

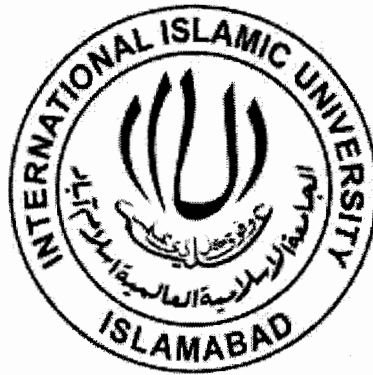
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Coverage of Gilgit-Baltistan Issues in National Leading
Urdu Newspapers

Content Analysis of the Daily Jang and Daily Express

Session 2008-09

M.Sc Thesis



Research Scholar

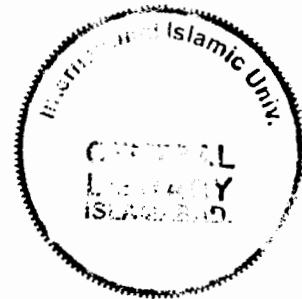
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- 2. Baltistan (") - " " " "

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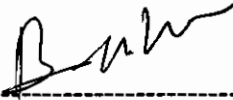


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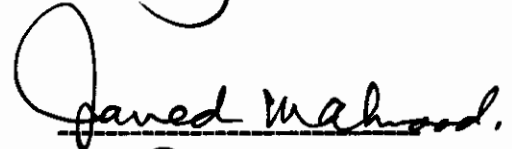
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Declaration

This thesis has been submitted as partial fulfillment of master in media and communication studies to the Center for Media and Communication Studies. I solemnly declare that this is my original research work and I have not plagiarized any material and whatever I quoted from a secondary source, proper citation and references have been made. The work was done under the guidance of Syed Inam-ur-Rahman; Lecturer Center for Media & Communication Studies International Islamic University Islamabad.

M Sanaullah Shah

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A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Media and Mass communication Studies Center for Media and Communication Studies International Islamic University Islamabad. I would like to sincerely thank my Supervisor, Syed Inam-ur-Rahman, with whose guidance I was able to complete this thesis. I am grateful to him for his continuous inputs and ideas since I began this project. It was only because of him that I was able to conceptualize this thesis. Apart from his views about narrowing the scope of my thesis, his inputs during the editing and redrafting phase of this work have been invaluable.

I am immensely grateful to my cousin Syed Ziaullah Shah, who helped me a lot during the whole period of my thesis. I am especially thankful to my all friends for their guidance. Thanks to my parents’ emotional, moral and financial support throughout my educational career.

Dedicated to my parents

Abstract

Press is said to be the fourth pillar of the state and it plays a vital role in the development of a state and the society as well, they tell us which issues are important and which ones are not. The media's daily reports inform us about the latest events and changes taking place in the world. Gilgit-Baltistan is under developed region and needs development, education, better infrastructure, and communication networks. The focal point of this study is to investigate the national leading Urdu newspapers news coverage on Gilgit-Baltistan issues especially, development issues (poverty, agricultural, educational, basic necessity, civic issues and health condition), conflict (sectarian, ethnic and nationalist elements), and constitutional issues. Research questions are: Do the two national leading Urdu newspapers print the news reports on the Gilgit-Baltistan issues every day? What is the proportion of news coverage of the Gilgit-Baltistan issues on front pages in *daily Jang* and *daily Express*? Do Express and Jang provide higher proportion of space to constitutional issue of Gilgit-Baltistan? Do the daily Express and daily provide high proportion of space to development news of Gilgit-Baltistan? Do the *daily Express* and *daily Jang* reports sectarian conflict of Gilgit-Baltistan in the same way; if not, which paper counts more? The observed data of this thesis consists of content analysis of the two national leading Urdu news papers published from Islamabad. The selection criteria of newspapers are based on news stories from Gilgit-Baltistan.

Introduction

Gilgit-Baltistan is one of the disputed parts located in the north of Pakistan. Due to its geographical and geostrategic position this region is very important for Pakistan. The Karakorum Highway (KKH) is the only gateway which joins Pakistan with China through Gilgit-Baltistan. The whole business with China is done through this road. It is also called the silk route. The people of Gilgit-Baltistan are the political orphans, without any forceful voice to speak for their rights. The people of Gilgit-Baltistan's long standing demand for constitutional rights are right to vote, representation in the parliament, and also demand for handing over of political as well as administrative powers at local level.

The people of Gilgit-Baltistan (Northern Areas) Express different anxiety with regard to their future and they are particularly worried about their constitutional status. They want to have a well defined constitutional status the majority of the people in the Gilgit-Baltistan (Northern Areas) are educationally very backward but politically very conscious. They have a deep understanding of their vague political and constitutional status. However, they have little interest in waging struggle for their rights. They are too busy in earning their livelihood. (Northern Areas: crises and prospects' Amir Rana & Mujtaba Rathore)

The Gilgit-Baltistan is a story of deprivation of people and their land devoid of any development and denial of basic fundamental rights. There is no adult franchise, no assembly and the people have never participated in an election or sent representatives to the National Assembly. The Gilgit-Baltistan has remained deprived of a High Court and of the facility of writ petitions against arbitrary State action. Even a death sentence is confirmed by the court of Judicial Commissioner. The people of Gilgit-Baltistan cannot appeal to the Supreme Court. The Gilgit-Baltistan has not had the benefit of any legislature or legislative representation for decades. Under Dogra rule, members from Gilgit and Baltistan were represented in the State Assembly.

Sectarianism is a curse and a sort of punishment of God upon people; it emerges when intellectual and quite religio-academic issues are made public, when purely scholastic and delicate issues of religion are brought out of discussions rooms of contemporary or religious educational institutions. Amid blindly following their ulema, illiterate people unknowingly engage in quarrels among each other and these ignorant people do and consider it as if it is a religious service or obligation.

Northern Areas of Pakistan (recently renamed as Gilgit-Baltistan) are one of the unfortunate victims of this evil, where two sects i.e. Ahl-e-Sunnat and Ahl-e-Tashee have long been engaged in such sectarian violence for quite trifle issues. Spirit of tolerance has died and both sects are not ready to bear each other.

The main centre of this problem is “Gilgit” headquarter of Gilgit-Baltistan, causing unrest in this heart of the region, a mixed sects population of 0.247 million people making 28% of the total population of the region.

At the time of violence, the city is automatically converted into no go areas and the unfortunate innocent people who happen to be in the areas of the opposite sect people are killed ruthlessly.

Sectarianism has snatched the basic rights of the human beings .There are examples when people were burnt alive and properties were put on fire. Many scholars, doctors, teachers, intellectuals and the religious figures were killed. Even at times dumb, deaf and handicapped people were slain fanatically on the account of their relationship with the opposite sect and the pinching and the abhorrent thing about all this is that they kept doing all this with the perception of this being their religious obligation.

Gilgit-Baltistan is called paradise on earth on the account of its enormous beauty, it's mighty and heaven kissing peaks, snow covered mountains, greenery, lakes, rivers, and many more. Tourism has become the biggest industry for both public and government. Due to unfavorable condition of peace prevailing over here, tourists have stopped coming here and this has damaged the industry. Hotels and guest houses are deserted and the hotel owners have started substitute businesses to feed

their children. A hotel owner, who is having a huge guest house of above 50 rooms available only for the foreigners, has closed it and started business of Second hand garments and carpets. He was looking totally desperate and saying that he could not have even imagined seeing this day .He added that his guest house reserved for foreigners through out the summer, but, this year a little number of tourists came. Their business has ruined. He was cursing the responsible people for all of this. Sectarianism has never been good or fruitful in any respect. These intellectual and educational religious issues should be solved in the discussion rooms of the contemporary and religious educational institutions to save poor people from starvation.

History of Gilgit-Baltistan

The Northern Areas have always been at the crossroads of conquerors, raiders and travelers. Therefore, its history has been deeply influenced by the various incidences of history. The Northern Areas have a very rich history which can be understood through periodizations made by historians. It is said that small chieftains ruled Gilgit and Baltistan, until the beginning of the 19th century¹. Islam spread in these areas in 13th century. In mid 19th century the area came under the control of Dogra regime. In 1878 British established Gilgit as an Agency, under a lease agreement with the Dogra Maharajah Hari Singh of Kashmir, which comprised of the present districts of Ghizer, Astore, and part of Diامر. Rest of the region remained under the control of princes and local chieftains. After the fall of British Raj the Gilgit Agency was returned to Dogra Maharajah on 1st August 1947. The Maharaja announced accession to India against the will of the people of Kashmir and Gilgit. The people of Gilgit & Baltistan reacted to the announcement of Maharajah to India and started an armed struggle and took control of the area and declared independence on November 1, 1947. The Northern Areas acceded to Pakistan unconditionally on Nov. 9th, 1947. It is celebrated as “accession day” in the Northern Areas.

¹ This can be viewed on www.visitnorthernareas.gov.pk. We retrieved it on July, 02, 2009.

Background of Administrative Setup

1878 to 1950	political agent
1950 to 1986	resident commissioner
1986 to 1992	administrator
1992 to 1994	chief commissioner
1994 to-date	chief secretary

Northern Areas have almost a Provincial setup administratively

Northern areas government

- Governor
- Chief Minister
- Chief Secretary Gilgit-Baltistan

Elected bodies:

Gilgit-Baltistan legislative assembly

36 members (24 elected, 06 Women and 06 Technocrats)

- Speaker
- Deputy Speaker

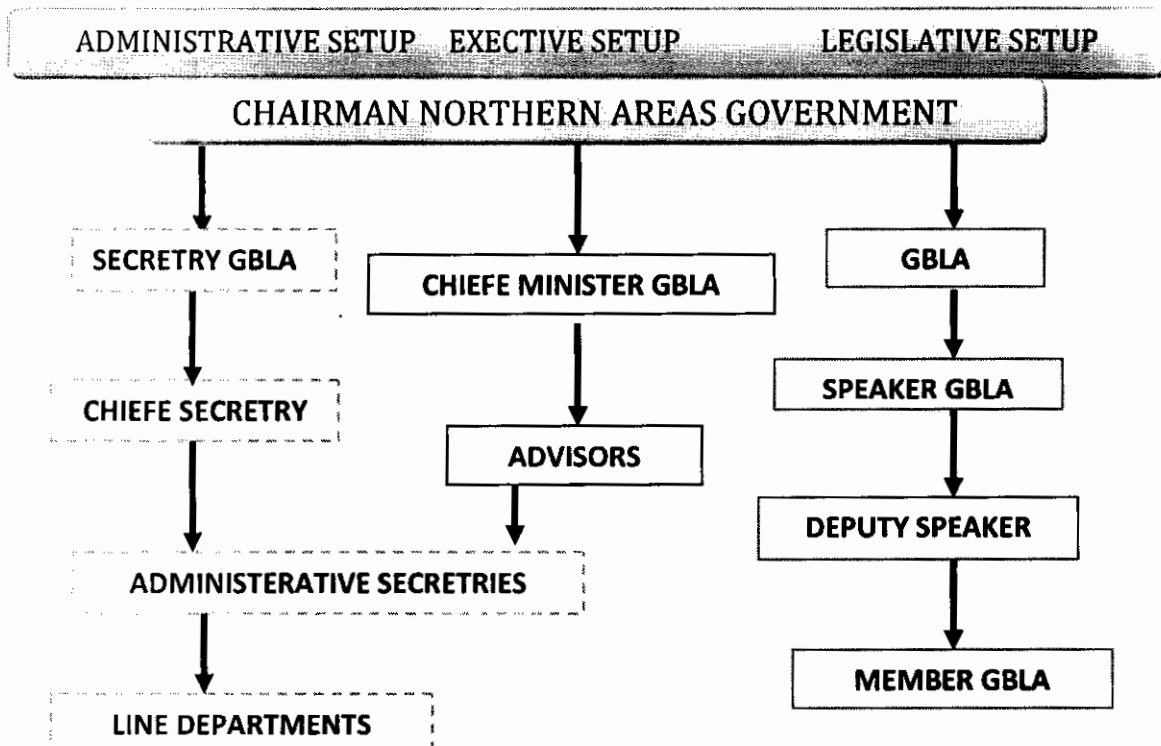
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- Municipal Committees 06
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- Village Committees 558

Gilgit-Baltistan Assembly Setup

In 1970 the Gilgit-Baltistan Advisory Council was setup with 14 seats and in 1975 the Advisory Council re-named as Northern Areas Council with 18 members. In 1994 L.F.O. extended, with eight additional seats (6 for men 2 for women) and total seats 26. Also post of deputy chief executive along with 3 to 5 Advisors was created. In 1999 Northern Areas council re-named as Northern Areas Legislative Council and powers given to legislate on 49 subjects, the seat of speaker and 3 women seats also added. In 2003 post of deputy speaker was created and in 2004 6 seats of technocrats were created and women seats were increased from 3 to 6 (one from each district). After this the council was comprised of 36 members of Gilgit-Baltistan Legislative Assembly. In September 1st, 2009 Northern Areas Legislative Council re-named as Gilgit-Baltistan Legislative Council and powers given to legislate, the seat of chief minister and governor is added.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGISLATIVE SETUP



Geography of Gilgit-Baltistan

Gilgit-Baltistan is the northern-most territory governed by Islamabad and it is also in the middle of a geo-strategic hot-spot. To its North shares boundaries with - Xinjiang province of China, on west Afghanistan through Wakhan corridor and On North West Tajikistan is just, across the Wakhan Belt and on East Indian held Kashmir, On North- Xinjiang province of China, to the southeast is the India's Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. To the south is Azad Kashmir and to the west and southwest lies the North-West Frontier Province

The Gilgit-Baltistan has been dividing into six districts, which are Gilgit, Skardu, Diamer, Ghizer, Astore, and Ghanche. Gilgit-Baltistan having a population of 870,000 according to 1998 census covered with an area of 72496 km². Population Growth Rate of the Gilgit-Baltistan is 2.07 %.

In Gilgit-Baltistan Three World Mountain ranges congregate that's Himalayas, Hindu Kush and Karakorum. Amongst the highest mountains are K2 and Nanga Parbat, one of the most feared mountains in the world. The Gilgit-Baltistan has a unique geography and culture. It hosts a pluralistic society with diverse linguistic, cultural, ethnic and religious groups. Amidst these ranges people with diverse culture inhabit. The peoples of Gilgit-Baltistan are belong to eight ethnic groups which are following; Shinas, Yashkuns, Mughals, Kashmiris, Pathans, Baltees, Ladhakhis and Turks speaking numbers many languages like Balti, Shina, Brushaski, Khawer, Wakhi, Turki, Tibeti, Pushto and Urdu. The four major Muslim sects (Sunnies, Shias, Ismailies and Noorbakhshies) are leaving here in cooperation from centuries.

There are 275 doctors for the area and 3945 population per doctor and hospital conditions are not good there are 26(858 beds) hospital, 2 rural health centre, 18 basic health units and 296 dispensaries. According to 1998 census the adult literacy in Gilgit-Baltistan was about 33 per cent, which has now risen to 53 per cent in 2005-06(males64 percent and females 41 per cent).At present Gilgit-Baltistan have a system of education comprising about 2100 schools or educational institutions,

including schools set up by the Federal Government, community based schools, schools set up by NGOs. In Gilgit-Baltistan 55% of population (45% Population Rural and 60% Population Urban) have Tap water coverage. The electricity generating Capacity is 78 MW in summer and 36 MW in winter covered 72% Population and Present demand of electricity is 148 MW. The forest area of Gilgit-Baltistan is 4%.

Major industries, potentials & opportunities

a) Tourism

The Gilgit-Baltistan has a huge potential of tourism owing to its pure natural beauty and peculiar geography. Awe inspiring mountainous ranges, majestic peaks, largest glaciers out side polar regions, gushing streams, lakes, Bio diversity (flora & fauna), National Parks, seasons, archaeological sites, amazing wilderness with blend of diverse and unique culture attracts flocks of enthusiastic tourists from all walks of life and from all over the world. 05 out 14 above 8000 m peaks lie in this region. Some of the world's most challenging high altitude treks are situated in Gilgit-Baltistan. Traditional Polo being played at world's highest play grounds has great attraction for tourists.

b) Minerals

Marble, gold, precious and semi precious stones and granite reserves are available over large tracts of territory. Lack of capital investment and poor infrastructure are hampering exploitation of the mineral wealth.

Nature has gifted the region with variety of fruits such as Almonds, Apricots, Apples, Cherries, Walnuts, Mulberry, Peach, Plum, Grapes and Pomegranate which are becoming a source of livelihood with the development in growing techniques. Potato, Onions and tomatoes are among the major cash crops besides wheat, maize etc and important medicinal herbs.

Agriculture

Agriculture is a source of subsistence. It provides employment opportunities to rural labor (including self employment). The high value of fresh and dry fruits along with vegetable crops has accelerated pace of economic uplift of the people of the region.

Fish fauna

Fresh Waters of Northern Area are home to exogenous fish species which were introduced in Gilgit-Baltistan such as Brown Trout in the year 1908, Silver Carp and Gold Fish in 1974, Rainbow Trout in 1975, Chinese Carp in 1976, Grass Carp in 1994 besides the aboriginal specie known as desi chemo. This cottage industry is being run mainly by women folk which produce fine traditional embroidery with enormous attraction for art-lovers.

Trade corridor

Karakorum High way (KKH) connects Pakistan to our closest friend China. Ever since it's commissioning in 1978 it has brought huge benefits for Gilgit-Baltistan in particular and greatly improved Pakistan's trade with China. Raikot Bridge has begun this year, building on that the government has declared the area as part of Trade Corridor to link China, C.A.S through KKH with Gwadar Port and beyond.

Live stock

About 80% of the population of Northern Area is dependent on live stock for meat, milk, wool, manure and transport. The main species are Cattle, Yaks, Buffaloes, Sheep, Goats, Horses, and Asses etc which is about 2.5 million in total.

Major issues of Gilgit-Baltistan

Constitutional issues

The people of Gilgit-Baltistan long standing demand for their constitutional rights, as well as right to vote and representation in the national parliament. The people of Gilgit-Baltistan long standing demand for delegation of political as well as

administrative powers at local level. This issue is however lingering on, due to Gilgit-Baltistan link with Kashmir issue.

Sectarian

Due to non-constitutional status of the area over the years, a prolonged political vacuum emerged. This vacuum was filled in by sectarian leaders who have exploited the sectarian issues to their advantages. The Gilgit-Baltistan has a mixed sectarian population i.e. 40% Ahle Tashi and 35% Ahle Sunnat. This means that both sects compete with each other for resources and advantages on sectarian lines. Hence the sectarian fervor is understandably high. Due to the population's low literacy rate, they have been easy fodder for spread of sectarian divisions. The culprits involved in sectarian violence usually do not get convicted despite having committed numerous terrorist acts, thus giving further incentive to miscreants to create sectarian strife. The Shia Ulema of Gilgit-Baltistan receive their religious training from Iran, thus some Iranian influence is visible in their rhetoric. To counter the Iranian viewpoint, extremist Sunni Ulema use the religious card which further increases sectarian tensions.

Poverty

The harsh topography provides for limited land holdings to the people. The means of livelihood are thus few. People are dependent on government with respect to food and other facilities. There are Non existence of proper industries and private enterprises and people only Dependent on government jobs.

Illiteracy

The Government of Pakistan is committed to provide universal education to people of the Gilgit-Baltistan. However, due to non-availability of teachers/trained teachers coupled with poverty, the ratio of drop out still remains high. Only a small number of students make up to higher education.

Nationalist elements

There are limited nationalist elements and they are not popular among the general public, but they carry out some kind of activities for their own survival/existence. Following are the nationalist parties are Balawristan National Front, Karakorum National Movement, Gilgit-Baltistan National Alliance, Gilgit-Baltistan Democratic Alliance and Gilgit-Baltistan United Movement.

Press in Gilgit-Baltistan

Press in Gilgit-Baltistan was started by some British in 1907 that came as agents of British rule in sub-continent. Initially they started a pamphlet-magazine “Spinker” which is considered the first print medium in the Area of Gilgit-Baltistan.

In those days many newspapers and magazines were brought to Gilgit from Kashmir by post while the Kashmir-Gilgit road often remained uncertain on account of extremely variable weather conditions. Owing those news materials reached here after a couple of week, people of the region fulfilled their curiosity of information by reading these out dated materials (Barcha-20003).

Later on the Karakorum, a periodical literary magazine was introduced in 1970 by Federal Government Degree College Skardu under the supervision of Ghulam Hussain on annual basis. After that development in the field of journalism, the first printing press was also established in the region in 1970 with the name of Hunza Printing Press. Publishing of other publication magazines started from Gilgit-Baltistan after the popularity of the aforesaid magazine, only periodical, magazines were published up to 1987. In January 1988, a weekly newspaper named “Nawa-i-Gilgit” started its publication under the editorship of Mushtaq Ahmad Advocate. After publishing of “Nawa-i-Gilgit” a series of newspapers and magazines started their publications one after another. With the increase in literacy, now a great deal of daily and weekly newspapers is being published in English and Urdu from Gilgit-Baltistan and Islamabad. Apart from many obstacles and pressures these papers are playing their due role at their level best. However, no private television channel and Fm Radio Station have yet been launched due to small market. Only two radio

stations established, one in Gilgit and 01 in Skardu with the frequency of 1512 kHz are also playing a very important role in broadcasting the awareness regarding local, national and international affairs.

Daily/weekly published newspapers

Table 1.1

<i>S.No</i>	<i>Newspaper Type</i>	<i>Newspaper Name</i>	<i>Year of publication</i>	<i>language</i>	<i>Published</i>
1	Daily	K2	May, 1996	Urdu	Islamabad
2	Daily	Muhasib		Urdu	Gilgit
4	Weekly	Naqara	January, 2007	Urdu	Islamabad
5	Weekly	Waddi	September,2000	Urdu	Islamabad
6	Weekly	Siachin	November, 1988	Urdu	Skardu
7	Weekly	Mountain times	May, 2007	English	Islamabad
8	Weekly	Sada-i-Gilgit	November, 2004	Urdu	Islamabad
9	Weekly	Badi-i-shamal	June, 1999	Urdu	Islamabad
10	Weekly	Chatan	June, 2004	Urdu	Islamabad
11	Weekly	Azan	September, 2006	Urdu	Islamabad
12	Weekly	Bang-i-Sahar	July, 2004	Urdu	Islamabad
13	Weekly	Gilgit Today	March, 2007	English	Islamabad

Research Questions

This research will study the two newspapers' reports from the issues of Gilgit-Baltistan from June 01, 2009 to August 31, 2009. The primary sources are the two newspapers' news reports.

There are a number of questions this research is trying to answer; they are:

1. Do the two national leading Urdu newspapers print the news reports on the Gilgit-Baltistan issues every day?
2. What is the proportion of news coverage of the Gilgit-Baltistan issues on front pages in *daily Jang* and *daily Express*?
3. Do Express and Jang provide higher proportion of space to constitutional issue of Gilgit-Baltistan?
4. Do the daily Express and daily provide high proportion of space to development news of Gilgit-Baltistan?
5. Do the *daily Express* and *daily Jang* reports sectarian conflict of Gilgit-Baltistan in the same way; if not, which paper counts more?

Literature Review

Development Journalism

Since its debut in Asia in the late 1960s, development journalism has been growing in popularity in Asia, Africa and Latin America despite being indiscriminately labeled as “government-say-so journalism”. Its popularity is largely driven by the belief that the press can and will play a key role in facilitating and fostering national development in developing or newly independent countries (Xu, 2008). As a regional development news agency, *Depthnews* provided model stories for the Asia’s press with its focus on coverage of women, science, health, rural development and environmental concerns. Avoiding news of political, military and natural disasters, *Depthnews* addressed topics that were less covered by Western news agencies and relied on sources and actors from the Third World (McKay, 1993). In different forms and ways, development journalism has also been practiced in Asian countries such as India, Indonesia, China, Malaysia, Philippines, and Singapore (Chen, 1991; Latif, 1998; Maslog, 1985; Shah, 1989; Verghese, 1976; Vilanilam, 1975, 1984; Xu, 2005). Development journalism is largely practiced in Singapore and Malaysia, where nation building and economic construction remain priorities. As a small, young, developed, and multiracial country, Singapore is highly concerned about social stability, racial harmony, and relations with neighboring countries. Such concerns have constituted the major rationale for its press to adopt elements of development journalism (Latif, 1998; Xu, 2005). One of the earliest efforts to practice development journalism is *Depthnews*, a short form for Development Economic and Population Themes News (McKay, 1993)

How development journalism should be practiced depends largely on how the term ‘development’ is defined. Scholars following the dominant paradigm in 1950s constructed the top down approach to development and communication as one-way flow of information. Scholars of the dependency paradigm in 1960s pointed out of the need for the developing countries to separate themselves from western countries in order to an advanced level of development. They promoted a balanced flow of information of developing countries and articulated the New World information and

communication order. Scholars of alternative paradigm rejected the top down, one way and centralized approach and focus on two-way. Interceptive and participatory communication (Singhal & Sthaptianoanda, 1960)

Development Journalism used as a propaganda Tool

When development journalism is used as a propaganda tool, however, it can become very dangerous. Many citizens are taught that the news is a reliable and useful source of information. For example, within a developing nation which has a corrupt government, journalistic exposes of the government are extremely important for reform. If journalists are not allowed to write about what is actually going on, the citizens are not well served. Several international press organizations release reviews every year, which look at the freedom of press in individual nations in an attempt to bring freedom of the press to all countries for this very reason. According to David Robie's: Development journalism in a nutshell is about going beyond the 'who, what, when, where' of basic inverted pyramid journalism, it is usually more concerned with the 'how, why' and 'what now' question addressed by journalists. Some simply describe it as 'good journalism'.

Development Journalism as an Intellectual Enterprise

Kunczik (in Wimmer & Wolf 2005) represents development journalism as an intellectual enterprise in which the journalist should form a kind of free intelligence and should critically examine the aims of national development and the applicable instruments in a rational discourse and solve them by reasonable criteria free of social constraints. Supporters of development journalism believes that news structured according to Western news criteria such as conflict, actuality, and sensation will lead to a news coverage focusing on political decisions in larger cities, technological progress or activities in the public sphere. However, the majority of the population in developing countries lives in rural areas and faces entirely different problems. According to the Bangladeshi media researcher Golam Rahman this is a considerable problem in Bangladesh. Local newspapers in Bangladesh are often published from town areas and do not cover news that are relevant to people in rural

areas where conditions are remarkably different (Rahman, 1999: 84). According to the Bangladeshi researchers Sobhan and Khan Media in Bangladesh faces three major challenges those are unfair access to information, great economic inequality and lack of freedom (Sobhan & Khan, 2006: 24).

Development Journalism in 3rd world

Development journalism is the use of all journalistic skills to report development processes in an interesting fashion. It may require high skills and hard work but the reward of this kind of journalism can be tremendous. From this definition, there is no doubt that development journalism bestows heavy responsibility on Pakistani journalists. Their responsibility is made heavier by the fact they are writing for and about nations or societies which are, or near, the beginning of their development or as sovereign entities. Their news must not be 'saleable commodity like any other' but must be 'responsible' news. Their news must serve as a stimulus to national pride and unity because, for the young nations, such pride and unity are very important for development to occur.

In such countries (Asian & African countries faced with disunity and tribalism) the first duty of the press is to encourage greater national unity, for without a minimum amount of national unity all other human values in society become impossible. Freedom and justice become meaningless. Life becomes insecure. Where there isn't enough unity, it is my view that the press should confine itself to the difficult task of helping to unify the nation and removing mistrust between communities or tribes (Quoted in Mytton, 1983).

Conflict Journalism

Conflict has definitions in the conflict resolution literature that range from bad thoughts to genocide. Conflict is present when two or more parties perceive that their interests are incompatible, express hostile attitudes, or take pursue their interests through actions that damage the other parties. These parties may be individuals, small or large groups and countries.

Probably every conflict is fought on at least two grounds the battlefield and the minds of the people via propaganda. The good guys and the bad guys can often both be guilty of confusing their people with bends, exaggerations, bias, inexactness and even untruth, in order to receive their support. While we can often see obvious propaganda from other countries, especially from enemies, we sometimes don't notice, or acknowledge propaganda in our own nations and from our own friendly nations. The news coverage of conflict, or war reporting, is grounded in the notion of conflict as a news value. As a result, war reporting is often sensational, sexy, and a mere device to boost circulations and ratings (Toffler & Toffler, 1994; Hachten, 1999; Allen & Seaton, 1999). According to Knightley (2000), war journalism is characterized by an identification with one or the home side of the conflict; military triumphantist language; an action oriented focus; and a superficial narrative with little context, background or historical perspective.

Wolfsfeld (1997), who examined the role of the news media in the Middle East, found that the media's pursuit of drama accorded the extremists from both sides more than their due share of air time, while drowning the voices calling for peace and resolution. Wolfsfeld (1999), using a structural-cultural model, explained how the different roles played by news media in various political conflicts were shaped directly by competition among the antagonists to control the media. Carruthers (2000) suggested that the mass media, subjected to restrictions of state and military censorship, employed the same values, practices and priorities in reporting conflict as in covering other events. As a result, mass media in following the lead of the state, become willing accomplices in wartime propaganda, and may even play a significant role in instigating conflict.

Interests can diverge in many ways: Over resources—territory, money, energy sources, food and how they should be distributed. Over power, how control and participation in political decision-making are allocated. Over identity, concerning the cultural, social and political communities to which people feel tied. Over status, whether people believe they are treated with respect and dignity and whether their traditions and social position are respected. Over values, particularly those embodied

in systems of government, religion, or ideology Incompatibilities can be seen in changes in objective circumstances a lowered standard of living; demographic changes or population movements; technological changes that alter communications, material capacities, weaponry and relative power. Subjective changes can also generate conflict through, for instance, newly felt social resentments or a rising new nationalist ideology; these subjectively felt changes can arise whether or not objective changes have occurred. The parties' emotional states and mental outlooks influence conflict. Time is a factor as well: observers note that with time, a conflict's subjective content gains importance as its objective basis is obscured. A group or nation's objective circumstances do not themselves cause violent conflicts. Conflicts only arise out of these conditions or changes in them when it is perceived that interests are threatened by some other party (Burton, John W. 1993)

It has become common to describe conflicts as passing through a series of phases. The potential for conflict exists whenever people have different needs, values, or interests; this is the "latent" conflict stage. The conflict may not become apparent until a "triggering event" leads to the emergence of the obvious conflict. Emergence may be followed quickly by settlement or resolution, or it may be followed by escalation, which can become very destructive (Eric Brahm, 2003). In recent years, some journalism scholars have suggested that journalists discard war reporting in favor of peace journalism to help promote a culture of peace. Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung first proposed peace journalism in the 1970s as a self-conscious, working concept for journalists covering wars and conflicts (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000).

Constantine and Merchant (2001) define conflict as the fundamental disagreement between two parties of which a dispute is one possible outcome. (Conciliation, conflict avoidance, or capitulations are other outcomes). This is similar to Douglas Yarn's (1997) observation that conflict is a state, rather than a process. People who have opposing interests, values, or needs are in a state of conflict, which may be latent.

Sectarian Conflict

A sectarian conflict usually refers to violent conflict along religious and political lines such as the conflicts between shias and sonnies in Pakistan (although political beliefs and class-divisions played major roles as well). It may also refer to general philosophical, political or armed conflict between different schools of thought such as that between Shia and Sunni Muslims. Non-sectarians espouse that free association and tolerance of different beliefs are the cornerstone to successful peaceful human interaction. They espouse political and religious pluralism.

Sectarianism is present in all parts of the world. Wherever religious sectarians compete, religious sectarianism is found in varying forms and degrees (wiki.net, 2009).

Ethnic conflict

Ethnic conflicts are such conflicts, in which the goals of at least one conflict party are defined in (exclusively) ethnic terms. The definition of an indigenous collective self is meant to challenge a “settler” nation state. In both cases, indigenous cultures within post-colonial societies find themselves excluded from the decision-making processes that are central to the state. Their subsequent declaration of separation from a mother body based in a implicit declaration of people-hood based on genealogy and descent ties functions “not only as other sub-national units do in, say, the assertion of ethnicity, but point to the history of the pre-contact and raise questions about legal and moral legitimacy of the present national formation”. (IWGIA document, Copenhagen 2003).

These conflicts arise, according to arguments of Bakker (as quoted in Szarka 1998), because the majority or dominant national government wants to establish the same conditions in regions where the majority population belongs to a minority as in other regions of that state. He presumes minority’s ability for political articulations and formulation of its specific cultural, educational, and self-governance demands. Consequently, he defines a minority conflict “as a form of active antagonism between the government of a state and representatives of a minority over the extent

of opportunities of minorities to influence the use and organization of the (sub-state) territories they inhabit" (Szarka, Lazlo. 1998).

The National newspapers Studied

This study conducted is a content analysis of two National leading Urdu newspapers the *daily Jang* and the *daily Express*. The two printed editions are among the highest circulated Urdu daily newspapers the daily "Jang" and daily "Express" are content selections.

Daily Jang

The *Daily Jang* is the Urdu language newspaper published by the Jang Group of Newspapers. The Group's flagship Jang is Pakistan's national daily. It is published in Urdu from Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Quetta and London. It has a circulation of over 800,000 copies per day. Mir Khalil Ur Rehman was the founder of the newspaper and now his younger son Mir Shakil Ur Rehman is the continuing publishes of this paper.² Its reporters are present in. It catered the requirements of representation of voices of the people from NA to the ruling class. It deeply assisted in developing the political consciousness in the circle of the educated people of the area.

A big name in the print media is Jang Group of Newspapers. Taking out a number of publications, Jang Group went online only a few years ago and the response has so far been positive. The Group's homepage has links to its major publications, such as *Daily Jang*, The News International and Mag. Termed as the leading Urdu newspaper of Pakistan, Jang's Internet edition does little justice to the paper itself. The best thing about the site is that the entire page as well as the links can be downloaded with a few seconds

Daily Jang is praised for its presentation, effectiveness, accuracy of language by the most learned Urdu writers. It most reputed items are editorial that are appreciated through out the country. Advertisement is the main source of the income for the

²This can be viewed on http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daily_Jang. We retrieved it on July, 22, 2009

newspaper. Without advertisement, a paper could not continue its publication. Advertisement is given to this newspaper from both the government and the private sector. Columnists of these newspapers present attractive columns through their journalistic writing. This newspaper is playing an important role to create political awareness among the people of Pakistan.

Daily Express

The *Daily Express* founded on 3 September, 1998, is one of Pakistan's most widely circulated Urdu languages leading newspaper published by Century Publications, a Lakson Group subsidiary. It is published simultaneously from Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Quetta, Multan, Faisal Abad Gujranwala, Sargodha, Rahim Yar Khan and Sukkar. It claims to have a 24% circulation share. First time in Pakistan *daily Express* introduced an e-paper version of the newspaper on its website which provides the complete printed newspaper for online reading. This version is especially popular among Pakistanis living outside Pakistan³

The *daily Express* has rightly impressed the Express circle of the intelligentsia. It has all the necessary qualities and characteristics of being considered. It is still gaining ground and popularity in the country.

³ This can be viewed on [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daily_Express_\(Urdu_newspaper\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daily_Express_(Urdu_newspaper)). We retrieved it on July, 22, 2009

Methodology

Content Analysis

Research design describes an association between the research purpose and research methods. Every research purpose has a research design of its own. The present research study is to analyze the contents of newspaper, so content technique was applied for this inquiry.

The overarching objective of this study was to observe the coverage of major issues in Gilgit-Baltistan on national leading Urdu newspapers. More specifically, the study attempted to identify and describe particular issues of Gilgit-Baltistan and its coverage on national Urdu newspapers.

Time frames

The researcher chose the time frame for present study from June 1st 2009 to August 31st 2009.

Universe of Study

All news stories related to Gilgit-Baltistan in front pages, back pages, regional pages and city pages page (except advertisement, external links and supplementary materials) published in the daily “Jang” and daily “Express “were the populations (variables) for this inquiry. 1 each newspaper on the selected days were coded and analyzed

Sampling Frame

Sampling frame in this study was the coverage of major issues in Gilgit-Baltistan in leading Urdu newspapers , the “Jang” and “Express ”from June 1st 2009 to August 31th, 2009. This comprises 90 newspapers of each group.

Sample/Sampling Technique

The researcher took 90 samples from 'Jang' and 90 from 'Express'. The researcher took every day issue.

Finding & Discussion

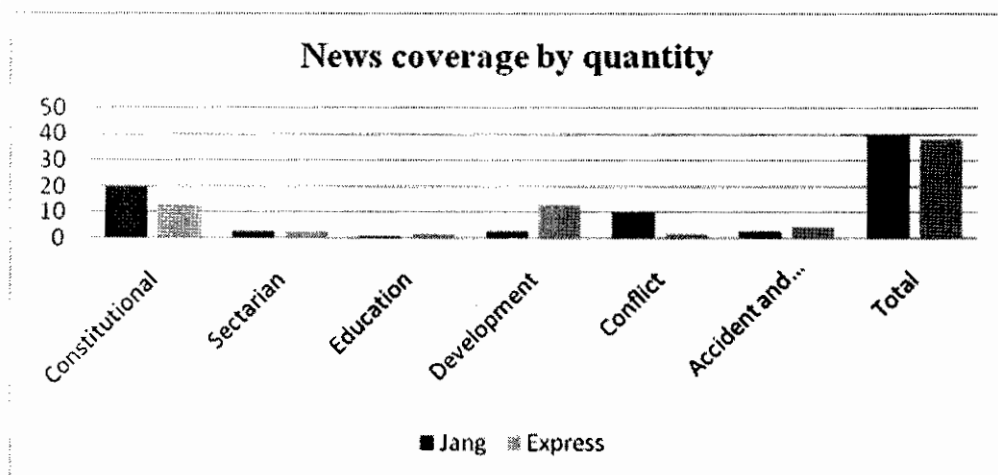
News coverage by quantity

According to this analysis the national newspapers *daily Jang* 20 news stories (50%) and *daily Express* 13 news stories (34.2%) giving high proportion of space to the constitutional issue of Gilgit-Baltistan as compared to other issues. According to this analysis *daily Jang* published 20 (50%) news stories on constitutional issues, 3(7.5%) news stories on sectarian, 1(2.5%) news stories on educational, 3(7.5%) news stories on development, 10(25%) news stories on conflict and 3(7.5%) news stories on accident and disasters. *Daily Express* published 13(34.2%) news stories on constitutional issues, 3(7.9%) news stories on sectarian, 2 (5.2%) news stories on educational, 13(34.3%) news stories on development, 2(5.3%) news stories on conflict and 5(13.1%) news stories on accident and disasters. The overall ratio of Constitutional news coverage has been (42.3%) with 33 news items, sectarian news coverage has been (7.7%) with 6 news items, education news coverage has been (3.85%) with 3 news items, developmental news coverage has been (20.5%) with 16 news items, conflict news coverage has been (15.4%) with 12 news items and accident and disasters news coverage has been (10.3%) with 8 news items in both newspapers. Table-1 shows that the national Urdu newspapers giving high proportion of ratio to constitutional issue as compared to other issues of Gilgit-Baltistan.

Table-4.1

Newspapers	Constitutional		Sectarian		Educational		Development		Conflict		Accident and disasters		Total	
	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage	Quantity	Percentage
Express	13	34.2	3	7.9	2	5.2	13	34.3	2	5.3	5	13.1	38	48.7
Jang	20	50	3	7.5	1	2.5	3	7.5	10	25	3	7.5	40	51.3
Total	33	42.3	6	7.7	3	3.8	16	20.5	12	15.4	8	10.3	78	100

Chart-4.1



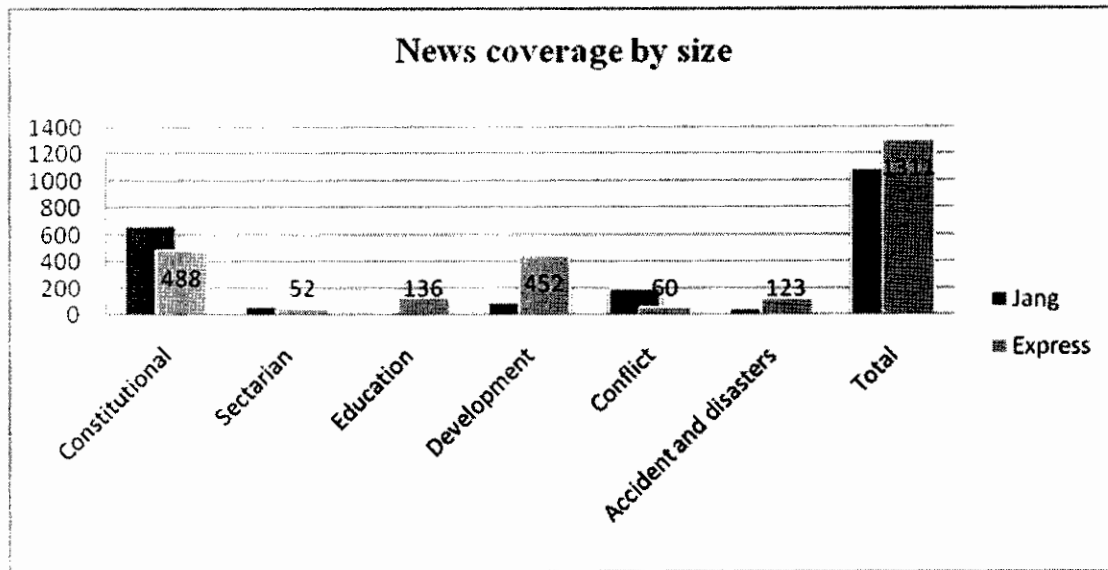
News coverage by quantity

According to this analysis *daily Jang* giving 61.3% (672cm) ratio to constitutional issues, 5.8%(64cm) ratio to sectarian, 1.5%(16cm) ratio to educational, 8.4% (92cm) ratio to development, 18.2%(200cm) ratio to conflict and 4.7%(52cm) ratio to accident and disasters and *daily Express* giving 37.2%(488cm) ratio to constitutional issues, 4%(52cm) ratio to sectarian, 10.4% (136cm) ratio to educational, 34.5%(452) ratio to development, 4.6%(60cm) ratio to conflict and 9.4%(123cm) ratio to accident and disasters news of Gilgit-Baltistan. The overall ratio of constitutional news coverage has been (48.2%) with 1160cm news size, sectarian news coverage has been (4.8%) with 116cm news size, education news coverage has been (6.3%) with 152 cm news size, developmental news coverage has been (22.6%) with 544cm news size, conflict news coverage has been (10.8%) with 260cm news size and accident and disasters news coverage has been (7.3%) with 175 news size in both newspapers. Table-2 shows that coverage of Gilgit-Baltistan issues by quantity

Table-4.2

Newspapers	Constitutional		Sectarian		Education		Development		Conflict		Accident and disasters		Total	
	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage
Express	488	37.2	52	4.0	136	10.4	452	34.5	60	4.6	123	9.4	1311	54.5
Jang	672	61.3	64	5.8	16	1.5	92	8.4	200	18.2	52	4.7	1096	45.5
Total	1160	48.2	116	4.8	152	6.3	544	22.6	260	10.8	175	7.3	2407	100.0

Chart-4.2



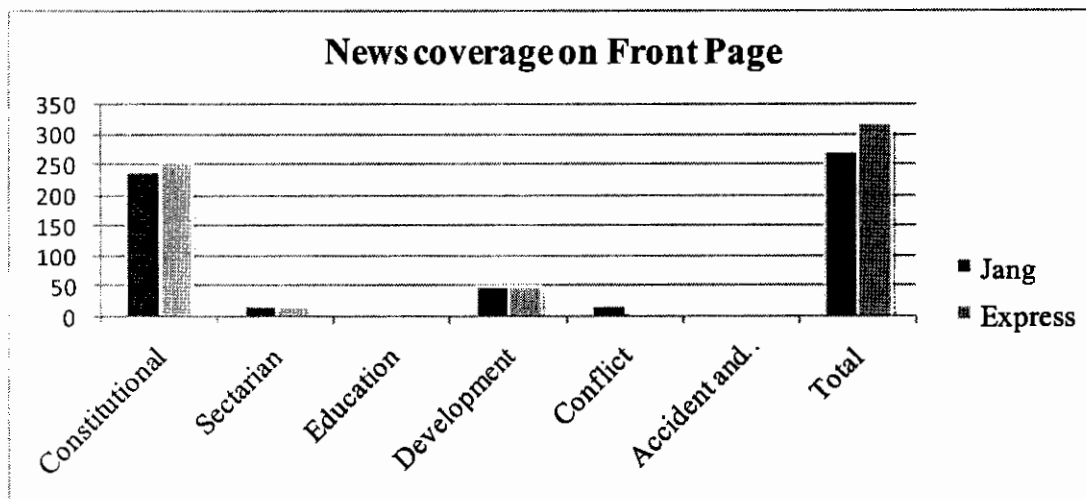
News Coverage on Front page

According to result of content analysis *daily Express* 50.2% (320cm) giving high ratio of coverage to Gilgit-Baltistan issues as compared to *daily Jang* 49.8% (318cm) in front page. According to this analysis *daily Jang* published 74.8% (238cm) constitutional news, 5 % (16cm) sectarian news 15% (96cm) development news and 5 % (16cm) conflict news of Gilgit-Baltistan in front page. *Daily Express* published 80% (256cm) constitutional news, 5 % (16cm) sectarian news and 15 % (48cm) development news of Gilgit-Baltistan in front page. Table-3 shows that the national newspapers giving high proportion of space to constitutional issue 77.5% (494cm) as compared to other issues of Gilgit-Baltistan in front page.

Table-4.3

Newspapers	Constitutional		Sectarian		Education		Development		Conflict		Accident and disasters		Total	
	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage
Express	256	80.0	16	5	0	0.0	48	15.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	320	50.2
Jang	238	74.8	16	5	0	0.0	48	15.2	16	5	0	0.0	318	49.8
Total	494	77.5	32	5	0	0.0	96	15	16	2.5	0	0.0	638	100

Chart-4.3



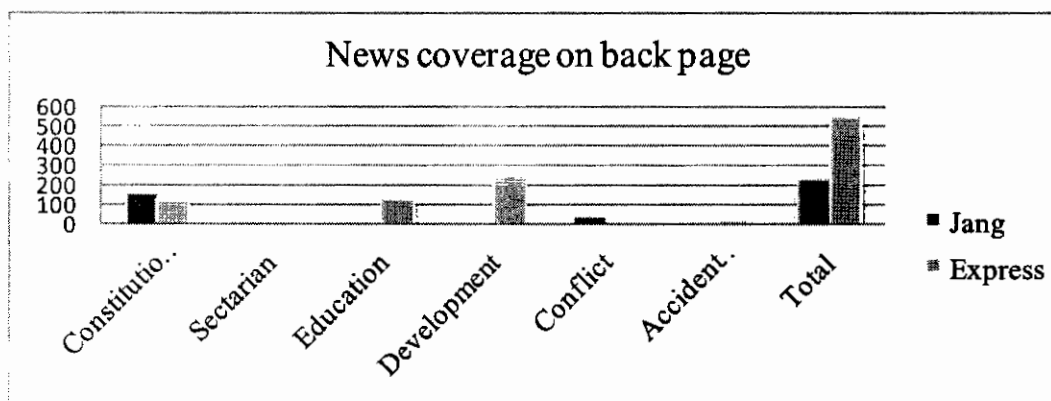
News Coverage on back page

Daily Express (70.4%) 552cm giving high ratio of coverage to Gilgit-Baltistan issues as compared to *daily Jang* (29.4%) 232cm in back page. According to this analysis *daily Express* giving 23.2% (128cm) ratio to constitutional news, 2.2%(12cm) ratio to sectarian, 24.6% (160cm) ratio to educational, 45.7% (252cm) ratio to development and 4.3%(24cm) ratio to accident and disasters in back page. while *daily Jang* giving 72.4%(168cm) ratio to constitutional issues, 3.4%(8cm) ratio to sectarian, 19.8%(46cm) ratio to conflict and 4.3%(10cm) ratio to accident and disasters news of Gilgit-Baltistan in back page. This analysis shows that the *daily express* giving high proportion of space to development news and the *daily Express* gives high proportion of space to constitutional news of Gilgit-Baltistan in back page.

Table-4.4

Newspapers	Constitutional		Sectarian		Education		Development		Conflict		Accident and disasters		Total	
	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage
Express	128	23.2	12	2.2	136	24.6	252	45.7	0	0.0	24	4.3	552	70.4
Jang	168	72.4	8	3.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	46	19.8	10	4.3	232	29.6
Total	296	37.8	20	2.6	136	17.3	252	32.1	46	5.9	34	4.3	784	100.0

Chart-4.4



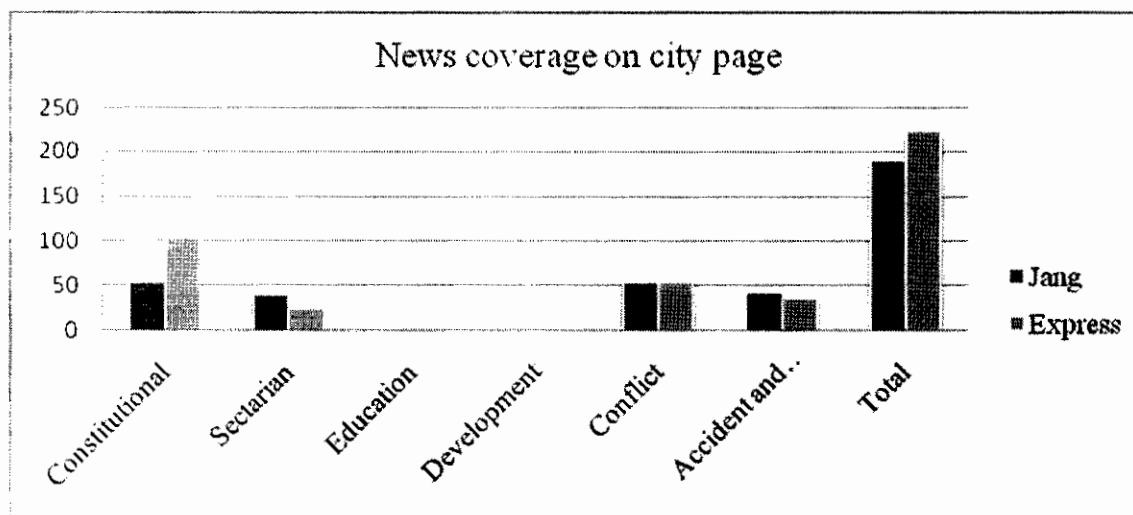
News coverage on city page

Daily Express (54%) 223cm giving high ratio of coverage to Gilgit-Baltistan issues as compared to *daily Jang* (46%) 190cm in city page. According to this analysis *daily Express* giving 46.6% (104cm) ratio to constitutional news, 10.8%(24cm) ratio to sectarian, 26.9% (60cm) ratio to development and 15.7%(35cm) ratio to accident and disasters in city page. while *daily Jang* giving 28.4 %(54cm) ratio to constitutional issues, 21.1% (40cm) ratio to sectarian, 12.8.4% (54cm) ratio to conflict and 22.1%(42cm) ratio to accident and disasters news of Gilgit-Baltistan in city page. This analysis shows that the national Urdu newspapers giving high proportion of space to constitutional news as compared to other issues of Gilgit-Baltistan in back page.

Table-4.5

Newspapers	Constitutional		Sectarian		Education		Development		Conflict		Accident and disasters		Total	
	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage
Express	104	46.6	24	10.8	0	0.0	60	26.9	0	0.0	35	15.7	223	54
Jang	54	28.4	40	21.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	54	28.4	42	22.1	190	46
Total	158	38.3	64	15.5	0	0.0	60	14.5	54	13.1	77	18.6	413	100

Chart-4.5



News coverage on regional page

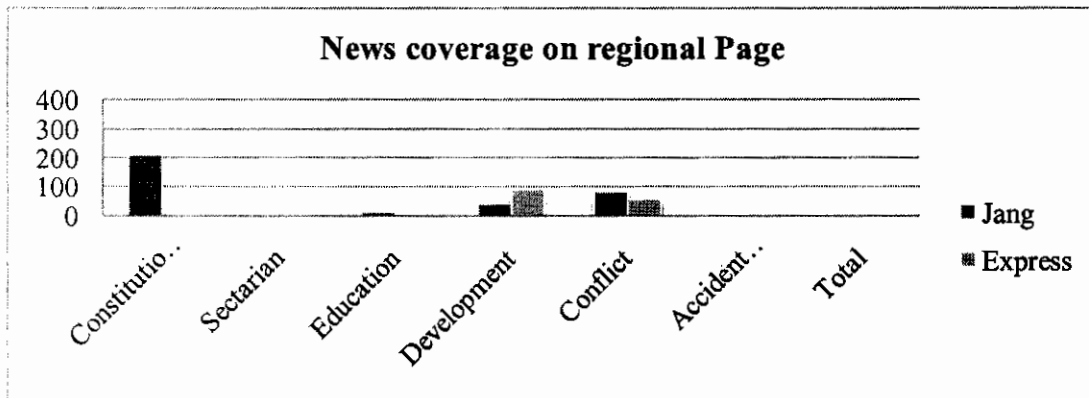
Daily Jang (62.2%) 356cm giving high ratio of coverage to Gilgit-Baltistan issues as compared to *daily Express* (37.8%) 216 cm in regional page. According to this analysis *daily Jang* giving 59.6% (212cm) ratio to constitutional news, 4.5% (16cm) ratio to educational, 12.4% (84cm) ratio to development news, 23.6% 84cm ratio to conflict news in regional page and *daily Express* giving 42.6%(92cm) ratio to development news, 27.8% (60cm) ratio to conflict and 29.6% (64cm) ratio to accidental and disaster news of Gilgit-Baltistan in regional page. This analysis shows that the *daily express* giving high proportion of space to development news and the *daily Jang* gives high proportion of space to constitutional news of Gilgit-Baltistan in regional page.

Table-4.6

Newspapers	Constitutional		Sectarian		Education		Development		Conflict		Accident and disasters		Total	
	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage
Express	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	92	42.6	60	27.8	64	29.6	216	37.8
Jang	212	59.6	0	0.0	16	4.5	44	12.4	84	23.6	0	0.0	356	62.2
Total	212	37.1	0	0.0	16	2.8	136	23.8	144	25.2	64	11.2	572	100

TH 7394

Chart-4.6



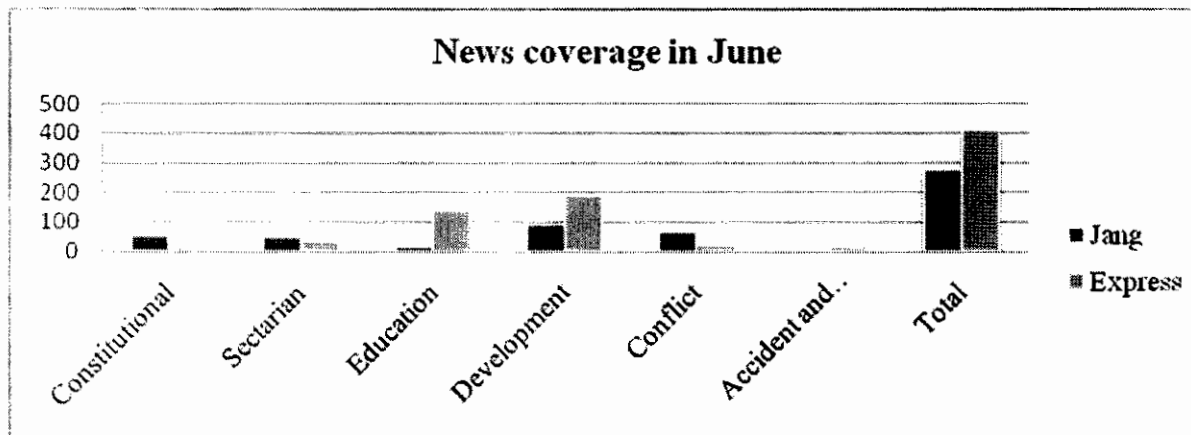
News Coverage in June

According to this analysis the *daily Jang* giving high ratio of coverage to Gilgit-Baltistan issues as compared to *daily Express* in the month of June. This analysis shows that *daily Jang* published 19.1% (52cm) ratio on constitutional news, 17.6%(48cm) ratio on sectarian news, 5.9%(16cm) ratio on education news, 33.8% (92cm) ratio on development news, 23.5%(64cm) ratio on conflict and *daily Express* published 2.9% (12cm) ratio on constitutional news, 8.8%(36cm) ratio on sectarian news, 33.4% (136cm) ratio on education news, 46.2% (188cm) ratio on development news, 4.9% (20cm) ratio news conflict and 4.7% (15cm) ratio on accident and disasters news of Gilgit-Baltistan in month of June. Table-7 shows that the national newspapers giving high proportion of space to development news of Gilgit-Baltistan in the month of June

Table-4.7

Newspapers	Constitutional		Sectarian		Education		Development		Conflict		Accident and disasters		Total	
	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage
Express	12	2.9	36	8.8	136	33.4	188	46.2	20	4.9	15	3.7	407	59.9
Jang	52	19.1	48	17.6	16	5.9	92	33.8	64	23.5	0	0.0	272	40.1
Total	64	9.4	84	12.4	152	22.4	280	41.2	84	12.4	15	2.2	679	100.0

Chart-4.7



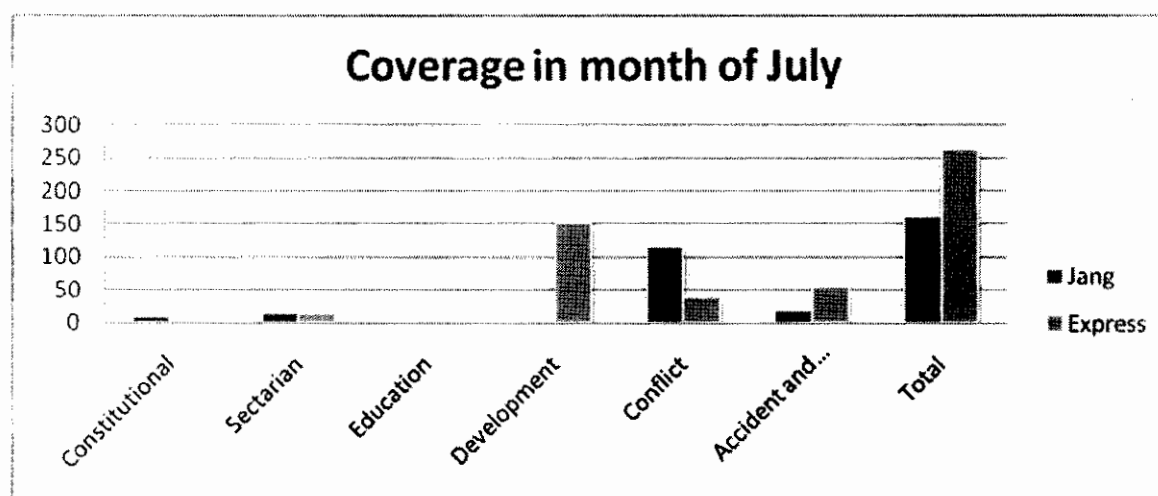
News coverage in July

Daily express (62%) giving high ratio of coverage to Gilgit-Baltistan issues as compared to *daily Jang* (38%) on the month of June. According to this analysis *daily Express* giving 6.1% (16cm) ratio to sectarian news, 57.6%(152cm) ratio to development news, 15.2%(40cm) ratio to conflict and 21.2% (56cm) ratio to accident and disasters and *daily Jang* giving 6.2% (10cm) ratio to constitutional issues, 9.9% (16cm) ratio to sectarian, 71.6% (116cm) ratio to conflict and 12.3%(20cm) ratio to accident and disasters news of Gilgit-Baltistan. Table-8 shows that the national newspapers giving high proportion of space to conflict news (36.6%) and development news (35.7%) of Gilgit-Baltistan as compared to other issues of Gilgit-Baltistan.

Table-4.8

Newspapers	Constitutional		Sectarian		Education		Development		Conflict		Accident and disasters		Total	
	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage
Express	0	0.0	16	6.1	0	0.0	152	57.6	40	15.2	56	21.2	264	62.0
Jang	10	6.2	16	9.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	116	71.6	20	12.3	162	38.0
Total	10	2.3	32	7.5	0	0.0	152	35.7	156	36.6	76	17.8	426	100

Chart-4.8



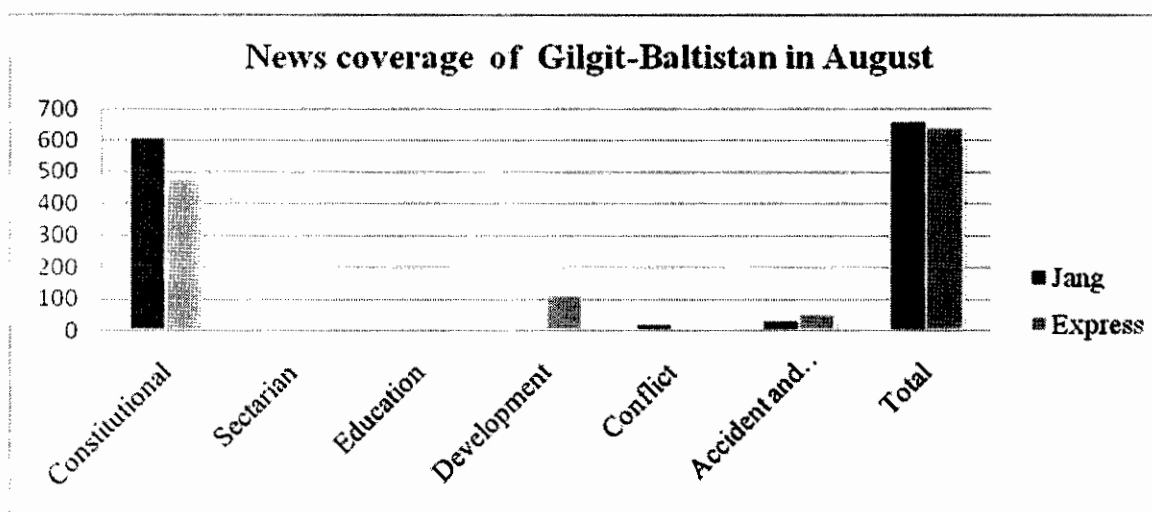
News coverage in August

Daily Jang (50.8%) giving high ratio of coverage to Gilgit-Baltistan issues as compared to *daily Express* (49.2%) on the month of June. According to this analysis *daily Jang* giving 92.1% (610cm) ratio to constitutional news, 3% (20cm) ratio to conflict and 4.8% (32cm) ratio to accident and disasters and *daily Express* giving 74.4% (476cm) ratio to constitutional issues, 17.5% (112cm) ratio to developmental and 8.1%(52cm) ratio to accident and disasters news of Gilgit-Baltistan. Table-8 shows that the national newspapers giving high proportion of space to constitutional news (83.4%) as compared to other issues of Gilgit-Baltistan.

Table-4.9

Newspapers	Constitutional		Sectarian		Education		Development		Conflict		Accident and disasters		Total	
	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage	Size	Percentage
Express	476	74.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	112	17.5	0	0.0	52	8.1	640	49.2
Jang	610	92.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	20	3.0	32	4.8	662	50.8
Total	1086	83.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	112	8.6	20	1.5	84	6.5	1302	100

Chart-4.9



Comparison of news coverage of Gilgit-Baltistan between Pages

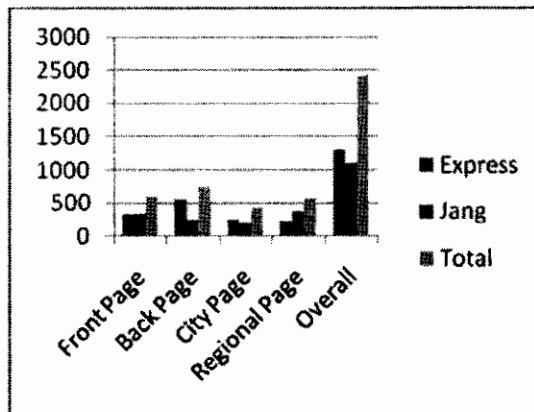
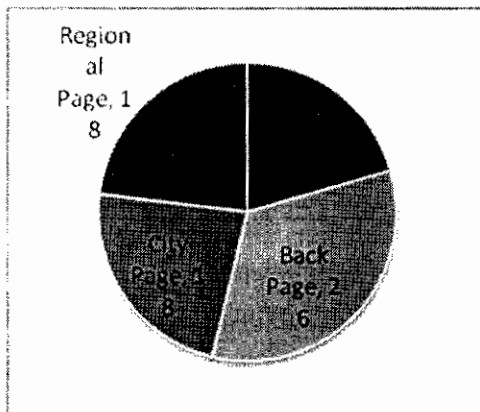
According to this analysis *daily Jang* Published Gilgit-Baltistan issues on Front pages 29% (318cm) ratio with 9 news stories, on back pages 21.2% (232cm) ratio with 11 news stories, on city pages 17.3% (190cm) ratio with 9 news stories, on regional pages 32.5% (356cm) ratio with 11 news stories and *daily Express* Published Gilgit-Baltistan issues on Front pages 24.4% (320cm) ratio with 7 news stories, on back pages 42.2% (552cm) ratio with 15 news stories, on city pages 17% (223) ratio with 9 news stories, on regional pages 16.5% (216cm) ratio with 7 news stories. The overall news coverage of Gilgit-Baltistan issues on front Page 590cm, on back page 736cm, on city page 413cm and on regional page 572 cm.

Table-4.10

Newspapers	Front page			Back Page			City Page			Regional Page			Total		
	News item	Size	Percentage	News item	Size	Percentage	News item	Size	Percentage	News item	Size	Percentage	News item	Size	Percentage
Express	7	320	24.4	15	552	42.1	9	223	17	7	216	16.5	38	1311	54.5
Jang	9	318	29	11	232	21.2	9	190	17.3	11	356	32.5	40	1096	45.5
Total	16	590	24.5	26	736	30.6	18	413	17.1	18	572	23.8	78	2407	100

Chart-4.10

Chart-4.10A



Comparison of news coverage between months

According to this analysis *daily Jang* Published 12 news stories with 24.8% (272cm) news ratio in month of June, 8 news stories with 14.8% (162cm) news ratio in July and 20 news stories with 60.4% (662cm) and *daily express* published 11 news stories with 31% (407cm) in June, 10 news stories with 20.2% (264cm) news ratio in July and 17 news stories with 48.8%(640cm) news ration of Gilgit-Baltistan issues. The overall news coverage of Gilgit-Baltistan issues in June 679 cm (28.2%) with 23 news stories, in July 426cm(17.7%) with 18 news stories and in August 1302 cm (54.1%) with 37 news item.

Table-4.11

Newspapers	June			July			August			Total		
	News Item	Size	Percentage	News item	Size	Percentage	News item	Size	Percentage	News item	Size	Percentage
Express	11	407	31	10	264	20.2	17	640	48.8	38	1311	54.5
Jang	12	272	24.8	8	162	14.8	20	662	60.4	40	1096	45.5
Total	23	679	28.2	18	426	17.7	37	1302	54.1	78	2407	100

Chart-4.11

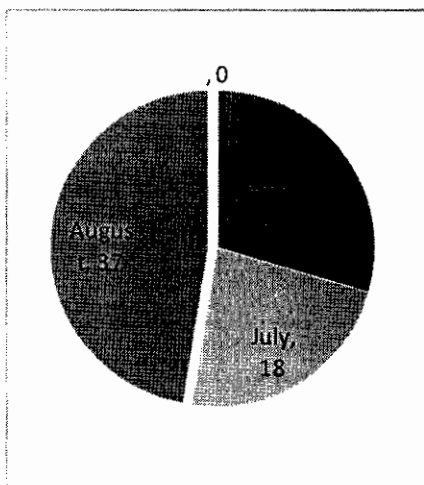
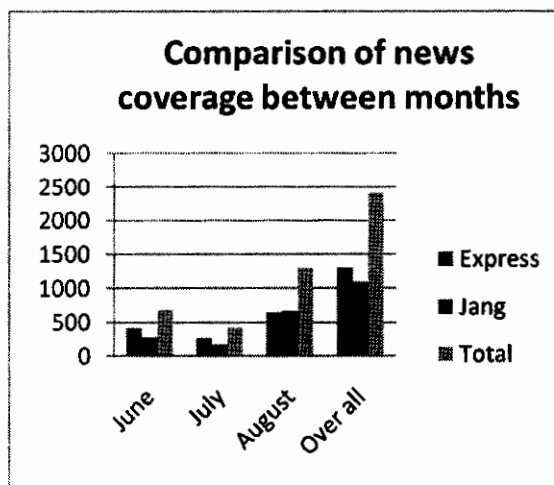


Chart-4.11A



Conclusion

This section attempts to answer the research questions laid earlier. The first question is, do the two national leading Urdu newspapers print the news reports on the Gilgit-Baltistan issues every day? The two daily national Urdu leading newspapers are not publishing news reports on Gilgit-Baltistan issues every day. The *daily Jang* and *daily Express* published only those news stories which have importance and newsworthy. The *daily Jang* published only 40 news stories in three month and *daily express* published 38 news stories in three months regarding Gilgit-Baltistan issues.

The second question is, what is the proportion of news coverage of the Gilgit-Baltistan issues on front pages in *daily Jang* and *daily Express*? The two national Urdu leading newspapers published 16 news stories with 24.5% (590cm) ratio of Gilgit-Baltistan issues on Front pages. *Daily Jang* Published 9 news stories and *daily express* published 7 news stories regarding Gilgit-Baltistan issues on front pages. *Daily Jang* published 5 news stories with 74.8% (238cm) ratio of constitutional news, 1 news story with 5 % (16cm) ration of sectarian news, 2 news stories with 15% (96cm) ratio of development news and 1 news story with 5 % (16cm) conflict news of Gilgit-Baltistan in front page. *Daily Express* published 5 news stories with 80% (256cm) news ratio of constitutional news, 1 news story with 5 % (16cm) ratio of sectarian news and 1 news story with 15 % (48cm) ratio of development news of Gilgit-Baltistan in front page. The two newspapers giving high proportion of space to constitutional issue 77.5% (494cm) as compared to other issues of Gilgit-Baltistan in front pages.

The third question is, do Express and Jang provide higher proportion of space to constitutional issue of Gilgit-Baltistan? The two newspapers published 33 constitutional news stories with 48.2% (1160cm) news ratio regarding Gilgit-Baltistan. *Daily Express* published 5 constitutional news stories with 80% (256cm) news ratio in front pages, 4 constitutional news stories with 46.6% (104cm) news ratio in city pages, 4 constitutional news stories with 23.2% (128cm) news ratio in

back pages and *daily Jang* published 5 constitutional news stories with 74.3% (238cm) news ratio in front pages, 3 constitutional news stories with 28.4% (54cm) news ratio in city pages, 6 constitutional news stories with 28.4% (54cm) news ratio in regional pages, 6 constitutional news stories with 59.6% (212cm) news ratio in back pages. Overall *daily Jang* published 20 constitutional news stories with 61.3% (672cm) news ratio and *daily Express* published 13 news stories with 37.2% (488cm) news ratio in three month.

The present research shows that the selected two newspapers provide more coverage to constitutional/political news on front pages, it has played a vital role and rendered meritorious services and is near to achieve the solution of the main problem of constitutional rights of the people of area. The constitutional right is very important for the people of Gilgit-Baltistan because the people of Gilgit-Baltistan have been kept under the bureaucracy without granting constitutional, political and basic rights since 1948. Due to high proportion of space spared for such news in front page of national newspapers, this issue can become more visible and successful for the constitutional right of Gilgit-Baltistan.

The fourth question is, do the *daily Express* and *daily Jang* provide high proportion of space to development news of Gilgit-Baltistan? If yes, which paper counts more? The two national Urdu leading newspapers provide giving high proportion of space to development news of Gilgit-Baltistan. The two national Urdu newspapers published 16 news stories with 22.6 % (544cm) news ratio. *Daily Express* provides high proportion of space to development news as compared to *daily Jang*. *Daily Express* published 1 news story with 15%(48cm) ratio in front page, 7 news story with 45.7%(252cm) ratio in back page, 2 news story with 26.9%(60cm) ratio in city page, 3 news story with 42.6%(92cm) ratio in regional page and *daily Jang* published 2 news story with 15.2%(48cm) ratio in front page, 1 news story with 12.4%(44cm) ratio of development news in regional page. Overall *daily express* published 13 development news stories with 34.5 % (452cm) news ratio and *daily Jang* published 3 development news stories with 8.4% (92cm) news ratio. On the basis of findings the present study shows that the selected newspapers give more space for the

development news in back pages, city pages and regional pages as compared to conflict news and political news, the area is under develop and need betterment in education, economic, health, agriculture & food, environment, transportation, telecommunication, water and reduced poverty.

The fifth question is, do the *daily Express* and *daily Jang* reports sectarian conflict of Gilgit-Baltistan in the same way; if not, which paper counts more? The *daily Jang* and *daily Express* gived less courage to secterian conflict in Gilgit-Baltistan.the both two newspaper published only 6 secterian news stories with 4.8% (116cm) news ratio regarding Gilgit-Baltistanin three month. *Daily Jang* published 1 secterian conflict news with 5% (16cm) news ratio on front page, 1 secterian conflict news with 3.4% (8cm) news ratio on back page, 1 secterian conflict news with 10.8% (24cm) news ratio on city page and *daily express* published 1 secterian conflict news with 5% (16cm) news ratio on front page, 1 secterian conflict news with 2.2% (12cm) news ratio on back page, 1 secterian conflict news with 21.1% (40cm) news ratio on city page.Overall *daily express* published 3 secterian conflict news with 4% (52cm) news ratio and *daily Jang* published 3 secterian conflict news with 5.8% (64cm) news ratio regarding Gilgit-Baltistan in three months.

This research shows that national newspapers are giving less coverage to secterian conflict news which are very sensitive enough in Northern Areas and due to low coverage this issue becomes less visible and ignored, due to negligence, the issue can not be harmful for the society.

Recommendations

Followin are the recomendations after the analysis of newspapers:

1. The constitutional right is very important for the people of Gilgit-Baltistan because the people of Gilgit-Baltistan have been kept under the bureaucracy without granting constitutional, political and basic rights since 1948. The people of Gilgit-Baltistan want their constitutional rights, national press should give more coverage to constitutional rights issue of Gilgit-Baltistan
2. Sectarianism is sensitive issue and Gilgit-Baltistan national press should give less coverage to sectarian issues for the reduction of sectarian natured conflicts.
3. The national media should focus on the needs of the poor, deprived, and the marginalized people and emphasize their effective participation in development setup.
4. National press should speak slightly elaborately, this kind of journalism motivates the active participation of the affected people and advocating for their interests, in place of the views of the policy makers and the planners.
5. The national press should sufficiently focus on grassroots people's initiatives and movements.
6. National press should adopt the method of peace journalism instead of war journalism while covering different sorts of conflicts.
7. Government should assist national press and arranges workshops for the journalist in the development areas, so that they could familiarize themselves with the ground realities of a village and in future are willing to include these issues in their papers,
8. National press should highlight social issues of the rural and under developed areas and development issues coverage in investigative journalistic sense.

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