

Portrayal of Pak-China Relations in Elite Press of Pakistan, China, India and the United States

¹Zahid Yousaf, ²Anjum Zia and ¹Ehtisham Ali

¹Centre for Media and Communication Studies, University of Gujrat, Gujrat, Pakistan

²Department of Mass Communication,
Lahore College for Women University, Lahore, Pakistan

Abstract: The study Portrayal of Pak-China Relations in Elite Press of Pakistan, China, India and the United States shows the representation of the Pak-China relations in the elite press of Pakistan, China, United States and India from March 2013 to February 2014. In the study one newspaper is taken from each country which includes The Nation from Pakistan, China Daily from China, the New York Times from the United States and Indian Express from India. In this study the major categories discussed are Pakistan's stance on Pak-China bilateral relations, China's stance on Pak-China bilateral relations, Pak China friendship and defence and trade cooperation between Pakistan and China, America and India as a factor between Pak-China relations and Pak-China relations and Regional stability; where the coverage is analyzed in three directions including positive, negative and neutral to test that how the selected newspapers have portrayed the relations between Pakistan and China. In this study the theory of Agenda Setting is applied where the "Media Agenda" is focused that how the media of the selected the countries has set the agenda regarding the relationship between the two countries, the content analysis method is used in the study to analyze the contents of the editorials and columns of the selected newspapers. The study shows maximum positive portrayal of the relations by the Pakistani and Chinese newspapers whereas maximum negative portrayal is observed regarding the selected categories by the Indian and American the press.

Key words: Portrayal • Pakistan • China • Agenda Setting • Media Agenda • Content Analysis

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan-China friendship is an elite and anchor phenomenon, the ties between Pakistan and China have always been described as "all-weather, time tested, ever green, higher than the Himalayas and deeper than the oceans, stronger than the steel, dearer the eyesight, sweeter than the honey and so on". Pakistan has always supported China on all issues of importance, especially those related to the question of China's sovereignty e.g. Hong Kong, Taiwan and Tibet and other sensitive issues such as human rights. The China's leadership has always valued Pakistan's persistent support on different issues of their concern [1]. China has always firmly supported Pakistan's efforts to defend its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It has also sincerely and selflessly helped Pakistan to achieve economic and

social development. China has always respected Pakistan's enormous sacrifices and significant contributions in the forefront of the international fight against terrorism. As Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao's address to parliament, "Pakistan's sacrifices in the global fight against terrorism should be recognized and respected by the international community" (Daily Times, 20 Dec 2010). China would support Pakistan in its effort to safeguard its independence, sovereignty and territorial issues (The News 20 Dec 2010). China has always helped Pakistan in natural disasters like earthquake and floods (Dawn 26 Dec, 2010).

The two countries maintained regular exchange of visits and contacts between their leaders that have deepened Pak-China traditional friendship and helped to expand mutually beneficial cooperation in areas of economy and financial sectors such as trade, defence,

energy, transport, agriculture, health, population, meteorology, mining, resources, infrastructure, manufacture, technology communication, media, education, population, poverty and in culture. The Pakistani people believe that a good neighbour is a blessing and the Chinese people also believe that a neighbour that is near is better than a brother far off. The two countries are good neighbours and good friends. Their friendship has become a firm assurance and an example of the peaceful coexistence of the Chinese and Islamic civilizations [2]. The strategic quadrilateral relationship in South Asia involving Pakistan, China, India and the United States is of greater concern. It has both regional and wider implications; at the heart of this matter is the India-Pakistan conflict over Kashmir and continuing US involvement in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Understanding this complex web of relationships is to understanding the issues which are at the heart of Pak-China-India-America relations and which affect markedly how these two countries interact in the region.

The relationships between these four actors are extremely complex. Indian and US bilateral relationships consequently affect the China-Pakistan relationship. Because the US and China are really the only countries which can exert influence over Pakistan. But all this depends on US and Chinese aims in Pakistan and also in the region. Pakistan appears time and again at the heart of strategic politics in South Asia, Pakistan holds the key to stability in the region. Matters are also complicated by the complex relationship China has with both the US and India. The full normalization of relations would be unlikely to occur while Kashmir and Afghanistan remain an issue. These disputes are arguably at the heart of South Asia's problems and until it is resolved Pakistan's relations with its regional neighbors, including China, are important and matter a lot. It also hinders Pakistan's development, other security issues in the immediate region, infrastructure, alleviating poverty and other domestic problems, or its trade and diplomatic linkages with the rest of the world.

The present study is focused to analyze the Pak-China relations in the elite press of Pakistan, China, US and India considering the importance of the relations between both Pakistan and China and the concerns of the US and India due to the emerging economy of China and the friendship of Pakistan and China, also that India is considered as counter of the China's emerging economy in the region. The study is also important because of the signing of the Gwader port between Pakistan and China, Chinese Premier's visit to India and Pakistan and Pakistani Prime Minister's visit to China soon after holding the

office as prime Minister of Pakistan. Bhutta says that China will share the profit with Pakistan whereas it would remain a property of Pakistan the MoU was signed between Pakistan and China in 2012 during the government of Pakistan Peoples' Party and the present government also showed its interest and vowed to continue the project [3].

The china's Premier's visit to India is also of great importance which is necessary to analyze that what impacts this visit will leave on Pak-China relations, this visits is discussed by the analysts and experts both in Pakistan as India considering the importance of the visit, this visit was considered as an important change in the regional stability as well [4].

Pakistani Prime Minister visited China on five days tour and discussed on various important bilateral and regional issues and signed various projects, this visit was a successful visit and Pakistani Prime Minister was focused on trade and Chinese investment in Pakistan and he remained quite successful in this visit [5].

So, the study is important to analyze the Pak-China relations during March 2013 to February 2014 when important events between Pakistan and China occurred and how the media from selected countries covered the issues. The editorials and columns of the selected newspapers The Nation from Pakistan, the New York Times from US and The Indian Express from India were retrieved from the Lexis-Nexis electronic database whereas the editorials and columns of The China Daily from China were retrieved from the newspaper's website.

Objectives: The objectives of the study are:

- To investigate the portrayal of Pak-China relations from March 2013 to February 2014 by the selected newspapers [6] defines elite press as objective, independent, responsible and enjoying vast circulation).
- To investigate that which issue is given more importance by the selected newspapers.
- To investigate the treatment given to Pakistan China relations from March 2013 to February 2014 by the selected newspapers.
- To find out the difference in extent of portrayal given to the Pakistan and China relations during the given time period by the selected newspapers.

Backgrounds: The literature review is the facilitator for any research study. A literature review is a systematic search and analysis of published information concerning

some specific work or study area. It is organized according to the objective of research, thesis, or the problem/issue that a researcher wishes to deal with.

Lippmann [7] is of the view that mass media forms the picture of the world that is in the minds of the people even in the absence of physical access to the outer world that is in the mind of an individual. The countries in reality are far from each other but for a common man who has not visited the world or different countries they have to depend on news media to keep themselves informed about the world. Kunczik [8] also endorsed Lippmann [7] saying that as the mass media float and broadcast the information about the self country as well as the other countries largely. So, mass media is responsible for the image formed about the government and people as the mass media have greater influence on people perception and image forming.

International agencies' influence is so great that Wu [9] says that the agencies can either decide the amount of coverage a country receives or determine saying that despite the fundamental and technological advantages of the Internet, the topics or issues that will be emphasized if that country is covered at all. Chang [10] said that every country is not newsworthy, some are frequently covered with highly favourably and some are not. There are some predictors for the difference of these types of changing in coverage. Kim and Barnett [11] says that external factors that influence the structure and flow of international news: a country's characteristics, such as economic development, political system and cultural tradition. Lent [12] said that in the U.S mass media news from developing nations is often crisis-oriented. Larson [13] analyzed international news on U.S. television networks between 1972 and 1976 and noted that underdeveloped and developing countries received less coverage than developed nations. Coverage of underdeveloped nations contained a higher proportion of crisis stories than the coverage of developed nations. Aggarwalla [14] says that most of the news in the U.S. media about developing and underdeveloped countries deals with subjects such as famine, shortages and national disasters, political and military intrigue.

While discussing the coverage of the Islamic states in the international media and the framing of the Muslim states Mughees-uddin [15], wrote in "Image of Iran in the Western media" that Iran is negatively framed and called as threat for US and Israel and regional security due to its "Islamic culture". According to him western media is not only critically portraying Islam and Islamic values but also trying to endorse wrong concepts about Islam, Islamic

values and Muslims. Western media have gave the Muslims and Iran and Iranian Muslims as Fundamentalist. He explored that US media have portrayed Islam as impatient and conservative while Christianity as free market and tolerant people. This concept of US media is making gape and confusion between Islam and Christianity.

Mughees-uddin [16], studied U.S main press The New York Times, the Washington Post and The Los Angeles Times to explore the coverage of Algeria's Islamic Movement. US media portrayed the invasion of army in Algeria as the "legal action". These newspapers said in their coverage that (FIS) is against west, women and human rights and Algeria want to have stereotype Islamic government as in Iran. Wrong views about Islam and Islamic values are base of negative portrayal of (FIS) in US press.

Ravi [17] analyzed the coverage of Iraq war in the elite newspapers of Pakistan, India, United Kingdom and United States. He founded that Iraq War was covered by these countries on basis of their own national and cultural interests and practices. Lee and Lee and Maslog [18] did research on news coverage of various Asian conflicts especially on Iraq War and the Kashmir conflict. They found that Iraq war was framed as peace journalism and other conflicts were covered as war journalism. Western news Organizations accentuated war frames, whereas news stories by local journalists were more liable to utilize peace frames.

Discussing the Pak-China relations Niazi [19] reveals that since the early 1950, Pakistan looked for an ally would protect her from Indian hegemony. The US have been anxious to have Pakistan as client without having to assume the obligations of patron and have been reluctant to identify herself with Pakistan goal. In relation to India, It has evoked anguish and sense of betrayal among Pakistani masses. This leads to realization among the policy maker in Pakistan to move the steering towards the people republic of China. This study showed that changes remains in the 21 century for Pak China friendship however strategic interdependence of two countries is compelling each to bound with others. China is taking lead to employ economic and public diplomacy with Pakistan to broaden its strategic state to state partnership into people to people bonds. With increasing trade and investment, China is helping a turnaround in Pakistani economy parallel to economic relations, it also expending cultural through education, civic society and media to strengthen the tree of Sino-Pak friendship to weather unanticipated "hailstorm".

Hypotheses:

- H1 : The Pakistani and Chinese newspapers have portrayed Pak-China relations positively.
- H2 : The Indian and US newspapers have portrayed Pak-China relations negatively.
- H3 : Portrayal of Pak-China relations is larger in the Pakistani newspaper than newspapers from other countries.

Theoretical Framework: A theory is a tentative explanation to make understandings clear on small or large part of the 'reality' around us in the world. Theory provides a sense of understanding about what is going on and what causes certain events. According to Kerlinger [20] theory is a set of the interrelated constructs, definitions and propositions that present a systematic view of the phenomenon by specifying the relations among different variables, with the purpose of explaining a natural phenomenon.

The theory employed in this study is the Agenda Setting theory of mass communication that basically involves the three basic and related agendas considerations that are known as the media agenda where media is considered important as the coverage given focuses what media intends to disseminate among the public, similarly the public agenda refers importance of the public that what is important for the public and what issues are having popularity among the public and the last agenda in the agenda setting conception is the policy agenda which refers what issues or matters are important for the legislators, policy makers and law makers and which issues have the importance according to their knowledge, understanding and interest [21-25]. This concept would be beneficial in explaining the relationship between Pakistan and China. Keeping in mind the above mentioned agendas and their considerations in this study the media agenda is intended to determine among the three agendas. So, in the selected newspapers from the four selected countries the media agenda is focused to study that how the newspapers of these countries have set the agenda regarding the Pak-China relations during the selected time period that is from March 2013 to February 2014.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The method used in this study is content analysis which has been defined as a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer

content categories based on explicit rules of coding [26]. According to Kerlinger cited in Wimmer and Dominick, [27] content analysis is used to measure different variables by analyzing and studying the communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner. In this study Quantitative and Qualitative both techniques are used to analyze the contents. Qualitative content analysis involves identifying and explaining patterns within a collection of the texts [28]. He further says that qualitative content analysis allows a researcher to explore the ideological mindset, themes, topics and symbols revealed in an artifact, whereas the Quantitative content analysis is defined as the systematic collection and objective interpretation of the communication with the goal of determining the manifest content [29].

Time Period: The period of this study is from March 2013 to February 2014.

Population of the Study: All the editorials and columns that are published in the selected newspapers (elite press) The Nation, The New York Times, China Daily and in The Indian Express related to Pak-China relations during March 2013 to February 2014 is population of this study.

Unit of Analysis: The unit of analysis in written content might range from a single word or a symbol to an entire item or a story [27]. Every editorial or column on Pak-China relations during the given time period is considered as the unit of analysis for this study.

Categories: The following categories are focused to analyze in the present research

- Pakistan's stance on Pak-China bilateral relations
- China's stance on Pak-China bilateral relations
- Pak China friendship and defence and trade cooperation between Pakistan and China
- America and India as a factor between Pak-China relations
- Pak-China relations and Regional stability

Directions

Positive/Supportive/Favourable: The story is coded as positive or favourable if it supports and endorses the phenomena of Pak-China relations.

Negative/Unsupportive/Unfavourable: The story is coded as negative or unfavourable to if it contradicts and opposes the phenomena of Pak-China relations.

Neutral: The story is coded as neutral if it neither stresses on favourable aspects nor unfavourable aspects of phenomena of Pak-China relations.

Data Analysis and Interpretation: Table 1 indicates the overall portrayal of Pak-China relations that The Nation has given 10 articles related to “Pakistan’s stance on Pak-China bilateral relations”, 4 articles related to “China’s stance on Pak-China bilateral relations”, 7 articles related to “Pak China friendship, defence and Trade cooperation between Pakistan and China”, 3 articles related to “America and India as a factor between Pak-China relations” and 3 articles related to “Pak-China relations and Regional stability”. China Daily has given 3 articles related to “Pakistan’s stance on Pak-China bilateral relations”, 8 articles related to “China’s stance on Pak-China bilateral relations”, 3 articles related to “Pak China friendship, defence and Trade cooperation between Pakistan and China”, 4 articles related to “America and India as a factor between Pak-China relations” and 4 articles related to “Pak-China relations and Regional stability”. New York Times has given 3 articles related to “Pakistan’s stance on Pak-China bilateral relations”, 1 article related to “China’s stance on Pak-China bilateral relations”, 1 article related to “Pak China friendship, defence and Trade cooperation between Pakistan and

China”, 2 articles related to “America and India as a factor between Pak-China relations” and 3 articles related to “Pak-China relations and Regional stability” whereas Indian Express has given 4 articles related to “Pakistan’s stance on Pak-China bilateral relations”, 3 articles related to “China’s stance on Pak-China bilateral relations”, 3 articles related to “Pak China friendship, defence and Trade cooperation between Pakistan and China”, 4 articles related to “America and India as a factor between Pak-China relations” and 1 article related to “Pak-China relations and Regional stability”.

Table 2 shows Pakistan’s stance on Pak-China bilateral relations that The Nation has portrayed 6 (22.2) positive and 4 (14.8%) neutral coverage, China Daily has portrayed 2 (9.1%) positive and 1 (4.5%) neutral coverage, New York Times has portrayed 2 (20%) negative and 1 (10%) neutral whereas Indian Express has portrayed 3 (20%) negative and 1 (6.7%) neutral coverage.

Table 3 shows China’s stance on Pak-China bilateral relations that The Nation has portrayed 3 (11.1%) positive and 1 (3.7%) neutral coverage, China Daily has portrayed 4 (18.2%) positive, 1 (4.5%) negative and 3 (13.6%) neutral coverage, New York Times has portrayed 1 (10%) negative whereas Indian Express has portrayed 2 (13.3%) negative and 1 (6.7%) neutral coverage.

Table 1: Overall Portrayal to Pak-China Relations

Newspapers	Pakistan’s stance on Pak-China bilateral relations	China’s stance on Pak-China bilateral relations	Pak-China friendship, defence and Trade cooperation between Pakistan and China	America and India as a factor between Pak-China relations	Pak-China relations and Regional stability
The Nation	10	4	7	3	3
China Daily	3	8	3	4	4
New York Times	3	1	1	2	3
Indian Express	4	3	3	4	1
Total	20	16	14	13	11

Table 2: Pakistan’s stance on Pak-China bilateral relations

Newspapers	Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The Nation	Valid	Positive	6	22.2	60.0
		Neutral	4	14.8	40.0
		Total	10	37.0	100.0
China Daily	Valid	Positive	2	9.1	66.7
		Neutral	1	4.5	33.3
		Total	3	13.6	100.0
New York Times	Valid	Negative	2	20.0	66.7
		Neutral	1	10.0	33.3
		Total	3	30.0	100.0
Indian Express	Valid	Negative	3	20.0	75.0
		Neutral	1	6.7	25.0
		Total	4	26.7	100.0

Table 3: China's stance on Pak-China bilateral relations

Newspapers			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The Nation	Valid	Positive	3	11.1	75.0	75.0
		Neutral	1	3.7	25.0	100.0
		Total	4	14.8	100.0	
China Daily	Valid	Positive	4	18.2	50.0	50.0
		Negative	1	4.5	12.5	62.5
		Neutral	3	13.6	37.5	100.0
		Total	8	36.4	100.0	
New York Times	Valid	Negative	1	10.0	100.0	100.0
Indian Express	Valid	Negative	2	13.3	66.7	66.7
		Neutral	1	6.7	33.3	100.0
		Total	3	20.0	100.0	

Table 4: Pak China friendship, defence and Trade cooperation between Pakistan and China

Newspapers			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The Nation	Valid	Positive	5	18.5	71.4	71.4
		Neutral	2	7.4	28.6	100.0
		Total	7	25.9	100.0	
China Daily	Valid	Positive	2	9.1	66.7	66.7
		Neutral	1	4.5	33.3	100.0
		Total	3	13.6	100.0	
New York Times	Valid	Negative	1	10.0	100.0	100.0
Indian Express	Valid	Negative	2	13.3	66.7	66.7
		Neutral	1	6.7	33.3	100.0
		Total	3	20.0	100.0	

Table 5: America and India as a factor between Pak-China relations

Newspapers			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The Nation	Valid	Negative	2	7.4	66.7	66.7
		Neutral	1	3.7	33.3	100.0
		Total	3	11.1	100.0	
China Daily	Valid	Positive	1	4.5	25.0	25.0
		Negative	1	4.5	25.0	50.0
		Neutral	2	9.1	50.0	100.0
		Total	4	18.2	100.0	
New York Times	Valid	Neutral	2	20.0	100.0	100.0
Indian Express	Valid	Positive	2	13.3	50.0	50.0
		Negative	1	6.7	25.0	75.0
		Neutral	1	6.7	25.0	100.0
		Total	4	26.7	100.0	

Table 4 shows Pak China friendship, defence and Trade cooperation between Pakistan and China that The Nation has portrayed 5 (18.5%) positive and 2 (7.4%) neutral coverage, China Daily has portrayed 2 (9.1%) positive and 1 (4.5%) neutral coverage, New York Times has portrayed 1 (10%) neutral whereas Indian Express has portrayed 2 (13.3%) negative and 1 (6.7%) neutral coverage.

Table 5 shows America and India as a factor between Pak-China relations that The Nation has portrayed 2 (7.4) negative and 1 (3.7%) neutral coverage, China Daily has portrayed 1 (4.5%) positive,

1 (4.5%) negative and 2 (9.1%) neutral coverage, New York Times has portrayed 2 (20%) neutral whereas Indian Express has portrayed 2 (13.3%) positive, 1 (6.7%) negative and 1 (6.7%) neutral coverage.

Table 6 shows Pak-China relations and Regional stability that The Nation has portrayed 2 (7.4) negative and 1 (3.7%) neutral coverage, China Daily has portrayed 3 (13.6%) positive and 1 (4.5%) neutral coverage, New York Times has portrayed 1 (10%) positive and 2 (20%) negative coverage whereas Indian Express has portrayed 1 (6.7%) neutral coverage.

Table 6: Pak-China relations and Regional stability

Newspapers			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The Nation	Valid	Positive	2	7.4	66.7	66.7
		Neutral	1	3.7	33.3	100.0
		Total	3	11.1	100.0	
China Daily	Valid	Positive	3	13.6	75.0	75.0
		Neutral	1	4.5	25.0	100.0
		Total	4	18.2	100.0	
New York Times	Valid	Positive	1	10.0	33.3	33.3
		Negative	2	20.0	66.7	100.0
		Total	3	30.0	100.0	
Indian Express	Valid	Neutral	1	6.7	100.0	100.0

DISCUSSION

The study Portrayal of Pak-China relations in elite press of Pakistan, China, India and the United States is focused to analyze the portrayal of Pak-China relations regarding Pakistan's stance on Pak-China bilateral relations, China's stance on Pak-China bilateral relations, Pak China friendship and defence and Trade cooperation between Pakistan and China, America and India as a factor between Pak-China relations and Pak-China relations and Regional stability from March 2013 to February 2014. The coverage by the four newspapers i.e. one each from the selected countries was analyzed including the Nation from Pakistan, China Daily from China, New York Times from New York whereas Indian Express from India were selected. Results show that Pakistani newspaper the Nation has portrayed maximum coverage to Pak-China relations followed by the Chinese newspaper China Daily; the Indian newspaper has portrayed coverage at third position whereas least coverage is given by the US newspaper. Pakistani and Chinese press have portrayed maximum positive coverage to the Pak-China relations. The Indian and US newspapers have portrayed most of the issues negatively and very less positive coverage to Pak-China relations were observed by the New York Times and the Indian Express. The results show that the hypotheses of the study which include "The Pakistani and Chinese newspapers have portrayed Pak-China relations positively; The Indian and US newspapers have portrayed Pak-China relations negatively; Portrayal of Pak-China relations is larger in the Pakistani newspaper than newspapers from other countries". All hypotheses were proved as result of the portrayal by the selected newspapers from the four countries. In this study the data was collected by using the content analysis technique of the mass media research, the agenda setting theory was employed the determine the media agenda and framing of the selected

issues was determined that how newspapers have framed the selected issues between Pakistan and China. Pakistan's stance on Pak-China bilateral relations that The Nation has given 6 (22.2) positive and 4 (14.8%) neutral coverage, China Daily has given 2 (9.1%) positive and 1 (4.5%) neutral coverage, New York Times has given 2 (20%) negative and 1 (10%) neutral whereas Indian Express has given 3 (20%) negative and 1 (6.7%) neutral coverage. China's stance on Pak-China bilateral relations that The Nation has given 3 (11.1%) positive and 1(3.7%) neutral coverage, China Daily has given 4 (18.2%) positive, 1 (4.5%) negative and 3 (13.6%) neutral coverage, New York Times has given 1 (10%) negative whereas Indian Express has given 2 (13.3%) negative and 1 (6.7%) neutral coverage. Pak China friendship, defence and Trade cooperation between Pakistan and China that The Nation has given 5 (18.5%) positive and 2 (7.4%) neutral coverage, China Daily has given 2 (9.1%) positive and 1 (4.5%) neutral coverage, New York Times has given 1 (10%) neutral whereas Indian Express has given 2 (13.3%) negative and 1 (6.7%) neutral coverage. America and India as a factor between Pak-China relations that The Nation has given 2 (7.4) negative and 1 (3.7%) neutral coverage, China Daily has given 1 (4.5%) positive, 1 (4.5%) negative and 2 (9.1%) neutral coverage, New York Times has given 2 (20%) neutral whereas Indian Express has given 2 (13.3%) positive, 1 (6.7%) negative and 1 (6.7%) neutral coverage whereas Pak-China relations and Regional stability that The Nation has given 2 (7.4) negative and 1 (3.7%) neutral coverage, China Daily has given 3 (13.6%) positive and 1 (4.5%) neutral coverage, New York Times has given 1 (10%) positive and 2 (20%) negative coverage whereas Indian Express has given 1 (6.7%) neutral coverage. The study shows that Pakistan's stance on Pak-China bilateral relations is given maximum coverage, then China's stance on Pak-China bilateral relations is given coverage at second position followed by Pak China friendship and defence and Trade

cooperation between Pakistan and China and America and India as a factor between Pak-China relations at third position each whereas least coverage is given to Pak-China relations and Regional stability. The overall study shows that the Pakistani and Chinese media have portrayed most of the positive whereas American and the Chinese newspapers have portrayed mostly negatively.

REFERENCES

1. Jabeen, M., 2012. Developments in Pak-China Strategic Alliances. *Berkeley Journal of Social Sciences*, 2 (2): 1-16.
2. Xiaoqiang, F.m 2011. China, Pakistan joined in bonds of brotherhood - Chinese paper. Retrieved on June 16, 2014 from <http://pakistanchinafriendship.wordpress.com/2011/05/18/china-pakistan-joined-in-bonds-of-brotherhood-chinese-paper/>
3. Bhutta, Z., 2013. Taking charge: China poised to get control of Gwadar Port in a month, *The express Tribune*. Retrieved on 17 August 2013 from <http://tribune.com.pk/story/570990/taking-charge-china-poised-to-get-control-of-gwadar-port-in-a-month/>
4. Pradhan, S.D., 2013. Assessing Chinese PM Li Keqiang's India visit, *Times of India*. Retrieved on June 16, 2014 from <http://blogs.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/ChanakyaCode/assessing-chinese-pm-li-keqiang-s-india-visit/>
5. Imaduddin, 2013. PM's China visit: Bright hopes to end Pakistan's energy crisis. *Business recorder*. Retrieved on 17 August 2013 from <http://www.brecorder.com/top-news/108-pakistan-top-news/127231-pms-china-visit-bright-hopes-to-end-pakistans-energy-crisis.html>
6. Altschul, H.J., 1984. *Agents of power: The role of the new media in human affairs*. New York, London: Longman.
7. Lippman, W., 1922. *Public opinion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
8. Kunczik, M. 1997. *Images of Nations and International Public Relations*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
9. Wu, H.D., 1998. Investigating the determinants of international news flow: A meta analysis. *Gazette*, 60(6): 493-512.
10. Chang, T.K., 1998. All countries not created equal to be news: world system and international communication. *Communication Research*. 25: 528-566.
11. Kim, K. and G.A. Barnett, 1996. Determinants of International News Flow: A Network Analysis. *Communication Research*, 23(3): 323-352.
12. Lent, J.A., 1977. Foreign news in American media. *Journal of Communication*, 27: 46-51.
13. Larson, J.F., 1979. International affairs coverage in U.S. network television, *Journal of Communication*, 29: 136-147.
14. Aggarwalla, N., 1977. Third World News Agency. Paper presented at the conference on "Third World and Press Freedom," 12-13 May 1977, The Edward R. Murrow Centre for Public Diplomacy. New York.
15. Mughees-uddin. 1995. Image of Iran in the Western media, *Iranshenasi Quarterly Journal*, 4: 32-48.
16. Mughees-uddin. 1994. Many voices, one chorus: Editorial framing of Islamic movements in Algeria and Palestine (FIS in the US Elite Press). *The Islamic Quarterly*, xxxvii (4): 238-250.
17. Ravi, N.m 2005. Looking beyond flawed journalism. How national interests, patriotism, and cultural values shaped the coverage of Iraq war. *Harvard International Journal of Press/ Politics*, 10(1): 45-62.
18. Lee, T.S. and C.C. Maslog, 2005. War or Peace Journalism? Asian Newspaper Coverage of Conflicts. *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 55, No. 2, Oxford: Oxford University Press
19. Niazi, T., 2009. China-Pakistan Relations: Past, Present and Future," A presentation made at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars on January 29, 2009.
20. Kerlinger, F.N., 1979. *Behavioral research: A conceptual approach*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
21. Yousaf, Z., 2012. Perception of Pak-Afghan Relations in American and Pakistani Press, *Media's Perspective of Foreign Policy (May 2011 to December 2011)*. Open access scientific Reports. 1: 491.
22. Yousaf, Z. and E. Ali, 2012. Coverage Of Pak-US Relations In Elite Press Of Pakistan and US during the Democratic Government Of Pakistan People's Party; March 2008 To February 2012 (Media and Foreign Policy Perspective). *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (JHSS) Volume 6, Issue 1*.
23. Ali, E. And K. Shahid, K. 2012. *Media and Foreign Policy: A study of Pak-U.S. relations in U.S. and Pakistani Press, Post 9/11 Era (2001-2011)*. Lambert Academic Publishing. USA,

24. Yousaf, Z., E. Ali and M. Ahmed, 2013. Media and Foreign Policy: Portrayal of Pak U.S. Relations in Elite Press during Pervaiz Musharraf and George W. Bush Regime; September 2001 to August 2008. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Physical and Social Sciences*. Volume 3, Issue 2.
25. Sultan, M.S. 2013. Portrayal of Pak-US relations in Elite Press of Pakistan and United States during Raja Pervaiz Ashraf Regime (June 2012-December 2012). *Journal of Mass Communication and Journalism*. 3: 149.
26. Berelson, B., 1952. *Content analysis in communication research*. New York: Free Press.
27. Wimmer, R.D. and J.R. Dominick, 1991. *Mass media research*. Belmont, California: Wordsworth Publishing Company.
28. Berg, B.L., 2001. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
29. Kerlinger, F., 1986. *Foundation of behavioural research* (3rd ed.). New York: Holt, Rinehart Winston.