



RESEARCH PAPER

Portrayal of Pak-India Relations in their Elite Press

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ABSTRACT

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Relations between Pakistan and India are much profound and deep. Relations between both countries have totally changed due to recent incidents. Press can make a positive image as well as negative image of countries concerned and has greater influence on its readers. This study is an attempt to find out the types of frames used by print media of both countries while portraying Pak-India relations. So the study focuses on a basic question; how does Indo-Pak press portray bilateral relations of Pakistan and India in their editorial contents? Qualitative Content analysis has been used to get valuable findings. Two newspapers have been taken to conduct a research i.e. daily *Dawn* from Pakistan, and *The Times of India* from India. The time frame of the research is two years from 1<sup>st</sup> July 2015 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2017. The findings show that daily *Dawn*, in its editorials, remained supportive/positive and comparatively neutral towards bilateral relations between the two countries. Frames and overall theme in its editorials was optimistic and with positive sense. On the other hand, *The Times of India* found comparatively negative while framing the bilateral relations between the two countries. Most of the frames used by the newspaper and overall themes of its editorials were pessimist and blaming rival country.

Introduction

Relations between Pakistan and India are much profound and deep. Relations between both countries have totally changed due to recent incidents like Martyr of Burhan Wani, Pathankot Air Base Attack, Urri Attack etc. In this situation, role of media in both countries has become a worth studying phenomenon. Press of the countries can play key role to keep friendly relations between both countries. Press

can make a positive image as well as negative image of countries concerned and has greater influence on its readers.

Healthy relations between both countries are the symbol of democratization, stabilization in the countries concerned. The role of press (media) is crucial in the expression of ideas regarding how people think about themselves and other nations (Coban, 2016). Press in both countries has much validity, strength and legitimization. Press can make a positive image as well as negative image of countries concerned towards a specific issues and agenda. Press influence on its readers is much valuable. Recent changes in Pak-India relations heavily reported by Media outlets of both countries.

Pakistan and India are both Asian countries and located in the south of continent. Both countries have deep relations and tied up with each other not only geographically but culturally and sociologically. Political similarity between both countries can be observed easily. People from both countries have deep relations with each other, hence, it makes the relations more complex, dynamic and eternal ups and down (Shabbir *et al.*, 2014).

Soon after establishment, both countries faced major conflicts like States of Kashmir and Jaunagadh disputes etc. Moreover, settlement and re-conciliation of refugees and migrates was key issue for both (Rabbani, 1997). This situation led both countries to turn into three major clashes i.e. 1965 war, Indian Attack on Eastern part of Pakistan in 1971 and 1998-99 Kargil Issue. It is very interesting to know that State of Kashmir dispute between both countries was a key factor in these deadly clashes (Mahmood, 2000).

Kashmir Issue is the major determinant in Pak-India relations. The Indian approach towards Kashmir has aspect that it is the part of Bharat (India) as Indian Government bought this state from the Raja of Kashmir's state. This approach also states that Pakistan's occupation on Azad Kashmir is illegal/un-lawful. However, Pakistan's approach believes that merger of Kashmir state should be made on the will of its people. They should be given the right to self-determination. The Kashmir dispute has evolved into a multi-faceted issue over the years (Bhatia, 2004).

Relations between both countries always remained in tense due to multiple deadly terror attack and ongoing proxy war. Both countries always tried to remain far from accountability and diplomacy. Keeping the perspective of an Islamic state and a Secular state, both countries are pursuing different ideologies in international politics (Ahmad & Singh, 2013).

Another key dispute which is, probably, boosting the tension between both countries is the Indus Water Treaty (IWT). This agreement formulated a mechanism for reasonable water's distribution between India and Pakistan. However,

unfortunately, a serious violation has been seen from Indian side as various small & big dams and water reservoirs are being constructed on the rivers which were allocated to Pakistan under this agreement (Salik, 2017).

A major factor in Pak-India relations was Simla Agreement. In the agreement, both governments (Pakistan and India) tried to resolve or reduce hostility between both and to put an end the situation of confrontation and conflict which deteriorated their bilateral relations and vowed to work in collaboration and promotion of harmonious and friendly relationship. Moreover, they showed the commitment to establish a peaceful situation in the region, so both the countries could devote their resources and energies to welfare and prosperity of their people (Diplomacy, 1972).

Despite immense tension between both countries, the leaders from both countries many time tried to keep friendly relations with each other. Many initiatives were taken by the high officials from concerned countries. Taskand Declaration, Simla accord and Lahore Declaration were golden efforts for establishment of peace and prosperity in the region (Dixit, 2002).

Terrorism is another vital aspect of bilateral relations between both countries. Both countries are heavily affected with terrorist activities. Insurgency and unrest in the province of Balochistan and State of Kashmir is strongly deemed sponsored by the Indian Government. Due to so called terror activities, a blame game often occurs. Soon after a terror attack, victimized country tries to blame rival country which is, most probably, deteriorating for bilateral relations (Javaid & Kamal, 2013).

Media, being a forth pillar of the state, has immense influence for shaping public opinion. Effectiveness of Media is not deniable for making people's perceptions. Presently, people greatly rely on the information which is being spread by the current Media System. Numerous studies showed that media has power to change/shape public opinion into a specific agenda or can lead to the targeting of people towards specific information (Lilleker, Tenscher, & Stetka, 2015). Pak India relations are heavily reported by media outlets from both countries having numerous aspects. Both type of reporting i.e. biased reporting and un-biased reporting is being made by the concerned Media System (Bharat & Kumar, 2008).

Relations between Pakistan and India are crucial to discuss through different ways. Since 9/11 the world political environment has completely changed. Muslim countries are facing the labels of terrorist states leveled by non-Muslim world particularly Western countries. They believe about the Muslim countries as origination and source of terrorism and unrest. Considering the world political environment, Pak-India relations have entered into a completely new paradigm. Diplomacy and foreign policies of both counties are crucial elements in the relations (Khan, 2011).

Recently, various significant incidents occurred in Pak-India bilateral relations which have to be discussed. Two deadly attacks occurred in India i.e. Pathankot Attack in 2 January 2016 and Uri Attack in 18 September 2016. Resultantly and as usual, India blamed Pakistan for said deadly incidents. Incidents brought significance changes in Pak-India bilateral relations. An intensive tension was created between two countries (Kapur, 2018).

Following the Pathankot and Uri Attacks, a summit of SAARC conference which was scheduled/planned to be held at Islamabad, Pakistan in 15-16 November 2016 but postponed as India boycotted to participate. Following Indian boycott, Afghanistan and Bangladesh too refused to participate in summit (Chaudhry, 2016).

On 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2016, a summit of Heart of Asia Conference was held in Amritsar, India. Pakistan demonstrated delightful attitude and participated in the summit, however, Indian Government showed hatred attitude and tried to create hurdles for Pakistani delegation (Singh, 2017). In 29<sup>th</sup> September 2016, India claimed a surgical strike by its Army into Pakistan's administered Kashmir. India also claimed of 30-35 casualties. However, Indian claim was rejected by the Pakistan's government.

In 2016, Kalbhushan Yadav was arrested by the Pakistan's spy agencies. He admitted that India is trying to create unrest and insurgency in the province of Balochistan and Karachi (Ahmad, 2013). For the last ten years, India is violating the Indus Water Treaty. Various Dams and water reservoirs are being made on the rivers which were given to the control of Pakistan under Indus Water Treaty (Wolf & Newton, 2008).

In April 2017, Sajjan Jindal, a business tycoon from India made a sudden visit to the Pakistan and met with Ex-Premier of Pakistan. Keeping the view of secrecy, this meeting was deemed highly suspicious by the defense Institution of Pakistan.

This study is an attempt to find out the types of frames used by print media of both countries while portraying Pak-India relations. So the study focuses on a basic question; how does Indo-Pak press portray bilateral relations of Pakistan and India in their editorial contents? Qualitative Content analysis has been used to get valuable findings. Two newspapers have been selected to conduct the research i.e. daily *Dawn* from Pakistan and daily *The Times of India* from India. The time frame of the research is two years from 1<sup>st</sup> July 2015 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2017. To find out the answers of the research questions, the study considers editorial of the newspapers.

## Literature Review

Pakistan, since her inception, embodied the principle of establishing friendly relations with Muslim countries in the very foundations of her foreign policy. This friendly narrative grew out of the speeches of Jinnah in first constituent assembly of

Pakistan where he focused on nourishing cordial ties with all the states of the world in general and with Muslim states in particular. This became a guiding principle of Pakistan's foreign policy formally enshrined article 40 of the constitution of Pakistan which states:

“The State shall endeavor to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means” (Pakistan, 2012).

A study related to Pakistani Media's role in agenda setting in the light of Pakistan India bilateral relations revealed that Pakistani Media is playing a positive role to build bilateral relations between Pakistan and India. Research findings showed that Pakistani Media is putting best efforts to create an environment of harmony and peace in the region of South Africa. On the other hand, Indian Media played a negative role to formulate stability in the region. The research recommends that there is a need of some kind of serious efforts from both countries to resolve the issues and to less the hostile attitude as the peace and stability in the region is the guaranteed of peace and stability in the world (Riaz & Pasha, 2010).

A study about “Aman Ki Asha” revealed that in any society, media has most influence for making public's minds and targeting specified public. It becomes truer in context of India and Pakistan where people heavily rely on whatever is being portrayed through mainstream media of that particular society. Being forth pillar of the state, it plays a most influential role in the society. The term Media can be considered in a very vast concept consisting those means and paradigms through which most part of the society could be communicated in a very structured pattern (Khalid, 2014).

Asim Rizwan Talib (2010) conducted a research titled “Indo-Pak Relations during the Mushrraf Regime: An Analysis of New Treatment of the Kashmir Issue” wherein he investigated the Pak-India Relations during the Musharraf era. His study was amid to how print media portray news pertaining to Kashmir issue which is the most influential factor in Indo-Pak relations. His study further explored the different aspects of Pak-India relations in the light of Kashmir dispute and also various crucial elements of foreign policy of both countries. Research findings showed that both newspapers i.e. Daily *Dawn* and Daily the News published 100% positive coverage to the issue 'A' (right of self-determination for Kashmiris) and 'D' (violation of human rights in India held Kashmir), 99% positive coverage and 0.74% negative coverage to the issue 'C' (need of dialogue for peaceful settlement of Kashmir issue) and 100% negative coverage to the issue 'B' (third option for Kashmiris) (Talib, 2010).

Another study related to Media's role in international relations revealed that the Media is emerging globally as a key factor in international relations. Media has proven to be a major actor that not only influences the ties between countries/nations but actually drives them in a specified direction (Mustafa, 2004).

The Press in Pakistan is free and it has freedom to criticize the policies of the government. The Pakistani newspapers give lot of importance to the global issues that are relevant to Pakistan but in case of conflicts with other countries, the Pakistani newspapers depict patriotism and support the policies of the government. In case of India whenever the Indian authorities put allegations on Pakistan regarding terrorism, the Pakistani newspapers support the stance of the government (Shabir *et al.*, 2014).

Since independence, a hostile attitude always remained between Pak-India relations. Policy statements of policy makers and officials from both sides always reflected antagonistic attitude which has been appeared on media time to time. Theoretically, media has power to affect foreign policy by using the techniques of agenda setting, agenda building and agenda reflecting policies. The role of media, in case of India and Pakistan, has always been ignored. There are hurdles/barriers in the way of peace because of partisan/biased coverage of relations of both countries. Narrative of Indo-Pak political and strategic ties is highly influenced and controlled by the government officials and state authorities. While interviewing the state officials, a one-sided approach and biasness raised serious questions about the impartiality of media from both sides (Sajjad, 2015).

Pakistan and India should promote trade relations with each other as this will make them economically strong & interdependent & this step will prevent them from actions like War. According to the concept of Commercial peace theory when the investment comes into play & markets are at stake than the war will prove to be very costly. Strategic departments of both the countries should be converted into economic departments for the promotion of trade ties & Pakistan should take a positive step in this regard by giving MFN status to India (Azim *et al.*, 2016).

A study regarding "Coverage of Pak-India Relations in the Elite Press of Pakistan (June 2013 to August 2013)", aimed to see the role of Elite Press of Pakistan while portraying of Pak-India Relations. Study findings showed that Indian response was, mostly, kept in front of all the issues covered by Pakistani Media. Research findings of the study concerned showed that Media from Pakistan either electronic or print has very seriousness and shows sufficient maturity during the addressing of issues related to Pak-India relations. Moreover, patriotism was also shown while covering of Indo-Pak relations (Yousaf, Ullah, & Ali, 2013).

There is a need of a dialogue process between India and Pakistan for resolving the problems through solutions that are mutually acceptable for both the sides. The purpose of this dialogue process should not be just the pass of time rather it should

aim at conflict management & settlement of the disputes. The dialogue process cannot be effective until & unless both the countries show flexibility in their approach. Negative views that are present in both countries against each other are the biggest hurdles & barriers in improving & normalizing the relationship of both sides. Domestic politics in both countries is behind these negative views. There are religious groups & some political parties present in two countries that promote hatred & hostility against the other country & they always oppose the peace process & normalization of relations (Rizvi, 2012).

A study titled "News Framing on Indo-Pak Conflicts in daily the News (Pakistan) and Times of India (India): War and Peace Journalism Perspective" to find out the different types of news frames made by the Media with regard to peace and war journalism while portraying of Indo-Pak Conflicts. The main objective of the research was to measure the approaches of the esteemed newspapers of both countries towards Indo-Pak Conflicts treatment particularly in respect of Kashmir and Terrorism related issues. He concluded that Media played an efficient and effective role to establish mutual understandings and peace building not only amongst the various groups of the society but between the countries as well (Hussain, 2015).

### **Theoretical Framework**

Agenda setting describes a very powerful influence of the media - the ability to tell us what issues are important. As far back as 1922, the newspaper columnist Walter Lippman was concerned that the media had the power to present images to the public. McCombs and Donald Shaw investigated presidential campaigns in 1968, 1972 and 1976. In the research done in 1968 they focused on two elements: awareness and information. Investigating the agenda-setting function of the mass media, they attempted to assess the relationship between what voters in one community said were important issues and the actual content of the media messages used during the campaign. McCombs and Shaw concluded that the mass media exerted a significant influence on what voters considered to be the major issues of the campaign. (Jesheph, 2013)

Framing theory, being expansion of agenda setting, is a term used in media studies, and refers to the social construction of a social phenomenon by a news media. It influences the individual's perception of the meanings attributed towards or phrases. The frame through the elements, encourage certain interpretations and discourage others (Deetz, Tracy & Simpson, 2000).

The framing theory characterized with the way of informing, educating and to creating awareness to the masses. Framing theory suggest that how news media frames events in particular way. Each news media has its own way of delivering news to the society. News media are much influenced by their owners' policies. News media

use many types of frames. In this study the events/news/incidents have been analyzed into positive/favorable, negative/critical and neutral frames.

This is guided through following research questions;

- How does Indo-Pak press portray bilateral relations between Pakistan and India in their editorial contents?
- How does Indo-Pak press frame Kashmir Dispute and Terrorism in their editorial contents?
- How does Indo-Pak press frame Border situation and Social Ties between both countries in their editorial contents?

### **Material and Methods**

This study is an attempt to determine the role of press of both countries while portraying Pak-India bilateral relations. Qualitative Content analysis has been used to get valuable findings. Two newspapers have been selected to conduct this research i.e. daily *Dawn* from Pakistan, and daily *The Times of India* from India. The time frame of the research is two years from 1<sup>st</sup> July 2015 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2017. To find out the answers of the research questions, the study considers editorial of the newspapers.

Editorials regarding Pak-India relations within given time frame is the unit of analysis of the study. The systematic sampling technique has been used to get the sample from the universe of study. Sample has been drawn from the universe with a regular interval. Twenty six editorials from both the dailies, 13 editorials from each, have been selected to analyze the data with a regular interval that is every 2<sup>nd</sup> editorial from daily *Dawn* and every 3<sup>rd</sup> editorial from *The Times of India*.

Following types of frames have been analyzed in terms of content's direction i.e. positive, negative and neutral; headline, words and phrases, sentences, and overall themes. Content's direction will be analyzed in term of positive/supportive, negative/critical and neutral. Stories are coded as Positive/Supportive which contains content like; support to the relations between two countries, stories taking positive sense about the meeting between leaders of two countries, talks needed/talks necessary/dialogue should resume, chest thumping by ministers of both countries isn't helpful, stories showing hope about resumption of dialogue, hope, and constructive, optimistic, affirmative, encouraging, helpful. Stories are coded as negative/critical which contains content like; supporting aggressive steps taken by any country, denying or degrading the relations between two countries, blame game, talks needed but conditional, and harmful, pessimistic, un-constructive, un-helpful, depressing. Stories are coded as neutral which contains content like; stories



constructed in a way to remain neutral/silent, stories just representing or reporting the issues concerned, and un-biased and impartial.

This study is an attempt to determine the role of press of the both countries in Pak-India relations. Qualitative Content analysis has been used to get valuable findings. Two newspapers have been taken to conduct a research i.e. *Daily Dawn* from Pakistan, and *The Times of India* from India. The time frame of the research is two years from 1<sup>st</sup> July 2015 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2017. To find out the answers of the research questions, the study considers editorial of the newspapers.

Editorials from *The Daily Dawn* and *The Times of India* pertaining to Pak-India bilateral relations during give time frame i.e two years from 1<sup>st</sup> July 2015 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2017 are university of the study. Editorials regarding Pak-India relations within given time frame are the unit of analysis of the study.

The systematic sampling technique has been used to get the sample from the universe of study. Sample has been drawn from the universe with a regular interval (i.e from Daily Dawn every 2<sup>nd</sup> editorial and from Daily Times of India every 3<sup>rd</sup> editorial). Twenty six editorials from the both dailies (13 editorials from each) have been selected to analyze the data with a regular interval (i.e from daily *Dawn* every 2<sup>nd</sup> editorial and from the *Times of India* every 3<sup>rd</sup> editorial).

Editorials from selected newspapers based on Pak-India relations have been coded into following categories: -

1. Kashmir Dispute
2. Border situation
3. Terrorism
4. Social Ties

Above mentioned categories are defined as under: -

### **Kashmir Dispute**

All editorials published in daily *Dawn* and *Time of India* regarding Kashmir dispute have been coded into this category.

### **Border Situation**

All editorials published in daily *Dawn* and *Times of India* related to boarder situation like cross border firing, LoC issue, violation of cease fire, attacks on civilian and safety measures about border have been coded into this category.

### **Terrorism**

All editorials published in daily *Dawn* and *Times of India* commenting terrorist attacks in the countries concerned, insurgency, and presence of spy agents etc have been coded under this category.

### **Social Ties**

All editorials published in daily *Dawn* and *Times of India* covering cultural links, travelling of the people across border, sports, visits of actors and singers from one country to another, Dramas, linguistics, geographical similarity, trade etc have been coded under this category. Moreover, editorials having diplomatic relations are also coded into this category.

To place an editorial into a particular category, the overall theme and headline of the editorial have been considered.

### **Direction of the Contents**

Content's direction has been analyzed in term of positive/supportive, negative/critical and neutral.

#### **Positive/Supportive**

- Stories constructed in a way to support the relations between two countries.
- Stories taking positive sense about the meeting between leaders of two countries.
- Talks needed/Talks necessary/Dialogue should resume etc.
- Chest thumping by Ministers of both countries isn't helpful.
- Stories showing hope about resumption of dialogue.
- Hope, Constructive, Optimistic, Affirmative, Encouraging, Helpful

#### **Negative/Critical**

- By supporting aggressive steps taken by any country.
- Stories denying or degrading the relations between two countries.
- Blame Game
- Talks needed but conditional (provided etc.)
- Harmful, pessimistic, un-constructive, un-helpful, Depressing

#### **Neutral**

- Stories constructed in a way to remain neutral/silent.

- Stories just representing or reporting the issues concerned.
- Un-biased, Impartial

### **Time Frame**

This study is an attempt to measure the recent incidents/happenings in Pak-India Relations. Therefore, the time frame of this study is from 1<sup>st</sup> July 2015 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

### **Frames**

Following types of frames have been analyzed in terms of content's direction i.e. positive, negative and neutral: -

1. Headline
2. Words and Phrases
3. Sentences
4. Overall Theme

### **Results and Discussion**

All the data (Editorials from both newspapers) has been analyzed as per following method:

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Daily Dawn</b>		
Dated	11-12-2015		
Title	"India-Pakistan hopes revived" (Dawn, 2015).		
Category	Social Ties		
<b>Frames</b>	<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>	<b>Neutral</b>
Headline	"India-Pakistan hopes <b>revived</b> " (Dawn, 2015).	-	-
Words and Phrases	"achieved a most remarkable of breakthrough" (Dawn, 2015). "when politicians lead, positive change is often achievable" (Dawn, 2015). "There is reason to hope again" (Dawn, 2015).	-	-

Sentences	There <b>must be some - movement</b> on the trials here related to the 2008 Mumbai attacks. That would automatically create the space and goodwill for the comprehensive dialogue to move forward (Dawn, 2015).	<b>Mr. Modi in particular appears</b> to have recognized the failure of his high-risk strategy of not talking to Pakistan while trying to isolate this country internationally on terrorism-related issues (Dawn, 2015).
Overall Theme	Overall, this editorial is coded into positive direction being <b>showing optimistic side of bilateral relationship between two countries.</b>	

All the 26 editorials of both newspapers have been analyzed one by one as pre mentioned pattern.

After detailed and thorough analysis of frames, it was found that in daily *Dawn* 15% headlines of editorials were positive, 0 % negative, 85% were neutral, 69% words and phrases of editorials were positive, 0% negative, 8% were neutral, 23% were silent about said frame. While 77% sentences were positive, 0% sentences were negative, 23% were neutral. And overall theme of 77% editorials was positive, 0% editorials were negative and 23% of the editorials from daily *Dawn* were neutral. On the other hand, the findings show that in *The Times of India* 23% headlines of editorials from *The Times of India* were positive. Headlines of 15% were negative, 62% neutral, 46% words and phrases were positive, 46% were negative, 8% were neutral. Sentences of 54% of the editorials were positive, 46% were negative and 0% sentences of the editorials were neutral. Overall theme of 54% editorials was positive, 46% editorials were negative and theme of 0% editorials from the Daily Times of India was neutral.

Overall, 77% editorials from daily *Dawn* showed positive stance towards Pak-India relations, 0% showed negative stance, and 23% editorials were neutral towards Pak-India relations. On the other hand 54% editorials from daily *The Times of India* showed positive stance towards bilateral relations between the two countries, 46% editorials were negative and 0% were neutral towards Pak-India relations.

As stated earlier that Pak-India relations are much profound and dynamics and not easy to understand. Relations between two countries have always been facing ups and down and remained in tense situation, yet, there is a least stability. There are certain factors that determine the different aspects of bilateral relations between two countries. Following points are essential to discuss here to reveal said relations more deeply.

Media's responsibility is to convey message from one side to other side by representation and reporting of the issue concerned. Moreover, media's job is to

highlight the ongoing issues and educating the masses by giving information. Same here, some editorials of research data just represented the issues and problems of the countries concerned in a neutral and un-biased way. Apparent impartiality was noted while reporting and representation were being made. Most editorials from daily *Dawn* were found impartial and un-biased, however, there was least impartiality in editorials of daily *The Times of India*. While analyzing editorials, it has been observed that some editorials were just representing the statements and speeches of leaders of two countries; hence, there was no self-opinion and comments from concerned newspaper about the matter which was making editorials more impartial and un-biased.

Acknowledgement of others' problems and concerns has been coded/taken into a positive sense. Numerous editorials showed positive attitude by acknowledging concerns and reservations of rival country and wished to eliminate confusions with dialogue and talks. Indeed, each country has various misconceptions and concerns about other country and most probably, are the real cause of clash and conflict between two countries.

It is apparent that while giving statements and establishing diplomatic relations, officials from both countries tend to take some type of aggressive steps, and, these steps are often reported by and supported by mainstream media channels and newspapers. Some editorials from research data heavily supported said aggressive steps taken by the officials from any country, although it was less supported but was exist. Undoubtedly, aggressive steps often deteriorate bilateral relations, hence, coded into a negative direction.

As stated in introduction, Kashmir is the main cause of conflict between two countries. Issues and incidents related to Kashmir dispute were framed in a different ways. Even, one editorial from daily *The Times of India* mentioned that Pakistani Occupied Kashmir (PoK) is facing many atrocities by the Pakistani Government; moreover, state owned violation of human rights in the valley is being made by the Pakistan. One editorial from daily *The Times of India* openly accused Pakistan for involvement in Urri terror attack.

The most crucial element in Pak-India bilateral relations is terrorism. Indeed, terrorism is the main cause of deterioration and harmfulness in bilateral relations of both countries. Many deadly terror attacks occurred in both countries and the more interesting thing is that each country tried to blame rival country soon after the attack. It is dilemma that each country tries to blame other country soon after a terror attack without any proof, without thinking and without any clear position. This act is always harmful for bilateral relations because of creating the environment of uncertainty. The vital thing is that most of time, daily *Dawn* remained silent, neutral and remained far from blame game, however, daily *Times of India* tend to try humiliating Pakistan at every time which was harmful for bilateral relations. For example, while commenting

on terror attack, one editorial from daily *The Times of India* openly blamed Pakistan and remarked in a way that Pakistan should, first of all, solve its inner problems then he/she talk on resumption of dialogue.

Cultural similarity between two countries has no need to explain in deep. Social and cultural relations between two countries can be analyzed in various aspects. Pakistan and India have same culture as well as traditions, customs and values. Such type of cultural similarity makes people from two countries more closely by sharing thoughts, values, traditions even language. At the time of partition, the region of Punjab was divided into two parts, however, is still sharing cultural similarity. That's why contents from both countries are being watched by people from each country through movies, drams etc. Some editorials, particularly from daily *Dawn*, showed cultural similarity in a very positive sense and tried to show its importance. However, some editorials reported various curbs which were made by the two countries over performing of artists in rival country, airing movies' contents etc because of heavy speculation. This tells us in a very clear sense that bilateral relations between both countries always face difficulties due to certain reasons. It is pertinent to mention that one editorial from daily *The Times of India* also argued that cultural exchanges have no impact on real issues.

Some editorials from both newspapers were framed in a scenario concerning the issues of LOC. It is worth mentioning that newspaper from both countries accused rival country for violating LOC and cross firing. Particularly, editorials from daily *The Times of India* heavily accused Pakistan for ceasefire violation despite knowing the fact that blame game may lead to the deterioration of bilateral relations. Moreover, violation of ceasefire on working boundary was also framed by some editorials in different ways.

Premier of India, Mr. Modi suddenly visited Pakistan while returning from Afghanistan. Said visit was warmly hosted by Ex-Premier of Pakistan, Mr. Nawaz Sharif. Newspapers and media outlets from both countries greatly appreciated said meeting between two leaders and also warmly hosting from Pakistan. Various editorials from research data took said meeting in a positive way and tried to look this meeting the cause of melting bilateral relations between two countries. Even, one editorial from daily *Times of India* commented that said meeting can be expressed in the light of famous proverb in the region: *Atithi Devo Bhava*, which can be roughly translate into "Guest is God". No doubt such type of meetings between leaders of the two countries may become a more fruitful to building grounds and establishing bilateral relations.

Some editorials, particularly from daily *Times of India*, showed suspicious and doubtful attitude towards rival country which is harmful and dangerous for bilateral relations of two. Therefore, said attitude is coded into negative sense because of its deteriorating role.

Apparently, no newspaper and media channel can avoid from blaming other. Similarly, most editorials from research data, particularly from daily Times of India, tried to blame other country for insurgency and instability in the region. Indeed and because of its ugliness, blame game can deteriorate the diplomatic relations as well as cultural ties between two countries, hence; it is coded into negative attitude. Blame game establishes very instable situation having suspicious and doubtful role, thus, is very harmful and deteriorated. Some editorials from daily *The Times of India* blamed Pakistan for human rights violation in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) and tried to convince international world that Pakistan made so many curbs in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. Moreover, some editorials showed that Pakistan has made numerous atrocities in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) and tried to violate human rights in the valley. One editorial from daily Times of India tried to invoke Chinese Government to remain far from Pakistan because of its dual role. Such type of comments and reporting creates most instability and also become a cause of deterioration for bilateral relations between two countries. Moreover, keeping continue the blame game, one editorial from daily *The Times of India* alleged Pakistan for division of good and bad terrorists. According to that newspaper, Pakistan is considering the terrorist as a good who are harmful for India and bad who are deteriorating Pakistan. This sort of blames is also risky for bilateral relations, hence, has been coded into negative sense.

During given time frame i.e. July 2015 to June 2017, another major element in Pak-India relations was arrest of Kulbhushan Yadive by Pakistani secret forces which was highly condemned by Indian Media outlets. Kulbhushan was spy agent of Indian secret agency and was arrested in Baluchistan, Pakistan, resultantly; India openly targeted Pakistani government for illegal arrest of Kulbhushan. Moreover, his trial before the Military Court of Pakistan and its decision for hanging was heavily targeted by the Indian Media channels and print media. One editorial from daily Times of India remarked this trial as “Kangaroo Trial” and commented in a way that “this is a mockery of justice”. Such type of practices and comments from any newspaper are destructive and risky for bilateral relations of two countries. If a newspaper blames other country by using harsh and destructive words, so how can it become a source of stability and peacefulness in bilateral relations?

Editorials from daily *The Times of India* repeatedly endorsed the commitments of Indian’s government that diplomatic isolation should be made on Pakistan. As per different officials from Indian government, Pakistan must be isolated on diplomatic relations because of its terror role in the region. Said newspaper further remarked that Pakistan is the source of instability and shakiness in the region, even, it was remarked that “Pakistan is the source of regional headache”. These statements from any newspaper are also coded into negative attitude because of its deteriorative sense.

Most important thing which is vital for discussion is ‘conditional resumption of dialogue’. Many times, editorials from daily *The Times of India* supported talks with lot of conditions and provisions. Said newspaper argued that talks are necessary, but

Pakistan should do this and that. "If Pakistan will do like this" then talks will resume. Yes, talks are necessary provided that Pakistan should do this and that etc. Each statement clearly indicates the conditional establishment of dialogue between two countries which is regrettable because of presence of blaming element. Hence, it has been coded into negative category.

### **Conclusion**

The study concluded that the newspaper daily *Dawn*, in its editorials, remained mostly positive and comparatively neutral towards bilateral relations between the two countries. The newspaper didn't use any negative frames towards Pak-India relations. Frames and overall theme of editorials of daily *Dawn* was found to be optimistic, and with positive sense. Issues related to Kashmir dispute, terrorism, social ties and border situation were also framed in a positive approach. All type of Insurgency in both countries due to terrorism was denied by the newspaper. Right to self-determination of the people of Kashmir valley was framed most positive.

However, despite having positive sense, editorials from daily *The Times of India* found comparatively negative while framing of bilateral relations between two countries. Most of frames used by *The Times of India* and overall theme of the editorials were found pessimistic and blaming rival country which is harmful for bilateral relations. Issues concerning to Kashmir dispute, terrorism, social and border situation were framed relatively negative. Moreover, *The Times of India*, many times, vowed to resume dialogue with Pakistan in a conditional way that if Pakistan will do this and that then dialogue should be resumed otherwise no need to establish bilateral relations. This type of framing by a mainstream newspaper is not beneficial or advantageous for building healthy relations.

### **Recommendations**

- To determine the recent events/happenings and existing situation about bilateral relations between two countries, the time frame was two years i.e. from 1<sup>st</sup> July 2015 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 2017. The future researchers may be recommended to conduct a research from June 2017 to onward to determine the most recent circumstances.
- Two mainstream dailies from both countries i.e. Daily Dawn (from Pakistan) and Daily Times of India (from India) were selected to conduct said research. The future researchers may be recommended to conduct a research from newspapers other than Daily Dawn and Daily Times of India.
- This study was conducted to analyze editorials from both dailies, however, future researchers are recommended to analyze news coverage of dailies to see the different aspects of reporting by the mainstream media outlets.

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