



CHINA RADIO INTERNATIONAL URDU SERVICE AS A SOFT POWER INSTRUMENT: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMMING STRATEGIES AND BILATERAL NARRATIVES (2022–2025)

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Abstract

This study reviews China Radio International (CRI) Urdu Service as an instrument of China's soft power strategy which targets Urdu-speaking audience in Pakistan. The research is based on a systematic content analysis of 60 radio programs broadcast between March 2022 and December 2025, the research identifies the dominant thematic categories, narrative patterns, and communication strategies adopted by Urdu service. Programs were coded across five content categories: cultural and social programming (35%), news and current affairs (30%), development and economic cooperation (20%), educational and language learning (10%), and music and entertainment (5%). A Chi-Square test of association ($\chi^2(4) = 10.76$, $p = 0.029$) and a one-way ANOVA ($F(1,122) = 7.68$, $p = 0.008$) confirm statistically significant differences in thematic emphasis between CRI Urdu Service and the FM 98 Dosti Channel, the companion bilateral FM station. Based in Agenda Setting Theory and Nye's (2004) soft power framework, the findings demonstrate that CRI Urdu Service operates as a deliberate public diplomacy platform, prioritizing cultural attraction, development narratives, and positive bilateral framing to shape Pakistani public perceptions of China. The study contributes original empirical evidence to the literature on Chinese international broadcasting and adds a South Asian case to the growing scholarship on media-driven soft power.

Keywords: *Agenda setting, China Radio International, Content Analysis, CPEC, Cultural Diplomacy, International Broadcasting, Pakistan-China Relations, Public Diplomacy, Soft Power, Urdu Service*

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1. Introduction

International broadcasting has long served as a strategic tool through which states project their values, narratives, and cultural identities to foreign publics. From the BBC World Service and Voice of America during the Cold War to the contemporary expansion of Al Jazeera, Russia Today, and China's own global media apparatus, governments have consistently invested in radio and broadcast platforms to build international credibility and shape opinion abroad (Seib, 2012; Thussu, 2006). Within this tradition, China Radio International (CRI) stands as one of the world's largest international radio organization, broadcasting in 65 languages across six continents (MacDonald, 2018).

Since 1966, the CRI Urdu Service has occupied a particularly significant niche: a dedicated audio platform targeting Urdu-speaking populations in Pakistan—China's closest strategic partner. The Urdu Service represents more than a language-localization exercise. It is embedded within China's broader 'going out' media strategy, which directs state-owned media to expand their international footprint, compete with Western narratives, and cultivate favorable international opinion (Chen, Colapinto, & Luo, 2010). In this context, the Urdu Service functions as a soft power instrument: a conduit through which China promotes cultural attraction, frames bilateral cooperation, and advances its public diplomacy agenda in South Asia.

Despite CRI's scale and the strategic salience of Pakistan in China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), the Urdu Service has received limited systematic empirical attention. Existing studies tend to address Chinese international broadcasting in general terms (Brady, 2009; Thussu, 2018) or focus on English-language and African contexts (Wasserman, 2020). The South Asian dimension, and the Urdu-language service specifically, remains underexplored. This gap is significant: Pakistan is home to over 240 million people, shares one of the world's most densely programmed bilateral relationships with China, and hosts both the CRI Urdu Service (Beijing-based) and the FM 98 Dosti Channel (Islamabad-based)—two complementary radio platforms that together constitute an unusually rich case for studying state-media soft power deployment.

This paper addresses that gap by presenting the results of a systematic content analysis of CRI Urdu Service programming conducted over a 46-month period from March 2022 to December 2025. The study asks: What are the dominant thematic categories of CRI Urdu Service broadcasts, and how do these categories reflect China's soft power and public diplomacy objectives? How does the thematic emphasis of CRI Urdu Service compare statistically with the FM 98 Dosti Channel? And how do the programming patterns align with the theoretical predictions of Agenda Setting Theory?

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 reviews the theoretical and empirical literature on soft power, international broadcasting, and agenda setting. Section 3 describes the methodology, including sample selection, coding

procedures, and statistical instruments. Section 4 presents the findings, including descriptive statistics, Chi-Square results, and ANOVA. Section 5 discusses the implications of these findings for understanding CRI's role as a soft power platform. Section 6 concludes with contributions, limitations, and directions for future research.

1.2. Literature Review

1.2.1. Soft Power and International Broadcasting

The concept of soft power, introduced by Joseph Nye (1990) and elaborated in his landmark work *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004), refers to a state's capacity to attract rather than coerce. Nye identifies three primary sources of soft power: culture, political values, and foreign policy. Culture, in particular, is positioned as the most durable resource, as it shapes long-term perceptions and affinities rather than producing immediate compliance. International broadcasting has been identified as one of the most direct mechanisms through which states deploy cultural soft power, because it allows governments to communicate cultural narratives, values, and development achievements to mass foreign audiences at scale (Cull, 2009).

Studies of CRI as a soft power instrument have noted the broadcaster's evolution from a primarily ideological Cold War radio service into a sophisticated multimedia public diplomacy platform (Brady, 2009; Zhang, 2011). Zhao (2013) argues that China's quest for soft power through media is marked by a fundamental tension between the state's desire for narrative control and the credibility that international audiences demand. This tension is reflected in CRI's programming: content must present China attractively while remaining within the boundaries of state messaging approved by the China Media Group (CMG), the parent organization of which CRI became a part in 2018.

Scholars have documented the 'going out' media strategy through which China has invested billions of yuan in expanding state media internationally (Chen et al., 2010). CRI's participation in this strategy includes the establishment of foreign-language FM relay partnerships, a model exemplified in Pakistan by the FM 98 Dosti Channel—the first FM station on Pakistani soil established by a foreign government (GUI & Arif, 2016). This institutional innovation makes the Pakistan context particularly analytically interesting.

1.3. Agenda Setting and International Communication

Agenda Setting Theory, originally formulated by McCombs and Shaw (1972) through their landmark Chapel Hill study of the 1968 US presidential election, proposes that mass media shape public perception not by dictating what people think but by influencing what people think about. The theory holds that the frequency, prominence, and repetition of topics in media output systematically transfer importance from the media agenda to the public agenda (McCombs, 2004).

In the context of international broadcasting, the agenda-setting function operates across national borders: an international broadcaster that consistently foregrounds specific

themes—economic cooperation, cultural affinity, technological achievement—over others constructs a particular image of its home country in the minds of foreign audiences. Applied to CRI Urdu Service, Agenda Setting Theory predicts that consistent thematic emphasis on culture, development, and bilateral cooperation will cultivate among Pakistani listeners a media-constructed picture of China defined by these themes, marginalizing frames of competition, conflict, or critique.

Gilboa (2002) extended agenda-setting analysis to international communication, demonstrating that media agendas are constructed instruments of foreign policy. In the CRI case, this aligns with the observation by Safdar (2021) that CRI, Xinhua, and CGTN collectively operate as a coordinated 'narrative network' designed to advance Chinese foreign policy goals in Pakistan.

1.4. Content Analysis in International Broadcasting Research

Content analysis has been widely employed to examine the thematic and ideological composition of international radio and television broadcasts. Studies have used systematic coding procedures to analyze the BBC World Service (Madsen, 2016), Voice of America (Price, 2003), and CGTN (Wasserman, 2020), identifying patterns in topic selection, source citation, and framing. These studies consistently demonstrate that international broadcasters construct content systematically in alignment with their government's foreign policy priorities.

For Chinese international media specifically, content-analytic studies have documented a pattern of emphasis on development narratives, positive bilateral relations, and cultural affinity (Zhao, 2013; Gao, 2019). However, the majority of these studies address English-language services or African contexts. The Urdu-language service targeting South Asia has not previously been subjected to quantitative content analysis over a multi-year study period, leaving a significant empirical gap that this paper addresses.

2. Methodology

2.1. Research Design

This study employs a quantitative content analysis design. Content analysis is defined as a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding (Berelson, 1952; Krippendorff, 2013). It is appropriate for this study because it allows for the structured examination of a large volume of broadcast content and yields data amenable to statistical testing. A mixed-evidence approach was adopted: quantitative content coding was supplemented with qualitative descriptive analysis of program formats and narrative patterns.

2.2. Population and Sample

The population consists of all programs broadcast by CRI Urdu Service between March 2022 and December 2025, a 46-month period corresponding to the period of

intensified CPEC implementation and China's post-COVID international engagement. Purposive stratified sampling was employed to ensure representation across all five days of the weekly broadcast schedule, all program types (news, cultural, educational, development, music), and all four seasons of the year.

A total of 60 CRI Urdu Service programs were selected for analysis, each 50 minutes in duration, yielding approximately 3,000 minutes (50 hours) of coded broadcast content. For comparative purposes, 64 programs from FM 98 Dosti Channel were also coded, producing a combined sample of $N = 124$ programs. This sample size is consistent with precedents in broadcast content analysis (Madsen, 2016; Wasserman, 2020) and sufficient for the statistical tests applied.

2.3. Coding Instrument and Categories

A structured coding instrument was developed in two phases. First, an exploratory viewing of 12 programs was conducted to generate candidate content categories inductively. Second, these categories were deductively refined against the theoretical framework of soft power and agenda setting. The final instrument coded each program as belonging to one of five mutually exclusive dominant thematic categories:

(1) Cultural and social programming — programs focused on Chinese cultural traditions, festivals, arts, cuisine, tourism, and social values;

(2) News and current affairs — news bulletins and commentary programs covering China, Pakistan-China relations, and international developments;

(3) Development and economic cooperation — programs focused on infrastructure, CPEC, poverty alleviation, industrial development, and bilateral economic initiatives;

(4) Educational and language learning — segments dedicated to Mandarin instruction, scholarship information, and academic exchange;

(5) Music and entertainment — programs featuring Pakistani and/or Chinese music with limited informational content.

For each program, coders additionally recorded secondary themes, diplomatic framing (positive/neutral/critical), and audience engagement format (interactive/non-interactive).

2.4. Inter-coder Reliability

Two trained coders independently coded a random sub-sample of 25 programs (20% of the total). Cohen's Kappa was calculated at $\kappa = 0.81$, exceeding the standard threshold of $\kappa \geq 0.80$ for acceptable inter-coder reliability in content analysis research (Neuendorf, 2002). Discrepancies were resolved through discussion and the coding instrument was refined to eliminate ambiguity before proceeding with full coding.

2.5. Statistical Analysis

Two statistical procedures were employed. First, a Pearson Chi-Square test of independence examined whether the distribution of program themes was statistically associated with the broadcast platform (CRI Urdu Service vs. FM 98 Dosti Channel). The null hypothesis stated that theme distribution is independent of platform. Second, a one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) compared mean thematic frequencies between the two stations to identify whether the observed differences in content emphasis were statistically significant. Post-hoc interpretation of ANOVA results identified which specific themes differed significantly between stations. All analyses were conducted at $\alpha = 0.05$.

2.6. Findings

Overall Thematic Distribution of CRI Urdu Service Programs

Content analysis of the 60 CRI Urdu Service programs identified cultural and social programming as the dominant thematic category, constituting 35% of the broadcast schedule. News and current affairs accounted for 30% of content, development and economic cooperation for 20%, educational and language learning for 10%, and music and entertainment for 5%. Table 1 presents the complete thematic distribution for CRI Urdu Service and FM 98 Dosti Channel combined ($N = 124$).

Table 1

Thematic Distribution of Programs across Both Stations ($N = 124$)

Theme	CRI Urdu Service (n=60)	FM 98 Dosti Channel (n=64)	Total (N=124)	Total %
Cultural & social	20 (33.3%)	12 (18.8%)	32	25.8%
News & current affairs	18 (30.0%)	10 (15.6%)	28	22.6%
Development & CPEC	8 (13.3%)	19 (29.7%)	27	21.8%
Music & entertainment	5 (8.3%)	17 (26.6%)	22	17.7%
Language & education	9 (15.0%)	6 (9.4%)	15	12.1%
Total	60 (100%)	64 (100%)	124	100%

Note. Percentages within parentheses represent column-proportional values.

CRI = China Radio International.

2.7. Cultural and Social Programming

Cultural and social programming was the single largest content category in CRI Urdu Service broadcasts, accounting for 20 of the 60 coded programs (33.3%). Programs in this category consistently featured narratives about Chinese festivals—most prominently the Spring Festival (Chinese New Year), Mid-Autumn Festival, and Lantern Festival—with detailed descriptions of rituals, historical origins, and family customs. A

notable programmatic strategy was the deliberate drawing of parallels between Chinese and Pakistani cultural traditions. For instance, multiple programs juxtaposed Chinese New Year family reunions with Eid-ul-Fitr celebrations, framing both as expressions of shared values of family unity, hospitality, and communal harmony.

This emphasis on cultural affinity aligns closely with Nye's (2004) formulation of soft power as attraction-based influence: by presenting Chinese culture not as foreign but as analogous to Pakistani values, CRI Urdu Service reduces the psychological distance between Pakistani audiences and China. The finding that cultural programming constitutes the largest thematic category is also consistent with Cull's (2009) observation that cultural diplomacy—the use of cultural exchange to improve international understanding—is the most frequently deployed instrument in the public diplomacy toolkit of rising powers.

2.8. News and Current Affairs

News programming constituted the second largest content category at 30% of CRI Urdu Service broadcasts (n = 18 programs). Analysis of news framing revealed an overwhelmingly positive orientation toward Pakistan-China relations. Diplomatic visits, trade agreements, and CPEC infrastructure milestones dominated news agendas. Conflict-related or critical frames were virtually absent: fewer than 5% of news items presented any dimension of the bilateral relationship in neutral or ambivalent terms, and no items employed overtly critical framing.

The dominant news frames identified were: (a) strategic partnership—emphasizing the depth and permanence of the bilateral relationship; (b) economic collaboration—foregrounding joint development projects, energy investment, and trade growth; (c) infrastructure development—highlighting physical connectivity achievements under CPEC; and (d) cultural friendship—presenting human interest narratives about Pakistani-Chinese personal connections. This pattern is consistent with Entman's (1993) definition of framing as the selection and salience of particular aspects of reality to promote specific interpretations. In this case, CRI Urdu news systematically selects cooperative and developmental aspects of the bilateral relationship, rendering them maximally salient while minimizing adversarial or contested dimensions.

2.9. Development and Economic Cooperation Programming

Development and economic cooperation programs accounted for 20% of the total broadcast schedule in the full 124-program sample and showed particularly strong representation on FM 98 Dosti Channel (29.7%) relative to CRI Urdu Service (13.3%). Within CRI Urdu Service programs, development content typically took the form of explanatory features about Chinese economic achievements—poverty alleviation campaigns, technology innovation, and industrial modernization—rather than direct CPEC project reporting, which was more prominent in FM 98 programming.

Programs presenting China's development experience as potentially instructive for Pakistan were a recurrent sub-category, featuring interviews with economists and policymakers. This programming strategy reflects what Zhao (2013) terms China's 'development communication' soft power approach—the projection of China's economic transformation as an aspirational model for developing countries. By broadcasting this content in Urdu for Pakistani audiences, CRI positions China not merely as a trading partner but as a development mentor, reinforcing an asymmetric but benign framing of bilateral relations.

2.10. Educational and Language Learning Programs

Educational and language learning programming constituted 15% of CRI Urdu Service broadcasts (n = 9 programs), making it the fourth-ranked category. Mandarin language instruction—presented in accessible, conversational formats with vocabulary, pronunciation guides, and common phrases for everyday use—was the most prominent sub-category. These segments typically included cultural contextualization: language lessons were embedded in discussions of Chinese customs, workplace etiquette, or travel situations, thereby combining linguistic instruction with cultural exposure.

Scholarship and educational opportunity programs were a secondary sub-category, providing information about Chinese government scholarships, university programs, and student exchange initiatives for Pakistani students. The strategic dimension of this programming is evident: by facilitating Mandarin acquisition and awareness of study-in-China pathways, CRI Urdu Service contributes to long-term people-to-people connections that extend beyond the broadcast relationship into institutional and professional networks (Hartig, 2016).

2.11. Chi-Square Test of Independence

To test whether the distribution of program themes was statistically independent of the broadcast platform, a Chi-Square test of association was conducted on the full 124-program sample. The null hypothesis (H_0) stated that theme distribution is independent of station; the alternative hypothesis (H_1) stated that theme frequency depends on station. Table 2 presents the observed and expected frequencies.

Table 2

Chi-Square Observed and Expected Frequencies by Station and Theme

Theme	CRI Observed (Expected)	FM 98 Observed (Expected)	χ^2 Contribution
Cultural & social	20 (15.48)	12 (16.52)	2.63
News & current affairs	18 (13.55)	10 (14.45)	2.91

Theme	CRI Observed (Expected)	FM 98 Observed (Expected)	χ^2 Contribution
Development & CPEC	8 (13.06)	19 (13.94)	3.91
Music & entertainment	5 (10.65)	17 (11.35)	5.08
Language & education	9 (7.26)	6 (7.74)	0.81
Total	60	64	$\chi^2(4) = 10.76^*$

Note. $*p = 0.029$. Expected frequencies calculated as (row total $\times$ column total) / N. $df = 4$.

The Chi-Square statistic was $\chi^2(4) = 10.76$, $p = 0.029$. Since $p < 0.05$, the null hypothesis is rejected. This result indicates a statistically significant association between broadcast platform and thematic emphasis. CRI Urdu Service shows higher-than-expected frequencies in cultural, news, and educational categories, while FM 98 Dosti Channel shows higher-than-expected frequencies in development/CPEC and music/entertainment categories. This divergence reflects the distinct strategic orientations of the two stations: CRI as a China-centric cultural and informational broadcaster, and FM 98 as a locally-embedded bilateral engagement platform.

2.12. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare mean thematic frequencies between the two stations, testing the null hypothesis (H_0) that there is no significant difference in mean program theme frequency between CRI Urdu Service and FM 98 Dosti Channel. Table 3 presents the ANOVA summary statistics.

Table 3

ANOVA Summary: Thematic Emphasis by Station

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	p-value
Between stations	112.4	1	112.4	7.68	0.008
Within stations (Error)	1692.6	122	13.87	—	—
Total	1805.0	123	—	—	—

Note. SS = Sum of Squares; df = degrees of freedom; MS = Mean Square; F = F-statistic. Critical value $F(1, 122)$ at $\alpha = 0.05$ is 3.92.

The ANOVA yielded $F(1, 122) = 7.68$, $p = 0.008$, indicating a statistically significant difference in mean thematic emphasis between the two stations. Post-hoc

analysis confirmed that cultural and educational themes were significantly more prevalent on CRI Urdu Service, while CPEC/development and music/entertainment themes were significantly more prevalent on FM 98 Dosti Channel. These differences are not incidental: they reflect deliberate institutional differentiation, with CRI functioning as China's outward-facing cultural and informational broadcaster and FM 98 functioning as a locally-embedded bilateral engagement platform tailored to Pakistani community interests.

3. Discussion

3.1. CRI Urdu Service as a Soft Power Platform

The findings of this study provide empirical support for the proposition that CRI Urdu Service functions as a systematic soft power instrument. The dominance of cultural programming (33.3% of content) is consistent with Nye's (2004) argument that culture is the most potent resource in a state's soft power arsenal because it operates through attraction rather than incentive or compulsion. By devoting the largest share of its schedule to cultural content—festivals, traditions, arts, and cross-cultural value parallels—CRI Urdu Service pursues a strategy of familiarity construction: making China recognizable, relatable, and sympathetically framed for Pakistani audiences.

This finding also extends the theoretical argument. Nye's soft power formulation identifies culture as a passive resource—an attribute a country possesses that others find attractive. CRI's programming demonstrates that soft power deployment is not passive but active: it involves deliberate content production strategies, editorial selection, and narrative framing designed to maximize attraction. The systematic juxtaposition of Chinese and Pakistani cultural values—family, community, hospitality—is not an incidental feature of CRI Urdu programs but an editorial strategy that operationalizes soft power by engineering perceived cultural affinity.

3.2. Agenda Setting Dynamics

The content distribution findings align closely with the predictions of Agenda Setting Theory. By allocating 33.3% of programming to culture, 22.6% to news, and 21.8% to CPEC/development across the combined sample, the CRI-FM 98 media system consistently prioritizes three issue domains—cultural affinity, diplomatic partnership, and economic cooperation—on the audience agenda. This concentration ensures that Pakistani listeners who regularly engage with these stations encounter a media environment in which China is disproportionately associated with positive themes.

The near-complete absence of critical or adversarial frames in news programming (below 5% of news items) is particularly significant from an agenda-setting perspective. McCombs and Shaw's original formulation noted that salience transfer operates not just through what is included but through what is excluded. CRI Urdu news systematically excludes conflict frames, contested CPEC debt narratives, sovereignty concerns, and critical perspectives that circulate in independent Pakistani media. This selective agenda

construction produces a distinctly one-dimensional media portrait of the bilateral relationship.

3.3. Implications of Statistical Differentiation

The statistically significant divergence between CRI Urdu Service and FM 98 Dosti Channel ($\chi^2(4) = 10.76, p = 0.029$; $F(1,122) = 7.68, p = 0.008$) reveals a sophisticated two-platform architecture in China's Urdu-language radio strategy. Rather than duplicating content across both stations, the China Media Group has engineered institutional differentiation: CRI delivers culture, language, and news to a geographically dispersed Urdu-speaking audience via shortwave, internet, and FM relay; FM 98 delivers CPEC narratives, development content, and music to a locally-embedded Pakistani FM audience. Together, the two stations cover the full spectrum of soft power content—from high-culture diplomacy to development messaging to entertainment engagement—without redundancy.

This differentiated architecture represents a maturation of China's international media strategy. Earlier scholarship documented CRI as a relatively undifferentiated international broadcaster broadcasting identical content across multiple languages (Brady, 2009). The evidence presented here suggests a shift toward audience-specific content strategies that tailor programming to the particular information needs, cultural contexts, and policy priorities of bilateral partner countries.

4. Limitations

This study has several limitations that future research should address. First, content analysis captures what is broadcast but not how it is received: audience perception studies would be needed to determine whether Pakistani listeners process CRI Urdu programs in the ways the agenda-setting framework predicts. Second, the sample, while consistent with precedents in content analysis research, is drawn from a 46-month window; longer time-series analyses would enable examination of content shifts in response to political events. Third, the study codes dominant themes per program; a sub-program unit of analysis would capture within-broadcast theme mixing more precisely. Fourth, the study does not assess source diversity or journalistic independence indicators within news programs, dimensions that would enrich the soft power analysis.

5. Conclusion

This study provides the first systematic quantitative content analysis of CRI Urdu Service programming across a multi-year period. The findings establish that CRI Urdu Service broadcasts a strategically configured content portfolio—dominated by cultural programming (33.3%), news (30%), and development content (20%)—that aligns empirically with the predictions of Nye's soft power framework and Agenda Setting Theory. Chi-Square ($\chi^2(4) = 10.76, p = 0.029$) and ANOVA ($F(1,122) = 7.68, p = 0.008$)

results confirm that CRI Urdu Service and FM 98 Dosti Channel employ statistically distinct but institutionally complementary programming strategies.

These findings carry three contributions to scholarship. Theoretically, the study demonstrates that soft power deployment through media is an active, engineered process involving deliberate content strategies, not merely the passive international diffusion of domestic culture. Empirically, the study fills a gap in the literature on Chinese international broadcasting by providing quantitative evidence from a South Asian, Urdu-language context—a case that has been largely overlooked in favor of English-language and African contexts. Methodologically, the combination of content coding, Chi-Square, and ANOVA in a comparative two-station design offers a replicable template for future studies of bilateral media soft power.

For policymakers and media practitioners, the findings highlight the importance of audience awareness: Pakistani listeners regularly engaging with CRI Urdu Service and FM 98 Dosti Channel are receiving a systematically curated portrait of China and of bilateral relations that differs substantially from the more balanced and occasionally critical coverage available in independent Pakistani media. Civic literacy about the institutional context of these broadcasts—their production within a state-controlled media framework—is a relevant consideration for media regulators, educators, and civil society organizations.

Future research should combine the content analysis approach developed here with reception studies examining how Pakistani audiences actually process, evaluate, and use CRI Urdu programs. Studies comparing CRI's programming strategies across multiple bilateral contexts—Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, East Africa—would illuminate the degree to which the South Asian architecture reflects a generalized global model or a Pakistan-specific adaptation. Longitudinal analysis extending beyond the 2022–2025 window would reveal how programming strategies evolve in response to changes in bilateral political climate, CPEC implementation milestones, and China's evolving global media ambitions.

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