PAPER ID: 11A12Q

HOW CHINESE MEDIA COVER THE INDO-PAK ANTAGONISM OVER KASHMIR ISSUE: CASE STUDY OF PEACE AND WAR JOURNALISM PRACTICE AND ITS NEXUS WITH FOREIGN POLICY

Muhammad Aftab Madni Memon [1*], Shen Hui [1], Salman Yousaf [2]

[a] *School of Journalism and Communication, Shanghai University, CHINA.*
[b] *Institute of Banking and Finance, Bahauddin Zakariya University, PAKISTAN.*

A R T I C L E I N F O

A B S T R A C T

This study examines the tendency of preference and stance of China-based English newspapers in the view of peace journalism by framing analysis of Indo-Pak contention over the Kashmir issue in 2019. Secondarily, this research determines the representation of India and Pakistan, based on recent situations in Kashmir. Two selected newspapers, Global Times and China Daily, published 266 news stories, and the results of their content analysis reveal that both newspapers practice more war journalism than peace while covering the tense situation of Kashmir. Moreover, the Chinese press shows favorable slants to Kashmir and unfavorable slants to the Indian Government/military. Both newspapers exhibit neutral representation for Pakistan and India; however, Pakistan is portrayed more favorably and affirmatively than India. The salient representation of the "solution and dialogue-oriented" indicator under the peace journalism justifies the role of Chinese media and government as the peacemaker in the region.

Disciplinary: Multidisciplinary (Journalism and Mass Communication Sciences (Information and Media Sciences), Political Sciences (International Affairs/International Relations), Global Studies, Peace Study).

1. INTRODUCTION

World history is fraught with many conflicts around the world, and the roles of media while addressing these critical situations always finds its significance. Entman (1993) ascertained through framing research that the media behaves differently when reporting an identical story or matter. Everyone has to rely on media coverage to get the latest disputed information. Whereas, media possess a fundamental characteristic that shapes the progression of events in war and peace (Lee,

2010) by setting the agendas and framing the news stories (Cohen, 2015). Subsequently, the media becomes an efficacious ingredient in creating a public impression about conflicts and presenting the image of the relevant authority or country (Ramasubramanian & Miles, 2018; Zaheer, 2017).

Since 1947, Kashmir, a Muslim- dominant region, caused three wars between Pakistan and India. In 1949, the first India-Pakistan war had divided the Kashmir into two parts. However, due to the geostrategic realities of Pakistan's Kashmir, it needs Pakistan to survive economically, physically and militarily, but this region also lacks integrity as a veritably autonomous existence (Zutshi, 2017). On the other side, for the last 72 years, Indian Kashmiris have been struggling for their sovereignty from India. Historically, in the United Nations (UN), Kashmir is the oldest unresolved issue. However, the dialogue between India and Pakistan over Kashmir has either proved fruitless or canceled several times (Bajpai, 2017).

In early 2019, a new phase of tension in Kashmir triggered when India blamed Pakistan for a suicide bombing in Kashmir's Pulwama district, where 40 soldiers of the Central Reserve Police Force convoy were killed on 14 February 2019. In the same month, Indian fighting jets crossed the line of control, and Pakistan's Air forces shot down two of its jets and arrested its pilot, who was later released. A few months later, the USA announced an intervention to encourage peace talks and resolve the Kashmir issue. However, shortly after that, India's ruling party on 5 August revoked the Article-370 of its constitution that guaranteed special status to the Kashmir. The action created restive in Kashmir; because of this, thousands more troops were deployed to control any possible turmoil. Simultaneously, Kashmir was disconnected from the world by shutting down all sources of communication, including mobile and landline phones, Internet access, and cable TV (Schmall, 2019). Then, on 30 October, Delhi has formally canceled the semi-autonomous rule of the disputed state of Kashmir's so that it could be fully integrated into India. However, it was subdivided into two federal territories Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh, and now the region is subject to similar central laws as all other Indians.

Nowadays, the Kashmir issue gets significant coverage all over the world. Considering the substantial position of China, as an emerging power and its unique ties with India and Pakistan, it seems essential to examine the inclination and pattern of Chinese media over the coverage of Kashmir issue, which also shows its role in establishing peace between both countries. This study followed previous research patterns (Hussain, 2015; Hussain & Siraj, 2019; Neumann & Fahmy, 2015; Siraj, 2008, 2010; Zaheer, 2017) and adopted the peace journalism supported by framing theory. This combination had never before been exclusively applied to Chinese media while focusing on the Kashmir issue. Hence, this study fills the gap on the war/peace journalism. Moreover, this study also considered being the first framing research of its kind, which analyses Pakistan and India's representation regarding Kashmir's issue, exclusively in the Chinese press.

This study's research questions are

RQ1: Does the Chinese press give coverage to Kashmir, and to what extent?

RQ2: What are the salient indicators in news coverage, and what frames among war and peace journalism are widely practiced?

RQ3: Which types of slants are used by China's newspapers?

RQ4: How Chinese print media framed the representation of Pakistan and India?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 WAR AND PEACE FRAMES IN MEDIA RESEARCH:

It has been observed that it is human nature to lean towards one of the contestants while witnessing the conflict; therefore, news regarding disagreements, arguments, and acrimonies such as a conflict-related event receive more attention from its audiences (Forgette & Morris, 2006). The media may not have easy access to resolve any dispute, but it can play a crucial role in reducing tensions between rival countries by honest, reliable, accurate reporting (Zaheer, 2016).

Globally, while examining media framing of any dispute, war, or even critical situation, many researchers adopted the peace journalism theory given by Johan Galtung (1986, 2003). Such as framing study on North Korea, Chung *et al.* (2007) concluded that based on the consequences of the nuclear program and its international relations, USA newspaper suggests more intense war journalism frame beside the Chinese print media more active in peace journalism frame while South Korean newspapers retain neutral framing. Likewise, a study on coverage of Taliban conflict in print media of Pakistan and Afghanistan, Hussain & Siraj (2019) expressed that both press mainly practiced the war-journalism frame. The researchers added that the situations of conflict are mainly publicized in the eyes of the media as a frame of war journalism (Fawcett, 2002; Lee et al., 2006) even while covering the peace talks during a dispute (Shinar, 2004). However, in a recently conducted study on Pakistani print media about the chaos in Hong Kong over an extradition bill, Memon *et al.* (2020) concluded that Pakistani newspapers practiced more peace journalism than war. However, the Pakistani newspapers expressed the representation of China slightly negative than positive because the Pakistani press more relies on western newswire while covering the skirmishes in Hong Kong.

In South Asia, the Kashmir is the primary reason for conflagration between Indo-Pak; thus, various scholars focused several studies on examining the war and peace journalism framing. Like, Siraj (2008) conducted a news analysis study of Indo-Pak dispute during the peak period of their conflict and concluding that the USA elite newspapers are tilted more towards war journalism frame. Also, the United States press displayed Pakistan in unfavorable slant because of its status of an Islamic state with nuclear power and having a hateful relationship with Israel. Furthermore, Khan & Shakir (2011) also focused on editorial treatment on conflicts between Pakistan and India in two of Pakistan's newspapers and concluded with the dominancy of war journalism. Similarly, Zaheer (2016) considered editorial coverage of disputes in Kashmir in Pakistan's newspapers after the martyrdom of Burhan Wani-a freedom fighter in Kashmir and revealed that conflict is proceeding in the direction of war and not encouraging peace journalism. Hussain (2015) clarified that an Indian newspaper framed more war journalism on Pak-India conflict over the disputed territory of Kashmir, which shows the pushing of war culture among Pakistan and India. While Pakistan's print media framed more peace journalism and accentuating that clashes must be decided peacefully by cooperation among two countries.

The above-discussed literature exhibited a gap, and the authors of this study availed the ample opportunity to examine the Chinese media about war/peace journalism practices concerning the conflict between Pakistan and India over the Kashmir issue, particularly in 2019.

2.2 CHINESE MEDIA IN FRAMING SPHERE:

Frames are formal and effective courses of action applied by media and the public to shape worldwide tendencies and understand issues and occasions (Gitlin, 2003). Noteworthy, framing is inevitable over the way of news production. Globally, scholars are seen as more interested in conducting a framing analysis of international issues in Chinese media. For instance, in Pakistan's context, Munib & Munawar (2015) conducted a framing analysis in which China's national news agency Xinhua revealed a positive impression of Pakistan.

Moreover, considering the significance of the unique relationship of Pakistan with China and the US, Yousaf (2015) compares Pakistan's representation in the Xinhua and Associated Press regarding coverage of Zarb-e-Azb-an operation against terrorists by Pakistan's military at the Afghan border. Results indicate an enormous difference in both news agencies predominantly discussing the economic consequences, terrorism threat, and global relations. Additionally, about Pak-China relations, Whereas, Ji *et al.* (2016) identified that Chinese media portrayed a negative Indian image mainly because of border/territory issues.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this study, the theoretical concept of peace journalism is associated with the framing. Lee and Maslog (2005) identified the contributory and beneficent liaison among these two theoretical conceptions.

3.1 PEACE JOURNALISM

The affiliation between media and conflicts can be traced back to ancient events. In literature, journalism profession is inclined toward war and violence. During the 19th century, several media scholars had enticed the media personnel to exclude war reporting in support of peace journalism to reinforce a peace culture (Lee & Maslog, 2005). A Norwegian sociologist, Johan Galtung proposed a method for peace journalism coverage, which is seen as a cure for the treatment of regular conflict coverage. Galtung (1986) recognized peace and war journalism into a pair of two antithesis frames in the media reportage of a confrontation situation (Lee & Maslog, 2005; Siraj, 2010).

Also, Galtung (1986) noticed conflict reporting, media purposely, or unwillingly contribute towards exacerbating the situation. Galtung's model unveils an opportunity for journalists to take a deliberate decision for audiences while covering any conflict environment (Zaheer, 2016). The taxonomy of peace/war journalism defined by Galtung is based on four proceedings and etymological guidelines; first is peace/conflict, second is truthfulness/propaganda, third is community/elite and forth is remedied/discrepancies. In comparison, war journalism is orientated in violence/war, propaganda, elite, and success or victory (Lee & Maslog, 2005). Moreover, Lynch and McGoldrick (2007) termed peace journalism as a "more generous, neutral, agreeable, appealing and convincing method for framing news stories, clarifying on the information of conflict analysis and metamorphosis." Additionally, the objective of peace journalism is to embolden the opportunity of stability or peace and to deliver fairer reporting regarding all affected and concerned foes by keeping away from the discriminatory style of news reporting (Lynch, 2015).

3.2 MEDIA FRAMING

Every day many people necessarily go-to media sources; hence, the "media" gained an

important place in our society. One of the great ways to make public perception is to framing events and issues in a specific way. In 1974, Irving Goffman, a sociologist, presented a framing theory as the organization, classification, and interpretation of everyday experiences (Pan & Kosicki, 1993), which enables the audience to build a thought of and sketch a meaning to their general surroundings in the world (Goffman, 1974). Also, McCombs *et al.* (1997) ascertained that framing is an integral part or annex of agenda-setting concept, and both epitomize a convergence. Framing incorporates a communication source appearing and describing an issue (de Vreese, 2005) and primarily applied to demonstrate how the media modify the information and therefore mutate the public's responses into a full scope of external inspiration (de Vreese, 2007).

Besides, Scheufele (1999) unveils two genres of frames adopted frequently in framing analysis: media frames and individual frames. Media frames are instruments utilized by media to generate noticeable aspects illustrated in words as part of the media contents. While audience frames are generated in the mind of the recipients. The frames in news media content also influence how the audience perceives the news. Since this study deals with media frames in newspaper's content related to coverage about Kashmir issue and representation of India and Pakistan rather than the frames construct in the perception of the individuals after getting those news contents.

4. METHOD

This study selected two prominent English newspapers of China, including Global Times (GT) and China Daily (CD), between February-December 2019. Both newspapers were picked based on their circulation and national as well as global credibility, and the English language is the common language globally and making comfortable to its readers, including the policymakers and elites.

4.1 CATEGORIES OF WAR/PEACE JOURNALISM
Table 1 shows categories of peace and war journalism based on Galtung's classification

Table 1: War/peace journalism categories

War-Journalism	Peace-Journalism
Palpable war-effects: Violent actions (casualties, damage of property, arrests, shooting, etc.)	**Obscured war-effects:** Emotional suffering and disruption, destruction of society, and culture.
Confusion and confrontation-oriented: The story conferred only one participator at the extreme losing or winning end.	**Solution and dialogue-oriented:** Coverage on areas that can move forward to resolve disputes.
Concentrate on the present moment: Neither the information about components that causes the conflicts nor its consequence.	**Causes and consequences:** Precisely reports on those elements which describe the causes of conflict as well as its aftermaths.
Disparity-oriented: News about areas of dissimilarities that increase the aggravation of conflict.	**Avoids bifurcating or identify disparity:** News stories avoiding identifying good or bad aspects and do not impose responsibility.
Two-party-oriented: Coverage shows the win of a party and defeat of another party.	**Multi-party-oriented:** Provide a room and a right of speech to different parties, not to be limited to just two opponents.
Partisan-oriented: Reports express the single side's aspect and neglect others.	**Non-partisan-oriented:** Neutral or impartial reporting on all actors involved
Elite-oriented: The reports mainly include the elite and leaders as sources of facts and information.	**People-oriented:** Reports mainly focus on the general public as a source of information
Victimizing and incendiary language-oriented: Reports utilize harsh words such as cruel, crushed, terrorist, murder, etc.	**Non-victimization and reconciliatory language-oriented:** Reports avoid the use of harsh language and words mainly in the titles.

4.2 CODING SCHEME

This study applied the content analysis method, the most common technique used by several scholars (Lee & Maslog, 2005; Lynch, 2015), to analyze the media contents mainly in the context of peace journalism. Eight coding categories for each of peace and war journalism were established and employed according to available guidelines of Galtung's model (1986, 2003), as shown in Table 1. When the sum of indicators belongs to war journalism increases, the news story was accredited as war journalism. When peace journalism indicators dominate, the story was categorized as peace journalism. If the same number of both war and peace journalism indicators appeared, then the news story considered neutral. A code of 1 was assigned to peace, 2 to war, and 3 to neutral frames. The whole news story considered as coding and contextual unit.

For measuring the slants in news contents regarding the Kashmir and Indian government, the authors read each news item and contextually judged whether the news was favorable (1), neutral (2) or unfavorable (3) for either side. The slant in the news was considered as "favorable" for Kashmir if it depicted positively, and unfavorable when news coverage revealed it as negative. Similarly, slant in any news item was recoded as "favorable" for the Indian Government or Army, if it portrayed them positively. For an "unfavorable" slant, portraying the government negatively. If there was no explicit representation of any side in the news story, it identified as the neutral slant.

The authors also employed 'pro-frame' and 'anti- frame' (Munib & Munawar, 2015) to determine the representation of Pakistan and India covered in China's newspapers over the Kashmir issue. Based on the recurring categories in overall coverage, a news story was recognized as pro-frame if it revealed an affirmative activity or peacemaker role performed by any country. Similarly, a news story was recorded as an anti-frame if it disclosed any contradictory activity performed. However, a news story was recognized as neutral if it showed an invisible existence or neutral appearance. A code of 1 was assigned for pro, 2 for anti, and 3 for the neutral representation of Pakistan. Similarly, a code of 4 is assigned for pro, 5 for anti, and 6 for the neutral representation of India. For these frames, the complete news is contextually judged based on the aforementioned categories.

This study organized training for two PhD students and assigned them as twin coders to measure the scale of agreement between them. Holsti's (1969) formula, i.e., Reliability=2M/N1+N2, was used to test Intercoder reliability. The test was calculated on three different randomly selected 28 news stories (10.52%). The data revealed Intercoder Reliability of .92 for war/peace journalism frames and .89 for slants. Likewise, the Intercoder reliability for the representation of Pakistan and India were .85 and .82, respectively. The results of all reliability tests are higher than the standard value of .70, which fulfilled the requirement of content analysis (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000).

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

5.1 KASHMIR ISSUE IN CHINESE PRESS

China's print media is considered very active in covering global disputes and also influentially transform the opinion of its readers. From 15 February to 15 December 2019, GT (876 news) and

CD (654 news) have published 1,530 news stories to disseminate the information about global conflicts and war coverage.
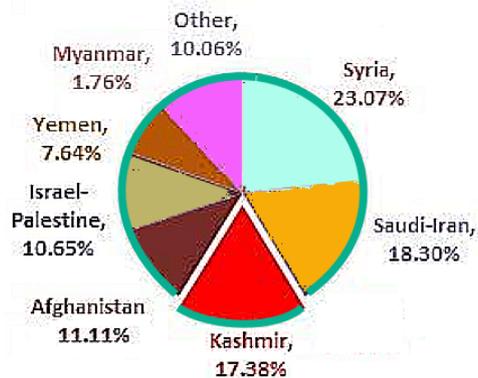

Figure 1: Global conflicts in Chinese newspapers

Comprehensively, not only the Chinese media but also the global media have cautiously covered the Syrian's dire situation. Also, Saudi Arabia is the second-largest supplier of crude oil to China, after Russia, and its dispute with anyone could affect oil supplies. Therefore, the Chinese media regularly gives prominence to news about Saudi Arabia, especially the conflict with Iran. Considering these statements, here also, Chinese media gives more conspicuous space to war in Syria and Saudi-Iran conflict in newspapers. The geographical relevance of Kashmir for China, Pakistan, and India, and its prolonged issue could be termed as a triangular dispute involving three Asian countries. However, both newspapers published 266 news articles (17.38%) and considered Kashmir the third most crucial controversial issue, as shown in Figure 1.

Hence, the final data consisted of 266 news stories regarding the Kashmir issue, with 171 news (64.28%) from the GT and 95 news (35.71%) from CD. All news stories were between 150-200 words-limit, and its contents also had been entirely related to the subject.

5.2 SALIENT INDICATORS IN WAR AND PEACE JOURNALISM FRAMES

Table 2, the results of this analysis reveal that China's English newspapers are practicing war journalism, i.e., 50.37% (including GT=50.87% and CD=49.47%) rather than peace journalism, i.e., 36.46% (including GT=32.16% and CD=44.21%) while covering the recent situation of Kashmir. The result of statistical tests shows; chi-square=7.712, df=2, and the p-value=0.21, which did not reveal a significant difference in the overall coverage of selected newspapers (Zaheer, 2017). Hence, both newspapers followed a similar approach in their news coverage regarding the frames of war and peace journalism.

Table 2: War Journalism Frames (WJF) & Peace Journalism Frames (PJF) in China's Newspapers (Numbers & Percentage)

Newspaper	Total News	PJF	WJF	Neutral
GT	171(64.3%)	55(32.16%)	87(50.87%)	29(16.95%)
CD	95(35.7%)	42(44.21%)	47(49.47%)	6(6.31%)
Total	266(100%)	97(36.46%)	134(50.37%)	35(13.15%)

Based on Bennett (2003), it is often thought that media has to pursue the government policy on specific issues, but here the Chinese media is already assumed as under of its government (Wang & Wang, 2014) and it can be perceived as representative of the foreign policy of its government.

China is also unhappy with India over the issue of Ladakh and calls it an attack on its sovereignty. In this manner, it appears to be practically difficult for Chinese media to become more peace-oriented while covering the Kashmir issue because China itself has long been involved with due to the Ladakh region. However, the results of this study also endorsed that establishing peace in trigonal rivals over the disputed region will not be a simple task.

Table 3: Identification of indicators in news stories

War-Journalism	N(%)	Peace-Journalism	N(%)
Palpable war effects	116(23.52%)	Obscured war effects	63(16.11%)
Confusion and confrontation	45(9.12%)	Solution and dialogue-oriented	91(23.27%)
Concentrate on present moment	69(14%)	Causes and consequences	29(7.41%)
Disparity-oriented	77(15.61%)	Avoids bifurcating	31(7.9%)
Two-party orientation	15(3.04%)	Multi-party orientation	77(19.7%)
Partisan	44(8.92%)	Non-partisan	27(6.9%)
Elite-oriented	66(13.38%)	People-oriented	26(6.64%)
Victimizing language	61(12.37%)	Non-victimization language	47(12.02%)
Total	**493**		**391**

However, the existence and dominance of war journalism frames over peace journalism frames are established on Galtung's described indicators. A detailed analysis of the framing pattern revealed 493 war-oriented indicators and 391 peace-oriented indicators in a total of 266 news stories, as shown in Table 3. In war indicators, the maximum number of indicators were in, "Palpable war-effects" and "Disparity-oriented" because India has deployed more than 0.7 million troops during the recent lockdown in Kashmir, many of the political leaders and elders also arrested. Regular demonstrations by Kashmiris and firing of pellet guns by the Indian Army to harm Kashmiris have exposed "good and bad aspects" in newspaper coverage. These types of news stories in recent situations have become the main reason for recording the maximum number of both indicators in the war journalism frame. These findings support the view that war journalism relies on the noticeable effects of conflict.

Contrastingly, two indicators of peace journalism frames including, "Solution and dialogue-oriented" and "Multi-party orientation," were found in large numbers. Therefore, these findings show that both newspapers have emphasized China's position on the Kashmir issue and its role in maintaining peace in the region, especially in the Indo-Pak conflict.

5.3 SLANTS IN CHINA'S NEWSPAPERS REGARDING KASHMIR AND INDIAN GOVERNMENT

Table 4, Kashmir received more favorable slants than the Indian Army or Government. Media seeks to attract its readers by considering the nature of human interest in controversial sensational news (Forgette & Morris, 2006). The Kashmir slant in the print media of China was also measured regarding peace, war, and neutral frames. The chi-square test has a value of 10.589, and since the p-value is lesser than 0.05 concluding an association between the Chinese media representation of Kashmir slant and assigning peace, war and neutral frames to India representation. The Kashmir situation received favorable slant when both war journalism frame was used, and peace journalism frame was used. This is a very interesting observation as Kashmir received a categorical and divisive framing in either peace or war journalism frame, but representation is seldom covered in a neutral journalism frame. The majority of the Kashmir news received favorable slant, which shows the sentimental attachment with the Kashmir situation in the Chinese media mainly attributed to the

political position taken by the Chinese government vis-a-vis India.

Table 4: Distribution of slants (Number and percent).

Newspaper	Kashmir				Indian Government/Army			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Total	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Total
GT.	103(60.23%)	11(6.43%)	57(33.33%)	171	30(17.52%)	75(43.85%)	66(38.59%)	171
CD	62(65.26%)	4(4.21%)	29(30.52%)	95	16(16.84%)	55(57.89%)	24(25.26%)	95
Total(266)	165(62.03%)	15(5.63%)	86(32.3%)	266	46(17.29%)	130(48.8%)	90(33.8%)	266

5.4 REPRESENTATION OF PAKISTAN AND INDIA: A NEXUS BETWEEN FOREIGN POLICY AND CHINESE MEDIA

China is successfully maintaining the diplomatic and economic relationship with two neighboring nuclear power countries, which are globally labeled as two rival nations, Pakistan and India. This research also emphasized the portraying the image of Pakistan and India based on recent coverage of Kashmir.

History affirmed that Pakistan endorsed China's views on issues Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Tibet. Furthermore, China has asserted itself to be abiding support for Pakistan in aspects of economic development, military support, and political assistance for global diplomacy and international fora, in particular by promoting Pakistan's position on terrorism and Kashmir issue (Qazi, 2019). Analogously, China and India mostly give priority to their cooperation in areas such as technology, economy, and drug development despite ongoing tensions in Kashmir. Previously it is noticed that China's stance on the Kashmir issue had always been neutral between India and Pakistan (Malone & Mukherjee, 2010).

This study also revealed in the light of the CD and GT news coverage that China was executing itself as a mediator between India-Pakistan, particularly in clashes during February 2019, when India accused Pakistan of a suicide attack on its Army in Kashmir. Nevertheless, in August 2019, despite the commitments of economic cooperation, China has criticized India's decision to strip the Kashmir of its special status and claiming over Ladakh, as part of Kashmir. Moreover, this act of India was considered an attack on Chinese sovereignty. Therefore, China commences its support for long-standing ally Pakistan, even at the UN Security Council platform, to get attention on the Kashmir issue.

Table 5: Pro, Anti and Neutral frames regarding Pakistan and India in China's newspapers

Country	Pro-Frame	Anti-Frame	Neutral-Frame	Newspapers	Frames	N	Frames	Category	N	Total
INDIA	31	95	140	GT-171	Pro	19	Pro	Affirmative Activity	24	31
					Anti	59		Peacemaker	7	
					Neutral	93	Anti	Contradictory Activity	60	95
	11.6%	35.7%	52.63%	CD-95	Pro	12		Support Violence	35	
					Anti	36	Neutral	Invisible Existence	61	140
					Neutral	47		Neutral Appearance	79	
PAKISTAN	86	35	145	GT-171	Pro	53	Pro	Affirmative Activity	35	86
					Anti	27		Peacemaker	51	
					Neutral	91	Anti	Contradictory Activity	21	35
	32.3%	13.15%	54.5%	CD-95	Pro	33		Support Violence	14	
					Anti	8	Neutral	Invisible Existence	93	145
					Neutral	54		Neutral Appearance	52	

Table 5, in overall news coverage, i.e., 266 stories about Kashmir issue, China's English

newspapers gave more neutral coverage to Pakistan (54.5%) and India (52.63%) because newspapers mostly gave the invisible and neutral existence to both countries. Nevertheless, Chinese newspapers repeatedly published news regarding Pakistan's positive stance towards India and emphasized on peaceful solution of Kashmir issue through dialogues or by UN resolutions. Hence, Pakistan (32.3%) seems more favorable than India (11.65%) regarding the Kashmir issue in both newspapers because Pakistan was reported as a peacemaker and performing more affirmative activities than India.

Comparatively, newspapers reported much news in which India was indicated as suspicious particularly while revoking the Kashmir special status, claiming over Ladakh (territory that borders China), cutting down the communication channel and imposing a curfew, firing unprovoked at the line of control towards Pakistan and wounding troops and local people, etc. These are considered as primary causes of the higher degree of anti-frame or negative representation of India in China's newspapers. Hence, India (35.7%) was represented as more negative than Pakistan (13.15%). However, in some stories, the newspapers also presented the Indian position to Pakistan to be responsible for attacking the Indian troops in Pulwama and firing towards the Indian Army on the Line of Control. In short, the results also affirm China's policy on the Kashmir issue, which included stabilizing the relations with both Pakistan and India and avoiding any inappropriate act between their aggressions.

Table 6: Pro, Anti and Neutral frames in Peace/War Journalism

Country	Frame	PJF	WJF	Neutral	Total
India	Pro-India	11	12	8	31
	Anti-India	30	53	12	95
	Neutral	56	69	15	140
Chi-square India=6.968	Total	97	134	35	266
Pakistan	Pro-Pakistan	43	34	9	86
	Anti-Pakistan	7	22	6	35
	Neutral	47	78	20	145
Chi-square Pakistan=11.941	Total	97	134	35	266

The representation of Pakistan in the print media of China was also measured with reference to peace, war, and neutral frames, see Table 6. The chi-square test has a value of 11.941, and since the p-value is lesser than 0.05, we can conclude there is an association between the Chinese media representation of Pakistan and assigning peace, war, and neutral frames to Pakistan representation. There is an interesting dichotomy observed as the pro-Pakistan frame is largely covered in the peace journalism frame while the neutral frame of Pakistan is predominantly covered in war journalism frame. This shows that when news related to Pakistan is in favor of the country, mostly peace journalism frame is assigned when Pakistan is represented in a neutral tone, war journalism is assigned. The minimal numbers of the anti-Pakistan frame also speak volumes of the state policy of bilateral relations between China and Pakistan, reflecting in print media policy of China.

The representation of India in the print media of China was measured with reference to peace, war, and neutral frames. The chi-square test has a value of 6.968, and since the p-value is higher than 0.05, we can conclude there is no association between the Chinese media representation of

India and assigning peace, war, and neutral frames to India representation.

6. CONCLUSION

This study's primary purpose was to apply the model of peace journalism in the context of the ongoing Indo-Pak antagonism over the disputed territory of Kashmir. Based on a massive percentage of war journalism stories in the reportage of the vexing situation in Kashmir, this study outcomes showed that both Chinese newspapers inclined towards war-oriented journalism. The logic may be that the newspapers covered incidents like prolonged lockdown in the Kashmir region, the arrest of political leaders, shelling on protestors, the violence of line of control, and aggression between India and Pakistan. The results of this study also support the conclusion derived from previously conducted studies (I. Hussain, 2015; Siraj, 2008; Zaheer, 2016, 2017) on war/peace frames regarding the Kashmir issue.

This study results also show that Chinese newspapers gave a favorable slant toward the Kashmir and an unfavorable slant toward the Indian government. Generally, to increase the popularity of their outlets, journalists use the element of sensation, such as portraying the suffering of ordinary people amidst conflicts. Hence, the Chinese newspapers more widely supported the stance of Kashmir than of the governments.

The most interesting result is regarding the representation of Pakistan and India on the Kashmir dispute. The findings show that Chinese newspapers are mostly neutral towards Pakistan and India in covering the Kashmir issue. However, both news outlets represent Pakistan more positively than India. Because, it is regularly anticipated that on certain specific and unusual matters, media needs to adhere to the national policy and cannot stay non-partisan or impartial in those clashes in which its own country is embroiled in or support any opponent of dispute (Bennett, 2003). The prompt expansion of China-Pakistan friendly relationship affected China's diplomatic balance between Pakistan and India and led to tilt toward Pakistan. China's policy on the Kashmir conflict underwent subtle developments. China commenced to criticize the Kashmir policy of India and accentuate that the issue of Kashmir should resolve its ultimate affiliation on the base of dignity for the people's right to autonomy or self-determination in Kashmir (Peng, 2019). Therefore, based on the results, it would not be wrong to say at this point that when the official association ameliorated with a state, the media coverage of the nation additionally turned out to be progressively positive.

However, the results theoretically suggest that bringing peace to the region will not be an easy task. While considering a substantial representation of the "solution-oriented" indicator of Peace journalism in Chinese media has endeavored at solving the conflict by interfering and mediating between all stakeholders. This scenario can be seen as an attempt to reduce the conflict by bridging the gap between the opposing parties (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2007). Notwithstanding, somewhat, Johan Galtung's theory might be bought in this study to encourage peace journalism practice and to evade from enhancing the violence.

7. AVAILABILITY OF DATA AND MATERIAL

Used or generated data already present in this study.

8. REFERENCES

Bajpai, K. (2017). Narendra Modi's Pakistan and China policy: assertive bilateral diplomacy, active coalition diplomacy. *International Affairs*, *93*(1), 69–91. DOI: 10.1093/ia/iiw003

Bennett, W. L. (2003). Operation perfect storm: The press and the Iraq War. *Political Communication Report*, *13*(3).

Chung, M., Fan, M., & Lessman, J. (2007). War and peace journalism frames in cross-national news coverage of North Korea's nuclear test. *International Communication Division at the Annual Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication*. Washington, DC.

Cohen, B. C. (2015). *Press and Foreign Policy*. DOI: 10.1515/9781400878611

de Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology Information Design. *Information Design Journal + Document Design*, *13*(1), 51–62. DOI: 10.1075/idjdd.13.1.06vre

de Vreese, C. H. (2007). Context, Elites, Media and Public Opinion in Referendums: When Campaigns Really Matter. *The Dynamics of Referendum Campaigns*, 1–20. DOI: 10.1057/9780230591189_1

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward a clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, *43*(3), 51–58.

Fawcett, L. (2002). Why Peace Journalism Isn't News. *Journalism Studies*, *3*(2), 213–223. DOI: 10.1080/14616700220129982

Forgette, R., & Morris, J. S. (2006). High-conflict television news and public opinion. *Political Research Quarterly*, *59*(3), 447–456. DOI: 10.1177/106591290605900312

Galtung, J. (1986). On the role of the media in worldwide security and peace. In *Peace and Communication*, 12–34.

Galtung, J. (2003). Peace Journalism. *Media Asia*, *30*(3), 177–180. DOI: 10.1080/01296612.2003.11726720

Gitlin, T. (2003). *The whole world is watching : mass media in the making & unmaking of the New Left* (First Edit). http://www.ucpress.edu/book/9780520239326/the-whole-world-is-watching

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis : An essay on the organization of experience* (1st ed.). http://b-ok.cc/book/916861/2c0f24

Holsti, O. R. (1969). Sampling, Reliability and validity. *Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities*, 127–149. https://www.questia.com/library/7260038/content-analysis-for-the-social-sciences-and-humanities

Hussain, I. (2015). News Framing on Indo-Pak Conflicts in the News (Pakistan) and Times of India: War and Peace Journalism Perspective. *Journal of Mass Communication & Journalism*, *05*(08). DOI: 10.4172/2165-7912.1000272

Hussain, S., & Siraj, S. A. (2019). Coverage of Taliban conflict in the Pak–Afghan press: A comparative analysis. *International Communication Gazette*, *81*(4), 305–326. DOI: 10.1177/1748048518817649

Ji, D., Hu, Z., & Muhammad, Y. (2016). Neighboring competitor? Indian image in Chinese media. *Global Media and China*, *1*(3), 234–250. DOI: 10.1177/2059436416668186

Khan, M. A., & Shakir, S. (2011). A Comparative study of editorial treatment on Indo-Pak conflicts in daily dawn and the nation: A war & peace journalism perspective. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, *19*(2), 320–330.

Lee, S. T. (2010). Peace journalism: Principles and structural limitations in the news coverage of three conflicts. *Mass Communication and Society*, *13*(4), 361–384. DOI: 10.1080/15205430903348829

Lee, S. T., & Maslog, C. C. (2005). War or peace journalism? Asian newspaper coverage of conflicts. *Journal of Communication*, *55*(2), 311–329. DOI: 10.1093/joc/55.2.311

Lee, S. T., Maslog, C. C., & Kim, H. S. (2006). Asian conflicts and the Iraq war: A comparative framing analysis. *International Communication Gazette*, *68*(5–6), 499–518. DOI: 10.1177/1748048506068727

Lynch, J. (2015). Peace journalism: Theoretical and methodological developments. *Global Media and Communication*, *11*(3), 193–199. DOI: 10.1177/1742766515606297

Lynch, J., & McGoldrick, A. (2007). Peace Journalism. In C. Webel & J. Galtung (Eds.), *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, 248–264. Routledge.

Malone, D. M., & Mukherjee, R. (2010). India and China: Conflict and cooperation. *Survival*, *52*(1), 137–158. DOI: 10.1080/00396331003612513

McCombs, M., Llamas, J. P., Lopez-Escobar, E., & Rey, F. (1997). Candidate images in Spanish elections: Second-level agenda-setting effects. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, *74*(4), 703–717. DOI: 10.1177/107769909707400404

Memon, M. A. M., Hui, S., Yousaf, S., & Usman, Z. (2020). Media representation of China: Framing analysis of Hong Kong disputes in Pakistani media. *International Transaction Journal of Engineering, Management, & Applied Sciences & Technologies*, *11*(3), 1–14. DOI: 10.14456/ITJEMAST.2020.41

Munib, & Munawar, R. (2015). Image Framing of Pakistan in China: A Case Study of Xinhua News Agency. *Journal of Research in Social Sciences*, (1), 2–14.

Neumann, R., & Fahmy, S. (2015). Measuring journalistic peace/war performance: An exploratory study of crisis reporters' attitudes and perceptions. *International Communication Gazette*, *78*(3), 223–246. DOI: 10.1177/1748048516630715

Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. M. (1993). Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication*, *10*(1), 55–75. DOI: 10.1080/10584609.1993.9962963

Qazi, M. N. A. (2019). China Pakistan Economic Corridor: A Game Changer Project. *Review of Economics and Development Studies*, *5*(3), 541-550. DOI: 10.26710/reads.v5i3.733

Ramasubramanian, S., & Miles, C. (2018). Framing the Syrian Refugee Crisis: A Comparative Analysis of Arabic and English News Sources. *International Journal of Communication*, *12*, 19. https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/8174

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, *49*(1), 103–122. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02784.x

Schmall, E. (2019, August 28). India seeks to portray a sense of calm in locked-down Kashmir. *Associated Press*. http://www.apnews.com/45cf214d417745b1b1ea24941b8655ba

Shinar, D. (2004). Media Peace Discourse: Constraints, Concepts and Building Blocks. *Conflict & Communication Online*, *3*(1), 1–8. http://cco.regener-online.de/2004/pdf_2004/shinar_2004.pdf

Siraj, S. A. (2008). War or peace journalism in elite US newspapers: Exploring news framing in Pakistan-India conflict. *Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association*. http://www.issi.org.pk/old-site/ss_Detail.php?dataId=472

Siraj, S. A. (2010). Framing War and Peace Journalism on the Perspective of Talibanisation in Pakistan. *Media Asia*, *37*(1), 13–20. DOI: 10.1080/01296612.2010.11771971

Wang, J., & Wang, X. (2014). Media and Chinese Foreign Policy. *Journal of Contemporary China*, *23*(86), 216–235. DOI: 10.1080/10670564.2013.832523

Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2000). *Mass Media Research: An Introduction, 6th edition*.

Yousaf, S. (2015). Representations of Pakistan: A framing analysis of coverage in the US and Chinese news media surrounding operation Zarb-e-Azb. *International Journal of Communication*, *9*(1), 3042–3064. http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/3556

Zaheer, L. (2016). War or Peace Journalism : Comparative analysis of Pakistan' s English and Urdu media

coverage of Kashmir conflict. *South Asian Studies*, *31*(2), 713–722.

Zaheer, L. (2017). Editorial Coverage of Kashmir Conflict in Pakistani Media. *Pakistan Vision*, *18*(1), 47–56.

Zutshi, C. (2017). Azad Kashmir. In C. Zutshi (Ed.), *Kashmir*, 90–130. DOI: 10.1017/9781316855607

Muhammad Aftab Madni Memon is a PhD Candidate in Communication Sciences at School of Journalism and Communication, Shanghai University, China. He got two Master's degrees, first in Media Management and second in International Relations. His PhD research is focused on Framing Analysis of China and Pakistan.

Professor Dr.Shen Hui is at the School of Journalism and Communication, Shanghai University, P.R. China. She has a Master's degree in Modern and Contemporary Literature from Anhui University. She graduated with a Doctorate in Journalism from Fudan University. Her main research areas are Communication Theory and Media Economic Ethics.

Dr.Salman Yousaf is an Assistant Professor of Marketing at the Institute of Banking and Finance, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, Pakistan. He got his doctorate from the School of Business Administration, Dongbei University of Finance and Economics. He did a Post Doctoral at School of Management, Fudan University, Shanghai. The main research areas are Marketing, Branding, and Communication.