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PAKISTANI ENGLISH-SPEAKING NEWS MEDIA FRAMING OF THE SALALA  
BORDER POST INCIDENT

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By  
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PAKISTANI ENGLISH-SPEAKING NEWS MEDIA FRAMING OF THE SALALA  
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GRADUATE COLLEGE

BY

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>OVERVIEW</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>Applied Framing Research at the National and Regional/Local Levels</b> .....	<b>16</b>
<b>Framing Research on Pakistan</b> .....	<b>17</b>
<b>Pakistani Journalistic Traditions</b> .....	<b>23</b>
<b>The Salala Incident: A Case Study</b> .....	<b>29</b>
<b>Hypothesis Testing</b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>METHODOLOGY</b> .....	<b>47</b>
<b>Article Identification</b> .....	<b>49</b>
<b>Coding Process</b> .....	<b>52</b>
<b>Intercoder and Scale Reliability</b> .....	<b>57</b>
<b>Conceptual Design for Evaluating Factors</b> .....	<b>61</b>
<b>RESULTS</b> .....	<b>67</b>
<b>H1</b> .....	<b>67</b>
<b>H2</b> .....	<b>68</b>
<b>Human Interest Frame H2a</b> .....	<b>69</b>
<b>Morality Frame H2b</b> .....	<b>69</b>
<b>H3</b> .....	<b>70</b>
<b>National Frames H3a</b> .....	<b>71</b>
<b>Regional Frames H3b</b> .....	<b>73</b>
<b>RQ1</b> .....	<b>75</b>
<b>Correlation Analysis</b> .....	<b>76</b>
<b>Varimax-rotated Factor Solution</b> .....	<b>83</b>

<b>Generic Frame Frequency Table .....</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>RQ2.....</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>Conflict Frame.....</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>Attribution of Responsibility Frame.....</b>	<b>96</b>
<b>Human Interest Frame .....</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>Morality Frame .....</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>Economic Consequences Frame.....</b>	<b>107</b>
<b>RQ3.....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>National Frames .....</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>Regional Frames .....</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>DISCUSSION .....</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>Overview .....</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>H1.....</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>H2.....</b>	<b>129</b>
<b>H2a.....</b>	<b>130</b>
<b>H2b.....</b>	<b>132</b>
<b>H3.....</b>	<b>134</b>
<b>H3a.....</b>	<b>134</b>
<b>H3b.....</b>	<b>138</b>
<b>RQ1.....</b>	<b>139</b>
<b>RQ2.....</b>	<b>148</b>
<b>RQ3.....</b>	<b>151</b>
<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>154</b>
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>163</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>National Framing by Media Outlet (Table 1)</b> .....	<b>73</b>
<b>Regional Framing by Media Outlet (Table 2)</b> .....	<b>75</b>
<b>Correlation Matrix for Generic Frames (Table 3)</b> .....	<b>79</b>
<b>Six-Factor Rotated Factor Solution (Table 4)</b> .....	<b>86</b>
<b>Five-Factor Rotated Factor Solution (Table 5)</b> .....	<b>90</b>
<b>Overall Usage of Generic Frames (Table 6)</b> .....	<b>92</b>
<b>Conflict Framing by Media Outlet (Table 7)</b> .....	<b>96</b>
<b>Attribution of Responsibility Framing by Media Outlet (Table 8)</b> .....	<b>99</b>
<b>Human Interest Framing by Media Outlet (Table 9)</b> .....	<b>104</b>
<b>Morality Framing by Media Outlet (Table 10)</b> .....	<b>107</b>
<b>Economic Consequences Framing by Media Outlet (Table 11)</b> .....	<b>109</b>
<b>Overlap between National Framing and Generic Frames (Table 12)</b> .....	<b>115</b>
<b>Regional Framing in Terms of Generic Frames (Table 13)</b> .....	<b>121</b>

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation research investigated framing in the Pakistani English-speaking press in the aftermath of the Salala incident in late-2011, during which 24 Pakistani soldiers died and over a dozen were wounded. Occurring only a few months after the American raid to kill Osama bin Laden on Pakistani soil, the Salala border post incident had significant reverberating effects on Pakistani-U.S. relations including the closure of the two main NATO supply routes to Afghanistan for over seven months as well as the delay of foreign aid and security assistance to Pakistan. As part of this study, the researcher conducted a comprehensive content analysis of articles published by five Pakistani English-speaking news outlets including *Dawn*, *The Nation*, *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*, *Balochistan Express* and *Frontier Post*, in order to evaluate media usage of deductive generic frames as well as issue-specific national and regional frames. The content analysis demonstrated that the conflict and attribution of responsibility frames were the most prominently used frames in the Pakistani news media followed by the human interest frame, the morality frame and finally, the economic consequences frame. The results of the research showed that the national press was as likely as the regional press to characterize the incident in terms of the regional frames of local insurgency, local politics and local impact. *Dawn* used the national foreign policy and national terrorism framing items more than the regional press. However, *Balochistan Express* and *Frontier Post* were more likely to use the national border security/sovereignty framing item.



## INTRODUCTION

Framing theory gives us a different window on life and a unique, almost critical way of looking at the news media. It teaches us to question what we hear and see on the television, the Internet and in the press. It makes us wonder if the facts are really what they seem to be and if reality has been altered by the way in which the news media present the facts. Framing theory itself is multi-faceted and scholars have examined it from diverse perspectives such as communications, political science and sociology. One relatively new avenue of research in this field is the study of deductive generic frames, the idea that media frames can be grouped into overarching pre-defined themes. Stemming from scholars in the Netherlands, most of this research to date has centered on the Western European press. With this in mind, the researcher proposes taking a critical view of a key event in U.S.-Pakistani relations, the November 2011 Salala border post incident in terms of generic frames as well as issue-specific regional and national frames, to better understand Pakistani English-speaking media usage of these frames. The multi-dimensional and multi-cultural aspects of this event as well as its reception in the Pakistani English-speaking press provide a data rich environment for scholarly research in this field.

Of note, this is the first time to the researcher's knowledge that a study has focused exclusively on how the Pakistani English-speaking media engage generic frames such as the attribution of responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality and economic consequences frames. The researcher did find one recent study that engaged the topic of human interest; however, it occurred in isolation with other issue-specific frames and the scholar did not find any examples of human interest framing in his

dataset (Onyebadi, 2016, p. 118). As advocated by Semetko and Valkenburg, generic frames are broad enough that they can be found, and measured, across many types of media such as the Internet, television and print as well and even across international borders (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 94-95). To date, much of the research has occurred using the European media. This dissertation study provides a good opportunity to test how Pakistani English-speaking news outlets perform with generic framing to see if this concept is generalizable to the press in Pakistan as well as determine if the usage of generic frames changes between national/regional news outlets or in the presence of national/regional themes.

Termed an “uneasy alliance” by the *Washington Post*, the U.S.-Pakistani relationship teetered on the fringe of collapse when the Salala incident occurred, causing Pakistani officials to close both of their primary land border posts to NATO supply trucks as well as the U.S. to withhold important financial aid to Pakistan (Brulliard, 2011, A201; SDA – Basisdienst Deutsch, 2011). The incident occurred when U.S./NATO troops mistook Pakistani soldiers for insurgent elements and called in air support after the troops began drawing heavy machine gun and mortar fire from alleged terrorists. They returned fire to where they believed the shots were coming from, but these instead turned out to be two Pakistani border posts. The incident and its ensuing firefight lasted nearly two hours. Before the fighting ended, 24 Pakistani soldiers had died and over a dozen had been wounded (Hamburger Abendblatt, 2011). While the fighting itself may have only lasted two hours, the firestorm unleashed in the Pakistani press was intense and lasted for several months. It brought to

bear questions of Pakistani sovereignty, self-defense and regional stability as well as united political parties in their condemnation of the incident.

## **OVERVIEW**

The prevalence of the news media in society has a profound impact on how the general populace views the world at large. In fact, the news media allow individuals to come to opinions on matters for which they do not have direct experience (Iyengar, 1987, p. 2). The news media provide the framework whereby issues that otherwise might have gone by the wayside are forced to the forefront of public opinion and government leaders' priority lists (Gilboa, 2006, p. 605-608). Framing is an integral part of how information is presented to the public as well as high level policy-makers. It is affected by a myriad of factors both internal and external to the press (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 9).

News media framing is an evolving process consisting of three components: "framing in the newsroom", "framing in the news", and "framing effects". The first component encapsulates factors that affect journalists' choices of what to highlight (de Vreese, 2005, p. 52). The second component, framing in the news, captures generic and issue-specific framing items, and it is this particular component of the framing theory that the researcher examined as part of this dissertation research. Examples of generic frames include the attribution of responsibility frame, the economic consequences frame, the morality frame, the human interest frame and the conflict frame (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95-96). Additional information regarding these deductive generic frames is found in the Literature Review section. The third and

final component of the process, framing effects, deals with the impact that framing has on the readership, for instance, if the news media altered the perceptions of the populace towards a specific incident or event (de Vreese, 2005, p. 52).

The majority of research related to deductive generic framing has centered on Western Europe and the Netherlands, which begs the question of how generic frames are used outside of this region. South Asia, and Pakistan in particular, is a good test case for hypothesis testing of deductive generic frames because, first and foremost, it has a rich English language journalistic tradition thanks to the modern remnants of the British Empire. Second, it has four distinct provinces, each with its own ethnic majority as well as a myriad of smaller Federally Administered Tribal Areas, allowing for multiple perspectives and therefore, more than likely, different approaches to framing the same issue. Furthermore, the Salala border post incident, as a case study, provided ample data for hypothesis testing because the event served as a unifying factor that drew ire from many corners of Pakistan. This is important because it meant that the event stayed in the public's eye for a longer period of time and its impact was not limited to one geographic region.

As described in greater detail in the Literature Review section, the dialogue concerning the Salala border post incident was much broader than the attack itself. The key components were a mosaic of tragedies, withholding of foreign assistance, disagreements over the controversial usage of the drone program, accusations of interference in the domestic affairs of Pakistan, the long-term peace process in Afghanistan, lingering cross-border terrorism issues in India, and the overarching question of trust in Pakistani foreign affairs. The contents of *The Salala Incident: A*

Case Study in the Literature Review section represent extensive research in both U.S. domestic and foreign press on this issue, leveraging foreign press reporting as much as possible to obtain broader, detailed non-U.S. viewpoints of the incident.

With this background, this dissertation research consisted of quantitative content analysis of one national and four regional Pakistani English-speaking news outlets to examine their framing of this significant event in U.S.-Pakistani foreign policy. For purposes of the statistical analysis, the frames chosen by the journalists and their respective editorial staffs represent the dependent variable, while the individual news outlets are the independent variables (Scheufele, 1999, p. 107; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 9). Using a pre-defined coding instrument, the researcher extracted data from multiple Pakistani English-language news outlets including *Dawn*, a must-read of the Pakistani diplomatic corps, as well as *The Nation*, a nationalist newspaper representing Punjab, and the *Frontier Post*, covering Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Riaz, 2008, p. 113; ul Hassan, 2011, p. 49). Further news outlets include the *Balochistan Express* from Balochistan province as well as the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*. In short, all four provinces were covered by one print news outlet. According to BBC News, major news outlets in Pakistan near the time of the incident included *Jang*, *Dawn*, *Daily Times*, *Pakistan Observer*, *Frontier Post*, *Pakistan Television Corporation* and the *Associated Press of Pakistan* (BBC, 2011). Therefore, this research included major Pakistani news outlets as well as those with a more limited distribution. Nearly 850 English-language articles met the researcher's criteria for inclusion in the study. More details on these articles as well as requirements for retention are contained in the Methodology section of this dissertation.

Following this section, the Literature Review section will discuss some of the key research already undertaken in the field of framing. The first part of the section will discuss the essentials of framing theory, deductive generic and inductive issue-specific framing, as well as academic research already completed in this field relating to Pakistan. The second part of the Literature Review will transition to a case study of the Salala border post incident as well as a discussion of factors that influence the current journalistic environment in Pakistan. Finally, there will be an overview of testable hypotheses as well as accompanying research questions. Following the Literature Review section, there will be a treatment of the methodology for this dissertation research. Finally, the researcher will discuss the results of the study and the implications for further scholarly work in this field.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Framing theory suggests that the way that the news media present a topic or issue has significant bearing on how the audience receives it. Selected frames can invite readers to contemplate issues in specific themes thereby influencing attitudes towards policies (Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1997, p. 494). However, frames in the news are not synonymous with taking a position on an issue. Any frame can include positions for or against an issue, including neutral ones. It's even possible to disagree while leveraging the same frame to interpret an issue (Nisbet, 2009, p. 18). Furthermore, frames can be strong or weak depending on how well they resonate with their intended audience in comparison to competing frames (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 116). Cappella and Jamieson compared the framing of a news story to the construction of a new home:

“Like the framing of a house, a news frame creates a structure on which other elements are built. There is much in a house that is not the frame, but without the frame there is no house. And the frame determines the shape of the house” (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, p. 38).

Using Cappella and Jamieson’s analogy, in the case of terrorism, the press may elect to present this problem in terms of individual choices that led to radicalization, outside influences that corrupted the culprits, society failing to provide employment and educational opportunities for those involved, or even alleged mental health issues of the perpetrators. While some of the core actors may stay stable across these storylines, the audience may derive different conclusions based on which treatment they received. They may arrive at different conclusions about who is responsible for the problem, what resources should be devoted to its resolution, and which groups are the most capable of addressing it.

While scholars from many fields have studied news framing, there has been much discussion on the exact definition of a frame and how best to measure it.

According to Neuman, Just, and Crigler:

“Frames are conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret, and evaluate information” (Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992, p. 60).

Additionally, Entman’s explanation further complements Neuman et al.’s (1992) definition of framing:

“To select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition,

causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

This latter definition is a key to understanding the framing problem set because it emphasizes the importance of the media selecting what is important in the communicative dialogue. In other words, how a story is structured may help to define this salience. Additionally, it is possible that only certain portions of frames will be incorporated and/or present (Edy & Meirick, 2007, p. 120-121, 125). Furthermore, the meaning of the story can be changed not only by what is included in it, but also what is excluded from the overall discussion (An & Gower, 2009, p. 108). For instance, discussions of the Salala incident itself studied in this research dissertation ranged the gamut of an attack on sovereign Pakistani soil to conspiracy theories involving foreign powers to a tragic incident resulting in the loss of life. Each of these scenarios presented differing viewpoints on the incident, and potentially varying paths forward for its resolution.

However, one challenge to hypothesis testing of framing theory is selecting a standard definition for framing itself. Some have even criticized the definitions of framing as being too vague (Scheufele, 1999, p. 103). One approach to studying framing theory involves focusing on the specific patterns of frames leveraged in the news media. Scholars specializing in this avenue of research tend to focus on either inductive issue-specific or deductive generic frames. For studies focused on inductive frames, researchers define them as part of the data analysis process, whereas for deductive frames the frames are generated prior to commencing the research. Generic frames represent those frames that are not limited by time period, by location, or by



culture, whereas a particular event may define issue-specific frames. In other words, generic frames have the potential to be broader in nature because they are applicable across a myriad of events. Inductive framing research is ideal for datasets that are smaller in scope and is much harder to replicate across other scholarship because the frames aren't known beforehand. An additional benefit of identifying the frames *a priori* is that it is easier for other researchers to replicate the data than inductive frames (de Vreese, 2005, 53-55; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 94-95).

At the same time, there are two downsides to generic framing including, first and foremost, inflexibility with identifying new frames and second, generic frames might not be appropriate for the topic being considered. Inflexibility with identifying new frames could lead to limiting the scope of the dialogue (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, p. 262-263). However, the use of generic frames facilitates hypothesis testing because it allows the researcher to compare and contrast between media outlets (Matthes, 2009, p. 356).

In the field of generic framing, Semetko and Valkenburg noted a lack of consistent indicators for use in content analysis of framing and attempted to rectify this through developing a series of questions to analyze generic frames. The intent of these common indicators, i.e. framing items, was to measure framing between different kinds of news outlets, even between the press of different countries (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96). Semetko and Valkenburg designed questions to compare five deductive generic frames, four of which were proposed by Neuman et al. including the conflict frame, the economic consequences frame, the human interest frame, and the morality frame as well as a fifth frame, the attribution of responsibility frame, from Iyengar

(Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95). In order to measure these frames, Semetko and Valkenburg developed a twenty-question survey that could be used in a wide array of subjects (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 100).

The attribution of responsibility frame assists the reader in determining whom or what bears responsibility for an event or incident. That said, it is possible for a party to be considered responsible for a situation even if they were not the cause or the culprit for an issue. Those who could or should have known better or prevented the issue can be blamed even though they were not the instigators (Knobloch-Westerwick & Taylor, 2008, p. 725). While it is possible for individuals, specific groups or the government to bear responsibility for an issue, questions in this category primarily focus on government actions regarding the event, i.e. “Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?” and “Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 100).

The human interest frame involves gearing a storyline towards how an individual or group is affected by a problem (Aalberg & Beyer, 2015, p. 3-6; Neuman et al., 1992, p. 69). In some instances, news outlets leverage this frame to attract readers and assist them in personalizing the story. Human interest framing is particularly compatible with issues where journalists can describe specific stories of individuals. It may also create solidarity for an issue, although some questions remain whether this empathy is toward particular individuals as opposed to an affected group in society (Aalberg & Beyer, 2015, p. 3-6). The news media, in this sense, engender empathy or feelings for a subject without openly discussing the subject in empathetic terms, in order

to avoid conflicting with the news media's professional norm of objectivity (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 69-70).

The conflict frame is a dominant frame in the media that deals with opposing parties, more than one side of an issue, and winners and losers. It is sometimes compared to "horse-race politics". The conflict frame is also found in storylines where there is opposing "us vs. them" framing (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 64-66; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95). According to Cappella and Jamieson, reporting conflict is common in the news media, even when there is the opportunity to highlight consensus (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, p. 3, 10).

The morality frame includes treatments of "religious tenets" or "moral prescriptions" in the news media (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96). For example, the press may leverage the morality frame when describing major religious celebrations in terms of the underlying religious beliefs, discussing the religious backgrounds/moral positions of politicians or even characterizing a violent or terrorist event in terms of the religious affiliations of the perpetrators/victims. However, Neuman et al. noted that the news media tend to approach the morality frame indirectly; rather they cite others who broach topics of moral significance (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 72). If there is a crisis, this kind of framing can cause the audience to hold a more negative view of the situation (An & Gower, 2009, p. 111).

The economic consequences frame, sometimes referred to as just the consequences frame, deals with the financial aspects of newsworthy stories. This can include both the present and the future implications for an issue. In the news media, the

economic consequences frame is conveyed using technical terms, often in terms of specific prices, for a subject. This type of framing is demonstrative of the news media's proclivity to rely on official sources (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 62-63). For example, governments may be in the best position to address the financial implications of an issue and be willing to share this information with the press.

Numerous scholars have utilized the common indicators proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg in their research. Much of the research to date has focused on the European domain. Some have used the full model of five generic frames, while others have leveraged some combination thereof. These have given some indications of the occurrence rates for these frames as well as what kinds of news outlets might promote some generic frames over others.

In their initial research involving Dutch television and newspaper coverage of a 1997 EU Summit, Semetko and Valkenburg found that the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames were the most prevalent among news sources. Quality of newspaper, i.e. sensationalist vs. more serious new outlet, affected the outcome with a higher prevalence of conflict framing among more elite newspapers and human interest framing for television and sensationalist news (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 93, 106-107). Their findings regarding the human interest frame are pertinent to the current dissertation research as the regional news outlets likely targeted different audiences than the national news outlet, *Dawn*.

Overall, scholarly research undertaken to date has demonstrated the tendency of the press to report the news in terms of the attribution of responsibility, conflict and

economic consequences frames more so than the human interest and morality frames. Dirikx and Gelders found that the news media used the economic consequences and attribution of responsibility frames more frequently than the human interest or conflict frames in French and Dutch reporting on climate change. They also found an inter-correlation between the attribution of responsibility and the conflict frames (Dirikx & Gelder, 2010, p. 737). Camaj conducted a framing study on Kosovo that revealed that the media portrayed the issue of Kosovo primarily in terms of the conflict and attribution of responsibility frames (Camaj, 2010, p. 644). An and Gower found that human interest and morality were the least frequently used frames when studying business crisis situations in the United States. However, they found a connection with preventable crises and the morality frame (An & Gower, 2009, p. 111).

As far as scholarly studies that included a subset of the common indicators, Ryabinska investigated the attribution of responsibility frame as part of her research on the role of the Polish and Ukrainian media in public engagement and disengagement. She found that Ukrainian news outlets were more likely to identify problems than causes in headlines and prominent newspaper locations whereas the Polish media were more likely to boldly establish an agent for attribution of responsibility purposes (Ryabinska, 2008, p. 311, 316, 322). Lastly, de Vreese, Jochen, and Semetko considered the conflict and economic consequences frames while evaluating the launch of the euro in four European countries' news outlets in 1999. The researchers discovered that political and economic articles unrelated to the adoption of the euro treated conflict framing more prominently whereas economic consequences framing

came to the forefront for articles concerning the euro (de Vreese, Jochen, & Semetko, 2001, p. 115, 118).

However, some scholars using the common indicators came to slightly, though not drastically, different conclusions than Semetko and Valkenburg for their respective fields of study. For example, Igartua, Cheng, and Muñiz used an expanded version of Semetko and Valkenburg's framing items to explore how the Spanish press portrayed Latin America. They found a sixth factor, instead of the usual five, after performing a Varimax-rotated loaded factor solution. Essentially, the framing item "Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?" did not fit in well with the other items in the attribution of responsibility frame. There was a weak correlation between this framing item and one of the framing items in the conflict frame. Igartua et al. found that the Spanish press utilized the economic consequences frame less than was related in Semetko and Valkenburg's research but postulated that this difference was due to the variation in subjects between the two studies. However, these researchers indicated that their findings were similar to Semetko and Valkenburg in other regards (Igartua, Cheng, & Muñiz, 2005, p. 363, 365, 369). d'Haenens and de Lange found that one of the framing items in the attribution of responsibility frame "Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?" was negatively related to the outcome in a study of Dutch press coverage of asylum seekers. This result conflicted with the research conducted by Semetko and Valkenburg where this item was inversely coded and positively correlated. The authors believed that this discrepancy was due to

possible “political correctness” on the part of the subjects (d’Haenens & de Lange, 2001, p. 854).

Finally, professional norms at the organizational level can be very influential in the selection of newspaper frames. These norms and their corresponding organizational cultures can create and solidify the "institutional mythology" of how journalists should perform, which in turn, can influence the framing of the content sent to the masses. For journalists, these values can include neutrality and credibility as well as influence who or what might be chosen as news sources. Additionally, editors play a key role in enforcing the norms and organizational culture, and, by extension, selecting the frames leveraged in their respective newspapers. For instance, editors may choose articles based on perceived reactions of an audience, thereby omitting potential content which might indicate a minority viewpoint (Singer, 2004, p. 840-842, 846). Editors further reinforce these norms by teaching journalists what they may or may not write at their respective newspapers during the editing process (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 88). Furthermore, editing is one of the processes that organizations have to ensure that journalists don't clash with their superiors, and journalists may engage in self-censorship when they perceived that a topic is “off-limits” by their peers (Turow, 1994, p. 31, 35-36). In other words, journalists may select the content and the framing of the articles that they write; however, the finished product will reflect their organizations’ professional norms and values, at a minimum through the editing process, which in turn, may standardize the applicable frames originating from a given news outlet. Some of the professional norms at Pakistani news outlets as well as challenges facing Pakistani journalists will be discussed in the Pakistani Journalistic Traditions section.

## **Applied Framing Research at the National and Regional/Local Levels**

Besides investigating the Pakistani English-speaking media's integration of generic frames in their coverage of the Salala incident, this dissertation research will also evaluate differences in framing between national and regional/local news outlets. At the theoretical level, national news outlets relate issues based on broader overarching themes that are important to national level policy-makers, whereas the local press may emphasize how a situation impacts an individual (Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams, & Trammell, 2005, p. 24; Lawlor, 2015, p. 922-923). On the other hand, local journalists may look to national journalists for suggestions on content, potentially due to greater resources available to national news media organizations. With fewer resources, local news may also employ fewer experts and a greater propensity to focus on local issues (Lawlor, 2015, p. 921-922). To reach local readers with national-level content, journalists may have to "domesticate" the subject, whereby they portray, i.e. frame, the topic in terms understandable to the local culture and population (Dimitrova et al, 2005, p. 24). Local news outlets may be influenced by their regions' historical experiences, more so than national news outlets. Additionally, local news may be more sensationalist than national news (Lawlor, 2015, p. 919, 922). Furthermore, Anderson and Marhadour found that regional media outlets focused more on the local financial impact than the environmental problems related to an oil spill in contrast to national outlets that emphasized the environmental aspect and attributing responsibility for the problem (Anderson & Marhadour, 2007, p. 111).

At the practical level, the jury is still out on the measurable differences between national and regional/local news outlets. Lawlor did not find did not find statistically



significant differences between national and local news outlets in her study on immigration in Great Britain and Canada (Lawlor, 2015, p. 918, 932). However, d’Haenens and de Lange did find some significant differences as part of their research on asylum seekers leveraging four region-specific news outlets. d’Haenens and de Lange expected that differences in opinion between localities would be mirrored in respective news outlets (d’Haenens & de Lange, 2001, p. 851). They found the regional news outlets to use their own resources for reporting when the problem set was located in their vicinity; however, they had a tendency to leverage press agencies, i.e. national news outlets, for more routine affairs (d’Haenens & de Lange, 2001, p. 853). This would be consistent with Lawlor’s assertion above that local journalists might reach to national resources for some of their content. However, it seems likely that there might be differences in content between the national and regional venues based on the subject matter discussed. d’Haenens and de Lange also noted differences between several of the regional news outlets for individual generic framing items, such as those that were studied in this dissertation research (d’Haenens & de Lange, 2001, p. 858-859). Therefore, it seems likely that if a national news outlet were included in their study, that there would have been framing differences with at least some of the regional news media.

### **Framing Research on Pakistan**

Research in the field of Pakistani news media framing is a nascent field. While the number of these studies continues to grow, many of the studies in this field involve inductive issue-specific framing, thereby making them more difficult to compare to other datasets. Some of the research to date has involved normative aspects of framing

theory such as peace journalism whereas other researchers have opted to conduct multi-country analyses and have included Pakistani news outlets as part of their data sources. The researcher was unable to find any examples of works where scholars analyzed the Pakistani English-speaking press using generic framing as conducted in this dissertation research, with the exception of one study that included the human interest frame among other issue-specific frames but did not find any examples of the frame. It is possible that these kinds of studies on generic framing in Pakistani news outlets exist or are ongoing.

Onyebadi studied how the Pakistani press framed the death of Osama bin Laden in news editorials published in *Dawn* and *The News International* (Onyebadi, 2016, p. 116). The researcher leveraged several issue-specific frames including the external responsibility frame, internal responsibility frame, diagnostic frame, prognostic frame, patriotic-nationalistic frame as well as one generic frame, the human interest frame. The descriptions for the external responsibility, internal responsibility and diagnostic frames bore some resemblance to some of the elements of the attribution of responsibility frame, though tailored specifically towards the Pakistani news media (Onyebadi, 2016, p. 116-117). Onyebadi found that human interest and patriotic-nationalistic frames were not present in the sub-set of articles chosen for his study, but that the Pakistani news outlets did feature the internal responsibility and prognostic frames prominently (Onyebadi, 2016, p. 2018). One of the greatest concerns for the two news outlets was the lapse in internal security, which allowed foreign troops to conduct the bin Laden raid (Onyebadi, 2016, p. 119). Interestingly, Onbeyadi found

that the press did not focus on the reasons behind the raid, rather the consequences left in its wake (Onyebadi, 2016, p. 120).

As far as further issue-specific research is concerned, ul Hassan studied how *Dawn*, *The News*, and *The Nation* framed the war on terror in the Pakistani FATA in 2008 (ul Hassan, 2011, p. 3). ul Hassan developed a set of frames for coding and covered areas such as the image of the Taliban, the portrayal of the U.S. and Afghanistan, and the solutions to the conflict (ul Hassan, 2011, p. 51). Overall, the researcher found that these newspapers viewed the war on terrorism to be Pakistan's fight, as opposed to an American war or a joint venture with the United States (ul Hassan, 2011, p. 61). However, the news outlets also portrayed the United States alongside the Taliban as "foes of Pakistan" (ul Hassan, 2011, p. 63-65). This researcher attributed the enmity towards the United States to sovereignty issues as well as drone strikes (ul Hassan, 2011, p. 84).

Complementing ul Hassan's research, Malik and Iqbal studied how the Taliban was portrayed in over 350 editorials in *Dawn* and *The News* over a two-month time-span in early 2009. The researchers selected this timeframe because they believed that it was instrumental to the Taliban problem set as well as issues in the Swat valley. Primarily concerned with the framing of the Pakistani Taliban in these two elite news outlets, Malik and Iqbal found that *The News* raised the issue of the Taliban in a national context, encouraging readers to support their religious leaders in order to help the country combat this issue. Furthermore, *The News* used more violent language to describe the Taliban than *Dawn*. *Dawn* editorials discussed the political ramifications

of Taliban activities in Pakistan, thereby taking a more international perspective (Malik & Iqbal, 2011, p. 51-52).

Sultan investigated inductive framing in order to test if the editorials that the *Washington Post* and *Dawn* published had favorable/unfavorable/neutral views of U.S.-Pakistani relations during the Ashraf government between June and December 2012. The four categories used by Sultan were Pakistani and/or U.S. stance toward bilateral relations, war on terrorism and religion. Sultan found that the highest percentage of *Washington Post* articles treated the U.S. stance toward U.S.-Pakistani relations and the war on terrorism whereas editorials from *Dawn* demonstrated the Pakistani stance. Neither news outlet seemed to treat the other nation's stance in its own editorials (Sultan, 2013, p. 1-5).

Additionally, Siraj and Hussain conducted research on the portrayal of the Pakistani Taliban through the lens of Galtung's peace journalism. According to Galtung's model, how journalists describe the problem-set is what differentiates peace journalism from war journalism. Articles that focus on the people affected by a crisis or in finding resolution to a problem set lean towards peace journalism whereas war journalism focuses on elites and propaganda (Crispin, Maslog, & Hun, 2006, p. 20-21, 23). Based on a dataset of articles published in *Dawn*, *The News*, *Jang* and *The Express*, Siraj and Husain concluded that the Urdu press, i.e. *Jang* and *The Express*, had a more balanced proportion between war journalism and peace journalism overall than purely war journalism. The English language press had a higher percentage of articles classified as war journalism. Siraj and Hussain concluded that reporting on the Taliban was more favorable under peace journalism (Siraj & Hussain, 2011, p. 59, 62).

Two other noteworthy research teams covered Pakistan as part of multi-country studies on war and peace journalism. As part of her research, Lee sought to differentiate between English and vernacular news articles regarding events surrounding Kashmir, the Tamil Tigers and two civil wars in Indonesia. She leveraged four Pakistani news outlets in the process including *Dawn*, *Pakistan News Service*, *Nawa-i-waqt* and *Jang* (Lee, 2010, p. 367-369). Lee found that the Pakistani press displayed the highest percentage of war journalism for the Kashmir conflict and the least amount of peace journalism, 72% and 23% respectively (Lee, 2010, p. 371). Furthermore, foreign wire services were more likely than the local press to have war journalism, at 70% to 59%, respectively (Lee, 2010, p. 375). Crispin et al. conducted a one-month, seven country survey of Muslim and non-Muslim countries media outlets covering the beginning of the Iraq war in order to gauge reporting trends in war and peace journalism. The researchers leveraged the *Pakistan News Service* and concluded that non-Muslim countries had stronger war framing compared to Muslim countries and that foreign wire services were more likely to favor war journalism than correspondents employed by the newspaper itself. However, the authors noted that nearly 70% of the articles did not clearly favor war or peace journalism (Crispin et al., 2006, p. 26-28, 30-31).

From the perspective of how other countries' press view Pakistan, Siraj conducted a treatment of the Kashmir conflict as viewed through the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* between 2001-2002 (Siraj, 2008, p. 3). Siraj's analysis indicated that American elite newspapers shed a more favorable light on India through war journalism and preferred Pakistan over India in terms of peace journalism (Siraj,

2008, p. 2). He further postulated that the U.S. sought for a solution to the conflict in order for Pakistan to assist with American counterterrorism objectives for Afghanistan (Siraj, 2008, p. 20-21).

Additionally, Yousaf studied how the *Associated Press (AP)* and *Xinhua* framed an important Pakistani counterterrorism campaign from the U.S. and Chinese perspectives, respectively (Yousaf, 2015, p. 3047). Using five issue-specific frames including the economic consequences frame, Yousaf found that *AP* and *Xinhua* emphasized different aspects of the campaign. The U.S. news outlet provided a more negative take on Pakistan's counterterrorism strategy as well as framed some of the challenges from an outlook of the "West vs. Islam". The Chinese news outlet supported Pakistan's counterterrorism efforts and provided favorable economic coverage during this time period (Yousaf, 2015, p. 3057-3058).

In general, English newspapers in Pakistan are considered more liberal and critical of the Pakistani government than ones distributed in the local languages (Dickinson & Memon, 2012, p. 621). On the other hand, Urdu newspapers have more religious undertones than their English language counterparts (Shah, 2010, p. 2). Ali and Jalaluddin claimed that *The Nation* was opposed to regionalism and was very supportive of the Islamic state (Ali & Jalaluddin, 2010, p. 148). However, Archetti noted that *The Nation* focused more on domestic issues than *Dawn* (Archetti, 2008, p. 16). Based on these assertions, it is possible that *The Nation* might have a more national focus. Overall, *The Nation* is considered to be a right-wing conservative news outlet (Mezzera & Sial, 2010, p. 17). In addition to being an elite news outlet, *Dawn*

has a liberal, secular news slant. It is considered credible and neutral (Mezzera & Sial, 2010, p. 16).

### **Pakistani Journalistic Traditions**

Pakistan's journalistic tradition precedes the creation of its nation. An attorney by trade, the founder of Pakistan, Mr. Mohammad A. Jinnah, was a strong proponent of freedom of the press and defended it as early as 1908, nearly forty years before the Partition with India. During one instance in 1919, he preemptively had the *Bombay Chronicle* suspended when its editor was faced with deportation from India in order to avoid the humiliation of having this publication censored (Niazi, 2010, p. 41-42). In the 1940s, Jinnah was intimately involved in leadership decisions for *Dawn*, the national news outlet chosen for the current dissertation research, including choosing its editor and transforming it into a daily newspaper (Niazi, 2010, p. 51-52). Prior to independence, *Dawn* could be considered an extension of the Muslim League's views (Niazi, 2010, p. 54-55).

Unfortunately, Jinnah passed away on September 11, 1948, only one year after the founding of Pakistan. In October 1948, the Safety Act Ordinance was passed, something which Jinnah had refused to promote, which gave authority to punish those in the press who published offensive articles. The 1956 constitution later included this ordinance (Niazi, 2010, p. 63). Following Jinnah's passing, freedom of the press was equally elusive under both civilian and military rulers. One positive event that occurred was the creation of the Electronic Media Regulation Authority Ordinance in 1997, during a caretaker civilian government. Although not officially ratified by the National

Assembly, the government had intended this ordinance to prevent monopolies of the news media as well as allow citizens the opportunity to broadcast on non-governmental media outlets (Jabbar & Isa, 1997, p. 42; Rasul & Proffitt, 2013, p. 600).

The next big step for the Pakistani media came under the military leadership of President Musharraf. Perhaps for the wrong reasons, Musharraf believed that the field of journalism required more autonomy. According to Rasul and Proffitt (2013):

“The unprecedented growth of electronic media in Pakistan runs contrary to the thesis of Robison and Crenshaw (2002) who are of the view that only democratic governments help broadcast media proliferate; but in case of Pakistan, a dictatorial regime, led by General Pervez Musharraf, was keen to let an independent and considerably free electronic media grow unhindered under the patronage of PEMRA because the military government wanted to legitimize its extra-constitutional actions by coaxing free media” (Rasul & Proffitt, 2013, p. 598).

Evidently, Musharraf may have perceived that India was winning the propaganda war against Pakistan and sought to open up the journalism market for freer thought on the matter (Mufti, 2007, p. 48-49). However, these newfound freedoms provided a credible force with which to reckon and, by 2007 when Musharraf dismissed Supreme Court judge Iftikhar Mohammad Choudhury, he brought upon himself an onslaught of backlash from many media outlets (Mufti, 2007, p. 46). Opting to resolve this matter by force, Pakistani security forces stormed the *GEO* television station to enforce governmental orders. However, the television station bureau chief managed to



barricade himself into a back room and provided live coverage of the government actions. Later that day, Musharraf offered a live apology for this incursion (Mufti, 2007, p. 46-47). In effect, freedom of the press won out over authoritarian powers.

As far as current professional norms of Pakistani journalists that may affect framing are concerned, Pintak and Nazir surveyed journalists in five major Pakistani cities including Lahore, Peshawar, Karachi, Hyderabad and the capital of Pakistan, Islamabad (Pintak & Nazir, 2013, p. 643). Two-thirds of journalists considered themselves to be “religious” and over half were journalists for less than five years (Pintak & Nazir, 2013, p. 645). Journalists saw themselves as Muslims first, then as journalists, then as Pakistanis and only two percent professed their “regional identities” (Pintak & Nazir, 2013, p. 645-646). This would indicate a stronger national identity among journalists that might affect news framing and lean less towards promoting regional ideals and values. Syed agreed with this latter point and stipulated that, in the Urdu-language press, Islam and national identity were more important than regional identities, which were “injurious to Pakistan”. He believed that there was a stigma associated with ethnic or religious minority groups (Syed, 2008, p. 346-347). At a more secular level, Memon conducted a survey of Sindh province journalists and found that they believed that one of their main roles was to provide “accurate and timely information”. Journalists valued being “advocates for the public”. “Propagating government policy” was the lowest ranked item (Memon, 2013, p. 1794-1798).

However, these professional values may be tempered by some day-to-day challenges related to freedom of the press in Pakistan both in terms of lack of resources as well as legal and extra-legal interested parties. Since its inception, the country has

possessed a juridical framework that applies to all journalists operating in the country. The issue of security or lack thereof, outside influence from government sources, as well as monetary factors may also influence how controversial newspaper articles are framed, if they are even published.

Named the most dangerous country for journalists in 2011, the same year that the Osama bin Laden raid occurred as well as the Salala incident, Pakistani media professionals were facing extra pressures from local security forces as well as militant and terrorist groups related to the content of their reporting and challenges traveling freely, particularly in the western-most regions of the country (Sarwar, 2006, p. 29-31; Mufti, 2010, p. 14-16; Lieven, 2011, p. 420; Ali, 2012, p. 57). According to Ricchiardi, the three riskiest areas for journalists to delve into were the military, intelligence organizations, and radicalized insurgent elements (Ricchiardi, 2012, p. 6). For instance, conveying the news in FATA was particularly difficult due to the threat of bodily injury emanating from the Taliban and local law enforcement agencies. Instead, much information from this region was disseminated through the Pakistani army's official news agency, *Inter Services Public Relations* (Aslam, 2011, p. 135-136). Ali, a veteran reporter in Peshawar, called the tribal regions a "black-hole" for journalists due to self-censorship and concerns about their personal safety (Ali, 2012, p. 57). The threat of bodily harm to Pakistani journalists was also echoed by Sarwar who asserted that journalists might be reluctant to report on certain issues due to fear of intimidation from security forces or insurgent elements (Sarwar, 2006, p. 29-30). Furthermore, Balochistan was closed to journalists for a period of time (Ahmad, 2011, p. 459).

In addition to the difficulties which journalists faced on the security front, the national government appeared to attempt to influence the media at times. For example, Pakistani officials arrested a foreign freelance photographer in late 2009 as she attempted to operate in the FATA (Mufti, 2010, p. 14-16). On the other end of the spectrum, the Pakistani state may have attempted to influence the content of news reporting through gifts to media organizations and with insider access to journalists who provided favorable coverage (Ahmad, 2011, p. 474-476). As much as 30 percent of advertising revenue in the newspapers may have come from the government (Dickinson & Memon, 2012, p. 621). On the flip side of this, *Jang*, an important Urdu news outlet, got less ads from official sources at one point due to criticism of the Pakistani government (Jan, Raza, Siddiq, & Saleem, 2013, p. 124). The Pakistani federal government may also leverage its technological capabilities to censor if it deems it necessary in extreme cases (Murphy, 2012).

Moreover, the financial bottom line of the media industry may affect the process as well. For instance, news outlets may have required some journalists working in the FATA to do so as volunteers without some of the benefits of being a full-time paid employee such as adequate training (Ali, 2012, p. 57). If this weren't enough, those journalists who were paid in FATA only made about one-third of the entry level salary for journalists in the large port city of Karachi (Nizash, 2013, p. 38-39). Parallels for those working on a voluntary basis may be drawn to those trying to enter the U.S. journalism business through performing freelance reporting in a war zone. Operating without a press badge, and carrying with them a camera and a notepad, they leverage their low-budget, low frills reporting in order to break into the profession (Mufti, 2010,

p. 14-15). However, the challenges faced by those in journalism in Pakistan seem to be somewhat augmented from those encountered in other parts of the world.

To further complicate matters, some journalists who did not receive enough income in accordance with fair market value for their labor may have had to acquire outside employment. According to Ahmad's survey of nearly 40 journalists in three major cities in Pakistan, many media organizations operated at or above cost, meaning that there could be a delinquency in paying journalists. As noted above, many correspondents were volunteers and some even had to pay a fee for consideration for these positions, which then covered the cost of renting a camera for use in the news. This may have generated a need for some journalists to resort to other means to make up for lost compensation (Ahmad, 2011, p. 465-466, 469). With that said, journalists for English speaking newspapers were said to be better paid and more educated than their Urdu counterparts (Eijaz, Rahman, Ahmad, & Butt, 2014, p. 250).

For purposes of this dissertation research, it seems likely that the journalists who wrote the articles on the Salala incident were compensated better than their counterparts since the former were reporting for English-speaking news outlets. However, it is unclear if any of the other challenges played a role in the framing of the incident, particularly those related to personal security for professionals reporting in the border regions such as Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Furthermore, Pintak and Nazir indicated that journalists saw themselves more in national terms than in regional ones (Pintak & Nazir, 2013, p. 645). This dissertation research sought to determine if this was also true of reporting from Pakistani regional news outlets, since scholarly research does not have a clear consensus on regional reporting.

## **The Salala Incident: A Case Study**

The drama that rocked U.S.-Pakistani foreign relations for several months occurred in the Pakistani town of Salala in Mohmand Agency, less than two kilometers from the border with Afghanistan. In late 2011, Salala was home to two border check posts, nicknamed *Boulder* and *Volcano* by the Pakistani army, unbeknownst to NATO coalition forces (U.S. DoD, 2011). Remote and somewhat inhospitable terrain, rumors had circulated that the Pakistani Taliban used this area as a hideout (Spiegel Online, 2011; U.S. DoD, 2011).

Late in the evening of November 25, 2011, U.S.-led NATO coalition troops arrived in a remote area along the Afghan-Pakistani border. They were preparing for a night raid in a nearby village along the Afghan side of the border without any operations planned on the Pakistani side of the border. However, the situation on the ground changed when the NATO troops reportedly began to draw heavy machine gun fire and mortars from the Pakistani ridge line. Prior coordination had indicated that there were no Pakistani forces in the area, and believing that they were drawing fire from terrorist elements, the U.S. engaged the points of origin with helicopters. What the soldiers on the ground didn't know was that their location was incorrectly relayed to the Pakistani military, who in turn, were simultaneously reporting that their own servicemen were drawing fire. Before the fighting ended, 24 Pakistani soldiers had died and over a dozen had been wounded (U.S. DoD, 2011; Hamburger Abendblatt, 2011).

It is important to note that the timing of the strike was particularly unfortunate and that this event was not considered an isolated incident from the Pakistani side.

First, it came only seven months after the deadly Osama bin Laden raid caught the Pakistani government by surprise as it was reportedly not consulted prior to the raid (Khan & Abbott, 2011). Additionally, the Salala incident happened the same month as the Pakistani Ambassador to the United States, Hussain Haqqani, departed under unfortunate circumstances. This was due to an affair known as *Memogate*, during which a Pakistani-American businessman accused Haqqani of conspiring with the Pentagon to overthrow the Pakistani government. Although these assertions were debatable, this affair became intertwined with Salala and perceived as another example of American interference (Hali, 2011).

The response of the Pakistani government was swift and hard-hitting. Citing security measures, the Pakistani government began to turn around tankers and supplies at the Jamrud checkpoint immediately following the attack (Spiegel Online, 2011; Manager Magazin, 2011). Within a day, the government closed a second checkpoint to NATO traffic (Hamburger Abendblatt, 2011). Whether for security reasons or in direct response to the attack, the effects of the closure remained the same because a sizable percentage of NATO supplies were no longer able to transit the two checkpoints (Manager Magazin, 2011). Two days after the incident, the Pakistani government dropped the next bombshell when it asked the U.S. to vacate Shamsi air base, allegedly a site for the drone program to target terrorist networks (Khan & Abbot, 2011).<sup>1</sup> Then, a little over a week after the incident, NATO leaders and the allies of Afghanistan

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<sup>1</sup> As a side note, the Shamsi airbase had only been contracted for U.S. military usage for a little over a month before the incident occurred (Shaheen, 2011). Another outlet indicated that the base only conducted maintenance on drones mechanical or weather issues (Dawn, 2011). But, regardless of the actual usage of this air base, its closure served as an early indicator of the cooling U.S.-Pakistani relations.

convened in Bonn, Germany in order to plan for the country's future. Absent from this discussion was Pakistani Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar, who elected to abstain from the conference as a protest against the incident (Hautkapp, 2011).

From the coalition side, NATO and its allies on the ground in ISAF did not stand idly by. They attempted to perform damage control immediately following the air strikes. A few hours after the incident, ISAF gathered a team of experts in order to conduct an investigation (Spiegel Online, 2011). The NATO General Secretary at the time was Anders Fogh Rasmussen, who promised an inquiry into the matter the following day in Brussels. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta affirmed their support for an investigation (Die Presse, 2011). Within 24 hours, Clinton issued a statement of "condolences" in conjunction with Panetta (Brulliard, 2011, A201). German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle offered German assistance with treating the wounded (Hamburger Abendblatt, 2011).

Both sides questioned how this event could have occurred. Initial reports from ISAF headquarters indicated that the Salala border posts were not marked on the map and individuals in civilian clothing sometimes manned these kinds of border posts making them difficult to distinguish from the Taliban (Kazim & Gebauer, 2011). Proponents of the idea that the U.S. intentionally orchestrated the incident argued that the U.S. was trying to "teach the Pakistani Army a lesson" regarding the regional balance of power after the Afghanistan conflict drawdown. While this explanation of the events seems highly unlikely, Malik cited three similar incidents that had also taken place against Pakistani forces including one each in 2008, 2010 and 2011, with the first two incidents resulting in casualties (Malik, 2012, p. 47-48). Another explanation was

that there a communication gap at the Border Control Center when the event occurred. According to one Pakistani security expert, only one male Pakistani and one female American officer occupied the Border Coordination Center. The American officer reported that they were drawing fire from a completely different location resulting in a five to seven-minute misunderstanding (Dawn, 2011). Yet another explanation was that the Pakistani border with Afghanistan was ill-defined and could differ up to five miles depending on the map and the attack took place 200-300 meters away from the Pakistani-Afghan border (Babaar, 2011; The News, 2011).<sup>2</sup>

The month following the incident did not bring any relief to the U.S.-Pakistani relationship. Only a few days after the incident, stipulations for reopening the supply routes included an apology from NATO and punishment for those responsible for the incident; neither of which appeared to be forthcoming (Mühlmann, 2011). Bearing in mind both Clinton and Panetta had already offered their condolences, the Pakistanis sought for a more clearly defined apology from the U.S. side. Additionally, the Pakistani government began discussion of reviewing all military, diplomatic and economic ties with both the U.S. and NATO, providing further indications of the seriousness of this incident (Der Standard, 2011).

On November 30, 2011, the media arm of the Pakistani Army, *ISPR*, released a video to the public of damage caused by the incident. This appears to be the first time that the attacked check posts were officially labelled Volcano and Boulder (BBC

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<sup>2</sup>The role that this incident played with the Afghan Taliban is worth noting. Salala was so controversial that even the Taliban distanced themselves from the incident (Hamburger Abendblatt Online, 2011).



Monitoring South Asia - Political, 2011). Many public protests occurred throughout Pakistan (Malik, 2012, p. 55).

The rift between Pakistan and the U.S. became even more apparent a few days later when despite personal appeals by Afghanistan and the U.S., Pakistan did not attend the Bonn conference on Afghanistan (Associated Press of Pakistan, 2011). The objectives of the Bonn conference were two-fold: provide financial and military support to Afghanistan post-NATO troop withdrawal as well as support the reconciliation process between the Afghan government and the Taliban (Jungholt, 2011). Pakistan was viewed as a crucial partner in the reconciliation process as far as outreach to the Taliban was concerned due to its proximity to the events and suspected relationship with some of the players. The government was further seen as a lynchpin for securing peace with various terrorist groups including the Quetta shura as well as the Haqqani network. Thus, the Bonn conference included delegations from dozens of countries but didn't include "the most important actor in the crisis region" (Möllhoff, 2011). However, Pakistan held a different stance in boycotting the conference. While it agreed that NATO needed it to achieve success in Afghanistan, it viewed its absence as a signal to NATO that the Alliance should respect Pakistan's sovereignty (Malik, 2012, p. 56). According to Pakistani Prime Minister Gilani:

"We first started protesting massively both at the national and the international levels by boycotting the Bonn conference in order to make the world realise that Pakistan has an important role in the war against terror" (Dawn, 2011).

Senior U.S. government officials did attempt reconciliation of the rift in U.S.- Pakistani relations by offering condolences for the Salala incident but stopped short of an apology during the first week of December 2011. Clinton once again called and expressed her condolences on December 3, 2011 (Agence France Presse – German, 2011). The following day, Pres. Obama offered condolences to his counter-part, Pakistani Pres. Zardari, and indicated that he would support an investigation (SDA - Basisdienst Deutsch, 2011). But, within a few days of this call, Pres. Zardari abruptly left Pakistan for Dubai for medical reasons contributing to rumors of a possible coup, that fortunately did not come to fruition (Doherty, 2011). Pres. Zardari was in Dubai for roughly ten days until December 16, 2011. Besides a possible coup, others speculated that the President left the country because of the broiling *Memogate* affair, i.e. the alleged conspiracy that the U.S. was trying to overthrow the Pakistani government (SDA - Servizio di base in Italiano, 2011). Even if the U.S. government had elected to make an apology at this juncture, it might have been difficult due the internal political challenges during Zardari's sojourn abroad.

At the same time, the week following the Bonn conference held the deadline for the U.S. to vacate the Shamsi air base in Balochistan province, a little over two weeks after the Pakistani government had made the request. Pakistani officials had originally asked the U.S. to stop operations in their country in the aftermath of the bin Laden raid but had eventually acquiesced until the Salala incident took place (Masood & Schmitt, 2012). Pakistan then continued by pulling its soldiers from at least two of the three border coordination centers, designed for coordination of ongoing military operations (Berliner Morgenpost Online, 2011). By mid-December 2011, the gravity of the

closure of the Pakistani border to NATO supplies was taking shape, with a significant backlog taking place at the Karachi ports. Approximately 2,000 containers and 1,200 military vehicles were stuck there, with no space for any new deliveries. Hundreds of vehicles sat at the oil terminals (Kazim, 2011).

A further rift between the U.S. and Pakistan occurred on December 13, 2011 when the U.S. froze 700 million USD in aid until the Pakistani government made progress on combatting improvised explosive devices (SDA – Basisdienst Deutsch, 2011). The *Berliner Zeitung* saw the freezing of 700 million dollars in December 2011 as an important symbolic act; the U.S. blamed Pakistan for not doing enough to prevent terrorist groups from operating on its soil (Fras, 2011). The U.S. had already withheld 800 million five months prior due to frustration over bin Laden having been in Pakistan so long (Spiegel Online, 2011). In short, although many different events contributed to the downturn in the U.S.-Pakistani relationship at that time, the Salala incident complicated the situation for both sides.

From the Pakistani perspective, hopes of a straightforward resolution to the Salala incident must have been dashed with the release of the official NATO investigation, due on December 23, 2011 (Möllhoff, 2011). The findings of this investigation distributed responsibility for the incident between NATO and Pakistan, the latter of which was not satisfied with the results. The lack of clear culpability by NATO disappointed the Pakistani government which retorted that it had wanted a joint investigation of the incident. To complicate matters, the U.S. had not provided an acceptable apology up until that point for the incident. The Pakistani Army then

generated its own report a month later, on January 23, 2012, which asserted that the attacks were “unprovoked” (Malik, 2012, p. 49-50).

By early 2012, the largest and most persistent challenge as a result of the incident was the continued closure of the supply route for logistical supplies passing through Pakistan on their way to NATO troops in Afghanistan. Pakistan suggested that it might double the tariffs in exchange for allowing supplies through its borders if the land routes were indeed to reopen (Calles, 2012). In late March, U.S. CENTCOM Commander James Matthis and ISAF Commander John Allen met with Pakistani Chief of Army Staff Kayani to discuss the situation (ANSA Notiziario Generale in Italiano, 2012). That same month, Pres. Obama also met with Pakistani Prime Minister Gilani in Seoul as part of nuclear discussions. They reaffirmed their commitment to working together at that time (Agence France Presse – German, 2012). However, the supply route did not reopen, and the U.S. decided not to punish those involved in the Salala incident (SDA - Basisdienst Deutsch, 2012). There was still no resolution in sight.

April 2012 brought further contention to the U.S.-Pakistani relationship. The U.S. placed a 10 million dollar bounty on Hafiz Mohammad Saeed, the founder of Lashkar-e-Taiba for his alleged role in the 2008 Mumbai attacks. He had previously been placed on house arrest but the Pakistani judicial system had freed him due to lack of evidence (Agence France Presse – German, 2012). But, Saeed was far from being inconspicuous. At the beginning of April 2012, Saeed held a press conference stating that he was willing to be tried by the U.S. and wished that they would give him his own bounty. The Pakistani Foreign Minister invited the U.S. in early April 2012 to provide solid evidence of Saeed’s guilt (Agence France Presse – German, 2012). Ajmal Kasib,

the sole surviving attacker of the Mumbai attacks, had accused Saeed of masterminding the attacks (Kazim, 2012). Besides the press conference that he held, Saeed was also a regular on Pakistani talk shows (Kazim, 2012). *Al-Jazeera* claimed that the U.S. government only put a bounty on his head because of the protests he organized against the NATO supply routes, therefore indirectly tying the bounty issue back to the aftermath of Salala incident (Kazim, 2012)<sup>3</sup>.

At the same time, the reopening of the supply route began to take center stage in Pakistani parliamentary affairs. The Pakistani Parliamentary Committee on National Security (PCNS) asked the cabinet level Defense Committee of the Cabinet (DCC) to implement its proposals for a new Pakistani-U.S. relationship which led to renewed discussions regarding the reopening the supply route (Malik, 2012, p. 55). However, the proposed reopening didn't come without any strings attached. Besides a formal U.S. apology, other recommendations included a cessation of drone strikes, no overt or covert missions in Pakistan, no arms shipments and no foreign bases in the country (Business Monitor Online, 2012; Ahmad, 2012). The Pakistani National Assembly unanimously approved the PCNS Guidelines for Terms of Engagement with US/NATO/ISAF on April 12, 2012. The DCC then approved of the reopening of the supply route on April 17, 2012, nearly three months before it occurred on July 3, 2012 (BMI, 2012)<sup>4</sup>. Once again, the U.S. side did attempt resolution during this time-period

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<sup>3</sup> The bounty was intended for information leading to the arrest of Saeed. In early May, Secretary of State Clinton criticized Pakistan for not doing enough against him (dpa-AFX ProFeed, 2012). According to one analyst, Saeed was alleged to have had contacts with Osama bin Laden, while he was alive, and planned terrorist attacks with him. Saeed's whereabouts were well-known; however, obtaining sufficient evidence to convict him led the U.S. to place this bounty on his head (Kazim, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> The *Christian Science Monitor* saw this resolution as an attempt to wrestle foreign policy control from the Pakistani military (Ahmad, 2012).

but stopped short of a formal apology. Termed by a Pakistani news outlet as a “failed charm offensive,” Mark Grossman, U.S. special envoy to Afghanistan and Pakistan, visited the region in April 2012 but was unable to break the impasse for opening the supply routes (Daily Times, 2012). However, on the Pakistani side, Foreign Minister Khar rebuffed the U.S.’s use of drones in Pakistani territory, suggesting that other methods be used for combatting militants (ANSA Notiziario Generale in Italiano, 2012).

May brought both the anniversary of the bin Laden raid as well another meeting, the Chicago Summit, to discuss the way forward on Afghanistan. Nearly one year after the bin Laden raid, *Le Monde* critically compared the U.S.-Pakistani relationship to a marriage on the verge of divorce, describing the two states as having “married their security interests” (Bobin, 2012). Similarly, *Der Spiegel* noted the irony of the Pakistani government requesting an apology from the U.S. for the Salala border post incident but at the same time not being willing to provide one of their own for bin Laden hiding in their territory (Kazim, 2012).

On a positive note, the Chicago Summit did lay the groundwork for the resolving the issue of the supply route closure, and by extension, the Salala incident. Unlike the Bonn Conference, when Pakistani Foreign Minister Khar abstained from going, Pakistani Pres. Zardari accepted an invitation to go Chicago in May 2012 to discuss the situation in Afghanistan (Masood & Schmitt, 2012). Prior to attending the Chicago Summit, the DCC authorized negotiators to conclude a deal for reopening the route (The News, 2012). However, stipulations for reopening the route also included a hefty 5,000 USD fee per vehicle transiting Pakistan, up from 250 USD (Agence France

Presse – German, 2012). Even ten days before the NATO summit, it wasn't clear that Pakistan would be attending the event as NATO sought for the supply blockade to be lifted before extending an invitation (SDA -Servizio di base in Italiano, 2012). Some Pakistanis surmised that the U.S. wanted to extend an invitation to the Chicago Summit in lieu of apologizing (BBC Monitoring South Asia – Political, 2012). At the Chicago Summit, Pres. Zardari met with very high-ranking NATO and U.S. officials. Pres. Obama met with Zardari briefly and indicated making some “progress” on the diplomatic negotiation front (Agence France Presse - German, 2012). Pres. Zardari also sought for a “permanent solution” to the overarching problem of drone strikes from Secretary Clinton, citing violations of sovereignty and a lack of support among the Pakistani people (ANSA Notiziario Generale in Italiano, 2012). However, despite the efforts for reconciliation neither an apology for Salala nor a reopening of the route occurred at the summit. However, Pakistan did let four truckloads of materials for the U.S. Embassy in Kabul through the border on May 19, 2012. This was viewed as a potentially a “sign of good will” from Pakistan (Schmidt, 2012).

Some friction in the U.S.-Pakistani relationship remained. U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta expressed that the U.S. shouldn't let itself be “blackmailed” by Pakistan to reopen the Ground Lines of Communication (GLOC), while in the meantime, Pakistan still sought an apology for the Salala incident and a cessation of drone strikes as condition for reopening the routes. Neither the former nor the latter occurred in this instance with drone attacks in North Waziristan still happening as of late-May 2012. Meanwhile, the head of Pakistan's intelligence service, ISI chief Zaheer al Islam, cancelled his trip to the U.S. citing “pressing obligations” (SDA -

Basisdienst Deutsch, 2012). The U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, Cameron Munter, also announced in May 2012 that he would be stepping down that summer after approximately two years on the job. *Der Spiegel* asserted that this was because the ambassador did not see eye to eye with the Obama administration on a formal apology for the Salala incident and continued drone strikes in the region (Kazim, 2012).

Finally, the pieces finally started coming together for a formal U.S. apology in June 2012. The U.S. Undersecretary for Defense, Peter Lavoy, met with Pakistani officials during the first week of June (ANSA Notiziario Generale in Italian, 2012). Then, a U.S. congressional delegation led by Rep. Todd Platts met with Pres. Zardari and other senior Pakistani leadership on June 12, 2012 in the hopes of re-engaging Pakistan on bilateral issues (The Express Tribune, 2012). However, the apology itself did not occur until July 3, 2012 during a phone call between then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar.

Two days of talks in Islamabad with U.S. Undersecretary of State Thomas Nyes preceded Secretary Clinton's apology (The News, 2012). On July 4, 2012, newly elected Prime Minister Raja Pervaiz Ashraf presided over a committee meeting that ratified the reopening of the supply routes (BBC Monitoring South Asia - Political, 2012; BBC Monitoring South Asia, 2012). As part of the agreement to reopen the GLOC, the U.S. would pay 250 USD per transport truck and arms and munitions would be designated for Afghanistan only (Welt Online, 2012).<sup>5</sup> On July 5, 2012, the first

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<sup>5</sup> Malik argued that the post-Salala NATO supplies agreement worked in favor of the U.S. because for the first-time Pakistan had agreed in writing to protect the supplies and the U.S. had neither agreed to a cessation of drone strikes nor the establishment of a tax per container fee for transit (Malik, 2012, p. 56-57).



supply trucks carrying water passed by way of the Chaman border control post in Balochistan into Afghanistan. It was estimated that using the northern route had cost the U.S. at least 100 million USD per month of the seven-month blockade (Agence France Presse – German, 2012).

The manner in which the NATO supply route was reinstated left some wondering what the benefits actually were by closing the NATO supply route in the first place. In fact, Pakistani Taliban attacks against Pakistani forces from Afghanistan increased (Malik, 2012, p. 47). If this weren't enough, the Pakistani Taliban reacted to the reopening of the supply lines by threatening to attack the container trucks as well as killing their drivers (BBC Monitoring South Asia - Political, 2012). In other words, the situation might have gotten worse from a security perspective by closing the GLOCs.

Following the resolution of the incident, the blockage of NATO supplies still affected the transportation industry significantly. According to *The Nation*, 30,000 people were involved in transporting trucks prior to the Salala incident (The Nation, 2012). At the time of the incident, approximately 300 trucks and 100 tankers began their journey to Afghanistan per day (The News, 2011). Following this incident, law enforcement officials allegedly impounded 3,200 vehicles used for transporting the supplies (The Nation, 2012). It doesn't take much imagination to realize the backlog created by complete stoppage of NATO supplies. When the borders reopened, approximately 7,000 containers were waiting to cross. The number had only decreased to 3,000, five months later (Associated Press of Pakistan, 2012). It may have also taken one year after the incident for oil tankers to pass through the GLOCs due to security concerns (Gulati, 2012, p. 3).

## **Hypothesis Testing**

With this background in mind, the first and second hypotheses critically examined the usage of the five generic framing components by and between the Pakistani national and regional news outlets, while the third hypothesis evaluated how the press engaged the Salala incident in terms of regional and national frames. Prior to beginning this research, there were strong indications that all five of generic frames listed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) would be apparent in reporting on this incident. From the attribution of responsibility frame, it seemed clear that there would be an abundance of blame leveled against NATO and the U.S. for allowing the incident to occur. The human interest frame could be used to describe the impact on the lives of the family members of the deceased. The conflict frame could be present as the two sides evaluated the causes and what it would take to resolve the incident. Diminished revenue from the border crossing trade and uncertainty in the Pakistani stock market provided potential backdrops for the economic consequences frame. As far as the morality frame was concerned, references to religious beliefs and moral evaluations of the incident were possible given the important religious beliefs of the Pakistani population as well as the extent of the tragedy.

While there were opportunities for the press to discuss the Salala incident in terms of each of the generic frames, review of the applicable literature indicated that three of these frames were more prominently featured: the attribution of responsibility frame, the conflict frame and the economic consequences frame. The morality frame did not play a prominent role in the research results of these scholars, and one instance this frame was dropped from a study due to lack of usage by the press (Dirikx &

Gelders, 2010, p. 737). Based on background research in identifying possible news outlets for this study as well as conducting extensive research in the international press on the incident, it seemed clear that the attribution of responsibility frame as well as the conflict frame would be ongoing themes for the content analysis portion of the research, overshadowing the economic consequences, human interest and morality frames, respectively.

Specific factors affecting the storyline in the Salala incident lent themselves towards the attribution of responsibility frame as well as the conflict frame. First, the attribution of responsibility frame discusses the government's level of commitment to resolving the issue as well as responsibility for the incident. While it was debatable the extent to which the Pakistani government bore responsibility for the initial aerial raids, NATO, a multi-government political and military entity, did garner sharp criticism from the Pakistani establishment for its role in the incident. The Pakistani government was heavily involved in negotiating and implementing a solution to the crises. Therefore, it seemed highly likely that the attribution of responsibility frame would not only be present, but it would also be prominent in the reporting. Similarly, the conflict frame deals with disagreement between parties, at times invoking harsh criticism between them. Tangentially, it deals with labelling disagreeing parties to the conflict as "winners" or "losers". The incident at Salala had two opposing sides. On the one hand, there was the Pakistani government and the U.S./NATO on the other. With the closure of the Shamsi airbase, the renegotiation of U.S.-Pakistani relations and the closure of the NATO supply routes, it seemed highly likely that the five Pakistani news outlets

would also intentionally frame the Salala incident and its aftermath in terms of the conflict frame as well as the attribution of responsibility frame. Therefore:

H1) The news media will utilize the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames more often than other generic frames, including the economic consequences, the human interest and the morality frames.

The second hypothesis discusses two of the other three deductive generic frames, specifically, the human interest and the morality frames. Research on generic framing indicated that tabloids, sensationalist news and television news were more likely to leverage human interest framing than more elite news outlets (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 106). While none of the five news outlets for this research design could be classified as tabloids or sensationalist newspapers, this trend is worth researching to determine if it is generalizable to regional news outlets since some literature has indicated that local news outlets are more sensationalist than national news outlets (Lawlor, 2015, p. 922). If this is the case, then the regional news outlets would have greater coverage using the human interest frame than a media outlet such as *Dawn*, which is considered to be an elite newspaper.

Additionally, researchers have noted limited success in evaluating the morality frame, which points to religious beliefs and moral appeals. To date, much deductive generic framing research appears to be focused on Western Europe and there is little research using news outlets from predominantly Muslim countries. Press coverage of the Salala incident in Pakistan could be an appropriate backdrop for observing the morality frame in a natural environment. Given the nature of this incident, it seems

likely that it could be framed in terms of a religious perspective due to the beliefs of the Pakistani nation as well as the extent of the tragedy. Between regional and national news outlets, it seems likely that the morality frame would be more prevalent among regional news outlets representing a more localized, and potentially more religious, readership than with *Dawn*, a more elite, and potentially more secular, newspaper. Therefore, regional news outlets should logically display religious beliefs more openly than their national counterpart, *Dawn*. However, consistent with previous research on these frames, neither human interest nor morality should be significant frames in any of the news outlets.

H2) Regional news outlets will be more likely to leverage the human interest H2a) and morality H2b) frames than *Dawn*.

In addition, scholars have cross referenced the data they garnered from responses to the common indicators with issue-specific framing items to better understand their respective fields of research. Analyzing this type of interplay between frames is important because it is possible that some frames will avail themselves more frequently in the presence of one frame. For this study, the researcher compared the interplay between the generic frames and the regional and national framing items. Additionally, the researcher compared news outlets to determine which kind of press was the most likely to leverage regional and national framing items. Fortunately, Pakistan's strong diversity of cultures and journalistic traditions in English provided fertile ground for researching the differences between regional and national framing in a South Asian setting.

The third hypothesis investigates the extent to which regional and national news outlets framed the Salala incident strictly in terms that would be most applicable to their constituencies, i.e. the regional press framing the incident in regional terms and the national press taking a more national optic on the situation. Scholarly research in the field of regional framing indicated a case for regional framing. Specifically, the national press had more resources to devote to topics of national importance, while the regional news outlets sometimes relied on national/international press agencies to make up the gap (d'Haenens & de Lange, 2001, p. 853). Furthermore, the regional press may also display a tendency to report on issues considered pertinent for their audiences. However, there is also scholarship that has noted few differences in regional and national press reporting (Lawlor, 2015, p. 918, 922-923, 932). Therefore, if there were indeed a difference between the usage of regional and national frames, they would be along the lines of whichever frame would be the most pertinent to their respective readership. Thus, regional news outlets would cater more to their audiences using regional frames and the national press would appeal more to the elite establishment through the lens of national framing of the incident. In other words, the regional press would discuss regional topics such as local politics, local economic concerns, more security problems, etc... than *Dawn*. However, *Dawn* should frame the incident more in national terms such as foreign policy and national sovereignty since it is catering to national level policy makers and those on the international scene. Therefore:

H3) Regional and national news outlets will frame the incident differently in terms of local and national issues. *Dawn* will be more likely to promote national

news frames than the regional news outlets H3a). Conversely, the regional press will convey regional frames more frequently than *Dawn* H3b).

To better comprehend the role of generic framing as well as regional and national perspectives in the reporting of the Salala incident, the research was divided into three distinct research questions, as follows:

RQ1) Is deductive generic framing an effective means of characterizing this incident in the Pakistani press? Will incidence rates and uses of generic frames in the Pakistani English news media be similar to previous research? Is one or more generic frames located in each article?

RQ2) To what extent do regional news outlets differ from the national news media in deductive generic framing?

RQ3) Does the presence of specific regional or national framing items influence generic framing of the event?

## **METHODOLOGY**

This dissertation research critically examines Pakistani English-speaking press coverage of the Salala incident in an effort to understand the role of generic frames such as the attribution of responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality, and economic consequences frames. It also studies whether there were major differences in framing between regional and national English-speaking news outlets and investigates the extent to which the press framed the Salala incident in regional and national terms, both independent of and in conjunction with generic frames. For the content analysis portion

of the study, the researcher leveraged 19 of the 20 common indicators proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 100). Researcher designed issue-specific framing items included such topics as local insurgents, local politicians/political parties and local/regional impact to measure regional framing as well as Pakistani foreign affairs, sovereignty/border security and terrorism for national framing. More information on these framing items as well as standards for evaluating them are found in the Conceptual Design section.

One of the key benefits of deductive, generic framing is that the most important frames are known beforehand to the researchers. From there, researchers can cross reference these data points with issue-specific framing items of their own choice. In this case, the common indicators from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) provided the foundation for evaluating differences between regional and national press framing of the Salala incident. To date, researchers have analyzed generic framing using these indicators in studies involving multiple corners of the world. Therefore, it is sufficiently mature as a component of framing theory to apply to the Pakistani problem set. Additionally, the researcher was not able to identify any instances of scholars using all five of these generic frames to evaluate the Pakistani media, either at the regional or the national levels. In order to engage this subject matter, the dissertation research design consists of four distinct parts: identifying applicable articles within the national and regional news media, coding these articles, demonstrating intercoder reliability, and, finally, using quantitative methods to perform a content analysis.



## Article Identification

The first component of this research design consisted of identifying media outlets as well as selecting individual articles for inclusion in the dataset. Choosing *Dawn* as the national news outlet for this study was fairly easy, as its audience includes Pakistani political elites. The goal for the regional news outlets was to include at least one news outlet from each of the four major Pakistani provinces: Punjab province, Sindh province, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly North-West Frontier province) and Balochistan. Using *LexisNexis*, the researcher identified six Pakistani regional news outlets that cited the Salala incident on multiple occasions. These were: the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* from Sindh Province, *The Frontier Post* and *Frontier Star* from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the *Balochistan Times* and *Balochistan Express* from Balochistan and *The Nation* from Punjab province. In order to have an equal number of news outlets per Pakistani province, the researcher removed the *Frontier Star* and *Balochistan Times* from this dataset. However, the researcher did retain articles from these two outlets for training purposes as a guide to prepare for article coding.

One of the benefits of studying the Salala incident was that it had a definitive begin date in November 2011, when the tragedy occurred, as well as a date for conclusion of the bilateral disagreement in early July 2012 after former U.S. Secretary of State Clinton apologized to her Pakistani homologue. To gather this dataset, the researcher conducted searches in *LexisNexis* by regional news source to identify possible articles for inclusion using the keyword “NATO”. The date range for these searches was November 26, 2011, the morning following of the incident, to July 5, 2012, two days after the official U.S. apology for the incident. Through a process of

trial and error, the researcher learned that the Pakistani press did not have a standardized way of spelling Salala (i.e. Slala, Salalah etc...), while in other instances discussion of the incident didn't even include its location so, unfortunately, "Salala" didn't prove to be a reliable keyword for the searches. Instead the term "NATO" during this timeframe served as a catchall for potential articles for this dataset.

From there, the researcher skimmed the articles from each of the new outlets in order to identify articles organic to the Pakistani press as well as those pertinent to the incident. For the former, the researcher eliminated articles that referred to foreign, primarily Western news outlets in the title as well as those that credited the foreign press for the content of the report. The researcher elected to retain articles that attributed a portion of their reporting to foreign press; however, they maintained their own independent views over the course of the article. An example of this kind of reporting would be a Pakistani news outlet attributing the contents of the article to foreign press, but providing additional information that clarified the Pakistani press' position. If an article appeared to be from the Pakistani press, then the researcher scanned the article for a clear, direct reference to the Salala incident, typically finding references to the source of the attack or the number of the victims affected by it. Unfortunately, the process for identifying appropriate *Dawn* articles proved to be more tedious as this dataset was not readily available in *LexisNexis*. The researcher manually reviewed the *Dawn* website for references to the incident and saved the links for the corresponding articles. This exercise proved to be quite cumbersome, because *Dawn* published between 100-200 articles per day during the initial five weeks following the incident.

The initial triage of articles from *Dawn* and the Pakistani regional news outlets yielded over 2,000 potential articles for content analysis. Based on the high volume of articles published referring to the incident in its immediate aftermath, the researcher limited the scope of this research to the first five weeks after the incident from November 26, 2011 to December 31, 2011, since the beginnings of crises are often significant in the press (An & Gower, 2009, p. 109). This decision more than halved the potential pool to 846 articles from the five news outlets. Therefore, criteria for article inclusion for all sources were as follows:

- 1) Must be published by one of the following news outlets: *Dawn*, *Regional Times of Sindh*, *The Nation*, *Balochistan Express*, and *Frontier Post*.
- 2) Must be published between 11/26/2011 and 12/31/2011.
- 3) Must contain the word NATO in the text.
- 4) Must have a direct, identifiable reference to the Salala incident.
- 5) Must be written in English.
- 6) Mustn't be authored by a foreign news outlet.

#### Article Totals by Source

<u>News Outlet</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Total Articles</u>
<i>Daily Regional Times of Sindh</i>	Sindh province	148
<i>The Nation</i>	Punjab province	214
<i>Frontier Post</i>	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	104
<i>Balochistan Express</i>	Balochistan	85
<i>Dawn</i>	National/International	295

## Coding Process

The triaging of potential articles regarding the Salala incident laid the groundwork for gathering data through the coding process. The process itself consisted of two distinct parts; first, coding of nearly 850 articles and second, double-coding of 10% of the total articles by a second trained coder. The researcher coded articles at the article level. The coding process included binary yes/no answers and followed a pre-established coding instrument. A description of the specific questions in the coding instrument will follow later in this section. Once completed, data underwent analysis via SAS and SPSS as described in the Conceptual Design section.

The intent of gathering data was to investigate how Pakistani regional and national newspapers framed the Salala incident in terms of deductive, generic framing as well as regional and national themes. The common indicators proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg provided an easy-to-follow framework to determine if any of the five broadly defined generic frames were present in an article. The first 19 questions in the coding instrument were derived verbatim from Semetko and Valkenburg's research methodology (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 100). One question was excluded from the coding process under the human interest frame, "Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?" because *Lexis-Nexis* did not offer pictures for the four sources drawn from it. Therefore, the coding process only included the articles' text. The Semetko and Valkenburg framing items, or common indicators, are as follows:

- a) Attribution of Responsibility frame:

- 1) Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?
  - 2) Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?
  - 3) Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?
  - 4) Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?
  - 5) Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?
- b) Human Interest frame:
- 1) Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?
  - 2) Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?
  - 3) Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?
  - 4) Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?
- c) Conflict frame:
- 1) Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?
  - 2) Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?
  - 3) Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?
  - 4) Does the story refer to winners and losers?
- d) Morality frame:

- 1) Does the story contain any moral message?
  - 2) Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?
  - 3) Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?
- e) Economic Consequences frame:
- 1) Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?
  - 2) Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?
  - 3) Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

In order to pinpoint some of the differences between the regional and national news outlets, the researcher created several issue-specific questions that would capture the extent of regional and national framing. Each category included one question dealing with terrorism or insurgencies, at either the regional or national level. Regional framing also sought to identify references to local politicians or political activities as well as regional impact on customs and economic circumstances. The national framing category also dealt with the issue of national/international foreign affairs and the concepts of sovereignty violations/border infringements.

The researcher selected these sub-components of the national and regional frames due to the impact that the Salala incident had on many ancillary areas of Pakistani society. At the regional level, the route closure for transiting supplies impacted local Pakistani businesses. Local politicians and political parties had the opportunity to voice their opinions on the matter to the media. Regional terrorism was affected by fewer NATO targets to attack due to the closure of the supply route. At the national level, Pakistan elected to not pursue certain diplomatic exchanges, such as the

Bonn conference following the attacks. Key Pakistani voices decried the incident in national press, indicating their dismay for violations of Pakistani sovereignty and territory. The fight against terrorism was impacted following the incident as there were noted instances of less support for it in wake of the incident. Therefore, the researcher designed issue-specific regional and national frames were as follows:

a) Regional frames:

- 1) Does the story refer to local militants/insurgents?
- 2) Does the story refer to local politicians or political parties?
- 3) Does the story demonstrate an impact on regional or local religious/tribal customs, culture or economic circumstances (i.e. local impact)?

b) National frames:

- 1) Does the story emphasize the impact on Pakistan's foreign relations including those of its neighbors?
- 2) Does the story cite Pakistan's capacity to secure its borders (sovereignty infringement) and/or military capabilities?
- 3) Does the story discuss a national approach to larger scale terrorist organizations such as the Pakistani Taliban or Al-Qaeda?

Based on this coding instrument, the researcher created coding sheets for each individual article with a yes/no (Y/N) beside each framing item question. The top of each coding sheet displayed a unique article code number to identify the article during the data analysis process. During the coding process, the researcher sought to identify each framing component at the article level. By coding at the article level, it was easier to highlight how the Salala incident connected stories in the press that might otherwise

have been unrelated. Therefore, each paper coding sheet identified the article number as well as which framing items were present in the article.

Following the coding process, the researcher entered the data into a MS Excel spreadsheet. The researcher identified each article using unique article code numbers. Each affirmative response to the framing items received a “1” in the spreadsheet, while each negative response received a “0”. Each of the overarching frames, attribution of responsibility, human interest, economic consequences, conflict and morality, included a minimum of three questions to answer. Some categories had more than three sub-components, such as attribution of responsibility which had five questions and the conflict and the human interest frames, with four framing items each. Sub-totals for each of the frames ranged from a minimum score of zero, for no sub-components identified in the article, to a score of five, denoting five questions in the affirmative for the attribution of responsibility frame. Therefore, sub-totals for each frame represented a spectrum from zero to five depending upon the extent to which the frame was present. The researcher then divided the sub-totals by the total number of framing items in each category, in order to create scales for each frame. For the regional and national framing items, the spreadsheet contained scores for the presence or absence of each individual framing item. Regional and national framing items did not work as scales in the data analysis portion of this research due to lower Cronbach’s alphas when considered as a group. In addition, there was a separate column in the spreadsheet for articles by news outlet source for further analysis of framing differences between outlets. Further discussion of techniques used to analyze the data are detailed in the Conceptual Design section below.



### **Intercoder and Scale Reliability**

To ensure the fidelity of the coding process, the researcher's husband offered to be a second coder for this dataset, manually coding 10% of the articles, on two separate occasions, selected at random. He received his PhD in American Studies at the University of Heidelberg in early 2017. Prior to commencing the coding, the researcher held practice coding sessions with her fellow coder to ensure that they would be consistent in their coding efforts (Dimitrova et al., 2005, p. 31). As part of the practice coding sessions, the researcher selected articles related to the incident that would not be part of the overall coding as samples. They also discussed the coding sheet to see if there were any ambiguities that needed to be resolved prior to coding. The research design included unique serial numbers for each article in the population, which facilitated coding between the two coders. The researcher randomly selected 10% of the articles for double coding. Following this process, the researcher placed the responses for double coding in new columns in the spreadsheet side by side with their original serial numbers.

Using Hayes' method, the researcher calculated Krippendorff's alpha in SAS for each pair of columns (Hayes & Krippendorff, 2007, p. 82-88). Scores for Krippendorff's alpha ranged from 0.57 to 0.84 using each of the generic frames as scales. However, Krippendorff's alphas for some individual framing items were lower. The researcher believed that some of the fluctuation in the alpha scores was due to some of the categories being heavily skewed towards almost all yes (1) or almost all no (0), thereby accentuating any differences in score. Therefore, she has also included percent agreement in parentheses to demonstrate the overall agreement between the two coders

was fairly high before chance agreement was removed. While not as ideal as a measure for intercoder reliability as Krippendorff's alpha, scholars often use simple percent agreement. When Semetko and Valkenburg conducted their initial research, this was also the technique they selected (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 99; Matthes, 2009, p. 358). Below is a compilation of Krippendorff's alpha scores as well as the raw scores for simple agreement between the two raters as a benchmark.

Krippendorff's alpha for the attribution of responsibility frame ranged from 0.37-0.85. Simple agreement ranged from 89%-99%. Krippendorff's alpha values were distributed as follows: "Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?"  $\alpha = 0.37$  (93%); "Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?"  $\alpha = 0.66$  (98%); "Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?"  $\alpha = 0.68$  (89%); "Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?"  $\alpha = 0.85$  (99%); "Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?"  $\alpha = 0.83$  (92%). Krippendorff's alpha for the attribution of responsibility frame as a scale was  $\alpha = 0.82$ . The overall percent agreement between the two raters for this frame as a scale was 94%.

For the human interest frame, Krippendorff's alpha for intercoder reliability ranged from 0.39-0.85. Simple agreement was between 79%-98%. Krippendorff's alphas for specific framing items were as follows: "Does the story provide a human example or "human face" on the issue?"  $\alpha = 0.85$  (98%); "Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?"  $\alpha = 0.57$  (79%); "Does the story emphasize how individuals

and groups are affected by the issue/problem?”  $\alpha = 0.83$  (95%); and “Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?”  $\alpha = 0.39$  (96%). Krippendorff’s alpha for the human interest frame as a scale was  $\alpha = 0.62$ . For the human interest frame, the overall percent agreement for the two coders was 92%.

Krippendorff’s alpha for intercoder reliability for the conflict frame ranged from 0.48-0.78. Simple agreement for this frame was between 89%-93%. Krippendorff’s alpha values for this frame were as follows: “Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?”  $\alpha = 0.66$  (98%); “Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?”  $\alpha = 0.78$  (89%); “Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?”  $\alpha = 0.48$  (95%); and “Does the story refer to winners and losers?”  $\alpha = 0.59$  (92%). Krippendorff’s alpha for the conflict frame as a scale was  $\alpha = 0.65$ . Percent agreement for the conflict frame as a scale was 93%.

For the morality frame, Krippendorff’s alpha ranged from -0.01-0.75. Simple agreement ranged from 89%-96%. Specific alpha values for this frame were distributed as follows: “Does the story contain any moral message?”  $\alpha = 0.64$  (95%); “Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?”  $\alpha = 0.75$  (89%); and “Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?”  $\alpha = -0.01$  (96%). Krippendorff’s alpha for the morality framing items as a scale was  $\alpha = 0.70$ . Overall percent agreement for the morality frame as a scale was 94%.

Krippendorff’s alpha for intercoder reliability for the economic consequences frame ranged from 0.41-0.75. For this frame, simple agreement ranged from 89%-96%.

Alpha values for these framing items were as follows: “Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?”  $\alpha = 0.54$  (92%); “Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?”  $\alpha = 0.75$  (96%); and “Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?”  $\alpha = 0.41$  (89%). Krippendorff’s alpha for the economic consequences frame as a scale was  $\alpha = 0.57$ . Overall, percent agreement for the two coders for the economic consequences frame was 92%.

For regional framing items, Krippendorff’s alpha for intercoder ranged from 0.49-0.93. Simple agreement ranged from 93%-98%. Krippendorff’s alpha values for the individual regional issue framing items were as follows: “Does the story refer to local militants/insurgents?”  $\alpha = 0.49$  (98%); “Does the story refer to local politicians or political parties?”  $\alpha = 0.93$  (98%); and “Does the story demonstrate an impact on regional or local religious/tribal customs, culture or economic circumstances”  $\alpha = 0.54$  (93%). Krippendorff’s alpha for the regional issue-specific framing items as a scale was  $\alpha = 0.84$ . Overall, percent agreement with the regional frame as a scale was 96%. The researcher noted that the regional framing items were able to form a scale for purposes of intercoder reliability. However, Cronbach’s alpha for scale reliability for the regional frame was below the minimum of 0.50 during the content analysis portion of the dissertation research.

Finally, Krippendorff’s alpha for the national issue-specific framing items ranged from 0.78-0.81. Simple agreement ranged from 89%-92%. Krippendorff’s alpha values for the specific framing items were as follows: “Does the story emphasize the impact on Pakistan’s foreign relations including those of its neighbors?”  $\alpha = 0.78$

(89%); “Does the story cite Pakistan’s capacity to secure its borders (sovereignty infringement) and/or military capabilities?”  $\alpha = 0.81$  (90%); and “Does the story discuss a national approach to larger scale terrorist organizations such as the Pakistani Taliban or Al-Qaeda?”  $\alpha = 0.81$  (92%). Krippendorff’s alpha for the national issue-specific framing items as a scale was  $\alpha = 0.81$ . Overall, percent agreement for the national frame was 90%. Similar to the regional frame, Krippendorff’s alpha indicated a high enough alpha for a scale of the national framing items for intercoder reliability. However, Cronbach’s alpha did not support scale reliability for the national frame as a scale since it was below the minimum value of  $\alpha = 0.50$ .

Additionally, the researcher computed Cronbach’s alpha using SAS for each of the five frames. Cronbach’s alphas indicated that all of the frames had sufficient scale reliability. Cronbach’s alphas were as follows: attribution of responsibility frame  $\alpha = 0.51$  (standardized), human interest frame  $\alpha = 0.62$  (standardized), conflict frame  $\alpha = 0.58$  (standardized), morality frame  $\alpha = 0.63$  (standardized), economic consequences frame was 0.67 (standardized).

### **Conceptual Design for Evaluating Factors**

Quantitative statistical analysis played an important role in the conceptual design evaluating the project’s hypotheses and research questions as part of the overall goal of evaluating the Pakistani media’s use of generic frames and issue-specific regional and national frames following the Salala incident. The conceptual design for analyzing the results of the content analysis consisted of two separate segments. The first part treated descriptive statistics such as frequency charts for each of the framing

items as well as inferential statistics including multiple one-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts among others, in order to determine the relevancy of news media outlets in the process. The second part dealt with principal component analyses, including Varimax-rotated loaded factor solutions, to identify how frames might be related to one another. In their initial research, Semetko and Valkenburg also leveraged factor solutions to assess if the framing items clustered in the frames to which they were assigned. Semetko and Valkenburg found that this was the case (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 99). The researcher used an alpha level of 0.05 for the statistical tests in this dissertation study. Details for how each of these statistical methods were leveraged to test the hypotheses follow in this section and their corresponding results will follow thereafter in the Results section. The following methodology was used to evaluate the validity of the three hypotheses:

The first hypothesis asserted that the attribution of responsibility and the conflict frames would be the most prevalent frames in the reporting of the Salala incident. To evaluate this hypothesis in greater detail, the researcher used repeated measure ANOVAs conducted in SPSS. As part of these ANOVAs, frame prevalence was the dependent variable while each of the individual frames were the repeated measures of the factor. For these generic frames, the researcher used cumulative sub-totals of framing items present divided by the number of possible framing items in the category (i.e. five for attribution of responsibility, four for human interest and conflict, and three for morality and economic consequences) in order to create comparable scales. Statistical significance as measured by SPSS would indicate validation of this hypothesis.

The second hypothesis postulated that regional news outlets would be more likely to present the Salala incident in terms of the human interest and morality frames. The second hypothesis utilized one-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts to expand upon the differences between regional and national press reporting. To test this hypothesis, the researcher ran two separate one-way ANOVAs in SPSS, one ANOVA per frame, with the news outlets as the independent variable and the human interest frame and the morality frame composite sub-totals as the dependent variables. Based on these results, the researcher would consider the second hypothesis substantiated if the regional press had higher means for the human interest and morality frames than *Dawn* and if the planned contrasts indicated that these differences were statistically significant. If no statistical significance is noted, then this hypothesis will be considered unsupported.

The third hypothesis evaluated the regional and national issue-specific framing items among the five news outlets, suggesting that *Dawn* would be the most likely to advance national frames while the regional press would be more likely to frame the incident in terms of local perspectives. Unfortunately, the national and regional framing items did not work as scales for the national and regional frames, respectively. Therefore, the researcher considered this hypothesis at the level of each individual national or regional framing item. Using one-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts, the researcher considered the first portion of the hypothesis validated if the national news outlet *Dawn* had a statistically significant higher rate of use for each of the three national framing items than the four regional news outlets. In these ANOVAs, the independent variable was the news outlet, while the dependent variables were each of

the national framing items. Similarly, for the second portion of the hypothesis, the researcher considered this part to be substantiated if the three ANOVAs for the regional framing items demonstrated that the four regional news outlets had a statistically higher rate of use for the regional framing items than *Dawn* did as a national news outlet. Again, the researcher performed planned contrasts using SPSS to determine if the differences in means were statistically significant between news outlets when considering the third hypothesis.

The first research question delved into the effectiveness of using generic frames to analyze the Pakistani English-speaking media's coverage of the Salala incident. One indication of efficacy is the scale reliability of each of the generic frames using Cronbach's alpha, similar to what Semetko and Valkenburg obtained in their initial research (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 99). For this, the researcher looked for a minimum alpha score of 0.50 for each of the five generic frames, i.e. attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, morality and economic consequences, to evaluate the internal consistency of each of the components.

Another method of analyzing generic framing presence would be to perform a principal component analysis, similar to the initial Semetko and Valkenburg research. The researcher created a Varimax-rotated loaded factor solution and correlation matrix for the results of the 19 generic framing items for comparison to their five generic frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 99-100). Varimax-rotated loaded factor solutions require at least 300 cases in order to have accurate coefficients, a number of articles that the researcher has already achieved (Dirikx & Gelders, 2010, p. 737). Again, the goal of the loaded factor solution and correlation matrix was to ascertain if



the framing items corresponded at an appropriate level to the category/frame to which they were assigned.

Besides calculating Cronbach's alphas and performing a principal component analysis, the researcher compared the results of her dissertation study with the previous scholarly works on generic framing and regional/national framing to determine any noteworthy similarities/differences in findings. Some potential areas for comparison included the presence/absence of regional framing in regional news outlets, correlations between overarching generic frames in the principal component analysis, and the extent to which framing items correlated with their respective frames similar to other studies. Additionally, the researcher generated frequency charts in SAS to ascertain the number of articles that did not contain any distinguishable generic frame.

The second research question focused on the core differences between regional and national press usage of generic frames in reporting on the Salala incident. As previously mentioned in the Literature Review section, there was a lack of consensus in the scholarly literature as far as the extent to which these two types of press differ in their framing of events. As previously mentioned, the researcher conducted one-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts for the human interest and morality frames to determine if the news outlet played a significant role in the usage of these frames. Research regarding the attribution of responsibility, conflict and economic consequences frames was more exploratory in nature. Therefore, the researcher performed one-way ANOVAs of each generic frames with Bonferroni adjustments by news outlet to determine which outlets stood out in terms of reporting per frame.

The third research question examined the potential relationship between the issue-specific national/regional framing items and the generic frames. The researcher conducted t-tests in SAS, using the national/regional framing items as independent variables and the generic frames as dependent variables for these analyses. The purpose of these t-tests was to highlight the instances when generic frames were more likely to occur in tandem with a national or regional framing item. As a side note, although the regional/national framing items had dichotomous yes/no (1/0) responses, the generic frames were measured on a composite scale (i.e. framing item sub-totals by frame); therefore, the researcher opted to perform t-tests instead of chi-square analyses due to the continuous nature of the dependent variables.

Finally, the researcher conducted one-way ANOVAs with post-hoc Bonferroni adjustments to determine if there were a pattern between issue-specific framing and generic framing by the individual news outlets. The independent variables for these ANOVAs were each of the regional and national framing items, one framing item per ANOVA, sorted by the five individual news outlets, one outlet at a time. The dependent variables, in these instances, were the framing item composite scales (framing item sub-totals by frame) for the five generic frames: attribution of responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality and economic consequences. For practical purposes, the SAS generated output was compiled by regional and national framing item, one at a time. The top of each page listed the news outlet, then proceeded to provide statistics by generic frame. For instance, the first section might read “Dawn”, then relay the mean for the attribution of responsibility frame for those articles that contained the first regional framing item as well as the corresponding statistics

compared to the mean for the attribution of responsibility frame for those articles that did not possess the first regional framing item, etc...

## **RESULTS**

Following the coding process, the researcher used SAS and SPSS to quantify the results of the content analysis. The first portion of Results section will treat the three hypotheses of this dissertation research, the first two dealing with the deductive, generic frames and the third hypothesis regarding national and regional framing items. The second portion of the results section will focus on the regional and national issues associated with the Salala incident, how these interacted with the overarching frames, and if framing in issue-specific or generic terms changed as a result of the news outlet being regionally or nationally focused. It will discuss the results of the principal component analysis and correlation between generic framing items.

### **H1**

The first hypothesis suggested the attribution of responsibility frame and conflict frame would be the most prominently featured generic frames in this research. The researcher totaled each of the framing items by frame, then divided each frame by the possible number of framing items for the frame (five for attribution of responsibility, etc...) to create proportional scales for the generic frames. By order of prevalence, media outlets were most likely to leverage the conflict frame ( $M = 0.673$ ,  $SD = 0.007$ ) and the attribution of responsibility frame ( $M = 0.667$ ,  $SD = 0.008$ ) followed by the human interest frame ( $M = 0.170$ ,  $SD = 0.008$ ), the morality frame ( $M = 0.145$ ,  $SD = 0.009$ ) and the economic consequence frame ( $M = 0.091$ ,  $SD = 0.008$ ).

A repeated measures ANOVA with these scales indicated that there was a significant within-subjects effect for frame  $F(3.75, 3149.37) = 1529.13, p < .001$ .<sup>6</sup> In other words, there were significant differences overall between the occurrence rates for the generic frames. However, pairwise comparisons with post-hoc Bonferroni adjustments for multiple comparisons demonstrated that there were significant differences between most of the frames,  $p < .001$ . Exceptions to this were between the attribution of responsibility frame and the conflict frame as well as between the human interest and morality frames.

A repeated measures ANOVA also demonstrated that the interaction was significant between the frame and the news outlet  $F(14.98) = 4.10, p < .001$ . Repeated measures ANOVA also indicated that there was a significant between-subjects effect  $F(4, 841) = 5.44, p < .001$ . In other words, framing varied according to news outlet, both in terms of which generic frames were highlighted as well as how many of these framing items were employed. Results for the differences in framing by news outlet may be found in the RQ2 section.

## **H2**

The second hypothesis examined the extent to which human interest and morality framing varied by news outlet, specifically if the use of these frames changed between the regional and national press. To evaluate this hypothesis, the researcher performed two separate, one-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts, one per frame.

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<sup>6</sup> Mauchly's test for sphericity was significant; therefore, the researcher used the Greenhouse-Geisser  $\epsilon$  0.936 for reporting both within-subject contrasts.

Each one-way ANOVA had five contrasts. The first contrast was between the national news outlet on one side and the regional press grouped together on the other side. The remaining four contrasts were between the national news outlet and the regional press, one regional news outlet at a time. For each of these five contrasts, the researcher assumed that the regional press would have higher means than the national news outlet. Results for these one-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts may be found in the Human Interest Frame H2a and Morality Frame H2b sections.

#### *Human Interest Frame H2a*

One-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts did not indicate any significant differences for the human interest frame  $F(4, 841) = 1.69, p = 0.15$ . Further planned contrasts between the national press and each of the regional news outlets individually also did not indicate any significant differences in human interest framing. Frequency charts indicated, however, that some of the regional press did leverage the human interest frame slightly more than *Dawn*, but this was not universal (See Table 9). Additional information regarding the use of the human interest frame may be found in the RQ2 section.

#### *Morality Frame H2b*

There were, however, some notable differences in the Pakistani English-speaking press' use of the morality frame. The regional press did cite the morality frame more often than the national news outlet  $F(4, 841) = 8.57, p < .001$ . Contrasts between *Dawn* and the individual regional news outlets indicated significant differences between *Dawn* and *Balochistan Express*, *Frontier Post*, and *The Nation*,  $p = 0.01$ .

There was not a significant difference for the use of the morality frame between *Dawn* and *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*. Additional information regarding the content analysis for this frame is found in the RQ2 Morality Frame results section.

### **H3**

The third hypothesis focused on the issue-specific national and regional framing items, specifically to test if *Dawn* were more likely to frame the Salala incident in national terms while the regional press portrayed the same events in regional terms. To evaluate this hypothesis, the researcher conducted a series of six one-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts, one per framing item. Each one-way ANOVA contained five planned contrasts. The first planned contrast included *Dawn* on one side of the equation and the four regional outlets on the other. The remaining four contrasts compared *Dawn* to each of the four regional news outlets individually. For the national framing items, all five of the planned contrasts were weighted in favor of *Dawn*, while the planned contrasts for the regional framing items were given values to indicate that the regional news outlets should have higher scores in the equation. Again, Cronbach's alphas for scale reliability did not indicate that the national and regional framing items were reliable enough to form a national or regional scale, respectively. Hence, these framing items were evaluated individually. Results of these one-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts may be found in the National Frames H3a and Regional Frames H3b section.

### *National Frames H3a*

To measure national framing, the researcher selected three frames that had national implications and would be likely to appear in reporting. The first of these three framing items measured discussions of Pakistani foreign relations in the press. A one-way ANOVA with planned contrasts found that *Dawn* did report on Pakistani foreign policy more than the regional press  $F(4, 841) = 6.57, p < .001$ . Furthermore, planned contrasts between *Dawn* and the individual regional news outlets indicated significant differences between *Dawn* and *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* as well as *Dawn* and *The Nation*,  $p < .01$ . One regional news outlet, *Balochistan Express*, did use this frame more than *Dawn*. However, the differences between these two news outlets were not significant.

A one-way ANOVA with planned contrasts for the second national framing item, sovereignty/border security, was also significant. However, they indicated that the regional press was more likely to leverage this frame.  $F(4, 841) = 9.23, p < .001$ . Planned contrasts between *Dawn* and each of the regional news outlets demonstrated significant differences between *Balochistan Express* and *Dawn* as well as *Frontier Post* and *Dawn*,  $p < .01$ . In both of these instances, *Dawn* leveraged this frame less than *Balochistan Express* and *Frontier Post*. Proportionally, *Balochistan Express* had the highest relative totals for the first two national framing items, “Does the story emphasize the impact on Pakistan’s foreign relations including those of its neighbors?” and “Does the story cite Pakistan’s capacity to secure its borders (sovereignty infringement) and/or military capabilities?” For these two questions, *Balochistan*

*Express* was more likely to portray the Salala incident in these terms 68% ( $n=58$ ) and 65% ( $n=55$ ) than *Dawn*, 62% (182) and 41% ( $n=121$ ), respectively (See Table 1).

A one-way ANOVA with planned contrasts indicated that *Dawn* was more likely than the regional press to leverage the national terrorism frame  $F(4, 841) = 6.76$ ,  $p < .001$ . Paired planned contrasts indicated significant differences in framing between *Dawn* and *Balochistan Express*, *Dawn* and the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*, and *Dawn* and *The Nation*,  $p < .05$ . Among the regional news outlets, *Balochistan Express* was the least likely to discuss strategies towards large terrorist organizations in conjunction with the Salala incident reporting (15%). Instead, *Frontier Post* was most likely to report on the subject of national terrorism (43%). *Dawn* did leverage this frame slightly less than *Frontier Post*; however, this difference was negligible in paired planned contrasts.



**Table 1*****National Framing by Media Outlet***

<b>Framing Item</b>	<b>Balochistan Express</b>	<b>Daily Regional Times</b>	<b>Frontier Post</b>	<b>The Nation</b>	<b>Dawn</b>	<b>Total</b>
1) Does the story emphasize the impact on Pakistan's foreign relations including those of its neighbors?	<i>n</i> =58 (68.24%)	<i>n</i> =60 (40.54%)	<i>n</i> =57 (54.81%)	<i>n</i> =108 (50.47%)	<i>n</i> =182 (61.69%)	<i>n</i> =465 (54.96%)
2) Does the story cite Pakistan's capacity to secure its borders (sovereignty infringement) and/or military capabilities?	<i>n</i> =55 (64.71%)	<i>n</i> =53 (35.81%)	<i>n</i> =65 (62.50%)	<i>n</i> =85 (39.72%)	<i>n</i> =121 (41.02%)	<i>n</i> =379 (44.80%)
3) Does the story discuss a national approach to larger scale terrorist organizations such as the Pakistani Taliban or Al-Qaeda?	<i>n</i> =13 (15.29%)	<i>n</i> =39 (26.35%)	<i>n</i> =45 (43.27%)	<i>n</i> =66 (30.84%)	<i>n</i> =117 (39.66%)	<i>n</i> =280 (33.10%)

***Regional Frames H3b***

The intent of the issue-specific framing items was to investigate the extent to which the Pakistani English-speaking media covered the Salala incident in regional

and/or national terms and the framing items' relationship with the five generic frames in the study. As far as the regional frames were concerned, only 31% ( $n=263$ ) contained one or more framing items. Twenty-four percent ( $n=201$ ) reported only one frame, while 7% ( $n=57$ ) contained two items. Less than one percent ( $n=5$ ) contained all three items in this framing category. Of those that did have a regional frame in their story line, "Does the story refer to local politicians or political parties?" was the most likely to occur (22%) (See Table 2). A one-way ANOVA with planned contrasts did not detect any significant differences between the regional press and *Dawn* for the insurgents framing item  $F(4, 841) = 1.08, p = 0.37$ , the local politicians/political parties framing item  $F(4, 841) = 0.71, p = 0.58$  or the local impact framing item  $F(4, 841) = 0.38, p = 0.82$ . In addition, none of the paired contrasts between the individual regional news outlets and *Dawn* yielded any significant differences in framing.

**Table 2*****Regional Framing by Media Outlet***

<b>Framing Item</b>	<b>Balochistan Express</b>	<b>Daily Regional Times</b>	<b>Frontier Post</b>	<b>The Nation</b>	<b>Dawn</b>	<b>Total</b>
1) Does the story refer to local militants/ insurgents?	<i>n</i> =3 (3.53%)	<i>n</i> =4 (2.70%)	<i>n</i> =4 (3.85%)	<i>n</i> =11 (5.14%)	<i>n</i> =20 (6.78%)	<i>n</i> =42 (4.96%)
2) Does the story refer to local politicians or political parties?	<i>n</i> =19 (22.35%)	<i>n</i> =31 (20.95%)	<i>n</i> =20 (19.23%)	<i>n</i> =41 (19.16%)	<i>n</i> =73 (24.75%)	<i>n</i> =184 (21.75%)
3) Does the story demonstrate an impact on regional or local religious/ tribal customs, culture or economic circumstances?	<i>n</i> =8 (9.41%)	<i>n</i> =16 (10.81%)	<i>n</i> =14 (13.46%)	<i>n</i> =26 (12.15%)	<i>n</i> =40 (13.56%)	<i>n</i> =104 (12.28%)

**RQ1**

When Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) first proposed their “common indicators”, they sought to define a common groundwork for framing that could be used among differing types of news media (television, radio, print, etc...). To date, scholars have not studied deductive generic framing as proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg in the Pakistani English-speaking press. This begs the question if these common framing

items are an effective means of studying the press in this region? Some indicators that this would be the case would be if deductive generic frames achieved scale reliability, if the individual framing items corresponded to overarching frames, and if many of the news articles portrayed at least one identifiable generic frame. As mentioned in the Intercoder and Scale Reliability section, Cronbach's alphas for each of the generic frames was above 0.50.

A correlation matrix indicated that the majority of framing items corresponded with their designated generic frames. Information regarding these relationships may be found in the following Correlation Matrix section. Varimax-rotated factor solutions indicated that this dissertation research performed similarly to Semetko and Valkenburg in terms of variance explained. However, the loaded factor solutions also indicated that there was more than one solution to the analysis. The researcher found that while the framing items could be displayed in a five-factor solution, a six-factor solution would explain slightly more of the variance in the model, while still retaining at least three framing items per factor. More details on these models may be found in the Varimax-rotated Factor Solution section. Additionally, the researcher will discuss overall usage of the framing items in the Generic Frame Frequency Table section. Finally, the researcher will also discuss the extent to which the findings of this dissertation project corresponded to previous studies in the Discussion section.

### *Correlation Analysis*

The author performed a principal component analysis to investigate the relationship between the various framing items and their respective overarching generic frames. Semetko and Valkenburg similarly leveraged an unweighted Varimax-rotated

factor solution to measure the extent to which the individual framing items correlated with the generic frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 99-101). They found that all but two framing items, “Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?” and “Does the story refer to winners and losers?” correlated with the appropriate frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 100). Similarly, a principal component analysis of this dataset indicated that 16 of the 19 framing items correlated with their respective frames at a minimum of 0.50.<sup>7</sup> A total of three framing items did not meet the aforementioned criteria, including two from the attribution of responsibility frame, “Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?” and “Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?” and one factor in the human interest frame, “Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?”.

Semetko and Valkenburg found that their unweighted factor solution explained 54.2% of the variance between the individual framing items for the five frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 99). In comparison, a principal component analysis with the 19 framing items in SAS found that 53.8% of the variance was explained in this dataset when only five factors were examined. The Varimax-rotated loaded factor solution for this content analysis showed that the factors for this dataset did not easily divide along the lines of the five generic frames in some instances (See Tables 4-5). Additional information regarding this loaded factor solution may be found in the Varimax-rotated Factor Solution section.

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<sup>7</sup> The researcher was not able to evaluate the human interest framing item “Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?”.

Overall, the correlation matrix showed that framing items in the economic consequences frame correlated most closely to their respective frame, with all items correlating above 0.70 (See Table 3). All of the framing items in the conflict and morality frames also correlated to their respective frames above 0.50. However, the conflict frame had one framing item, “Does the story refer to winners and losers?” that did not correlate as well as the other framing items in the same category. The attribution of responsibility and the human interest frames each had at least one framing item that did not correlate as closely to the overall group. Closer analysis of the correlations between the five generic frames indicated that the attribution of responsibility frame correlated weakly to the conflict frame at the 0.30 level. Additionally, the human interest and morality frames correlated to each other slightly below this level.

**Table 3*****Correlation Matrix for Generic Frames***

<b>Attribution of Responsibility Framing Items</b>	<b>Attribution of Responsibility</b>	<b>Human Interest</b>	<b>Conflict</b>	<b>Morality</b>	<b>Economic Consequences</b>
1) Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?	<b>0.5968</b>	-0.0397	0.1807	-0.1004	-0.0411
2) Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?	<b>0.2195</b>	-0.0841	0.2224	-0.1383	-0.0084
3) Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?	<b>0.8171</b>	-0.0084	0.2140	0.0009	0.0086
4) Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?	<b>0.3556</b>	0.0806	0.0766	0.1404	0.1418

**Table 3 Continued**

<b>Attribution of Responsibility Framing Items (cont.)</b>	<b>Attribution of Responsibility</b>	<b>Human Interest</b>	<b>Conflict</b>	<b>Morality</b>	<b>Economic Consequences</b>
5) Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?	<b>0.7952</b>	0.1637	0.3120	0.0919	0.0114
Total Attribution of Responsibility	<b>1.00</b>	0.0782	0.3343	0.0413	0.0368

  

<b>Human Interest Framing Items</b>	<b>Attribution of Responsibility</b>	<b>Human Interest</b>	<b>Conflict</b>	<b>Morality</b>	<b>Economic Consequences</b>
1) Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?	-0.0730	<b>0.6313</b>	-0.0796	0.1761	0.0396
2) Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?	0.1887	<b>0.7703</b>	0.3137	0.2850	0.0617



**Table 3 Continued**

<b>Human Interest Framing Items (cont.)</b>	<b>Attribution of Responsibility</b>	<b>Human Interest</b>	<b>Conflict</b>	<b>Morality</b>	<b>Economic Consequences</b>
3) Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?	0.0107	<b>0.7507</b>	0.0249	0.1452	0.1178
4) Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?	-0.1252	<b>0.4301</b>	-0.1205	0.1060	-0.0481
Total Human Interest frame	0.0782	<b>1.00</b>	0.1571	0.2933	0.0882
<b>Conflict Framing Items</b>	<b>Attribution of Responsibility</b>	<b>Human Interest</b>	<b>Conflict</b>	<b>Morality</b>	<b>Economic Consequences</b>
1) Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?	0.2110	-0.0417	<b>0.6121</b>	-0.0493	0.0041
2) Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?	0.2913	0.2052	<b>0.7695</b>	0.1380	-0.0606

**Table 3 Continued**

<b>Conflict Framing Items</b>	<b>Attribution of Responsibility</b>	<b>Human Interest</b>	<b>Conflict</b>	<b>Morality</b>	<b>Economic Consequences</b>
3) Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?	0.2025	-0.0207	<b>0.6369</b>	-0.0333	-0.0401
4) Does the story refer to winners and losers?	0.1270	0.1125	<b>0.5157</b>	0.0588	0.1689
Conflict frame	0.3343	0.1571	<b>1.00</b>	0.0883	0.0266
<b>Morality Framing Items</b>	<b>Attribution of Responsibility</b>	<b>Human Interest</b>	<b>Conflict</b>	<b>Morality</b>	<b>Economic Consequences</b>
1) Does the story contain any moral message?	0.0712	0.1967	0.0483	<b>0.7563</b>	0.0407
2) Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?	0.0221	0.2995	0.1081	<b>0.8670</b>	-0.0160
3) Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?	-0.0079	0.0815	-0.0079	<b>0.5711</b>	0.0400
Total Morality frame	0.0413	0.2933	0.0883	<b>1.00</b>	0.015

**Table 3 Continued**

<b>Economic Consequences Framing Items</b>	<b>Attribution of Responsibility</b>	<b>Human Interest</b>	<b>Conflict</b>	<b>Morality</b>	<b>Economic Consequences</b>
1) Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?	0.0119	0.0603	0.0378	-0.0144	<b>0.8293</b>
2) Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?	0.0409	0.0462	-0.0234	0.0021	<b>0.7231</b>
3) Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?	0.0360	0.0980	0.0415	0.0489	<b>0.7726</b>
Total Economic Consequences frame	0.0368	0.0882	0.0266	0.015	<b>1.00</b>

*Varimax-rotated Factor Solution*

In addition to leveraging the principal component analysis function in SAS to generate a correlation matrix of the relationships among framing items as well as between the framing items and the generic frames, the researcher also performed a Varimax-rotated loaded-factor solution to determine the best model to represent the relationships between the framing items. This model supported a maximum number of

six factors, containing at least three framing items per factor, and explained 59% of the variance between the 19 framing items (See Table 4).

Similar to the findings of the correlation matrix, the six-factor solution indicated that the morality and the economic consequences framing items correlated most closely with other items in their respective frames (See Table 4). One framing item from the attribution of responsibility frame “Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?” correlated weakly (+/- 0.326)<sup>8</sup> to the morality framing items. Three of the four human interest frames strongly correlated to one another (0.70 or above). One additional factor contained three of the five framing items from the attribution of responsibility frame. Incidentally, the two framing items that did not correlate to each other in this factor were the same framing items that did not correlate at the 0.50 level in the correlation matrix above.

The remaining two factors were a compilation of framing items from multiple frames. Two items in the conflict frame “Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?” and “Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?” correlated with one item from the attribution of responsibility frame, “Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?”. Additionally, one item from the human interest frame, “Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?”, correlated to two items from the conflict frame, “Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?” and

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<sup>8</sup> This item was positively correlated if inversely coded and negatively correlated otherwise.

“Does the story refer to winners and losers?” Initial eigenvalues for the first six components were as follows: 2.77, 2.46, 1.88, 1.64, 1.47 and 1.05. Final community estimates for the Varimax-rotated six-factor solution totaled 11.26.

**Table 4*****Six-Factor Rotated Factor Solution***

<b>Framing Item</b>	<b>Factor 1</b>	<b>Factor 2</b>	<b>Factor 3</b>	<b>Factor 4</b>	<b>Factor 5</b>	<b>Factor 6</b>
Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries? (Conflict)	0.918	-	-	-	-	-
Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue? (Conflict)	0.909	-	-	-	-	-
Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem? (Attribution of Responsibility)	0.606	-	-	-	-	-
Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future? (Economic Consequences)	-	0.807	-	-	-	-
Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action? (Economic Consequences)	-	0.739	-	-	-	-
Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved? (Economic Consequences)	-	0.724	-	-	-	-
Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue? (Human Interest)	-	-	0.834	-	-	-

**Table 4 Continued**

<b>Framing Item</b>	<b>Factor 1</b>	<b>Factor 2</b>	<b>Factor 3</b>	<b>Factor 4</b>	<b>Factor 5</b>	<b>Factor 6</b>
Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors? (Human Interest)	-	-	0.729	-	-	-
Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem? (Human Interest)	-	-	0.705	-	-	-
Does the story contain any moral message? (Morality)	-	-	-	0.797	-	-
Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave? (Morality)	-	-	-	0.760	-	-
Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets? (Morality)	-	-	-	0.628	-	-
Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem? (Attribution of Responsibility)	-	-	-	0.326	-	-
Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue? (Attribution of Responsibility)	-	-	-	-	0.857	-
Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem? (Attribution of Responsibility)	-	-	-	-	0.710	-

**Table 4 Continued**

<b>Framing Item</b>	<b>Factor 1</b>	<b>Factor 2</b>	<b>Factor 3</b>	<b>Factor 4</b>	<b>Factor 5</b>	<b>Factor 6</b>
Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action? (Attribution of Responsibility)	-	-	-	-	0.686	0.399
Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion? (Human Interest)	-	-	-	-	-	0.702
Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another? (Conflict)	-	-	-	-	-	0.686
Does the story refer to winners and losers? (Conflict)	-	-	-	-	-	0.546
<b>Eigenvalue</b>	2.18	1.92	1.91	1.83	1.82	1.59
<b>Variance explained</b>	11.47%	10.13%	10.07%	9.65%	9.60%	8.37%

When forced into a five-factor solution, the framing items did not divide as easily along the lines of generic frames. Unlike Semetko’s and Valkenburg’s unweighted Varimax-rotated factor solution (2000), none of the five factors in this dissertation research contained only framing items from their respective frames, demonstrating the interconnectedness of the framing items being measured (See Table 5). The factor that contained three items from the attribution of responsibility frame showed that these items were also correlated to one item from the conflict frame “Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?” This latter item also correlated,



albeit weakly to two further items from the conflict frame “Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?” and “Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?” as well as one item from the attribution of responsibility frame “Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?” A third factor contained the three framing items from the morality frame as well as one weakly correlated item from the human interest frame “Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?” This last framing item did not correlate strongly with any of the factors. Rather, it also correlated, albeit weakly with three of the attribution of responsibility frames and, separately, with the remaining human interest framing items. The final factor for the five-factor solution contained the three framing items from the economic consequences frame as well as one framing item “Does the story refer to winners and losers?” from the conflict frame. One framing item “Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?” did not meet the minimum threshold of 0.30 to be included in any of the five factors. The final community estimates for the Varimax-rotated five-factor solution totaled 10.22.

**Table 5*****Five-Factor Rotated Factor Solution***

<b>Framing Item</b>	<b>Factor 1</b>	<b>Factor 2</b>	<b>Factor 3</b>	<b>Factor 4</b>	<b>Factor 5</b>
Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries? (Conflict)	0.916	-	-	-	-
Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue? (Conflict)	0.915	-	-	-	-
Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem? (Attribution of Responsibility)	0.578	-	-	-	-
Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue? (Attribution of Responsibility)	-	0.809	-	-	-
Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action? (Attribution of Responsibility)	-	0.784	-	-	-
Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem? (Attribution of Responsibility)	-	0.622	-	-	-
Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another? (Conflict)	0.317	0.419	-	-	-
Does the story contain any moral message? (Morality)	-	-	0.765	-	-
Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave? (Morality)	-	-	0.703	-	-
Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets? (Morality)	-	-	0.645	-	-

**Table 5 Continued**

<b>Framing Item</b>	<b>Factor 1</b>	<b>Factor 2</b>	<b>Factor 3</b>	<b>Factor 4</b>	<b>Factor 5</b>
Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion? (Human Interest)	-	0.304	0.411	0.391	-
Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem? (Attribution of Responsibility)	-	-	-	-	-
Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue? (Human Interest)	-	-	-	0.808	-
Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem? (Human Interest)	-	-	-	0.735	-
Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors? (Human Interest)	-	-	-	0.698	-
Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future? (Economic Consequences)	-	-	-	-	0.807
Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action? (Economic Consequences)	-	-	-	-	0.744
Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved? (Economic Consequences)	-	-	-	-	0.714
Does the story refer to winners and losers? (Conflict)	-	-	-	-	0.327
<b>Eigenvalue</b>	2.23	2.07	2.00	1.96	1.95
<b>Variance Explained</b>	11.76%	10.88%	10.55%	10.32%	10.25%

*Generic Frame Frequency Table*

Table 6 provides a snapshot of how the generic frames performed overall in comparison to one another. As articulated in H1, the conflict and the attribution of responsibility frames were the most highly cited frames in this dataset. The table below demonstrates that these two frames had the fewest numbers of articles with zero framing items. Similarly, they had the highest numbers of articles with two or more framing items. However, the human interest, morality and economic consequences frames had more instances of articles with no framing items and the highest grouping for both the human interest and the morality frames, besides zero items, was only one item. Overall, the researcher only found one item (0.11%) that did not contain any of the generic framing items.

**Table 6**  
*Overall Usage of Generic Frames*

<b>Framing Items</b>	<b>Attribution of Responsibility</b>	<b>Human Interest</b>	<b>Conflict</b>	<b>Morality</b>	<b>Economic Consequences</b>
0 Items	<i>n</i> =5 (0.59%)	<i>n</i> =430 (50.83%)	<i>n</i> =27 (3.19%)	<i>n</i> =597 (70.57%)	<i>n</i> =702 (82.98%)
1 Item	<i>n</i> =45 (5.32%)	<i>n</i> =311 (36.76%)	<i>n</i> =7 (0.83%)	<i>n</i> =185 (21.87%)	<i>n</i> =87 (10.28%)
2 Items	<i>n</i> =115 (13.59%)	<i>n</i> =70 (8.27%)	<i>n</i> =239 (28.25%)	<i>n</i> =46 (5.44%)	<i>n</i> =35 (4.14%)
3 Items	<i>n</i> =185 (21.87%)	<i>n</i> =26 (3.07%)	<i>n</i> =488 (57.68%)	<i>n</i> =18 (2.13%)	<i>n</i> =22 (2.60%)
4 Items	<i>n</i> =448 (52.96%)	<i>n</i> =9 (1.06%)	<i>n</i> =85 (10.05%)	N/A	N/A
5 Items	<i>n</i> =48 (5.67%)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

## **RQ2**

The second research question examined the differences between the national and regional press in their usage of the five generic frames: attribution of responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality and economic consequences. The second hypothesis postulated that the regional press would be more likely to portray the Salala incident in terms of human interest and morality. As detailed in the Human Interest H2a and Morality H2b sections, one-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts indicated that there was a significant difference in framing between the regional press and the national press for the morality frame, but no significant differences between the two groups for the human interest frame. The second research question expands upon these topics by investigating how the five news outlets used the generic frames and the extent to which they differed from each other for portraying the Salala incident in these terms. Each of the five frames will be presented by order of prevalence in the reporting: conflict, attribution of responsibility, human interest, morality and, finally, economic consequences. Results for the repeated measures ANOVA may be found in the H1 section. As a side note, the means noted in each of the framing sections below for the generic frames represent the average number of framing items used per story. The means in these sections weren't divided by the number of possible items, hence are higher than those listed in H1.

### *Conflict Frame*

The conflict frame had the highest average framing total of all of the generic frames ( $M = 2.71$ ,  $SD = 0.79$ ), meaning that the five media outlets used at least two

conflict framing items per news article on average. Among the five outlets, *Frontier Post* had the highest average ( $M = 2.86$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ). The other four framing total averages were as follows: *Dawn* ( $M = 2.78$ ,  $SD = 0.79$ ), *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* ( $M = 2.64$ ,  $SD = 0.50$ ), *The Nation* ( $M = 2.64$ ,  $SD = 0.72$ ), and finally, *Balochistan Express* ( $M = 2.54$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ). A one-way ANOVA for the conflict frame was significant  $F(4, 841) = 3.07$ ,  $p = 0.016$ . However, post-hoc Bonferroni adjustments did not indicate any significant differences between the news outlets.

News outlets frequently cited the conflict frame along with the attribution of responsibility frame in reporting on the Salala incident. Among the news outlets, *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* had the highest percentage of articles containing at least one framing item in this category (100%). The lowest number of framing items for this news outlet was two items ( $n=54$ ). *Dawn* and *The Nation* were also highly likely to frame the incident in terms of conflict, in 97% ( $n=286$ ) and 98% ( $n=210$ ) of the articles, respectively. *Frontier Post* and *Balochistan Express* had fewer references compared to the other news outlets but still utilized this frame quite frequently, 94% ( $n=98$ ) and 91% ( $n=77$ ), respectively.

Overall, the five news outlets had a mode of three framing items for the conflict frame. Fifty-eight percent ( $n=488$ ) depicted three items, while 28% ( $n=239$ ) contained half of the framing items. The two questions with the highest number of responses were “Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?” as well as “Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?” (See Table 7). Articles overwhelmingly portrayed these two framing items in over 95% of the time, ( $n=814$ ) and ( $n=811$ ), respectively. A third framing item, “Does

one party-individual-group-country reproach another?” occurred in 65% of the articles ( $n=554$ ). Of note, *Dawn* was on the higher end of the spectrum for this last question with 71% ( $n=208$ ) of its articles containing this framing item whereas the *Balochistan Express* only reported reproaching by the parties in 56% ( $n=48$ ) of the stories. The final framing item “Does the story refer to winners and losers?” did not have a strong presence in any of the news outlets. *Frontier Post* and *Balochistan Express* had the largest incidence rates of this framing items at 30% ( $n=31$ ) and 20% ( $n=17$ ); however, the majority of the news sources portrayed the Salala incident in these terms less than 15% of the time.

**Table 7*****Conflict Framing by Media Outlet***

<b>Framing Item</b>	<b>Balochistan Express</b>	<b>Daily Regional Times</b>	<b>Frontier Post</b>	<b>The Nation</b>	<b>Dawn</b>	<b>Total</b>
1) Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?	<i>n</i> =76 (89.41%)	<i>n</i> =146 (98.65%)	<i>n</i> =98 (94.23%)	<i>n</i> =208 (97.20%)	<i>n</i> =286 (96.95%)	<i>n</i> =814 (96.22%)
2) Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?	<i>n</i> =48 (56.47%)	<i>n</i> =94 (63.51%)	<i>n</i> =71 (68.27%)	<i>n</i> =133 (62.15%)	<i>n</i> =208 (70.51%)	<i>n</i> =554 (65.48%)
3) Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?	<i>n</i> =75 (88.24%)	<i>n</i> =147 (99.32%)	<i>n</i> =97 (93.27%)	<i>n</i> =207 (96.73%)	<i>n</i> =284 (96.27%)	<i>n</i> =810 (95.74%)
4) Does the story refer to winners and losers?	<i>n</i> =17 (20.00%)	<i>n</i> =4 (2.70%)	<i>n</i> =31 (29.81%)	<i>n</i> =18 (8.41%)	<i>n</i> =41 (13.90%)	<i>n</i> =111 (13.12%)

***Attribution of Responsibility Frame***

Overall, the attribution of responsibility frame was second most prominently featured frame in the Salala incident reporting during this time period. The overall mean across the news sources was  $M = 3.38$  ( $SD = 1.01$ ). Of the five attribution of responsibility framing items measured, news outlets included more than three in their



articles on the Salala incident on average. A one-way ANOVA for the attribution of responsibility frame by serial indicated that there were statistical differences between the news outlets  $F(4, 841) = 5.49, p < .001$ . Dawn had the highest average of framing items ( $M = 3.52, SD = 0.95$ ), followed closely by the *Frontier Post*, ( $M = 3.5, SD = 1.04$ ), *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* ( $M = 3.34, SD = 0.95$ ) and *The Nation* ( $M = 3.33, SD = 1.03$ ). *Balochistan Express* had the lowest average number of framing items ( $M = 2.98, SD = 1.09$ ). Post-hoc Bonferroni adjustments for multiple comparisons indicated significant differences between *Balochistan Express* and *Dawn* as well as between *Balochistan Express* and *Frontier Post*,  $p \leq 0.01$ .

In fact, nearly all ( $n=841$ ) of the news stories portrayed the Salala incident in terms of the attribution of responsibility frame. Three of the news outlets, *Dawn*, *The Nation* and the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* portrayed all of their news articles in terms of at least one framing item in this category. *Frontier Post* used the attribution of responsibility frame in 98% ( $n=102$ ) of the articles. Similarly, articles in the *Balochistan Express* contained at least one framing item from this category over 96% of the time ( $n=82$ ). Slightly over half of the articles, 53% ( $n=448$ ), depicted four of the five framing items while 22% ( $n=185$ ) had three framing items and 14% had two items. The three smallest categories were those articles with five framing items 6% ( $n=48$ ), one item 5% ( $n=45$ ), and no items 0.59% ( $n=5$ ).

The one exception to the high scores among the framing items in the attribution of responsibility category was the question, “Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?” This framing item was only present in 9% of the news articles ( $n=72$ ) (See Table 8). Compared to the

other news outlets, *Frontier Post*, had a much higher incidence rate 21% ( $n=22$ ) of articles that pinned blame on an individual or societal group. *Balochistan Express* and the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* were much less likely to engage this framing item, 2% ( $n=2$ ) and 3% ( $n=5$ ), respectively.

**Table 8*****Attribution of Responsibility Framing by Media Outlet***

<b>Framing Item</b>	<b>Balochistan Express</b>	<b>Daily Regional Times</b>	<b>Frontier Post</b>	<b>The Nation</b>	<b>Dawn</b>	<b>Total</b>
1) Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?	<i>n</i> =77 (90.59%)	<i>n</i> =144 (97.30%)	<i>n</i> =97 (93.27%)	<i>n</i> =197 (92.06%)	<i>n</i> =270 (91.53%)	<i>n</i> =785 (92.79%)
2) Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?	<i>n</i> =80 (94.12%)	<i>n</i> =147 (99.32%)	<i>n</i> =100 (96.15%)	<i>n</i> =214 (100.00%)	<i>n</i> =292 (98.98%)	<i>n</i> =833 (98.46%)
3) Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?	<i>n</i> =46 (54.12%)	<i>n</i> =110 (74.32%)	<i>n</i> =84 (80.77%)	<i>n</i> =167 (78.04%)	<i>n</i> =257 (87.12%)	<i>n</i> =664 (78.49%)
4) Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?	<i>n</i> =2 (2.35%)	<i>n</i> =5 (3.38%)	<i>n</i> =22 (21.15%)	<i>n</i> =21 (9.81%)	<i>n</i> =22 (7.46%)	<i>n</i> =72 (8.51%)
5) Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?	<i>n</i> =48 (56.47%)	<i>n</i> =89 (60.14%)	<i>n</i> =61 (58.65%)	<i>n</i> =113 (52.80%)	<i>n</i> =197 (66.78%)	<i>n</i> =508 (60.05%)

By far, “Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?” and “Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?” were the most commonly used framing items in the Salala incident reporting, 98% and 93% of the time, respectively (See Table 8). As far as attributing the incident’s cause to some form of government (i.e. NATO), three of the newspapers, *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*, *The Nation*, and *Dawn*, did so at least 98% of the time. *Daily Regional Times* was also most likely (97%) to suggest that the government was able to resolve or facilitate the issue. As far as proposed solutions to the Salala incident, *Dawn* was most likely to offer alternatives for resolution (87%). The majority of the regional news outlets utilized this framing item over 70% of the time, while *Balochistan Express* differed from this trend, only reporting this framing item in 54% ( $n=46$ ) of its articles.

In their research, Semetko and Valkenburg inversely coded one of the framing items in the attribution of responsibility frame, “Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?”. Semetko and Valkenburg indicated that this item was inversely coded in their research but did not clarify the reason for this decision, although later in the discussion they relayed that they intended to measure government’s responsibility for the situation (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 100, 105-106). Therefore, it is possible that these scholars believed that if an individual or group were not responsible for the issue, then the government assumed responsibility for the situation. If this were done in the current dissertation research, average means for the news outlets would be as follows: *Dawn* ( $M = 4.37, SD = 0.92$ ), *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* ( $M = 4.28, SD = 0.90$ ), *The*

*Nation* ( $M = 4.13$ ,  $SD = 0.93$ ), *Frontier Post* ( $M = 4.08$ ,  $SD = 1.03$ ), and finally, *Balochistan Express* ( $M = 3.93$ ,  $SD = 1.11$ ).

Inversely coding did change the results for the repeated measures ANOVA, but these did not affect the overall response to H1. When inversely coded and reduced to a comparable scale, the attribution of responsibility frame had higher scale averages ( $M = 0.84$ ,  $SD = 0.19$ ) than the other four frames. The difference between each of the five frames was significant in this instance  $p = 0.001$ , compared to the previous results where the difference between the conflict and the attribution of responsibility frames was not significant, but each of the differences between these two items and the other three items were. There was still a significant within-subjects effect for both frame and interaction between frame and serial as well as a significant difference between-subjects effect as previously indicated. Inversely coding this framing item didn't affect the results of the independent samples t-tests for the regional or national issue frames. However, the researcher did note a few differences in the results by inversely coding this framing item in the one-way ANOVAs which will be discussed further in the regional and national framing sections in RQ3.

#### *Human Interest Frame*

Of the five generic frames, the human interest had the third highest mean framing item totals, albeit significantly lower than the attribution of responsibility frame and the conflict frame. The overall mean for the human interest frame was  $M = 0.67$  ( $SD = 0.84$ ). This meant that the news articles contained less than one of the human interest framing items on average. For the human interest frame, *Frontier Post* had the highest average ( $M = 0.81$ ,  $SD = 0.74$ ), followed by *The Nation* ( $M = 0.70$ ,  $SD = 0.80$ ),

*Balochistan Express* ( $M = 0.69$ ,  $SD = 0.64$ ), and *Dawn* ( $M = 0.65$ ,  $SD = 0.92$ ). *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* had the lowest mean in this category ( $M = 0.54$ ,  $SD = 0.88$ ). As noted in the Human Interest H2a section, a one-way ANOVA indicated no significant differences in the usage of the human interest frame. With that said, the researcher did note that all of the regional news outlets with the exception of *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* were slightly more likely to use “Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?” than *Dawn*. Additionally, *Frontier Post* was also slightly more likely to use “Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?” (See Table 9).

For the human interest frame, the majority of news articles 51% ( $n=430$ ) did not portray any of the framing items. Of those that did, 37% ( $n=311$ ) only contained one framing item, while 8% ( $n=70$ ) showed two items, 3% ( $n=26$ ) demonstrated three items and 1% ( $n=9$ ) depicted four items. Proportionally, *Frontier Post* had the highest number of articles framing the incident in some terms of human interest (65%) followed by *Balochistan Express* (61%). Three news outlets displayed a mode of zero framing items, while two outlets, the *Balochistan Express* and the *Frontier Post* had one framing item each. However, this difference was not large enough to change the overall mode of zero framing items. Although this research indicated that this frame, in its entirety, was not often present in newsprint, one framing item “Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?” was both frequent and profuse in the Pakistani reporting of the Salala

incident. This was primarily visible in employing adjectives that had the potential to evoke the reader's emotions.

**Table 9*****Human Interest Framing by Media Outlet***

<b>Framing Item</b>	<b>Balochistan Express</b>	<b>Daily Regional Times</b>	<b>Frontier Post</b>	<b>The Nation</b>	<b>Dawn</b>	<b>Total</b>
1) Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?	<i>n</i> =2 (2.35%)	<i>n</i> =10 (6.76%)	<i>n</i> =8 (7.69%)	<i>n</i> =10 (4.67%)	<i>n</i> =22 (7.46%)	<i>n</i> =52 (6.15%)
2) Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?	<i>n</i> =51 (60.00%)	<i>n</i> =49 (33.11%)	<i>n</i> =64 (61.54%)	<i>n</i> =112 (52.34%)	<i>n</i> =118 (40.00%)	<i>n</i> =394 (46.57%)
3) Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?	<i>n</i> =6 (7.06%)	<i>n</i> =17 (11.49%)	<i>n</i> =10 (9.62%)	<i>n</i> =24 (11.21%)	<i>n</i> =50 (16.95%)	<i>n</i> =107 (12.65%)
4) Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?	<i>n</i> =0 (0%)	<i>n</i> =4 (2.70%)	<i>n</i> =2 (1.92%)	<i>n</i> =3 (1.40%)	<i>n</i> =3 (1.02%)	<i>n</i> =12 (1.42%)



### *Morality Frame*

The morality frame had the second to lowest mean among the five frames, surpassing only the economic consequences frame. All five news outlets had a mode of zero framing items demonstrating the infrequency that news outlets portrayed the Salala incident in these terms. The overarching mean of framing items was  $M = 0.39$  ( $SD = 0.69$ ). Three news outlets displayed means higher than this average: *Frontier Post* ( $M = 0.63$ ,  $SD = 0.86$ ), *The Nation* ( $M = 0.49$ ,  $SD = 0.74$ ), *Balochistan Express* ( $M = 0.48$ ,  $SD = 0.85$ ). *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* and *Dawn* displayed average framing items much lower than the overarching figures ( $M = 0.33$ ,  $SD = 0.55$ ) and ( $M = 0.24$ ,  $SD = 0.54$ ), respectively. As discussed in the Morality Frame H2b section, a one-way ANOVA with planned contrasts indicated that there were significant differences in framing between the regional and national press.

Only 29% ( $n=249$ ) of the articles referencing the Salala incident contained one or more morality framing items. Many of these articles, 22% ( $n=185$ ) contained just one framing item, while 5% ( $n=46$ ) and 2% ( $n=18$ ) portrayed two or three framing items, respectively. Among the five news outlets, *Frontier Post* reported the highest percentage of articles, 42% ( $n=44$ ), citing the morality frame while *Dawn* reported the smallest percentage, 19% ( $n=58$ ). This latter point was of particular interest because it indicated that regional news outlets were more likely to utilize this frame than the national news outlet, *Dawn*.

For those articles that did contain a morality framing item, the question “Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?” appeared the

most frequently (See Table 10). This was due to a number of religious references in the articles, including referring to the departed as martyrs, prayers for those who had passed, discussions of an ongoing religious holiday observance as well as periodic references to one of the early Islamic Caliphs. Regional news outlets portrayed this last framing item the most frequently, with all four of these news outlets referencing “morality, God, and other religious tenets” at least 29% of the time compared to *Dawn*, that only used this kind of framing 19% of the time. However, “Does the story contain any moral message?” and “Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?” were not prominent themes in the Salala incident reporting, occurring in only 8% and 2% of the articles, respectively.

**Table 10*****Morality Framing by Media Outlet***

<b>Framing Item</b>	<b>Balochistan Express</b>	<b>Daily Regional Times</b>	<b>Frontier Post</b>	<b>The Nation</b>	<b>Dawn</b>	<b>Total</b>
1) Does the story contain any moral message?	<i>n</i> =9 (10.59%)	<i>n</i> =5 (3.38%)	<i>n</i> =20 (19.23%)	<i>n</i> =27 (12.62%)	<i>n</i> =10 (3.39%)	<i>n</i> =71 (8.39%)
2) Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?	<i>n</i> =26 (30.59%)	<i>n</i> =43 (29.05%)	<i>n</i> =39 (37.50%)	<i>n</i> =74 (34.58%)	<i>n</i> =57 (19.32%)	<i>n</i> =239 (28.25%)
3) Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?	<i>n</i> =6 (7.06%)	<i>n</i> =1 (0.68%)	<i>n</i> =6 (5.77%)	<i>n</i> =4 (1.87%)	<i>n</i> =4 (1.36%)	<i>n</i> =21 (2.48%)

***Economic Consequences Frame***

Pakistani news media outlets cited the economic consequences frame the least among the five generic frames. All five news outlets had a mode of zero framing items. The overall average for all news outlets was  $M = 0.26$  ( $SD = 0.66$ ). The two news outlets that tied for the highest averages were *Balochistan Express* ( $M = 0.35$ ,  $SD = 0.81$ ) and *Frontier Post* ( $M = 0.35$ ,  $SD = 0.72$ ), followed by *Dawn* ( $M = 0.28$ ,  $SD = 0.68$ ), and *The Nation* ( $M = 0.27$ ,  $SD = 0.66$ ). *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* had a relatively low average of framing items ( $M = 0.11$ ,  $SD = 0.42$ ). A one-way ANOVA of

the economic consequences frame was significant  $F(4, 841) = 2.97, p = 0.02$ . Post-hoc Bonferroni adjustments for multiple comparisons indicated significant differences between two of the regional news outlets *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* and *Frontier Post*.

Eighty-three percent of the articles ( $n=702$ ) contained no economic references in them (See Table 11). Only two news outlets, *Frontier Post* and *Balochistan Express*, reported the Salala incident in terms of the economic aftermath in at least 20% of the articles. *Dawn* and *The Nation* depicted this framing item 19% ( $n=55$ ) and 17% ( $n=36$ ) of the time. *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* contained the fewest references to the incident in economic terms, only 7% ( $n=11$ ) of the time. Of those articles that did contain the economic consequences frame, the most common framing item was “Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?” which occurred in 11% of the total articles. *Balochistan Express* had the highest rates (15%), while *Daily Regional Times* had the lowest (5%).

**Table 11*****Economic Consequences Framing by Media Outlet***

<b>Framing Item</b>	<b>Balochistan Express</b>	<b>Daily Regional Times</b>	<b>Frontier Post</b>	<b>The Nation</b>	<b>Dawn</b>	<b>Total</b>
1) Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?	<i>n</i> =13 (15.29%)	<i>n</i> =7 (4.73%)	<i>n</i> =10 (9.62%)	<i>n</i> =22 (10.28%)	<i>n</i> =39 (13.22%)	<i>n</i> =91 (10.76%)
2) Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?	<i>n</i> =11 (12.94%)	<i>n</i> =4 (2.70%)	<i>n</i> =10 (9.62%)	<i>n</i> =10 (4.67%)	<i>n</i> =23 (7.80%)	<i>n</i> =58 (6.86%)
3) Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?	<i>n</i> =6 (7.06%)	<i>n</i> =5 (3.38%)	<i>n</i> =16 (15.38%)	<i>n</i> =25 (11.68%)	<i>n</i> =22 (7.46%)	<i>n</i> =74 (8.75%)

**RQ3**

The final research question investigated the extent to which regional and national framing items influenced the prevalence of generic frames in the body of reporting. To better comprehend the answer to this question, the researcher conducted multiple t-tests, with the six issue-specific framing items as the independent variables and the five generic frames as the dependent variables (i.e. the insurgent frame as the independent variable and the attribution of responsibility frame as the dependent variable, etc...) This series of tests was intended to examine if the issue-specific framing items influenced the means of the generic frames. Then, the researcher

performed one-way ANOVAs with six issue-specific framing items as the independent variables and the generic frames as dependent variables, sorted by news outlet. These ANOVAs were intended to measure if the news outlet determined the effects of the issue-specific framing items on the generic frames. Results for these tests will follow in the RQ3 National Frames and RQ3 Regional Frames sections.

### *National Frames*

*Foreign Policy Implications.* The first national framing item engaged foreign policy implications. In conjunction with this framing item, the Pakistani press was more likely to employ the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames but less likely to cite the human interest and morality frames under similar circumstances. Those articles that cited Pakistani foreign relations had higher numbers of attribution of responsibility framing items ( $M = 3.51$ ,  $SD = 0.85$ ) than those that did not ( $M = 3.22$ ,  $SD = 1.15$ );  $t(844) = -4.22$ ,  $p < .001$ . This was true of the *Balochistan Express* in ANOVA tests  $F(1, 83) = 5.14$ ,  $p = 0.026$  as well as the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*  $F(1, 146) = 8.80$ ,  $p = 0.004$ . *The Nation* also had significant ANOVA tests in this direction  $F(1, 212) = 7.04$ ,  $p = 0.009$ . Furthermore, when the framing item “Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?” was inversely coded *Dawn* and *Frontier Post* also had significant  $F$  statistics for the attribution of responsibility frame;  $F(1, 293) = 4.25$ ,  $p = 0.04$  and  $F(1, 102) = 4.25$ ,  $p = 0.042$ . Therefore, all five news outlets had significant  $F$  statistics when the fourth question in the attribution of responsibility frame was inversely coded.

Additionally, articles that referenced foreign relations had higher numbers of conflict framing items ( $M = 2.80, SD = 0.72$ ) than those that didn't ( $M = 2.59, SD = 0.85$ );  $t(844) = -3.80, p < .001$ . ANOVA tests indicated significantly higher framing item totals for the conflict frame for the *Frontier Post*  $F(1, 102) = 4.19, p = 0.043$  as well as the *Balochistan Express*  $F(1, 83) = 11.12, p = 0.001$ . *The Nation* also followed this trend  $F(1, 212) = 3.97, p = 0.048$ .

However, for the human interest and the morality frames, the opposite was true. Those that referenced Pakistani foreign policy had fewer human interest framing items ( $M = 0.56, SD = 0.73$ ) than those that did not ( $M = 0.80, SD = 0.94$ );  $t(844) = 4.13, p < .001$ . ANOVA tests of this framing item by serial and overarching frame showed support for this from *Dawn*  $F(1, 293) = 14.07, p < .001$  and the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*  $F(1, 146) = 3.99, p = 0.048$ . Furthermore, absence of the foreign policy framing item led to an increase in morality framing items ( $M = 0.46, SD = 0.72$ ) over those that did reference it ( $M = 0.34, SD = 0.66$ );  $t(844) = 2.61, p < 0.01$ . Statistically, this was only true of *Dawn*  $F(1, 293) = 14.50, p < .001$ . Over half of the articles, 55%, portrayed the Salala incident in terms of Pakistani foreign relations (See Table 1).

*Border Security/Sovereignty.* The second national framing item treated discussions of national sovereignty as well as aspects of border security. Stories that included this framing item were also more likely to include the attribution of responsibility, conflict and morality frames. Articles that referenced Pakistani border security/sovereignty had higher framing item totals for the attribution of responsibility frame ( $M = 3.60, SD = 0.80$ ) than those that did not ( $M = 3.21, SD = 1.12$ );  $t(844) = -5.65, p < .001$ . ANOVA tests of this item by serial by the attribution of responsibility frame

indicated that *Dawn* had statistically higher means for those articles that cited the border security/sovereignty  $F(1, 293) = 23.13, p < .001$  as did *Frontier Post*  $F(1, 102) = 4.29, p = 0.041$ , *Balochistan Express*  $F(1, 83) = 5.84, p = 0.018$ , and *The Nation*  $F(1, 212) = 10.37, p = 0.002$ . Additionally, conflict framing item totals were higher for those that cited border security/sovereignty ( $M = 2.84, SD = 0.70$ ) than those that didn't ( $M = 2.60, SD = 0.83$ );  $t(844) = -4.59, p < .001$ . ANOVA tests indicated that this was true of *Dawn*  $F(1, 293) = 9.42, p = 0.002$  as well as *Frontier Post*  $F(1, 102) = 12.22, p < .001$ .

The morality frame produced similar results. Average framing totals for those that had these references were slightly higher ( $M = 0.45, SD = 0.74$ ) than those with no national border security/sovereignty ties ( $M = 0.34, SD = 0.64$ );  $t(844) = -2.28, p = 0.023$ . Only the national news outlet, *Dawn*, had statistically significant ANOVA tests for the morality frame when the national sovereignty/border security framing item was present  $F(1, 293) = 4.74, p = 0.03$ . The regional press did not show an increase in the morality frame in conjunction with national sovereignty.

Additionally, *The Nation* produced a significant ANOVA test for the human interest frame  $F(1, 212) = 5.15, p = 0.024$ . The researcher believes that this was due to the increased usage of the human interest framing item "Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?" across all five news outlets when the national sovereignty framing item was present. However, interestingly enough, the independent samples t-test did not indicate a significant departure between the human interest framing item means for those articles that had the national sovereignty frame and those that did not,  $t(844) = -0.98, p = 0.326$ .



National/International Terrorism. The third national framing item engaged the topic of national/international terrorism, including ways for Pakistan to determine a path forward. Four of the five frames had significant independent samples t-tests for the national/international terrorism framing item, the exception being the morality frame, indicating an increase in framing for these generic frames in the presence of the terrorism framing item. References to terrorism had higher attribution of responsibility framing item totals ( $M = 3.65, SD = 0.84$ ) than those articles with no terrorism related storyline ( $M = 3.25, SD = 1.06$ );  $t(844) = -5.45, p < .001$ . *Balochistan Express* had significant ANOVA tests for this framing item  $F(1, 83) = 4.23, p = 0.043$  as well as the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*  $F(1, 146) = 8.69, p = 0.004$  and *The Nation*  $F(1, 212) = 10.90, p = 0.001$ . This meant that three of the four regional news outlets, but interestingly not the national news outlet, were more likely to use the terrorism frame in conjunction with the attribution of responsibility frame.

More specific implications of this finding were that these regional news outlets were more likely to identify both a solution to the Salala incident as well as convey a sense of urgency for its resolution when terrorism framing was also leveraged by the news media. Framing the Salala incident in terms of terrorism also increased human interest references ( $M = 0.76, SD = 0.78$ ) compared to articles without this framing item ( $M = 0.62, SD = 0.86$ );  $t(844) = -2.36, p = 0.018$ . However, after conducting ANOVA tests, *Frontier Post* was the only news outlet that demonstrated a statistically significant increase in human interest framing when national terrorism framing was also present  $F(1, 102) = 4.35, p = 0.04$ .

Conflict framing items were also more likely to be connected to terrorism ( $M = 2.97, SD = 0.72$ ) than those articles that didn't cite it ( $M = 2.58, SD = 0.79$ );  $t(844) = -7.02, p < .001$ . *Dawn* had a statistically significant ANOVA test for the conflict frame in favor of those articles with the national/international terrorism framing item  $F(1, 293) = 15.27, p < .001$ , as did the *Frontier Post*  $F(1, 102) = 11.79, p < .001$ , *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*  $F(1, 146) = 7.19, p = 0.008$  and *The Nation*  $F(1, 212) = 10.67, p = 0.001$ . In other words, all of the news outlets, with the exception of the *Balochistan Express*, were more likely to tie the conflict between the Pakistani government and NATO/U.S. with the broader struggle against terrorism. Finally, the terrorism framing item increased the framing item totals for the economic consequences frame ( $M = 0.35, SD = 0.72$ ) than those without terrorism ( $M = 0.22, SD = 0.62$ );  $t(844) = -2.70, p = 0.007$ . However, one-way ANOVAs of the terrorism frame, sorted by news outlet, did not identify any statistically significant differences regarding the use of the economic consequences frame in conjunction with the terrorism framing item.

**Table 12*****Overlap between National Framing and Generic Frames***

<b>Attribution of Responsibility frame</b>	<b>Foreign Affairs</b>	<b>Sovereignty/ Military</b>	<b>Larger Scale Terrorism</b>
1) Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?	<i>n</i> =447 (52.84%)	<i>n</i> =374 (44.21%)	<i>n</i> =272 (32.15%)
2) Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?	<i>n</i> =463 (54.73%)	<i>n</i> =377 (44.56%)	<i>n</i> =278 (32.86%)
3) Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?	<i>n</i> =395 (46.69%)	<i>n</i> =317 (37.47%)	<i>n</i> =246 (29.08%)
4) Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?	<i>n</i> =35 (4.14%)	<i>n</i> =32 (3.78%)	<i>n</i> =30 (3.55%)
5) Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?	<i>n</i> =294 (34.75%)	<i>n</i> =263 (31.09%)	<i>n</i> =195 (23.05%)
<b>Human Interest frame</b>	<b>Foreign Affairs</b>	<b>Sovereignty/ Military</b>	<b>Larger Scale Terrorism</b>
1) Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?	<i>n</i> =15 (1.77%)	<i>n</i> =16 (1.89%)	<i>n</i> =13 (1.54%)
2) Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?	<i>n</i> =206 (24.35%)	<i>n</i> =212 (25.06%)	<i>n</i> =158 (18.68%)
3) Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?	<i>n</i> =37 (4.37%)	<i>n</i> =35 (4.14%)	<i>n</i> =41 (4.85%)
4) Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?	<i>n</i> =3 (0.35%)	<i>n</i> =2 (0.24%)	<i>n</i> =2 (0.24%)

**Table 12 Continued**

<b>Conflict frame</b>	<b>Foreign Affairs</b>	<b>Sovereignty/ Military</b>	<b>Larger Scale Terrorism</b>
1) Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?	<i>n</i> =456 (53.90%)	<i>n</i> =370 (43.74%)	<i>n</i> =276 (32.62%)
2) Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?	<i>n</i> =311 (36.76%)	<i>n</i> =282 (33.33%)	<i>n</i> =212 (25.06%)
3) Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?	<i>n</i> =456 (53.90%)	<i>n</i> =368 (43.50%)	<i>n</i> =275 (32.51%)
4) Does the story refer to winners and losers?	<i>n</i> =78 (9.22%)	<i>n</i> =57 (6.74%)	<i>n</i> =68 (8.04%)
<b>Morality frame</b>	<b>Foreign Affairs</b>	<b>Sovereignty/ Military</b>	<b>Larger Scale Terrorism</b>
1) Does the story contain any moral message?	<i>n</i> =40 (4.73%)	<i>n</i> =40 (4.73%)	<i>n</i> =34 (4.02%)
2) Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?	<i>n</i> =106 (12.53%)	<i>n</i> =119 (14.07%)	<i>n</i> =86 (10.17%)
3) Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?	<i>n</i> =10 (1.18%)	<i>n</i> =12 (1.42%)	<i>n</i> =4 (0.47%)
<b>Economic Consequences frame</b>	<b>Foreign Affairs</b>	<b>Sovereignty/ Military</b>	<b>Larger Scale Terrorism</b>
1) Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?	<i>n</i> =56 (6.62%)	<i>n</i> =39 (4.61%)	<i>n</i> =42 (4.96%)
2) Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?	<i>n</i> =39 (4.61%)	<i>n</i> =31 (3.66%)	<i>n</i> =23 (2.72%)
3) Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?	<i>n</i> =39 (4.61%)	<i>n</i> =33 (3.90%)	<i>n</i> =33 (3.90%)

## *Regional Frames*

*Insurgency.* The first regional frame discussed the topic of local/regional insurgencies. A series of independent samples t-tests with the insurgent framing item as the independent variables and each of the five generic frames as the dependent variables did not indicate any significant statistical differences. Further ANOVAs with the local insurgency framing item as the independent variable and the five generic frames as dependent variables sorted by news outlet did not yield any significant *F* statistics, with the exception of the conflict frame. For this frame, *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* had significantly lower framing item means for those that did not have the local insurgency framing item score over those that did  $F(1, 146) = 7.20, p = 0.008$ . In other words, the insurgents framing item did not affect the prevalence of the generic frames overall, except for the one instance noted above. However, only a relatively small percentage of articles, 5%, covered the concept of local insurgency. Of these, *Dawn* was the media outlet with the highest number of articles,  $n=20$  (7%), discussing the Salala incident alongside this issue (See Table 2). *The Nation* was the second largest author of this frame,  $n=11$  articles (5%).

*Local Politicians.* The second regional framing item engaged the topic of local politicians/political parties and their role in the aftermath of the Salala incident. Independent samples t-tests indicated that the means of local politicians framing item were not equal among the news outlets for the human interest frame. For this frame, the mean number of human interest framing items for those articles that referenced local politicians ( $M = 0.95, SD = 0.94$ ) was higher than those that did not ( $M = 0.59, SD = 0.79$ ),  $t(844) = -5.27, p < .001$ . ANOVAs of the local politicians framing item as the

independent variable by the five generic frames as the dependent variables sorted by news media outlet indicated that human interest framing increased in the presence of the local politician framing item for three of the news outlets, including: *Dawn*  $F(1, 293) = 13.28, p < .001$ , *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*  $F(1, 146) = 8.22, p = 0.005$ , and *The Nation*  $F(1, 212) = 8.92, p = 0.003$ .

Independent samples t-tests with the local politician framing item as the independent variable and the conflict frame as the dependent variable also indicated that the conflict frame was more likely to be portrayed in conjunction with the local politicians framing item. These t-tests indicated that the mean number of conflict framing items for those articles that cited local politicians was higher ( $M = 2.85, SD = 0.66$ ) than those articles that did not ( $M = 2.67, SD = 0.81$ ),  $t(844) = -2.79, p = 0.005$ . ANOVA tests with the local politicians framing item as the independent variable and the conflict frame as the dependent variable indicated that two news outlets, *Dawn* and *The Nation*, had higher mean conflict framing items when the local politician framing item was also used in reporting on the incident  $F(1, 293) = 5.33, p = 0.022$  and  $F(1, 212) = 5.50, p = 0.020$ , respectively.

Similarly, t-tests for the local politician/political party framing item was significant for the morality frame. Mean morality framing items were higher for those stories that cited local politicians ( $M = 0.58, SD = 0.76$ ) than those that didn't ( $M = 0.34, SD = 0.66$ ),  $t(844) = -4.28, p < .001$ . ANOVAs showed that three of the five news outlets were more likely to convey information regarding the Salala incident in terms of the morality frame when the local politicians framing item was also present, including: *Dawn*  $F(1, 293) = 6.91, p = 0.009$ , *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*  $F(1,$

146) = 4.51,  $p = 0.035$ , as well as *The Nation*  $F(1, 212) = 5.45, p = 0.020$ . Inversely coding the attribution of responsibility framing item “Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?” caused the ANOVA test for the *Frontier Post* to be significantly higher for the attribution of responsibility frame when the local politician framing item was also used  $F(1, 102) = 5.44, p = 0.022$ .

Overall, the theme of local politicians was present in 22% of the Salala incident dataset (See Table 2). *Dawn* had the highest number of articles with local politicians, with 73 articles (25%). *Balochistan Express* was second highest propagator of this theme at 19 articles (22%) followed by *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* that published 31 articles (21%) framing the Salala incident in these terms.

Local/Regional Impact. For the local/regional impact framing item, two generic frames, the human interest frame and the economic consequences frame, had significant independent samples t-tests. Use of the human interest frame was greater for those that also had local/regional impact ( $M = 1.13, SD = 1.12$ ) as opposed to those that didn't ( $M = 0.60, SD = 0.77$ ),  $t(844) = -6.21, p < .001$ . ANOVA tests indicated human interest framing was more likely in conjunction with local impact framing for three of the five news outlets including, *Dawn*  $F(1, 293) = 22.83, p < .001$ , *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*  $F(1, 146) = 6.49, p = 0.012$  as well as *The Nation*  $F(1, 212) = 8.47, p = 0.004$ . Similarly, those articles that cited local/regional impact also had more economic framing items ( $M = 0.49, SD = 0.86$ ) than those that did not ( $M = 0.23, SD = 0.62$ ),  $t(844) = -3.78, p < .001$ . However, ANOVAs by media source only indicated two news outlets that demonstrated a significant increase in economic consequences framing

when local impact framing was present: *Dawn*  $F(1, 293) = 12.19, p < .001$  and the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*  $F(1, 146) = 4.29, p = 0.040$ .

Additionally, one news outlet, *Balochistan Express*, had a significant ANOVA for this regional framing item compared to the attribution of responsibility frame  $F(1, 83) = 4.63, p = 0.034$ . However, when the framing item “Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?” was inversely coded *Balochistan Express* did not have significant  $F$  statistics for the attribution of responsibility frame, but *Dawn* did  $F(1, 293) = 4.35, p = 0.038$ . These ANOVAs indicated higher framing item totals for those articles that also contained the local impact frame. However, this was not true overall as the independent samples  $t$ -test for the attribution of responsibility frame was not significant for this framing item when the framing item was coded inversely.



**Table 13*****Regional Framing in Terms of Generic Frames***

<b>Attribution of Responsibility frame</b>	<b>Local Insurgency</b>	<b>Local Politicians</b>	<b>Local Impact</b>
1) Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?	<i>n</i> =39 (4.61%)	<i>n</i> =167 (19.74%)	<i>n</i> =96 (11.35%)
2) Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?	<i>n</i> =41 (4.85%)	<i>n</i> =180 (21.28%)	<i>n</i> =102 (12.06%)
3) Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?	<i>n</i> =26 (3.07%)	<i>n</i> =143 (16.90%)	<i>n</i> =86 (10.17%)
4) Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?	<i>n</i> =3 (0.35%)	<i>n</i> =20 (2.36%)	<i>n</i> =10 (1.18%)
5) Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?	<i>n</i> =23 (2.72%)	<i>n</i> =129 (15.25%)	<i>n</i> =70 (8.27%)
<b>Human Interest frame</b>	<b>Local Insurgency</b>	<b>Local Politicians</b>	<b>Local Impact</b>
1) Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?	<i>n</i> =2 (0.24%)	<i>n</i> =18 (2.13%)	<i>n</i> =16 (1.89%)
2) Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?	<i>n</i> =20 (2.36%)	<i>n</i> =116 (13.71%)	<i>n</i> =58 (6.86%)
3) Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?	<i>n</i> =12 (1.42%)	<i>n</i> =37 (4.37%)	<i>n</i> =40 (4.73%)
4) Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?	<i>n</i> =0 (0.00%)	<i>n</i> =4 (0.47%)	<i>n</i> =4 (0.47%)
<b>Conflict frame</b>	<b>Local Insurgency</b>	<b>Local Politicians</b>	<b>Local Impact</b>
1) Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?	<i>n</i> =42 (4.96%)	<i>n</i> =180 (21.28%)	<i>n</i> =100 (11.82%)

**Table 13 Continued**

<b>Conflict frame (cont.)</b>	<b>Local Insurgency</b>	<b>Local Politicians</b>	<b>Local Impact</b>
2) Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?	<i>n</i> =26 (3.07%)	<i>n</i> =148 (17.49%)	<i>n</i> =66 (7.80%)
3) Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?	<i>n</i> =42 (4.96%)	<i>n</i> =179 (21.16%)	<i>n</i> =99 (11.70%)
4) Does the story refer to winners and losers?	<i>n</i> =8 (0.95%)	<i>n</i> =17 (2.01%)	<i>n</i> =18 (2.13%)
<b>Morality frame</b>	<b>Local Insurgency</b>	<b>Local Politicians</b>	<b>Local Impact</b>
1) Does the story contain any moral message?	<i>n</i> =3 (0.35%)	<i>n</i> =22 (2.60%)	<i>n</i> =11 (1.30%)
2) Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tenets?	<i>n</i> =10 (1.18%)	<i>n</i> =80 (9.46%)	<i>n</i> =35 (4.14%)
3) Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?	<i>n</i> =0 (0.00%)	<i>n</i> =5 (0.59%)	<i>n</i> =2 (0.24%)
<b>Economic Consequences frame</b>	<b>Local Insurgency</b>	<b>Local Politicians</b>	<b>Local Impact</b>
1) Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?	<i>n</i> =7 (0.83%)	<i>n</i> =16 (1.89%)	<i>n</i> =18 (2.13%)
2) Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?	<i>n</i> =5 (0.59%)	<i>n</i> =13 (1.54%)	<i>n</i> =16 (1.89%)
3) Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?	<i>n</i> =6 (0.71%)	<i>n</i> =18 (2.13%)	<i>n</i> =17 (2.01%)

## DISCUSSION

### Overview

The intent of this study was to examine the prevalence of generic frames as well as regional and national framing in the aftermath of the Salala incident. The researcher

found that the national and regional news outlets framed the incident primarily in terms of the conflict and the attribution of responsibility frames. Regional news outlets were more likely to integrate the morality frame into reporting than *Dawn* as a national news outlet. However, the difference in human interest framing was not statistically significant between the regional and national press. For the issue-specific frames targeting national and local issues, the regional and national news outlets did not perform as expected. There were no statistical differences among the press outlets for the three regional framing items. One-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts demonstrated that *Dawn* was statistically more likely to frame the Salala incident in national terms such as foreign relations and national/international terrorism. However, the regional press was more likely, in some instances, to leverage the national framing item of border sovereignty/security than *Dawn*. This research also demonstrated that, although the regional news outlets did not restrict themselves to regional framing of the incident, there were some indications that regional press did frame the issue in similar terms.

Overall, the researcher believes that deductive generic framing is an effective means of conducting research regarding the Pakistani English-speaking press. The researcher found that the variance explained for this study was quite close to the Semetko's and Valkenburg's exploratory research, 53.8% as opposed to their 54.2%, demonstrating that this model is generalizable to this population (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 99). Furthermore, nearly all of the stories regarding the aftermath of the Salala incident contained the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames, showing the high degree to which these frames were visible in the Pakistani English-

speaking press. However, Varimax-rotated loaded factor solutions demonstrated that a six-factor solution was a more effective method of explaining the variance in this problem set than the five-factor solution proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 99). More details regarding the similarities of this study to Semetko's and Valkenburg's research may be found in the RQ1 section of the discussion.

## **H1**

The first hypothesis treated deductive, generic framing in the Pakistani news media coverage of the Salala incident. One of the clear and consistent Pakistani media themes early in the aftermath was that the U.S. and NATO were responsible for the Salala incident. Pakistani officials quickly took measures to isolate NATO from using the land routes to Afghanistan, thereby cutting off the most efficient and cost-effective means of resupplying ISAF forces, as well as decried NATO's actions on the international scene. While not a conflict in the sense of open war between Pakistan and the U.S./NATO, there were deep and palpable wounds between the two groups that were reflected in the news media. Through a repeated measures ANOVA, the researcher found that the conflict and attribution of responsibility frames were the most prominently used frames by all five news outlets for the designated timeframe, thereby supporting the first hypothesis:

H1) The news media will utilize the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames more than other generic frames, including the economic consequences, the human interest and the morality frames.

While the conflict frame was the most prominent among all of the frames, the difference in means between it and the attribution of responsibility frame was not significant in the repeated measures ANOVA. In fact, over 95% of the articles related stories regarding the incident in terms of the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames. In contrast, the human interest, morality and economic consequences frames appeared in less than half of the articles discussing the incident. The proliferation of the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames was demonstrative of the open tension between Pakistan and the U.S. regarding the incident's resolution, with the former seeking for an apology for the incident in exchange for opening the supply routes, while the latter sought to offer condolences for the same results.

From the perspective of framing, one interesting aspect of the Salala border post incident was that elements of the government were both the protagonists and the antagonists in the problem set. On the one hand, there was NATO, as a multinational conglomeration of military forces, and on the other, were multiple branches of the Pakistani government. These two, oft times contradictory forces in the aftermath of the incident, laid the framework that lent itself towards the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames. Part of the criteria for inclusion in the dataset was a direct reference to the Salala incident as well as containing the word "NATO" in the text. These criteria may have skewed responses toward some elements of the attribution of responsibility frame, as a number of articles referenced this event as the "NATO attack" thereby serving the double function of qualifying them for inclusion in the dataset as well as attributing blame to some level of government for the problem set.

However, there did not seem to be a clear consensus for solutions to the issue as well as timeframe for its resolution. For instance, calling upon the government to take the matter immediately to the United Nations demonstrated a clear sense that the problem required “urgent action” more than articles conveying that the matter would be discussed in Parliamentary committees. While some news outlets were quick to identify possible remedies for the incident, other critics expressed their feelings on the matter without proposing a way forward. These articles primarily emphasized the situation at hand. Recommendations for resolution to the issue varied greatly and ranged from a tit-for-tat military solution to blockading the borders to preventing NATO supplies from crossing into Afghanistan to abstaining from the war on terrorism, among others. *Dawn* was the most likely both to suggest a solution as well as demand a resolution. As the news outlet catering to Pakistani elites, *Dawn* may have been reflecting their reactions to the incident, thereby attempting to show both action to resolve the incident as well as maintain the issue at the forefront of political thought, thereby ensuring that the situation did not return to the status quo prior to the incident.

One challenge to the attribution of responsibility frame was the framing item “Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?”. The nature of the incident was such that there was not one single entity inside or outside of the U.S. or NATO that consistently drew ire for the incident. Some isolated articles did attempt to ascribe responsibility for the incident to one single individual, such as former Pakistani head of state, Pervez Musharraf, for cultivating the relationship with the U.S. that led to the incident, but such references were few and far between. Rather, the authors of the articles more often leaned toward

highlighting the problematic relationship. From a statistical standpoint, this framing item did not correlate well with the other 18 generic framing items. When forced to a five-factor model, this framing item did not correlate with any of the other items at the minimum level of 0.30 or above for inclusion in the model. A six-factor model suggested a distant relationship between this framing item and others from the morality frame.

The conflict frame was also prominently featured in reporting on the Salala incident for some of the same reasons as the attribution of responsibility frame. The Varimax-rotated six-factor solution indicated that two conflict framing items were most closely linked to the attribution of responsibility frame. In tandem with the attribution of responsibility framing item “Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?” were the conflict frame items “Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?” and “Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?” These results emphasize the role that the U.S. and Pakistani governments played in the incident as both the culpable party for the incident as well as the group(s) that lost the most in the aftermath, meaning that they also represented two or more sides to the Salala incident.

For the conflict frame, there were disagreements on how the incident could have occurred from the outset of the tragedy. From the Pakistani perspective, the press echoed some senior voices who clamored that it could not have been a mistake due to the intensity and duration of the incident while the American side urged for calm and restraint as NATO/U.S. CENTCOM conducted its investigation. Second, there were

added challenges as the NATO allies urged Pakistan to participate in the Bonn Conference to discuss the future of Afghanistan with no breakthrough prior to the summit on December 5, 2011. Third, the Pakistanis unilaterally closed the border posts with Afghanistan to NATO supply trucks as well as evicted U.S. forces from the Shamsi airbase as signs of displeasure with the situation at hand. While the U.S. did not protest the last action in the Pakistani press, the closure of the border posts was a recurrent theme. Finally, there was the disagreement on the necessity of offering an apology for the incident, with the Pakistani government highlighting the need for it and the U.S. side offering only condolences.

Although there were multiple avenues for contention between the two parties, the news outlets did not uniformly indicate that there were irreconcilable differences between the U.S. and Pakistan. Within the conflict frame, the framing item “Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?” was less likely to appear in the press than two of the more prominent framing items “Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?” or “Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?”. While the latter two framing items were present in more than 95% of the articles, “Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?” appeared in only 65% of the articles. In other words, it was clear in many instances that there was a conflict between Pakistan and the U.S., but the parties did not directly reproach each other within the framework of the news article.

However, the framing item “Does the story refer to winners and losers?” was problematic for the conflict frame. This was the least likely conflict framing item to appear and was present in only about 13% of the articles. Statistically speaking, “Does



the story refer to winners and losers?” also had the lowest levels of correlation to the overarching conflict frame (0.51). The Western analogy of a race with winners and losers simply did not apply very well in the context of the Salala incident. For instance, many articles did not refer to a winner in the process though the loser was clear. In other words, the outcomes for the incident weren’t dichotomous; it wasn’t necessary to have a winner to have a loser for the incident.

A loaded Varimax-rotated six-factor solution indicated that this last framing item was most closely connected to “Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another” from the conflict frame and “Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?”. Many of the instances of this particular human interest framing item involved emotion evoking terminology as opposed to individual vignettes; therefore, it would make logical sense that it would be the closest aligned to instances of parties reproaching each other and discussions of winners and losers. The researcher believes that in the context of the Salala incident, the framing item “Does the story refer to winners and losers?” would have acquired responses from a larger proportion of the dataset had it been reworded as “Does the story refer to winners and/or losers?”

## **H2**

The second hypothesis examined how the Pakistani press utilized the human interest and morality frames in reporting the aftermath of the Salala incident. Semetko and Valkenburg indicated that less serious news outlets were more likely to employ the human interest frame in their reporting. For their research, the morality frame was not prominent, but they did note that the media leveraged this frame mostly via television

(Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 106). Since the few instances that this frame was identified during their exploratory study was on television, this meant that that this frame could be more prominent among less serious news outlets if it were used. For purposes of this study, the regional news outlets were considered as less serious than *Dawn*, which caters to the Pakistani elite, due to the presumed regional focus of their intended audience. If the regional news outlets were to follow the trend described by Semetko and Valkenburg, it would be likely that the regional news outlets would cover the Salala incident more in terms of the human interest and morality frames, than would *Dawn*. Therefore:

H2) Regional news outlets will be more likely to leverage the human interest H2a) and morality H2b) frames than *Dawn*.

*H2a*

The second hypothesis for the human interest frame was not supported. Frequency charts suggested that three of the four regional news outlets, *Balochistan Express*, *Frontier Post* and *The Nation* were slightly more likely to use the human interest frame than *Dawn*, but the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* was less likely than the national news outlet to use this frame (See Table 9). However, a one-way ANOVA with planned contrasts revealed that the means between the news outlets were not statistically significant. Therefore, there was a difference between some of the regional outlets and the national press in utilizing this frame, but it was only slight. As previously noted, the human interest frame was not a prominent frame in this dataset and it only appeared in approximately half of the news articles. This story could have

lent itself fairly easily to human interest stories and vignettes since a number of military personnel were wounded or killed in the airstrikes, but the dataset did not indicate that the news outlets leveraged this aspect in their reporting as much as they could have. Instead, the media used human interest framing to describe the impact of the supply blockade on individual local truckers as well the impact of the attack on the families of the bereaved.

For the human interest frame, one framing item “Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?” stood out and occurred the most frequently of all of the framing items in this category. Pakistani reporting overall seemed to be more rife with emotion garnering adjectives than one might expect from the norms of the Western press, although there was a dearth of personal vignettes in the Pakistani press for this incident. For instance, describing the incident ranged the gamut of “tragic incident”, “NATO airstrike” and “death of 24 soldiers” to more controversial terms such as “NATO attack”, “scores of Pakistani soldiers embraced *shahadat*” (i.e. martyrdom) and “unprovoked/deliberate”. While not seeking empathy, using emotion provoking language may have assisted the journalists in connecting with the reader at the emotional level to advocate for national solidarity. Overall, most of the emotion garnering adjectives in the articles dealt with feelings of anger ranging the gamut from annoyance with the government to ire against NATO/ISAF for the airstrikes. Another common feeling present in the reporting was disbelief that the incident could have been an accident which extended, in some instances, to attempts at explaining the incident through various conspiracy theories. However, the researcher noted that the *Daily*

*Regional Times of Sindh* used more docile terminology in analyzing the event, which may have contributed to fewer human interest framing items compared to the other regional news outlets.

## *H2b*

For the morality frame, this hypothesis was substantiated. The Pakistani regional press was more likely to discuss the Salala incident in terms of morality than *Dawn*. A one-way ANOVA with planned contrasts for the morality frame revealed that the national news outlet was the least likely to frame the incident in terms of the morality frame. Further planned contrasts indicated that all of regional news outlets with the exception of the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*, had statistically higher means for this frame than *Dawn*. Since *Dawn* is a national level news outlet as well as part of the elite press, it is not surprising that it provided a more secular viewpoint than the regional news outlets. While there were fewer instances of the morality frame than most of the other frames, the researcher noted that there were still a number of references to morality and religious tenets in spite of the fact that these articles were published in English, thus intended for a smaller sub-set of the population.

Framing the Salala incident in terms of the morality frame primarily included references to religious tenets as opposed to “social prescriptions” or “moral messages”. References to religious beliefs occurred under several different circumstances within the context of the Salala incident. First, the regional press often referred to the victims of the tragedy in terms of martyrs as well as discussed prayers for the departed. Second, the regional press also related information concerning the Muslim religious observance

of *Muharram*, which was ongoing at the time of the incident. There were some tangential conversations regarding the significance of *Muharram* to the audience as well as suggestions for incorporating religious teachings into daily life. Finally, there were also references to *jihad* as well as unrelated religious references of respect for the anniversary of the passing of Benazir Bhutto, former leader of Pakistan. However, in the Pakistani news media, morality and religious tenets did not necessarily relate to each other within the frame. For instance, some articles spoke of the deceased as martyrs as a sign of respect for those who had passed away without further discussing any other religious or moral beliefs in the article.

Compared to the other regional press, the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* was consistently more secular than the other media outlets. It was more similar to *Dawn* in terms of the morality frame. Specifically, *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* was as likely as *Dawn* to use the framing items “Does the story contain any moral message?” and “Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?”. In both instances, *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* was actually the least likely to frame the incident in these terms, less so that even *Dawn*, although there was not a statistically significant difference between these news outlets. *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* did, however, refer to religious tenets more than *Dawn*, roughly 29% of the time. *Dawn*, however, still referred to religious values in 19% of the articles. The researcher postulates that based on the increased levels of secularity demonstrated by the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* that this news outlet may be considered a more serious news outlet than some of its regional counterparts.

### H3

The third hypothesis treated the issue-specific themes of regional and national framing. The intent of this hypothesis was to ascertain if the regional press would favor region specific framing over national framing, and vice versa. Examples of national framing could include discussing Pakistani foreign relations as well as the broader impact of the Salala incident in the multinational fight against terrorism. On the regional framing side, local news outlets might focus their efforts on the how the NATO supply blockade impacted the local economy or influenced local political affairs. The researcher postulated that both groups of news outlets would be more likely to report on issues that were closer both in proximity and interest to the readership. Thus:

H3) Regional and national news outlets will frame the incident differently in terms of local and national issues. *Dawn* will be more likely to promote national news frames than the regional news outlets H3a). Conversely, the regional press will convey regional frames more frequently than *Dawn* H3b).

#### H3a

However, the third hypothesis was only partially substantiated for both regional and national news outlets. The results of the content analysis partially confirmed the third hypothesis for *Dawn's* use of national framing. *Dawn* was the second most likely to frame the incident in terms of Pakistani foreign affairs, less than *Balochistan Express*, but more than *The Nation*, *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*, and *Frontier Post*. Although *Balochistan Express* had a higher mean for this framing item, a one-way ANOVA with planned contrasts indicated *Dawn* was more likely to use the foreign

policy frame than the regional news outlets. Further planned contrasts indicated that *Dawn's* mean for this framing item was statistically higher than *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* and *The Nation*.

Conversely, *Dawn* was the third most likely to use the border security/national sovereignty framing item. A one-way ANOVA with planned contrasts indicated that *Dawn* was not the most likely to leverage this framing item. Instead, planned contrasts indicated that *Balochistan Express* and *Frontier Post* were more likely to leverage this frame. *Balochistan Express* and *Frontier Post* featured border security and national sovereignty in over 60% of their articles on the incident (See Table 1). It seems plausible that the reason why these two regional news outlets framed this incident so prominently in terms of border security and infractions of national sovereignty was due to the common borders that their provinces share with Afghanistan. Their land borders served as the gateway to resupplying the antagonists of the Salala incident, NATO/U.S. forces. Therefore, this framing item may have touched upon a topic that was directly related to these two news outlets' constituencies.

Finally, *Dawn* was the second most likely, after *Frontier Post*, to cite the national framing item discussing terrorism and the implications for combatting it. In this instance, the differences between *Frontier Post* and *Dawn* were not statistically significant according to a one-way ANOVA with planned contrasts. However, *Dawn* was statistically more likely than two of the three remaining news outlets, *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* and *Balochistan Express*, to cite national terrorism in the aftermath of the Salala incident.

Overall, the findings for the national framing items highlight that these issues are not uniquely the purview of the national press although *Dawn* was among the most likely to frame in these terms. For the foreign policy item, a number of very significant events occurred at the international stage in November and December 2011 that had regional ramifications. For instance, the Bonn Summit on Afghanistan, that Pakistan boycotted in early December 2011, focused on regional stability for Afghanistan. Finding peace and stability for the regions just over the border from Pakistan has had decades-long implications for many areas of the country. Additionally, the debate over renegotiating the terms of engagement with the U.S. and NATO, including the closure of the landlines, had significant regional consequences as well. It impacted local trade and commerce as well as spoke to overarching regionally unpopular issues such as drone warfare. Provincial implications for the national sovereignty/border security framing item were related to a palpable sense of national pride relayed in the local press. In many instances, the journalists and their sources vehemently decried the infringement of sovereignty on Pakistani soil. Finally, the Salala incident renewed the discussion of Pakistan's role in combatting terrorism. Some suggested that Pakistan had paid a heavy price, both in terms of resources as well as loss of life, for this struggle. From a regional perspective, this meant that some outlets focused their arguments on how Pakistan should withdraw from this fight and that it was not their fight.

The researcher would like to note that although the Salala incident storyline began with NATO searching for terrorist elements on the Afghan side of the border and discussions of the two border posts being constructed to deter terrorism on the Pakistani



side, national terrorism and local/regional insurgencies were not featured at the same levels in the aftermath of the incident. Local insurgencies did not play a prominent role in press reports about the incident. At the national level, *Dawn* found a way to engage the readership into the question of larger-scale terrorism and the commitment that Pakistan, as a nation, should have in the process. Most of the regional outlets used this framing item in 30-40% of the stories. However, *Balochistan Express* only discussed national terrorism in 15% of the articles on the incident (See Table 1).

This begs the question of why national terrorism wasn't featured as prominently in *Balochistan Express*. After all, Balochistan did experience some of the same problems related to terrorism as its neighbor, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, and *Frontier Post* was the most likely to use the national terrorism frame in the discussion. The researcher postulates that this difference was due to the secondary dialogue of elimination of drone strikes, which was occurring in tandem with the aftermath of the Salala incident. Critics of drone warfare called for an end of these strikes as part of a renegotiation of bilateral relations (ANSA Notiziario Generale in Italiano, 2012). However, Balochistan wasn't a target of these drone strikes until 2016, well after the 2011 incident (Dawn, 2016). Otherwise, the strikes primarily occurred in the north of Pakistan in the tribal agencies, closer in proximity to the readership of the *Frontier Post*, *The Nation* and *Dawn*, than to *Balochistan Express* and *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*. Previously, Balochistan was considered a "no-go" area for drone strikes under the Obama administration (Dawn, 2016).

*H3b*

The second part of the third hypothesis was not supported. While some of the regional outlets such as *Frontier Post* and *Balochistan Express* did frame the incident more in terms of local insurgents/militants than *Dawn*, this was not true across the board for the remaining two framing items. In fact, *Dawn* was the most likely to use the local politician and local impact frames. However, the one-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts didn't suggest any statistical differences, meaning that there were only slight differences in framing local issues, if any, among the regional and the national news outlets.

The researcher attributes this relative homogeneity of reporting on regional matters to the press focusing on how the Salala incident should be used to redirect and reset international relations with the U.S. and NATO. Both the regional and national press viewed this event as national in nature and did not tend to frame it in terms that would characterize it as a national event with regional implications. Moreover, the regional press did not display a tendency to revert to local news as a means of augmenting and personalizing the Salala incident for their audiences. Overall, this was closer to the findings of Lawlor (2015) who found that there were not major differences between the regional and national press in her research on UK and Canadian immigration. Although there were fewer differences in regional news framing, the researcher did find some important differences between the regional and national press for certain aspects of generic framing. These differences will be described further in the RQ2 section.

## **RQ1**

Studying the Salala incident provided a rich dataset for evaluating the applicability of Semetko's and Valkenburg's (2000) common indicators in the Pakistani English-speaking print media. Their methodology for standardizing content analysis facilitates and streamlines evaluating broader overarching topics such as the attribution of responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality and economic consequences frames across multiple media outlets. However, using this framework does not preclude individual researchers from also tailoring issue-specific frames to advance scholarship in related fields. One of the overarching questions in studying the Salala incident was if using broad pre-defined framing items would produce meaningful results even though the setting for this research was quite distant from Western Europe where the research method originated. Furthermore, there is a need to understand if this information will be consistent with previous research conducted in these fields. Therefore:

RQ1) Is deductive generic framing an effective means of characterizing this incident in the Pakistani press? Will incidence rates and uses of generic frames in the Pakistani English news media be similar to previous research? Is one or more generic frames located in each article?

Based on the results from this dataset, performing a content analysis using generic frames was an adequate means for evaluating media coverage of the Salala incident. Cronbach's alphas for the five generic frames indicated that all had sufficient scale reliability, demonstrating that this model was adequate for use in the study. Variance explained for a five-factor model was 53.8%, roughly comparable to what Semetko and Valkenburg found for their model of 54.2% (Semetko & Valkenburg,

2000, p. 99). The model for Semetko and Valkenburg was an unweighted Varimax-rotated factor solution. The current researcher also attempted a six-factor loaded solution and found that it aligned slightly more closely to the five frames and explained 59% of the variance.

This suggests that while generic framing may be appropriate for this research topic, additional factors may be warranted to explain the results for this particular dataset beyond the attribution of responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality and the economic consequences frames. For instance, three of the frames, the human interest, morality and economic consequences frames, gravitated towards framing items from their respective frames in the Varimax-rotated loaded five- and six-factor solutions. However, framing items from the attribution of responsibility and the conflict frames did not clearly align with their own frames. In both the five- and six-factor solutions, the conflict frame was split apart into two separate factors.

The six-factor Varimax-rotated loaded factor solution explained more variance and had cleaner delineations than the five-factor solution. For instance, this solution separated the conflict frame into two separate factors. By dividing the conflict frame into two segments, it made a delineation between “Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?” and “Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?” on one side and “Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?” and “Does the story refer to winners and losers?” on the other. By adding “Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?” to the first group, it suggests that this portion of the conflict frame functioned as what could be described as a more factual

frame acknowledging that there was a conflict. Combining “Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?” with the remainder of the conflict frame proposes that there is a distinction between the emotional elements of the disagreement and the fact that there was a disagreement.

The five-factor solution also divided the conflict frame into two as described above, but some of the other framing items did not clearly align with one specific factor and, therefore, this was not an ideal solution for describing the model for the Salala incident. One framing item, “Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?”, did not have a factor loading above 0.30 to link it with the other frames. This suggests that this framing item was not closely related to the generic frames in this study. Another framing item, “Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?”, could be in three factors: morality, human interest or attribution of responsibility/conflict framing items. A second framing item, “Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?”, correlated with framing items from the conflict and attribution of responsibility frames. This last point was not surprising given the correlation noted between the attribution of responsibility frame and the conflict frame.

Finding additional factors in the content analysis of generic frames is not new to this field of research. Igartua et al. also found six factors when analyzing the framing of Latin America in several Spanish news outlets. Similar to this research on the Salala incident, Igartua et al. had a difficult time placing “Does the story suggest that an

individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?” with other factors in the attribution of responsibility frame. Their research indicated there was a weaker correlation between this issue and their equivalent to Semetko’s and Valkenburg’s framing item “Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries?”. These two framing items constituted the sixth factor for their content analysis (Igartua, 2005, p. 365).

Another method of evaluating the effectiveness of the entire model of generic frames would be to examine how many articles did not contain any of these framing items. The researcher found that only one article in the entire dataset did not contain any of the generic frames. Combining the totals for the attribution of responsibility frame, the human interest frame, the conflict frame, the morality frame and the economic consequences did not produce a high enough value of Cronbach’s alpha to produce a scale of the five generic frames. However, individually, the Pakistani press outlets used the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames upwards of 99% and 96% of the time, respectively. The human interest frame occurred in almost half of the articles. The morality and economic consequences frames were present in 29% and 17% percent of the articles, respectively. While the high percentage of framing items is a good sign for generalizing the concept generic framing to the Pakistani English-speaking media, the variance explained indicates that this model may be a good fit but not a perfect one.

For the most part, the results from this study were consistent with findings from Semetko’s and Valkenburg’s research. The conflict and the attribution of responsibility frames were indeed the most often used frame in the Salala incident dataset. This

indicated the propensity of news outlets to blame the government, in this case NATO and the U.S., for conducting the attack on the two border posts and to admonish the Pakistani government to act. The dataset, however, noted a trend by some news outlets to demand “urgent” action but failed to specify what this solution might look like (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 106).

However, this study departed from Semetko’s and Valkenburg’s methodology to inversely code the framing item “Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people of society) is responsible for the issue-problem?” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 100-101, 105-106). The results of this study corresponded more closely with the d’Haenens and de Lange research on attitudes towards asylum seekers for this particular framing item. These two researchers found this question to be problematic with their dataset because the factor was negatively charged, leaving them the question of who should bear responsibility for the situation (d’Haenens & de Lange, 2001, p. 859). The Salala incident did not lend itself towards blaming members of society or an individual, nor did it often blame specific leaders for problems that came as a result. Instead, the news outlets used the attribution of responsibility frame to illustrate a broader point regarding the rift in bilateral relations. While not blaming members of society would seem to lend itself towards implying that the government was responsible for the problem, adding this construct to the data analysis portion did not significantly change the results of this research and, therefore, did not contribute towards the study. Therefore, the researcher elected to not inversely code this framing item.

With that said, there may be a cultural component to attributing responsibility for the Salala incident to the government, NATO in this instance, as opposed to specific

elected members of the government or Parliament or even another group for that matter, such as the insurgent elements that NATO attempted to pursue during the tragic event. Iyengar suggested that “episodic” reporting on individual incidents was less likely than “thematic” reporting, or articles that provided context and depth to stories, to attribute responsibility to elected officials or require the same to resolve the situation (Iyengar, 1991, p. 2-3, 137). The Salala incident case study primarily contained reporting that was “episodic”, while there were some stories that were both “episodic” and “thematic” in nature, consistent with Iyengar’s assertion that both kinds of stories may be evident in the same report (Iyengar, 1991, p. 14-15). Examples of “episodic” reporting included articles on public protests, officials decrying the incident, and closure of the border posts, whereas a combination of “episodic” and “thematic” reporting was evident in discussions of the Shamsi airbase closure, cancellation of Pakistan’s participation in the Bonn Summit, and renegotiation of bilateral relations with the United States.

The cultural component arises in the lack of outcry for Pakistani public and/or military officials to be held accountable in the aftermath of the incident. For instance, there did not appear to be any calls for Pakistani government members or military leaders to resign or step aside in the press reporting. Instead, the Pakistani press seemed to unify in condemnation of NATO, a foreign military entity. This would be consistent with the concept that “episodic” reporting does not attribute blame to political leadership (Iyengar, 1991, p. 2-3, 137). However, the press did believe that the Pakistani government could assist in alleviating the situation by changing its approach to fighting terrorism, providing more stringent rules in U.S.-Pakistani bilateral relations, and taking a tougher stance on the international stage with NATO.



Additionally, the researcher found two patterns that emerged during the Pakistani's press' usage of the human interest frame. The first was the traditional one, espoused by *Dawn*, that uses individual vignettes and stories to illustrate the results of a problem. The second was the Pakistani journalists' usage of emotion-provoking terminology to convey the profound sense of grief and outrage over the incident. Unfortunately, this study did not parse the source of this kind of terminology between the journalists and their news sources. However, the researcher did notice many instances when the articles' authors injected value-laden adjectives outside of quotes made by their sources, for instance, describing the attack as "blatant" or "unprovoked". While the first pattern conforms to the research of Neuman et al. (1992), the second does not necessarily conform to the norms of journalistic objectivity because it does not always attribute the sentiments of injustice to third-party news sources. As a result, there were varying levels of objectivity demonstrated in the Salala incident. *Dawn* and the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* were less likely to use the framing item "Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?" and, therefore, more objective in many situations while *The Nation*, *Balochistan Express*, *Frontier Post* were more likely to employ value-laden language in this context.

With this last point, this dataset did indicate that the regional press roughly followed the same trend as found in Semetko's and Valkenburg's research (2000) for the human interest frame, though this difference was slight, and not significant enough to merit statistical differences. Semetko and Valkenburg noted that "less serious" news outlets were more likely to engage in human interest framing (Semetko & Valkenburg,

2000, p. 106). For purposes of the current dissertation research, the more “sensational” press corresponded to the regional news outlets as opposed to the national news outlet, *Dawn*, and as the data demonstrated, *Daily Regional Times of Sindh* as well. While three out of the four news regional news outlets did have higher means for the human interest frame than the national news outlet, this difference was not statistically significant using one-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts. More than empathy, the use of the human interest frame in the framing of the Salala incident was to highlight the sense of frustration and outrage against the U.S. by the journalists and the audience. The researcher observed fewer instances of the Pakistani press using this frame to engender empathy, although when this was the case, it was to relate the circumstances and stories of the victims’ families.

Conflict framing also did not completely conform to the traditional sense of this frame. Neuman et al. (1992) described the conflict frame as an “us vs. them” mentality or the idea of “horse-race politics”. Indeed, in the Salala incident there were two sides, or even three if NATO were included, although two sides was probably a more accurate description of the situation since NATO seemed to endure many of the same challenges in the aftermath of the situation. In the Pakistani press, there was very much an “us vs. them” mentality, where “us” represented the nation of Pakistan and “them” represented the U.S. and, in some instances, NATO. However, the “horse-race” comparison did not seem completely appropriate for this situation. The common indicators for the conflict frame measure this by: first, seeing if there were a disagreement; second, identifying if one side condemned the other; third, seeing if there were two sides to an issue, i.e. “us vs. them”; and finally, identifying if there were winners and losers, i.e. “horse-race

politics”. It was this last issue that problematic for the Salala incident. The Pakistani press was quick to identify who had lost in the situation, but there was not an open dialogue to discuss who had won as a result. For instance, the Pakistani media often cited some of the precursors to the Salala incident such as the “Raymond Davis affair”, the Osama bin Laden raid in May 2011, as examples of Pakistan losing as a result of American actions. However, there was a dearth of press information as to what the U.S. gained as a result of Pakistan’s losses.

Additionally, it was difficult to test how morality framing in this study compared to previous scholarship in this field. Generic framing using the questions from Semetko and Valkenburg did not provide an adequate frame of reference to test the assertion of Neuman et al. (1992) that discussions of morality in the press may come from sources cited in the text as opposed to directly from the news outlet itself. An example of this in the Salala incident would be a politician offering a prayer for the victims as opposed to the journalist encouraging the audience to do the same. Articles referred to religious terms more liberally than what would be expected in Western press. Understanding the situations when religious tenets are cited and from whom they are advocated may be of benefit to those studying the Pakistani media since references to religion are less common in secular Western press.

Finally, the economic consequences frame playing a much smaller role than in Semetko’s and Valkenburg’s research. Unlike their research, where the economic consequences frame was the third highest frame, this frame was one of the lowest in this study (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 105). However, this is not surprising given their finding that the use of generic frame varied according to the subject selected

(Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 107). Overall, only 17% of the articles in the dataset cited one or more of the economic consequences framing items (See Table 6). *Frontier Post* was the most likely to do so, with 24% of its articles having a connection to the financial aspects of the Salala incident. The researcher postulates that this was because of the proximity to the closed border with Afghanistan, and the likelihood that the decision to close the landlines with NATO directly impacted the livelihood of the readership of this news outlet. However, the differences in framing overall were not significant except for the difference between *Frontier Post*, the most likely to use this frame, and *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*, the least likely to frame the incident in terms of economic consequences. It seems possible that the readership for Sindh province was also the least affected province by the economic aftermath of the incident due to it being the furthest away from the land borders with Afghanistan.

## **RQ2**

The second research question took a broader look at differences between regional and national press' usage of generic frames in the aftermath of the Salala incident. The researcher found that there were notable differences between the two media groups for the morality frame as noted in H2b, while the differences between the regional and national news outlets for the human interest frame were slight and not statistically significant as described in H2a. Additionally, the researcher found in H3a some differences between the national foreign relations and terrorism framing items in favor of *Dawn* as well as tendency for some of the regional news outlets to use the national border security/sovereignty framing item. H3b clarified that any differences between the regional and national news outlets were not statistically significant for the

regional framing items. RQ2 expands upon the findings for H2 and explores the extent to which these outlets differed in their usage of the attribution of responsibility, conflict and economic consequences frames, thus:

RQ2) To what extent do regional news outlets differ from the national news media in deductive generic framing?

The results of the content analysis indicated that the regional and national news outlets significantly differed in their generic framing of the Salala incident for two of the five frames: the attribution of responsibility and the morality frames. However, there were still exceptions to these two frames. For instance, while *Dawn's* use of the attribution of responsibility frame was the highest among all five news outlets, it was only statistically significant compared to *Balochistan Express*, which had the lowest mean use of this frame. On the other hand, regional press usage of the morality frame was significantly higher than *Dawn* for all but one outlet, *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*. In addition, post-hoc Bonferroni adjustments for multiple comparisons indicated some statistical differences for the means for the economic consequences frame; however, this difference was between two regional outlets, *Frontier Post* and *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*, hence outside the scope of this research question.

These results highlight two trends. First, it is noteworthy that *Dawn* portrayed more attribution of responsibility framing items, on average, than the regional outlets, even though it was only statistically significant in one instance. In the dataset, the national news outlet appeared to be more actively involved in finding resolution to the Salala incident, whereas the regional news outlets had a more passive, but by no means

conciliatory, approach to the problem. *Dawn's* active approach included suggesting solutions for the Salala incident as well as relaying a sense of urgency for resolving the incident. However, regional news outlets were more likely than their national counterpart to express confidence that the government could provide resolution for the incident. *Balochistan Express* was an exception to the other regional news outlets because it only offered an option for resolution in slightly over half of its articles, hence probably contributing towards the statistical differences between it and *Dawn* (See Table 8). This may corroborate Semetko's and Valkenburg's finding in their own work that more serious news outlets leveraged the attribution of responsibility frame more often than those that are less serious (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 103).

The second trend was that regional news outlets were more likely than *Dawn* to discuss the Salala incident in tandem with religious beliefs or activities as discussed in H2b. Unlike previous studies involving Western media, the Pakistani media featured morality frame more prominently, with nearly 30% of the articles containing at least one of the three elements of the morality frame. *Dawn* was among the most secular of the media used in this study along with one of the regional news outlets, *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*. In the case of the Salala incident, even the most secular news outlet in the study used some portion of the morality frame in almost 20% of the articles. Given that the dearth of studies that have sufficient data to evaluate the morality frame, the fact that there were statistical differences between the regional and national press for this frame provides additional opportunities to explore the morality frame as well as define differences in regional and national news outlet framing. Furthermore, it also

invites further discussion on the use of religious tenets in secular news print in the Islamic world.

### **RQ3**

The third hypothesis delved into the relationship between the issue-specific framing items and generic framing. The intent behind this question was to measure the extent to which each of the generic frames increased or decreased in the presence of the national and regional framing items. Since the regional and national framing items did not achieve the minimum Cronbach's alpha of 0.50 for scale reliability, the researcher considered each of these items individually. Thus:

RQ3) Does the presence of specific regional or national framing items influence generic framing of the event?

Based on the results of the content analysis, higher levels of generic framing were associated with all three of the national framing items. For the Pakistani foreign policy framing item, the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames played key roles in the discussions of Pakistani foreign relations in the aftermath of the incident. A significant part of the efforts to resolve the incident occurred on the international stage, from Pakistan raising the issue to the international community and boycotting the Bonn Summit to the U.S. sending a congressional delegation to pave the way forward for reopening the landlines. Similarly, the conflict frame demonstrated the "us vs. them" mindset that was evident as the Pakistani press discussed Parliamentary resolve to review and rewrite U.S.-Pakistani relations.

Additionally, it was noteworthy that discussions of national terrorism occurred in tandem with arguments from all of the generic frames except for the morality frame. This is important because this means that the topic of terrorism in the aftermath of the Salala incident resonated with the news outlets, and presumably their audiences, at many different levels, from suggesting a solution to the question of national terrorism (attribution of responsibility), to vehemently decrying the current course of action by using terms that would “generate feelings of outrage” (human interest/conflict), to clarifying the economic repercussions of supporting ongoing struggle against terrorist elements.

On the other hand, the decrease in the human interest frame and, in one instance, the morality frame in the presence of the foreign relations frame was significant because it demonstrated the tangible distance between the solution on the national or international stage and those who might be affected by the day-to-day struggles of closing the landlines at a more local level. For instance, news outlets could discuss the goals of Chicago Summit in May 2012 in conjunction with the lack of apology over the incident by U.S. leaders, while omitting discussions of how the closure of the landline had affected local businesses. Similarly, the five news outlets primarily used the morality frame in conjunction with references to “religious tenets” and to a lesser extent the framing items “Does the story contain any moral message?” and “Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?”. In this context, it could make sense that the morality frame would decrease in the presence of the foreign relations frame because a number of the references to religion were in tandem with events that were nearer at hand, such as the ongoing observance of *Muharram* or the anniversary of



the passing of Benazir Bhutto, rather than longer term, strategic discussions of international relations.

From the regional perspective, only two of these items, the local politicians/political parties and the local/regional impact framing items, had any kind of bearing on the generic frames. The presence of the local politicians/political party in some instances was associated with an increase in the human interest, conflict and morality frames while the local/regional impact frame was present with additional framing items in the human interest and economic consequences frames. The results for the regional framing items indicated two trends. First, articles that discussed local politicians/political parties and local/regional impact seemed to lean towards the human interest frame, whether this meant the intended definition of “putting a human face” to the issue or even the pattern noted by this current study of including emotion-provoking language to describe the incident. The relationship between the human interest frame and the regional framing items seems logical because putting the Salala incident in local terms should facilitate opportunities to discuss how the aftermath affected the general populace. From research perspective, it would be beneficial to conduct additional research in the Pakistani media regarding the relationship between regional framing and the human interest framing, specifically regarding the use of emotion-provoking language to find out under what circumstances this language is conveyed by a third-party source or directly from the news outlet.

The second trend was that the attribution of responsibility frame did not increase in the presence of the regional framing items. It is possible that adding a local flavor to articles did not increase the sense of urgency for finding a solution to the issue. The

attribution of responsibility frame primarily centers around who is to blame for the incident and how to get the problem resolved. The researcher believes that the reason why this frame didn't increase in the presence of the regional frames is that the most obvious or time sensitive solutions for the Salala incident didn't require action on the part of the local population. Indeed, there were a lot of protests by local parties, etc... as well as regional economic problems caused as a result of the event's aftermath. However, most of the action items to move the U.S.-Pakistani relationship forward to more of an equilibrium rested at the national level, including opening a constructive dialogue about free transport of NATO supply goods.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the Salala incident proved to be the tipping point in Pakistani-U.S. relations in late-2011. Previous incidents earlier that year, such as the raid that killed Osama bin Laden, the "Raymond Davis" affair, and *Memogate*, were seen as infringements into Pakistani affairs by some and laid the groundwork for the rift in bilateral U.S.-Pakistani relations. As the result of the loss of life of many Pakistani soldiers, the Pakistani government unilaterally closed the borders to NATO resupply trucks, blocked new shipments from reaching their destinations, and vehemently decried U.S./NATO's actions in Salala in the international stage. Pakistani parliament conducted a thorough review of bilateral relations with the U.S. and NATO border transit did not resume until July 2012.

For purposes of this research, Pakistani media reporting on the Salala incident brought a rich array of data points to study generic framing as well the nuances between how the regional and national press portrayed an incident with both regional and

national importance. The researcher conducted a content analysis of nearly 850 news articles from four regional and one national Pakistani English-speaking news outlets that were published between November and December 2011. The content analysis consisted of 19 questions from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) to examine generic framing of the attribution of responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality and economic consequences frames. The content analysis also included three regional issue-specific framing items (local insurgents, local politics/politicians, local impact) and three national issue-specific framing items (foreign affairs, national sovereignty/border security, national terrorism).

Content analysis of the incident indicated that the Pakistani English-speaking press framed the incident primarily in terms of the conflict and the attribution of responsibility frames. Given the nature of the incident, it was logical that the conflict and the attribution of responsibility frames would be prominent in the reporting. Conflict framing, in this instance, defined the parties for the incident as well as described the overwhelming condemnation of the incident by various levels of the Pakistani government. The attribution of responsibility framing was important because it allowed the press to ascribe blame and put forward suggestions to resolve the impasse in U.S.-Pakistani relations. The press used the human interest and the morality frames to a lesser extent. Of the two, the researcher had expected more human interest framing than was found in the current dataset, including more instances of the stories who were affected by the loss of a loved one in the incident. However, the researcher didn't expect human interest framing to exceed attribution of responsibility or conflict

framing. The economic consequences frame was the least used generic frame in the press for this dataset.

The researcher found some significant differences in framing between the national and regional news outlets for the attribution of responsibility and the morality frames. For the attribution of responsibility frame, the national news outlet was most likely to use this frame, although this was only statistically significant between *Dawn* and the regional news outlet *Balochistan Express*. This supports Semetko's and Valkenburg's assertion that serious news outlets leveraged the attribution of responsibility frame more frequently than less serious ones (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, p. 106). For purposes of this research, the regional press was considered less serious. The morality frame was primarily the domain of the regional news outlets. All of the regional news outlets, with the exception of the *Daily Regional Times of Sindh*, were statistically more likely to use the morality frame than *Dawn*. This was important because it shows that the morality frame was a measurable and meaningful frame in the context of the Salala incident. To date, there has been a dearth of scholarly research related to morality framing in the overall context of generic framing.

The issue-specific regional and national framing items did not completely perform as anticipated. One-way ANOVAs with planned contrasts indicated that there were no differences in how the national and regional news outlets used the three regional framing items. The parity in regional framing was surprising given the opportunities for the regional press to reach back to their own resources to describe how the Salala incident impacted their own constituencies. Overall, the researcher believes that this was due to the regional press expressing solidarity with their Armed Forces and

leadership. In essence, the press elected to provide a more nationally focused version of the events as opposed to focusing on how individuals were affected by the events. For the regional frames, the press was most likely to cite the local politics/politician framing item although no regional framing items were used as frequently as the national framing items.

However, the national press was the most likely to use two of the national framing items, the foreign policy as well as the terrorism framing item. Two of the regional news outlets, *Balochistan Express* and *Frontier Post*, were the most likely to cite the border security/national sovereignty framing item and this difference was significant. The researcher believes that border security/sovereignty frames resonated with these two news outlets particularly well because they share a land border with Afghanistan and, hence, their audiences may be more concerned with sovereignty infringement. For the national issue-specific frames, the press cited the Pakistani foreign affairs framing item the most frequently, followed by the national sovereignty/border security and terrorism framing items.

Results of this research somewhat agreed with Semetko's and Valkenburg's research (2000). Similar to their research, the attribution of responsibility frame and the conflict frame were two of the most prominent frames in the Salala incident reporting. In this research, however, the regional press was more likely to cite the morality frame, which was not prominent in Semetko's and Valkenburg's exploratory research. Of particular note, there was a pattern by the regional press to refer to the incident in terms that would evoke feelings of emotion, specifically outrage, and the preponderance of all of the news outlets to utilize religious terminology in their reporting. However, this

research differed from Semetko and Valkenburg in the economic consequences frame, which in contrast to their exploratory study where this frame was their third most common frame, was the least prominent frame in the Pakistani press for this issue (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 105-107).

This research was also closer to Igartua et al. (2005), who identified six frames, instead of the five identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), as a result of the Varimax-rotated, loaded factor solution. The Salala incident factor solution demonstrated a division in the conflict frame. This split could be described as one conflict frame that was more factual, and connected to the attribution of responsibility frame, and another that was more emotional, and tied to the human interest frame.

Therefore, this research filled scholarly gaps in the field of framing by completing one of the first studies on the use of generic frames in the Pakistani English-speaking press. This study demonstrated some of the more prominent generic frames present in the Pakistani press in the aftermath of the Salala incident. Additionally, it highlighted two possible generic framing trends found in the Pakistani press, less commonly found in the Western press. First, the propensity of the press to decry the incident using value-laden language, sometimes in contrast to the journalistic norm of unbiased third person reporting. Second, it showed that morality framing was a measurable frame in the Pakistani press. Moreover, the research highlighted some of the differences in framing between Pakistani national and regional news outlets. Furthermore, it showed that, in the case of Pakistan, regional framing was not the purview of the regional press, nor was national news uniquely the domain of the national press.

Further study into these areas is not only merited, but also necessary. Much of the research into generic framing has centered on the Western and Northern European press, while there is still room for additional scholarship on the press in Islamic areas of the world. The Salala incident and its aftermath offered a unique opportunity to contribute to generic framing research due to breadth and depth of English language coverage of this event in the Pakistani media. However, this limited the research to journalists who communicated with their audiences via English, as opposed to the myriad of languages spoken in the country of Pakistan. The audience targeted by the English-speaking press represents a smaller demographic of the Pakistani population, potentially one that has attended universities emphasizing English as a *lingua franca*.

Therefore, one avenue of further research would be to take the Salala incident problem set and cover the same timeframe in the regional and national non-English speaking press, for instance, conducting the same research using *Jang*, a popular Urdu language newspaper as the national news outlet. This would be an important line of research because it is possible that the choice to follow English-speaking press may be indicative of pro-Western attitudes, thus catering to this audience may contribute to some of the similarities between this current study and previous research in the field. Differences in narrative could vary dramatically between non-English and English-speaking press, even within the same news organization. The non-English speaking press may promote more politically conservative and government-friendly attitudes while the English-speaking press may adopt and present more reformist or international topics, for instance, *Al Jazeera English's* reporting on poverty or Arab Spring events that weren't featured in as great of detail on in the same manner by *Al Jazeera Arabic*

(Pollock, 2011; Al Arabiya English, 2017). While the researcher didn't believe that the current dataset was conciliatory towards the U.S. by any means, the researcher acknowledges that non-English speaking news outlets could have framed the incident differently than what would be expected of the English-speaking press. For instance, it is possible that generic framing using the human interest or economic consequences frames might increase as the journalists encounter instances directly related to their audiences.

Second, there is still a significant need for additional research in the field of Pakistani media framing. Framing in the news media has the potential to affect national level policy and public opinion. In the case of the Salala incident, framing in the news could have affected policy-makers by increasing pressure on them to seek a formal apology, cessation of the drone program, and a formal review of U.S.-Pakistani bilateral relations. It also could have led to increased Pakistani solidarity in support of their Armed Forces. However, previous studies have indicated that the Pakistani military and government establishments exert an important role in the press calling into question the origin of the press' framing of the incident (Ahmad, 2011, p. 474-476; Ricchiardi, 2012, p. 6; Dickinson & Memon, 2012, p. 621). That said, scholarly literature has also suggested that the media have a tendency to promote the national image and philosophy, even to the point of de-emphasizing faults by one's own country (Entman, 1991, p. 8, 17-18, 20, 23; Akhavan-Majid & Ramprasad, 1998, p. 145, 147-148). This begs the question of whether frames are the dependent variables for the Pakistani press or the independent variables. If the frames were the independent variables, they would affect Pakistani policy-makers. However, if the frames were the dependent variables,



they would be demonstrative of current governmental policies or viewpoints.

Therefore, additional research is warranted to understand how frames are formed and by whom in the Pakistani press. This could be accomplished by conducting multiple in-depth interviews with editors and journalists from diverse regions of Pakistan.

Third, additional research is needed in the field of Pakistani journalistic norms. Scholars have previously identified some of the key values held by Pakistani journalists (Pintak & Nazir, 2013, p. 643-646; Syed, 2008, p. 346-347; Memon, 2013, p. 1794-1798). Dickinson and Memon conducted further research into Pakistani press clubs in Sindh province and the role they play in disseminating information in regional and urban settings (Dickinson & Memon, 2012, p. 621-629). There appear to be some scholarly gaps in the role of individual Pakistani journalists in reporting the news, in terms of actual as well as perceived roles. Interviewing Pakistani journalists and editors would allow the researcher to comprehend how journalists evaluate newsworthy stories and process this information for their news outlets, thereby better understanding journalists' roles. It would also allow the researcher to comprehend the role of self-censorship within news organizations and how this affects Pakistani journalistic norms. This would, in turn, would demonstrate the extent to which journalists' can operate independently while selecting and presenting the news.

A fourth avenue of focus for additional research would be to study generic framing in the Islamic press. Although these data points came from Pakistani press articles, there is still a lot of room to develop a larger body of knowledge on morality framing specific to the Islamic world, focusing on North Africa and the Middle East or even East Asia in the direction of Indonesia. For instance, it seemed to be more

acceptable in the Pakistani press for journalists to refer to religious tenets more freely than in Western news outlets. Taking research in this direction would benefit scholarly understanding on the contexts under which these terms are used and if there is a correlation between using religious terms and the use of other generic frames. Furthermore, it may be possible to tailor the framing items to identify the circumstances under which journalists refer to religious tenets directly and when they use third person sources to perform the same functions as suggested by Neuman et al. (1992).

A final avenue of research could be to extend this research on the Salala incident to include the full seven-month timeframe with approximately 2,000 articles to identify any longitudinal differences. Studying data points for the seven-month timespan could yield some important results regarding how generic framing changed over time. It is quite possible that the tones in the news outlets became more conciliatory as time passed from the initial incident. A more conciliatory tone in the reporting could indicate a decrease in conflict framing over time. It is also possible that some framing factors, such as those related to local economics gained more prominence as the impact of the loss of trade with NATO became more acute, while factors such as human interest framing may decline as focus is shifted away from individuals affected by the incident. Additional data points could serve to identify these changes and further trends among these five news outlets.

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