%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published on issue A.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'B', 1(1.25%) was published on right upper half of the page, 1(1.25%) was filed by reporter and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'C', 5(6.25%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 4(5%) were on right upper half, 3(3.75%) on left lower half, 7(8.75%) on right lower half, 4(5%) news were published by line, 12(15%) news were filed by news agencies, 3(3.75%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'D', 6(7.5%) were published on left upper half of the page, 7(8.75%) were published on right upper half, 6(7.5%) were on left lower half, 8(10%) were on right lower half, 6(7.5%) news were published by line, 18(22.5%) news were filed by news agencies, 3(3.75%) were filed by reporters, and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'A', 8(10.81%) were published on left upper half of the page, 6(8.10%) were published on Right upper half, 5(6.75%) were published on left lower half, 8(10.81%) news were published on right lower half where as 6(8.10%) news were published with by line, 17(22.97%) were filed by news agencies, 4(5.40%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published on issue A.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'B', 1(1.35%) was published on right upper half, 1(1.35%) was published on left lower half, 2(2.70%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'C', 6(8.10%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 5(6.75%) were on right upper half, 3(4.05%) on left lower half, 6(8.10%) on right lower half, 5(6.75%) news were published by line, 13(17.56%) news were filed by news agencies, 2(2.70%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'D', 8(10.81%) were published on left upper half of the page, 6(8.10%) were published on right upper half, 5(6.75%) were on left lower half, 6(8.10%) were on right lower half, 6(8.10%) news were

published by line, 16(21.62%) news were filed by news agencies, 3(4.05%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

**Table – 5**

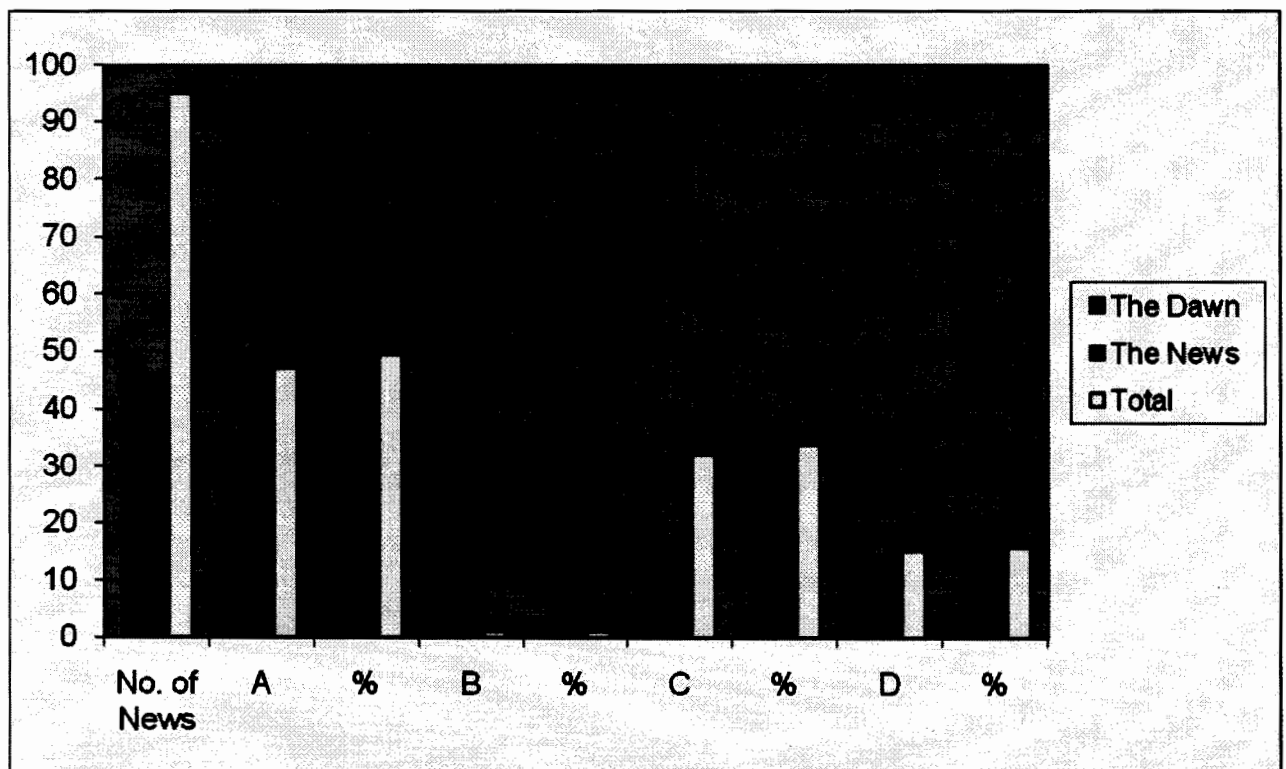
**5. Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st2003 to Dec 31st 2003**

Newspapers	No. of News	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%
The Dawn	49	26	53.06	0	0.00	15	30.61	8	16.33
The News	46	21	45.65	1	2.17	17	36.96	7	15.22
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>49.47</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1.05</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>33.68</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15.79</b>

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure – 5**

**Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st2003 to Dec 31st 2003**



5. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2003 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2003.

Table 5 shows that during the period of Jan 01<sup>st</sup> 2003 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2003, both the newspapers published 95 news, out of which Dawn published 49 and The News published 46 news on the issues under consideration. Out of total 95 news, 47(49.47%) were published on category 'A'- Right of self-determination, 1 news(1.05%) published on category 'B'- Third option for kashmiris, 32(33.68%) were published on Category 'C'- Need of dialogue, and 15(15.79%) were published on category 'D'- Human rights violation.

Table 5 also indicates that the Dawn's share was higher than The News. Out of 49 news published by Dawn, 26(53.06%) were on issue A, issue B was neglected by the Dawn, Dawn published 15(30.61%) were on issue C and 8(16.33%) were on issue D.

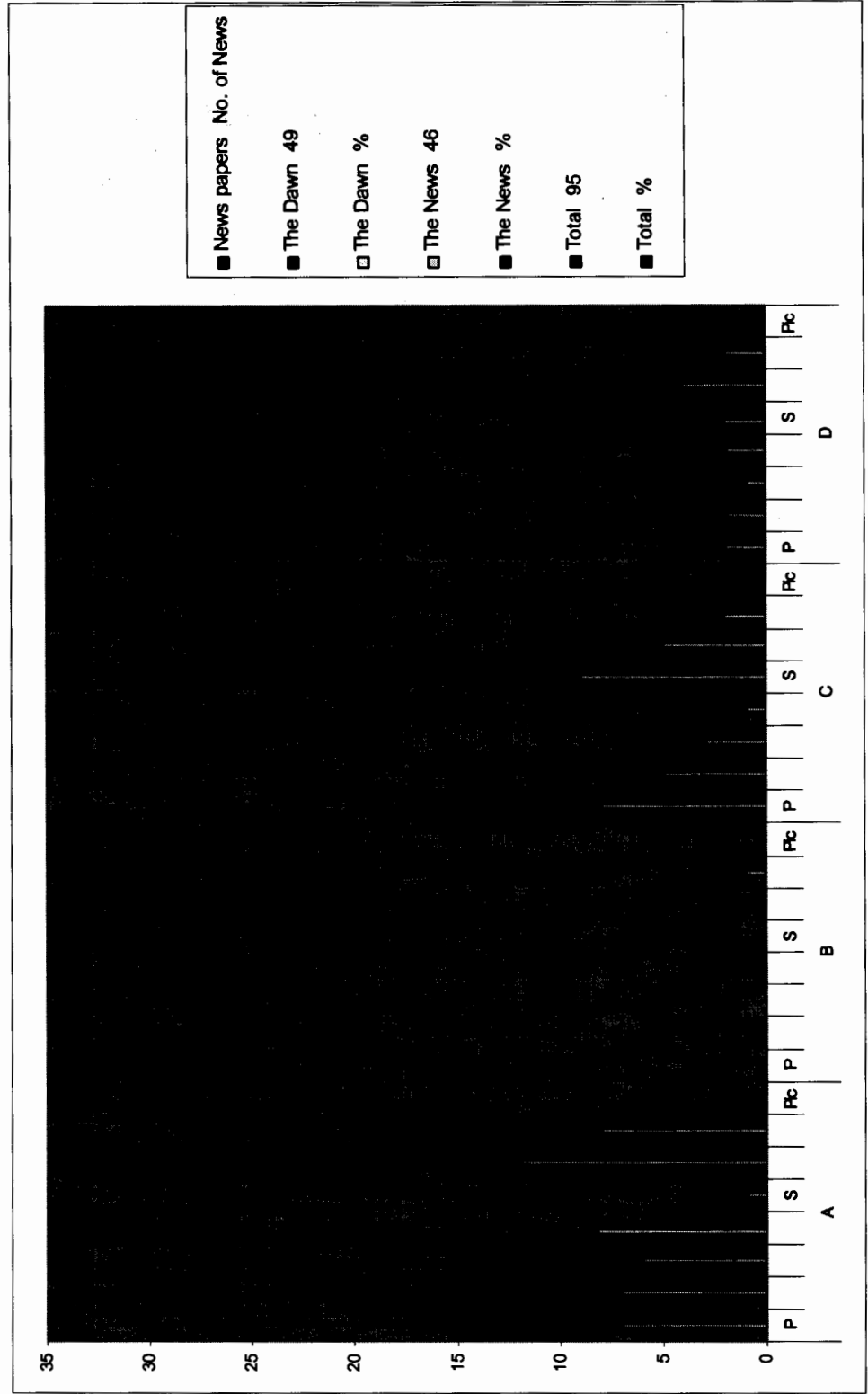
The News published 21 (45.65%) news on issue A, 1 (2.17%) on issue B, 17(36.96%) on issue C and 7 (15.22%) on issue D.





**Figure - 5A**

**Comparative topical coverage of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2003 to 31st Dec 2003**



5A. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2003 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2003.

Table 5-A shows that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2003 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2003 both the newspapers published 95 news on the issues under consideration.

Out of total news published on Category 'A', 13(13.68%) were published on left upper half of the page, 16(16.84%) were published on Right upper half, 13(13.68%) were published on left lower half, 5(5.26%) were published on right lower half where as 3(3.15%) news were published by line, 27(28.42%) were filed by news agencies, 17(17.89%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published on issue A.

Out of total news published on Category 'B', 1(1.05%) was published on right upper half, 1(1.05%) was filed by reporter and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'C', 16(16.85%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 9(9.47%) were on right upper half, 6(6.31%) on left lower half, 1(1.05%) on right lower half, 17(17.89%) news were published by line, 11(11.75%) news were filed by news agencies, 4(4.21%) were filed by reporters and 1(1.05%) picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'D', 4(4.21%) were published on left upper half of the page, 4(4.21%) were published on right upper half, 3(3.15%) were on left lower half, 4(4.21%) were on right lower half, 2(2.10%) news were published by line, 9(9.47%) news were filed by news agencies, 4(4.21%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Table 5-A indicates that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2003 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2003 both the newspapers published 95 news on the issues under consideration Dawn published 49 news whereas The News published 46 news.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'A', 6(12.24%) were published on left upper half of the page, 9(18.36%) were published on Right upper half, 7(14.28%) were published on left lower half, 4(8.16%) were published on right lower half where as 2(4.08%) news were published with by line, 15(30.61%) were filed by news agencies, 9(18.36%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published on issue A.

Dawn neglected the category B.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'C', 8(16.32%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 4(18.16%) were on right upper half, 3(6.12%) on left lower half, 8(16.32%) news were published by line, 6(12.24%) news were filed by news agencies, 1(2.04%) was filed by reporter and 1(2.04%) picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'D', 2(4.08%) were published on left upper half of the page, 2(4.08%) published on right upper half, 2(4.08%) were on left lower half, 2(4.08%) were on right lower half, 1(2.04%) news was published by line, 5(10.20%) news were filed by news agencies, 2(4.08%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'A', 7(15.21%) were published on left upper half of the page, 7(15.21%) were published on Right upper half, 6(13.04%) were published on left lower half, 1(2.17%) news was published on right lower half where as 1(2.17%) news was published with by line, 12(26.08%) were filed by news agencies, 8(17.39%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published on issue A.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'B', 1(2.17%) was published on right lower half, 1(2.17%) was filed by reporter and no picture were published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'C', 8(17.39%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 5(10.86%) were on right upper half, 3(6.52%) on left lower half, 1(2.17%) on right lower half, 9(19.56%) news were published by line, 5(10.86%) news were filed by news agencies, 3(6.52%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'D', 2(4.34%) were published on left upper half of the page, 2(4.34%) were published on right upper half, 1(2.17%) was on left lower half, 2(4.34%) were on right lower half, 1(2.17%) news was published by line, 4(8.69%) news were filed by news agencies, 2(4.34%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

**Table - 6**

**6. Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories**

**A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2004 to Dec 31st 2004**

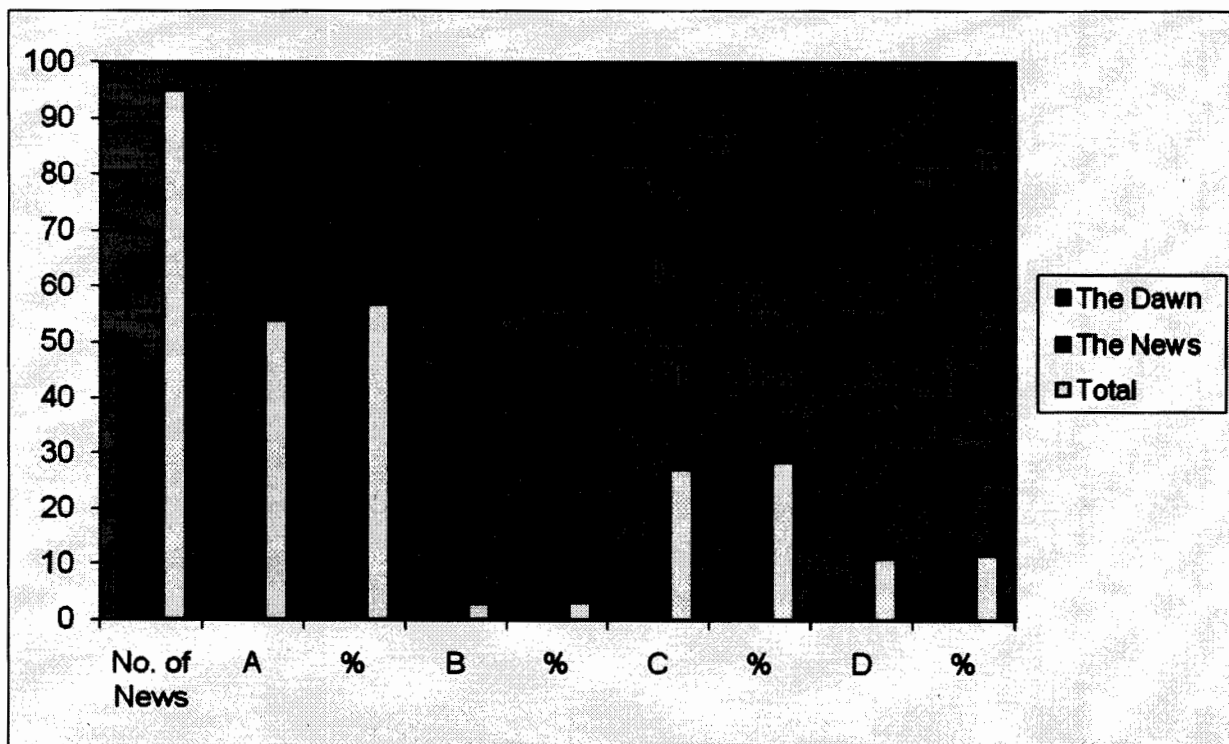
Newspapers	No. of News	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%
The Dawn	49	28	57.14	1	2.04	14	28.57	6	12.24
The News	46	26	56.52	2	4.35	13	28.26	5	10.87
Total	95	54	56.84	3	3.16	27	28.42	11	11.58

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 6**

**Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories**

**A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2004 to Dec 31st 2004**



6. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2004 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2004.

Table 6 shows that during the period of Jan 01<sup>st</sup> 2004 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2004, both the newspapers published 95 news, out of which Dawn published 49 and The News published 46 news on the issues under consideration. Out of total 95 news, 54(56.84%) were published on category 'A'- Right of self-determination, 3 news(3.16%) published on category 'B'- Third option for kashmiris, 27(28.42%) were published on Category 'C'- Need of dialogue, and 11(11.58%) were published on category 'D'- Human rights violation.

Table 6 also indicates that the Dawn's share was higher than The News. Out of 49 news published by Dawn, 28(57.14%) were on issue A, 1(2.04%) were published on issue B, 14(28.57%) were on issue C and 6(12.24%) were on issue D.

The News published 26 (56.52%) news on issue A, 2 (4.35%) on issue B, 13(28.26%) on issue C and 5 (10.87%) on issue D.

Table - 6A

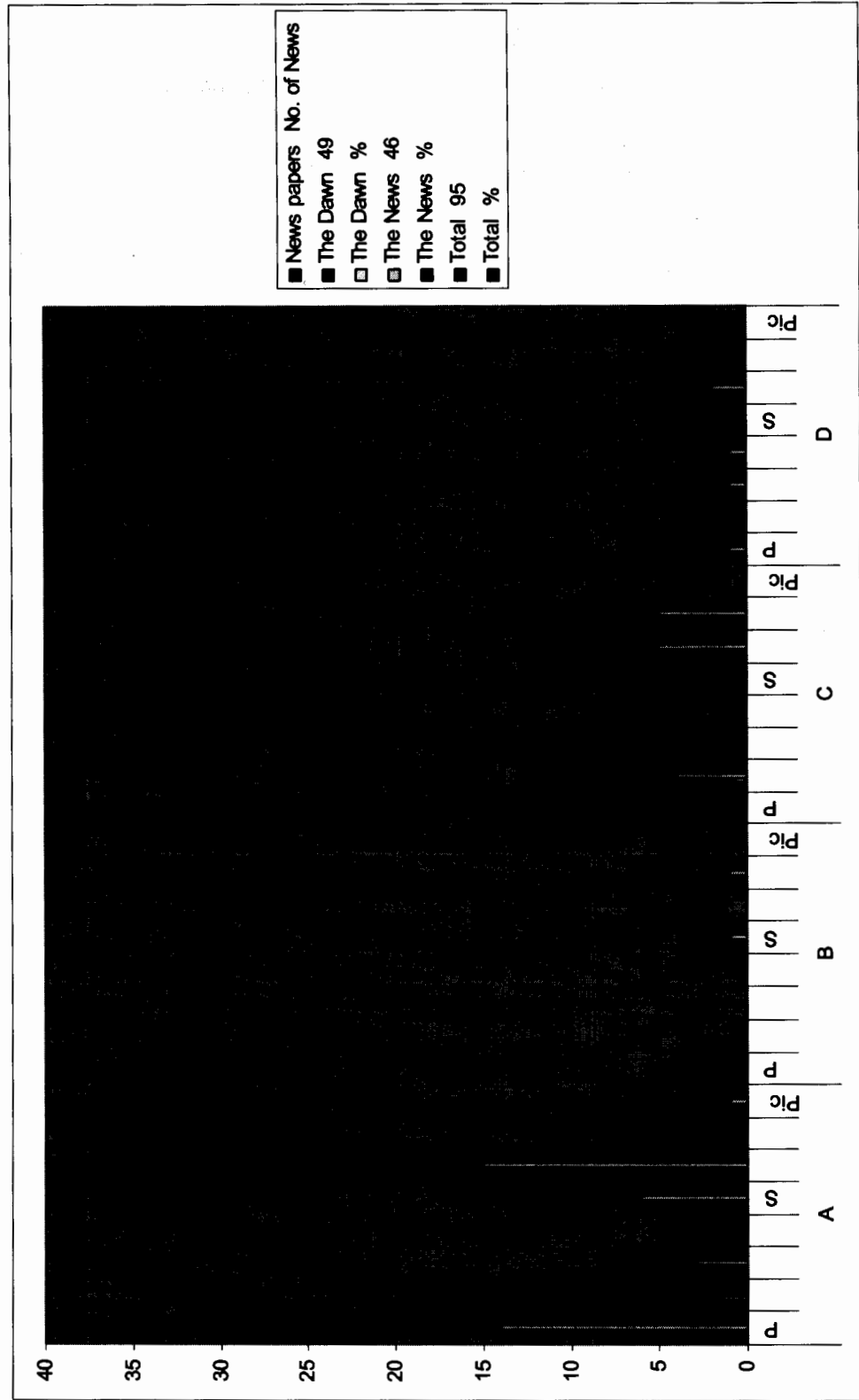
6A). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories from Jan 1st 2004 to 31st Dec 2004

News papers	No. of News	A												B												C												D											
		P				S				P				S				P				S				P				S				P				S											
		LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	NA	R	Ptc	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	NA	R	Ptc	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	NA	R	Ptc	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	NA	R	Ptc	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	NA	R	Ptc								
The Dawn	49	14	9	4	1	7	17	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	7	4	3	0	4	6	4	0	4	0	2	2	1	1	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	3	2	0	0								
	%	28.57	18.37	8.16	2.04	14.29	34.69	8.16	2.04	0.00	2.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.04	0.00	14.29	8.18	6.12	0.00	6.16	12.24	8.16	0.00	6.16	0.00	4.08	4.08	2.04	2.04	2.04	6.12	6.12	4.08	4.08	2.04	2.04	6.12	4.08	0.00	0.00								
The News	46	14	8	3	1	8	15	5	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	6	4	3	0	3	5	5	0	3	5	0	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	0	0	0								
	%	30.43	17.39	6.52	2.17	13.04	32.61	10.87	2.17	2.17	0.00	2.17	2.17	0.00	2.17	0.00	13.04	8.70	6.52	0.00	6.52	10.87	10.87	0.00	6.52	0.00	2.17	4.35	2.17	2.17	2.17	2.17	4.35	4.35	2.17	4.35	2.17	2.17	6.12	4.08	0.00	0.00							
Total	95	28	17	7	2	13	32	9	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	13	6	6	0	7	11	9	0	7	11	0	3	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	4	0	0								
	%	29.47	17.89	7.37	2.11	13.68	33.68	9.47	2.11	1.05	1.05	0.00	1.05	1.05	0.00	2.11	13.68	6.42	6.32	0.00	7.37	11.58	9.47	0.00	7.37	0.00	3.16	4.21	2.11	2.11	2.11	2.11	2.11	2.11	5.26	4.21	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00									

N = No of News, P=Placement, LUH = Lower Upper Half, RUH = Right Upper Half  
 LLH = Left lower half, RLH = Right Lower Half, S = Sources, BL = By Line  
 NA = News Agency, R = Reporter, Pic = Picture  
 A = Right of Self determination, B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue, D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 6A**

**Comparative topical coverage of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C &D from Jan 1st 2004 to 31st Dec 2004**



**6A. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2004 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2004.**

Table 6-A shows that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2004 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2004 both the newspapers published 95 news on the issues under consideration.

Out of total news published on Category 'A', 28(29.47%) were published on left upper half of the page, 17(17.89%) were published on Right upper half, 7(7.36%) were published on left lower half, 2(2.10%) were published on right lower half where as 13(13.68%) news were published by line, 32(33.68%) were filed by news agencies, 9(9.47%) were filed by reporters and 2(2.10%) pictures were published on issue A.

Out of total news published on Category 'B', 1(1.05%) was published on left upper half, 1(1.05%) was published on right upper half, 1(1.05%) was published on right lower half, 1(1.05%) news was published by line, 2(2.10%) news were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'C', 13(13.68%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 8(8.42%) were on right upper half, 6(6.31%) on left lower half, 7(7.36%) news were published by line, 11(11.57%) news were filed by news agencies, 9(9.47%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'D', 3(3.15%) were published on left upper half of the page, 4(4.21%) were published on right upper half, 2(2.10%) were on left lower half, 2(2.10%) were on right lower half, 2(2.10%) news were published by line, 5(5.26%) news were filed by news agencies, 4(4.21%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Table 6-A indicates that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2004 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2004 both the newspapers published 95 news on the issues under consideration Dawn published 49 news whereas The News published 46 news.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'A', 14(28.57%) were published on left upper half of the page, 9(18.36%) were published on Right upper half, 4(8.16%) were published on left lower half, 1(2.04%) was published on right lower half where



as 7(14.28%) news were published with by line, 17(34.69%) were filed by news agencies, 4(8.16%) were filed by reporters and 1(2.04%) picture was published on issue A.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'B', 1(2.04%) was published on right upper half, 1(2.04%) was filed by reporter and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'C', 7(14.28%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 4(8.16%) were on right upper half, 3(6.12%) on left lower half, 4(8.16%) news were published by line, 6(12.24%) news were filed by news agencies, 4(8.16%) was filed by reporter and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'D', 2(4.08%) were published on left upper half of the page, 2(4.08%) published on right upper half, 1(2.04%) was on left lower half, 1(2.04%) was on right lower half, 1(2.04%) news was published by line, 3(6.12%) news were filed by news agencies, 2(4.08%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'A', 14(30.43%) were published on left upper half of the page, 8(17.39%) were published on Right upper half, 3(6.52%) were published on left lower half, 1(2.17%) news was published on right lower half where as 6(13.08%) news were published with by line, 15(32.60%) were filed by news agencies, 5(10.86%) were filed by reporters and 1(2.17%) picture was published on issue A.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'B', 1(2.17%) was published on left upper half, 1(2.17%) was published on right lower half, 1(2.17%) was published with by line, 1(2.17%) was filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'C', 6(13.04%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 4(8.69%) were on right upper half, 3(6.52%) on left lower half, 3(6.52%) news were published by line, 5(10.86%) news were filed by news agencies, 5(10.86%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'D', 1(2.17%) was published on left upper half of the page, 2(4.34%) were published on right upper half, 1(2.17%) was on left lower half, 1(2.17%) was on right lower half, 1(2.17%) news was published by line, 2(4.34%) news were filed by news agencies, 2(4.34%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

**Table – 7**

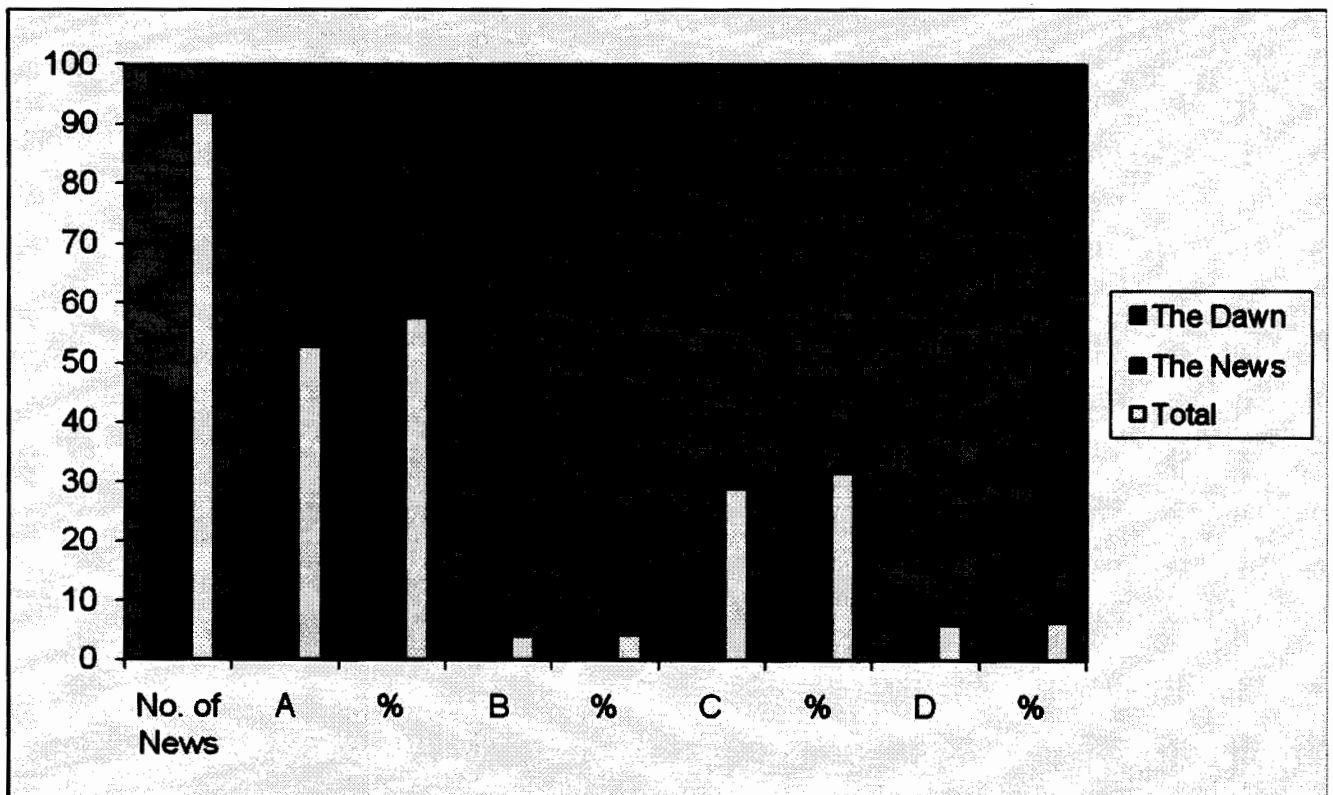
**7). Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2005 to 31st Dec 2005.**

Newspapers	No. of News	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%
The Dawn	47	27	57.45	2	4.26	15	31.91	3	6.38
The News	45	26	57.78	2	4.44	14	31.11	3	6.67
Total	92	53	57.61	4	4.35	29	31.52	6	6.52

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure – 7**

**Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2005 to 31st Dec 2005.**



7. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2005 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2005.

Table 7 shows that during the period of Jan 01<sup>st</sup> 2005 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2005, both the newspapers published 92 news, out of which Dawn published 47 and The News published 45 news on the issues under consideration. Out of total 92 news, 53(57.61%) were published on category 'A'- Right of self-determination, 4 news(4.35%) published on category 'B'- Third option for kashmiris, 29(31.52%) were published on Category 'C'- Need of dialogue, and 6(6.52%) were published on category 'D'- Human rights violation.

Table 7 also indicates that the Dawn's share was higher than The News. Out of 47 news published by Dawn, 27(57.45%) were on issue A, 2(4.26%) were published on issue B, 15(31.91%) were on issue C and 3(6.38%) were on issue D.

The News published 26 (57.78%) news on issue A, 2 (4.44%) on issue B, 14(31.11%) on issue C and 3 (6.67%) on issue D.

**Table – 7A**

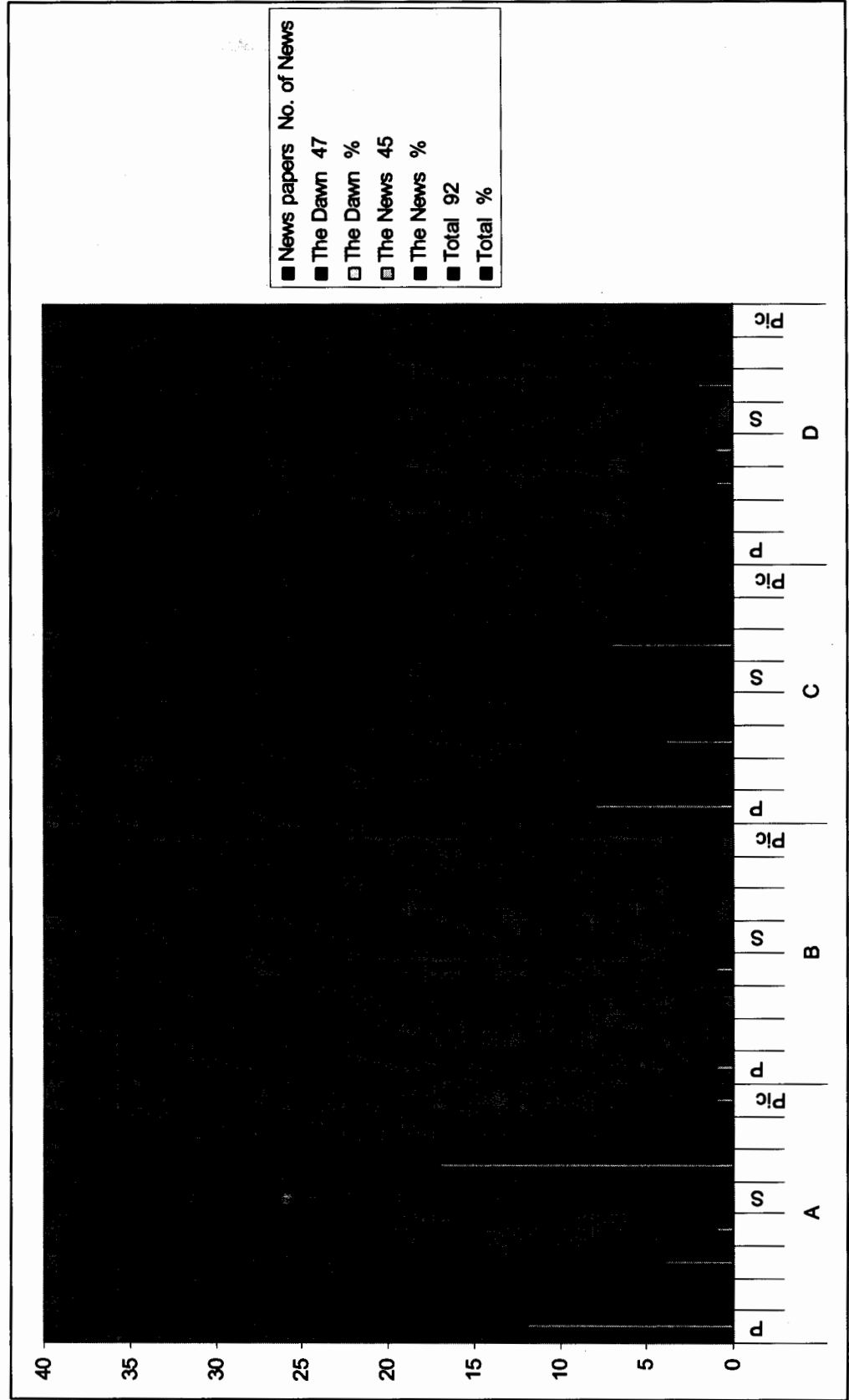
**7A). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and The Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2005 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2005.**

News papers	No. of News	A												B												C												D											
		P				S				P				S				P				S				P				S																			
		LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	NA	R	Ptc	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	NA	R	Ptc	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	NA	R	Ptc	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	NA	R	Ptc	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	NA	R	Ptc								
The Dawn	47	13	9	4	1	6	4	2	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	8	3	4	0	5	7	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0								
	%	27.66	19.15	8.51	2.13	12.77	8.51	4.26	0.00	2.13	0.00	2.13	2.13	0.00	2.13	0.00	17.02	6.38	8.51	0.00	10.64	14.89	6.38	2.13	2.13	2.13	2.13	2.13	2.13	2.13	2.13	2.13	2.13	2.13	2.13	2.13	2.13	2.13	0.00										
The News	45	12	9	4	1	5	4	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	8	2	4	0	4	7	3	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0									
	%	26.67	20.00	8.89	2.22	11.11	8.89	2.22	2.22	2.22	0.00	2.22	2.22	0.00	2.22	0.00	17.78	4.44	8.89	0.00	8.89	15.56	6.67	0.00	0.00	2.22	2.22	2.22	2.22	2.22	2.22	2.22	2.22	2.22	2.22	2.22	2.22	2.22	0.00										
Total	92	25	18	8	2	11	8	3	1	1	0	2	2	0	2	0	16	5	8	0	9	14	6	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0										
	%	27.17	19.57	8.70	2.17	11.96	8.70	3.26	1.09	1.09	0.00	2.17	2.17	0.00	2.17	0.00	17.39	5.43	8.70	0.00	9.78	15.22	6.52	1.09	1.09	2.17	2.17	2.17	2.17	2.17	2.17	2.17	2.17	2.17	2.17	2.17	0.00												

N = No of News, P=Placement, LUH = Lower Upper Half, RUH = Right Upper Half  
 LLH = Left lower half, RLH = Right Lower Half, S = Sources, BL = By Line  
 NA = News Agency, R = Reporter, Pic = Picture  
 A = Right of Self determination, B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue, D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure – 7A**

Comparative topical coverage of The News and The Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2005 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2005.



**7A. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2005 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2005.**

Table 7-A shows that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2005 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2005 both the newspapers published 92 news on the issues under consideration.

Out of total news published on Category 'A', 25(27.17%) were published on left upper half of the page, 18(19.56%) were published on Right upper half, 8(8.69%) were published on left lower half, 2(2.17%) were published on right lower half where as 11(11.95%) news were published by line, 34(36.95%) were filed by news agencies, 8(8.69%) were filed by reporters and 3(3.26%) pictures were published on issue A.

Out of total news published on Category 'B', 1(1.08%) was published on left upper half, 1(1.08%) was published on right upper half, 2(2.17%) were published on right lower half, 2(2.17%) news were published by line, 2(2.17%) news were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'C', 16(17.39%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 5(5.43%) were on right upper half, 8(8.69%) on left lower half, 9(9.78%) news were published by line, 14(15.21%) news were filed by news agencies, 6(6.52%) were filed by reporters and 1(1.08%) picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'D', 1(1.08%) was published on left upper half of the page, 2(2.171%) were published on right upper half, 2(2.17%) were on left lower half, 1(1.08%) was on right lower half, 4(4.34%) news were filed by news agencies, 2(2.17%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Table 7-A indicates that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2005 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2005 both the newspapers published 92 news on the issues under consideration Dawn published 47 news whereas The News published 45 news.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'A', 13(27.65%) were published on left upper half of the page, 9(19.14%) were published on Right upper half, 4(8.51%) were published on left lower half, 1(2.12%) was published on right lower half where

as 6(12.76%) news were published with by line, 17(36.17%) were filed by news agencies, 4(8.51%) were filed by reporters and 2(4.25%) picture were published on issue A.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'B', 1(2.12%) was published on right upper half, 1(2.12%) was published on right lower half, 1(2.17%) was published with by line, 1(2.12%) was filed by reporter and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'C', 8(17.02%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 3(6.38%) were on right upper half, 4(8.51%) on left lower half, 5(10.63%) news were published by line, 7(14.89%) news were filed by news agencies, 3(6.38%) was filed by reporter and 1(2.12%) picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'D', 1(2.12%) was published on left upper half of the page, 1(2.12%) was published on right upper half, 1(2.12%) was on left lower half, 2(4.25%) news were filed by news agencies, 1(2.12%) was filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'A', 12(26.66%) were published on left upper half of the page, 9(20%) were published on Right upper half, 4(8.88%) were published on left lower half, 1(2.22%) news was published on right lower half where as 5(11.11%) news were published with by line, 17(27.77%) were filed by news agencies, 4(8.88%) were filed by reporters and 1(2.22%) picture was published on issue A.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'B', 1(2.22%) was published on left upper half, 1(2.22%) was published on right lower half, 1(2.22%) was published with by line, 1(2.22%) was filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'C', 8(17.77%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 2(4.44%) were on right upper half, 4(8.88%) on left lower half, 4(8.89%) news were published by line, 7(15.55%) news were filed by news agencies, 3(6.66%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.



Out of total news published in The News on category 'D', 1(2.22%) was published on right upper half of the page, 1(2.22%) was published on left lower half, 1(2.22%) was on right lower half, 2(4.44%) news were filed by news agencies, 1(2.22%) was filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

**Table - 8**

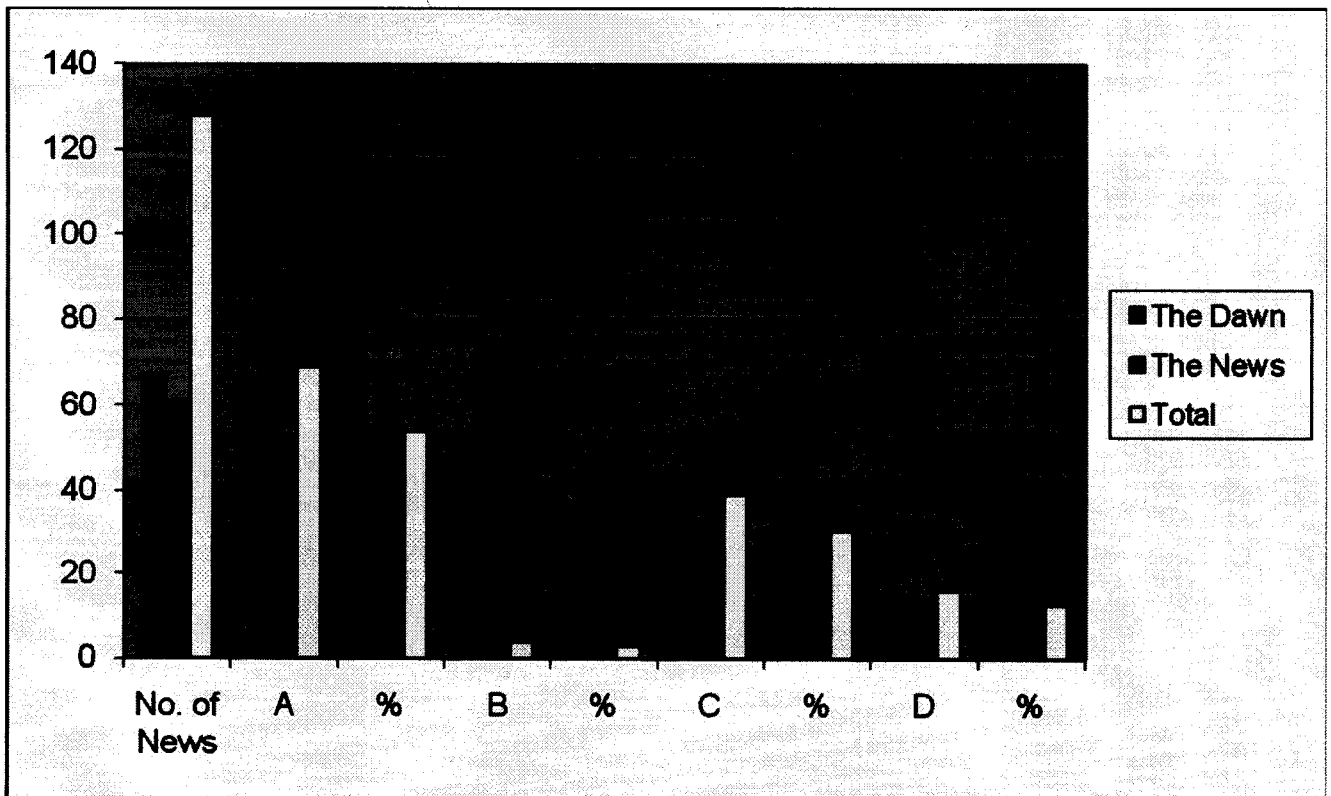
**8). Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2006 to 31st Dec 2006.**

<b>Newspapers</b>	<b>No. of News</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>The Dawn</b>	67	36	53.73	2	2.99	19	28.36	10	14.93
<b>The News</b>	61	33	54.10	2	3.28	20	32.79	6	9.84
<b>Total</b>	128	69	53.91	4	3.13	39	30.47	16	12.50

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure – 8**

**Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories, B, C & D from Jan 1st 2006 to 31st Dec 2006**



8. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2006 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2006.

Table 8 shows that during the period of Jan 01<sup>st</sup> 2006 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2006, both the newspapers published 128 news, out of which Dawn published 67 and The News published 61 news on the issues under consideration. Out of total 128 news, 69(53.91%) were published on category 'A'- Right of self-determination, 4 news(3.13%) published on category 'B'- Third option for kashmiris, 39(30.47%) were published on Category 'C'- Need of dialogue, and 16(12.50%) were published on category 'D'- Human rights violation.

Table 8 also indicates that the Dawn's share was higher than The News. Out of 67 news published by Dawn, 36(53.73%) were on issue A, 2(2.99%) were published on issue B, 19(28.36%) were on issue C and 10(14.93%) were on issue D.

The News published 33 (54.10%) news on issue A, 2 (3.28%) on issue B, 20(32.79%) on issue C and 6 (9.84%) on issue D.

**Table - 8A**

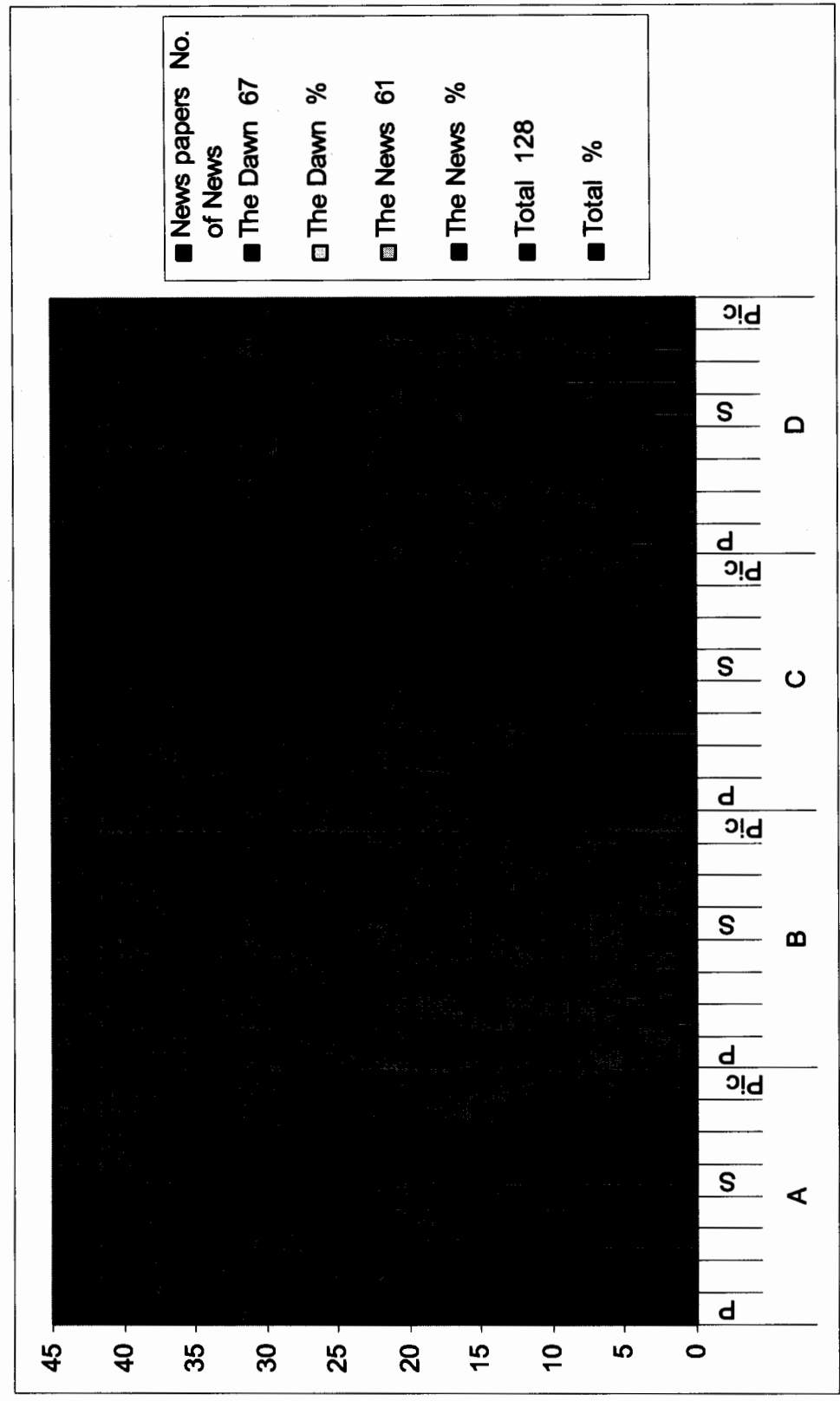
**8A). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2006 to Dec 31st 2006.**

News papers	No. of News	A												B												C												D											
		P				S				P				S				P				S				P				S				P				S											
		LUH	RLH	LLH	RUH	BL	NA	R	Ptc	LUH	RLH	LLH	RUH	BL	NA	R	Ptc	LUH	RLH	LLH	RUH	BL	NA	R	Ptc	LUH	RLH	LLH	RUH	BL	NA	R	Ptc	LUH	RLH	LLH	RUH	BL	NA	R	Ptc								
The Dawn	67	16	10	6	4	9	20	7	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	9	5	4	1	6	10	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	2	2	6	2	0									
	%	23.88	14.93	8.96	5.97	13.43	29.85	10.45	2.99	0.00	1.49	0.00	1.49	0.00	0.00	2.99	0.00	13.43	7.46	5.97	1.49	8.96	14.93	4.48	0.00	4.48	0.00	4.48	0.00	4.48	0.00	4.48	2.99	2.99	2.99	2.99	8.96	2.99	0.00										
The News	61	15	9	6	3	6	19	6	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	9	6	3	2	6	11	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	4	1	0											
	%	24.59	14.75	9.84	4.92	13.11	31.15	9.84	3.28	0.00	1.64	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.28	0.00	14.75	9.84	4.92	3.28	9.84	18.03	4.92	0.00	0.00	3.28	0.00	3.28	0.00	3.28	1.64	1.64	1.64	1.64	6.56	1.64	0.00												
Total	128	31	19	12	7	17	39	13	4	0	2	1	1	0	4	0	16	11	7	3	12	21	6	0	0	5	0	5	0	5	3	3	3	3	10	3	0												
	%	24.22	14.84	9.38	5.47	13.28	30.47	10.16	3.13	0.00	1.56	0.76	0.76	0.00	3.13	0.00	14.06	8.59	5.47	2.34	9.38	16.41	4.69	0.00	0.00	3.91	0.00	3.91	2.34	2.34	2.34	2.34	7.81	2.34	0.00														

N = No of News, P=Placement, LUH = Lower Upper Half, RUH = Right Upper Half  
 LLH = Left lower half, RLH = Right Lower Half, S = Sources, BL = By Line  
 NA = News Agency, R = Reporter, Pic = Picture  
 A = Right of Self determination, B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue, D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure – 8A**

Comparative topical coverage of The News and the Dawn on Categories A, B, C & D from Jan 1st 2006 to Dec 31st 2006.



**8A. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2006 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2006.**

Table 8-A shows that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2006 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2006 both the newspapers published 128 news on the issues under consideration.

Out of total news published on Category 'A', 31(24.21%) were published on left upper half of the page, 19(14.84%) were published on Right upper half, 12(9.37%) were published on left lower half, 7(5.46%) were published on right lower half where as 17(13.28%) news were published by line, 39(30.46%) were filed by news agencies, 13(10.16%) were filed by reporters and 4(3.12%) pictures were published on issue A.

Out of total news published on Category 'B', 2(1.56%) were published on right upper half, 1(0.78%) was published on left upper half, 1(0.78%) was published on right lower half, 4(3.12%) news were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'C', 18(14.08%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 11(8.59%) were on right upper half, 7(5.47%) on left lower half, 3(2.34%) were published on right lower, 12(9.37%) news were published with by line, 21(16.40%) news filed by news agencies, 6(4.68%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'D', 5(3.90%) was published on left upper half of the page, 5(3.90%) were published on right upper half, 3(2.34%) were on left lower half, 3(2.34%) were on right lower half, 3(2.34%) news were published with by line, 10(7.81%) news were filed by news agencies, 3(2.34%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Table 8-A indicates that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2006 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2006 both the newspapers published 128 news on the issues under consideration Dawn published 67 news whereas The News published 61 news.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'A', 16(23.88%) were published on left upper half of the page, 10(14.92%) were published on Right upper half, 6(8.95%) were published on left lower half, 4(5.97%) was published on right lower half where

as 9(13.43%) news were published with by line, 20(29.85%) were filed by news agencies, (10.45%) were filed by reporters and 2(2.98%) picture were published on issue A.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'B', 1(1.49%) was published on right upper half, 1(1.49%) was published on right lower half, 2(2.98%) were filed by reporter and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'C', 9(13.43%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 5(7.46%) were on right upper half, 4(5.97%) on left lower half, 1(1.49%) was published on right lower half, 6(8.95%) news were published with by line, 10(14.92%) news were filed by news agencies, 3(4.47%) were filed by reporter and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'D', 3(4.47%) were published on left upper half of the page, 3(4.47%) were published on right upper half, 2(2.98%) were on left lower half, 2(2.98%) news were published on right lower half, 2(2.98%) news were published with by line, 6(8.95%) news were filed by news agencies, 2(2.98%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'A', 15(24.59%) were published on left upper half of the page, 9(14.75%) were published on Right upper half, 6(9.83%) were published on left lower half, 3(4.91%) news were published on right lower half where as 8(13.11%) news were published with by line, 19(31.14%) were filed by news agencies, 6(9.83%) were filed by reporters and 2(3.27%) picture were published on issue A.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'B', 1(1.63%) was published on right upper half, 1(1.63%) was published on left lower half, 2(3.27%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'C', 9(14.75%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 6(9.83%) were on right upper half, 3(4.91%) on left lower half, 2(3.27%) news were published on right lower half, 6(9.83%) news were published with by line, 11(18.03%) news were filed by news agencies, 3(4.91%) news were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'D', 2(3.27%) were published on left upper half of the page, 2(3.27%) were published on right upper half, 1(1.63%) was on left lower half, 1(1.63%) news was on right lower half, 1(1.63%) news was published with by line, 4(6.55%) news were filed by news agencies, 1(1.63%) was filed by reporter and no picture was published in this category.



**Table – 9**

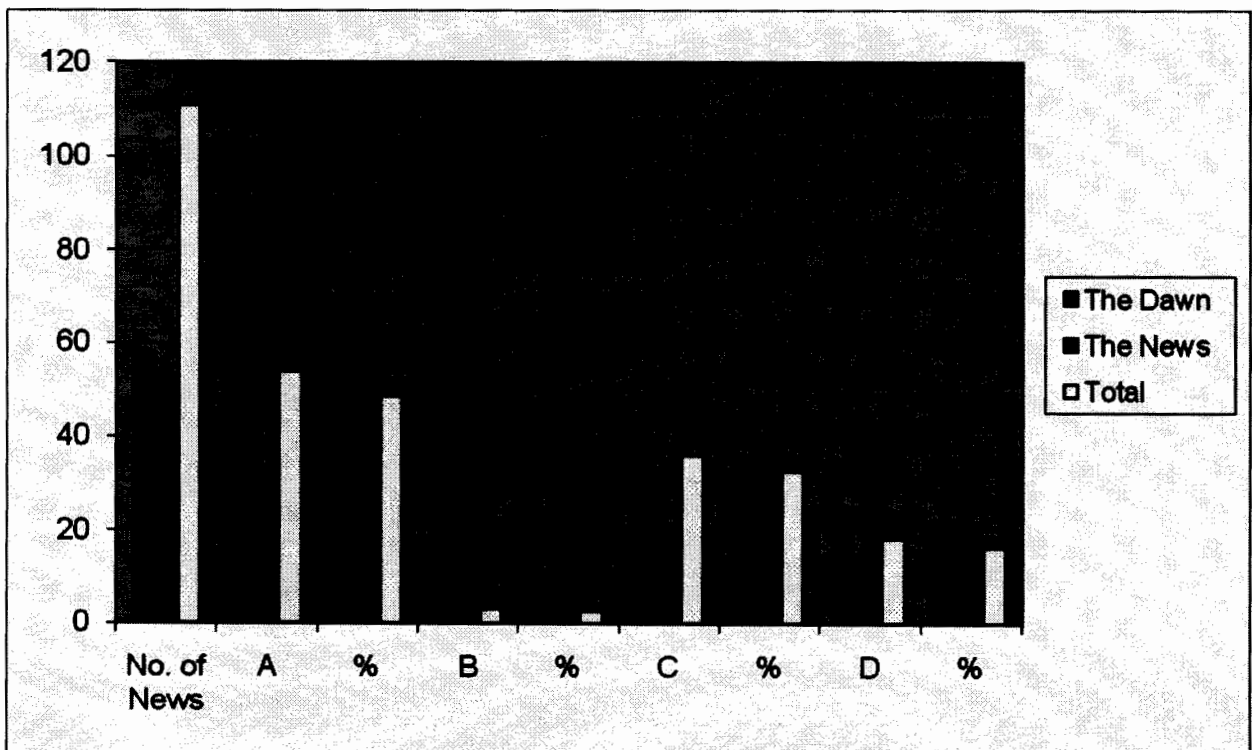
**9). Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2007 to 31st Dec 2007.**

<b>Newspapers</b>	<b>No. of News</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>The Dawn</b>	58	29	50.00	1	1.72	17	29.31	11	18.97
<b>The News</b>	53	25	47.17	2	3.77	19	35.85	7	13.21
<b>Total</b>	111	54	48.65	3	2.70	36	32.43	18	16.22

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure – 9**

**Comparative topical news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2007 to 31st Dec 2007.**



9. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2007 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2007.

Table 9 shows that during the period of Jan 01<sup>st</sup> 2007 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2007, both the newspapers published 111 news, out of which Dawn published 58 and The News published 53 news on the issues under consideration. Out of total 111 news, 54(58.65%) were published on category 'A'- Right of self-determination, 3 news(2.70%) published on category 'B'- Third option for kashmiris, 36(32.43%) were published on Category 'C'- Need of dialogue, and 18(16.22%) were published on category 'D'- Human rights violation.

Table 9 also indicates that the Dawn's share was higher than The News. Out of 58 news published by Dawn, 29(50%) were on issue A, 1(1.72%) were published on issue B, 17(29.31%) were on issue C and 11(18.97%) were on issue D.

The News published 25 (47.17%) news on issue A, 2 (3.77%) on issue B, 19(35.85%) on issue C and 7 (13.21%) on issue D.

9. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2007 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2007.

Table 9 shows that during the period of Jan 01<sup>st</sup> 2007 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2007, both the newspapers published 111 news, out of which Dawn published 58 and The News published 53 news on the issues under consideration. Out of total 111 news, 54(58.65%) were published on category 'A'- Right of self-determination, 3 news(2.70%) published on category 'B'- Third option for kashmiris, 36(32.43%) were published on Category 'C'- Need of dialogue, and 18(16.22%) were published on category 'D'- Human rights violation.

Table 9 also indicates that the Dawn's share was higher than The News. Out of 58 news published by Dawn, 29(50%) were on issue A, 1(1.72%) were published on issue B, 17(29.31%) were on issue C and 11(18.97%) were on issue D.

The News published 25 (47.17%) news on issue A, 2 (3.77%) on issue B, 19(35.85%) on issue C and 7 (13.21%) on issue D.

Table - 9A

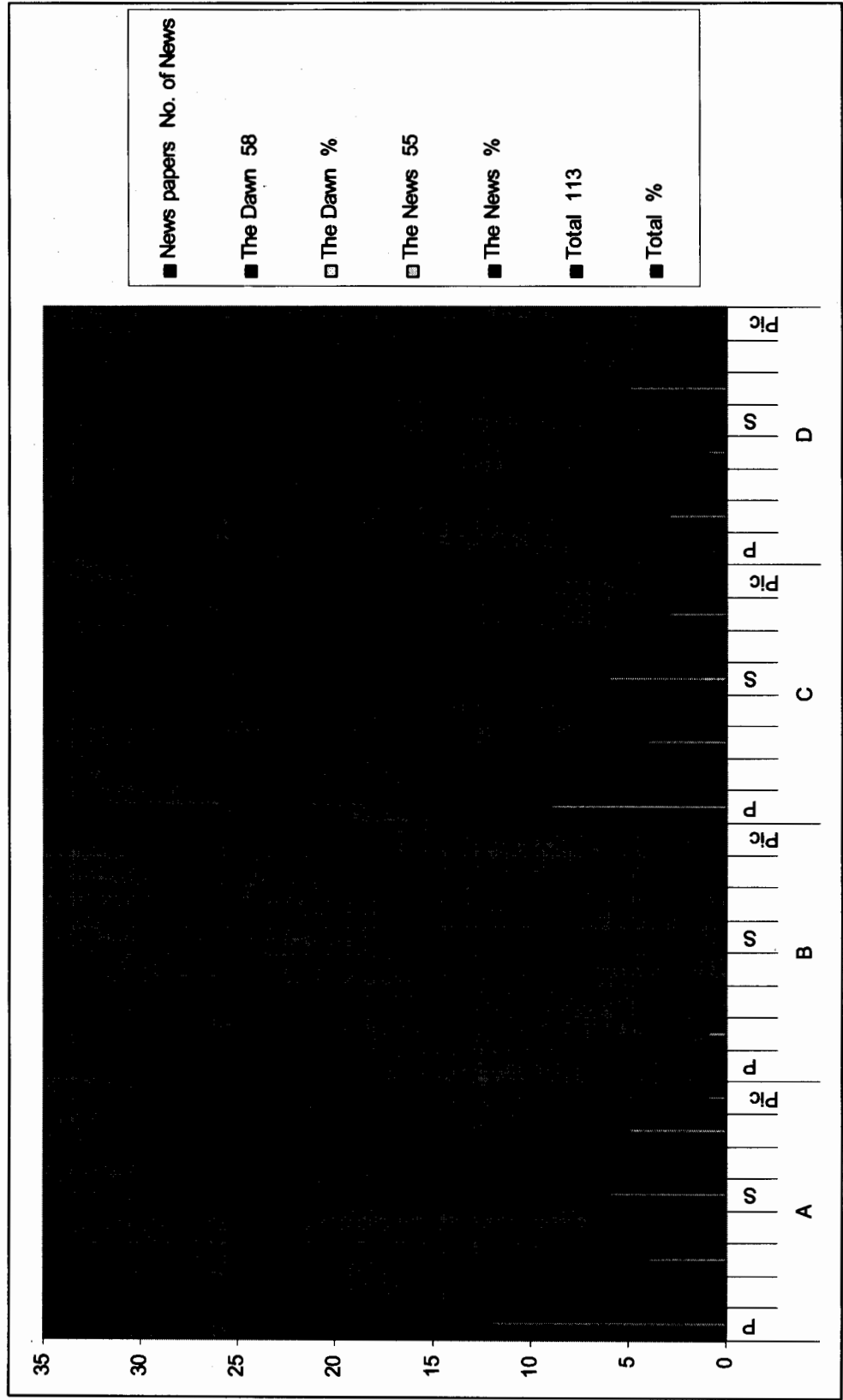
9A). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2007 to Dec 31st 2007.

News papers	A												B												C												D											
	P				S				Pic	P				S				Pic	P				S				Pic	P				S				Pic												
	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	NA	R	LUH		RUH	LLH	RLH	BL	NA	R	LUH	RUH		LLH	RLH	BL	NA	R	LUH	RUH	LLH		RLH	BL	NA	R	LUH	RUH	LLH	RLH		BL	NA	R									
The Dawn	13	8	5	3	6	16	7	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	8	4	3	2	4	10	3	0	0	3	4	2	2	2	2	7	2	0													
%	22.41	13.79	8.82	5.17	10.34	27.59	12.07	1.72	0.00	1.72	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.72	0.00	13.79	6.90	5.17	3.45	6.90	17.24	5.17	0.00	5.17	6.90	3.45	3.45	3.45	12.07	3.45	0.00																
The News	12	7	4	3	6	15	5	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	9	4	4	2	6	10	3	0	3	3	1	1	2	5	1	0																
%	21.82	12.73	7.27	5.45	10.91	27.27	9.09	1.82	0.00	1.82	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.64	0.00	16.36	7.27	7.27	3.64	10.91	18.18	5.45	0.00	5.45	5.45	1.82	1.82	3.64	9.09	1.82	0.00																	
Total	113	25	15	9	6	12	31	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	17	8	7	4	10	20	6	0	6	7	3	3	4	12	3	0																
%	22.12	13.27	7.98	5.31	10.62	27.43	10.62	1.77	0.00	0.88	1.77	0.00	0.00	2.65	0.00	15.04	7.08	6.19	3.54	8.85	17.70	5.31	0.00	5.31	6.19	2.65	2.65	10.62	3.54	2.65	0.00																	

N = No of News, P=Placement, LUH = Lower Upper Half, RUH = Right Upper Half  
 LLH = Left lower half, RLH = Right Lower Half, S = Sources, BL = By Line  
 NA = News Agency, R = Reporter, Pic = Picture  
 A = Right of Self determination, B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue, D = Violation of Human Rights

Figure - 9A

Comparative topical coverage of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2007 to Dec 31st 2007.



**9A. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2007 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 2007.**

Table 9-A shows that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2007 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2007 both the newspapers published 113 news on the issues under consideration.

Out of total news published on Category 'A', 25(22.12%) were published on left upper half of the page, 15(13.27%) were published on Right upper half, 9(7.96%) were published on left lower half, 6(5.31%) were published on right lower half where as 12(10.62%) news were published by line, 31(27.43%) were filed by news agencies, 12(10.62%) were filed by reporters and 2(1.77%) pictures were published on issue A.

Out of total news published on Category 'B', 1(0.88%) was published on right upper half, 2(1.77%) were published on left lower half, 3(2.65%) news were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'C', 17(15.04%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 8(7.08%) were on right upper half, 7(6.19%) on left lower half, 4(3.54%) were published on right lower, 10(8.85%) news were published with by line, 20(17.70%) news filed by news agencies, 6(5.31%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'D', 6(5.31%) was published on left upper half of the page, 7(6.19%) were published on right upper half, 3(2.85%) were on left lower half, 3(2.85%) were on right lower half, 4(3.54%) news were published with by line, 12(10.62%) news were filed by news agencies, 3(2.65%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Table 9-A indicates that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2007 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 2007 both the newspapers published 113 news on the issues under consideration Dawn published 58 news whereas The News published 55 news.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'A', 13(22.41%) were published on left upper half of the page, 8(13.79%) were published on Right upper half, 5(8.62%) were published on left lower half, 3(5.17%) was published on right lower half where as 6(10.34%) news were published with by line, 16(27.59%) were filed by news

agencies, 7(12.07%) were filed by reporters and 1(1.72%) picture was published on issue A.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'B', 1(1.72%) was published on left lower half, 1(1.72%) news was filed by reporter and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'C', 8(13.79%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 4(6.90%) were on right upper half, 3(5.17%) on left lower half, 2(3.45%) was published on right lower half, 4(6.90%) news were published with by line, 10(17.24%) news were filed by news agencies, 3(5.17%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'D', 3(5.17%) were published on left upper half of the page, 4(6.90%) were published on right upper half, 2(3.45%) were on left lower half, 2(3.45%) news were published on right lower half, 2(3.45%) news were published with by line, 7(12.07%) news were filed by news agencies, 2(3.45%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'A', 12(21.82%) were published on left upper half of the page, 7(12.73%) were published on Right upper half, 4(7.27%) were published on left lower half, 3(5.45%) news were published on right lower half where as 6(10.91%) news were published with by line, 15(27.27%) were filed by news agencies, 5(9.09%) were filed by reporters and 1(1.82%) picture was published on issue A.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'B', 1(1.82%) was published on right upper half, 1(1.82%) was published on left lower half, 2(3.64%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'C', 9(16.36%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 4(7.27%) were on right upper half, 4(7.27%) on left lower half, 2(3.64%) news were published on right lower half, 6(10.91%) news were published with by line, 10(18.18%) news were filed by news agencies, 3(5.45%) news were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'D', 3(5.45%) were published on left upper half of the page, 3(5.45%) were published on right upper half, 1(1.82%)

was on left lower half, 1(1.82%) news was on right lower half, 2(3.64%) news was published with by line, 5(9.09%) news were filed by news agencies, 1(1.82%) was filed by reporter and no picture was published in this category.



**Table – 10**

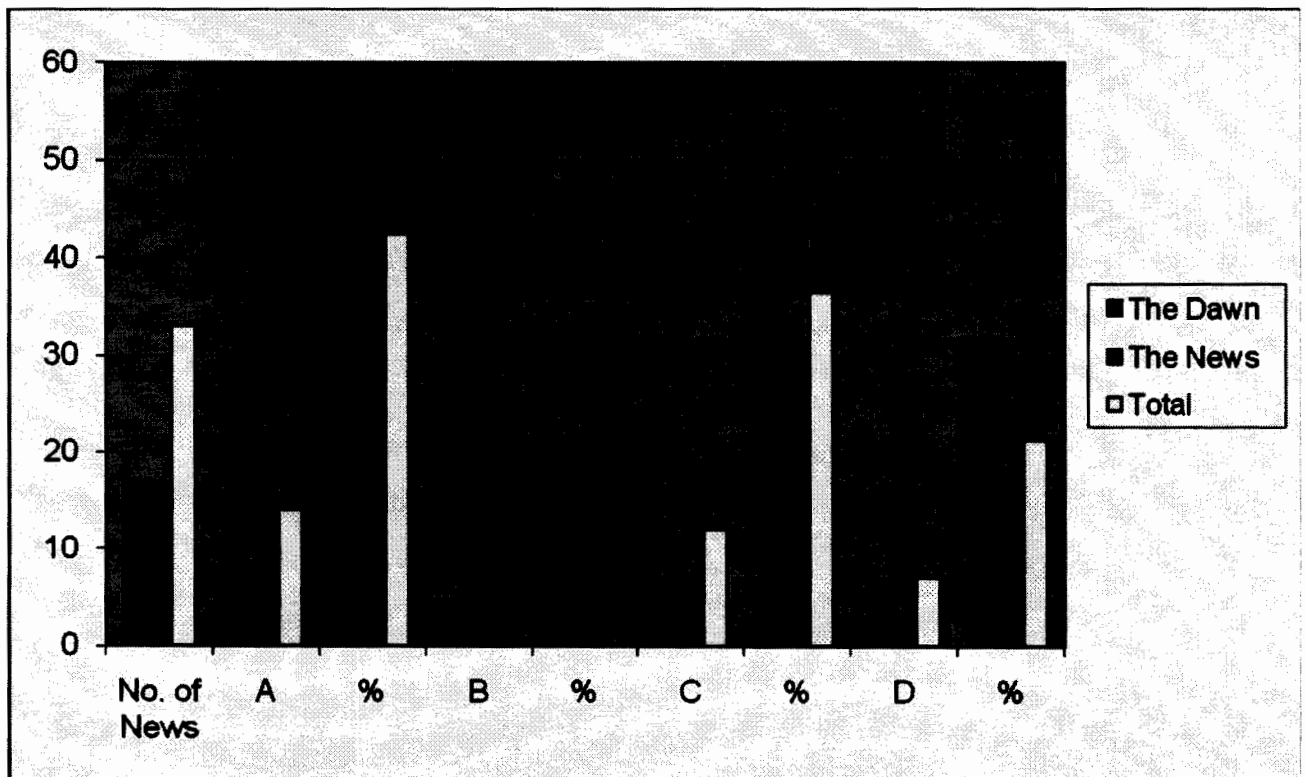
**10. Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of the News and The Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2008 to Aug 17th 2008.**

Newspapers	No. of News	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%
The Dawn	17	5	29.41	0	0.00	7	41.18	5	29.41
The News	16	9	56.25	0	0.00	5	31.25	2	12.50
Total	33	14	42.42	0	0.00	12	36.36	7	21.21

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure – 10**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of the News and The Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2008 to Aug 17th 2008.**



**10. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 01<sup>ST</sup> 2008 TO AUG 17<sup>TH</sup> 2008.**

Table 10 shows that during the period of Jan 01<sup>st</sup> 2008 to Aug 17<sup>th</sup> 2008, both the newspapers published 33 news, out of which Dawn published 17 and The News published 16 news on the issues under consideration. Out of total 33 news, 14(42.42%) were published on category 'A'- Right of self-determination, 12(36.36%) were published on Category 'C'- Need of dialogue, 7(21.21%) were published on category 'D'- Human rights violation and Category 'B'- Third option for Kashmiris is neglected by both the newspapers.

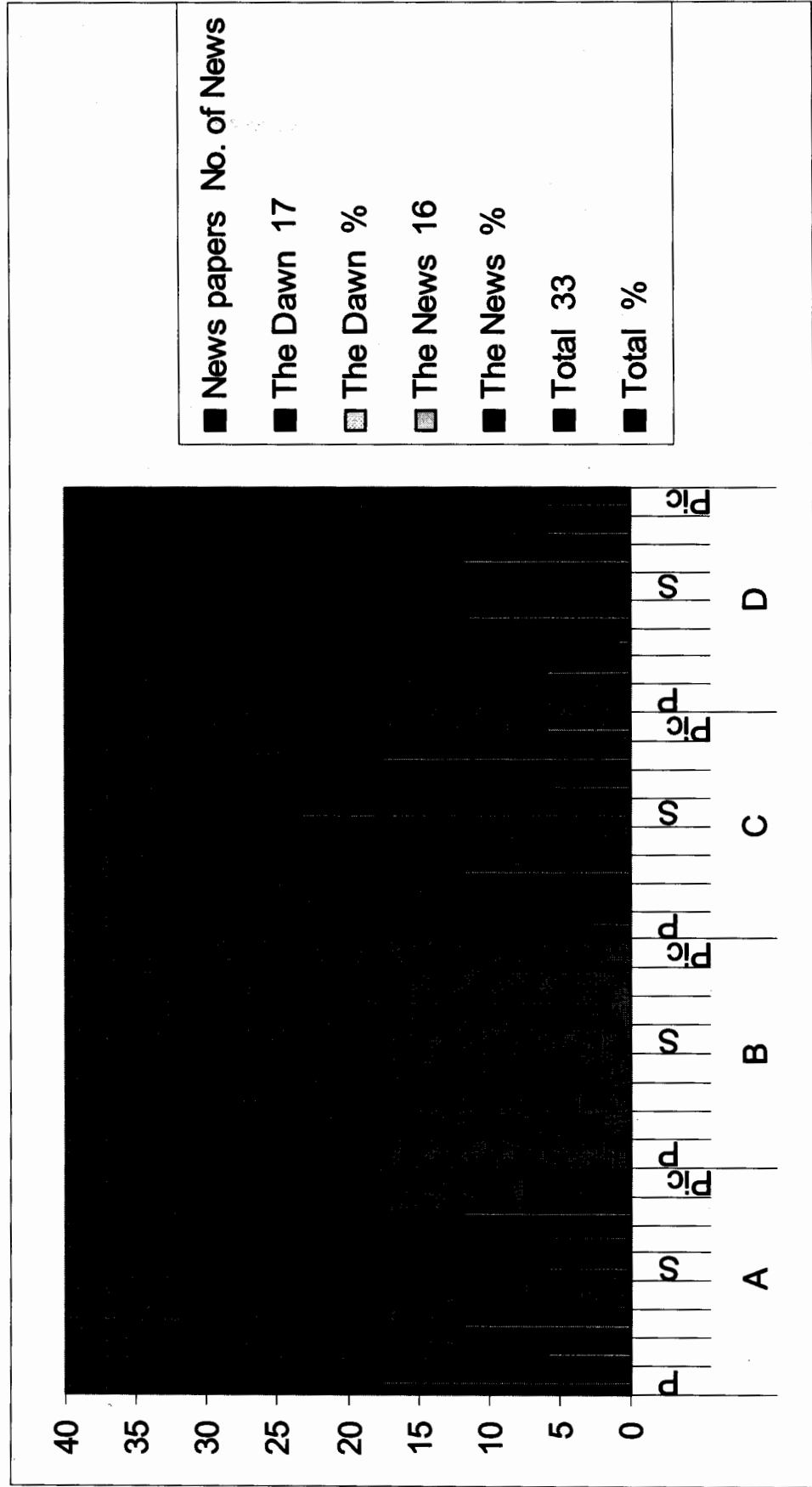
Table 10 also indicates that the Dawn's share was higher than The News. Out of 17 news published by Dawn, 5(29.41%) were on issue A, 7(41.18%) were on issue C, 5(29.41%) were on issue D whereas issue 'B' was neglected by Dawn.

The News published 9 (56.25%) news on issue A, 5(31.25%) on issue C, 2 (12.5%) on issue D whereas issue 'B' was neglected by The News.



**Figure – 10A**

Comparative topical coverage of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2008 to Aug 17th 2008.



**10A. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN  
AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN  
01<sup>ST</sup> 2008 TO AUG 17<sup>TH</sup> 2008.**

Table 10-A shows that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2008 to Aug 17<sup>th</sup> 2008 both the newspapers published 33 news on the issues under consideration.

Out of total news published on Category 'A', 9(27.27%) were published on left upper half of the page, 3(9.09%) were published on Right upper half, 4(12.12%) were published on left lower half, where as 5(15.15%) news were published by line, 9(27.27%) were filed by news agencies, 2(6.06%) were filed by reporters and 1(3.03%) pictures was published on issue A.

Both the newspapers neglected the category B.

Out of total news published on category 'C', 9(27.27%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 2(6.06%) were on right upper half, 2(6.06%) on left lower half, 6(18.18%) news were published with by line, 4(12.12%) news filed by news agencies, 3(9.09%) were filed by reporters and 1(3.03%) picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'D', 1(3.03%) was published on left upper half of the page, 1(3.03%) was published on left lower half, 2(6.06%) were on right lower half, 2(6.06%) news were filed by news agencies, 1(3.03%) was filed by reporter and 3(9.09%) pictures were published in this category.

Table 10-A indicates that during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2008 to Aug 17<sup>th</sup> 2008 both the newspapers published 33 news on the issues under consideration Dawn published 17 news whereas The News published 16 news.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'A', 3(17.64%) were published on left upper half of the page, 1(5.88%) was published on Right upper half, 2(11.76%) were published on left lower half, where as 1(5.88%) news was published with by line, 3(17.65%) were filed by news agencies, 2(11.76%) were filed by reporters and no picture was published on issue A.

Dawn neglected the category B.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'C', 6(35.29%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 2(11.76%) on left lower half, 4(23.52%)

news were published with by line, 1(5.88%) news was filed by news agencies, 3(17.64%) were filed by reporters and 1(5.88%) picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'D', 1(5.88%) was published on right upper half of the page, 2(11.76%) were published on right lower half, 2(11.76%) news were filed by news agencies, 1(5.88%) was filed by reporter and 1(5.88%) picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'A', 6(37.5%) were published on left upper half of the page, 2(12.5%) were published on Right upper half, 2(12.5%) were published on left lower half, where as 4(25%) news were published with by line, 6(37.5%) were filed by news agencies and 1(6.25%) picture was published on issue A.

The News neglected the category B.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'C', 3(17.64%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 2(12.5%) were on right upper half, 2(12.5%) news were published with by line, 3(17.64%) news were filed by news agencies and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'D', 1(6.25%) was published on left lower half of the page and 1(6.25%) was filed by news agency, 2(12.50%) pictures were published in this category.

**Table – 11**

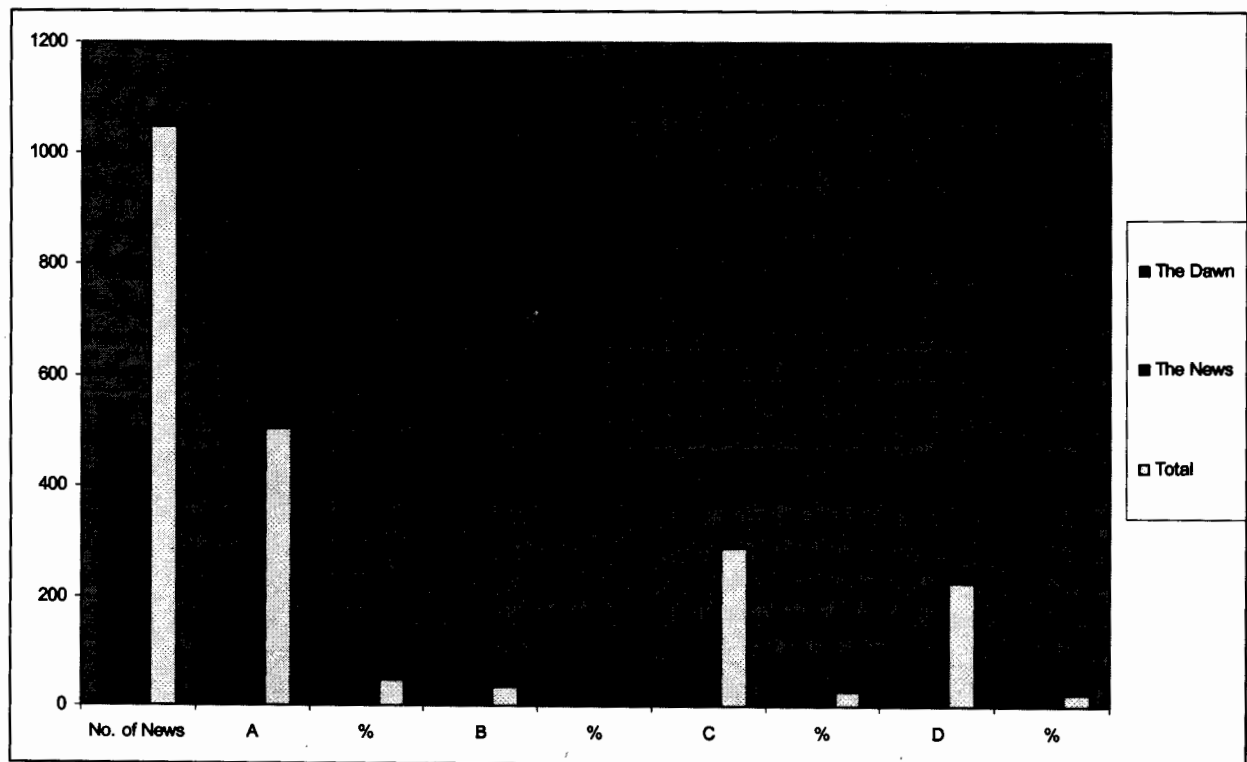
**11. Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of the News and The Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Oct 12<sup>th</sup> 1999 to Aug 17th 2008.**

Newspapers	No. of News	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%
<b>The Dawn</b>	547	268	48.99	14	2.56	136	24.86	129	23.58
<b>The News</b>	501	233	46.51	21	4.19	151	30.14	96	19.16
<b>Total</b>	1048	501	47.81	35	3.34	287	27.39	225	21.47

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure – 11**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of the News and The Dawn on Categories A, B, C & D from Oct 12th 1999 to Aug 17th 2008.**



11. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM OCT 12<sup>TH</sup> 1999 TO AUG 17<sup>TH</sup> 2008.

Table 11 shows that during the period of Oct 12<sup>th</sup> 1999 to Aug 17<sup>th</sup> 2008, both the newspapers published 1048 news, out of which Dawn published 547 and The News published 501 news on the issues under consideration. Out of total 1048 news, 501(47.81%) were published on category 'A'- Right of self-determination, 35(3.34%) published on category 'B'- Third option for kashmiris, 287(27.39%) were published on Category 'C'- Need of dialogue, and 225(21.47%) were published on category 'D'- Human rights violation.

Table 11 also indicates that the Dawn's share was higher than The News. Out of 547 news published by Dawn, 268(48.99%) were on issue A, 14(2.56%) were published on issue B, 136(24.86%) were on issue C and 129(23.58%) were on issue D.

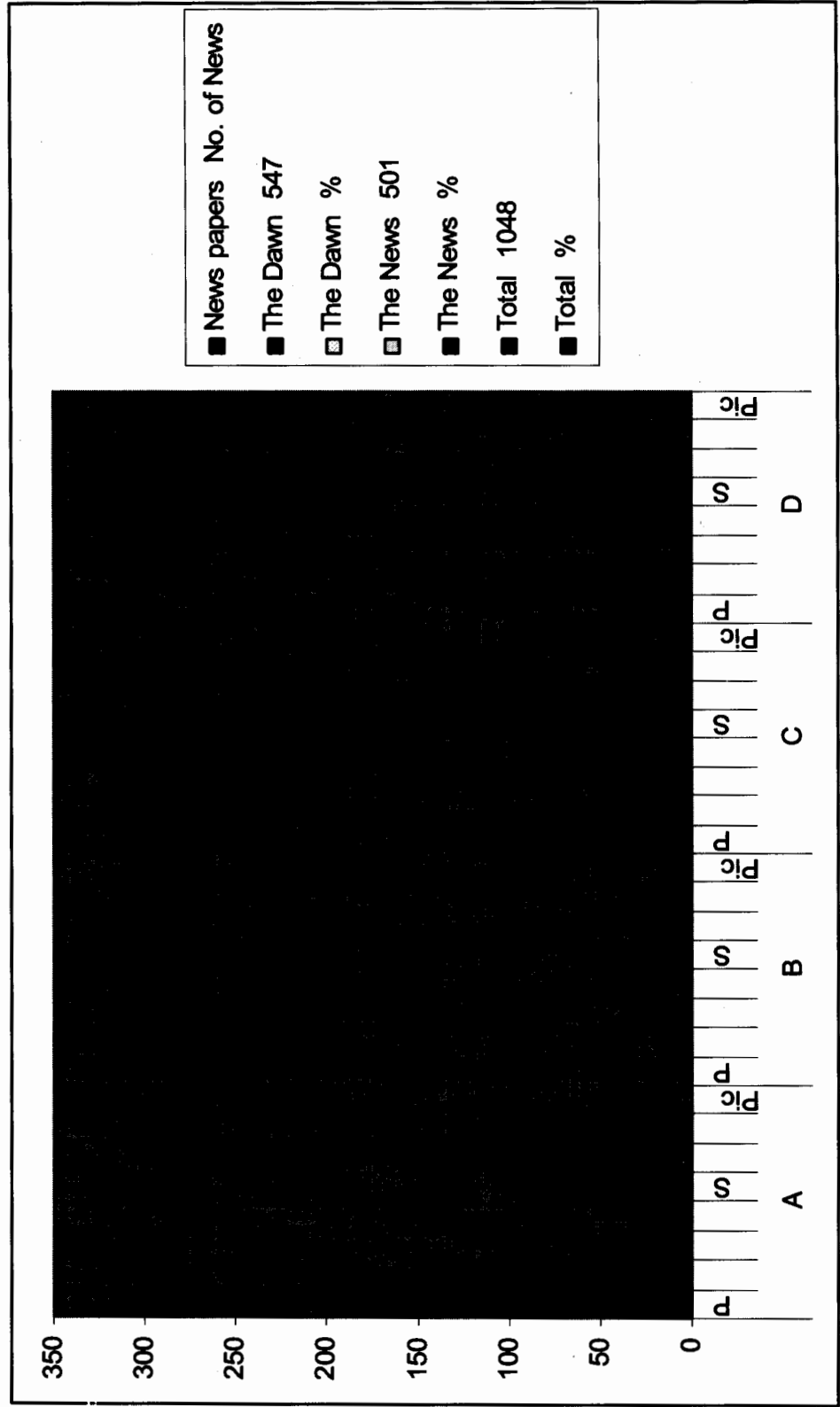
The News published 233(46.51%) news on issue A, 21(4.19%) on issue B, 151(30.14%) on issue C and 96(19.16%) on issue D.





**Figure – 11A**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of the News and The Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from OCT 12TH 1999 to Aug 17th 2008**



**11A. COMPARATIVE TOPICAL NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN  
AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM OCT  
12<sup>TH</sup> 1999 TO AUG 17<sup>TH</sup> 2008.**

Table 11-A shows that during the period of Oct 12<sup>th</sup> 1999 to Aug 17<sup>th</sup> 2008.both the newspapers published 1048 news on the issues under consideration.

Out of total news published on Category 'A', 205(19.56%) were published on left upper half of the page, 146(13.93%) were published on Right upper half, 98(9.35%) were published on left lower half, 52(4.96%) were published on right lower half where as 104(9.92%) news were published by line, 292(27.86%) were filed by news agencies, 105(10.02%) were filed by reporters and 23(2.19%) pictures were published on issue A.

Out of total news published on Category 'B', 10(0.95%) was published on left upper half, 13(1.24%) were published on right upper half, 7(0.67%) news were published on left lower half, 5(0.48%) news were published on right lower half, 5(0.48%) news were published with by line, 9(0.86%) news was filed by news agencies, 21(2%) news were filed by reporters and 1(0.10%) picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'C', 132(12.60%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 70(6.68%) were on right upper half, 59(5.63%) on left lower half, 26(2.48%) were published on right lower half, 81(7.73%) news were published with by line, 150(14.31%) news filed by news agencies, 56(5.34%) were filed by reporters and 5(0.48%) pictures were published in this category.

Out of total news published on category 'D', 64(6.11%) was published on left upper half of the page, 67(6.39%) were published on right upper half, 51(4.87%) were on left lower half, 43(4.10%) were on right lower half, 33(3.15%) news were published with by line, 146(13.93%) news were filed by news agencies, 46(4.39%) were filed by reporters and 12(1.15%) pictures were published in this category.

Table 9-A indicates that during the period of Oct 12<sup>th</sup> 1999 to Aug 17<sup>th</sup> 2008.both the newspapers published 1048 news on the issues under consideration Dawn published 547 news whereas The News published 501 news.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'A', 100(18.28%) were published on left upper half of the page, 75(13.71%) were published on Right upper half, 59(10.79%) were published on left lower half, 34(6.22%) was published on right lower half where as 58(10.60%) news were published with by line, 143(26.14%) were filed by news agencies, 67(12.25%) were filed by reporters and 14(2.56%) pictures were published on issue A.

Out of total news published in Dawn on Category 'B', 4(0.73%) was published on left upper half, 5(0.91%) news were published on right upper half of the page, 3(0.55%) news were published on left lower half, 2(0.37%) new were published on right lower half, 1(0.18%) news was published with by line, 2(0.37%) news were filed by news agencies, 11(2.01%) news were filed by reporters and 1(0.18%) picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'C', 64(11.70%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 28(5.12%) were on right upper half, 82(5.87%) on left lower half, 12(2.19%) was published on right lower half, 39(7.13%) news were published with by line, 65(11.88%) news were filed by news agencies, 32(5.85%) were filed by reporters and 5(0.91%) pictures were published in this category.

Out of total news published in Dawn on category 'D', 37(6.76%) were published on left upper half of the page, 37(6.76%) were published on right upper half, 28(5.12%) were on left lower half, 27(4.94%) news were published on right lower half, 18(3.29%) news were published with by line, 76(13.89%) news were filed by news agencies, 35(6.40%) were filed by reporters and 4(0.73%) pictures were published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'A', 105(20.96%) were published on left upper half of the page, 71(14.17%) were published on Right upper half, 39(7.78%) were published on left lower half, 18(3.95%) news were published on right lower half where as 46(9.18%) news were published with by line, 149(29.74%) were filed by news agencies, 38(7.58%) were filed by reporters and 9(1.80%) pictures were published on issue A.

Out of total news published in The News on Category 'B', 6(1.20%) was published on left upper half, 8(1.60%) was published on right upper half, 4(0.80%) news were published on left lower half, 3(0.60%) news were published on right lower half, 4(0.80%) news were published with by line, 7(1.40%) news were filed by news agencies, 10(2%) news were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'C', 68(13.57%) news were published on left upper half of the page, 42(8.38%) were on right upper half, 27(5.39%) on left lower half, 14(2.79%) news were published on right lower half, 42(8.38%) news were published with by line, 85(16.97%) news were filed by news agencies, 24(4.79%) news were filed by reporters and no picture was published in this category.

Out of total news published in The News on category 'D', 27(5.39%) were published on left upper half of the page, 30(5.99%) were published on right upper half, 23(4.59%) was on left lower half, 16(3.19%) news was on right lower half, 15(2.99%) news was published with by line, 70(13.97%) news were filed by news agencies, 11(2.20%) was filed by reporter and 8(1.60%) pictures were published in this category.

**Part 2**

**Qualitative findings on categories A,B,C & D:**

**Table - 1B**

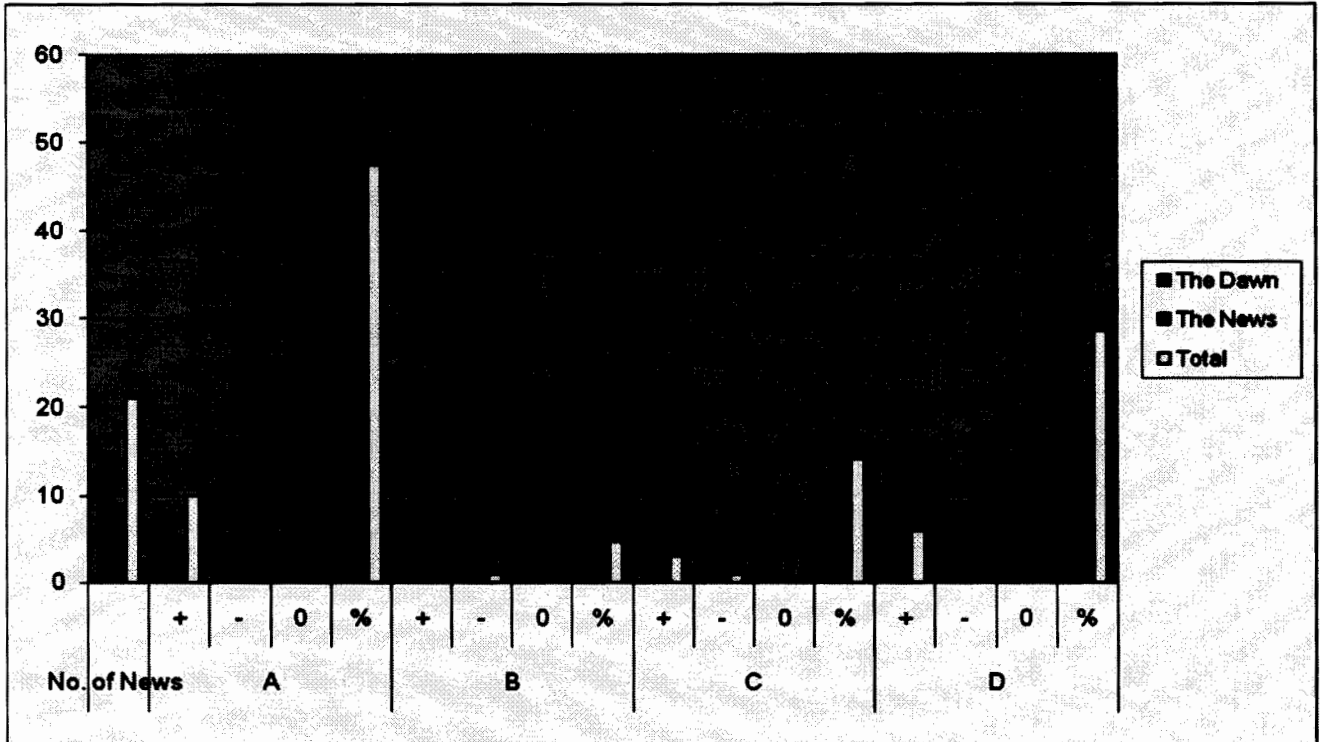
**1B). Comparative topical direction news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Oct 12th 1999 to Dec 31st 1999**

News papers	No. of News	A				B				C				D			
		+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%
The Dawn	15	7	0	0	46.67	0	1	0	6.67	1	1	0	6.67	5	0	0	33.33
The News	6	3	0	0	50.00	0	0	0	0.00	2	0	0	33.33	1	0	0	16.67
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>47.62</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4.76</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>14.29</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>28.57</b>

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 1B**

**Comparative topical direction news treatment of The News and Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Oct 12th 1999 to Dec 31st 1999**



**1.B COMPARATIVE TOPICAL DIRECTION NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM OCT 12<sup>TH</sup> 1999 TO DEC 31<sup>ST</sup> 1999.**

The table 1B indicates that Dawn and The News framed the Kashmir issue positively in their news. Both the newspapers published 21 news during the period of Oct 12<sup>th</sup> 1999 to Dec 31<sup>st</sup> 1999.

Out of total 21 news published, 10(47.61%) were published on issue 'A', 1(4.76%) were published on issue 'B', 4(19.04%) were published on issue 'C' and 6(28.57%) were published on issue 'D'.

Out of total 21 news Dawn published 15 news and out of 15 news Dawn published 7(46.67%) on issue 'A', 1(6.67%) on issue 'B', 2(13.33%) on issue 'C' and 5(23.85%) on issue 'D'.

Dawn gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, 100% negative coverage to the issue B, 50% positive and 50% negative coverage to the issue C, and 100% positive coverage to the issue D.

Out of total 21 news, The News published 6 news and out of these 6 news, The News published 3(50%) on issue 'A', neglected the issue 'B', 2(33.33%) on issue 'C' and 1(16.67%) on issue 'D'.

The News also suit and gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, C and D. The News neglected the issue B which shows that the third option issue was given no importance by the News.

This shows that the English press Considers Kashmir issue in positive terms.



**Table - 2B**

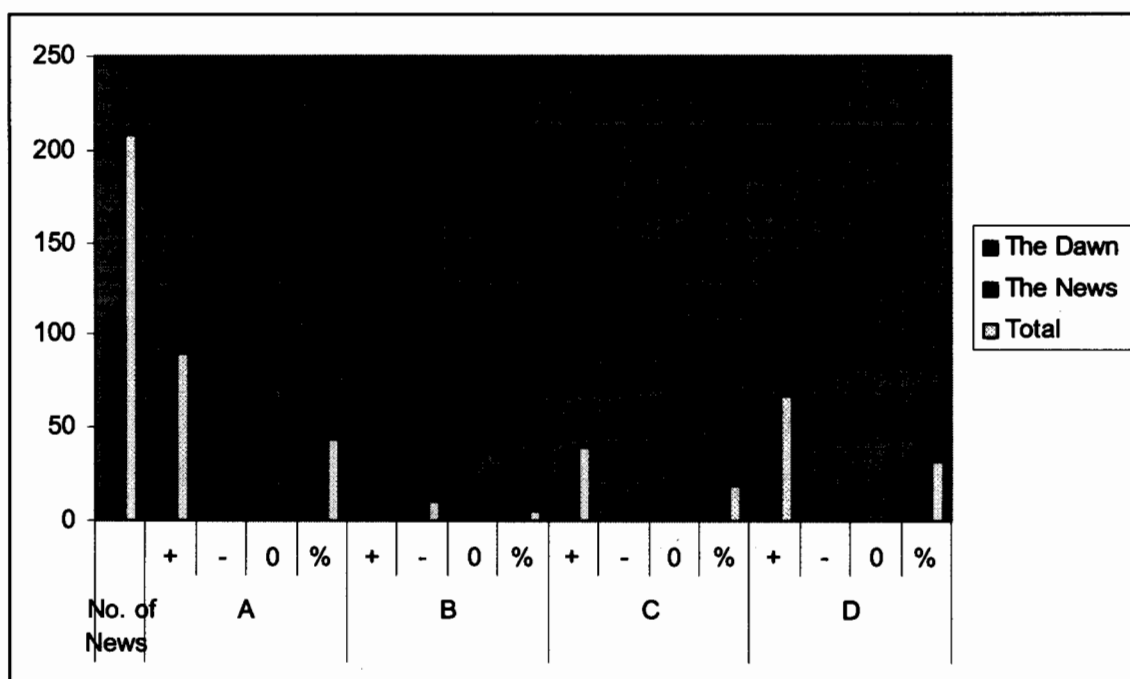
**2B). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2000 to 31st Dec 2000.**

News papers	No. of News	A				B				C				D			
		+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%
The Dawn	108	49	0	0	45.37	0	5	0	4.63	13	1	0	12.04	40	0	0	37.04
The News	100	41	0	0	41.00	0	6	0	6.00	26	0	0	26.00	27	0	0	27.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>43.27</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5.29</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>18.75</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>32.21</b>

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 2B**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2000 to 31st Dec 2000.**



**2.B COMPARATIVE TOPICAL DIRECTION NEWS TREATMENT  
OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D  
FROM JAN 1<sup>ST</sup> 2000 TO 31<sup>ST</sup> DEC 2000.**

The table 2B indicates that Dawn and The News framed the Kashmir issue positively in their news. Both the newspapers published 208 news during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2000 to 31<sup>st</sup> Dec 2000.

Out of total 208 news published, 90(43.26%) were published on issue 'A', 11(5.28%) were published on issue 'B', 40(19.23%) were published on issue 'C' and 67(32.21%) were published on issue 'D'.

Out of total 208 news Dawn published 108 news and out of 108 news Dawn published 49(45.37%) on issue 'A', 5(4.62%) on issue 'B', 14(12.96%) on issue 'C' and 40(37.03%) on issue 'D'.

Dawn gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, 100% negative coverage to the issue B, 92.85% positive and 7.15% negative coverage to the issue C, and 100% positive coverage to the issue D.

Out of total 208 news, The News published 100 news and out of these 100 news, The News published 41(41%) on issue 'A', , 6(6%) on issue 'B', 26(26%) on issue 'C' and 27(27%) on issue 'D'.

The News also suit and gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, C and D. The News gave 100% negative coverage to the issue 'B'.

This shows that the English press Considers Kashmir issue in positive terms.

**Table - 3B**

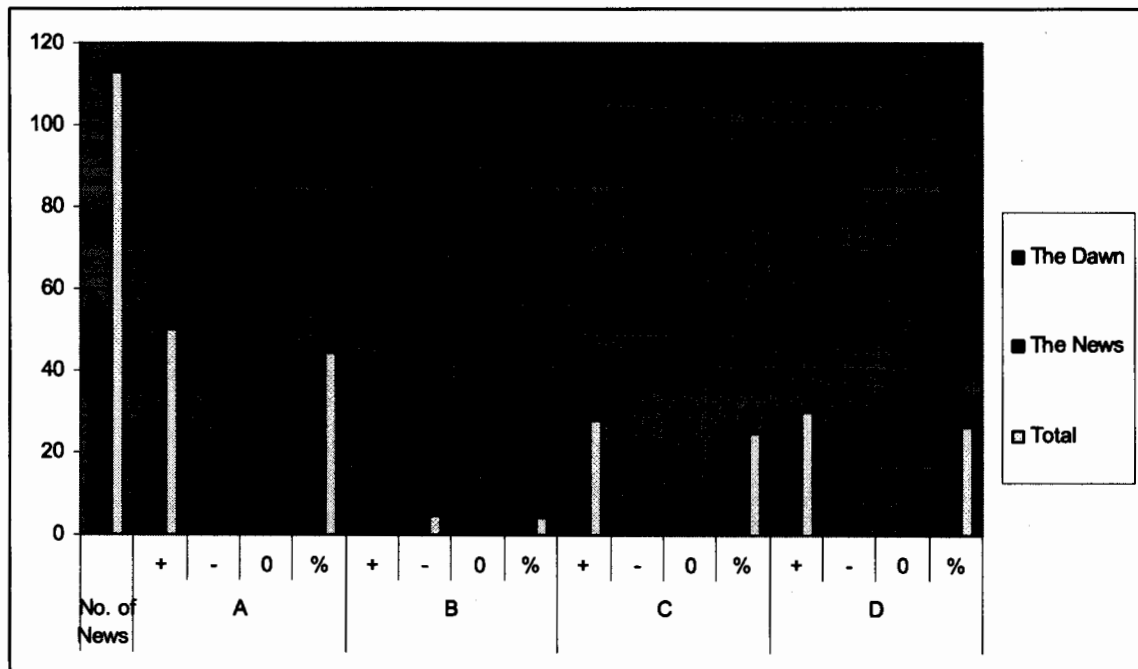
**3B). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2001 to 31st Dec 2001.**

News papers	No. of News	A				B				C				D			
		+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%
The Dawn	58	27	0	0	46.55	0	1	0	1.72	13	0	0	22.41	17	0	0	29.31
The News	55	23	0	0	41.82	0	4	0	7.27	15	0	0	27.27	13	0	0	23.64
<b>Total</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>44.25</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4.42</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>24.78</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>26.55</b>

- N = No of News
- A = Right of Self determination
- B = Third option for Kashmiris
- C = Need of dialogue
- D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 3B**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2001 to 31st Dec 2001.**



**3.B COMPARATIVE TOPICAL DIRECTION NEWS TREATMENT  
OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D  
FROM JAN 1<sup>ST</sup> 2001 TO 31<sup>ST</sup> DEC 2001.**

The table 3B indicates that Dawn and The News framed the Kashmir issue positively in their news. Both the newspapers published 113 news during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2001 to 31<sup>st</sup> Dec 2001.

Out of total 113 news published, 50(44.25%) were published on issue 'A', 5(4.42%) were published on issue 'B', 28(24.78%) were published on issue 'C' and 30(26.55%) were published on issue 'D'.

Out of total 113 news Dawn published 58 news and out of 58 news Dawn published 27(46.55%) on issue 'A', 1(1.72%) on issue 'B', 13(22.41%) on issue 'C' and 17(29.31%) on issue 'D'.

Dawn gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, 100% negative coverage to the issue B, 100% positive coverage to the issue C, and 100% positive coverage to the issue D.

Out of total 113 news, The News published 55 news and out of these 55 news, The News published 23(41.82%) on issue 'A', 4(7.27%) on issue 'B', 15(27.27%) on issue 'C' and 13(23.64%) on issue 'D'.

The News also suit and gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, C and D. The News gave 100% negative coverage to the issue 'B'.

This shows that the English press Considers Kashmir issue in positive terms.

**Table - 4B**

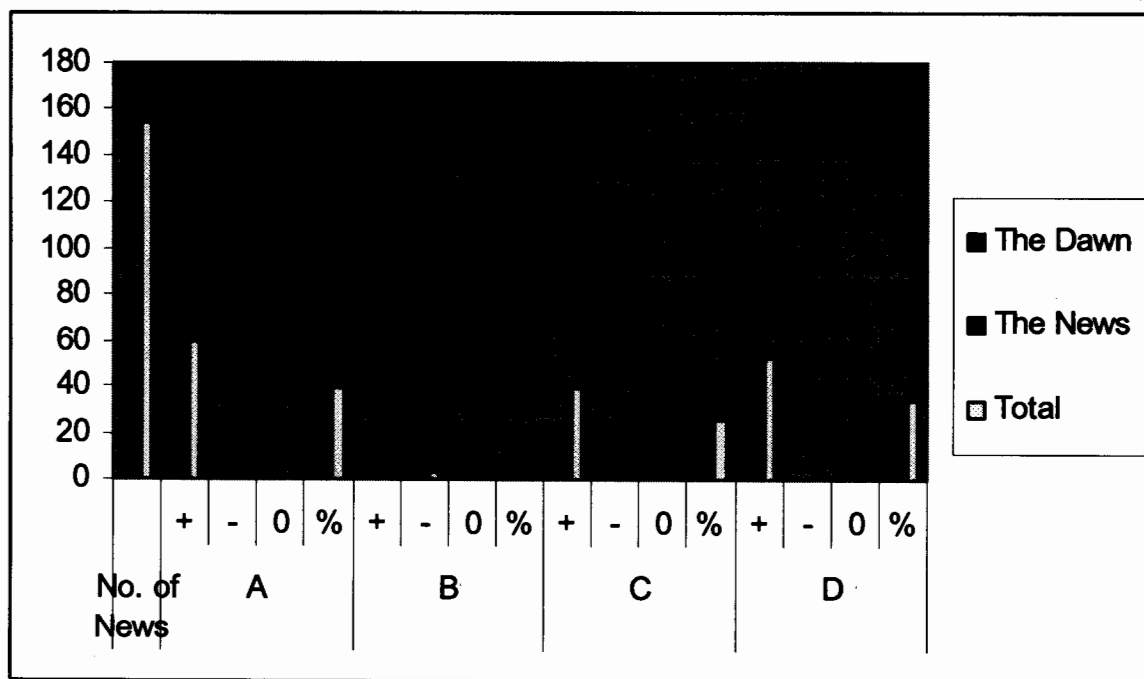
**4B). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2002 to 31st Dec 2002.**

News papers	No. of News	A				B				C				D			
		+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%
The Dawn	80	33	0	0	41.25	0	1	0	1.25	19	0	0	23.75	27	0	0	33.75
The News	74	27	0	0	36.49	0	2	0	2.70	20	0	0	27.03	25	0	0	33.78
<b>Total</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>38.96</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1.95</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>25.32</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>33.77</b>

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 4B**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2002 to 31st Dec 2002.**



#### 4.B COMPARATIVE TOPICAL DIRECTION NEWS TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM JAN 1<sup>ST</sup> 2002 TO 31<sup>ST</sup> DEC 2002.

The table 4B indicates that Dawn and The News framed the Kashmir issue positively in their news. Both the newspapers published 154 news during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2002 to 31<sup>st</sup> Dec 2002.

Out of total 154 news published, 60(38.96%) were published on issue 'A', 3(1.95%) were published on issue 'B', 39(25.32%) were published on issue 'C' and 52(33.77%) were published on issue 'D'.

Out of total 154 news Dawn published 80 news and out of 80 news Dawn published 33(41.25%) on issue 'A', 1(1.25%) on issue 'B', 19(23.75%) on issue 'C' and 27(33.75%) on issue 'D'.

Dawn gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, 100% negative coverage to the issue B, 100% positive coverage to the issue C, and 100% positive coverage to the issue D.

Out of total 154 news, The News published 74 news and out of these 74 news, The News published 27(36.49%) on issue 'A', 2(2.70%) on issue 'B', 20(27.03%) on issue 'C' and 25(33.78%) on issue 'D'.

The News also suit and gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, C and D. The News gave 100% negative coverage to the issue 'B'.

This shows that the English press Considers Kashmir issue in positive terms.

**Table - 5B**

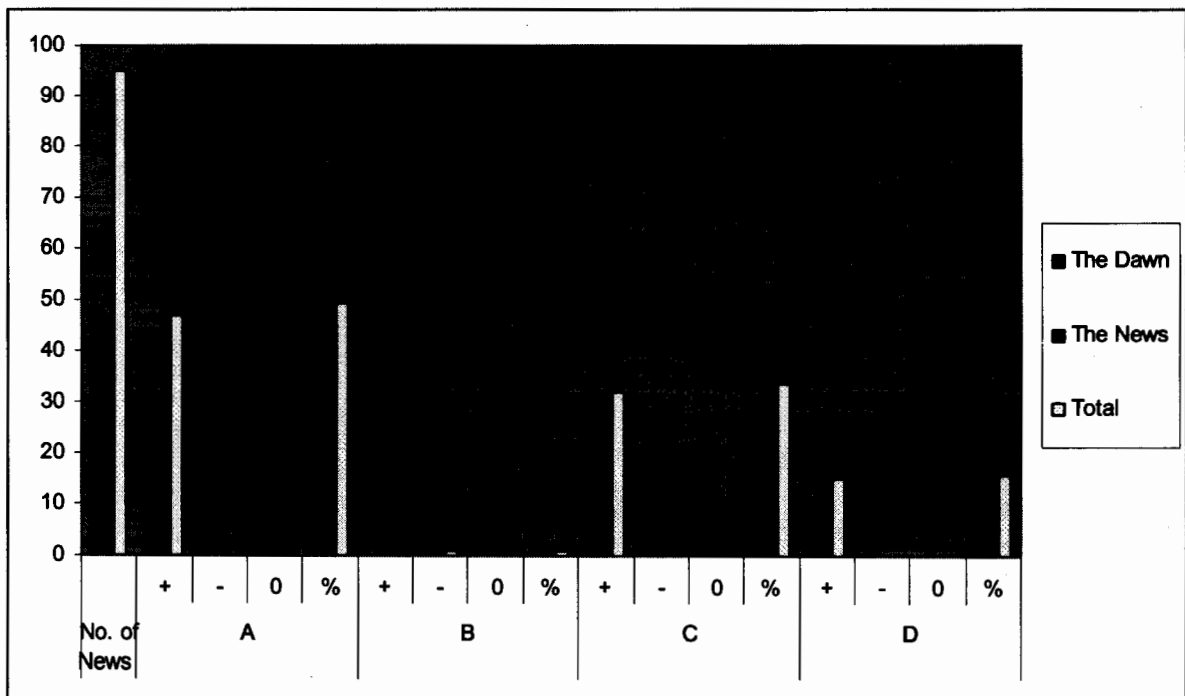
**5B). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2003 to 31st Dec 2003.**

News papers	No. of News	A				B				C				D			
		+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%
<b>The Dawn</b>	49	26	0	0	53.06	0	0	0	0.00	15	0	0	30.61	8	0	0	16.33
<b>The News</b>	46	21	0	0	45.65	0	1	0	2.17	17	0	0	36.96	7	0	0	15.22
<b>Total</b>	95	47	0	0	49.47	0	1	0	1.05	32	0	0	33.68	15	0	0	15.79

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 5B**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2003 to 31st Dec 2003**



**5.B COMPARATIVE TOPICAL DIRECTION NEWS TREATMENT  
OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D  
FROM JAN 1<sup>ST</sup> 2003 TO 31<sup>ST</sup> DEC 2003.**

The table 5B indicates that Dawn and The News framed the Kashmir issue positively in their news. Both the newspapers published 95 news during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2003 to 31<sup>st</sup> Dec 2003.

Out of total 95 news published, 47(49.47%) were published on issue 'A', 1(1.05%) were published on issue 'B', 32(33.68%) were published on issue 'C' and 15(15.79%) were published on issue 'D'.

Out of total 95 news Dawn published 49 news and out of 49 news Dawn published 26(53.06%) on issue 'A', neglected the issue 'B', 15(30.61%) on issue 'C' and 8(16.33%) on issue 'D'.

Dawn gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, neglected the issue B, 100% positive coverage to the issue C, and 100% positive coverage to the issue D.

Out of total 95 news, The News published 46 news and out of these 46 news, The News published 21(45.65%) on issue 'A', 1(2.17%) on issue 'B', 17(36.96%) on issue 'C' and 7(15.22%) on issue 'D'.

The News also suit and gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, C and D. The News gave 100% negative coverage to the issue 'B'.

This shows that the English press Considers Kashmir issue in positive terms.



**Table - 6B**

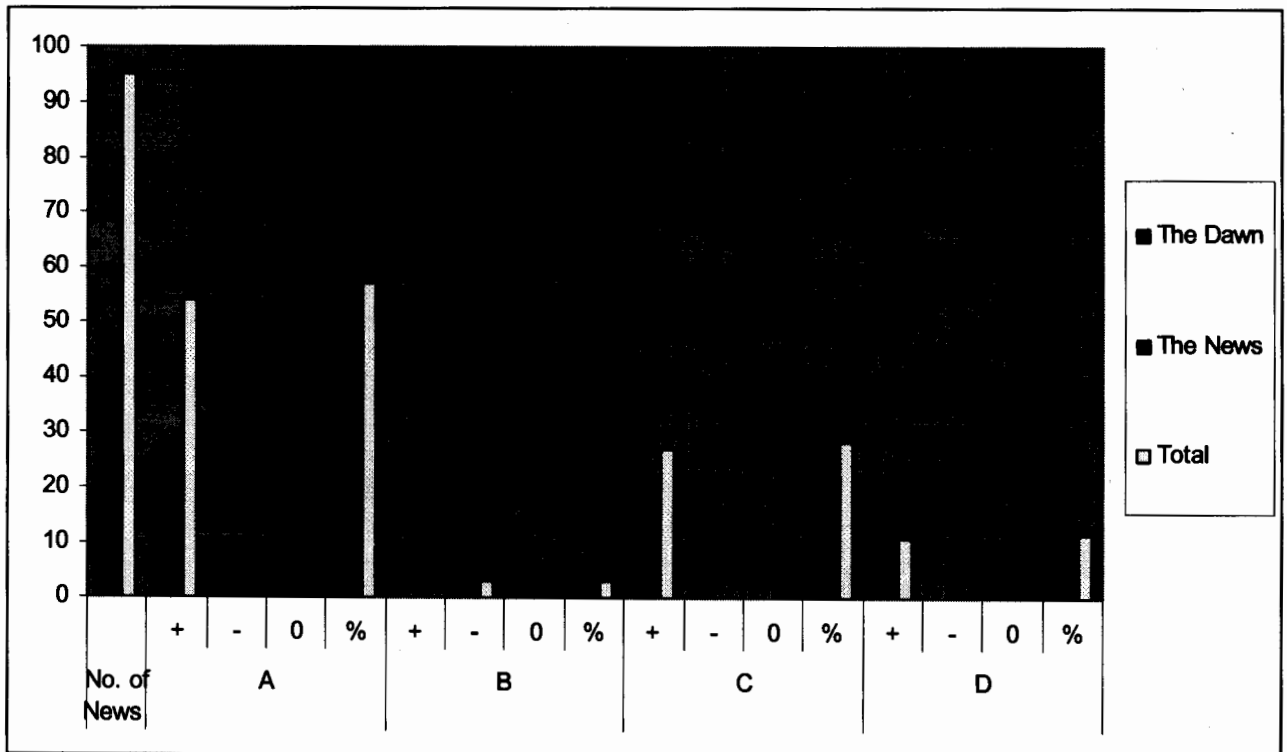
**6B). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2004 to 31st Dec 2004.**

News papers	No. of News	A				B				C				D			
		+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%
The Dawn	49	28	0	0	57.14	0	1	0	2.04	14	0	0	28.57	6	0	0	12.24
The News	46	26	0	0	56.52	0	2	0	4.35	13	0	0	28.26	5	0	0	10.87
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>56.84</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3.16</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>28.42</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>11.58</b>

- N = No of News
- A = Right of Self determination
- B = Third option for Kashmiris
- C = Need of dialogue
- D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 6B**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2004 to 31st Dec 2004.**



**6.B COMPARATIVE TOPICAL DIRECTION NEWS TREATMENT  
OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D  
FROM JAN 1<sup>ST</sup> 2004 TO 31<sup>ST</sup> DEC 2004.**

The table 6B indicates that Dawn and The News framed the Kashmir issue positively in their news. Both the newspapers published 95 news during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2004 to 31<sup>st</sup> Dec 2004.

Out of total 95 news published, 54(56.84%) were published on issue 'A', 3(3.16%) were published on issue 'B', 27(28.42%) were published on issue 'C' and 11(11.58%) were published on issue 'D'.

Out of total 95 news Dawn published 49 news and out of 49 news Dawn published 28(57.14%) on issue 'A', 1(2.04%) published on issue 'B', 14(28.57%) on issue 'C' and 6(12.24%) on issue 'D'.

Dawn gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, 100% negative coverage to the issue B, 100% positive coverage to the issue C, and 100% positive coverage to the issue D.

Out of total 95 news, The News published 46 news and out of these 46 news, The News published 26(56.52%) on issue 'A', 2(4.35%) on issue 'B', 13(28.26%) on issue 'C' and 5(10.87%) on issue 'D'.

The News also suit and gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, C and D. The News gave 100% negative coverage to the issue 'B'.

This shows that the English press Considers Kashmir issue in positive terms.

**Table - 7B**

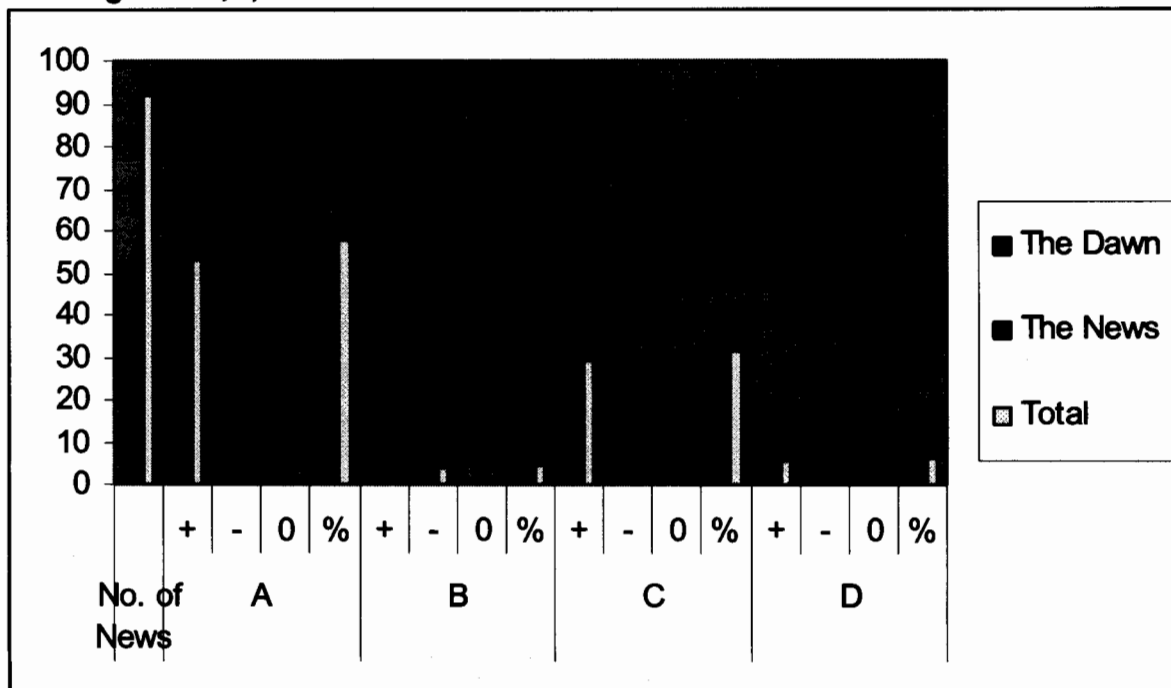
**7B). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2005 to 31st Dec 2005.**

News papers	No. of News	A				B				C				D			
		+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%
The Dawn	47	27	0	0	57.45	0	2	0	4.26	15	0	0	31.91	3	0	0	6.38
The News	45	26	0	0	57.78	0	2	0	4.44	14	0	0	31.11	3	0	0	6.67
<b>Total</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>57.61</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4.35</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>31.52</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6.52</b>

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 7B**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2005 to 31st Dec 2005.**



**7.B COMPARATIVE TOPICAL DIRECTION NEWS TREATMENT  
OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D  
FROM JAN 1<sup>ST</sup> 2005 TO 31<sup>ST</sup> DEC 2005.**

The table 7-B indicates that Dawn and The News framed the Kashmir issue positively in their news. Both the newspapers published 92 news during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2005 to 31<sup>st</sup> Dec 2005.

Out of total 92 news published, 53(57.61%) were published on issue 'A', 4(4.35%) were published on issue 'B', 29(31.52%) were published on issue 'C' and 6(6.52%) were published on issue 'D'.

Out of total 92 news Dawn published 47 news and out of 47 news Dawn published 27(57.45%) on issue 'A', 2(4.26%) published on issue 'B', 15(31.91%) on issue 'C' and 3(6.38%) on issue 'D'.

Dawn gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, 100% negative coverage to the issue B, 100% positive coverage to the issue C, and 100% positive coverage to the issue D.

Out of total 92 news, The News published 45 news and out of these 45 news, The News published 26(57.78%) on issue 'A', 2(4.44%) on issue 'B', 14(31.11%) on issue 'C' and 3(6.67%) on issue 'D'.

The News also suit and gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, C and D. The News gave 100% negative coverage to the issue 'B'.

This shows that the English press Considers Kashmir issue in positive terms.

**Table - 8B**

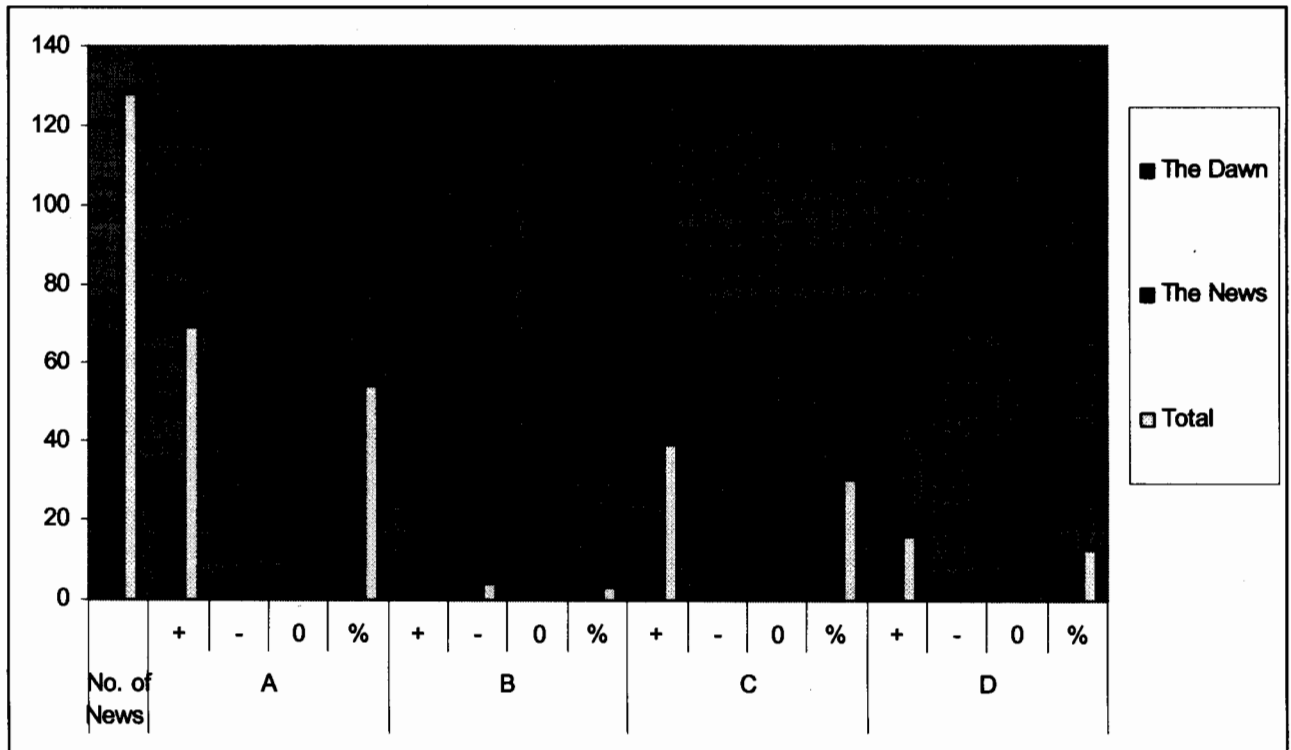
**8B). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2006 to 31st Dec 2006.**

News papers	No. of News	A				B				C				D			
		+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%
The Dawn	67	36	0	0	53.73	0	2	0	2.99	19	0	0	28.36	10	0	0	14.93
The News	61	33	0	0	54.10	0	2	0	3.28	20	0	0	32.79	6	0	0	9.84
<b>Total</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>53.91</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3.13</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>30.47</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>12.50</b>

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 8B**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2006 to 31st Dec 2006.**



**8.B COMPARATIVE TOPICAL DIRECTION NEWS TREATMENT  
OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D FROM  
JAN 1<sup>ST</sup> 2006 TO 31<sup>ST</sup> DEC 2006.**

The table 8-B indicates that Dawn and The News framed the Kashmir issue positively in their news. Both the newspapers published 128 news during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2006 to 31<sup>st</sup> Dec 2006.

Out of total 128 news published, 69(53.91%) were published on issue 'A', 4(3.13%) were published on issue 'B', 39(30.47%) were published on issue 'C' and 16(12.50%) were published on issue 'D'.

Out of total 128 news Dawn published 67 news and out of 67 news Dawn published 36(53.73%) on issue 'A', 2(2.99%) published on issue 'B', 19(28.36%) on issue 'C' and 10(14.93%) on issue 'D'.

Dawn gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, 100% negative coverage to the issue B, 100% positive coverage to the issue C, and 100% positive coverage to the issue D.

Out of total 128 news, The News published 61 news and out of these 61 news, The News published 33(54.10%) on issue 'A', 2(3.28%) on issue 'B', 20(32.79%) on issue 'C' and 6(9.84%) on issue 'D'.

The News also suit and gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, C and D. The News gave 100% negative coverage to the issue 'B'.

This shows that the English press Considers Kashmir issue in positive terms.

**Table - 9B**

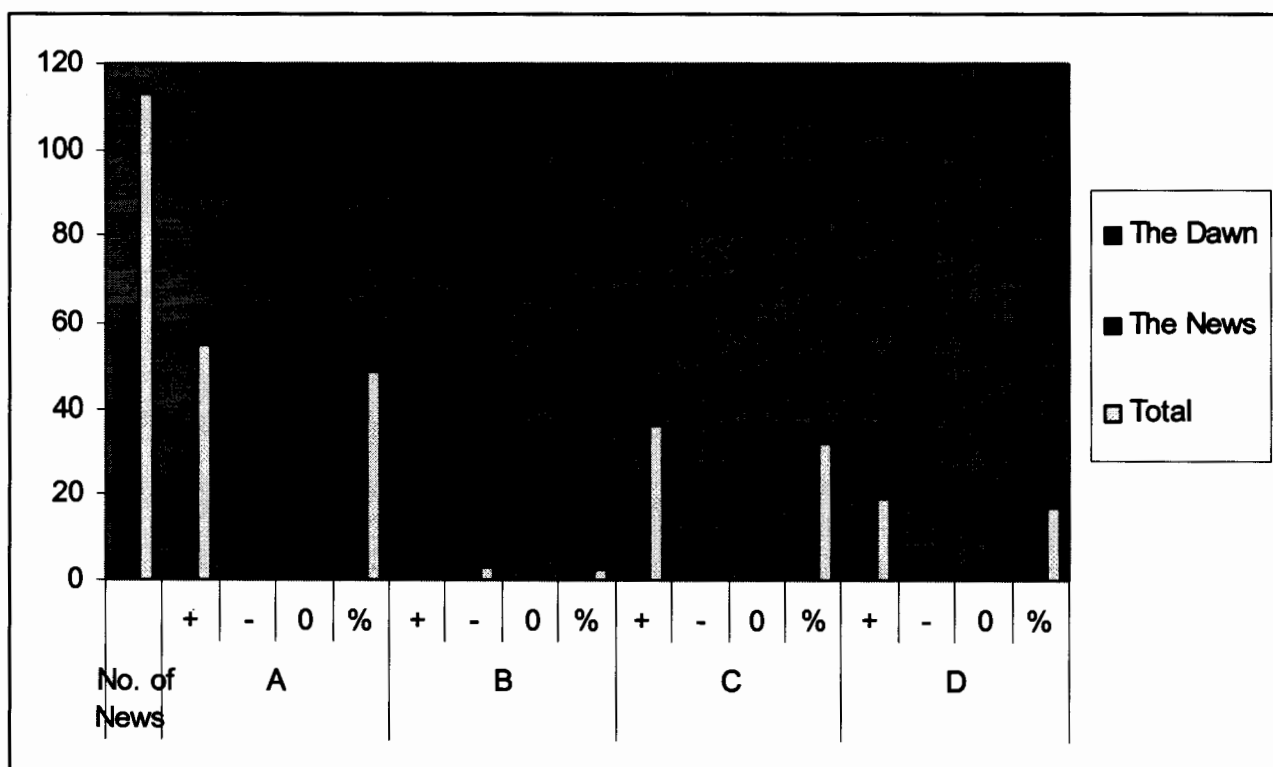
**9B). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2007 to 31st Dec 2007.**

News papers	No. of News	A				B				C				D			
		+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%
The Dawn	58	29	0	0	50.00	0	1	0	1.72	17	0	0	29.31	11	0	0	18.97
The News	55	26	0	0	47.27	0	2	0	3.64	19	0	0	34.55	8	0	0	14.55
<b>Total</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>48.67</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2.65</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>31.86</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>16.81</b>

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 9B**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2007 to 31st Dec 2007.**



**9.B COMPARATIVE TOPICAL DIRECTION NEWS TREATMENT  
OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D  
FROM JAN 1<sup>ST</sup> 2007 TO 31<sup>ST</sup> DEC 2007.**

The table 9-B indicates that Dawn and The News framed the Kashmir issue positively in their news. Both the newspapers published 113 news during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2007 to 31<sup>st</sup> Dec 2007.

Out of total 113 news published, 55(48.67%) were published on issue 'A', 3(2.65%) were published on issue 'B', 36(31.86%) were published on issue 'C' and 19(16.81%) were published on issue 'D'.

Out of total 113 news Dawn published 58 news and out of 58 news Dawn published 29(50%) on issue 'A', 1(1.72%) published on issue 'B', 17(29.31%) on issue 'C' and 11(18.97%) on issue 'D'.

Dawn gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, 100% negative coverage to the issue B, 100% positive coverage to the issue C, and 100% positive coverage to the issue D.

Out of total 113 news, The News published 55 news and out of these 55 news, The News published 26(47.27%) on issue 'A', 2(3.64%) on issue 'B', 19(34.55%) on issue 'C' and 8(14.55%) on issue 'D'.

The News also suit and gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, C and D. The News gave 100% negative coverage to the issue 'B'.

This shows that the English press Considers Kashmir issue in positive terms.



**Table - 10B**

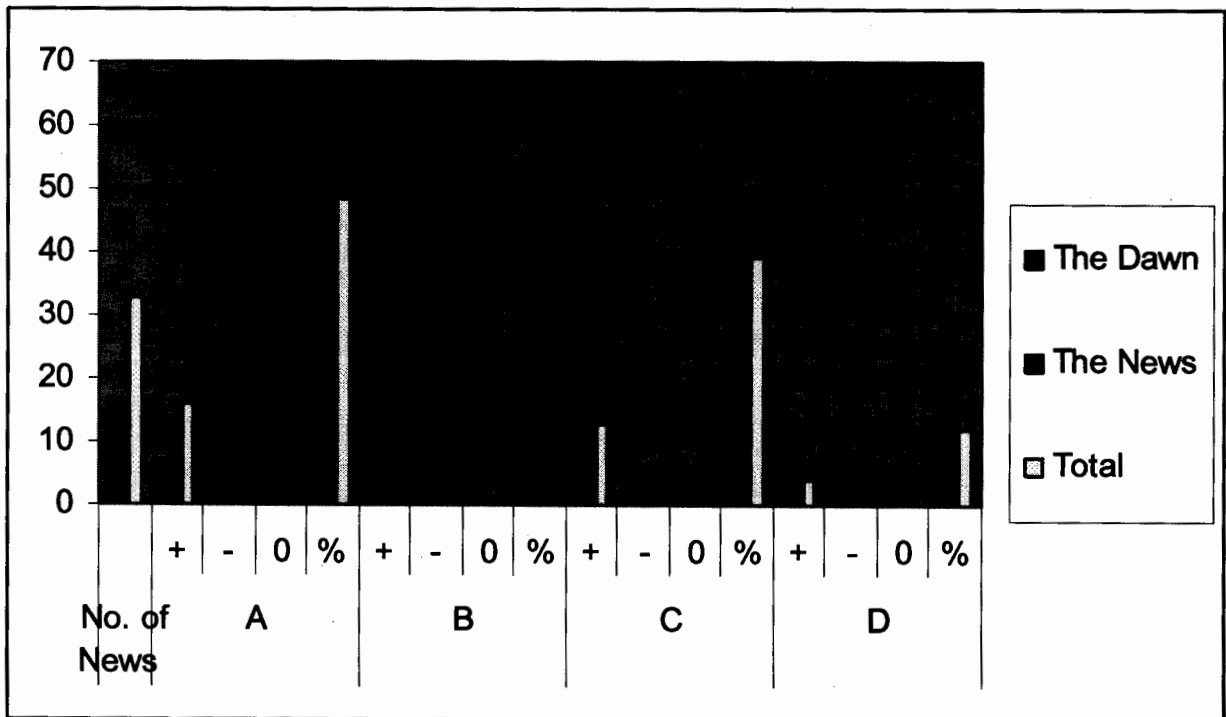
**10B). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2008 to 17th Aug 2008.**

News papers	No. of News	A				B				C				D			
		+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%
The Dawn	17	6	0	0	35.29	0	0	0	0.00	8	0	0	47.06	3	0	0	17.65
The News	16	10	0	0	62.50	0	0	0	0.00	5	0	0	31.25	1	0	0	6.25
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>48.48</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>39.39</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>12.12</b>

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 10B**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Jan 1st 2008 to 17th Aug 2008.**



**10.B COMPARATIVE TOPICAL DIRECTION NEWS**  
**TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES**  
**A,B,C & D FROM JAN 1<sup>ST</sup> 2008 TO 17<sup>TH</sup> AUG 2008.**

The table 10-B indicates that Dawn and The News framed the Kashmir issue positively in their news. Both the newspapers published 33 news during the period of Jan 1<sup>st</sup> 2008 to 17<sup>th</sup> Aug 2008.

Out of total 33 news published, 16(48.48%) were published on issue 'A', Neglected the issue 'B', 13(39.39%) were published on issue 'C' and 4(12.12%) were published on issue 'D'.

Out of total 33 news Dawn published 17 news and out of 17 news Dawn published 6(35.29%) on issue 'A', Neglected the issue 'B', 8(47.06%) on issue 'C' and 3(17.65%) on issue 'D'.

Dawn gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, Neglected the issue B, 100% positive coverage to the issue C, and 100% positive coverage to the issue D.

Out of total 33 news, The News published 16 news and out of these 16 news, The News published 10(62.50%) on issue 'A', Neglected the issue 'B', 5(31.25%) on issue 'C' and 1(6.25%) on issue 'D'.

The News also suit and gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, C and D. The News gave no importance to the issue 'B' and neglected this option.

This shows that the English press Considers Kashmir issue in positive terms.

**Table - 11B**

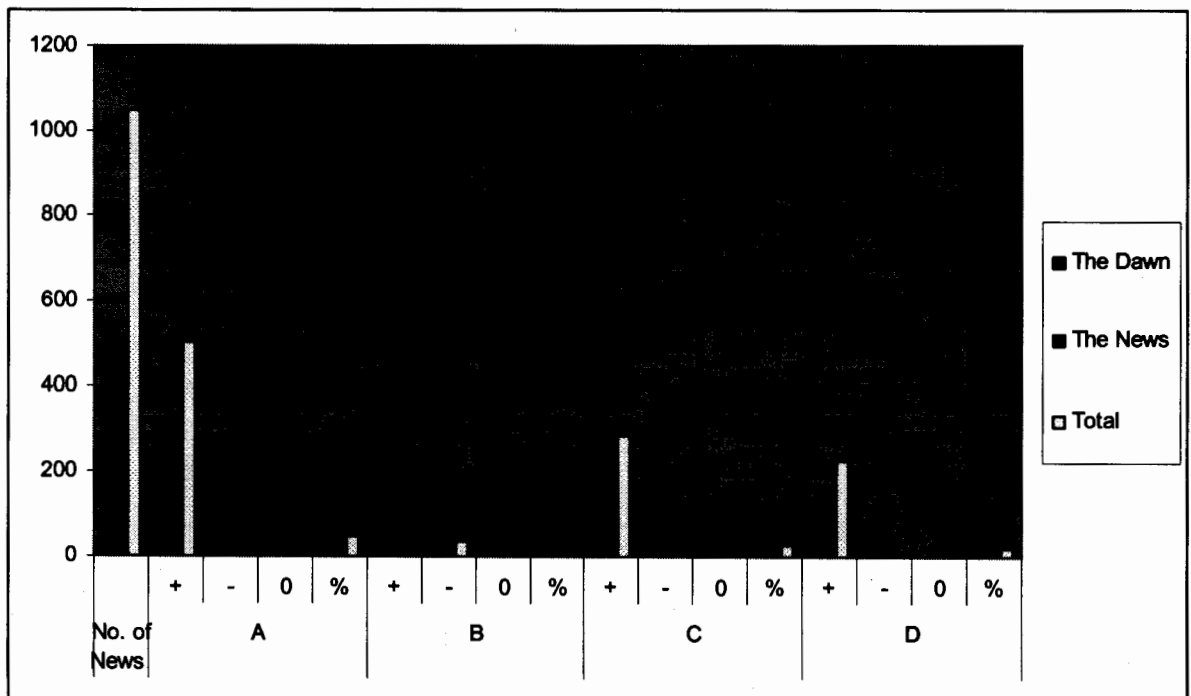
**11B). Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Oct 12th 1999 to 17th Aug 2008.**

News papers	No. of News	A				B				C				D			
		+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%	+	-	0	%
The Dawn	547	268	0	0	48.99	0	14	0	2.56	135	1	0	24.68	129	0	0	23.58
The News	501	233	0	0	46.51	0	21	0	4.19	151	0	0	30.14	96	0	0	19.16
Total	1048	501	0	0	47.81	0	35	0	3.34	286	1	0	27.29	225	0	0	21.47

N = No of News  
 A = Right of Self determination  
 B = Third option for Kashmiris  
 C = Need of dialogue  
 D = Violation of Human Rights

**Figure - 11B**

**Comparative topical coverage of news treatment of The News and the Dawn on Categories A,B,C & D from Oct 12th 1999 to 17th Aug 2008.11.B11B.1111.B**



**COMPARATIVE TOPICAL DIRECTION NEWS TREATMENT**  
**OF DAWN AND THE NEWS ON CATEGORIES A,B,C & D**  
**FROM OCT 12<sup>TH</sup> 1999 TO AUG 17<sup>TH</sup> 2008.**

The table 11-B indicates that Dawn and The News framed the Kashmir issue positively in their news. Both the newspapers published 1048 news during the period of Oct 12<sup>th</sup> 1999 to Aug 17<sup>th</sup> 2008.

Out of total 1048 news published, 501(47.81%) were published on issue 'A', 35(3.34%) were published on issue 'B', 287(27.38%) were published on issue 'C' and 225(21.47%) were published on issue 'D'.

Out of total 1048 news Dawn published 547 news and out of 547 news Dawn published 268(48.99%) on issue 'A', 14(2.56%) on issue 'B', 136(24.86%) on issue 'C' and 129(23.58%) on issue 'D'.

Dawn gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, 100% negative coverage to the issue B, 99.26% positive and .74% negative coverage to the issue C, and 100% positive coverage to the issue D.

Out of total 1048 news, The News published 501 news and out of these 501 news, The News published 233(46.51%) on issue 'A', 21(4.19%) on issue 'B', 151(30.14%) on issue 'C' and 96(19.16%) on issue 'D'.

The News also suit and gave 100% positive coverage to the issue A, C and D. The News gave 100% negative coverage to the issue 'B'.

This shows that the English press Considers Kashmir issue in positive terms.

## **CHAPTER 6**

# **CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS**

## **CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **CONCLUSION**

Pakistan elite English press has always been supportive to the government in formulation of the public opinion. Pakistan state policy is that the Kashmir issue should be solved keeping in view aspirations of the people of Jammu & Kashmir in accordance with UN resolutions. Pakistan was never in favor of an adventurous or armed solution of the issue. Pakistan has always been advocating the Jammu & Kashmir people just struggle for independence with a vocal stand that we will continue moral, political and ambassadorial support to them at each and every available forum. A large section of the international community is in favor of Pakistan's stand. Dawn and The News treatment of the Kashmir issue during the period of study (12<sup>th</sup> October 1999-17<sup>th</sup> August 2008) proved to be very helpful in formulating the mass opinion, as these newspapers have provided supportive coverage to the Kashmir issue during the period of study. The press forcefully condemned the India's brutal use of force against the Kashmiri people and criticized violation of their human rights.

Elite press supported the government policy with full force and emphasized to lessen the continued tension in the region by solving the Kashmir through meaning full dialogue. The elite press helped in keeping the moral of masses high, who are sole and real supporters of the Kashmiri freedom fighters in the world. These newspapers favored solution of the Kashmir issue through dialogue. Whenever, these newspapers felt that the policy makers are diverting from the Pakistan's traditional stand they accounted them for. These newspapers also pressed that the Jammu & Kashmir inhabitants are also an important party to the issue. Therefore, they are entitled to decide their destiny and this concept of the papers is quite in accordance with that of the government policy. Chief executive later on President of Pakistan General Pervaiz Musharraf adopted a very clear cut policy on the Kashmir issue. He was of the view that the fundamental dispute between the two countries is Kashmir issue and without its solutions bilateral relations could never be normalized. Press supported this stand of the President.

In this study, the theory of information which states that the information given by the media helps in mediating between two conflicting parties. The elite English press is mediating in the sense of being channels for others to contact us and in the sense that our relationships with persons, objects, organizations and events are shaped by the knowledge that we acquire from mass media. We can relatively know little from direct experience even of our own society and our contacts with government and political leaders is largely based on media derived knowledge (Mc Quail, 1983, cited in Rasool, 2001, P157).

This study also brings it forth that the elite English press has played an active partner's role in Kashmir issue instead of that of an impartial/neutral observer.

The critical distinction between the neutral and the participant role of journalism seems to have been first well explicated by Cohen (1963) when he distinguished two separate self-conceptions of the reporter's role: that of neutral reporter, covering the ideas of the press as informer, interpreter and instrument of government and that of participant, the traditional 'Fourth estate' notion covering the ideas of the press and representative of the public, critic of government, advocate of policy and even of policy maker (Cohen, 1963). On the Kashmir issue, the press was a participant that fully endorsed the policy maker's views. ( Cited in Rasool, 2001, P 157-158 ).

A cause for supportive involvement of the Pakistan English press in the Kashmir issue was emotional attachment of the people with it. None of the newspaper in the world could appose a common interest issue.

Tunstall indicates that in a case of conflict of goals within the newspaper, the audience goal provides the 'Coalition Goal' on which most can agree (Mc Quail, 1983). This study also proved that validity of this notion as during the gulf war, Nawa-i-Waqt sided with the government's policy (opposing Iraq), but also to join the band wagon as other newspapers were reflecting the public sentiments which were in favor of Iraq (Rasool, 2001, P 158).

This example indicates that more cherished concern of the newspapers is their economic and the same was the magnetic power behind the elite press Kashmir issue support.

During the period of this study Pakistan India relations were under heavy pressure and there came many high magnitude ups and downs. Cold war which had been ended in the Europe was reactivating in the South Asia. Pakistan and India were now nuclear powers and they had always remained at daggers drawn in the past. In these circumstances the press was left with no choice except to support the policy maker view point as Mc Quail (1983) also noted that media every where safeguards the national interest of the state where it operates.

Third option is not acceptable to any neighboring regional country as it is dangerous for them all. In case of independent Kashmir which will be under the influence of America China's nuclear installments in the Province of Sinkiang, will be endangered. Even, presence of a super power like America will be unacceptable for Pakistan and India as it will shadow their national interests. This also causes less coverage of the third option by the elite English press.

As Pakistan's vital interest is linked with the Kashmir issue hence, country's media has given most importance. This study also expressed that the English press has chosen a new role to play and this role is that of the guide cum advisor. This character of the elite press seems to be very prominent in different situations. Press has criticized the government when ever felt that the government acts are jeopardizing national interests. For example, press opposed bitterly Pakistan, India trade before settlement of the Kashmir issue. As such press said to Pakistan government to be careful, while in dialogue with India and to avoid to be optimistic. However, press tune was very honorable, mature and thoughtful while, doing so and it was quite in support of the policy makers. In short we make conclude that this study proves the Cohen's study (1963), Mughees study (1993) and Rasool's study (2001) to be on true lines. It concludes that press is always in favor of policy makers in regard to the important foreign policy matters.



## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

- All the analysts related to print media should fairly and honestly portray the Kashmir issue in such a way that it Kashmir issue can be highlighted in a positive manner and should oppose bitterly in case a leader seems diverting from national point of view.
- The government should make such policies which can be helpful for making the world opinion in favor of the settlement of Kashmir issue.
- Government of Pakistan continuously tried and emphasized to solve the Kashmir issue through dialogue, in accordance with the UN resolutions on the subject and the press should extend her support to government policy.
- The study covers two English elite newspapers news treatment regarding Kashmir issue. Future researchers are suggested to review the Kashmir issue news treatment of Urdu press.
- The new researchers are supposed to adopt the research work on Kashmir issue news treatment by the Pakistan's televisions news channels.

## **APPENDIX A**

### **CODING SHEET**

1. Coder
2. Name of the Newspaper
3. Year
4. Placement of News
5. Source
6. Pic
7. Topic Category
  - Category A: Right of Self-determination for Kashmiris
  - Category B: Third option for Kashmiris
  - Category C: Need of dialogue for peaceful settlement of Kashmir
  - Category D: Violation of human rights in Indian held Kashmir.
8. Tone of the News Contents pertaining to Indo Pak Relations in Musharraf Regime with reference to Kashmir issue in The News and Daily Dawn.

Positive (+) \_\_\_\_\_

Negative (-) \_\_\_\_\_

Neutral (0) \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks

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