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DERELICT PROVINCE: COVERAGE OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES OF BALUCHISTAN IN SELECTED PAKISTANI NEWSPAPERS

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Abstract

Baluchistan is the largest but at the same time neglected and under-developed province of Pakistan. The aim of the present research was to study the print media coverage of different issues prevailing in Baluchistan including missing persons, terrorism, military operations, human rights violation, government of Pakistan and foreign interference. It also explored newspapers' reporting for analyzing media framing and news bias towards the province. In this paper the researcher also discussed whether and to what extent print media was biased during the whole coverage. The different issues and news bias was studied in the light of framing concept of agenda setting theory. The study was quantitative in nature, involving content analysis to examine the portrayal of Baluchistan by Pakistani English newspapers i.e. Dawn and The News during January to March 2012. The study focused on the foreign policies of Pakistan regarding the province as the covered in selected newspapers. It also contributed by adding into knowledge about the application of news bias and neutrality of the Pakistani press allowing audience to make an informed choice.

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1.Introduction

Baluchistan has been suffering from different political, social and economic problems and is an overlooked province of Pakistan which added fuel to the conflict between Baloch population, provincial government, local people and the Federal Government. Incidents of killings and kidnappings by unknown factions are increasing day by day and there is a poor situation of law and order. The three main players behind the insurgencies in the province are provincial government, tribal council and Taliban. The ethnic disparity and lack of representation in the government and military are also the important reasons behind the on-ground conditions.

With the discovery of vast fields of natural gas, along with other valuable minerals, the region is experiencing increased interest from foreign investors and developers. Along with this, the terrain of Baluchistan makes it a prime location for the development of roads, railroads and pipelines to connect the Middle East, Central Asia and South Asia. To augment this development, the construction of a deep-water port at Gwadar has the potential of bringing globalization to the region in an exponential manner. In the face of this development and growth are the Baloch whose continued insurgencies have created an instable environment. Although deterring large-scale growth, interest in the region continues to grow, and with it, the threat of international politics and agendas colliding in a violent manner as Baluchistan grows. As such, the strategic importance of Baluchistan lies in its potential to either take the forefront in development in South Asia, or be the epicenter of the next large-scale multinational conflict.

Baluchistan, the largest province of Pakistan in terms of area is less developed in the socio-politico-economic trioka. As one can witness, literacy rate and job opportunities are quite low in Baluchistan, this validates social issues. The HDI index projects that the economy in the past was also in a faltering position. Specifically, the third component of this trioka, the political sphere, is one of the major reasons behind the backwardness. Baluchistan in the 21st century is still facing the predicament of the Sardari system and differences between the factions cause instability. As far as the positive aspect is concerned Baluchistan is nurtured by resources, minerals and strategic

disposition but the people of the province are handicapped due to the issues in the social, political and economic sector which have been dealt with rigorously in the past. The failure lies in the inefficacy of the past provisional government and the resistance from feudal lords faced by the Government of Pakistan. The efficient research of PILDAT (2012) indicates that the literacy rate of Baluchistan which is 51.5 percent needs to be focused on. The annual growth is quite low due to urbanization and high volume of unemployment. Having a bird's eye view on history, the progress and development in Baluchistan remain low and uncertain as the British rulers were keen on making railways and roads network to get connected to Central Asia, Afghanistan and Iran. This overambitious gambling leaves Baluchistan's infrastructure undeveloped. After Pakistan emerged on the map of the world, Baluchistan was treated as an ignorant child in the family. Baluchistan came into limelight when the five years' plan was introduced in early 1960's and late 1970's. Ultimately, it did not bring luck to Baluchistan as the infrastructure was in an outrageous position and things were not institutionalized. That was the start of grievances among the Baloch as the two, five years' plans were working for other parts of the country but not Baluchistan. The socio-economic indicators did not rise much, and the dissatisfaction of the people of Baluchistan went to a higher level. To alleviate the grievances of the Baloch, the central government in succession has been taking various politico-economic measures but the capacity of provincial governments and tribal resistance has impeded progress.

Analyzing the current situation vis-a-vis the socio-politico-economic triad, the situation is much better as compared to that of the past. The current government is laying special emphasis on the development and progress of Baluchistan. A number of projects are being undertaken with the help of Pakistan Army and with the cooperation of the provincial government. It has brought relief to the people. Baluchistan is the linchpin of CPEC. The Chinese companies are creating job opportunities for the people of Pakistan. The HDI index of Baluchistan is rising, the literacy rate is increasing as the Pakistan Army has started a scheme of primary schools in so-called remote areas as well. It is pertinent to mention that insurgency is taking its last breath in Baluchistan

and the people of Baluchistan are realizing who the real culprits are. Not to mention, Brahamdagh Bugti and Hyrbyair Marri are living with high standards abroad, while the citizens of the province deal with the problems. These outliers do not have the courage to come to Pakistan because they have committed atrocities in several Baloch tribes. Serving Home Minister Sarfraz Bugti has also been a victim.

The media in Baluchistan is also accused to be under the control of Federal Commission. According to Baluchistan's social authorities, the newspaper organizations are being endangered to tilt the news stories according to their interests. It proves that the image of Baluchistan presented in the newspapers is not accurate as media in Baluchistan have to face a lot of pressures making it biased in reporting. That's why the aspect of news bias was covered in this study as most of the viewpoints of people are based on the information they get from news. The Baloch insurgency is the result of wide range of problems; out of which some had been studied in this paper. The problems in Baluchistan had been divided into different themes including terrorism consisting of bombing attacks by Baluchistan liberation army, military operations consisting of forces attacks against Baloch forces, missing persons consisting of kidnapping and disappearance of people, foreign interference in the internal policies of Baluchistan, human rights violation due to killings and kidnappings and the government of Pakistan. The paper figured out the treatment of such different issues about the province by Pakistani print media. Another prime focus of the study was to explore news bias and the degree of source attributed news, inferences and judgment sentences. This study enabled individuals to understand the nature of Pakistani press and the practice of news bias by newspaper organizations to make an enlightened choice. Different problems of Baluchistan along with their news coverage were quite important to be discussed because if these internal and provincial problems were not solved, they would further lead towards destabilizing Pakistan and South Asia at large.

Baluchistan is the largest province of the country which is gaining importance because of the discovery of vast fields of natural gas, along with other valuable minerals. The construction of a deep-water port at Gwadar also has the potential of bringing globalization to the region. But the

continued insurgencies in the province have created an unstable environment. This study will have many fold significance, specifically, in understanding the media coverage. The study will find out the nature and treatment of the Pakistani print media portrayal of the Pakistan's socio-political, and its foreign policies on Baluchistan issue.

2.Literature Review

It is important to understand the complexity of media to have a perspective about a society in which the channels are operating. There are few topics that are given a lot of coverage by the print media in order to boost up their business for example most of news in today's world consists of information related to terrorism. To gain attention of audience, newspapers give more coverage to violent terrorist activities through pictures (Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006). Biernatzki, (2002) identified that the media content has changed in the last few years and TV has become important element for emotional coverage. It was being found that news and terrorism have strong connections because terrorists need intensive coverage to be successful and media require violent acts to provide sensationalism for attracting large number of audience. Mostly straightforward descriptions or facts are used by all the channels to cover the news about terrorism. Media have also been criticized in actually supporting terrorists for the achievement of their goal to spread fear among the target audience. Such coverage allows audience to adopt media agenda by considering world as a dreadful place. Media channels influence the perception of audience about the outer world through agenda setting. McLeod, Becker and Byrnes (1974) stated that the world looks different to people depending upon the writers, editors and publishers of the newspapers they read. Audience changes their perceptions about the importance of issues according to the attention given by the medium they use. Coleman, Banning and Stephen (2006) also mentioned that the people who take newspapers as the important source of information will hold attitudes according to the news published. Hoffman (2007) posited the changing trends in the newsworthiness of terrorism. Causalities of any violent activity determine the news coverage. Shocking stories attract large number of audience which also determines the news content. For the selling of

news, information based on terrorist activities is pretty much longer and mostly printed on the cover pages to catch the attention of readers with sensational stories. Events that are given more coverage include violent activities by terrorists such as attacks on aircrafts or military (Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006). Wittebols (1991) presented the difference of print media coverage based on different forms of terrorist activities. Powerful groups behind all the violent actions such as grievance or institutional terrorism receive negative coverage. The quantity and nature of news is based on the targeted victims of violent actions. Thus the article suggested individuals' consciousness as a reason behind the difference in the news coverage of terrorism. According to a report by HRCP, print media only reported the facts and figures of missing persons in the province of Baluchistan. There is no voice of security agencies about investigating the solutions of the problem. Such ineffective coverage increased the level of frustration and fear among readers. Weiman and Winn (1994) considered that newspapers alter the trends of the audiences' thoughts regarding a certain event or issue. They cover an issue in positive, negative or neutral way which allows the audience to think differently about any story. It was also found out that the activities such as blasts, target killing or missing persons catch the attention of foreign media that results in shaping the perceptions of individuals around the world and allowing them to interfere in other countries' internal policies.

Increase in media channels and sources available to the audience have raised the accessibility level. International media channels and newspapers lead towards globalization which is sometimes considered as interference. Hammond (2007) looked at the relationship between news reporting and foreign policy, without considering its impact over individuals' decisions. He coined a new term "CNN effect" by studying an impact of media reporting over international policies. During the Somalia crisis, policies developed according to TV news were found to be quite subjective (Schlesinger, 1992). Berenson (2008) suggested that the function of newspapers prevailing in capitalist countries frame events differently as compared to the print media in social democratic countries. Globalization has posed a great threat to the integrity of nations by allowing them to interfere in each other's policies. This interference

leads towards destabilizing different nations and weakening the countries as whole. Close relations among different countries also shape the media agenda of respective countries which influences public perceptions and opinions about any topic in particular or the whole country in general. Thus global agendas adopt the concept of media and become part of global play (Hammond, 2007). It is making under developed or neglected countries under the strict control of powerful entities or governments. Zhang (2003) suggested that international media relations are important because they help to change public perceptions of the countries and influence foreign policy. Public relations information shapes news content which in turn influences public opinion and public agenda. It is found that foreign countries hire US public relations strategies to promote positive image of their media. Two things i.e. public relations and technology has changed the way of global communication. The developed nations of the world have control over newspaper organizations in the international market that gives unfavorable coverage to the third world countries which is the basic criticism on foreign interference and motivated by the today's print media. This interference allows dominant countries to control the level of information either provided to or covered by the countries they are controlling. It also proves that media are one of the most important tools allowing others to interfere in different countries' internal matters, which is the major threat to their integrity.

The impact of news coverage over foreign policies is in accordance with the unity of political authorities. When the government or authorities share a common view over specific strategies, news coverage also follows a neutral trend. But in case of contradictions newspapers favor the opposing party. This can be illustrated through the news published about Vietnam War. Print media were supporting the interference during the start of the war when there were no contradictions about it. As war resulted in greater destruction and negative views started developing, news had gone opposite to the government. It in turn shows that newspapers position their priorities according to set agendas (Hallin, 1986). Print media has innate interest in covering stories about the military operations because publishing such stories allow readers to be aware of what the important security agencies of the country are doing. The level of

news available depends upon the freedom given to the newspaper organizations by state agencies and military. Most of the news is published through the press releases given by military itself so it is mostly neutral with facts and figures. While covering military operations, the focus remains towards military and less coverage is given to the rights of people being affected (Public Affairs Qualification Course, The Defense Information School, Fort George G. Meade Maryland)

There are few journalists and media houses that advance human rights protection. Cole (2010) proved that in dictatorial countries, the news about human rights is mostly published negatively to sensationalize the stories. However, stories regarding the issues about human rights tend to receive the same treatment in most of the countries due to their similar consideration about the press freedom laws and its relationship with the civil society. Print media held other issues important as compared to the ones involving social issues, social cause or any human rights campaigns. It tends to focus more on the issues involving negativity, violence or emotionalism to attract large number of audience. For media owners, it is more important to sell the news that's why they focus more on the issues that engage audience. Apodaca (2007) also found out the considerable relationship among news accessibility, its freedom and different stages of abuse of human rights. If the violation of human rights involves large number of people, it will be inclined to receive more coverage to sensationalize the story. Journalism, Media and the Challenge of Human Rights Reporting, 2002, studied that although newspapers give much coverage to topics involving human rights, they still fail to provide details about the victims but focus on the wrong subjects and do not cover every type of human rights violation. The kinds of issues covered mostly include those occurred during wars, conflicts, crime or poverty. Another reason for publishing news stories about human rights violation is the increased amount of awareness among audience and different ongoing social movements. Nowadays people actively participate and provide feedback which makes them to incorporate news regarding human rights violation. It was also being found that while reporting human rights issues, reporters, journalists and editors become sympathetic, unconcerned and/or hostile. Such an attitude of media practitioners towards

human rights news will make audience to consider media as biased.

Print media is sometimes accused to be biased by providing one side of the story and not covering all the aspects. Media slant and bias clearly illustrates the impact and circulation of power among different stakeholders. Entman (2007) proposed the organizing concept of news bias which interestingly strengthened the individuals' understanding about the mass media. News bias concept of media is also linked to the theory of agenda setting. He also suggested the better procedures of news bias and slant. News bias is more likely to occur when the impact of agenda setting especially priming and framing is higher on audiences. Baron (2004) stated that the print media play an essential role in society, but study specified that the public also considers the news as biased. The paper approved a theory of news bias that initiated with private information gathered by journalists through their exploration regardless of profits-maximizing media groups and rivalry from other newspapers. News bias has two effects on the requirement for news. First, logical individuals are more suspicious of potentially biased news and hence depend less on it in their decision-making process. Second, news bias creates certain stories more probable than others. Newspaper organizations can restrict bias by curbing the discretion permissible to journalists, but giving away discretion and bearing news bias can boost profits. News bias can exist at a greater level in an environment conducive to competition as compared to the organizations with monopolistic setting. Media ownership also influences the amount of news bias. Vallone, Ross and Lepper (1985) found out that news bias is more evident in showing a preferential conduct towards various issues. Balanced, fair and accurate news are the main factors that curtail the impact and use of news bias. Gehlbach and Sonin (2008) presented a paper which studied government control over media among different countries. If print media is controlled by a respective government, it is more likely to be biased as it provides coverage to the news stories which coincide with the government policies and conceal the information which is not in favor of the concerned administration. Thus media ownership also changes the level of news bias because it is considered that private media organizations are considered less biased as compared to the public media organizations.

Newspapers under the direct control of government pursue the editorial policy devised by the government. It is also known that whether the newspaper organization is in private ownership, the government can still control the content of news indirectly by granting subsidies to the proprietor. In less democratic countries the administration utilizes the news media for achieving their objectives and prompt audience to take measures which may not be in their individual interests. Both private and public media are less partial when the advertising market is huge. If individuals communally choose parameters in place of their personal decision-making, news bias increases the predictable inflexibility of regulation. Ho et al. (2008) also observed the influence of biased opinion on individuals. They stated scholars' findings that press treatment of news bias are a major aspect behind the perceptions of news bias. People will observe newspapers coverage as biased when it is dissimilar from their viewpoints. One-sided news stories can increase misperceptions about any matter and can change the audience response and behavior. In his research D'Alessio (2003) surveyed 23 students to find out the perceptions concerning news bias and was of the view that print media content is considered as biased when the information is contradictory to the viewpoints of audience. News bias is based on misinterpretations which also deject the utilization of content because it diminishes the trustworthiness. People are more likely to consider news as biased to prove their viewpoints as valid. Conclusion about any news or newspaper organization as biased is subjective based on persons' opinions and only arise when the content is not telling what the people want to hear. People only acknowledge the information which is nearer to their thoughts and turn down the one which is not based on their observations. Readers always perceive incorrect stories as biased whose perception is topic reliant which appears to be closely related with political news items. Quotations to catch the attention of readers are also perceived more prejudiced in contrast to the statements used by the public. The news bias reduces the level of trust on mass media as a source of information and has negative impact on peoples' approach towards any problem. It was also found that conservatives have high perceptions of news bias than liberals which is completely related to issue explicit participation

but it has unusual effects in distinct settings. It was also posited that print media is not always biased in its reporting; it is also the audience framing of minds about a particular topic that considers it as biased (Ho et al, 2008).

3 .Research Objectives

- To explore the extent of media biasness in reporting about Baluchistan issue.
- To explore the extent media is reinforcing misperceptions about Baluchistan.
- To explore the extent of media coverage given to the whole issue.

4 .Research Questions

RQ1: Did the amount of coverage given to the Baluchistan issue differ between Dawn and The News?

RQ2: What themes/topics were reflected in the coverage of the Baluchistan issue?

RQ3: Did the slant of the coverage regarding the Baluchistan issue differ between the Dawn and The News?

RQ 4: Did the frames used in the coverage given in both the newspapers differ?

5. Methods

The study employed content analysis method for analyzing the coverage of different problems prevailing in Baluchistan by Pakistani newspapers. Prior to the research, a coding sheet was developed to document the information about each news item including title of the newspaper and news, date of publication, theme and tone/slant in terms of favorable, neutral or unfavorable. News selected for analysis was published in the newspapers namely Dawn and The News. The final sample comprised of 252 news stories, with 128 (50.8%) being from The News and 124 (49.2%) being from the Dawn. The study focused on the newspapers content between January and March 2012 as there was so much exposure given to the volatile situation of the province by Pakistani media during this time period. The conflict between Bugti and Marri tribe was also worse and tribe members gave statements about separation from Pakistan. Dawn and The News were chosen for the research because they are the top leading English dailies in Pakistan. They are circulated in high amount and are main resources that provide news to the public.

News items selected for study were based on the issues of missing persons, terrorism, military operations, human rights violation, government and foreign interference. News coverage was checked to find out media framing of different issues in Baluchistan by examining the slant of news and making categories favorable, neutral or unfavorable. The topic answered the question whether information given to the public was accurate, appropriate, or complete by analyzing the credible attribution provided for the news objectivity. The story was considered as biased if it lacked attribution and involved large amount of inferences and judgment sentences. Inter-coder reliability had also been checked by involving two coders, consisting of the researcher herself and a coder for each theme by using Scott's Pi formula i.e. $[\text{Pr}(a)-\text{Pr}(e)]/[1-\text{Pr}(e)]$.

Dawn and The News are chosen for this research because they are the top leading English dailies in Pakistan. They are circulated in high amount and are the most important sources of information for the public. There will be content analysis of news published on main pages and back pages of the selected newspapers.

According to Shafqat Munir (served at a senior editorial position with The News), The News is a radical, open, a bit progressive newspaper while Dawn is traditional and conservative in its approach. Both cater to the needs of two different segments of the society, with some portion of overlapping audience. Dawn and The News are also considered the most credible newspapers and are not criticized much of being sensationalized. The News is considered to be aggressive in nature as compared to the Dawn that's why there will be a comparative analysis of the content of both the newspapers. This topic will answer the questions that whether information given to the public was accurate, appropriate, or complete.

6. Results

The population for this study consisted of the news stories related to Baluchistan published in The News and Dawn. The final sample included 252 stories from Dawn and The News with 124 (49.2%) and 128 (50.8%) respectively. This study coded each story in terms of favorable, neutral and unfavorable slant. Favorable slant was the one which supported a specific theme or topic whereas negative slant tend to oppose a certain topic or

theme. Story which placed no clear emphasis on either the favorable or unfavorable aspects of the topic was coded as neutral. The inter-coder reliability of overall coding is 0.57 means substantial reliability as values between 0.4 and 0.7 are considered as substantial.

6.1 H1: The coverage of terrorism in Dawn is more balanced than the coverage of terrorism in The News.

Dawn and The News published 113 and 122 stories about terrorism respectively. According to chi square test, p value is 0.950 which is greater than level of significance i.e. 0.05 so we do not reject null hypothesis which states that there is no significant difference in the neutral coverage of both the newspapers. Dawn and The News presented 17 and 18 stories (15% and 14.75% respectively) about terrorism with the unfavorable slant. Similarly the neutral depiction of the theme terrorism does not differ as Dawn presented 96 (85%) stories and The News presented 104 (85.25%) stories neutrally. Hence hypothesis 1 is not supported.

Table No 4.1 Theme Terrorism Newspapers Cross Tabulation

var1	var2		Total
	-1	0	
Dawn	17	96	113
The News	18	104	122
Total	35	200	235

Pearson $\chi^2(1) = 0.0039$ Pr = 0.950

Newspapers	Dawn	Percentage	The News	Percentage
Unfavorable	17	15%	18	14.75%
Neutral	96	85%	104	85.25%
Total	113	100	122	100

Inter-coder Reliability of theme terrorism: 0.48 means substantial reliability as values between 0.4 and 0.7 are considered as substantial.

4.2 H2: The coverage of military operations in Dawn is more balanced than the coverage of military operations in The News.

Dawn published 114 and The News published 117 news stories about the issue of military operations respectively. According to chi square test, p value is 0.292 which is greater than level of significance i.e. 0.05 so we do not reject null hypothesis which states that there is no significant difference in the neutral coverage of both the newspapers. The theme military operations comprised of 25% (28 stories) and 31% (36 stories) with favorable/unfavorable slant by Dawn and The News respectively. Both the newspapers portrayed military operations in a balanced manner as Dawn comprises of 86 neutral stories (75%) and The News consists of 81 neutral stories (69%). Hence hypothesis 2 is not supported.

Table No 4.2 Theme Military Operations Newspapers Cross Tabulation

var1	var2		Total
	0	1	
Dawn	86	28	114
The News	81	36	117
Total	167	64	231

Pearson chi2(1) = 1.1109 Pr = 0.292

Newspapers	Dawn	Percentage	The News	Percentage
Fav/Unfav	28	25%	36	31%
Neutral	86	75%	81	69%
Total	114	100	117	100

Inter-coder Reliability of theme military operations: 0.50 means substantial reliability as values between 0.4 and 0.7 are considered as substantial.

6.3 H3: The coverage of human rights violation in Dawn is more balanced than the coverage of human rights violation in The News.

110 and 115 news stories about human rights were published by Dawn and The News respectively. According to chi square test, p value is 0.258 which is greater than level of significance i.e. 0.05 so we do not reject null hypothesis which states that there is no significant difference in the neutral coverage of both

the newspapers. Dawn presented 10 (9%) and 100 (91%) stories whereas The News presented 16 (14%) and 99 (86%) stories with negative and neutral slant respectively. Hence hypothesis 3 is not supported.

Table No 4.3 Theme Human Rights Newspapers Cross Tabulation

var1	var2		Total
	0	1	
Dawn	100	10	110
The News	99	16	115
Total	199	26	225

Pearson chi2(1) = 1.2792 Pr = 0.258

Newspapers	Dawn	Percentage	The News	Percentage
Unfavorable	10	9%	16	14%
Neutral	100	91%	99	86%
Total	110	100	115	100

Inter-coder Reliability of theme human rights: 0.53 means substantial reliability as values between 0.4 and 0.7 are considered as substantial.

6.4 H4: The coverage of Government of Pakistan in Dawn is more balanced than the coverage of Government of Pakistan in The News.

Dawn and The News published 113 and 118 stories about government of Pakistan respectively. According to chi square test, p value is 0.023 which is less than level of significance i.e. 0.05 so we reject null hypothesis which states that there is no significant difference in the neutral coverage of both the newspapers. There is a noteworthy difference between the neutral depiction of theme Government of Pakistan between Dawn with 75 (66%) stories and The News with 61 (52%) stories. The News gives more favorable/unfavorable coverage to the Government of Pakistan as it presented 57 (48%) stories as compared to the Dawn which presented 38 (34%) stories with the same slant. Hence hypothesis 4 is supported.

Table No 4.4 Theme Government of Pakistan Newspapers Cross Tabulation

var1	var2		Total
	0	1	
Dawn	75	38	113
The News	61	57	118
Total	136	95	231

Pearson chi2(1) = 5.1354 Pr = 0.023

Newspapers	Dawn	Percentage	The News	Percentage
Fav/Unfav	38	34%	57	48%
Neutral	75	66%	61	52%
Total	113	100	118	100

Inter-coder Reliability of theme government of Pakistan: 0.59 means substantial reliability as values between 0.4 and 0.7 are considered as substantial.

6.5 H5: The coverage of Missing persons in Dawn is more balanced than the coverage of Missing persons in The News.

Dawn published 104 and The News published 119 news stories about the issue of military operations. According to chi square test, p value is 0.724 which is greater than level of significance i.e. 0.05 so we do not reject null hypothesis which states that there is no significant difference in the neutral coverage of both the newspapers. Dawn presented 14 (14%) stories with negative depiction and The News presented 18 (15%) stories negatively. The neutral depiction of the theme is similar as both the newspapers presented 90 and 101(86% and 85%) stories neutrally. Hence hypothesis 5 is not supported.

Table No 4.5 Theme Missing Persons Newspapers Cross Tabulation

var1	var2		Total
	0	1	
Dawn	90	14	104
The News	101	18	119
Total	191	32	223

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.1251 Pr = 0.724

Newspapers	Dawn	Percentage	The News	Percentage
Unfavorable	14	14%	18	15%
Neutral	90	86%	101	85%
Total	104	100	119	100

Inter-coder Reliability of theme missing persons: 0.45 means substantial reliability as values between 0.4 and 0.7 are considered as substantial.

6.6 H6: The coverage of US interference in Dawn is more balanced than the coverage of US interference in The News.

112 and 124 news stories about human rights were published by Dawn and The News respectively. According to chi square test, p value is 0.525 which is greater than level of significance i.e. 0.05 so we do not reject null hypothesis which states that there is no significant difference in the neutral coverage of the theme US interference in internal policies of Baluchistan.. Dawn and The News presented 38 stories (34%) and 47 stories (38%) respectively with the favorable/unfavorable slant. The neutral depiction does not differ as Dawn has 74 (66%) stories and The News has 77 (62%) stories. Hence hypothesis 6 is not supported.

Table No 4.6 Theme US interference in internal policies Newspapers Cross Tabulation

var1	var2		Total
	0	1	
Dawn	74	38	112
The News	77	47	124
Total	151	85	236

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.4034 Pr = 0.525

Newspapers	Dawn	Percentage	The News	Percentage
Fav/Unfav	38	34%	47	38%
Neutral	74	66%	77	62%
Total	112	100	124	100

Inter-coder Reliability of theme US interference: 0.49 means substantial reliability as

values between 0.4 and 0.7 are considered as substantial.

6.7 H7: Dawn has used more source attribution than The News.

Comparing with Inference (Favorable and Unfavorable): According to chi square test, p value is 0.103 which is greater than level of significance i.e. 0.05 so we do not reject null hypothesis which states that there is no difference in the neutral coverage of both the newspapers. Dawn and The News presented 109 stories (90%) and 104 stories (84%) with source attribution respectively. The stories containing unfavorable/favorable inferences are 11 (10%) and 20 (16%) in Dawn and The News. Thus the H7 is not supported.

Table No 4.7 News Bias (Dawn and The News) Cross Tabulation

	var2		
var1	0	1	Total
Dawn	109	11	120
The News	104	20	124
Total	213	31	244

Pearson chi2(1) = 2.6654 Pr = 0.103

Newspapers	Dawn	Percentage	The News	Percentage
Inference (Fav/Unfav)	11	10%	20	16%
Neutral	109	90%	104	84%
Total	120	100	124	100

Comparing with Judgment Sentences:

According to chi square test, p value is 0.948 which is greater than level of significance i.e. 0.05 so we do not reject null hypothesis which states that there is no difference in the neutral coverage of both the newspapers. Dawn and The News have 109 stories (96%) and 104 stories (96%) with source attribution respectively. Stories with unfavorable/favorable judgment are 4 (4%) in both newspapers. Thus the H7 is not supported.

	var2		
var1	0	1	Total
Dawn	109	4	113
The News	104	4	108
Total	213	8	221

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.0043 Pr = 0.948

Newspapers	Dawn	Percentage	The News	Percentage
Judgment (Fav/Unfav)	4	4%	4	4%
Neutral	109	96%	104	96%
Total	113	100	108	100

Inter-coder Reliability of theme News bias: 0.45 means substantial reliability as values between 0.4 and 0.7 are considered as substantial.

7. Discussion

The overall coverage of Baluchistan across the two papers including Dawn and The News was not different. Most of the stories tend to be framed with a neutral slant by both the newspapers. The themes that did not receive the favorable slant are the issues of terrorism, missing persons and human rights violation in the province. After the neutral depiction, most of the stories are framed unfavorably by both the newspapers.

Furthermore, there was no significant difference in the coverage of the theme terrorism in both the newspapers as the slants in both the newspapers was also primarily neutral by providing the facts and figures of terrorist activities. Prior research has also shown that the number of deaths and damage decides the newsworthiness and dreadful stories with pictures attract large number of people which in turn determines the newspaper's content (Hoffman, 2007). Biernatzki, (2002) also concluded that news and facts about terrorist activities are published which creates fear among people making them to consider world as a dreadful place.

It was also found that there is no significant difference in the coverage of military operations as the tone of both the newspapers was generally neutral. This is also concluded by a study named Public Affairs Qualification Course, The Defense Information School, Fort George G. Meade Maryland as most of the news is published through the press releases given by military itself so it is mostly neutral with facts and figures. While covering military operations, less coverage is given to the rights of people being affected.

The hypothesis about the theme of Government of Pakistan showed a significant difference between the depiction of theme Government of Pakistan between Dawn and The News. Although most of the stories were still published neutrally by stating

the statements of officials as it is but with a difference in the number so the hypothesis was supported. Findings of Gehlbach & Sonin (2008) suggested that media channels under the direct influence of government follow the editorial policy devised by them. This finding can also somewhat relate to the study of Sheaffer (2008) who found out that news stories not exactly depict what the government wants to tell the public explaining that there is no correlation between government and news. Neutral coverage showed that newspaper organizations always construct their own policies and frames.

Here again it was found that there is no significant difference in the neutral coverage of the theme US interference in Baluchistan internal policies in both the newspapers. Both Dawn and The News published stories in a balanced manner. Although there are many considerable researches available about the role of media with reference to international relations, however, there have been immensely different findings. For example, Hallin (1986) concluded that the news content favors the general view when the political leaders show agreement over a particular approach or policy decision. But if there is denial, news pattern be inclined to take the opponents' part. However, on the other side there is a researcher Zhang (2003) who found out the importance of public relations information which shapes the content of news to influence individual's opinion and public agenda. The concept of news bias is not true as most of the stories were written along with the source attributed in both the newspapers; there are only a few stories that included reporter or editor's inferences and judgment that's why the hypothesis was not supported. It was also found out by Baron (2004) stated that the news media play a role of watch dog society by providing sourced news. Similarly Ho et al. (2008) stated that people will perceive any information as biased when it is does not match with their viewpoints. Slanted news can create misperceptions about an issue and can change person's response which depicts an important relation between news bias perceptions and actions. D'Alessio (2003) also concluded that observation of biased news is subjective supported by individuals' opinions and only occurs when the news do not coincide with their thought process.

8. Conclusion

Most of the stories tend to be framed with a neutral slant by both the newspapers. It can be concluded that the concept of media biasness is not true as mostly the Pakistani media especially the two newspapers only portrayed the statements as it is given by the high officials. The content is not distorted. The results of the study concluded that the role of English press in Pakistan is satisfactory as neither it is taking sides of any particular party or person nor is stating anything against. English press is portraying the Baluchistan issue in a very neutral manner and is playing a role as a watchdog by giving an accurate picture.

Charges of media bias may reflect more than self-serving attempts to secure preferential treatment. People will only perceive media as biased when it is different with their viewpoints. Slanted news stories can increase misperceptions about any issue and can change their reactions and behavior, which shows a strong relation between media bias perceptions and behavior. The media biasness also weakens the level of trust on mass media as a source of information. Thus perception of a biased media is subjective based on individuals' opinions and only occurs when the media is not stating what the person is thinking. People only accept the information which is closer to their thought and reject the one which is not according to their observations. As a result they perceive media as biased. The findings suggests that people always perceive inaccurate stories as biased and this perception is topic dependent which seems to be closely linked with political news content. It is also found that quotations to attract audience are also perceived more biased as compared to the statements used by the audience.

Few recommendations to improve the prevailing situation of media industry include that a strong regulatory authority should implement laws to remove all kinds of pressures and restrictions from the industry to allow journalists to work with their free will. Job and life security of journalists should be guaranteed so their exploitation level can be lessened. It will also increase the level of objectivity in news by presenting all the angles of a news story. It can only be done when professional people will make strong editorial policies of a channel allowing the media to work for public good instead of owners or different lobbies' interests so that it becomes a 4th pillar of state in true sense. Audience should also absorb

the news either it matches with their viewpoints or not.

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