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## MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF CHINA: FRAMING ANALYSIS OF HONG KONG DISPUTES IN PAKISTANI MEDIA

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### ABSTRACT

This study examines the inclination of two mainstream English daily newspapers of Pakistan in the context of war/peace Journalism by framing analysis of overall coverage regarding ongoing protests and disputes caused over introducing an extradition bill in Hong Kong, China. Secondly, this research evaluates the media representation of China in Pakistan based on news coverage of Hong Kong. The content analysis methodology and theoretical approaches based on peace journalism supported by framing were applied. The findings reveal that newspapers, i.e. *Dawn* and *The News* depict a higher degree of peace journalism frame in a total of 179 news stories. However, newspapers show favorable slants to protestors versus the Hong Kong government. Furthermore, Pakistan's newspapers highlight more neutral image of China. The salient and prominent indicators of Peace, like causes and consequences with people-oriented, are justifying the peace journalism practices in Pakistan's media.

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

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The historical backdrop of the world comprises a torrent of wars, disputes, and conflict spread over the globe and the role of media always ascertains its significance while covering these critical situations. Media messages assume a considerable job in molding geopolitical conditions (Ramasubramanian & Miles, 2018). Entman (1993) and Lasorsa (1997) observed, through framing, although media can vary when displaying a similar story or issue. News coverage is an essential feature of media to forming the course of occasions in war and peace. Each individual needs to depend on the media's information, and they visualize the picture of disputes and conflicts through the lens of media framing (Lee, 2010). Subsequently, media become an influential component in

constructing public perception regarding disputes and conflicts and that portray the image of linked authority or country (Zaheer, 2017).

By the time due to different kinds of interests, disputes and conflicts have become a critical phenomenon of each social nation. In 2019, along with ongoing war and disputes events in Palestine, Syria, and Afghanistan, the global media is more conscious and attentive about recent conflict in Hong Kong over the 2019 extradition bill proposed by the Hong Kong Government.

Hong Kong situated in the Southern part of China and was controlled by the British for 156 years either by ceded or on the lease after two Opium Wars. On July 1, 1997, Hong Kong reunified with mainland China as one Country, and the city maintained a phenomenal status of autonomy with an independent set of governing institutions. However, China has pledged to maintain the capitalist system in Hong Kong running for at least 50 years until 2047 under the notion of 'one nation, two systems.' As Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China, Hong Kong has experienced various political and social difficulties since the return to China's sovereignty in 1997, Such as the weak power of the Legislative Council as a split from 'pro-Beijing vs pro-democracy' to 'pro-government vs anti-government' and also heighten the pressure on and denunciation of the government (Ma, 2007).

However, disputes between Hong Kong and China have become gradually intensive in recent years, as can be seen in current widespread protests opposing the suggested extradition bill in Hong Kong, a bill that enables the extradition of criminal suspects for trial in mainland China. Protesters asserted that the suggested bill sabotage Hong Kong's judicial autonomy and consider the bill as a conspiracy to pursue political prosecution (Wang, 2019).

The recent crisis in Hong Kong is getting significant space in news media globally. Considering a neighboring companion and strategic partner, the current situation of Hong Kong and China has continuously received noteworthy news coverage in Pakistan's media. Simultaneously Pakistan and its media are also engaged in raising the voice against India over Kashmir due to prolonged lockdown and cancellation of Kashmir's special status. The growing power of China and its status as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council has increased the need for China's support to Pakistan at a global platform over the Kashmir issue. China is facing massive criticism over Hong Kong disputes and possible interferences by western countries. Therefore, China also needs the endorsement of many countries to recognize the Hong Kong dispute as China's internal problem. Hence, Pakistan and China, two eternal companions, are expecting each other's support over Hong Kong and Kashmir respectively.

However, a gap is observed in the existing literature of war/peace journalism frame regarding any dispute situation in China like Hong Kong investigated in Pakistan or any other counties' news media. Therefore, it seems significant to conduct first of its kind of a framing research study on the representation of China regarding coverage of Hong Kong dispute in print media of an eternal companion country like Pakistan. The theoretical contribution has an immense scope in each research. Hence, the contribution of the current study is to extending the theories of framing and Peace Journalism to investigate the news coverage of dispute situations in Hong Kong, which is not previously been applied.

This study, research questions are:

**Q1:** To what extent the Pakistani press gives coverage to Hong Kong?

**Q2:** Based on what indicators in Pakistan's newspapers, which frame was dominated between peace or war journalism?

**Q3:** What kinds of slants are used by Pakistani newspapers?

**Q4:** What are frames dominant in Pakistan's newspaper representing China?

**Q5:** Discuss the Pak-China relationship based on framing analysis of China in Pakistani newspaper over Hong Kong? An Interpretive analysis.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

This study attempts to provide a theoretical framework, a review of framing theory, mainly, peace and war journalism frames and their applications in media research.

### **2.1 MEDIA FRAMING**

A vast number of people go to the news media every day, and "media" achieved a place as cornerstone organization in our democracies. Sociologist Erving Goffman in 1974 presented a framing theory as the organization, classification, and interpretation of everyday life experiences that empower the audiences to construct a sense of and present the meaning to the world around them (Goffman, 1974). Additionally, McCombs et al. (1997) concentrated that the framing is an expansion of agenda-setting concepts, and both represent a convergence. Framing includes a communication source showing and characterizing an issue and mainly applied to determine how media reshape the information and therefore transforms the responses of people to an overall scope of external stimulation (Vreese, 2005). Besides, Entman (2007) describes framing as "the way toward drawing up a couple of aspects of perceived reality and assembling a story that features the connections between them to stimulate a particular interpretation." Scheufele (1999) introduces two kinds of frames. First, media frames, which is an instrument utilized by media and legislators to produce salient points and second is audience frames, which are created by the individuals in their psyches. The frames in news media content also influence how the audience perceives the news. In a nutshell, the preeminent principle of framing theory is that a matter can be examined from a classification of points of view and be translated as having ramifications for multiple values or contemplations. Framing alludes to the procedure by which individuals develop a specific interpretation of an issue.

#### **2.1.1 PAK-CHINA FRAMING IN MEDIA RESEARCH**

The media establishes its significance not only by agenda-setting and inducing the debate on the positioning of a country's soft power but also in framing news stories to shape global inclinations (Nye, 2002). In this manner, framing is unavoidable over the path of news development. Globally scholars conducted framing analysis of China (Peng, 2004; Sparks, 2010) in worldwide media. In Pakistan's context, Munawar (2015) concluded a framing study in which Chinese news agency Xinhua portrayed a positive image of Pakistan. While considering the China-Pakistan relationship Yousaf (2014) and Rawan et al. (2018) conducted studies applying framing theory in the elite press of Pakistan, China, India, and US. These investigations revealed a positive portrayal of the relations by

Chinese and Pakistan newspapers however negative portrayal has been observed in the Indian and American the press. Considering the case of war against terrorism, Yousaf (2015) compares perceptions and the images of Pakistan in Associated Press of U.S. and Xinhua of China during the operation Zarb-e-Azb conducted by Pakistan's military against militants at border with Afghanistan.

It is observed that Pakistani media mostly covered constructive stories regarding China's economy, technology, social settings and firm relations with Pakistan to frame the positive image of China (Rawan et al., 2018; Z. Yousaf et al., 2014) and shape the public opinion according to their own aspiration and inclination. Because of the said argument, it seems lucrative to explore the frames regarding conflict reporting associated with ongoing protest and dispute situations in Hong Kong along with the representation of China in Pakistan's news media.

## **2.2 CONFLICTS AND MEDIA FRAMING**

It is widely observed that audiences express more attention in arguments, disagreements, and rivalries like if an event attached to conflict, many people will be interested in that basis alone because it is human nature to choose sides and stand up for that choice (Forgette & Morris, 2006). Situations involved conflict about politics, religion, and wars generate the sensations in news stories and enhanced its newsworthiness (Bednarek & Caple, 2017). Media coverage frames and shapes the events happened during war and peace. Moreover, Jakobsen (2000) also notes that in order to create a sensation in the environment, the media focuses on conflicts only when incidents of violence are taking place.

### **2.2.1 WAR AND PEACE JOURNALISM**

In the 19th century, to eliminate war reporting in support of peace journalism to encourage a culture of peace (Lee & Maslog, 2005), a sociologist from Norway Johan Galtung endorsed the methodology of peace journalism coverage, that is viewed as a therapeutic technique for dealing with regular coverage of conflict situations. Galtung (1986) discourses that deliberately or unintentionally, during conflict reporting, media contribute towards aggravating the situation. Focusing the fact that journalists have two ways to cover any conflict situation, either peace journalism or war journalism, but peace journalism approach is grander than war journalism as it stimulates a concentration on passionate coverage and pacifist or nonviolent proposition to report conflicts (Galtung, 1986). His categorization of peace journalism and war journalism depends on four extensive applications and lingual directions; first is harmony/disputes, second is reality/propaganda, third is public/elite and forth is resolution/disagreement. In comparison, war journalism is orientated in war/violence, propaganda, elite and victory (Lee & Maslog, 2005). McGoldrick and Lynch (2014) depicted peace journalism as a "more extensive, impartial, adequate, attractive and more authentic method for framing news stories, illustrating on the awareness of conflict analysis and metamorphosis." Moreover, the objective of peace journalism is to encourage the possibility of tranquility and to give a surplus equalized coverage regarding all affected and included conflict groups by keeping away from a contradictory style of news writing (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2014).

From a theoretical aspect, authors find framing theory is an appropriate and relevant for investigating peace and war journalism to analyze the inclination of Pakistani print media over constant alarming situation in Hong Kong because it describes how frames, and in this way, certain understandings, become entrenched inside media coverage (Fahmy & Eakin, 2014).

## 2.2.2 APPLICATION OF WAR/PEACE JOURNALISM FRAME IN MEDIA RESEARCH

History of news media coverage possessed many examples of war/peace journalism. The agenda of the media organization assumes a significant job in the coverage of such issues (Raza & Aziz, 2012). The result of most studies inclined toward war journalism frame, like a study compares two contesting frames of peace and war journalism in visual coverage of conflicts in Gaza (Fahmy & Neumann, 2012) and draw a conclusion that all three Western newswires, i.e., AP, Reuters, and AFP collectively present more war journalism frames focusing different aims and news markets while covering the Gaza War. Similarly, a study in the context of Talibanization and terrorism in Pakistan (Siraj, 2010) manifested that most of the news stories are framed in war journalism with the unfavorable slant of Taliban. The researcher argued that most of the dispute situations are reported as war journalism frames in lens of media. Shinar (2004) asserts that media vigorously adapt war journalism frames even if covering peace dialogs.

Supporting this argument and diverting towards the Asian perspective, Maslog et al. (2006) determine war/peace journalism in four regional conflicts in Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Philippines, and Indonesia with a conclusion that war journalism frame was dominant in overall news reporting of all regional conflicts.

While explaining the role of media in U.S foreign policy, Edward (1993) argued that mainstream media tend to follow and serve the government's agenda in reporting on foreign policy goals. Hence, media inclination toward peace or war journalism also represents a glimpse of a country's foreign policy. Likewise, in a study, Indian newspaper framed more war journalism on Indo-Pak conflicts over Kashmir issue which clearly indicates the endorsement of war culture between Pakistan and India while Pakistani newspaper framed more peace journalism and stressing that the conflict must be resolved peacefully by cooperation between both countries (Hussain, 2015).

Summarizing, theoretically, the concept of peace journalism (Galtung, 1986, 2003) has been allied to Goffman's framing theory in this study. Lee and Maslog (2005) noticed the supportive relationship between these two theoretical concepts. This study has two main objectives, first is linked with peace journalism theoretical framework in which authors explore the coverage of Hong Kong dispute in Pakistan's newspapers. The second objective directly linked with framing to determine the representation of China in Pakistan over Hong Kong dispute coverage.

## 3. METHOD

To examine the coverage of the Hong Kong issues in two English language newspapers of Pakistan including *The News and Dawn* were preferred and applied the content analysis of their overall coverage. An eight months tenure was selected, and news published from February 01, 2019 to September 30, 2019, were analyzed. In February, the Hong Kong Government proposed an extradition bill to establish a procedure for exchanges of fugitives not only for Taiwan but also for Macau and Mainland China. This proposal initiated a new spell of protests and disputes in Hong Kong. The marches and demonstration with eagerness are continued in the region and are also considered as a significant reason for period selection.

These two newspapers were preferred due to their circulation, distinction, and national and



worldwide reputations. Additionally, these papers are accessible in the English language, which is viewed as the most widely used language in the world, making it easy for global English readers, including policymakers and elites. Correspondingly, the two papers are considered to express many points of view that are consistently liberal and critical analytical of legitimate government strategies.

Data included overall coverage collected from websites of newspapers; 85 news items from *Dawn* (<https://www.dawn.com>) and 94 news stories from *The News* (<https://www.thenews.com.pk>).

### 3.1 CATEGORIES OF WAR/PEACE JOURNALISM

On the vindication of a pilot study, researchers selected the following categories as per the requirement of study from the Model of Galtung (2003).

**Table 1:** War/peace journalism categories

War-Journalism	Peace-Journalism
<b>Visible effects:</b> Including violent activities (casualties, destruction to property, shelling, arrests, etc.)	<b>Invisible effects:</b> Including emotional distress and disruption, damage to culture, society, environment
<b>Difference-oriented:</b> Reports on areas of dissimilarities that prompt exacerbate of conflict.	<b>Solution-oriented:</b> Coverage on areas that may proceed to a solution to the conflict.
<b>Focuses on here and now:</b> Neither reports on elements adding to conflicts nor ramification of it.	<b>Causes and consequences:</b> Specifically reports on components contributing to conflicts as well as repercussions of it.
<b>Indicating and bifurcating good and bad sides:</b> Point out the different quarters for liable of chaos in the conflict region.	<b>Avoids Indicating and bifurcating good and bad sides:</b> Reports avoiding to point out of good and bad sides or responsible for any issue.
<b>Two-party orientation:</b> Reports reveal the victory of a party and losses of another party.	<b>Multi-party orientation:</b> Give a platform and voice to various countries, not to be restricted to two countries.
<b>Partisan:</b> Reports representing partiality or expressing the one-side aspect and ignore the other side.	<b>Non-partisan:</b> Impartial or neutral reporting about all involved actors
<b>Elite-oriented:</b> Reports mainly focus on elites and leaders as actors and sources of facts and information	<b>People-oriented:</b> Reports mainly focus on the general public as actors and the origin of information
<b>The utilization of victimizing language or emotive words:</b> Reports utilize rigid words like crushed, pitiable, terrible, crippled, terrorist, cruel, assassination, genocide, etc.	<b>Avoid victimizing language or emotive words:</b> Reports avoid the use of rigid language and words, particularly in the titles.

### 3.2 CODING SCHEME

The researchers utilized qualitative and quantitative content analysis approach, that is a more appreciated and well-elucidated method of executing “the organized, neutral, qualitative and quantitative analysis of any communication physiognomies” (Neuendorf, 2017). The coding categories are constructed as per provided guidelines of the Galtung’s model, in which eight-eight indicators of peace and war journalism frame were employed. When the total number for peace journalism indicators exceeds the total number for war journalism, the news story is recognized as a peace journalism story. When war journalism indicators dominant peace journalism indicators, the story is categorized as war journalism. A score of one (1) is allotted each time when a story supports either war journalism or peace journalism frames. In case the equal number of presence of both war and peace journalism indicators coded as neutral. The entire news was the coding unit and a contextual unit also. Thus, the unit of analysis for the research was a complete news story.

The slant in news story is considered favorable for protestors or the Government if it portrays any of them positively and assigns a score of 1. Furthermore, considered unfavorable when news coverage reveals them as negative and assigns a score of 0. The rest is considered as neutral slants.

The researchers used ‘pro-frame’ and ‘anti- frame’ to examine the representation (Munawar, 2015) of China is covered in Pakistan’s newspapers based on Hong Kong crisis. For these frames, the whole story would be contextually evaluated and any news story which favors China’s position or any positive move by China would be professed as pro-frame and coded as 1. Every news story which does not support and having a negative stance towards China would be considered as anti-frames and coded as zero (0). Any news that does not have a positive or negative impression will be considered neutral.

Inter-coder reliability indicates the levels of agreement amongst independent coders who code similar content utilizing a similar coding instrument. Holsti’s (1970) formula was used to examine the Inter-coder reliability of the content analyzed. A training on coding work was conducted for two independent coders. The inter-coder reliability calculated for randomly selected 19 stories (10.6% of total) covering Hong Kong. The data revealed an overall inter-coder reliability of 0.933. For slants, an additional random sample was selected, and data revealed 0.90 reliability. Similarly, for the representation of China, the result indicates 0.91 reliability. The result of all tests is higher than the standard ensure reliability value of 0.70 which satisfied the requirement of content analysis (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000).

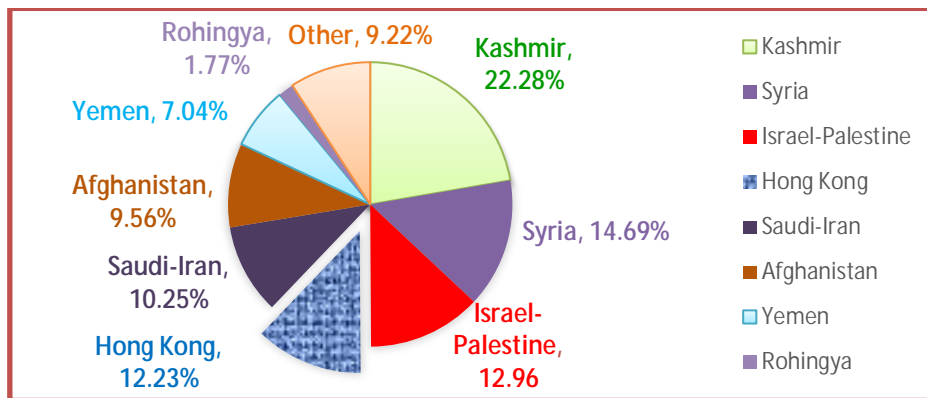
#### 4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This study split into two parts first is the framing of Hong Kong dispute regarding war/peace journalism frames, and the second part is framing the image and representation of China based on Hong Kong coverage in Pakistan’s newspapers.

##### **Q-1: To what extent the Pakistani press gives coverage to Hong Kong?**

Pakistan’s print media performs a significant role in not merely disseminating information about global disputes and conflicts to its readers but also in formulating their views on these issues. From February 2019 to September 2019, *Dawn* (674 news) and *The News* (789 news) have published 1463 news stories to disseminate the information about conflicts beyond Pakistan’s boundary. Hence, disputes in Hong Kong received the third position in *Dawn* and fourth position in *The News*. The figure-1 is indicating that while covering global conflict, Hong Kong (12.23%) received the fourth position after Kashmir, Syria, and Palestine. The findings show that Pakistan’s press is progressively engaged at war and conflict events arising in Muslim nations, but considering Hong Kong as a territory of China and occurring of regular dispute incidents has given Hong Kong a conspicuous position in the coverage.

This study consisted of 179 news stories regarding Hong Kong conflict, with 85 news (47.5%) from the *Dawn* and 94 news (52.2%) from *The News*. All selected news, utterly relevant to the incident and between 150-200 words-limit.



**Figure 1:** Coverage of global conflicts in the Pakistani Press

**Q2: Based on what indicators in coverage of the Hong Kong conflict in Pakistan's print media, which frame was dominated between peace or war journalism?**

Table 2 reveals that Pakistan’s media is practicing peace journalism while covering the circumstances of Hong Kong and this approach is considered as a contribution to peacemaking. However, the existence and dominance of peace journalism frames over war journalism frames are established on Galtung’s described indicators.

**Table 2:** War/peace Journalism Frame (N)

Newspaper	News Stories	PJF	WJF	Neutral
Dawn	85	47	34	4
The News	94	50	39	5
Total	179	97	73	9

PJF: Peace Journalism Frame; WJF: War Journalism Frame

A comprehensive analysis of the framing pattern was additionally done and finds 348 peace-oriented indicators as compared to 296 war-oriented indicators 179 stories in both newspapers, as shown in Table 5. Findings unveiled that peace journalism frames surpassed war journalism frames in coverage of the Hong Kong disputes, which provide a spacious space to the resolutions of the issues (Raza & Aziz, 2012). Amongst peace indicators, the highest number of indicators were in, “causes and consequences” and “people-oriented” because most of the news focuses on the general public and protestors with citing the causes of the conflict situation and all the possible complex consequences of the conflict. Contrarily in war journalism frames, most of the indicators were found in, “visible effects of war” with “utilization of victimizing language”. Because newspapers have identified either protestors or police as liable for chaos during disputes and also observed the situations when protestors destroyed the property, disrupted the transportation system. While responding, police arrested the protestors, shelling the tear gas, fire the rubber bullet which injured the demonstrators.

**Table 3:** War/Peace Journalism Indicators.

War-Journalism	N	Peace-Journalism	N
<b>Visible effects</b>	<b>60</b>	Invisible effects	55
Difference-oriented	43	Solution-oriented	24
Focuses on present	20	<b>Causes and consequences</b>	<b>80</b>
Indicating good or bad sides	49	Avoids indicating good or bad	27
Two-side orientation	34	Multi-party orientation	25
Partisan	32	Non-partisan	34
Elite-oriented	6	People-oriented	63
Utilization of victimizing language	52	Avoid victimizing language	40
<b>Total</b>	<b>296</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>348</b>



However, both newspapers have used more victimizing language and emotive words 52 (17.56%) than avoiding these terminologies in news stories 40 (11.49%). The words used in overall coverage communicate an alarming situation because if journalists consistently utilized war journalism words in news stories that will affect regional stability, peace, and development in the future.

**Q-3: What kinds of slants are used by Pakistani newspapers in news coverage of Hong Kong disputes?**

Table 4 indicates that both newspapers give favorable slants to protestors who are local public having right to protest and unfavorable slant to government authorities for imposing new policies against settled agreements as observed that media seeks to attract its readers by considering the nature of human interest in controversial sensational news (Bednarek & Caple, 2017).

**Table 4: Slants for Protestors and Government (N).**

Newspaper	Protestors				Government			
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Total	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral	Total
Dawn	40	31	14	85	29	32	24	85
The News	44	22	28	94	30	45	19	94
Total	84	53	42	179	59	77	43	179

Moreover, Table 5 is representing that both newspapers reported the attacks and destruction activities among protestors and police in most of their news stories. However, results based on news coverage revealed that protestors focus more on peaceful demonstrations and only react violently when police on the orders of government used tear gas and rubber bullets to stop protests.

**Table 5: Slants for protestors and Government with respect to frames**

Frames	Protestors (N)				Government (N)			
	PJF(97)	WJF	Neutral	Total	PJF	WJF	Neutral	Total
Favorable	47	35	2	84	36	2	2	59
Unfavorable	22	31	0	53	34	42	1	77
Neutral	28	7	7	42	27	10	6	43
Total	97	73	9	179	97	73	9	179

**Q-4: What are frames dominant in Pakistan’s newspaper representing China in Hong Kong conflict?**

Table 6, Pakistan’s newspapers gave more balanced and slightly unfavorable coverage to China. Moreover, these newspapers are more focused on the neutral frame in 96 news stories (53.63%) about China. Authors have argued that both newspapers refrain from mentioning any indication of China’s direct intervention in ongoing conflicts in Hong Kong which is considered to be the main reason for more balanced and neutral coverage. However, many news stories discussed the perception of Hong Kong people over a weak legislative system of China as well as expressed their anger over China for violating the autonomy of Hong Kong decided according to the Sino-British Joint Declaration. That becomes a cause of a higher degree of anti-frame news about China in newspapers. Conversely, newspapers also reported the role of China as a peace maintainer, situation controller as well as the right action towards Hong Kong people. These are considered as primary reasons for portraying China in positive frames in the newspaper's coverage regarding Hong Kong issues.

**Table 6: Pro, Anti and Neutral frame regarding China.**

Newspapers	No. of News	Pro-China	Anti-China	Neutral
Dawn	85	16	23	46
The News	94	20	24	50
Total	179	36	47	96

**Q-5: Discuss the Pak-China relationship based on framing analysis of China in Pakistani newspaper over Hong Kong? An Interpretive analysis.**

Hong Kong, as a business region of China and due to the ongoing conflict situation in the city as well as the marches against the government, gained prominence in the international media. Most of the western media wires are blaming China for supporting the Hong Kong Government and eroding the freedoms and autonomy of Hong Kong. However, China is represented a bit more unfavorable or negative versus positive because *Dawn* and *The News* are non-state media outlets, and both newspapers are using the more news source from western news agencies like AFP, AP, and Reuters rather than Pakistan's APP or China's Xinhua.

Besides the statements from western countries, based on Pak-China growing the friendly relationship and results drawn from present study, it is observed that Pakistani newspapers have portrayed China in a balanced or neutral manner on Hong Kong disputes and considered ongoing disputes in Hong Kong lighter than other existing conflicts around the world, especially in Muslim countries. This can be gauged from the Twitter message of the Prime Minister of Pakistan when he criticized the international media for given consistent headline coverage to ongoing protest in Hong Kong and ignoring the terrible human rights crisis in Indian held Jammu & Kashmir (Dawn, 2019b). Further, in a recent meeting of China's President Xi with Pakistan's Prime Minister Imran Khan, there was a clear indication that Pakistan had endorsed its commitment to the One-China Policy and repeatedly considered Hong Kong issues as an internal matter of China (Dawn, 2019a).

Additionally, it is regularly accepted that on certain matters, the media needs to pursue the government policy and cannot stay unbiased or nonpartisan in the conflicts particularly when its own country is involved or support any of the competitors (Bennett, 2003). Although witnessing the Pakistani media, it is seen that the government usually faced criticism by media, but the media shows elements such as nationalism and patriotism adheres to the government's policy, especially while dealing the national interest as well as international issues (Eijaz, 2012). Considering the case of the Taliban, Nadeem & Khan (2017) concluded in a study that newspapers in Pakistan pursue the foreign policy of the government. Summarizing, this study concludes that Pakistan's media adheres to the government's foreign policy, considering China and particularly Hong Kong's issue.

This study showed that the Government of Pakistan and media are perceiving the conflicts in Syria, Palestine, or Kashmir as an international disputed issue and recognizing Hong Kong as an internal issue of China. Similarly, China also supports Pakistan's stance on the Kashmir issue and refuses to call it India's internal problem. However, Pakistan's government wants to see a peaceful solution to Hong Kong's situation and keep up the interminable neighborly association with China. Moreover, Pakistani newspapers are endeavoring to portray a neutral representation of China by applying peace journalism practices to cover the situation in Hong Kong which a good gesture of Pakistan's media and foreign policy towards China.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The research aims to analyse the overall coverage of Pakistan's print media on the recent dispute situation in Hong Kong by employing the war/peace journalism and framing as theoretical approaches. The conclusion of this research revealed that the framing style of two Pakistani newspapers shows a similar tendency and consecutively leaning towards peace-oriented journalism. Perhaps, it justifies that China is not interfering in the ongoing dispute and trying to calm the situation.

The second part of this study relies on the representation of China based on the coverage of disputes in the Hong Kong region. The elevation of a positive image of a country is not something novel because the image of a country worldwide is quite important because by having a good image the country manages to achieve its foreign policies. However, this study expressed that Pakistan has represented China in a balanced manner, but used bit more anti-China frames while pro-China frames are less because the slant towards pro-democracy protestors is more favorable than Pro-Beijing Hong Kong Government.

Galtung (1986), the pioneer of the peace journalism approach argued that media reporters and editors have a chance to make choices during conflict reporting. While covering Hong Kong, Pakistani newspapers practiced peace journalism focusing on the basic and social reasons of violence, and does not focus on the simple discrepancy. Logically, Pakistan was the victim of the war on terror and faced internal and external conflicts for last 20 years, which make its media habitual to focus on visible war effects and use the diabolized language and emotive words while covering any dispute. However, the results of this study are justifying that transformation of tendency is observed in the Pakistani press from war journalism practices to peace journalism. Nevertheless, the results of this study are justifying that newspapers in Pakistan are now transforming their tendency to practice peace journalism from war journalism. However, for future aspects, this practice creates opportunities for media outlets in Pakistan and public on a large scale to consider the significance of non-violent retorts to conflict.

There are many limitations to this study. A broader study on the subject involving popular mediums such as digital media and television, which have a high impact on individuals. Further, media outlets from India or western countries could be included for comparative analysis. The future researcher could include an extensive period for this kind of study and compare pre and post events regarding Hong Kong.

## 6. AVAILABILITY OF DATA AND MATERIAL

Used or generated data already present in this study.

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