Framing of Environmental Issues in National Newspapers of Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

Coverage of environment related issues in media develops an awareness and understanding of the problem, and also puts a considerable impact on the public perception of the environmental issues. The newspapers take up the stories of environment in multiple frames. The objective of the study is to explore the coverage of the environmental issues by the English and Urdu newspapers of Pakistan. Two English newspapers i.e. The News and Dawn and two Urdu dailies i.e. Express and Jang were selected for this study. The selection of these papers is based on their wide circulation and credibility among public. The data to analyse framing was drawn from the publications of these four newspapers during the years 2017 and 2018. It has been realised that Urdu newspapers should dedicate more space for the issues related to environment, as compared to that of English version. Responsible reporting on the environmental issues may develop a better awareness and understanding of the issue among masses.

Introduction

Pakistan is ranked amongst the most populous countries of the world. Tremendous growth in population and industrial

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expansion has caused environment related problems in the thickly populated areas of the country. Being fully aware of these issues, Pakistan has been a signatory to "Kyoto Protocol" to counter environmental hazards. The country established the Ministry of Environment in 1988 with the mandate to overcome the challenges of the environment.

The movement to protect environment was started in the West in the late 19th Century. In Pakistan however, the awareness did not begin until the early 1990s. The issue has become complex due to some other factors like poverty, social intricacies, and absence of sustainability in the process of development. In many communities, the utilization of resources has been done in a very clumsy way, thus putting the surroundings and natural environment in great jeopardy.¹ The carbon dioxide emission from the factories, industries, vehicles, houses, and electricity production units have significantly polluted the environment of the entire globe. Some of the most populous cities of Pakistan like Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar and Rawalpindi have been included in the top twenty polluted cities of the world according to the report of the World Health Organization, 2016. This is a highly alarming situation.

Another major concern is the water pollution in Pakistan. The toxic waste of the factories not only damages the eco system of the cities but also causes serious health issues. These health issues are being reflected on the national statistics alarmingly with the main cause of using the unhygienic water intake. It has been reported that the 70 percent of the underground water reservoirs and ground water is polluted and contaminated by the toxic wastes, causing diseases leading to death. Murty and Kumar have stated that polluted water is ultimately a hazard for human life, flora and fauna and overall eco system.²

¹ R Guha, "The Past and Present of Indian Environmentalism" *The Hindu,* March 27, 2013.

M. N. Murty & S. Kumar, "Water Pollution in India: An Economic Appraisal" India Infrastructure Report 2011: Water: Policy and Performance

Communication about environmental issues creates awareness among the public; encouraging them to preserve their natural resources, and think about how to reduce harmful human intervention that negatively alters the ecosystem. It creates consciousness that the repercussions of the adverse human activities can be lethal, and remedies are necessary to avoid any negative circumstances. The role of print media is vital in this process because they address these issues at length. According to the theory of agenda setting, public agenda is highly influenced by the media agenda.³ People consider those issues more important that are more highlighted by the media.

The environmental issues are addressed in different ways by the newspapers. The number of reports and articles in print media is on the rise. For example, the English newspapers dedicated more space for reports and news regarding environmental issues compared to the Urdu newspapers. The previous studies focused more on English newspapers' coverage of the environmental problems, but did not pick the Urdu papers despite the fact that they are widely circulated and their penetration is deep. It is a plain fact that the Urdu newspapers have access to grass root level giving the public better awareness of the events and issues. Therefore, there is a great need to analyse the national language (Urdu) newspapers which have more influence and impact on the masses in spreading information and creating awareness.

The purpose of this study is to analyse the media treatment of the issues of environment in the most widely circulated Urdu and English newspapers of Pakistan and to investigate the ratio of the newspapers' coverage with reference to frames given to news stories regarding the issues of environment.

for Sustainable Development, Retrieved from https://works.bepress.com/surender_kumar/32/ on January 30, 2017.

M. E. ScCombs and D. L. Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media," 36, no. 2 (1972); Also see, Saqib Riaz, Agenda Setting Role of Media in Pakistan: Exploring Media Effects on Society (Berlin: Lambert Publishers, 2010).

News Coverage of Environmental issues

People shape their perspective and perception regarding issues and events by the news coverage presented by the media organizations. Agenda setting theory of media effects supports the idea in such a way that the media agenda becomes the public agenda with the passage of time.⁴ Newspapers frame the stories of environment in different ways. In most organizations, the environment is not a specified beat in the news coverage. Sometimes, reporters with no specific background are assigned to report environmental stories. They commonly lack the knowledge to understand the complexities of the issues and the remedies recommended. They often make the issue more confusing for readers. Environmental news coverage is highly constrained by the market pressure, editorial judgment, policy of the organization and limitations of the space in newspapers.⁵

In most of the Pakistani media organizations environmental news coverage is not a high priority of the editors while choosing the edition's content. Such stories usually get the space only when something more 'substantial' or in other words more 'sensational' is not at hand to publish. It is usually considered a filling item for the newspaper to fill some empty space. The study of Boykoff has indicated that the news media is the key player in developing consciousness among public regarding the climatic change. Some studies found that the increase in the coverage on climatic change was more due to politics rather than scientific reasons. Caldero'n *et al*, have explored that the coverage on environment was primarily due to politicians rather than in accordance with the local needs

⁴ ScCombs and Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media; Riaz, Agenda Setting Role of Media in Pakistan: Exploring Media Effects on Society

N. H. Anderson, "Psychodynamics of Everyday Life: Blaming and Avoiding Blame," In *Contributions to Information Integration Theory*, Volume II ed., N. H. Anderson)Hillside, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991), 243-275.

and problems. He also concluded that dust in homes has caused severe allergies among residents.⁷

Pompper found that the dominant sources used in the coverage of environment stories were governmental and industrial that lauded the official voices. The domination of official sources suppresses the voices of the community and social workers. Cox mentioned that media audiences rarely believe on the claims of the governments for the reduction of pollution. Francis analysed that crime stories dominated news space in comparison to agricultural and environmental news coverage.⁸

Many researchers have studied the environmental issues with reference to framing in newspapers. Mostly the articles on environment are focused for the study. Valkenburg in his study of Dutch newspapers has observed that commonly used frames were exercised in the coverage of the environmental issues as identified in the previous researches.9 The Responsibility Frame was the heavily used one and second prevalent was the frame of economic factors. Here, this is pertinent to mention that certain frames were used by media scholars while analysing the content during their studies regarding framing theory. It means that most newspapers of the study emphasized on media to play their role of responsibility while giving coverage to news about environment and climate change.

Tong while analysing the investigative stories on environment problems brought forward the point that the Responsibility Frames along with the Consequence Frame were prevalent

⁷ A. Calderón, A. Linneberg, J. Kleine-Tebbe, et al. "Respiratory Allergy Due to House Dust Mites: What Do We Really Know? *The Journal of Allergy and Clinical mmunology* 136, no. 1 (2015): 38-48.

⁸ K. C. Francis, "Ethics in Newspaper Journalism in Kerala," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Kerala, 2014).

⁹ P. M Valkenburg, "Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News," *Journal of Communication* 50, no. 2 (2000):93-109.

as compared to other frames.¹⁰ This was also another kind of frame to analyse media content according to the parameters of framing theory. It was found that the stories in the Chinese newspapers were more critical in nature towards the policies and economic priorities of the government. These news stories held Chinese government accountable for the issues and problems of the environment. The journalists faced stress on their social responsibility and independence while covering the story on environmental issues. The researcher while exploring the role of Pakistani newspapers has found that media played a significant role in sensitizing the people of Pakistan regarding the issue at hand.¹¹

Christos and Demetrios found that local newspapers emphasize more on the regional environmental issues like water pollution, sanitation, deforestation, fire hazards etc. and climatic conditions were on the top of all these. 12 The local newspapers put little emphasis on the international issues like global warming, melting of glaciers, ozone depletion etc. Neither there was any regularity nor sequence or follow up of these stories in local newspapers of Pakistan. In connection with the World's Environment Day i.e. June 5, national newspapers give a considerable space to environment around this eve. Many conferences, seminars and other ceremonies were held to create public awareness about environment. Christos and Demetrios also have lamented the fact that journalists lack basic understanding about the environmental issues and their insufficient knowledge keep them away from the environmentalists.¹³

J. Tong, "Environmental Risks in Newspaper Coverage: A Framing Analysis of Investigative Reports on Environmental Problems in 10 Chinese Newspapers," *Environmental Communication* 8, no. 3 (2014): 345-367.

¹¹ S. Riaz, "Role of Media in Climate Sensitization," *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* 38, no. 1 (2018):152-165.

A. T Christos & P. M Demetrios, "Environmental News in Greece: Evaluation of the Way Newspapers Deal with Environmental Issues," *International Journal of Environmental Studies* 65, no. 2 (2008).

¹³ Christos & Demetrios, "Environmental News in Greece,".

Dirikx and Gelders investigated the treatment of environmental problems in Dutch and French newspapers. They have found that the Consequence Frame was the dominant frame in the coverage of the climate change issues. 14 Responsibility Frame was the second frequently used frame. The article emphasized the hazardous conditions and rapid action to eliminate cause and provide remedies. The news stories focused on the fixing of responsibilities on the government for ignoring the issue. According to Cottle, the study of environmental effects has become one of the most important research studies all over the world. He emphasized that the media scholars should concentrate more to find the role of media outlets in creating awareness among the masses about the hazardous effects of pollution in the developing as well as developed world. 15

Chetty *et al.* while analysing the New Zealand newspapers for framing of environmental issues, has found that the most prominent frames were political, economic and social progress. The Political Frame was the dominant one with the coverage of world leaders highlighting the climatic change and international meetings regarding policy making and negotiations.

Neverla *et al.* explored while studying the Bangladesh newspapers that the literacy of the masses was also an important factor to understand the concept of climatic change, ozone depletion and other scientific issues related to the environment.¹⁷ It was also found that the media merely report

A. Dirikx & D. Gelders, To Frame is to Explain: A Deductive Frame-analysis of Dutch and French Climate Change Coverage during the Annual UN Conferences of the Parties," *Public Understanding of Science* 19, no. 9 (2009): 732-742.

¹⁵ S. Cottle, Global Crisis Reporting: Journalism in the Global Age (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2019).

¹⁶ K. Chetty, V. Devadas, J. S Fleming et al., "The Framing of Climate Change in New Zealand Newspapers from 2009 to June 2010," *Journal of Media and Communication Studies* 45, no. 1 (2015):1-20.

I. Neverla, C. Lüthje, S. Mahmud (2012). "Challenges to Climate Change Communication through Mass Media in Bangladesh: A Developing Country Perspective," In Rethinking Climate Change Research: Clean-Technology,

the governmental policies and activities on environment while the voice of the general public and environmentalists was hardly given any space.

These studies show the world-wide trends of media coverage to the global issues of environment and climate change. The issue is not specific to one country or the other, but it is a global issue and it should be taken in global perspective.

Research Methodology

Entman has pointed out that framing can be employed to analyse the coverage given by media. Framing reveals the angling and slant of a news story and how it affects the readers. In Nisbet's eyes, framing tells the storyline. It reveals the communication modes that how an issue is transmitted to readers and who is responsible and what should be done in this regard. Scheufele and Tewksbury have mentioned that framing examines how a matter is presented in a particular news story, what attributes are attached with it and how it will affect the receivers.

Table 1: Types of Frame

Frames	Key issues raised in newspapers.
Responsibility	The blame or the accountability of the cause on group or individual.
Economic	Stress how issue will affect economically.
Scientific	Environment as scientific issue.

Culture and Communication eds., Jespersen, Per Homann, Riis, Søren and Almlund, Pernille (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012): 224-245.

¹⁸ Robert Entman, "Framing Media Power," In *Doing News Framing Analysis: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives* eds., Paul D'Angelo and Jim A. Kuypers (New York and London: Routledge, 2010).

M. C. Nisbet, "Communicating Climate Change. Why Frames Matter to Public Engagement," *Environment* 51, no. 2 (2009):73-87.

²⁰ D. A. Scheufele & D. Tewksbury, (2007). "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models," *Journal of Communication* 57, no. 1 (2007): 9-20.

Extreme Weather Events	Climatic changes which are unexpected, unusual, sever and out of season.	
Environment and Climate	Events taking place regarding environment and climate including seminars, conferences etc.	
Political	Environment as policy matter by the governments or international organizations for solutions and framing laws.	
Consequence	Hazardous conditions and effects of the environmental issues	

This study also employed a framing paradigm for the analysis of environmental stories based on qualitative and quantitative content. The news stories, reports and articles from archives were taken by using the terms related to environment like "climate change", "global warming", "Ozone depletion "and "pollution". These searches were carried in headlines or in the text of the story. These terms were finalized from the pilot study of the contents conducted in November 2016, but the frames were adapted from the work of Valkenburg and Haila.²¹

The newspapers selected for the study published a significant number of environmental news stories during the specified period of two years. The daily *Dawn* published 955 news stories about environmental issues while *The News* published 810 news stories during the period of content analysis. The Urdu newspapers published comparatively fewer number of news. The study found 376 for the daily *Jang* and 208 stories for the daily *Express*. The frequency and the frames were measured for all these news stories and their content was analysed. The dominant frame of every news story was

²¹ Y. Haila, "Beyond the Nature-Culture Dualism," *Biology & Philosophy* 15, no. 5 (2000):155-175.

considered, and the other frames were ignored. The frames classified in the newspapers were Responsibility, Political, Scientific, Economic, Extreme Weather, Events and Consequences. All these frames have been defined in the Table 1.

The statistical test One-way ANOVA was applied to measure substantial difference in frames among the newspapers of the study. The content published on main sections like front page, international, national and city page was analysed. The stories published on other pages were not included. The actual damage caused by the floods during the monsoon season received much less coverage than that given to high level political figures including president, prime minister and other ministers etc. who visited the affected areas or met people affected by the disaster. Hence, the Political Frame remained dominant over the other frames of the coverage.

Findings

This study focused to reveal the dominant framing of the environmental issues in the most widely circulated Urdu and English newspapers of Pakistan. These were daily Dawn. daily The News, daily Jang and daily Express. The study investigated the news coverage of environmental issues to identify the difference related to frequency of the stories, their frames and length covered by the issue. During the study period of two years, (starting from January 1, 2017 to December 31, 2018), the total news stories retrieved from Dawn were 955, The News published 810, Jang reported 376 and 208 stories were published by daily Express. The most stories were published during May-June period because the World Environment Day falls on June 5th every year. Many activities were initiated by the government, the NGOs and other concerned departments regarding media coverage of environmental issues. Many seminars, workshops and conferences were held in different big and small cities of the country on the eve.

Dominant Frames relating to Environment in the Newspapers

The comparison of prominence of frame and frequency of the frames were analysed on the bases of statistics. The total stories (n=2349) were encoded for frames either absent (0) or present (1). The present frames were coded for only the dominant frame. One-way ANOVA was run on the statistics. The results show a significant difference among the frames used by the newspapers of the study with F=5.5503 and P-value= 0.0048. The Table 2 elaborates the results in percentages and frequencies. The English newspapers published more stories (n=1765) than the Urdu (n=584). The Urdu newspapers giving less coverage to the environmental issues indicates that English newspapers gave more attention to these matters.

The Figure 1 shows the number of news stories with dominant environmental frames in national newspapers of Pakistan. As evident from the figure, the Scientific Frame remained as highest frame with 646 (27.5%) news stories while the frame of political news remained the second highest frame with 538 (22.5%) news stories published on the issue of environment in the selected newspapers for the period of two years. The Responsibility Frame got 316 (13.5%) news items and the Economic Frame was found on number four position with 284 (12.1%) news items.

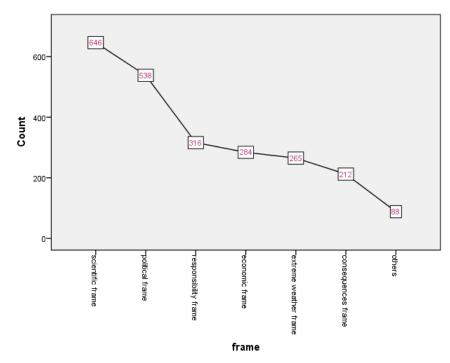


Figure 1: Dominant Environmental Frames in National Newspapers

The news stories with Extreme Weather Frame remained on 5th position with 265 (11%) while the frame of Consequences was found on 6th position with 212 news items (9%). The frame of 'Others' got the least position with minimum number of 88 (3.7%).

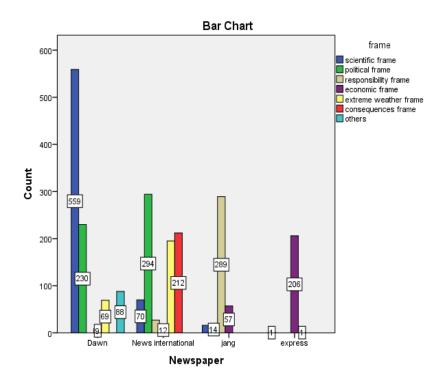


Figure 2: Frequency of Environmental News Coverage in National Newspapers

As evident from the Table 2, the daily *Dawn* published the highest number of news stories with 955 (40.7%) while *The News* published 810 (34.5%) news on the subject related to environment during the time period of two years. Thus, the two English newspapers published a total number of 1765 news stories. On the other hand, the Urdu newspapers published 584 news stories. The largest widely circulated Urdu daily newspaper *Jang* published 376 (16%) news while the second largest Urdu newspaper *Express* published 208 (8.9%) on the subject of environment during the abovementioned period of two years.

Table 2: FREQUENCY OF ENVIRONMENTAL NEWS IN NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers	Frequency(Percent)
Dawn	955 (40.7%)
The News	810 (34.5%)
Express	208(8.9%)
Jang	376(16.0%)
Type of Frames	
Scientific Frame	646 (27.5%)
Political Frame	538 (22.5%)
Responsibility Frame	316 (13.5%)
Economic Frame	284 (12.1%)
Extreme Weather Frame	265 (11.3%)
Consequences Frame	212 (9.0%)
Others	88(3.7%)
Total	N=2349(100%)

As evident from the Figure 1, Scientific Frame was found as the most dominant frame amongst all newspapers with 27.5 percent coverage. This includes the research reports, scientific explanations, viewpoints of environmentalists and research conferences. The coverage contains the reports of the persistent activities of the environmental scientists to unearth the prevailing conditions of environment, discovering their causes on scientific tracks and highlighting the developing situations. It also included the international activities of larger conferences where scientists discuss the complex scientific procedures of climatic change and its impact on earth. The English newspapers give it more coverage because English dailies give more coverage to global events and issues in general. The readers of English newspapers are more literate and have better understanding of the environmental issues and their effects on their surroundings. The lack of training for journalists to cover scientific and environmental issues is also an important factor which impacts the media coverage. The journalists of Urdu newspapers are not especially skilled and trained to handle the scientific news like environmental issues. The terms like "Ozone Depletion" or "El Ninoe" require a certain level of scientific knowledge and education which most of these Urdu journalists lack. They publish press releases as received and do not have the proficiency to change scientific terminology into accessible language or offer simple explanations. These terminologies are well familiar to scientists, but a layman is unable to understand them. Therefore, the communication of the concept has not taken place adequately. The scientists explain the phenomena of climate change in the terms like "El Nino" quite repeatedly which is reported as it is in the newspapers. The following passages demonstrate this dilemma:

There were three El Nino from 1957 to 1980s. These El Nino were categorized as strong to very strong. The problem is that since 1980s the frequency of such El Ninos has increased to 10, said Prof. Munir Malik. Whenever the sea temperature of Indian Ocean rises from 3 to 5 degrees from the average normal we face an El Nino. We have seen such strong El Nino recently which has a great impact on North western monsoon system.

The temperature of Pacific Ocean near South America is around 60° F to 70° F. When the temperature of Pacific rises up to 80° F, the region faces the climatic change. The El Nino effect causes an increase in the temperatures of Southeast Asia and North Australia. El Nino also increases the temperature of the ocean.²²

The Political Frame was found the second highest theme attributed with the coverage of environmental issues with 22.5 percent of the whole coverage of the sample newspapers. Both the English and Urdu newspapers gave equal portion to the Political Frame. The Political Frame highlights the environment as policy matter by governments or international organizations for solutions and legislation. It involves the statements, speeches and visits of the political leaders including the President, Prime Minister and other dignitaries of the government at top level. The news stories with Political Frames focused more on the VIP figures than on the environmental problems. Chetty et al, also has found that

²² Dawn, 10 October 2018.

political leaders and world policy makers are the prominent figures whose participation was the main cause of the prominence of this frame on other frames while covering stories on environment.²³ The Political Frame was found more dominant in the coverage in the months of May and June. It is because of the fact that World Environment Day related conferences and seminars were held where prominent political figures made appearances to discuss the policies for the issues related to environment. Commonly, the legislative process was initiated in this period and hence was reported in the newspapers. In Pakistan, the Ministry of Environment also started an awareness campaign on the key issues faced by the country. The campaign's funding was also an important factor for the newspapers to give the proper coverage to the news related to campaign. On many occasions, newspapers were paid the funds for advertising the theme of environment for public awareness. This phenomenon resulted in the increase of coverage of the issue by the media organizations. This concept was supported by "Pay the Piper" approach which advocated that if you pay the media, they would sing your praise.²⁴

The Responsibility Frame was found as third prominent frame with 13.5 percent coverage. The English newspapers gave more coverage to Responsibility Frame compared to that of Urdu newspapers. The discussion and seminars' news coverage might be the cause of the higher coverage in the English newspapers. Responsibility Frame held the group organization or individuals accountable for the cause and not taking remedies. On the other hand, the Urdu newspapers did not publish many news stories under the frame of responsibility.

The Economic Frame was found as 12.1 percent and the news stories under this frame were covered reasonably well.

²³ Chetty, Devadas, Fleming *et al.*, "The Framing of Climate Change in New Zealand Newspapers from 2009 to June 2010,".

²⁴ P.J. Shoemaker and S. D. Reese, Mediating The Message: Theories of Influences on Masss Media Content (New York and London: Longman, 1994).

The news regarding economic factors were covered more by the English newspapers because mostly these stories came from foreign sources and English newspapers prefer international news with foreign sources. Urdu newspapers normally give less space to international and environment news. The English newspapers' readership keeps itself well aware of the international events and issues so here the space availability is greater than the Urdu newspapers, whereas the readers of Urdu newspapers are interested more in political news and local events.

The Extreme Weather and Consequences Frames were least prominent at 11.3 percent and 9 percent, respectively. The Extreme Weather Frame was covered by the Urdu newspapers more prominent than English newspapers. Severe Weather has more impact on lower middle and lower classes social groups. The lack of electricity in summer and natural gas in winter season makes it hard for this class to survive the extreme weather conditions. The months of June and July receive more coverage of extreme weather conditions as the extreme as heat stoke causes scores of deaths. Such stories have greater human-interest and, therefore, qualifies to be highlighted.

The Consequence Frame was covered by the English newspapers higher than that of Urdu. This frame existed in the investigative stories considered as a hallmark of English newspapers. The climate change was main focus of the investigative journalists who dug out the consequences of the drastic changes in the climatic patterns. As such reports needed time to finalize, so their frequency became significantly low.

Conclusion

The study indicates that the English newspapers tend to give more coverage to the environmental issues having enough pages specified for matters of world importance. It is pertinent to mention that most of these stories have their origin in the western countries and therefore, are published on international pages. On the other hand, Urdu newspapers spare less space to international news and their priority of publishing news about environmental issues remains on the lower side.

Environmental issues are portrayed in the English and Urdu newspapers as more of scientific and political in nature. The coverage of the seminars, conferences and awareness campaigns by the Ministry of Environment, and Pakistan Environment Protection Agency are the main source of the origin of the stories. As these activities are more academic in nature, so the frames remain dominantly scientific. As governmental officials, political leaders and prominent personalities appear on such occasions, therefore the Political Frame gets the second highest rank. The emphasis on policy preparation and the formulation of legislation remains the main topic of discussion for such conferences. English newspapers cover such stories exclusively and extensively due to their priority of agenda and the availability of space in their news pages.

The knowledge and professional skills of the journalists also remains an important factor to determine the frames of the environmental issues. Over the years, environment has not been an important beat for most of the newspapers. Usually, random allocation for coverage of stories is assigned by the editors. The environment stories are mostly based on the issues of the complex scientific phenomena which are not easy to comprehend. The lack of knowledge of the journalists is reflected in the reproduction of technical terms and scientific explanation beyond comprehension of a layman. Many reporters cannot translate the scientific details into simple narrative for better understanding of the issues. This creates a psychological hurdle in communication. Media audiences do not develop the understanding of the problem and their concept of the issue remains confused. There is a great need for special trainings of journalists to report environmental issues adequately.